34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Dewey)

Cleveland Editor Calls on Voters to Put Dewey and GOP Congress in Office

Afro American

Sat 10-9-48

Baltimore Md

(34a(1))

W. O. Walker Says No Place for Charity, Republicans Only Will Pass Civil Rights Laws

CLEVELAND— Declaring that sentimentality and charity don't get results, William O. Walker, editor of the Cleveland Call-Post last week urged colored Americans to help put both a Republican President and Congress in office if they are really interested in having civil rights legislation enacted.

Admitting that President Truman deserves credit for his courageous fight for civil rights, Mr. Walker said that Mr. Truman could do no more than he has since, under the Constitution, he can only recommend desired legislation.

The Congress alone can enact it, Mr. Walker pointed out, adding that "there is little hope of colored persons" getting any civil rights legislation from a Democratic Congress."

Votes Thrown Away

"Therefore," he continued, "anyone who places his hopes for civil rights legislation in his vote for any Democrat is just deluding himself and throwing away his vote."

About Henry A. Wallace and his Progressive Party, the editor stated that both have made much ado over the civil rights issue and are trying to lure voters into their fold by their honeyed words.

While Mr. Wallace, by his preachings and criticisms, is making both of the regular parties "walk a straighter path," no one interested in getting results should vote for the Third Party ticket since each vote for it will be wasted.

Sat 10-9-48

GOP Congress Held Only Hope

Then stumping for Governor Dewey, the Republican candidate, Mr. Walker said:

"Whether we like it or don't like it, the plain truth is, the colored man's only hope for ever obtaining civil rights legislation under present rules of Congress, is through the Republicans.

"While Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican nominee, has received less publicity in the pre-campaign era on his civil rights views, nevertheless, it is upon his shoulders that our hope must rest for achieving any or all of these laws.

Can't Afford Split

"I say this hope rest upon Dewey, because the hope of a Republican Congress depends upon his receiving a sufficiently large vote to carry into office with him, a majority for his party in both houses.

"If Dewey should be elected and fail to carry Congress for his party, he would be just as helpless in obtaining any Civil Rights legislation as President Truman. In other words, our hope for civil rights legislation rests entirely upon a Republican Congress.

In our zeal then for civil rights legislation, if we are going to be practical, we must center our attention on the election of a Republican Congress.

"In the last Congress, the Republicans had a big majority in the House and a slim majority in the Senate. The Republicans can't afford to lose a single Senate contest this fall.

Sat 10-9-48

Let Others Experiment

"In these days when Georgia is rallying around Herman Talmadge, with the Ku Klux Klan again on the march and the Dixiecrats preaching race hate at every cotton gin in the South, it is high time that the colored voters of the States outside the South give serious thought to their voting.

"Certainly we have received enough impetus in our long, bitter fight for civil rights, not to do anything now that will jeopardize the progress we have made.

"Let the other people experiment with the Wallace movement. They have nothing to lose because they already have their civil rights.

"Certainly with the South in complete control of the Democratic party and bitterly opposed to the passage of any civil rights legislation, there is no sound reason why our people should vote to put the Democrats back in power.

"This year, let's be practical. Elect a Republican Congress and bring civil rights legislation closer to a reality."

Aboard A Campaign Special---

The Afro American

(34a(1))

Dewey's 16-Car Train Has Comforts of Home

● By DOUGLASS HALL

(Special AFRO Writer With Dewey's Special Train)

Sat 10-9-48

Baltimore Md

What is it like to ride a campaign train? What are the accommodations like? How is the food? What about baths, sleeping quarters? Is the Presidential candidate well protected?

Do you see him often? How do other writers feel about colored newspaper men being a part of the official party? Do waiters and porters give the same service without hesitation?

What about hotel accommodations in the cities where the train stops overnight? Do you attend receptions, parties, and other similar social affairs with members of the official crew? Does Governor Dewey have a colored person on his staff? How many members of the colored press? Questions similar to these could easily run the lenth of this article, but I will reserve the balance of the space for answers.

Douglass Hall

Interesting Train

Campaign specials, dedicated to vote-getting, are perhaps the most interesting trains in the world, especially when the candidate aboard is aspiring for the Presidency of the United States. I am riding such a train.

In many instances it is like any other trains, that is, it has an engine and a long string of Pullman cars, usually about 15, carrying the candidate and members of his staff, and about a hundred members of the press.

Although Presidential campaign specials have been running since Stephen A. Douglass and Abe Lincoln took to the rails back in 1858, it was only a short while ago that the colored press was given representation on board.

There are three on board, Julius Adams, Amsterdam News; Lem Graves, Pittsburgh Courier, and myself. This is the third campaign in which they have been given berths.

The boys tell me that when colored writers started covering these specials the other reporters were cold and indifferent.

Some were insulting. They did not want them because heretofore coverage had been an exclusive for them.

Sat 10-9-48

Big, Happy Family

But there are no such incidents on the "Dewey Victory Special." The boys have learned to accept colored writers and quite often sit and talk, and even offer assistance whenever they see the need. It is almost one big, happy family.

All of us travel with the same official status. We are identified badge. Cops in all cities have been by a 2½ inch orange and white posted to recognize the identification. Usually they greet the wearers with a smile.

We travel in compartments which are occupied by two persons. There is a wash-bowl, hot and cold water, ice water for drinking, clothes closet, and a toilet.

The room is air-conditioned for the warm sections, but just the twist of the wrist will turn on the heat. Linen is changed each day and a porter serves your needs around the clock.

Best Food Served

Only the best food is served. Today's menu was buff colored, 11 by 14 inches, and printed on the finest paper. It had a beautiful scenic natural colored photo in the center.

But once you opened it there was even more. You had six selections, among them individual boneless chicken pie, garden vegetables, potatoes $2.25;

Breaded veal cutlets, garden peas, potatoes, $2.25;

Assorted cold meats, potato salad, $2.60. Of course, you can order a la carte almost anything that you want.

There are different prices for eating. I have noticed that different roads served the same food for different prices. The service is top-bracket.

At present there are 16 cars on the train if you count the baggage car. Let's begin at the rear of the train. That is where Governor and Mrs. Dewey live—in the last car.

This arrangement was necessary because the governor makes many speeches from the rear platform. The entire coach is detailed for his use.

There is a dining room, living room, shower, kitchen, and almost anything else that they might find at home. At almost each stop a telephone is connected and they talk with their two kids in Albany, N.Y., and attend to official business.

Bodyguards, Detectives

The next three cars house bodyguards, railroad detectives, secretarial staff, advisors, and maybe a few newspaper men. Usually, the wire-men (AP, UP) are always close to the candidate.

The assumption is that if anything breaks, since they serve all the papers, they would be of greater service in that position.

Fifth from the rear is a lounge car, which serves as a place for relaxation in the day and puts up transient guests at night. Someone is always getting on to chat with the Governor, or just to be near him.

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Others talk so much and long until the train pulls off with them on board. Then there are newsmen for local papers who want to ride just for the atmosphere.

There are two diners and a work car, where typewriters are singing night and day. The rest of the cars house almost a hundred newsmen, including Elmer Davis, American Broadcasting Company; Roscoe Drummond, Christian Science Monitor; John Cutter, UP; Jack Bell, AP; W. W. Chapman, NBC; and Edward Clark, Life.

For the first few days when the train starts out, it's a lot of fun. But after that, it's like being at sea—you want to see land. Occasional stops are made but even your time on the ground is scheduled. You are seldom left on your own.

Hotel rooms are provided for baths. Usually, some press club throws a reception for the "visiting press." Sometimes, there is food but most of the time, only drinks.

Dewey Visits Press

Governor Dewey makes several visits to the press room. He shakes hands with everybody. Once in a while, he holds a press conference. But there is no car aboard large enough to accomodate all the press representatives, so it's usually not so hot.

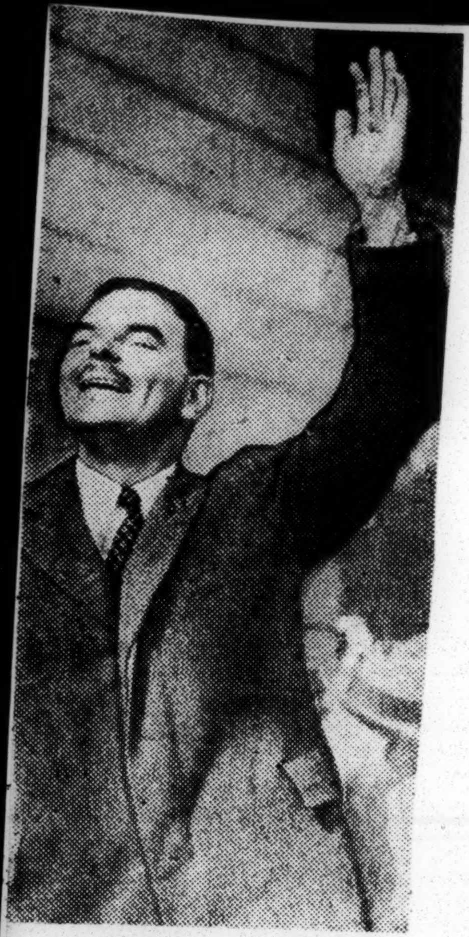
There is a sound system installed on the train. When the Governor is speaking from the rear of the train, he can be heard in many of the cars.

No one has been left behind on this trip so far but I had a very narrow escape when we first started out. I have to walk about twelve cars back each time I want to see the Governor speak from the rear of the platform.

Sat 10-9-48

A whistle blows as a warning for all members of the Dewey party to get on the train. I started for Car 10—and the train started off at the same time. I started a spirited trot, but just before I arrived at an entrance, an alert trainman closed it. I increased my speed, so did the train. Finally, a porter saw my plight and opened a door behind me.

Several other writers and photographers have been cut off by the crowd but all have managed to catch up.



THOMAS E. DEWEY

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (Dewey)

Dewey Record Offers New Deal Hope to Race

The Courier

34a(1)

Sat 10-9-48 Pittsburgh Pa.

By LEM GRAVES Jr., Courier's Washington Correspondent

ABOARD DEWEY VICTORY SPECIAL—What is the Dewey record on civil rights?

In the absence of very much in the way of clear-cut emphasis on this phase during the campaign so far, this record will be very important to Negro voters. From the information this writer has been able to accumulate from those close to the New York Governor during this tour, a brief summary of the record is as follows:

New York State, under Governor Dewey, has enacted the strongest set of civil rights statutes of any State in the union. When a Negro's rights are violated in New York, there is legal redress on the law books. In addition, the New York Bill of Rights covers practically every area of human activity and provides for the safety and security of minority groups.

The civil rights laws, enacted in 1945, and signed by Governor Dewey, prohibits discrimination on account of race, creed, color or national origin in: alcoholic beverage sale, jury panels, resorts, amusement parks, restaurants, inns, hotels and places of public accommodation, public utilities, employment, labor union membership, civil service, public schools, practice of law, contracting for public works, and employment by any firm, corporation, or institution, or by State, agency or political subdivision. In addition, the laws provide for equal protection for all minorities.

Sat 10-9-48

ENACT FEPC

On March 12, 1945 the Ives-Quinn (FEPC) Bill was passed by the General Assembly on recommendations by a State-wide committee, including three Negroes, and which investigated job discrimination. On July 1, 1945, the State committee against discrimination, a permanent committee, began work. The ban on discrimination applies alike to employers, labor organizations, employment agencies and other groups. This includes big firms like the Telephone Company and powerful Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

Dewey supported and signed a bill providing for reapportionment of political districts which made possible the election of the first congressman from New York City. Though the Democrats capitalized on this gerrymander to elect Rep. Adam C. Powell, the situation was created by the Republican Governor of New York. Incidentally, Franklin D. Roosevelt, while Governor of New York, twice vetoed this bill.

INTEREST IN EDUCATION

Governor Dewey appointed a commission, including one Negro, Dr. George E. Haynes, to study New York's educational system. The greater New York University which it recommended is being organized and Dr. Haynes is one of the fifteen trustees appointed to the board which will co-ordinate all education in New York. There will be no color lines in education in New York.

New York assures Negroes integrated participation in all social welfare advances such as health safe-guards, child welfare legislation, education, housing, and old age benefits. In fact, low rent housing in Negro communities is greater than the population ratio would indicate.

Sat 10-9-48

Negroes have had the protection of a Dewey-sponsored Home Rent protection law which was instantly effective at the expiration of OPA. They are protected, as are all other New Yorkers, by Women's Wage Equality Laws, a 55½ cent minimum wage law, a Workmen's compensation law which includes domestics, increased unemployment insurance benefits, increased disability benefits, veterans benefits which are higher than elsewhere, and the opportunity to work on highways without discrimination.

On the question of integration of Negroes into Government positions, Governor Dewey made his position plain when, in 1942 while he was campaigning for Governor, he was asked if he would decline to name a Negro to an administrative position if he was otherwise qualified. To this question he answered: "positively not."

APPOINTEES LISTED

His record on appointments follows: while U. S. District Attorney for the Southern District of New York, he appointed Judge Hubert T. Delany and Mrs. Eunice Carter as special prosecutors in New York County. Later, as District Attorney for New York County, he named as assistants, Ellis F. Rivers, at $10,000, Elmer Carter at $6,000, and W. H. Yergan, at $4,000.

Since becoming Governor, Dewey has made more than twenty high level appointments of Negroes. Some of them are: C. B. Powell, New York Athletic Commission; Ellis Rivers, City Court Judgeship at $17,000 (Rivers was later elected to a ten-year term); Noah C. A. Walter, member Industrial Compensation Board, $5,000; Bertha J. Diggs, secretary in the Department of Labor, $5,000; St. Claire Bourne, Publicity Director, State Commission against discrimination (SCAD) $5,000; Elmer A. Carter, member, SCAD, $10,000; Henry K. Craft, field representative SCAD $4,200; Lillian Sharpe Hunter, field representative, SCAD, $4,200, also Frank Forbes, Judge Athletic Commission; Mrs. Mathew V. Boutee, member Training School Visiting Board; Dr. Henry O. Harding, member State Hospital Visiting Board; Grant Reynolds, member State Correction Commission; Dr. Walter Beekman, member State War Council's Committee on discrimination; Eugene Faulkner, Counselor New York Division of Veterans Affairs; Louis J. Warner, Veterans Affairs Counselor; and Dr. George E. Haynes, Trustee of the Greater New York University.

The Rev. George H. Sims. The Rev. Elijah Echols and Mr. Powell were members of the original committee which formulated the FEPC (or SCAD) Bill.

Sat 10-9-48

MENTIONED ON TOUR

This is a brief outline of the Dewey record. In one of his campaign speeches, in Sante Fe, N. M., Dewey alluded indirectly to this record. After that, on his Western tour, he made only occasional references to his hope that class and race antagonisms might be eliminated.

In some sections, the racial reference in his general remarks on National Unity was entirely left out.

—Let a White Friend Read Your COURIER—

Only six years after the first commercial oil well was drilled in 1859, oil men developed and placed in operation the first oil pipeline.

Dewey's Strength Greater Than 1944

Afro American

Afro Poll Finds Truman Losing on Civil Rights

Sat 10-30-48

AFRO-AMERICAN surveys of colored voters, in four heavily-populated East Coast areas, indicate the most evenly split vote in Tuesday's Presidential election since the late President Roosevelt took office.

Polls taken in Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia and Northern New Jersey show President Harry S. Truman the favorite.

They show, however, that in the three-party race he will not receive a majority of the votes of colored citizens.

An analysis of the results also shows that, despite Mr. Truman's stand on civil rights, he will lose thousands of voters who formely supported his party's candidate.

Baltimore Md.

Covers 350,000 Voters

Areas represented in the poll have over 475,000 colored citizens of voting age. Excluding the capital, where most residents do not vote, the poll covers 350,000 potential colored voters.

In these combined areas, where Mr. Roosevelt polled over 70% of the votes in 1944, Mr. Truman will get approximately 47%, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey will receive 33% and Henry A. Wallace will get 12%. Eight per cent had no opinion or had not made up their mind.

Dewey Gains

Governor Dewey's showing is considerably stronger than in 1944. The survey indicates that he has gained 3%, or over 10,000 backers in the area covered, in four years.

He has gained strength despite the fact that he, as well as Mr. Truman will lose voters to Progressive candidate Henry Wallace.

That both parties will lose to Wallace was shown by second choices listed by voters preferring the Progressive Party candidate. Over two-thirds claim they would have voted for Truman while the rest said Dewey would be their choice were Wallace not running.

Wallace's strength, supposedly once very great among colored voters, apparently has dwindled considerably. He has maintained the highest percentage of backers in Northern New Jersey, with 22%. He has a low of 11% in Philadelphia.

Civil Rights No Issue

Despite the talk of civil rights, that issue will not be the deciding factor for most independent voters. Participants expressed confidence in Dewey, Truman and Wallace on civil rights, generally holding that the chance for legislation is greater than ever before.

For these people, labor policy, maintaining the peace, avoiding a depression, a concept of what each party stands for, which interest it looks out for—these were the issues on which they based their decision.

It would indicate that many votes will be cast on other than so-called "colored issues," and that a large number of "party" votes will be cast than ever before.

It is likely that fewer colored voters will go to the polls than in 1944, however.

The argument over civil rights and the 80th Congress seems to have benefited neither party. Colored Washingtonians, next door to Congress, were not in agreement as to whom to blame because no rights legislation came out of either the regular or special session.

Reasons Listed

Only 3% more blamed the Republicans than the Democrats, with 30% blaming neither party in particular.

The three factors most mentioned by backers of each candidate, and those on which voters evidently will decide are:

FOR DEWEY

"He is the stronger man, more capable administrator, needed in the present world crisis."

"His New York record on civil rights.' '

"It is time for a change."

FOR TRUMAN

"His courageous stand on civil rights."

His party, in 16 years, has done most for colored citizens."

"His experience at the job makes him best in present crisis."

FOR WALLACE

"He is the only real Christian advocating racial equality, brotherhood of man."

"He has the right philosophy and approach to bring lasting peace to the world."

"He is a true friend or labor."

Pledges Program of Human Rights

Afro American

Sat 10-30-48

GOP Nominee Speaks Before 2,000 in NYC

SINGLE STANDARD

Urges Economic System of Opportunity for All

Baltimore Md.

NEW YORK — Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Republican Presidential candidate, last week, proposed a "human rights" program dedicated against discrimination and with "equal justice and equal treatment for all."

Speaking at a dinner meeting of the Smith Memorial Foundation, honoring the memory of Alfred E. Smith, late Governor of New York and unsuccessful 1928 Democratic Presidential candidate, Gov. Dewey pledged that he would combat the politically explosive problems of racial and religious discrimination through application of a single governmental standard.

He told the 2,000 diners at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel that his own experience in New York, with its multitudinous and articulate minority groups, had proved that it was possible to find "peaceful, honest solutions to problems which fester when they are ignored or explode if they are mishandled."

All Are Brothers

Mr. Dewey expressed an abiding determination to advance the cause of human rights, declaring that in America, "all men were intended to be brothers and one man could start life as good as any other, and that the truth to which this nation is dedicated is that all men are created free and equal. That truth is still one of the most powerful moral forces of the world."

Mr. Dewey attacked the "abhorrent concept that every human being is the same as every other," adding his own viewpoint that "we are equal, but by God's grace, we are not all the same."

Human Rights Program

Sat 10-30-48

The GOP Presidential candidate declared:

"I assert that human beings are not identical—that no human being is common—that we are all—every single one of us—uncommon people. We are separate individuals whose human differences in talent, in religious faith, in purpose and achievement, enrich our communities and are to be gloried in.

"We are equal in the status conferred upon us by birth, in our rights before the law, in economic opportunity, and in our right to bow down only to our God. We are all equal, but, by God's grace, we are not all the same."

Emphasizing that America's particular problem is to reconcile the human rights of each individual with the human rights of each other individual, Mr. Dewey asserted:

Single Standard

"Every human right carries with it a responsibility to use it in the interest of others and not to their injury. It means that government which administers these rights must guide its way by one single standard of equal justice and equal treatment for all.

"By a faithful adherence to this standard we can meet even our most difficult problems of discrimination against minority groups, of prejudice, of bigotry, of denial of certain human rights.

"From my own experience in this State with the largest minority groups in the nation, I have found it possible to find peaceful, honest solutions to problems which fester when they are ignored or explode if they are mishandled.

Sat 10-30-48

Social Responsibility

"By a simple re-discovery of our devotion to human rights and the protection of others from the abuse of those rights, we can draw a line through every conflict and draw it straight and true. It can be drawn so that both civil liberty and social responsibility complement and fortify each other.

"We should deal with the problem of social injustice wherever it is to be found in America and solve that problem in American terms."

Opportunity for All

Mr. Dewey made no direct statement that he would, if elected, press for a fair employment practices law, modeled after the N.Y. State Anti-Discrimination Law, but asserted:

"We should strengthen our economic systems so that it shall become—even more than in the past—a system of opportunity and promise, equipped to deliver to all of our people an even higher standard of living.

"We should provide the vision and the moral leadership necessary to make us again a united people, so that we feel the strength of unity and no foreign power can possibly believe that our divis;ions may be aggravated and exploited to our destruction.

"This is the way our human rights must be safeguarded and enlarged."

Sat Oct 30-48

Freedom for All

In concluding, Mr. Dewey asserted:

"As a people, let us join together in an uncompromising attachment to these principles; let us share a deep conviction of the urgent need to have them applied; let us know in our minds and feel in our hearts that every human being is entitled to be himself, to contribute of his own best talents to the betterment of all. let us re-dedicate ourselves to the dignity the equal opportunity and freedom of all."

Dewey Turns On Steam in Shaky Areas

By **LEM GRAVES Jr.**
(Courier's Washington Correspondent)

Sat 10-16-48

ABOARD DEWEY VICTORY TRAIN—GOP Presidential candidate Thomas E. Dewey, still operating on the theory that he can personally promote a victory in the White House sweepstakes without too much difficulty returned to the business of trying to salvage the shaky Senatorial seats of Republicans in sensitive political areas on Monday. Dewey fears that, without his help the Democrats may control the Senate even if he is elected President.

Governor Dewey launched a nine-State, eight-day campaign tour with a major labor speech in Pittsburgh Monday night. In a direct appeal for labor support, which up to this point is pretty generally committed to the Democratic standard-bearer, President Truman, Governor Dewey reiterated his persistent theme of unity, calling upon business and labor to unite in the interest of a stable U. S. economy

He declined to repudiate the Taft-Hartley Law, which is anathema to organized labor blocs, but implied, in general language, that the law might be adjusted if certain aspects of it proved undesirable in operation.

NEED FOR TEAMWORK

The labor speech emphasized the need for teamwork in the development of a sound business and industrial economy, the New York governor urged cooperation between labor and management instead of antagonism and friction. He suggested that labor-management relations in New York under his administration had been generally good.

High on the priority list for campaign assistance from the GOP candidate is Senator Joe Ball of Minnesota. Senator Ball, damned by liberal and labor elements as an unreconstructed reactionary, is facing a bitter fight in his native bustings with liberal, progressive Democrat Humphreys, Mayor of Minneapolis. Governor Dewey will travel into Minnesota on this trip to drape his prestige around the shoulders of Senator Ball in an effort to save this Senate seat for the GOP.

Similar excursions into Illinois, Oklahoma, Kentucky and Indiana are on the Dewey agenda for the tour this week. The Pittsburgh stop was preceded by five platform appearances in Pennsylvania where urban Democratic machines are threatening to garner a few more votes than the GOP campaign directors think it is safe to lose.

WASHINGTON BUZZING

Meanwhile, Washington is buzzing with rumors which, if true, may upset Governor Dewey's carefully calculataed plans to coast to the Presidential victory without making unnecssary commitments in his major speeches. There are some optimistic Democratic souls who believe that a surprise alliance between Progressive Candidate Henry Wallace and President Harry S. Truman is in the making, and that a "deal" may be consumated in these waning weeks of the election race.

For evidence they cite last week's meeting between Harold Ickes and President Truman and the gradual withdrawal of Progressive candidates in areas where liberal Democrats were facing defeat because of the split in the Democratic vote. It is believed by some that Truman's purpose in calling Ickes in was to persuade the flamboyant ex-cabinet-officer-turned-columnist to bring Wallace back into the fold in order to save the Democratic administration, now facing almost certain defeat.

In event any such far-fetched and admittedly doubtful alliance is formed during Governor Dewey's current eight-day odyssey, it is likely that Dewey will hastily reorganize his fources and launch a real fight for the Presidency. This would involve fighting speeches with major political commitments of a spceific character. Major obstacle to a "deal" between Wallace and Truman is foreign policy, on which the two candidates are as far apart as the proverbial poles.

Dewey's choice of the great steel center of Pittsburgh for his major labor address was warmly welcomed by Pittsburgh workers, who packed huge Hunt Armory for this address. From Pittsburgh, Governor Dewey went into Ohio, and thence to Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Oklahoma, Kentucky and Minnesota. He will wind up Sunday in his native Owossa, Mich., where he will spend the day with his mother, after which he will work his way back into Albany with a few stops and platforms appearances in western New York State.

MR. DEWEY AND THE SOUTH

The Times

Between some of the reactionary elements that have followed the trail of the "Dixiecrats" in their rebellion against the civil rights program of President Truman, and the idea of a South advancing toward the two-party system, there may be a seven-league non sequitur. If that were the whole story of the politically "Solid South" that is now visibly cracking up, then the chapter of the 1948 Presidential campaign might close as did the one in 1928 (when four normally Democratic Southern States went Republican), with the region's return to old allegiances, the single-party as well as the single-crop system. But the South is turning over new furrows politically also, and out of the wider division of 1948 there may emerge the beginnings of a two-party system which, starting in the border states, will spread in the course of time to the deeper South. The revolt against the civil rights program has been in the hands of politicians who, for the most part, have used an appeal couched in platitudes and shibboleths characteristic of an older South. But the opposition to Mr. Truman and one-party government also includes the alert leadership which in the long interval between the campaigns of 1928 and 1948 has spurred the whole Southeastern region toward the tremendous strides it has taken in public education, home and farm ownership, and industrial progress.

Thur 10-21-48

New York N.Y.

The border states of Maryland and Kentucky are already two-party states. In elections of recent years, as much as 40 per cent of the popular vote in Virginia has been counted in the Republican column. Tennessee, which has recently given a sound trouncing to Boss Ed Crump of Memphis, has a rising Republican party. In the November election two or three states in the deep South may give the Thurmond-Wright ticket a majority and two or three more may give the Dewey-Warren ticket their electoral votes. In all these states that will split the "Solid South" the Republican party may elect Congressmen and gain a foothold for future progress. In Virginia, which has been moving toward the status of a "border" political state, an old barrier was broken when Richmond recently elected a Negro to its nine-man unicameral council. In the fact that historic prejudices are breaking down under the impetus of new leadership is to be found the real hope of the development of a two-party system below the Potomac.

The Republican planking for such a two-party system was provided at Philadelphia. The Republican National Convention adopted a platform calling for "a revision of the procedure for the election of the President and the Vice President that will more exactly reflect the popular will." The action traced back to the Lodge-Gossett resolution, of which the patrons were Senator Lodge of Massachusetts (who was also chairman of the Resolutions Committee of the Republican National Convention) and Representative Gossett of Louisiana. Introduced at the last session of Congress, the resolution proposed an amendment to the Constitution giving candidates for the Presidency only such proportionate strength in the Electoral College as they win in popular votes in each state. It was approved by the Judiciary Committees of both branches of Congress. The chief technical change would be that a state's electoral votes would no longer be cast in a block. Each state would retain the number of electoral votes it now has, but these would be divided proportionately among the candidates according to their popular totals. The next Congress may pass the Lodge-Gossett resolution, or one like it. Since the proposed constitutional amendment would require ratification by three-fourths of the states, the South alone could defeat it. But if it could be persuaded to approve it, the step would be toward cancellation of the mortgage of the one-party system.

Thur 10-21-48

Here would be the first ground for an appeal to that element in Southern regions which has a growing conviction that a South in which there was a real contest for electoral votes could also become a region revitalized and a larger force in national affairs. The two-party system would have to be made attractive to the South. Mr. Dewey may well be the man to devise such a program. It should be an appeal to a young South that is just coming of age. And it would constitute a high mission in American government.

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (William O. Douglas)

(34a(1))

IN THE NATION'S CAPITOL

The Informer and Sentinel

By LOUIS LAUTIER

For the NNPA News Service

Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court is being frequently mentioned as a running mate for President Truman in the Presidential election this year. In fact, is has been reported that Gael Sullivan, executive director of the Democratic national committee, has informed Justice Douglas that the 1948 Vice Presidential nomination is his for the taking.

New Orleans

Biographical sketches of Justice Douglas throw little or no light on his attitude toward the issues of the day. Prior to his appointment to the Supreme Court, the only public office he held was membership on the Securities and Exchange Commission from 1936 to 1939. Serving as chairman from 1937 to 1938, he has been on the bench since April 17. 1939.

Senator James O. Eastland Democrat, of Mississippi, who recently demonstrated his irresponsibility by accusing the Supreme Court of being judicially dishonest is against Justice Douglas. That fact alone is almost sufficient to make every colored and every liberal Democrat in the country be for Justice Douglas.

Paraphrasing William Jennings Bryan, the Mississippi Senator declared on the Senate floor recently that "The Democrat electors of the South will not sacrifice our people upon the cross of political expediency. And this goes for Mr. Douglas, as well as any other candidate who is nominated by the Northern Democrats against our will and over our protests."

A great speech, delivered by Justice Douglas in Chicago recently at the dinner given in honor of a great liberal in American political history, John Peter Altgeld, of Illinois, may shed some light upon the political philosophy of Justice Douglas. Sat. 2-7-48

Justice Douglas traced Altgeld's rise to maturity during the days of the robber barons and his career as Governor of Illinois. He declared that men and women are the greatest natural resources of the nation and called upon civic, cultural, religious organizations to keep close ties with the people of the world.

Turning from the international to the national field. Justice Douglas declared that not only the courts, especially the lower courts, but the legislative and executive branches of the government also have responsibilities for the protection of civil liberties.

"Yes, it takes courage to stand between an unpopular minority and the community, insisting that our Bill of Rights was designed for the protection of all people whatever their race, creed, or political faith." declared Justice Douglas, adding: Informer Sentinel

"The lawyer may feel uneasy when it seems that important clients may slip away because of his attitude. The editor may be tempted to stand mute by reason of the views of important advertisers. Even the clergyman may be under pressure to hold his tongue because of the influence of some of his parishioners.

"But those who are devoted to the democratic ideal expressed in our Bill of Rights will take the direct and daring course. Once they are sure of their facts and know they are doing right, they will, like Altgeld, espouse the cause of the victims of ignorance, prejudice, or passion. Sat, 2-7-48

"They, too, may be pilloried or cursed. But institutions become great by the greatness of the men who champion them, by the greatness of the advocacy that defends them. New Orleans, La.

"A people indifferent to their civil liberties do not deserve to keep them, and in this revolutionary age may not be expected to keep them long. A people who proclaim their civil liberties but extend them only to preferred groups start down the path to totalitarianism. They emulate either the dictatorship of the right or the dictatorship of the left. In doing this they erase a basic distinction between our system of government and totalitarianism. 2-7-48

"To allow that to happen is to lose by default. Far better to lose pleading the cause of decency and justice. Then we win greatness even in defeat, and leave behind a rich heritage for those who later rebuild on the ashes of our lost bones. But there will be no failure if we adhere steadfastly to our faith. For the goal of people of all races is towards a system which respects their dignity, frees their minds, and allows them to worship their God in their own way. Sat 2-7-48 None has yet designed an article of political faith more suited to those ends than our own Bill of Rights." Informer & Sentinel

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Eisenhower)

THE INSIDE STORY:

Loyalty to the President Kept Ike from Running

34a(1)

BY JOHN S. KNIGHT
Editor of the Free Press

PHILADELPHIA — Why did Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower refuse to run for president?

There are a dozen different versions. This one comes direct from the White House feedbox.

The story goes that Ike simply could not bring himself to run against his commander-in-chief either as the Republican or Democratic nominee.

* * *

DID IKE WANT the presidency? Sure.

But his loyalty to President Truman and to Secretary of State George Marshall made him shy away from the Republicans.

Mr. Truman's determination to be a candidate for re-election removed any possibility of Eisenhower's letting his name be presented before the Democrats.

Had Mr. Truman declined to run, Ike would have been the Democratic candidate.

The same Administration source responsible for this version of the Eisenhower political saga confidently predicts that Ike will be the Democrats' man in 1952.

Rushton Asks Party To Turn To Eisenhower

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

34a(1)

Committeeman Asserts General Is Expected To Accept If Drafted

Prev

Constructive Move

Sun. 4-18-48

Leader Says He Is Only Democrat To Fill Post; Calls Him Man Of Hour

A call for a "draft Eisenhower" movement "as a service to the state, to the nation, and to the world," was issued late last night to all candidates for delegate and elector in the Democratic primary of May 4. Marion Rushton, Democratic national committeeman, a candidate for re-election, issued the call.

In a prepared statement, Mr. Rushton pointed out that General Dwight David Eisenhower might be available as a nominee of the party and that endorsement of him would provide a rallying point for a heretofore negative campaign. He then said:

"I call upon all candidates for delegate and elector to express themselves in similar fashion. I hope that one of those so selected as delegate will be commissioned to place the name of Dwight David Eisenhower in nomination for the presidency." 4-18-48

(This call will be followed up by a poll taken by The Advertiser. Mr. Rushtons action was independently conceived. See editorial page, 2B, for Advertiser comment on possible developments.)

The Advertiser

Can Be Drafted

Mr. Rushton says that Eisenhower can be drafted by the Democratic party. He suggests that the Alabama delegation nominate Eisenhower in convention as "the man of the hour."

In an interview with Mr. Rushton The Advertiser learned Saturday that Mr. Rushton believes that Eisenhower can be drafted by the Democratic party. Mr. Rushton believes that Alabama should have the honor of placing the name of this "great American" in nomination for the presidency of the United States at the Democratic convention at Philadelphia. Montgomery, Ala

Acceptance Seen

"Naturally, Gen. Eisenhower is reluctant to seek the nomination," he said, "but information which has come to me recently indicates very strongly that, if nominated he would not decline. Sun

"Eisenhower is the greatest hope of the American people today, not because of his military genius, but because he is the only American in public life who has demonstrated an ability to get along with the leaders in Europe. He is recognized throughout the world as a man to be reckoned with, as a man of military force, but even more to his credit as the one man who successfully kept the divergent interests of the allies working harmoniously under extremely difficult conditions.

"What better man can we hope to get than this one who brings together the successful handling of international affairs with the 'down to earth' qualities which we all know so well. 4-18-48

'No Klan Tie-Up,' Says Talmadge

34a(1) The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Herman Talmadge, potential gubernatorial candidate, Friday denied any tie-up between himself and the Ku Klux Klan's pre-election cross burnings designed to frighten Negroes away from the polls. Sat. 4-17-48

"I have no connection whatever with the Ku Klux Klan," Talmadge said in commenting on charges by the Rev. Joseph Rabun, gubernatorial candidate.

Rabun asserted that the Ku Klux intimation of voters followed Talmadge's request for his followers to see that Georgia has a white primary.

Acting Gov. Thompson, who has announced his candidacy for Governor, has denounced the Klan and urged communities to pass ordinances banning their masked parades.

Jersey Joins In Booming Eisenhower

Montgomery ~~Adverti~~ Advertiser

Mon. 7-5-48

34a(1)

'Boss' Hague Deserts Truman Fold, Throws 36 Votes To General

7-5-48

He Has 110 Ballots

Sparkman Asks Chief Of Columbia To Put His Hat Into Ring

By The Associated Press

Frank Hague, Democratic national committee vice chairman, deserted President Truman Sunday and pulled New Jersey's 36 nominating votes with him into the Democratic presidential drive for Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The shift built up to well over 100 the total of convention votes definitely committed to the retired army chief of staff, with scores more from New York to California, reported wavering.

It turned mere talk of a draft into a definite boom.

And it left Washington politicians with this opinion:

Nothing less than a flat-footed "I won't run" statement from the general now can head off the Eisenhower move short of a vote in the Philadelphia convention next week. Montgomery

Eisenhower withheld any statement at all for the time. A spokesman at Columbia University where Eisenhower is president, said that as far as he knows the general will have nothing to say before T[illegible]day—if then.

Unless he picks an earlier spot, Eisenhower will get his first public chance to say something about the Democratic draft move in an address to Columbia students Tuesday afternoon.

Truman Unavailable

7-5-48

All he has had to say lately has come through aides. And that has consisted of rereading last January's statement that he is not "available" for high public office. That statement was issued in connection with a Republican presidential boom.

President Truman, en route by train to Bolivar, Mo., to help dedicate a statue to the South American liberator Simon Bolivar, was not immediately reachable for reaction. Also out of quick reach were high officials of the Democratic Party. National Chairman J. Howard McGrath was in New England.

Hague mentioned his previous endorsement of the President for a nomination to a full term, and his own pro-Truman activities at the last national convention. He spoke of high personal regard for the President.

34a(1)

But he said he had been studying candidates and talking with party leaders in recent months and had decided "not to force upon the Democrats of the state a man whom they do not want."

He said he had been told that if the Democrats ran Mr. Truman the November result would be a Republican landslide.

Announcing his shift to Eisenhower, Hague said:

"He has done a great job. He led us through one of the greatest wars in history. I say he should be drafted to finish his job. Mon. 7-5-48

Calls For General

"We cannot be successful with President Truman as the candidate. The people are clamoring for leadership. They do not feel they have that leadership in the President of the United States or in the Republican nominee (Gov. Thomas E. Dewey).

"But they do believe they have world leadership in the person of Gen. Eisenhower."

There were no quick authoritative estimates of just how many votes General Eisenhower can have it he wants them, but politicians counted 110 solidly committed: New Jersey's 36 plus 20 from South Carolina, 28 from Georgia and 26 from Virginia.

Additional weight was given to week end discussions which indicated possible cracks in such delegations as those from New York, Illinois, Michigan, California, and Pennsylvania, and other less heavy-voting states.

All that talk is due to come to a head in Philadelphia Saturday, at a caucus called by James Roosevelt, California state chairman, and announced by Mayor O'Dwyer, of New York—provided Eisenhower doesn't stop it all with a word beforehand.

In Washington Senator Sparkman (D), Alabama, kept the Eisenhower drum rumbling with a list of 10 reasons why he said it is the general's "duty" to accept a draft. 7-5-48

Sparkman For Him

Sparkman and other enthusiastic friends of the former Army chief of staff whipped up toward a full sized Eisenhower boom in the national convention next week. But Sparkman told reporters that Democrats shouldn't try to name him if he will refuse to run.

Sparkman said leaders of the Eisenhower draft should get a statement from him before the "movement snowballs to a nomination." Montgomery

"I'm convinced that unless General Eisenhower makes a statement, his name will be put in omination, he will be nominated nd elected," he added. Eisen- ower has been seeing "every- ody who has come to see him nd he has not said no yet," the enator added hopefully.

Sparkman told reporters that Eisenhower, now president of olumbia University, does reject emocratic offers. it is his guess that Mr. Truman will be nominated. Advertiser

Sparkman made his public statement to Eisenhower by radio as a "terrible concerned American citizen." 7-5-48

In a direct slap at President Truman, the senator said:

"We are concerned because we do not ourselves seem to have leaders in office or clamoring for office who are equal to the task of guiding us in this crucial and perilous era."

Among the reasons Sparkman gave Eisenhower for responding favorably to the draft movement were these contentions:

1. Eisenhower has the support of a majority of the people.
2. He supports cooperation among nations.
3. In world affairs, he can bargain with leaders of different political beliefs.
4. He would have a "salutary" effect on Congress.
5. He could combat inflationary forces. Mon. 7-5-48
6. He could "defeat the real estate lobby" on housing bills.
7. He could protect general welfare from special interest lobbies.
8. He has "great administrative ability."

Move Will Collapse, President Declares

Advertiser

ABOARD TRUMAN TRAIN ENROUTE TO BOLIVAR, MO.—(AP)—A top aide said Sunday night that President Truman is "absolutely convinced" that opposition to his nomination will collapse at the Democratic National Convention.

This official, who declined to be quoted by name, contended that at least some of the advocates of the move to draft General Dwight D. Eisenhower are using him as a cover for their efforts to give the nomination to Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the Supreme Court.

He said that Mr. Truman believes that the former chief of staff of the Army is a Republican and would not be available for a Democratic nomination.

9. He could aid public power projects where defense is involved.

10. He could prevent "further delay" in social welfare legislation.

CONGRESSMAN POWELL FOR GEN. EISENHOWER

34a(1) Daily World

Atlanta, Ga

NEW YORK — (ANP) — For the first time since he was stricken by a heart attack last spring, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell appeared before a crowd of 1,500 persons here last week and warmly endorsed Gen. Dwight Eisenhower as a liberal he would support for President. Sun

"I believe in Eisenhowser," Powell shouted, "and I am willing to go out for him." 1-11-48

About his own political plans, Powell had little to say. If the major parties insist on nominating some "hack," it was made plain he will definitely be a candidate to succeed himself. Otherwise, Congressman Powell implied he will throw his support to the strongest qualified contender.

CALL TO ARMS

From what he said about housing, the high cost of living and jobs, it was evident that Rep. Powell was sounding a call to arms and had already opened his campaign for reelection.

Daily World

Among other things he promised to finance a grocery store in every church in Harlem if officials of the cooperating churches would furnish the manpower for such ventures. He added that butter could be bought in the store at Abyssinian church for 89 cents a pound, although some storekeepers here are charging as much as $1.04 a pound.

Atlanta, Ga.

Powell promised also to again show Harlemites what a picket line is supposed to be. He mentioned the city's largest dairy and several brewing concerns by name and claimed, if these companies continue to refuse employment to Negroes that he would personally lead a boycott against their products. Sun. 1-11-48

"And don't think," he admonished a few Negro store owners present, "that we won't picket your store for carrying the wrong goods on your shelves."

EMPHATIC 'NO,' IKE'S FINAL WORD

New Orleans, La.

~~34 a(1)~~

Won't Accept Under Any 'Terms, Conditions,'

Times Picayune

(The Associated Press)

Philadelphia, July 9. — Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower laid down a "final and complete" refusal today to accept the Democratic presidential nomination under any "terms, conditions or premises."

Key anti-Truman Democrats from the North quickly abandoned their campaign to draft the general and switched their support to the president.

Those from the South went into hurried huddles, trying to figure out whether they would try to get behind somebody else.

Truman backers, and even some party members who wanted another candidate, passed the word that it's all over, that the president will capture the nomination on the first ballot.

Gives Answer to Pepper

So it looked as if delegates were coming to town Monday mostly to pick a vice-presidential nominee and approve a party platform.

Eisenhower gave his positive "no" to Sen. Claude A. Pepper of Florida. It was his third attempt to avoid a political draft from either major political party.

"Under no condition," Eisenhower said in a telegram, "will I be in the position of repudiating or even seeming to swerve from the letter or spirit of my prior announcements.

"I will not violate by own conception of my appropriate sphere of duty.

"No matter under what terms, conditions or premises a proposal might be couched, I would refuse to accept the nomination." Sat. 7-10-48

Pepper was one of those who had declined to accept as final Eisenhower's other two pronouncements that the general could not accept a nomination to public office.

To Comply 'With Reluctance'

The senator said yesterday he would place Eisenhower's name in nomination at the Democratic convention next week if someone else didn't do it first.

It was for that reason that the general sent his "final and complete" refusal to the senator. Pepper said he would comply with "the greatest reluctance" with Eisenhower's urging that his name not be offered to the convention. 7-10-48

That, of course, would not keep someone else from nominating the general. And some delegations actually are pledged to vote for Eisenhower.

But the general could scarcely have made it more certain that he would turn the nomination down. He said his position was based on a "sincere conviction as to the best interests of the country."

Switch to Truman

In quick succession after Pepper released his wire:

1. Chicago Democratic Leader Jacob M. Arvey announced that he and Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York were abandoning the boom to draft Eisenhower and "intend to vote in the convention for the nomination of President Truman." Arvey in Chicago and O'Dwyer in New York both predicted Mr. Truman's nomination.

2. James Roosevelt, chairman of the California Democratic organization, had no immediate comment as he rode toward Philadelphia by special train. It was Roosevelt who called a caucus of anti-Truman, pro-Eisenhower forces for tomorrow night.

3. Leslie L. Biffle, convention sergeant-at-arms and adviser to President Truman, told a reporter: "I don't think there is any question now that the president will be nominated on the first ballot."

34 a(1)

'All Over,' Says Mitchell

4. Former Sen. Hugh Mitchell of Washington, who had given a strong hand to the attempts to draft Eisenhower, said "it's all over—President Truman is going to be nominated. Let's forget about our differences and get together to elect him."

5. Southerners weren't giving up quite so easily. But they were scrambling frantically and gloomily for some place to turn. Sat 7-10-48

Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama told a reporter: "Those of us who are against Mr. Truman are going to have to counsel and agree on another candidate."

Hill has been an Eisenhower man. He and many other Southerners were fighting Mr. Truman largely because of the president's stand for anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and anti-"Jim Crow" laws.

Hill made it clear that Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas would be just as unacceptable to the South as President Truman because of the civil rights issue. Next to Eisenhower, Douglas has been mentioned more than anyone else among stop-Truman Democrats.

Asks Unity for Truman

Arvey told a news conference he was not turning to Douglas. Instead, he called for united backing for Mr. Truman.

Democratic National Chairman McGrath says he is confident that Douglas also will decline to let his name go before the convention.

Among the Southerners, the trend seemed to be to try to get together on a "protest candidate" of their own. That might be someone who could offer no real challenge to Mr. Truman's nomination but who might become the pick of a Southern Democratic convention. 7-10-48

Unhappy Southerners already have announced they plan such a meeting in Birmingham July 17 if the Philadelphia convention selects Mr. Truman.

Talk Russell, Barkley

With that in mind, some of them were talking of people like Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky, who will deliver the keynote address here next Monday night, and House Democratic Leader Sam Rayburn of Texas.

Two Kentucky delegates already have announced they are coming here to work for Barkley for president.

Hill and Pepper said they plan to talk with Roosevelt when the California special arrives tomorrow morning. It probably will be decided then, Hill said, whether to go through with the caucus Roosevelt originally called for tomorrow night with the intention of getting up steam for Eisenhower.

Johnston Hedging

Also in a fidget was Senator Olin Johnston of South Carolina.

He was hedging a bit on whether he would lay before a Democratic national committee meeting tomorrow a resolution calling on Mr. Truman to get out of the presidential race.

Before coming to Philadelphia, he had announced he intended to do just that. McGrath hinted that any such resolution probably would be bottled up in a resolution committee of the national committee.

And after the latest Eisenhower statement, Johnston hustled off to see some other Southerners like Hill and Pepper. Over a shoulder he tossed word to a reporter he would decide later what he would do about his resolution.

Vice-President Problem

On the two biggest problems still apparently remaining before the convention — vice-presidential nomination and platform — nothing definite had developed.

A dozen-odd men have been mentioned for second spot on the ticket. McGrath said twice today that Mr. Truman had not expressed any preference.

A platform committee was in the process of winding up hearings today. It still has to hew the planks one by one, including the one on civil rights.

Who's Fooling Himself On Eisenhower Policies?

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky. Tues.

SENATOR JOHNSON of South Carolina has declared that he will nominate DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER at the Democratic National Convention. The Senator has given a demonstration of fire-eating in his opposition to President TRUMAN. Now he seems bent on continuing the act with a show of sword-swallowing in honor of EISENHOWER.

Just what do the Southern politicians expect to find in the popular ex-general as their candidate? The measure of their desperation is plainly displayed. Senator JOHNSON cries out that "a choice between TRUMAN and a Republican is a choice between Satan and Beelzebub." But how can he tell that EISENHOWER as a candidate "would prove acceptable to the South?"

TRUMAN only earned a place in Southern demonology when he advocated Federal legislation on lynching, the poll tax, and fair employment practices. His Southern foes must figure, then, that EISENHOWER would stand squarely on the other side of the civil rights issue. For proof they have only a statement the General made last April before a Congressional committee, in a discussion of segregation in the armed services. Here is what he said: 5-18-48

"When you try to pass laws to force someone to like someone else, you're going to get into trouble. In general, the Negro is less well educated than white men. Because of that, if you try to make a complete amalgamation, the Negro will be relegated to the lower jobs and his chances of promotion will be less because the competition (with better educated white men) for promotion will be tougher."

This somewhat dubious argument has apparently given assurance to Senator JOHNSON and the other rebellious Southern Democrats. Yet it does not touch on the fields of lynching and the poll tax, which can hardly be grouped under the heading of "forcing someone to like someone else." Probably without any political intention, the General won some Southern supporters who were already leaning in his direction, while he lost very little of the acclaim coming to him from the liberal side. A regional conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at Worcester, Mass., assailed his "virtual endorsement of segregation." Yet he did not lose the support of such Democratic liberals as ELLIOTT and FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Jr., who are convinced that he shares their basic philosophy. Tues.

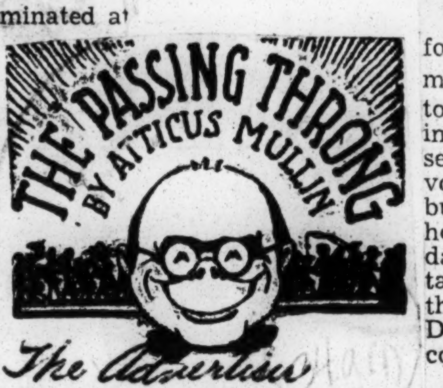
There is something very odd about the collection of personalities who have met in the EISENHOWER camp. They range all the way from the far right and the deep South to the short-of-WALLACE Northern left. These people cannot all be correct about their candidate. They are judging EISENHOWER by what they want him to be, rather than by what he himself might care to be if he yielded to their pressures and accepted the nomination. He is a deft, accomplished and engaging man, but a man with no taste for riding two horses that run as far apart as Senator OLIN JOHNSON of South Carolina and the younger ROOSEVELTS of Hyde Park. The political straddle was not a part of his training. One set of his followers would be in for a rude awakening if he were nominated at Philadelphia. 5-18-48

THE SOUTH

Two Questions

Time Chicago Ill.

South Carolina's coon-shouting Senator Olin Johnston, who stayed away from Washington's Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner because his wife was afraid she might be seated next to a "Nigra" (TIME, March 1), announced this week that he would nominate Dwight Eisenhower for President at the Democratic National Convention. This brought up two questions which probably won't be answered until the week of July 12: 1) Could the convention be stampeded into nominating Eisenhower? 2) Would Ike accept? 5-24-48 Mon.



The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

If there is anybody in South Alabama opposed to the nomination of General Eisenhower as the Democratic Presidential choice, his or her identity has not been made known as yet.

Since The Advertiser declared for Gen. Eisenhower last Sunday morning I have made it a point to inquire wherever I have been in an effort to sound out public sentiment. Out of hundreds of voters I have talked to, every one but one said he thought Eisenhower would make a fine candidate and, in 99 per cent of the talks, the opinion was expressed that he was the only man the Democrats could nominate who could win. Sat. 4-24-48

Fear was expressed in most instances that Gen. Eisenhower would not consent to make the race. But Senator Sparkman, in a story from Washington Thursday, expressed the opinion that he would yield if drafted to run.

Nothing like the wildfire Eisenhower boom has ever occurred in Alabama during my career as a political observer.

As We See It

Thurs 5-27-48

The Facts of Life About The Eisenhower Boom

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

By Abner W. Berry

THE LIBERALS AND LABOR LEADERS who are hanging onto the coattails of the Democratic Party and yelling "Eisenhower!!" for dear life should be told the nasty facts of political life. I suspect, of course, that many of them know some of the nasty facts but go on playing ostrich because they feel it is safer. But now that the "Southern Revolters" are competing with them in calling for the general, it's time they took stock.

They will find there's a lot of old Confederate lumber in the liberal and labor political yards. Ralph McGill, the astute and South-conscious editor of the Atlanta Constitution, is my authority. McGill has given the whole "Eisenhower boom" away—especially in its later stages.

Writing in the current issue of the **Saturday Evening Post** about the "Dixie Revolt," Editor McGill states: Daily Worker

"Southerners count cynically, but none the less heavily, on help from the big city machines in the North. They know these machines such as Kelly's old organization in Cook County, Hague's in Jersey City, Ed Flynn's in New York, and others of lesser infamy, are up against a dilemma. State machines, especially those in the competitive two-party business, are interested in the Presidency only as it can help hem with their state tickets."

The writer goes on to state that ne machines don't believe they can win with Truman and are therefore willing to ditch Truman for a more likely candidate. New York, N.Y.

NOW IT would be foolish for these Democratic leaders personally to lead the "ditch Truman" brigades. It would affect their patronage. Thurs.

Ah! But there are those nice liberals who can make brave noises and who love the r-r-r-o-ll of the Eisenhower name and the shine of the brass. If only they can make noises loud enough the bosses may be "forced" to change in the convention by vote of the delegates. 5-27-48

Dr. Lerner of PM, Leon Henderson, Philip Murray and FDR, Jr., should listen closely to what the man is saying. Now, of course there is a lot that he didn't say. I'll try to fill it in.

If you are for a Democratic victory you are bound to want those 127 southern Electoral College votes for your candidate. Right? **Well, there is one sure way to get them: Make Wallace and the Communists the main** enemy and allow the "Revolters" to conduct their revolting campaigns below the Mason-Dixon line with a word of censure.

To be sure! Haven't the Americans for Democratic Action attacked Henry Wallace as a "Communist tool," and for his dereliction in the fight for Negro rights at the same time? Thurs.

But when the "Black Riders" flogged the white men and Negroes of Georgia there was a strange silence from the ADA crowd. Their silence was eloquent when Eugene "Bull" Connor's police attacked free speech in Birmingham. And Philip Murray has yet to defend his own union members against the terror that rages there. 5-27-48

NOW, TO COMPLETE THIS PICTURE, let us listen to John Temple Graves, southern syndicated columnist and an idea man for the "Revolters." Graves dishes up some sage advice to his compatriots in revolt in a recent column:

"One of the southern revolt leaders thinks the South should make sure how Eisenhower stands on the federal force bills (Confederate lingo for civil rights legislation) before rushing to take him as a Presidential candidate. I can't agree. The general's statement for segregation (made before the Senate Armed Services Committee) in the armed services is more than sufficient. It proves he would not be guilty of subordinating common sense to the pressure of the Negro minorities in doubtful states, and that is the best the South can hope for in any President." Daily Worker

That just about wraps it up. It's "common sense" to help keep the white supremacy Democrats in line. Their loyalty to the Democratic Party is not "doubtful." New York, N.Y.

So the southern "Revolters" and the liberals-for-the-Democratic Party are riding full tilt for election with Eisenhower. They are not disturbed one whit at Graves' claim that the general "sounded for all the world as if he were one of the leaders of the 'revolt in the South!'" 5-27-48

A more disgusting kettle of political fish has seldom graced the American scene. Thurs.

Party Backing Of Eisenhower Gains Support

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

34a(1) Pres.

McCorvey Says General Would Sweep Country If Given Nomination

Mon. 4-19-48

Positi... and

...ushton General ...ocratic Choice

If General Ike Eisenhower were to get the Democratic presidential nomination he would sweep the conutry in the November election, State Democratic Executive Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, told The Advertiser Sunday

the geineral's accepting the nomination if given, McCorvey stated:

"There is no man in Alabama in whose judgement I have more confidence than I have in Marion Rushton's and it may be that the information Colonel Rushton inti-

...SKEGEE INST ... OF RESEARCH

mates he has is such that General Eisenhower would be available."

Acceptance Seen

Rushton told The Advertiser Saturday that Eisenhower, naturally, was reluctant to seek the nomination but "information which has come to me recently indicates strongly that, if nominated, he would not decline."

The Advertiser

The Montgomery attorney suggested that the Alabama delegation have the honor of putting in nomination the name of "the man of the hour," General Eisenhower.

Since the general apparently has "definitely" eliminated himself as a candidate by his previous statements, McCorvey said Sunday night, "I recall that I have previously suggested to The Advertiser that it occurred to me that General (George C.) Marshall (secretary of state) was probably our best bet in order to insure Democratic success this year." Montgomery, Ala.

McCorvey's Statement

McCorvey's complete statement follows: Mon. 4-19-48

"Undoubtedly if General Eisenhower would accept the Democratic nomination for the presidency, he would sweep the country in the November election. His recent statement recognizing that you cannot by legislation force people to select their associates was eminently sound.

"I had considered that Eisenhower had definitely, by his previous statements, eliminated himself as a possible nominee for the presidency by either of the major political parties. However, there is no man in Alabama in whose judgment I have more confidence than I have in Marion Rushton's, and it may be that the information Colonel Rushton intimates he has is such that the general would be available.

"I had previously suggested to The Advertiser that it occurred to me that General Marshall was probably our best bet in order to insure Democratic success this year." 4-19-48

U. S. Senator Lister Hill is gratified that National Committeeman Marion Rushton has joined him in advocating the nomination of Gen. Ike Eisenhower, by the Democrats of the nation, for the presidency. Mon

In a telegram to The Advertiser, Senator Hill commented on an Advertiser Sunday story about Committeeman Rushton's statements on the general.

Hill's wire of appreciation on Rushton's assistance in the Eisenhower move adds interest to the campaign and also to the editorial insistence of The Advertiser that Alabama Democrats, who are opposed to Truman and his civil rights, take a stand for a candidate instead of being mere objectors.

Research on Ike

Dear Sir:

While in the Public Library yesterday I came across an old speech by General Eisenhower. Since 'Ike" is in the public spotlight as a possible candidate, I thought that you might like to know of it. The following was issued in September, 1942:

"The presence of Negro troops in this theater creates a problem of interracial relationships much different from that existing in the United States. There is practically no colored population in the British Isles. Undoubtedly a considerable association of colored troops with British white population, both men and women, will take place on a basis mutually acceptable to the individuals concerned. Any attempt to curtail such association by official orders or restrictions is unjustified and must not be attempted. Furthermore, it must be realized by all ranks that it is absolutely essential that American officers and soldiers carefully avoid making any public or private statements of a derogatory nature concerning racial groups in the U S. Army. The spreading of derogatory statements concerning the character of any group of U. S. troops, either white or colored, must be considered as conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline and offenders must be promptly punished. In the interest of military efficiency, if for no other reason, isolated incidents of friction must be eliminated —General Eisenhower."

New York JAY D. MANN

Eisenhower Anc

The Record

"If we attempt merely by passing a lot of laws to force someone to like someone else, we are just going to get into trouble." . . . . Eisenhower.

One of the Southern revolt leaders thinks the South should make sure how Eisenhower stands on the federal force bills before rushing to take him as a Presidential candidate. I can't agree. The general's statement for segregation in the armed services is more than sufficient. It proves he would not be guilty of subordinating common sense to the pressure of Negro minorities in doubtful states, and that is the best the South can hope for in any President.

Columbia, S.C.

The South can never expect a national Presidential candidate to see eye to eye with it on the race question, and will merely shut itself out of part in the proceedings if it insists. All it can expect is that a President will not play politics with Southern misery in this respect. Mon. 4-26-48

General Eisenhower's testimony before the Senate armed services committee should be more than satisfactory to the South. "We must never forget," he told the committee, "that in a very definite way the army is merely one of the mirrors that holds up to our faces the United States of America. It (the race question) has never been easy to solve because you have certain incontrovertible facts that you must walk right up to. One of them is that there is race prejudice in this country, and when you put into the same organization and make live together under the most intimate circumstances men of different races, we sometimes have trouble. Therefore there has been a sort of compromise made with this problem, right down through the years, with the army . . ."

The Record

The general even made the familiar (and true) point that the non-segregated Negro may be actually less favorably situated for advancement than the segregated one, because of the competition as well as the prejudice. "If you make a complete amalgamation," he testified, "what you are going to have is in every company the Negro is going to be relegated to the minor jobs. He is never going to get his promotion to such grades as technical sergeant, master sergeant, and so on, because the competition is too tough. If, on the other hand, he is in smaller units of his own, he can go up to that rate, and I believe he is entitled to the chance to show his wares . . ."

Columbia, S.C.

Then General Eisenhower made a statement which sounded for all the world as if he were one of the leaders of the "revolt in the South." While declaring that he did not "hold out for this extreme segregation," he said (and this deserves pasting in many hats): "If we attempt merely by passing a lot of laws to force someone to like someone else, we are just going to get into trouble." Mon. 4-26-48

No wonder Walter White has denounced General Eisenhower for this testimony. Read it backwards or forwards, between the lines or on them, analyze it and pschoanalyze it, and you can only conclude that Eisenhower is no man ever to be tearing a party, a region or a nation to pieces on the peculiar problem of the South.

Leaders Avow Door Is Open To Draft 'Ike'

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Wed. 5-12-48

Election Is Predicted If Southern Electoral Bloc Pledged To Him

Six Electors In

Four Delegates-At-Large Also Attain Majorities; Runoff Slated June 1

By The Associated Press

Alabama's decision to free her presidential electors from supporting the Democratic nominee opens wide the doors for a "draft Eisenhower" move in the South.

That is the view of some of the party's top leaders in Alabama are taking.

One of them, Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of the state Democratic Executive committee, goes even further. He says he is convinced a Southern electorial bloc pledged to Gen. Dwight Eisenhower would see him elected president. 5-12-48

This, McCorvey said, could happen even if neither the Democrats nor Republicans nominate him. He explained it this way:

Without the South's electorial college support, there is a good possibility neither of the two major parties can muster a clear majority for their nominee.

This would throw the election into the House of Representatives where the former chief of staff would have a very good chance of emerging as the compromise choice.

Democratic National Committeeman Marion Rushton who launched the Eisenhower draft campaign was admittedly jubilant over the outcome of last Tuesday's primary.

Real Goal Now

"Now we've got something to work for in earnest," he said. "By the election of electors pledged against Truman, Alabama voters have shown their independence.

"Now we can go ahead and line up electorial college support for him." The Advertiser

Rushton said he still hopes the Democratic national party can get together on Eisenhower as a nominee. Montgomery, Ala.

"The state's rights convention in Jackson should convince McGrath and other party leaders," he said, "that the Democrats can not win with Truman even though they can get the nomination for him." Wed

(He referred to National Democratic Chairman J. Howard McGrath.) 5-12-48

As to whether Eisenhower would accept a draft, with Truman out of the way, Rushton observed:

. . . . . Nothing to Lose . . . . . .

"I don't see how any man could possibly turn down the nomination. We certainly have nothing to lose by offering it to him."

Rushton said he plans to have an interview with Eisenhower at an early date to dbiscuss the matter with him personally.

The national committeeman said most of Alabama's delegates to the convention have fold him, either verbally or in letters, they will go along with Eisenhower if there is a chance he will accept the nomination.

"Not one of those already elected or still in the running has indicated unwillingness to support Eisenhower," he said. "Some have said they don't want to look foolish by offering the nomination and having to take it back."

Eisenhower Record Queried

The Times

Is Said to Represent Militaristic Emphasis, Not to Be Real Liberal

New York, N.Y.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In their desperation liberal groups like the CIO and the Americans for Democratic Action are reported to be turning to Eisenhower as a Presidential candidate. There should be no excuse for this in view of Eisenhower's failure to make his position clear on important issues. Sat.

The few occasions when Eisenhower has spoken on issues reveal that he is not a real liberal. For example, in the Senate Armed Services Committee hearings on April 2 he endorsed Baruch's program of industrial mobilization, with all that means in the way of regimentation of labor. He also endorsed the principle of racial segregation in the armed forces. 5-1-48

In order to justify this he said: "In general the Negro is less well educated than his brother citizen that is white. And if you make a complete amalgamation what you are going to have is in every company the Negro is going to be relegated to the minor jobs and is never going to get his promotion to technical sergeant and master sergeant and so on because the competition is too tough."

The general indicated that he felt a Negro "can improve his standing and his social standing and his respect for certain of the standards that we observe," but at no point in his testimony did he reveal that Negroes who enlist in the Army must pass the same tests as do whites. For example, the average grades in the Army General Classification Test made by whites and Negroes are listed as follows:

	White.	Negro.
November, 1946	99	95
December, 1946	99	98
January, 1947 ...	Reports not available	
February, 1947	100	96
March, 1947	102	98

General Eisenhower might also have stated that better educated Negroes might enlist in the Army if they did not have to submit to segregation and discrimination. The Times

Furthermore, General Eisenhower represents a militaristic and a nationalistic emphasis which liberals ought not to support. On April 2 he said: "I believe in one thing only, this United States is the greatest force and the greatest power for good in the world, and we have to be strong enough to extend its influence where it needs to go to protect ourselves."

If the CIO and ADA persist in supporting Eisenhower they may well find themselves responsible for encouraging forces of reaction over which they would have no control if a man like Eisenhower really became President. There is no excuse for promoting a candidate simply because he could win. Sat

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, Jr.,
Director, National Council Against Conscription.
Washington, April 13, 1948.

New York, N.Y.

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (Eisenhower)

Stampede-for-Ike Caucus Slated With Georgia Okay

Constitution 34a(1) Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 7-4-48

By M. L. ST. JOHN

A nationwide stampede to draft Gen. Dwight Eisenhower for the Democratic presidential nomination was underway last night, with Georgia joining the son of the late President Roosevelt in sponsoring a pre-convention caucus at Philadelphia for next Saturday night.

State Democratic Chairman James Peters, of Manchester, announced yesterday he had accepted an invitation from James Roosevelt, Chairman of California's Democratic Committee, to join 18 States in sponsoring the caucus. The group is wiring key delegates throughout the nation.

Purpose of the caucus, the late President Roosevelt's son said, is to "achieve a free convention" and to draft a platform which would enable the Party to obtain an outstanding candidate for the Presidency. 7-4-48

Peters declared "it looks like Eisenhower." Georgia's State Democratic Convention Friday urged Truman to withdraw, asked Eisenhower to accept the nomination for President, and urged Sen. Russell for the Vice Presidency. Russell, at his Winder home, indicated he would be reluctant to accept the spot.

Ike to accept honest draft, says New Hampshire Democrat. Story on Page 4-A.

The Eisenhower boom was intensified with careful strategy yesterday, as the Roosevelt telegram was released simultaneously throughout the nation through local party leaders.

Southern States which had threatened to walk out of the Philadelphia Convention joined States in the East and Far West in indorsing Eisenhower. Gov. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, released to Eisenhower delegates pledged to his own candidacy, and Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, jumped into the Eisenhower move.

In a round-up of Southern opinion, the INS said Eisenhower's nomination would kill the proposed "revolt" against the Democratic Party, although Eisenhower's views on controversial civil rights remain a mystery. Leaders from Florida and Tennessee predicted their delegations would back "Ike."

Mississippi was the only state skeptical of the General. Gov. Fielding Wright declined comment. Oliver Emmerich, McComb publisher, feared that Eisenhower's name was being used without permission to perpetuate Mr Truman in office. He thought Eisenhower might "swing over" to Truman at the psychological moment. 7-4-48

The Associated Press reported that the "We-want-Ike" sentiment, already feverish among Southern political leaders, appeared to be spreading—to Illinois, California, New York, New England and other areas with important chunks of delegates.

At Columbia University, Eisenhower wasn't saying anything. There were unconfirmed reports he might clarify his position again over the weekend. Some said only a flat "no" could end the draft movement.

(34a(1))

President Truman, who predicts his own nomination on the first ballot, took no direct steps to head off the Eisenhower boom, the White House said. But George Allen, former White House aide and personal friend of Mr. Truman, spent two hours with Gen. Eisenhower yesterday. Reports said he was a White House emissary to obtain the General's withdrawal. Presidential Secretary Charles Ross commented, however, that Allen went to see Eisenhower "on his own—I don't know for what purpose." 7-4-48

The move to nominate "Ike" was given on impetus when the top of the Convention ballot began to fill up with delegates wanting Eisenhower. Alabama is for him, and now Arkansas, and not too far down the roll call is Georgia.

As the Eisenhower bandwagon gathered strength, however, the Philadelphia Bulletin yesterday totaled the score of pledged delegates of the General and of Truman, and predicted Truman's nomination on the first ballot. Eisenhower has a total of 61½ pledged delegates and 91 others reported, for a grand total of 152½. Truman has 350 definitely pledged, with 647 others reported for a total of 997 — far above the number required to nominate.

Besides Roosevelt and Peters, the following State leaders signed the telegram calling the preconvention caucus to be held with the Illinois delegation at the John Bartram Hotel at 8 p. m. Saturday: 7-4-48

Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama; R. G. Beall of Arizona; R. B. Robbins, Mrs. Jack Carnes and Gov. Laney, all of Arkansas; James Roan of California; Chester Bowles of Connecticut; Jack Arvey of Illinois; Joseph Casey of Massachusetts; Cy Bevin of Michigan; Mayor Hubert Humphries of Minneapolis; William Ritchie of Nebraska; Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York; Gov. Thurmond of South Carolina; Gov. Beauford Jester of Texas; Clinton Vernon of Utah; Gov. William Tuck of Virginia; and Robert Tehan of Wisconsin.

The wire said:

"We join together in our desire to hold a caucus to achieve an open and free Democratic convention at Philadelphia. We do this from the realization that the crises in the world today make it obligatory that we seek for the leader of our party the ablest and strongest man available. We know we fulfill the wishes of the huge majority of Americans who want the Democratic Party to select a candidate of such stature that the prosperity of the nation and a lasting peace for the world will become secure. It is our belief that no man in these critical days can refuse the call to duty and leadership implicit in the nomination and virtual election to the Presidency of the United States. It is our duty to build a platform and conduct a convention which will justify our draft of such a candidate. Until this is accomplished we have no right to ask any prior pledge from any American. We invite and urge you and all others of like mind to meet us in Philadelphia."

EISENHOWER BOOM GAINING HEADWAY IN FIGHT ON TRUMAN

New York Times

Survey of 48 States Reveals Battle Faced by President in Swings of Delegates

Mon. 7-5-48

COALITION'S FORCE GROWS

34a(1)

But Rift Appears in Demand for Civil Rights in Platform—No New Word From General

By JAMES A. HAGERTY

Support of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower for the Democratic nomination for President is increasing among delegates to the Democratic National Convention, it was disclosed yesterday by a survey of the situation in each of the forty-eight states by correspondents of THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Their dispatches indicated that President Truman is facing a hard and possibly losing fight for the nomination and may suffer further losses if the delegates can be assured that General Eisenhower will consent to be drafted. 7-5-48

One of the most important developments was the decision of the New Jersey delegation with thirty-six votes in the convention to support General Eisenhower. This action was taken at a hurriedly called caucus in Asbury Park, at which the delegates unanimously and with enthusiasm adopted a resolution endorsing the General after Frank Hague, national committeeman, had declared that the American people were "clamoring for leadership" and that "we feel we have world leadership in General Eisenhower." New York

Work of Anti-Truman Group

Sentiment for the nomination of General Eisenhower has spread like wildfire since organization of the anti-Truman movement led by James Roosevelt, state chairman and national committeeman from California, Jacob M. Arvey, Chicago leader, and Mayor William O'Dwyer of this city. Times

The anti-Truman leaders, who have sent out a call for a caucus at Philadelphia next Saturday to try to pick the strongest possible candidate for President, have been successful already in splitting the delegations from the states with the largest number of delegates, including New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California.

The anti-Truman alliance, based partly upon belief that nomination of President Truman would result in defeat of many local Democratic candidates who otherwise would be elected, is composed of Southern Democrats, Northern city machines and remnants of liberal and independent groups represented in New York State by the Liberal party and throughout the country by the American for Democratic Action. 7-5-48

This is the alliance that supported the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt in three successful campaigns for re-election, minus the Communists, fellow travelers and "leftist" liberals now represented by the Progressive Citizens of America, who support Henry A. Wallace, third party candidate for President.

Cleavage Over Rights Plank

A rift in the anti-Truman combination over the platform, adoption of which presumably will precede the nomination of a candidate for President, seem possible when fifty Democratic leaders, including many active in the "draft-Eisenhower" movement, announced through Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis that they would demand inclusion of the Truman civil rights program.

Opposition to this program is the basis of most of the anti-Truman sentiment in the South.

It is the plan of leaders of the anti-Truman combination to try to get delegates previously committed to President Truman by pledges, instructions or preference primaries to shift to General Eisenhower. This effort already has been successful in several states.

In California, for example, a majority of the delegates are reported to be ready to support General Eisenhower, even though all the California delegates signed a statement expressing preference for President Truman before their election at a statewide primary. In other states, delegations will be asked to reverse at caucuses action previously taken in support of the President. 7-5-48

There was still no word from General Eisenhower and a spokesman for Columbia University, of which he is president, said the general would have nothing to say before Tuesday, if he says anything at all.

The spokesman said he knew nothing of General Eisenhower's activities except that he played golf on Saturday. The general will return to his office today and will address Columbia summer students on the campus. There was no advance information on what he will say.

34a(1) Pres.

Harry Carlson, New Hampshire National Committeeman, who talked with General Eisenhower recently, said he was "satisfied" that the General would accept an "honest draft" to serve as President of the United States.

But he denied a published story that he had said that General Eisenhower had told him he would run and declared that he had "never quoted General Eisenhower as saying that he would accept a draft." Mon. 7-5-48

Farley Stands by Truman

James A. Farley, former National Chairman and Postmaster General, predicted the nomination of President Truman and said he was going to vote for him.

"I am astounded that there are people who would question the integrity of General Eisenhower's written word by advancing the idea that he would accept a draft," Mr. Farley said. "In my judgment, President Truman will be nominated at Philadelphia."

In Los Angeles, James Roosevelt said that many delegates, including some from two states which have pledged first-ballot votes for President Truman, had accepted invitations to attend the anti-Truman caucus. 7-5-48

Among those accepting the call for the caucus are National Committeemen James S. Peters of Georgia and onrose Sweetland of Oregon, Senator Claude Pepper of

Florida, Lester H. Loble, Montana State Chairman, Clarence D. Martin of Seattle and Judge L. Perez of New Orleans, Thomas R. Mahoney, chairman of the Oregon delegation, also accepted, although his delegation is pledged to President Truman on the first ballot.

Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama appealed to General Eisenhower in a radio broadcast to respond to "the call of duty" and consent to run.

'No' Meant 'No,' Says Ike Of Presidential Contest

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 4-11-48

WASHINGTON, April 10—(AP)—Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower said Saturday he "meant every word" in his statement of Jan. 23 taking himself out of the presidential nomination picture.

Almost simultaneously Maine Democrats meeting at Augusta announced they had pledged their support to President Truman.

The retired Army Chief of Staff talked with reporters as he left a conference on defense with President Truman. 4-11-48

Asked fo ra direct statement on the presidency, Ike said he did not talk politics with Mr. Truman. He added:

"I made up my mind to say nothing more. I wrote a letter and meant every word of it.

"I told my aides they could do the talking from now on. I'm not talking any more. I find it doesn't do any good."

Eisenhower in a letter to a New Hampshire publisher last Jan. 23 said he could not accept a presidential nomination. He said his decision to "completely" remove himself from the political scene was "definite and positive."

That letter was written at a time Ike was being mentioned prominently for the Republican presidential candidate. 4-11-48

Since then Eisenhower has been talked of for the Democratic nomination. The Constitution

The General, who takes over as President of Columbia University in June, was in uniform as he called on the President for a 30-minute talk. Atlanta, Ga.

The Maine Democratic Convention adopted by voice vote a motion by Peter A. Isaacson, of Lewiston, that the delegates be instructed "to vote as a unit for Harry S. Truman as President of the United States." 4-11-48

In the South, Gov. Folsom of Alabama, favorite son candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, refused to pledge a walkout of the National Party Convention. The Constitution

Instead he declared that if the convention decisions were unsatisfactory" to Alabama Democrats, he proposes to call "an elected convention of Alabama Democracy" to set the future course of the State Party. Atlanta, Ga.

Shift to Ike Blow To Negro

The Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa

By JOHN L. CLARK (Courier Political Analyst)

Sat. 7-10-48

The "Draft Eisenhower" movement, which roared through the political world this week, is an insult to Negroes . . . a repudiation of the progressive principles of the Democratic party — and Negroes cannot be expected to be a part of it.

Early in April of 1948, General Dwight D. Eisenhower told the Armed Services Committee of the United States that he favored "segregation of Negro soldiers in the United States Army . . . and that it (segregation) works to the advantage of the colored troops."

This statement aroused Negro leaders in every field of action, caused the Negro press to condemn the famous General of World War II, and became the starting point of a civil disobedience movement as a protest against segregation in the armed forces. 7-10-48

All of this happened a little over three months ago. But twenty or more leaders in the Democratic party, mostly of the Southern white supremacy clan, forgot about it or ignored it. They started a plot to draft General Eisenhower as the Presidential standard-bearer of the Democratic party.

NEW YORK—NAACP executive secretary, Walter White, has been invited to appear before the resolutions committee of the Democratic National Convention July 8 in Philadelphia to voice the demand of Negro voters that civil rights and other social welfare legislation be included in the Democratic platform of 1948.

These leaders come from California, New York, Texas, Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, Arizona, South Carolina, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Utah, Kansas and New Jersey.

They are up in arms over the Civil Rights program which President Harry S. Truman recommended to Congress early this year, and decided on this method of pressure, through elected delegates, to block his nomination at the Philadelphia convention which opens July 12.

They want General Eisenhower, because he sincerely believes in segregation. Starting from the statement of record made before the Senate Committee, it seems to follow that he believes in everything that the champions of hate in the South hold dear—such as denying Negroes the right to vote, the right to work in all fields for which their talents are best fitted, and equal privileges in travel and hotel services. These rights, all of them, are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, but Southern States refuse to be governed by this sacred document.

These conclusions are based on the determined attitude of the twenty or more Democratic leaders to discard Truman because of his stand on rights of Negroes and adopt General Eisenhower because of his statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Th men who are making the Eisenhower drive, excepting those from the South, have said nothing about the Civil Rights issue. Their reasons for dumping Truman is that they must nominate the "strongest and ablest man available." But, nothing has appeared in public print, except the General's views on segregation in the Army, to indicate that he would be a strong vote-getter or an able President, if elected.

It is presumed that he is familiar with the foreign situation. And because of his extended military experiences he can deal with all foreign powers—friendly or unfriendly.

But the things which will determine the November elections are right here in the United States. Nobody knows how he feels about organized labor, the Taft-Hartley Law, the high cost of living, business monopolies, civil liberties, farmers' subsidies, Federal housing, aid to education, health insurance and broader old-age insurance, and so many other issues on which President Truman and a Republican Congress have differed.

DEALS WITH RIGHTS

The only direct statement from the General has been on segregation in the armed forces. This being true, the working citizen is justified in concluding that the real difference between Truman and Eisenhower deals with rights of the Negro.

Above the Mason and Dixon line, all voters are puzzled about the sudden shift to Eisenhower as Presidential timber, even if Truman was not in the race. The boom actually started in 1943 when Tank Corps 716 (Kansas) adopted a resolution to support the famous General for President.

This outfit and its suggestion was laughed down. In 1947, former Governor Alf Landon (Kansas) and Republican nominee in 1936, along with Roy Roberts, editor of the Kansas City Star, stated that Kansas Republicans would back Eisenhower for President. E. J. Pucalina, a Ponca City druggist, plugged Eisenhower in paid advertisements for his store.

QUOTES SHERMAN

This went on in spite of the General's statement to reporters in June, 1945, at Abilene, Kan.: "In the strongest language you can command you may state that I have no political ambitions at all. Make it even stronger than that if you can. I'd like to go further than Sherman in expressing myself on this subject."

(Sherman said: "I will not accept if nominated, and will not serve if elected.")

When Republicans closed in on the General in 1947, he made it clear that he was not interested in the office of President of the United States.

WHAT IS HE?

If Democrats have discovered new reasons for the General's availability, they have not passed them on to the voting public. It is not known whether General Eisenhower is Republican or Democrat. Some of his close friends say he is progressive, others say he is a "middle of the roader." Definitely, he is not a New Dealer. He thought that the New Deal policies impugned on private enterprise at some points. He admired President Roosevelt, but not his methods.

If the "Draft Eisenhower" boom continues to advance as it has in the past week the illustrious General of the Army will be nominated by Democrats in the Philadelphia Convention, starting July 12.

If the movement develops that way, and General Eisenhower accepts, President Truman's Civil Rights program will be tossed to the winds, and Negroes will be forced to look to Republicans for the basic rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States.

If the "Draft Eisenhower" movement succeeds in rounding up sufficient delegates for nomination, and the General declines this honor, the negative attitude of twenty or more Democratic leaders who took part in the movement will be known to Negroes, and these leaders should not expect support from this section of the American population.

If the "Draft Eisenhower" movement fizzles, and President Truman is nominated at the Philadelphia Convention, these Southern Democrats and those from other parts of the country will have lost the confidence of Negroes, who will support Truman regardless of how the "Draft Eisenhower" crowd shifts.

Regardless of what happens, Negroes will play an important part. They cannot, however, be expected to vote for a man who has publicly declared that they should not be treated as first-class citizens even when risking their lives for their country.

Defense of 'Ike'

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: An Atlanta ex-GI tries to knock Eisenhower in a round-about way. I, too, lived with colored troops in the ETO, but I am not bitter toward Gen. Eisenhower; I am grateful. Our colored WACs were well-educated in cleanliness, manners, entertainment and democracy. Most of them were from the North, naturally, where Negroes have a better chance to become useful American citizens. There is still much prejudice even in the North. Everywhere there is great need for Christian leadership. I believe Gen. Eisenhower would carry on in our great President Roosevelt's footsteps. Atlanta

I was born and reared in Georgia, also. Ga

Hampton. 4-3-48 HELEN H. FESTA.

What Eisenh

Many Southern Democrats to whom President Truman is *persona non grata* are clinging to the hope that Gen. Eisenhower can be drafted. That hope is a compound of their distaste for Truman and their desire for a Democratic candidate who can win the election. They appear to think that Eisenhower is the only man with enough national appeal to carry the Democratic ticket to victory.

Birmingham, Ala.

Most of these anti-Truman, pro-Eisenhower Southern Democrats seem to shut their eyes to the possibility that Eisenhower has views which also would be objectionable to them. They don't know what he thinks on the civil rights issues about which they are disturbed. They appear to be going chiefly on the assumption that since "Ike" was born in Texas he is bound to have views like theirs.

Wed. 5-19-48

What does Eisenhower believe? What are his ideas on domestic issues? The general has never directly expressed himself on many matters which he would face if he were president. His thoughts on war and his deep feelings about peace are quite well known, but not his convictions on internal affairs. Wed. 5-19-48

* * *

Persons interested in getting some light on the general's thoughts should find valuable a newly published book, *Eisenhower Speaks*, by Rudolph Truenfels. This is a fairly complete collection of all Eisenhower has said in his public speeches. Here one gets an insight into the man, his thoughts, his approaches to national problems.

The News

Several things stand out. One is Eisenhower's great admiration for Franklin Roosevelt. That admiration extends beyond the limit of a man's loyalty to his chief. He praises F. D. R.'s idealism and courage. He emerges from his speeches as a liberal in the manner of the Hyde Park squire.

Birmingham, Ala.

He does not touch upon such matters as states' rights and the race question, except in regard to the latter, to make this perhaps significant declaration: "I do not differentiate among soldiers. I do not say white soldiers or Negro soldiers. I . . . look upon soldiers as soldiers." That statement may occasion speculation on the part of those Southern congressmen who have been endeavoring to introduce into the proposed draft law a provision establishing the principle of segregation in the armed services.

34a(1)

Birmingham, Ala.

Conspicuous in the collection of speeches is the absence of comment on domestic affairs. Of course Eisenhower in all the reported speeches was speaking as the commander in chief of the Allied forces in Western Europe and as Army chief of staff. But even in such speeches a man with even half an eye on the presidency, or a deep concern about internal matters, would have let slip a few revealing comments. There is none in *Eisenhower Speaks* except those that tend to label him as a liberal. The News

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Growing Balloon Is Punctured By Action

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Identical Views

Tues.

34a(1)

General's Notice Comes Amidst Big Boom

7-6-48

NEW YORK — (AP) —Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower said Monday night he "could not accept nomination for any public office."

He said in a statement that he "will not, at this time, identify myself with any political party and could not accept nomination for any public office or participate in partisan political contests."

Eisenhower, president of Columbia University, set forth his views in a memorandum to Robert Harron, director of the university's division of public relations. Tues.

He said that his views "with respect to my proper course of duty are still identical with those presented in the letter I wrote on Jan. 23, 1948." 7-6-48

At that time he said in a letter to a New Hampshire Republican backing him for the party's 1948 presidential nomination that "I am not available for and could not accept nomination to high political office."

Eisenhower, himself, was not present when Monday night's statement was handed out.

In his statement Eisenhower said that he would continue "subject to the pleasure of the university trustees" to perform his duties as president of the university.

The memorandum was distributed by Harron to dozens of reporters and photographers who crowded his fourth flood office in the University's journalism building.

Here's Memorandum

Eisenhower's memorandum to Harron said:

"I know that your office has for some days been overburdened with innumerable queries concerning my intentions in regard to the current political situation. My decisions and earnest convictions concerning possible personal connection with this year's political contests were given to the public several months ago, but it now appears that there has arisen a question as to whether or not I have changed my position.

"Profoundly touched by the renewed suggestion that I could satisfactorily fill high public office, my views with respect to my proper course of duty are still identical with those presented in the letter I wrote on Jan. 23, 1948." The Advertiser

It continued:

"In response to any further queries as to my course of action during the foreseeable future, and in order that there may be no possible room for doubt in the mind of any interested American, will you please invite attention to the firm purposes expressed in my January letter and quote the following as coming personally from me. Montgomery, Ala.

Amidst Growing Boom

" 'I shall continue, subject to the pleasure of the university trustees, to perform the important duties I have undertaken as president of Columbia. I will not at this time, identify myself with any political party and could not accept nomination for any public office or participate in partisan political contests. Tues. 7-6-48

"This implies no intention of maintaining silence on any isue of importance to the country on which I may feel qualified to express any opinion." Tues.

Eisenhower's statement came amidst a growing boom to draft him as the Democratic presidential nominee. The Advertiser

The former Army chief of staff and supreme commander of allied forces in Europe had been regarded by many Democratic Party leaders as the only man who could achieve victory in the Fall election over the Republicans.

Earlier in the day suggestions were heard in the capital that President Truman not only would step aside but might assume a leading role in the drive by the "we want Ike forces to nominate Eisenhower. 7-6-48 Montgomery, Ala.

Roosevelt Believed So

James Roosevelt, eldest son of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt and one of the chief draft-Eisenhower sponsors, had gone on the radio only a few hours before the general's statement to say that he believed Eisenhower would respond to "a really sincere draft."

Truman, himself, had steered clear of peaking publicity of politics. His aides, however, said the chief executive remained confident of a first ballot nomination. Tues. 7-6-48

The general's statement came after a day of nation-wide developments bearing on the draft-Eisenhower movement.

One of the most important of these was action by former Sen. Hugh B. Mitchell, (D), Washington, a member of the platform committee for the Democratic National Convention, who telegraphed Truman asking the President to take the leadership of the Eisenhower movement.

State Delegates Poised To Push Eisenhower In

Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Majority Picks Ellis As Head And Pledges Its First Place To General

34a(1)

Thur. 7-1-48

MOBILE, ALA. — (AP) — The majority faction of Alabama's Democratic delegation organized and started a "Draft Eisenhower" push Wednesday.

Former Lt. Gov. Handy Ellis, chairman designate of the delegation, said Eisenhower's name would be the first placed in nomination at the Philadelphia convention "unless he absolutely refuses to permit it."

Alabama, first up on the roll call, will yield to Eisenhower's home state of Texas or his resident state Kansas for the nomination, he said. Thur. 7-1-48

"If Alabama does the nominating, I'll be tickled to death to make the nominating speech myself," he added.

Ellis said he understood an effort was being made to sound out Eisenhower on prospects of his accepting the nomination.

Alabama's 26-member delegation will meet in Philadelphia July 11, the day before the convention opens, for formal organization and for mapping strategy for the Eisenhower draft, Ellis said.

Caucused Tuesday Night

Ellis is one of the leaders of a group of 14 delegates pledged to walk out of the convention if Truman's civil rights program is put in the party platform.

A spokesman for the "walk-out" faction, John Mandeville, of Mobile, said 11 of the delegates caucused here Tuesday night after a testimonial dinner for Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, and agreed on Ellis.

Mandeville said the group had commitments from the three absent members approving Ellis. The three are E. C. Boswell of Geneva; L. A. Farmer of Dothan; and H. M. Abercrombie of Birmingham. Montgomery, Ala

D. Hardy Riddle, Talladega, was agreed upon for vice-chairman, and Mandeville for permanent secretary. Advertiser

"This assures Ellis' selection as permanent chairman at a pre-convention caucus to be held in Philadelphia," Mandeville said.

"So far as we are concerned, we are a majority." Thur. 7-1-48

U. S. Senator Lister Hill has been proposed previously for the chairmanship. Hill has refused to sign a walkout pledge.

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As We See It

Thurs. 5-20-48 Daily Worker New York, N. Y.

White Supremacists Join Eisenhower 'Liberals'

By Abner W. Berry

"COLONEL" OLIN D. JOHNSTON, of the South Carolina Johnstons, has ripped the liberal canopy right off the Eisenhower candidacy with his anti-civil rights sword. Johnston, former governor of the Palmetto State and now one of its senators is a leader of the "Dixie Revolt." But that didn't prevent him from riding full tilt into the northern liberal gale, blown up by Americans for Democratic Action, sundry labor leaders and mugwump editors, hooping it up for the five star general. He wasn't frightened at all by the fact that Phil Murray, CIO president, and Franklin D. Soosevelt, Jr., were hot after Eisenhower. "Colonel" Johnston, a good Legionnaire, Elk, Mason, Woodman, Shriner, Optimist and white-supremacist, announced last Sunday he would nominate Eisenhower at the Democratic National Convention.

Johnston is a member of the Democratic National Committee. He is in on the political "know." He has been in politics since the close of the first world war, serving as alderman, member of the state legislature, mayor of Charleston, governor and other offices in the State of South Carolina since that time. He is also a member of the Democratic National Committee.

Being closer to the Democratic machine than either Max Lerner or Phil Murray, he is sure that the glamorous personality of Eisenhower wouldn't make one whit of difference in basic policy.

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Daily Worker

WHAT NOW, "anti-Communist-liberals - for - Eisenhower?" This new ally may be embarrassing, but only because his indorsement of Eisenhower exposes the reactionary program of the party itself. Sen. Johnston's worry—and that of the "Dixie Revolters"—is not the Democratic Party and Truman. Of course, this is not to say that "Solid South Colonels" wouldn't like to nudge the Missouri gang away from the patronage swill trough. But their fears run to the same places as do those of the so-called "anti-Communist liberals."

New York, N. Y.

It ought to be clearer by now that the Dixie demagogues fairly gag on the name "Wallace"; and the mere mention of the third party and non-segregation causes them to reach for their bedsheets, torches and fat pine crosses. The South Carolina Senator, reading PM editorials and the reported speeches of Phil Murray, recognized a good thing and took it.

Thurs. 5-20-48

Up until he announced for Eisenhower there had been a confusing division of labor. The "ditch Truman" southerners had concentrated on the negative slogans without any indorsements. The northern "liberals" had concentrated on the positive slogan for Eisenhower.

Daily Worker

We ought to thank "Colonel" Johnston for having so brashly revealed the fraud behind the northern and southern anti-Truman candidate-hunters. The PM liberals can now have Eisenhower and save the precious two-party system of Sen. Johnston. They can calm their fears of a Republican victory by joining hands with the bedsheet boys and looking the other way when the crosses burn and a belief in white supremacy is made the basis for citizenship qualifications.

New York, N. Y.

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WHILE THE "anti-Communist liberals" in the North preach hell and damnation upon Henry A. Wallace in meeting after wishful meeting, the equally anti-Communist "Dixie Revolters" are engaging in more violent activities. They are purging Negroes from the voters' lists in Georgia, invoking the segregation laws to prevent freedom of speech and assembly, and backing up the whole thing with lawless courts, cops and the Klan. It is an ugly business that is uncovered in this announcement of Sen. Johnston.

Thurs. 5-20-48

Daily Worker

Anti-communism in America, as in Europe, is loosely tying together the frightened liberals and the politicians most interested in the development of fascism. It all goes to prove another Senator—Glen H. Taylor—right when he tells his audiences, "You can't be a real liberal any more if you are scared of being called a Communist."

New York, N. Y.

In the meantime, it's not too late for the Eisenhower liberal—and the general, himself—to give an answer to the Klan call of the good Senator, "Colonel" Olin D. Johnston. They can always put themselves out of his reach by giving the nod to Wallace. Or do they want to play along with the "Dixie Revolt"?

Thurs. 5-20-48

Arkansan Hails Eisenhower As 'Hope Of World'

Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Thur. 7-1-48

34(10)

New Hampshire Leader Calls On Democrats To Urge Truman Out

Alabama Is Ready

But If Present President 'Is Put In Nomination' Indiana's Backing Him

By The Associated Press

Indiana swung some support to President Truman for the Democratic nomination yesterday while Southerners kept fanning the draft for Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The man who is going to head the Alabama delegation at the Democratic national convention said only an absolute refusal by Eisenhower to permit it can keep the general's name from being placed in nomination ahead of anyone else.

Thur. 7-1-48

That was former Lt. Gov. Handy Ellis, speaking up at Mobile, Ala. Ellis said he would be "tickled to death" to nominate Eisenhower himself. But he said Alabama will yield its first place on the convention roll call to let Texas or Kansas do it. The general is a native Texan but an official resident of Kansas.

In Washington, Senator Olin D. Johnston (D), South Carolina, said he talked with Eisenhower for 45 minutes in New York Tuesday and is "more convinced than ever" he is "the man of the hour" for the Democratic nomination.

Advertiser

Meantime President Truman conferred at the White House with Senator McGrath, Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic national committee, and other party leaders.

Montgomery

Talked Of Everything

McGrath told a reporter that "we talked about every phase of the Democratic situation currently being talked about in the newspapers. "This presumably would include the movement for Eisenhower.

Thur. 7-1-48

Asked about possible choices for the vice-presidential nomination, McGrath said this question is still "wide open." He expressed the opinion that the president "will leave the decision on the vice-president to the convention."

Former Gov. J. Melville Broughton of North Carolina, in Washington on business, told a reporter the "Eisenhower for President movement is the talk of Washington today." But he quickly added:

Advertiser

"The talk seems to be more of a hope than anything else at present. There seems to be no plan, no organization yet."

Broughton, Democratic nominee for the U. S. Senate this year, wouldn't state his preference. "I am a delegate-at-large; in fact you might say I am almost a delegate at sea," was the way he put it.

34(10)

'Hope Of The World'

Senator McClellan (D), Arkansas, got out a brief statement saying Eisenhower as the next president "is the hope of the world in this present crisis."

Harry Carlson, Democratic national committeeman from New Hampshire, wrote to other members of the committee urging them to help persuade President Truman to withdraw in favor of Eisenhower.

Montgomery, Ala.

But Ira Haymaker, Indiana Democratic chairman, said after a White House call that Indiana delegates will back Mr. Truman at the Democratic convention starting in Philadelphia July 12, "if his name is placed in nomination."

Thur. 7-1-48

In the Republican political camp:

Presidential Candidate Thomas E. Dewey consulted his foreign affairs adviser, John Foster Dulles, at Dewey's Pawling, N. Y., Farm. The GOP is expected to hammer hard at the way the administration has run foreign affairs.

The new chairman of the Republican national committee, Rep. Hugh D. Scott, Jr., came to Washington to meet his staff.

Host Pledges Support

Earlier, Scott said in a speech to the Philadelphia Republican committee he is getting daily "thousands of letters from Democrats pledging support to the Republican party candidates."

The former GOP chairman, Carroll Reece of Tennessee, said Dewey had asked him to help in the campaign. Reece told a reporter he's willing.

Democrats expect to make high prices a big issue. President Truman called the signals for that on his western trip last month.

Senator O'Mahoney (D), Wyoming, who will help build the party platforms at Philadelphia, told a reporter:

"High prices and the failure of the Republican Congress to adopt President Truman's program to combat them will be a paramount issue. And the Democrats are going to see that it is joined."

California Rolling Anti-Truman Wagon

LOS ANGELES — (AP) — A Democratic anti-Truman bandwagon rolled Wednesday in California.

Advertiser

Although the state's 54 votes in the Democratic National Convention are pledged to the President, State Chairman James Roosevelt indicated a swing to another candidate was brewing—and stirring up plenty of interest elsewhere.

Montgomery, Ala.

"The majority of our delegates, I believe, do not consider themselves bound by the pledge," said Roosevelt. "We agreed at our state meeting in San Luis Obispo last weekend to wait and see what the situation is in Philadelphia before acting."

Thur. 7-1-48

Party insiders said Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and Justice William O. Douglas were most frequently mentioned at the state parley.

"My phone has been ringing all day with calls from all over the country—Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois and several Southern states," Roosevelt added. "Indications are that they're not unfavorable to California's viewpoint."

Backing from the possible switch came from Allan Carter, Pomona delegate and counsel for the state committee.

"There is nothing binding about the pledge except the individual conscience of each delegate," said Carter. "There are many of us who find certain handicaps in Mr. Truman's candidacy and frankly feel he is not electable."

Out in North Dakota, slow returns from Tuesday's primary gave Gov. Fred G. Aandahl a lead over Ervin Schumacher for the GOP gubernatorial nomination. Also leading were the state's two Republican congressmen.

And a proposal to forbid public school teachers to wear religious garb was out in front. The proposal stems from a controversy over the employment of nuns as public school teachers in some North Dakota communities that are heavily Catholic.

1948

Presidential (Eisenhower)

340(1)

Friends Of 'Ike' Reiterate That He Is Not Available

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Thurs 3-25-48

By D. HAROLD OLIVER

WASHINGTON. — (AP) — Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, retired Army chief of staff, will not be available for a presidential nomination on any ticket, his friends said Wednesday.

This was in reply to demands from a number of Democrats that the five-star general be given the Democratic presidentia nomination instead of President Truman.

The general is now writing his memoirs before taking up the presidency of Columbia Universi-y in June.

Friends said the general is aware of recent moves to revive his name for the presidency in both Democratic and Republican quarters.

But they said his position was made known irrevocably last Jan. 23 when he wrote a New Hampshire Republican supporter that he "could not accept" a nomination and "my decision to remove myself completely from the political scene is definite and positive."

They said he may be forced to reaffirm that stand if reports continue that he has not "closed the door" entirely to a nomination.

Meanwhile, a Democratic Party stalwart, Senator Murray, of Montana, called on the pro and anti-Truman elements in his party to discard politics now and concentrate on national security and the public welfare.

Wrong Time, He Says

Murray said in a statement he had been asked whether any Westerners may line up with Southern senators in opposing Mr. Truman's nomination.

"I think the time to discuss any such matter," he said, "is at the national convention. I am confident that the American people today are worrying more about preventing another world war and stopping the spread of Communism and aggression throughout the world than they are in what man will head the ticket of either major political party in November." Montgomery Ala.

Southern opposition to the President is based on his advocacy of laws against lynching, poll taxes, and discrimination in jobs and transportation because o race. Northerners—a few in New York and Illinois—are now taking pot shots at him for reversin a previous stand for Palestin partitioning. The Advertiser

Two Brooklyn Democrats telegraphed the President that the would try to block his nominatio unless he recanted on Palestin They are Dr. Isaac Levine, sta

told reporters that success of the party's state candidates largely depends on who is on the national ticket.

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To an inquiry as to who could help Illinois Democrats get elected, he replied: "Anybody but Truman." The Advertiser

"With a candidate like Eisenhower," he added, "we could sweep the State." 3-25-48

Two new Eisenhower-for-president organizations have sprung up in New York recently. One is Republican, the other wants him on either ticket. Montgomery Ala.

Only last week, Leonard V. Finder, Manchester, N. H., publisher who took part in the campaign to draft the general for the Republican nomination, said the question of Eisenhower's "availability remains very much alive."

committeeman, and Assemblyman Philip J. Schupler, national convention delegate. They represent the 19th Assembly District.

Anybody But Truman

A third Brooklyn leader, James M. Power, said two Democratic clubs in the 13th Assembly District will announce their support of Gen. Eisenhower. 3-25-48

A source close to the Democratic high command in Chicago, who declined use of his name,

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THE EISENHOWER FANTASY PERSISTS

Montgomery Advertiser

The Eisenhower fantasy is as durable as a gourd vine. Eisenhower makes a Shermanesque rejection of the Republican nomination. Then the Democratic Party in its extremity sells itself the notion that it was only the G. O. P. laurel that Ike declined to wear, that he is a natural born Democrat ready for the wars in its behalf.

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From the depths of their frustration, such Democratic agents as Senators Sparkman and Hill—and The Advertiser—have talked with longing of Eisenhower's nomination. After all, it is not more fanciful than Gessner McCorvey's talk of nominating Senator Byrd. Wed. 3-31-48

And now Eisenhower has responded by authorizing a spokesman to say:

"What Eisenhower said about wanting to have nothing to do with politics applies to the Democrats as well as the Republicans."

The Advertiser doubts that this statement will get any Democrat's mind off Eisenhowevr. It's easier with the Republicans, for they have numerous candidates to pick from. But with us semi-Democrats, it is Eisenhower or Truman and defeat.

Whipped by its sense of frustration and despair, the South could easily sell itself on Eisenhower. That the South doesn't know whether he is Democrat or Republican, for or against a Civil Disturbance program, appears no restraint at all on indulgence in the Eisenhower fantasy.

The South does not want Truman, the indicated standard bearer of the Democratic Party. The South does not want a Republican. The South does not want Wallace. The South does not want Folsom. The South either does not want Byrd or knows that it cannot get anywhere with him. The Democrats of the North do not want defeat with Truman. So North and South relieve themselves with daydreams of Eisenhower.

And as long as men such as the chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee talk about Byrd, The Advertiser will persist in the Eisenhower speculation.

Wherefore do we offer this counsel. Let not the Democrats consult or parley with Eisenhower about the nomination. That simply gives him an opportunity to decline it and perhaps to inform us that he, too, believes in a Civil Disturbance program.

Let the South and Alabama act in loco parentis. That is to say, let Alabama, first on the roll call of the states, simply place Ike's name in nomination as it did in the case of FDR and the Third Term, stampede the convention and punish Truman. For would it not be more appealing to punish Truman with Ike than to punish Truman simply by insuring the election of a Republican?

We know what's best for Ike. Let's take it out of his hands.

Eisenhower Is Hill's Choice For Presidential Nomination

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery Ala.

Bans Vote For Truman; Mandeville Urges 'Rights' Stand

Mon. 3-29-48

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Senator Lister Hill is outspoken for General Eisenhower as his first choice for the Democratic presidential nomination at the hands of the National Convention at Philadelphia.

Answering a query by The Advertiser, Senator Hill says he will not, if elected a delegate, vote for Truman and that he does not favor any phase of President Truman's civil rights program.

To The Advertiser's third query, "If you do not favor the nomination of Harry Truman, what candidate, if any, is your first choice for the nomination?" Senator Hill tersely answers "Dwight D. Eisenhower," without further comment.

John E. Mandeville, clerk of the Circuit Court of Mobile County, and candidate for delegate to the Democratic Convention from the First Congressional District, is very emphatic that he is tired of the South being traded off for certain minority votes in the North and East.

House-Cleaning

After answering the questions propounded by The Advertiser in regard to Truman, whom he is emphatically against as well as Truman's civil rights policies or any man favoring such policies, Mr. Mandeville writes regarding the third question pertaining to his first choice for the nomination as follows: Mon. 3-29-48

"Although I have not made up my mind definitely and finally on this particular question, I feel very strongly that now is the time for doing a little house cleaning of our party's national leaders, and to get our party straightened out once and for all concerning the question of 'state's rights.'

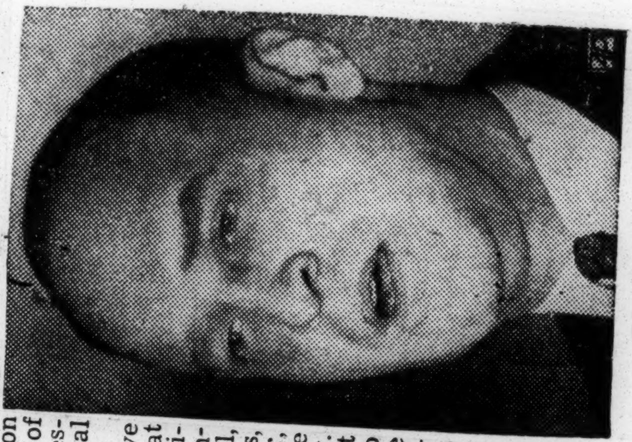
"I am one of many hundreds of thousands of Democrats who are sick and tired and fed up with this matter of the federal government attempting to take away our rights as states, and also the matter of the machine politicians of the East and North attempting to trade the South off for the votes of certain minority factions in the North and East. I will not have my vote traded on any such political basis, even if our action in the South means the defeat of the Democratic party for the presidency in the November general election.

"And too, in view of the grave world situation, I am inclined at present to lean toward the nomination of one of our great Southerners, such as General Marshall, Senator Byrd, Rayburn of Texas, or General Eisenhower. However, as I said in the beginning, I have not made up my mind definitely.

So far practically 30 per cent of the candidates for delegate to the Democratic convention have replied to The Advertiser's questions. While some have dodged, in no single instance has a candidate failed to say (except Baker of Troy), that he was against Truman, against his civil rights program and against any man who favored that program.

One man so far has declared for Folsom for president. So far no one has declared for Henry Wallace. It is believed that a number of Wallace men, however,

are candidates. The Advertiser proposes to question all candidates for delegate once again in the near future, to determine if any of them will vote for Wallace at any stage of the convention.



SENATOR HILL

General Eisenhower Doesn't Want Votes

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Record

Dwight D. Eisenhower, general of the armies, is not a candidate for office although once the Republicans were all for drafting him for president, until he ruled himself out, and the Democrats, looking for a substitute for Truman, are now hot on his trail. [illegible]

Testifying the other day before the Senate armed services committee, in support of a revival of the draft and for universal military training, General Eisenhower was asked for his views on the army's policy of segregating white and Negro soldiers.

Two Negro witnesses, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Grant Reynolds, member of the New York state commission of correction, earlier in the week had protested against segregation in the army and had told the committee they would lead a "civil disobedience" campaign against the draft if segregation were not abolished, even if such a campaign would amount to treason against the United States. Tue. 4-6-48

General Eisenhower said that army segregation works to the advantage of the Negro troops. Columbia, S.C.

"In general," he said, "the Negro is less well educated than white men. Because of that, if you try to make a complete amalgamation the Negro will be relegated to the lower jobs and his chances of promotion will be less because the competition for promotion will be tougher."

The human race, he said, "may grow up" some day to the point where there is no race prejudice. The Record

But, he added, "when you try to pass laws to force someone to like someone else, you're going to get into trouble." Tues.

General Eisenhower was speaking out of both wisdom and experience. It is probably disappointing to the advocates of over-night abolition of segregation and racial prejudice that these things cannot be done overnight by enactment of law, but must be done by slow measures as the very considerable achievement toward this end has already been accomplished. Columbia, S.C.

General Eisenhower perceives the prohibition thinking in the so-called civil-rights program. He sees that more harm than good will come from any attempt to rush matters or resort to force. The pity is that the members of Congress could not also perceive it and avoid it. But General Eisenhower isn't looking for votes. 4-6-48

34a(1) Press

MISJUDGED EISENHOWER, WALTER WHITE CONCEDES

April 8, 1948

NAACP

NEW YORK, N.Y., April 8.--In a syndicated column published last week, Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, expressed the opinion that

New York, N.Y.

Thurs. 4-8-48

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southern supporters of General Dwight D. Eisenhower were doomed to disappointment "unless politics or the Washington scene since his return home have drastically changed" the General.

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Mr. White recalled an interview with Eisenhower in which the latter "assured me that I would have been proud of him for his insistence that racial segregation be abolished in the Armed Services."

NAACP

Following General Eisenhower's recent testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee approving segregation of troops at the platoon level, Mr. White commented as follows in his column released this week: New York, N.Y.

"Last week's column about General Eisenhower demonstrated once again how wrong I can be. I paid honest tribute to him, based on conversations with him in Europe during the war and in the United States since his return, as one who for both practical and idealistic reasons would never tolerate discimination and segregation. He proved me naive by his testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee advocating perpetuation of army segregation at the platoon level. I apologize to the readers of this column for having been deluded into acceptance of General Eisenhower's words at their face value. And for believing he had courage to tackle prejudice as valiantly as he did the Nazis. The fact, of which the Army boasts, that white and Negro soldiers fought ably and without friction during the critical Battle of the Bulge seems to have faded from the General's memory."

Thurs. 4-8-48

34a(1) 1948.

Presidential (Folsom)

tates Rights Cry Is Raised In Folsom Bid

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Sat. 2-7-48
(34a(1))

Carnley Named Adviser; Both Parties Attacked Over Liberties Battle

Bidding anew for support in his presidential venture, Gov. Folsom tacked the "states rights" label on the racial problem Friday and told the federal government to keep hands off.

He charged both major parties with making a "political football" out of the question of civil liberties, and predicted neither will gain votes by "such methods."

Folsom, who announced 11 days ago he would seek the Democratic presidential nomination, replied to President Truman's civil rights program in a statewide radio broadcast. He renewed his criticism of Mr. Truman's conduct of both national and foreign affairs.

Frankenstein

Asserting there already had been too much federal interference in local affairs, the tall Alabama governor criticized the national government as a "mechanical Frankenstein which feeds on the powers taken away from the various states." The Advertiser

Federal agencies even tell the states how to spend federal funds, he added, and to meet that he proposed that all such money be "granted to the legislature, to be appropriated as the legislature sees fit for the purpose granted."

Folsom warned that the nation is "in a pre-atomic rut" which is "carrying us down the road to another war" and called again for a housecleaning in Washington, particularly to put "peacemakers in the State Department who are more interested in working for peace than they are in working for a bigger Army and Navy." Montgomery, Ala.

He said he was opposed to peacetime compulsory military training "except when Congress declares a national emergency."

To Dixie Revolt

Immediately after his broadcast, Folsom left for the Southern governor's conference at Tallahassee, Fla., primed to tie his presidential ambitions, if he can, to a threatened Dixie revolt over President Truman's civil rights proposals. Sat. 2-7-48

A loud chorus of protests and talk of seceding from the party came out of the South when Mr. Truman asked Congress for legislation to abolish the poll tax, ban lynchings, do away with segregation, and create a fair employment practices commission.

As a possible indication of what he may attempt at the meeting of Southern governors, Folsom took his father-in-law, J. A. Carnley of Elba, Ala., along as his advier. 34a(1)

He told radio listeners about it and described Carnley, a former judge and one-time member of the legislature, as a man who "knows fundamental Democracy and states rights like no other man I have ever talked to."

In announcing his presidential candidacy, the governor said he was trying to "revive" Democracy in the party. The Advertiser Montgomery Ala Pres. 2-7-48

Discussing race relations in his radio address Folsom reminded the people of Alabama that he was sworn to uphold the federal constitution, but that "I am also sworn to uphold the constitution of the State of Alabama."

"And under it, there are certain rights which we are allowed," he declared, adding:

Court To Decide

"At any time the laws of Alabama are in conflict with the civil rights of our people as granted by the federal constitution, I believe that the United States Supreme Court will hand down decisions to that effect. I believe, too, that the people of Alabama and all other states will want to abide by the decisions of the highest court in the land."

Opposes Poll Tax

The governor has long opposed the poll tax, and he expressed hope again Friday that Alabama will abolish its $1.50 a year voting levy. The Advertiser

However, he asserted, "I do not think that this is a matter which the federal government should dictate to the states. It should be settled within the borders of Alabama or any other state." Montgomery, Ala.

Folsom said both Democrats and Republicans bring the racial issue up every election year but said the 1948 presidential race "will not be influence by such methods. Sat 2-7-48

"The thinking people of all races would be thankful if our party leaders in both parties would quit using these issues as a political football. These problems are fundamental, and they are problems to be solved by the states and their subdivision."

Reiterating his intention to seek the democratic presidential nomination as Alabama's favorite son delegate to the National Convention. Folsom said he "will accept the nomination from other states."

This was regarded as significant in view of the Southern Governor's meeting.

War Or Peace

Dismissing the racial question is not important to the 1948 election campaign, the Alabama executive declared the real issue is peace or war. "Without peace," he said, "there won't be any such things as poll taxes, rent controls and housing shortages."

He charged that the "gotrocks of Wall Street and the brass hat military men . . . war profits and (military) promotions" were responsible for wars, and said "we've had enough" of both. The Advertiser

"Everybody knows that the military men are out to promote military interests," he said. ". . . maybe they don't want war, but they certainly want a big military organization to tinker with." Montgomery, Ala.

On the matter of civil rights, Folsom said President Truman is "trying to solve local problems on a national basis. He is trying to destroy certain states rights which we regard as the foundation of our state government. If we lose these basic states rights, then we lose our democratic right to regulate our own lives." 2-7-48

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rolsom Deplores U.S. Interference In States' Rights

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Sat. 2-7-48

Calls Government 'Frankenstein' In Bitter Broadcast

34a(1)

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 7—(AP)—It was Gov. James E. Folsom and his radio address on racial problems that set the pace for political news at the capitol this week.

Alabama's colorful chief executive had been silent on President Truman's 10-point civil rights program for almost a week. But in his Friday speech he made public his views on racial segregation, anti-lynching laws, the poll tax and fair employment practices.

His speech was delivered just before he left for a Southern Governors Conference in Tallahassee, Fla. He goes to the conference as an avowed candidate for the President of the United States.

At the Florida capitol it is expected he will find his fellow Southern governors in a rebellious frame of mind over the president's civil rights declaration. Some have urged an outright bolt from the party; others, including Folsom, want to fight such issues out within the party.

* * *

HE AGREED with the president on the poll tax question; both want to see it abolished. But on this and other matters he sounded the clarion of states rights and denounced federal "interference" in racial matters. The News

He described the national government as a "mechanical Frankenstein which feeds on powers taken away from the various states."

He charged the president of attempting to solve "local problems on a national basis. He is trying to destroy certain states rights which we regard as the foundation of our state government. If we lose these basic states rights, then we lose our democratic right to regulate our own lives." Birmingham, Ala.

But peace, he said, is the important problem confronting the 1948 elections, not racial matters.

"Without peace there won't be any such things as poll taxes, rent controls and housing shortages."

Folsom announced his candidacy for the presidency several days ago in a speech critical of President Truman and the United States' foreign policy. He is expected to attempt to tie in his candidacy with the projected Southern party revolt.

Although critical of the president, Folsom nevertheless was on hand at the Union Station when Mrs. Truman, daughter Margaret and their party stopped off here briefly en route to New Orleans. Sat.

Smiling broadly, the governor greeted the president's wife with:

"How do you do, Mrs. Truman? Glad to see you" 2-7-48

The president's family went to New Orleans for the christening of a tugboat, the "Harry Truman."

JACK TARVER

The Constitution
34a(1)

He'll Campaign On A High Plane

Atlanta Ga.
Mon. 2-2-48

Alabama's Governor Folsom has announced his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination.

More and more it appears that Truman will be renominated on the first ballot.

Folsom, who is six feet eight inches tall, apparently has been taking literally this talk about needing a big man in the White House.

About the only thing to recommend Folsom is that spectators wouldn't have to stand on tiptoe to get a glimpse of the inaugural ceremonies.

But talk about Mr. Truman's balcony, they'd have to remodel the entire White House in order to give Big Jim head room.

Still, tourists would flock in after years to see the bed with the footboard cut out and the sign above: "Jim Folsom slept here."

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Yessir, Folsom is a candidate to be reckoned with. He'd run Senator Taft a close race . . . in Alabama. Mon 2-2-48

Folsom Wins Vote of Confidence as 91,193 Turn Out

The Worker 34a(1)
New York, N.Y.

By Mary Southard

BIRMINGHAM.—On Jan. 6 one of the sharpest political battles in recent Alabama history came to a close, and the state's voters turned out to give Gov. Folsom a strong vote of confidence.

Sun 1-18-48

The issue was the self-starter amendment to the state constitution, which would have given the Legislature, stubbornly hostile to the Governor's program, the power to convene itself over the Governor's head. The amendment, according to latest available returns, was defeated by a vote of 91,193 to 59,782 (from 2,067 of a total of 2,363 boxes in the state).

Since the real issue in the referendum was the Governor and his program versus the Legislature, this vote represents a mandate from the people to the confusion of all the wishful commentators now engaged in belittling the Governor's victory.

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AN ANALYSIS of the vote shows that the same loose coalition of small farmers, labor and the Negro people which elected Folsom in 1946 is continuing firm in support of his program today.

Folsom directed his main campaign to those counties populated mainly by small white farmers—counties which 50 years ago were the strongholds of the Populist movement. There, as in 1946, he won his most overwhelming support.

Of the 15 counties (out of a total of 67) which he lost, 10 were Black Belt counties, where the Negro people, though in the majority, are almost totally disfranchised. However, even here, there Black Belt counties supported him in this amendment fight against one in the gubernatorial election in 1946.

★

The Worker
New York

FOLSOM'S CAMPAIGN in the industrial centers was hampered by two things. First, his speeches were more closely geared to the needs and thinking of rural voters than to working people in the cities. Second, and much more important, the leadership of the labor movement, with a few honorable exceptions, took no initiative in rallying the wide pro-Folsom sentiment among city working people to support of the Governor in this campaign.

Sun 1-18-48

Folsom carried Mobile, second largest city, and most of the northern industrial towns, but lost Birmingham and Montgomery by narrow margins.

A look at the Birmingham-Jefferson County vote shows the line-up and the problem clearly. The Gotrocks' precincts voted overwhelmingly for the amendment. All of the predominantly working class precincts backed Folsom and voted against it. The two precincts with a majority of Negro voters went strongly for the Governor.

★

THE LABOR VOTE registered strongly for Folsom, in spite of the fact that shortly before the referendum the Birmingham News carried a featured article stating that labor had refused to endorse Folsom's stand. The article "overlooked" the fact that both the Textile Workers PAC and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers had publicly urged their membership to vote against the amendment. **According to reports, it seems unfortunately true, however, that certain Social Democratic leaders centered mainly around Ben Gage and his henchmen in the Unitel Steelworkers here sabotaged any efforts to build up strong pro-Folsom support in the labor movement in the county. The workers voted for Folsom's program, but their backing was unorganized and their influence largely hamstrung.**

The Negro vote in Jefferson County should be closely examined by all those genuinely interested in a progressive program for Alabama. This vote (there are only a few hundred Negro voters in this county with a Negro population of more than 180,000) showed an almost unanimous support for Folsom's program, indicating that if the Negro people had been allowed to register their full voting strength the county would have gone overwhelmingly for Folsom or for anyone else who put forward a progressive program.

The Worker
New York, N.Y.
Sun 1-18-48

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CONVERSELY, in 10 of the 15 counties which Folsom lost, the majority of the people, who are Negro, are kept from the polls by the poll-tax and the Boswell Amendment and the brazenly undemocratic practices of the Boards of Registrars. If Negro citizens had been allowed to exercise their right to vote there, these 10 counties would have piled up substantial majorities in the Folsom column.

Folsom has won wide support in his fight to carry through reapportionment of the state Legislature. The Legislature has and will continue to refuse to budge on this question. The Black Belt planter—Big Corporation control of the Legislature is based primarily on the disfranchisement of the Negro people in 13 Black Belt counties and the disfranchisement of thousands of both white and Negro voters in other counties and industrial centers like Birmingham and Mobile. Such a Legislature will not easily relinquish its sranglehold.

The Worker
New York, N.Y.

It follows that the abolition of the polltax and the smashing of the Boswell Amendment must have first place if the victory of the people in this referendum is to be maintained and extended. Every white farmer, every working man and woman in the cities and towns will need the vote of every possible ally in the fights that are to come. And the biggest potential ally which labor and the farmers in Alabama have is the Negro vote. Sun. 1-18-48

Folsom Mum On Racial Issue; Press Airs Views Of Speech

34a(1)
The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Thurs. 1-29-48

Presidential Aspirant James E. Folsom outlined again Wednesday the issues he said the Democratic party must face "if it remains strong," but withheld commnet on the racial stand taken by other party leaders in the South.

Twenty-four hours after he announced his candidacy for the presidential nomination, the governor issued a statement which said the Democrats must decide whether they are for "the Wall Street gotrocks and the communists running the world, or . . . for democracy running it."

He remained silent on the action of the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee in formally warning national party leaders that an anti-segregation policy in the 1948 platform might force the South to choose between party loyalty and Southern traditions. The Advertiser

Folsom previously had stated that he felt such issues "should be fought out within the party."

Asks Secession

Mississippi's Gov. Fielding Wright has urged a secession from the party if its leaders insisted on "anti-Southern legislation."

Folsom did not mention the racial question in his radio address Tuesday in which he asked Alabama Democrats to send him to the national convention as a "favorite son" candidate for president, and reporters were unable to get a statement on it Wednesday. Montgomery, Ala.

Instead they were told by Executive Secretary O. H. Finney to put their questions in writing because Folsom wanted to give careful consideration before commenting on any controversial matters at the present time. A query about the racial problem was among several submitted by the newsmen. Thurs. 1-29-48

Later, an aide told reporters the governor wanted to "study" the questions before answering them.

In his statement on other matters, the Alabama executive said "it is the duty of every Democrat to study the issues" and to debate them. He charged "monopolists, brass hats, grain speculators and Wall Street lawyers" were trying to "force" President Truman's nomination on the party without debate.

"In the end," Folsom declared, "every Democrat has got to decide this: The Advertiser

"He's either for reviving democracy all over the world and giving hope to the world, or he's against it. Montgomery, Ala.

"He's either for our nation handling out billions of dollars in bribes all over the world with one hand and carrying the sword of fear in the other — or he's against it. Thurs 1-29-48

"He's either for the United Nations handling the money and the battleships or he's for the United States and Russia fighting to decide which one is going to rule the world."

In addition, he continued, Democrats must choose between "turning our government over to professional soldiers and brass hats" or returning them to the army and navy; between a TVA for every river valley or no TVA at all; a social security program for all or for a few; equal old age assistance in every state or favoritism. Thurs 1-29-48

No they walked out of their own free will.—Ed.

Montgomery Advertiser

ONLY CHANCE

Editor, The Advertiser:

Enclosed find a copy of the letter I mailed to Mr. Handy Ellis. 24(1)

The purpose of this letter is to show that there were a great many people behind Gov. Folsom's bid for presidential nominee and that if at the Southern Democratic Conference does decide to run a separate Southern Democratic presidential candidate, Gov. Folsom is the South's only chance of making any showing at all at the polls.

BRUNO W. PARDUCCI

Troy, Ala.

Montgomery, Ala.

Perhaps it's worse than we thought.—Ed.

Mr. Bruno W. Parducci
Troy, Ala.
July 16, 1948.

Mr. Handy Ellis, Chairman
Southern Democratic Conv.
Tutwiler Hotel
Birmingham, Ala.

Sun. 7-18-48

Dear Sir,

I wish to commend you on your noble stand against the Civil Rights Bill and your walk-out protest against H. Truman.

Originally I came from New Jersey and have resided in Alabama (my adopted state and home) for the past six or seven years. Although I originally came from the North I still don't believe that this so-called Civil Rights Bill is right or legal. It is a monstrous and evil bill and would cause much strife and discord.

I am firmly behind your stand to nominate a candidate for president from the South or one that is loyal and fair to the South.

24b(1)

In my opinion the ideal presidential nominee for the South and of the South is Gov. J. E. Folsom. He is a colorful figure. True he may have made a few mistakes in his administration but then who doesn't make a mistake—is it not human to err? As I said before, Gov. Folsom is a colorful figure, known nationally, he would appeal to the Western States and to many of the Northern states. Personal differences should be eliminated and the good of the Southern Democratic Party considered first and last.

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Folsom)

RALPH McGILL

34a(1) Pres.

Jim Folsom, Grover Cleveland

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga

Sat. 3-6-48

I see where, when "Big Jim" Folsom departed from the Nation's capital city that a throng of giggling young ladies waved to him, a few throwing kisses.

This, I assume, would annoy some of our citizens and inspire certain remarks about our times and our civilization.

Big Jim is under a paternity charge, a young lady in Alabama having charged that Gov. Folsom is the father of her 22-month-old child.

The Governor has said only that he is a candidate for office and anticipated such charges. The story is an old one, having been kicking around Alabama for some time. I recall hearing it more than a year ago, at which time it was said his foes were using the threat of it as a sort of blackjack.

There also are reported to be several pictures of the Governor and the young lady, the usual snapshots, taken on picnics and so on. They are not sensational, but routine. They reportedly are in the hands of a national magazine and may appear soon, for the edification of the public.

Jim Folsom is, if nothing else, an unorthodox person, both politically and personally. If I had to guess, I would wager he will, if the case comes to court, say that he does not believe the child is his, but that the child is the first consideration.

Coincident While I do not mean to compare the two, it so happens that Gov. Folsom is the first Presidential candidate since Grover Cleveland to be charged with fathering an illegitimate child. Warren G. Harding. while President, was so embarrassed, and after his death.

The Governor is not a formidable national candidate. He is running, so he says, to assure some sort of opposition to the Truman policies in the national convention.

3-6-48

But Grover Cleveland was a formidable candidate at the time the charges were made against him.

Cleveland had been nominated in July of 1884.

On July 21, a Buffalo newspaper published a story which also had been kicking about newspaper shops for some time, charging that eight years before Grover Cleveland had fathered a child by a Miss Maria Halpin.

The Republican press, led by the Chicago Tribune, maintained a false campaign of immorality, drunkenness and debauchery against Cleveland.

"Rum, Romanism—" It is likely James G. Blaine, who was involved in great political corruption of a sort proved by evidence, might have won had not a minister friend charged that the bond which held the Democratic Party together was "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." This so enraged the Democrats, and disgusted further those already disgusted with Blaine, that Grover Cleveland won by a narrow margin.

It is interesting now to note how history does repeat itself. Today the charge is that the Democratic Party is one of many diverse elements, the party of left-wingers, labor and Southern conservatives. It has been, always, a party of many ill-fitting elements, which is why, perhaps, it merits the name, "Democratic Party."

The Constitution

Further Coincident It also is interesting, as a further link in the long reach of coincident, that Grover Cleveland married while President and his bride was Miss Frances Folsom, daughter of the President's law partner. There is no relationship with the Alabama Folsom family. Or, at least, none has been noted.

Atlanta, Ga

The slanderers followed Cleveland all his public career. He was a most temperate man, but the slanderers persisted with stories that he was an habitual drunkard. The gossip was merciless, and reached such proportions that the wives of some of his Cabinet members publicly and indignantly denied the stories of the mistreatment of his wife and of drunkenness.

This sort of cruel gossip seems part of our political life. Certainly it was equally merciless in slander of Woodrow Wilson, of Harding, and it reached a peak not attained since the time of Jackson, Lincoln and Cleveland during the Roosevelt administrations.

In each case, that of Cleveland and Folsom, the fact that the story was common gossip over the State for more than a year, seems to have made it take on the color of political persecution, whatever the truth, and thereby to be of little value to those who sought to use it politically.

3-6-48 Sat.

LISTER HILL COMES THROUGH

Senator Lister Hill is returning to Alabama to break a lance with Gov. James Folsom.

34a(1) Pres.

Hill announced yesterday at the 11th hour that he was qualifying to run for delegate-at-large to the Democratic nominating convention.

Montgomery Advertiser

He could not have done otherwise without divorcement from respect, that of himself and that of his well-wishers.

Hill made a brief statement in which he repeated that he opposed Truman's Civil Disturbance proposals; that, as opposed to Wallace and Folsom, he believed in our foreign policy and the Marshall Plan.

Hill then said:

Montgomery, Ala.

"I continue my support of Harry S. Truman, the head of the Democratic Party."

Tues. 3-2-48

THE fact that Hill reaffirms his allegiance to Truman will surprise many. Certainly this allegiance is not expected by Hill to win support.

Of this we may be entirely sure. Senator Hill is in close touch with Alabama politics. He is completely aware that among Alabamians there is a furnace of wrath, to find the equivalent of which one has to go back to Reconstruction days. Hill knows that full well.

Therefore, inasmuch as Hill knows this and yet declares that he continues to support Truman, it is strongly indicated that Hill is thinking along lines which are not immediately obvious.

Hill's enemies, through his 20-odd years of unbroken political victories, have always called him a "shrewd opportunist." A shrewd opportunist is not one to grasp a smallpox cause when he is to come up for reelection in two years.

In that connection, it is notable that Senator John Sparkman, who is now running for reelection, has taken a similar line.

The Advertiser does not know what the two senators are thinking, but it is certain that they are thinking with the same apparatus of brains and experience that has made them politically victorious for 20 years.

We understand that Senator Hill plans a statewide radio address soon in which he will state the dilemma of Alabama and of the South and advance his plan for a course of action.

Until we hear from Hill, we will do well to reserve judgment.

Tues. 3-2-48

A POLITICIAN is entitled to his political considerations. The nature of our system compels this. From Senator Hill's personal viewpoint, we submit that he has done a wise thing by entering the race for delegate.

In 1950 Hill will be up for reelection to the Senate. He must know by this time that Folsom and his squalid band will gang up on him.

Folsom's band cherished Senator Sparkman for a time, but today Sparkman has opposition created by Folsom's pards. Half or more of Alabama still believes that Folsom is a good ol' country boy trying to get along, but the clear fact is that he is a penny-weight Caesar whose ego is in proportion to his carcass. He desires to bestride Alabama as Huey Long bestrode Louisiana.

Huey Long was serious about the White House, and Folsom wasn't smiling when he announced his candidacy to capture the office of George Washington and Woodrow Wilson.

Such a man has no appetite for rivalry with men of the caliber of Sparkman and Hill. He wants outlanders like himself.

A great many of Hill's friends, such as The Advertiser, which has supported him without lapse since he was a boy orator, have deplored his previous entente with Folsom.

The alliance between Hill and Folsom is now sundered.

We take it that Hill has it in mind to crawl the inexcusable Folsom like a Kilkenny cat.

Hill is one of this country's most knowledgeable and ardent internationalists, a man with a sound comprehension of world drift, a man who helped Roosevelt inform the country of the Hitler peril, a militant advocate of the Marshall Plan. Folsom is demagogic aggrandizer of ignorance who explains everything by saying it is a matter of "dumping billions" in Europe—a man who speaks the words of Henry Wallace in hill-billy idiom.

For Hill to have remained aloof would have been to acquiesce in the pestilential dishonesty of the Folsom demagogy.

Many of Hill's whilom enemies and disenchanted friends will be propitiated and reconciled now that he has tilted his lance. Certainly it has to be conceded that Hill has taken on a formidable adversary and that he is running some risks.

AND FINALLY it has to be considered that Alabama's circumstance in the potential abandonment of the Democratic Party is unique among the Southern states.

We in Alabama, in seeking an escape from Washington torment, must remember that we have not only the baffling questions of the contemplated revolt as such but the complication of Folsom's favorite son candidacy for President.

34a(1)

What if this state should decide to go along in a Southern bolt movement? What if the Alabama delegation walked out of the Philadelphia convention? Is it not possible that Folsom and such delegates as he can get elected or win over later with favors might remain as a rump delegation? Is it not possible that he may infiltrate Alabama's electoral college?

In short, we in Alabama have both Truman and Folsom to deal with.

For all of which, it is a time when the full participation of our senior United States senator is highly desirable. He will have much to give Tues. 3-2-48

To sum up, The Advertiser feels that we may profitably await a full statement of Hill's ideas about Truman. We think it will be seen that Hill has come through in a very creditable manner.

Party Leader Clashes With Folsom Views

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

(34a(1) Pres)

Governor Opposes Bolt; McCorvey Declares Open Stand Essential

Fri. 2-27-48

By G. C. LONG

Governor Folsom, announced candidate for the presidential nomination, Thursday counseled Alabama Democrats to settle their squabbles "within the family" but, in this, he was contradicted by the chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, Gessner T. McCorvey, who qualified himself as a candidate for elector.

McCorvey, in commenting on Folsom's statewide radio address, said that "Alabama voters have a right to know where candidates (for delegate to the Democratic convention and presidential elector) stand on the President's civil rights program.

The Governor said Democratic party leaders in Alabama had no right to "dictate to candidates what they ought to stand for."

Marshall Plea

These statements were being made as a group of Marshall County lawyers urged that Alabama not elect delegates to the Democratic national convention.

At Mobile, Chairman McCorvey told the Associated Press:

"It was the idea of the State Democratic Executive Committee to request the candidates for delegate to our national convention and presidential elector to state where they stood on those issues which were so vital to our Southland in order that the voters could vote intelligently with their eyes open." 2-27-48

"If any candidate wishes to close his mouth and refuse to divulge what he stands for that is the candidate's privilege and he might pick up some votes b

adopting this policy.

Pig In Bag

"It is my idea that the great mass of Democratic voters in Alabama would not care to buy a pig in the bag but would like to know the views of the candidates for whom they vote." 2-27-48

The Governor, in his radio speech Thursday, said he believed "there are no differences so great but what we can work them out within our party."

He said that bolting was not "the thing to do." The Advertiser

Reporting on his own favorite-son-for-president candidacy, Gov. Folsom said that mail was pouring in to him from all over the United States. Montgomery, Ala.

Claims Support

"Candidates are writing in from other states, saying they want to support me as a favorite son candidate at the National Convention," the chief executive stated. "Others are volunteering to run as candidates from other states." The Advertiser

Although his prepared text contained the program he stands for and the things he is against, Folsom did not get to give them over the air because of lack of time. Here is what he called his "7-11 program":

"1. I am for calling our army and navy home, and letting the United Nations police the world.

"2. I am for local responsibility in the government of all the people. Montgomery, Ala.

"3. I am for strong anti-trust laws.

"4. I am for putting a stop to promiscuous dumping of our sweat and resources overseas.

"5. I am for giving necessary overseas relief to needy nations through the United Nations Organization. Fri.

"6. I am for the control of all interstate rivers on a TVA basis.

"7. I am for all federal aid being appropriated to the various state legislatures. 2-27-48

"8. I am for someone besides 'Gotrock fancy panters' running our foreign affairs.

"9. I am for professional military men running military affairs only.

"10. I am for a lower tariff.

"11. I am for an ambassador to each church or to no church."

Against These

These are the things Folsom listed he was against:

"1. I am against sending guns and bullets to all nations. Such action is leading us down the road to another war.

"2. I am against the federal government dictating to the states on matters which should be solved locally.

"3. I am against peace-time conscription, unless Congress declares a national emergency, and in the event of such an emergency, I am for a strong democratic army and navy.

"4. I am against tax reduction for the big man unless the little man gets his share of tax relief.

"5. I am against the policies of the present national Democratic leader that has gotten us further and further away from the real principles of the Democratic Party.

"6. I am against a restricted social security program. I am for one that includes all classes of workers.

"7. I am against a high tax structure which takes our money from home where we need it for roads, schools and pensions."

As for these issues, the governor said "thousands of letters have poured in" from people who are interested in them.

His Job "First"

Saying that he wanted to impress on the people in Alabama that he was not forgetting the job he had to do here, Folsom called it "first and foremost."

He added that it was his duty as governor of 3,000,000 people to look after their interest on the national scene. Fri.

"We've got to drive the Wall Street money changers out of the Temple of our Democratic Party," the governor declared. "They just don't belong in our party because they don't have the interest of the people at heart. They are in there to root and grab all they can get and they don't give a hoot about what happens to the widow back on the branchhead." 2-27-48

Saying that there had been another convention at Philadelphia when the "finest charter the world has ever seen" was drafted, the governor stated that the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia in July would be the scene for the writing of the policies that would guide the party through the next four years.

Peace or War

"One thing is certain," he continued, "these policies will either lead us to a continued peace, or they will lead us to war. And if we are going to have lasting peace, then we have got to send delegates to Philadelphia who believe in peace more than they do anything else." Fri. 2-27-48

Speaking of his own candidacy as a delegate, Folsom said he was in the race because he felt the issues that face "us in our Democratic Convention are equally as important as the issues which faced the framers of the federal constitution in 1777."

Asserting that the campaign was not a "wishy-washy" one, the chief executive said any candidate who didn't come out and make a clean stand for the things he stood for and against was not worth voting for.

Plays "Dictation"

It is not the duty of the State Democratic Executive Committee to dictate to candidates what they should stand for, he said.

Folsom stated that the trouble with the party was that some of its members had "come out to support a candidate for the presidency who doesn't want any open debate." He said those party members were trying to force the candidate (President Truman) on the Democrats even before the convention is held.

The governor called on all who wanted to enter the race to qualify, and he said he wanted to see every candidate have "plenty of opposition." The Advertiser

"The more candidates who get into the race," he said, "the better candidates will be who are elected. Montgomery, Ala.

"I have faith that we can clean up the Democratic Party at Philadelphia, and I believe that there are a lot of people in the rest of the South, the North, the East and the West who will want to help out in this clean-up job." Folsom declared. 2-27-48

GUNTERSVILLE, ALA., Feb. 26. — (AP) — A group of Marshall County lawyers today urged that Alabama not elect delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

The proposal was in the form of a petition asking the state Democratic executive committee to withdraw an order calling for election of the delegates in the May 4 Democratic Primary.

W. C. Rabun, widely known Marshall County attorney, said the petition was signed by 11 lawyers at a bar meeting yesterday.

(Folsom)

Rabun said previously "we want to ignore the national convention."

"We don't want to have to bolt the party," he continued, "and that would be the case if delegates are sent there from Alabama."

Pres

If enough southern states ignore the convention, he said, it would be possible to "put a southern man in as president" by merely electing southern electors and throwing the election into the House of Representatives.

"Some of the western states might fall in line with us," Rabun said.

Folsom Learns?

The News

34a(1)

Gov. Folsom announces he will not accept the Democratic nomination for president under any circumstances. He says he interprets the results of the May 4 primary—in which he ran 10th in the race for eight delegate-at-large places—as a mandate from the people to "stay behind my desk and be the governor of Alabama." The governor also said he is a family man now and has that to think of besides his responsibilities of office. Birmingham, Ala

Does this mean a somewhat chastened Folsom, who is learning some very important things? Let us hope so. Thurs.

Of course, his candidacy for the presidency never was taken seriously. But it is something for a public official frankly to recognize a setback as Folsom seems to be doing.

It is something that he indicates a resolution to concentrate more earnestly on his official duties. 5-20-48

May lesson and resolution long last and the results all be good.

Folsom Refuses To Be President

The News

34a(1)

Birmingham, Ala

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 19—(AP)—Gov. James E. Folsom said today he will not accept the Democratic nomination for president under any circumstances.

He told newsmen he has officially withdrawn his candidacy for president, and if he goes to the Democratic National Convention he will do so merely as a delegate.

Folsom announced on Jan. 27 he would seek the presidential nomination as a favorite son candidate. In the May 4 primary, however, he ran 10th in the race for delegate from the state at large, and is in a runoff now for one of the eight places. Wed. 5-19-48

The governor told a news conference he interprets the primary as a mandate from the people to "stay behind my desk and be the governor of Alabama."

If he goes to the convention, Folsom said he will "go straight there and back and waste no time." The newlywed governor added that he is a family man now and has that to think of besides being head of he state government

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Folsom)

Folsom Enters Democrat Race For President

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
34a(1) Wed. 1-28-48

Asserts Speculators Hog-Tie Truman

By the Associated Press.

Montgomery, Ala., Jan. 27.—Alabama's Governor James E. Folsom announced his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination today.

In a radio address he bitterly denounced American foreign policy and charged that President Truman is "not running" either the party or the nation. The Courier-Journal

Asking Alabama Democrats to send him to the national convention as a favorite-son candidate, Louisville, Ky. Wed. 1-28-48 the 6-foot-8 Governor declared Truman "has got himself hog-tied" by "the monopolists, the brass hats, the grain speculators, and the Wall Street lawyers" who "are trying to force his nomination on the party."

Twenty-six delegates to the Philadelphia convention will be elected in the May 4 Democratic primary, and Folsom entered his name as a candidate from the state at large. If elected, he said he would "challenge the present leader of the party."

Voted for Wallace In '44.

Folsom's opposition to Truman is not new. As a delegate to the Democratic convention in 1944, he bolted the rest of the Alabama delegation and voted for Henry Wallace for Vice-President.

The Courier-Journal

With the political exit of General Eisenhower, G.O.P. strategists have decided "to use Harry Truman's yen for the military as one of their most effective campaign weapons," Drew Pearson says on the back page of Section 2. Louisville, Ky.

Folsom's announcement took the Capitol by surprise.

Folsom told his listeners the Democrats must "wake up and get the power of our party back in the hands of people at the branchheads. Wed 1-28-48

"There ought to be 25 Democrats running for President today," he continued. "There's at least 25 Democratic leaders who would make a better party leader and a better President than the one we've got.

"But our Democrats in Washington are not even debating with the Republicans, much less each other. That's a shameful thing." Wed

Speaking of Truman, the 39-year-old Alabama Governor said: "He has been nice to me and I like him. But the cold, hard fact is that I don't know a single man or woman who has a real, deep faith in the man who inherited the leadership of the party.

"Once the monopolists, the brass hats, the grain speculators, and the Wall Street lawyers got hold of him, they decided to keep him. They are trying to force his nomination on the party, but they are afraid to let you and me debate the issue. Even our beloved President Roosevelt had opposition in the party. And I don't know anybody who would put our present leader in a class with Roosevelt." The Courier-Journal

Of American foreign policy, which he has criticized repeatedly since his election two years ago, Folsom said American agents are "running all over the world dumping billions on top of billions . . . trying to bribe foreign leaders to vote a certain way. They're carrying billions of bribes in one hand and a sword of fear in the other." 1-28-48

And in the very countries where American dollars are being spent, he added, "the Communists are getting stronger. The Kings and dictators are getting stronger. But the Democrats are getting weaker." Louisville, Ky.

Race Problem Up To States, Folsom Avows

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Sat. 1-31-48

Beeland, Stewart And Ard Are Qualified In Delegate Race

34a(1)

Florida-bound for a fishing trip, Gov. Folsom took a rap at "outside interference" in local government affairs Friday and labeled the race segregation issue as one that "should be worked out in each individual state."

Folsom, self-announced aspirant to the democratic presidential nomination, spoke his views in an interview in Dothan, while elsewhere in the state three more candidates qualified for delegate to the Democratic National Convention, and a fourth said he would. Delegates will be elected in the May 4 primary.

The governor spoke out on the racial issue after withholding comment for two days on a similar question submitted in writing by reporters at the capital.

Describing himself as a "states rightist in national affairs and a local optionist in state affairs," Folsom said the matter of racial barriers is "a states rights proposition." Sat. 1-31-48

"That is a question that should be worked out by each individual state," he added, but declined to comment on segregation as a Democratic campaign issue.

Because of Washington "interference" in state and local affairs and Wall Street interference in local economics, he continued, the governor has become merely an administrative assistant to some bureau head.

"I'm against it," he declared. "I'm for bringing local and state government issues back home, where they belong. That's the only way to safeguard the democratic way of life."

Folsom said the "outside interference" works this way:

"They just come in and tell you how to run your business."

He mentioned the industrial relations, highway and welfare departments in Alabama as among those in which Washington interference is overshadowing states rights. The Advertiser

Meanwhile, three more candidates entered the running for convention delegate by filing their papers with the secretary of state at Montgomery. They were Jess P. Beeland of Greenville, seeking election from the second congressional district; Probate Judge Winston Setwart of Coosa County, from the fourth district, and Waldo E. Ard, Ozark, third district. Montgomery, Ala.

And in Birmingham, businessman Joe Money announced his candidacy for delegate at large, the same race Folsom has entered. Money said he would support President Truman but would oppose adoption of any platform policies "that would prove detrimental to Alabama and the other southern states." Sat. 1-31-48

Folsoms Fumings

By John Temple Graves

The Record
34a(1)
Columbia, S.C.

"All is not gold that glitters."

Neither is all a part of the present southern discontent over the administration's Negro policy that challenges Harry Truman. Sat. 2-7-48 Alabama's Governor Folsom is not a part of it at all, yet his nomination of himself for President is being mistaken over the country as incident to the so-called "southern revolt." We had Drew Pearson linking him with Mississippi's Gov. Fielding Wright last Sunday evening as a southern protestant against implications in the report of the President's civil liberties committee. Folsom is indeed one with certain southern leaders in methods and insincerities many of us call demagogic, but the nation needs to understand that he is a Henry Wallace man and careful to have nothing to say now on the Negro question. His only positive stand on taht was last year when he announced mildly against the so-called Boswell amendment requiring voters to be able to interpret the Constitution. The amendment is Alabama's device against mass voting by Negroes. It was passed in spite of opposition. Sat 2-7-48

At a meeting of the Alabama State Democratic executive committee a few days ago when resolutions against national Democratic leadership on the race question were passed unanimously, Governor Folsom appeared briefly but had no comment. He is distinctly not a party to the sort of revolt that is being talked now in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina. The Record Columbia, S.C. The revolt indicated in his nomiation of himself for President has to do with criticism of Truman's foreign policy and his contention that the administration is sold out to "Wall Street monopolists." It was Wallace talk, and consistent. At the Democratic national convention of 1944 Mr. Folsom was an ardent champion of Wallace for the vice-presidency, forsaking Alabama's choice, Senator John H. Bankhead, for the Iowan. A few months ago he introduced Mr. Wallace when the latter spoke in Montgomery and won the latter's praise as the only Southern governor willing to appear with him in public. When Wallace announced his third party, Folsom declared himself still a Democrat, but his speech against President Truman has identified him with the familiar Wallace points of view and made many other Southerners suspect that his naming of himself for President **was Wallace strategy.** 2-7-48

Mr. Folsom capitalizes on prejudice, hate and ignorance. But he does not use the Negro for this, as other Southern demagogs in their times have done. He plays on dislike of the foreigner, especially imaginary title-holders, on grudges of country people against city ones, workers against employers, one section against another, those who work independently against those who work under a corporate name. He denounces the sending of money abroad, makes it seem as if it were all snatched directly from the farm people of his state to whom he promises pensions and road pavings without regard to the cost and as if he were the inventor. 2-7-48

It is interesting to note that an American public which has known of him from pictures in Life as Alabama's "kissing governor" and a showman who would stop at nothing to win attention has presumed that a demagog like this would be among those sounding off for the South about the Negro. Perhaps the mistake will suggest to this public now that (1) not all intent on race segregaion is demagogic in and about the South, and (2) not all is demagogic here that is determined on race segregation. Sat.

If Henry Wallace should inherit the earth someday, or this part of it, Mr. Folsom might find himself sitting pretty in spite of his failure to follow Henry out of the party. But as things are now, he is not sitting pretty at all, in spite of his recent success in persuading Alabama's farmers to vote down a proposed amendment letting the legislature call itself into session of special occasion. That vote gave him a planetary estimate of his importance, but the terms of his announcement for President leave him so much more kin to Wallace—and to Republican Senator Wherry—than to anybody else in sight, that he is a man alone insofar as either the South or the Democratic party is concerned. 2-7-48

Jennings Perry
PM New York, N.Y.
34a(1)

Box Car Named Aspire

Thurs. 1-29-48

[redacted]

Perry

Shopping around, as in an election year true citizens will, among the worthies who exercise their right and yen and gall to put themselves forward as candidates for the Presidency, our conscience compels us to scrutinize the bargain counters as well as the figures featured in the show-windows.

Were this not our good democratic custom, we easily might stroll on past the newest exhibit, the name and claims of Gov. James E. Folsom of Alabama, with only a casual glance.

Most of us who know of Big Jim at all think of him as a box-car-size clodhopper—the man who "takes off his shoes" and "kisses the girls."

Big Jim himself, who is not at all ashamed of this picture, blames the one-sidedness of it on the "lying press," and it's quite true that many of the newspapers of his own state, and of the rest, have shown more interest in Big Jim's feats of foot and osculation than in his political philosophy and legislative proposals. Thurs. 1-29-48

He is an unorthodox campaigner, even in a region in which to be bizarre is, not unfrequently, to be elected. His flagpole rough-cut mannerisms do invite caricature, and his suggestion that Alabama Democrats send him to the Philadelphia convention as a favorite son undoubtedly will be posted in all the comic pages. PM New York, N.Y.

And yet, Big Jim deserves better than a hurry-by. He campaigned for governor on a free-suffrage plank in a state in which the poll tax is supposed to be as assailable as the moon and stars, and won. He has had to slug it out with the big mules of Alabama politics, the black-belt planters and the Birmingham industrialists

ernor's privileges by constitutional amendment, and won.

Big Jim is no simple gawk, his early mentor in politics was Georgia's liberal Gov. Ellis Arnall, who showed that you can cater to the decencies in the South and be upheld. It should be noted that the vegetables he has flung at President Truman and the "party leadership" are not the same as those scooped up last week by Gov. Wright, of neighboring Mississippi. Wright complains of reformist transgressions on the Southern "way of life," but Folsom rails at "Wall Street lawyers," "State Dept. fancy-pants," and at the Presidential use of too much military brass in offices that make policy. He hits the target where the liberals hit it, and warns of damage to "the party of the country" instead of to the feelings of the poll tax oligarchs.

Big Jim has something that offends the prudes and prissies (who'd've shed him long ago, if laughing off could do it) but something that the common people like. He's not a rabble-rouser in the sense, nor by the means, that Eugene Talmadge was or Huey Long. PM New York, N.Y.

But when he ambles round the county seats and tells Alabama plebes about their "sovereign rights in a democracy," they listen to him. And the big mules, who have his legislature, haven't found a way to hoot or boot him out of favor yet. [illegible] 1-24-48

I think there's little chance that we'll see at Philadelphia what we saw at the old Garden in New York in '24—when "Alabama casts her 40 (?) votes for Oscar W. Underwood" all but broke up the meeting. The big-mule faction in the state will break a trace to keep the delegation from going down the line for Folsom. All the same, the name *could* reach the floor and win—a smile, as it does now. . . . But when you smile, remember that it's not the fact that Big Jim has gone sockless on occasion that stirs up the ribaldry against him, but the fact that in his plodding fight for a new deal in Alabama his No. 12s have stepped on sacred toes whose haughty owners ran the show complacently before the steeple-topping governor came along.

FOLSOM AND OTHER EQUATION X'S

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Fri. 2-27-48

The Advertiser is everyday more aware of the extent, grimness and power of the revolt against President Truman. It boils up out of the streets.

But The Advertiser has also been frank to avow and declare its confusion over the course to a shore dimly seen. For that reason we have wished to make haste slowly.

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Certainly this newspaper is not constitutionally daunted in the face of a bolt of the Democratic Party. It bolted in the time of Bryan, in the last century when only a handful of Alabamians were willing to bolt.

But the end and result of an Alabama and a Solid South departure from the Democratic party, with which they freed themselves from the Reconstruction ordeal by bayonet and infestation, are wreathed in question marks and bound by a warp of dilemmas and a woof of enigmas.

We have no ear for those who think there is a pat or sovereign way out for the South. Such ones seem to be thinking no further than the defeat of Truman and the election of a Republican.

As yet, we do not know who the Republican nominee will be. We do not know but that an F. E. P. C. statute will be enacted by the present G. O. P. Congress before the November election.

Nor do we fancy some of the company we would have to keep were we to join in the Southern drive to elect a Republican. Too many of these hoarse-voiced gents are those who loathe the progressiveness of the REA, TVA, AAA, SEC, Wagner Act, etc., more than they do Truman's Civil Disturbance proposals. The race issue is but the cloak for their reactionary rebellion lust. 2-27-48

WE would not wish to see the likes of Senator Harry Byrd — great though his capacities—in the White House. Despite many reservations, this is a Roosevelt newspaper, past, present and prospective.

The South profited enormously by the New Deal. The country believes in its essential reforms, and if that's not so, why hasn't this present overwhelmingly Republican Congress gone after votes by repealing them?

We haven't used the word liberal since we looked about and were abashed to behold the yo-yo gentry wearing the same label. Nevertheless, we will re-employ the word liberal again today to say, as a liberal, that we would be reluctant to flee the Democratic Party and find ourselves marooned with those known as anti-Roosevelt reactionaries.

The Advertiser

AS we say, the revolt course is dim and confusion has warrant. Far from the heat and concerns of the Deep South, for example, is The Kansas City Star. It remarks:

Montgomery, Ala.

> . . . The Republicans are determined to put the civil rights bills through Congress and they now seem to have the power . . . But this would leave the Republicans to obtain the chief credit for the enactment whereas that credit was exactly what Mr. Truman wanted. So the administration would have gained little or nothing politically and would have lost the Southern support as the outlook now appears. Fri. 2-27-48
>
> Meanwhile if the bills are made law they will become largely dead letters along with legislation of similar character and background. So the racial elements concerned would have gained little or nothing.
>
> It adds up to the impressive moral that if you want genuine reform in a field of this kind you shouldn't make that reform a political football. Progress has come without it and it may continue despite it if the political interference is not made too strong.

The Louisville Courier-Journal, one of this country's great newspapers, published in a border state, views it in a different light:

> Because the rebels have taken the course they chose, it is too much to hope that the civil rights legislation may now be debated on its merits. There is room for honest discussion of its practical aspects and its necessity in more than one detail.
>
> But the Southern politicians make inevitable the country's taking it or leaving it as it is. You would almost believe they were secretly for it, having made its enactment all but certain. Fri. 2-27-48

THOSE quotations bespeak some of the complexities of the desertion dilemma. We Southerners just haven't had time to think it out.

In Alabama, the South's dilemma is compounded by Folsom's candidacy for President. It seems to use that the McCorvey plan for aborting Alabama's participation in the Philadelphia convention and later withholding Alabama's electoral votes does not adequately reckon with Folsom.

Yesterday Folsom made a statewide radio address. It was the most gracious assist the bloody Stalin has had out of Alabama in a long while. It probably led to added merriment in the Kremlin over the Hitlerian rape of Czechoslovakia.

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It affects the McCorvey plan in that the Folsom speech was chiefly a predicate for getting out a slate of Folsom delegates to the convention and possibly a slate of electors.

Pres.

The Advertiser

FOLSOM himself cannot—in all probability—be defeated for election to one of the six delegates-at-large positions. It is highly probable that some of the Folsom district delegates will likewise be sent to Philadelphia. And possibly the same will obtain in the case of electors.

If so, what will happen to the McCorvey plan? Montgomery, Ala

We do not mean to belittle the plan, but these questions must be answered as a practical matter. Fri.

It may be that, Solid South or not, Harry Truman is a goner. If so, Southern desertion would make no difference this time. 2-27-48

It may be that, despite a thousand uncertainties and an equation loaded with too many X's, this is a time when we simply have to strike out and trust to Providence we don't go wrong.

At all events, The Advertiser insists that we must think harder and clearer.

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Presidential (General)

34a(1) Pages

Dewey Is Leading In 30 States, Truman in 10, Full Survey Finds

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Oct 10-17-48

PRINCETON, N. J.—With but two weeks of the 1948 presidential campaign remaining, this is the picture of political sentiment throughout the nation as revealed by the Institute's cross-section surveys as completed in all 48 States:

1. Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican candidate, has a substantial lead in 20 States, and Gov. Thurmond, States' Rights candidate, in four States. In this group of 34 States, Gov. Dewey has nearly two and a half times as many electoral votes as President Truman. In fact, he has virtually enough in this group of States alone to elect him.

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

2. In the remaining 14 States, where the lead of one candidate over the others is narrow, Gov. Dewey today has the advantage in 10, President Truman in three, and in one State, Minnesota, the present figures show an even split between the two major candidates.

3. Although indications from the present survey are that Dewey will have a large majority of electoral votes over Truman and Thurmond, his lead in terms of popular votes is fairly small. Latest Institute figures on the national popular vote show the following divisions:

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey	46%
President Truman	40
Henry A. Wallace	4
Gov. J. Strom Trurmond	2
Undecided	8

Oct 10-17-48

The last previous survey, reported by the Institute Sept. 24, showed Gov. Dewey getting 46½ percent of all votes; President Truman, 39 percent; Mr. Wallace, 3½ percent; Gov. Thurmond, 2 percent, and 9 percent undecided.

Today's figures reveal a decrease of one percent in the undecided vote, a slight loss for Gov. Dewey and a slight gain for President Truman and Mr. Wallace.

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The following table gives the standings of the presidential candidates in those States where the lead of one candidate is sufficiently large to make it fairly certain that the candidate will carry the State on election day:

TABLE A

The 20 States where Gov. Dewey is today leading by a substantial margin:

Oct 10-17-48

	Dewey	Truman	Wallace	Thurmond	Undec.
Maine	56%	34%	3%	*	7%
New Hampshire	54	36	3	*	7
Vermont	60	33	1	*	6
Delaware	49	36	1	*	14
New Jersey	50	38	3	*	9
New York	47	34	11	*	8
Pennsylvania	50	41	3	*	6
Illinois	49	40	*	*	11
Michigan	52	41	4	*	3
Indiana	52	40	2	*	6
Ohio	51	42	3	*	4
Iowa	53	38	2	*	7
Kansas	59	34	2	*	5
Nebraska	53	39	*	*	8
North Dakota	50	34	6	*	10
South Dakota	54	38	1	*	7
Wisconsin	51	40	3	*	6
Colorado	51	41	1	*	7
Wyoming	50	41	3	*	6
Oregon	47	38	5	*	10

The 10 States where President Truman is today leading by a substantial margin:

	Dewey	Truman	Wallace	Thurmond	Undec.
Rhode Island	37%	48%	3%	*	12%
Missouri	40	51	3	*	6
New Mexico	40	49	2	*	9
Arkansas	23	55	1	12	9
Georgia	16	55	2	16	11
Kentucky	40	49	1	4	6
North Carolina	34	44	1	13	8
Oklahoma	39	52	*	*	9
Tennessee	32	48	1	8	11
Texas	23	61	3	8	5

The four States where Gov. Thurmond is leading today:

	Dewey	Truman	Wallace	Thurmond	Undec.
Alabama	16%	32%	1%	43%	8%
Louisiana	20	28	2	34	16
Mississippi	5	12	1	66	16
S. Carolina	10	26	**	54	10

The remaining group of 14 States may best be described as the main battleground for presidential candidates for the final two weeks before election day. In these States the lead of one candidate over the others is not great. Later polls may show some of these changing position and, in fact, events and campaign strategy may shift some of these States from one candidate to another.

Here are the presidential standings today in the 14 "battleground" States of 1948.

TABLE B

Connecticut	43%	39%	4%	*	14%
Massachusetts	50	43	2	*	5
West Va.	40	43	2	*	6
Maryland	47	44	4	*	5
Minnesota	45	45	4	*	6
Florida	32	33	2	19	14
Virginia	43	40	1	8	8
Arizona	43	47	5	*	5
Idaho	46	42	5	*	7
Montana	40	47	7	*	6
Nevada	47	44	3	*	6
Utah	45	42	3	*	10
California	48	41	6	*	5
Washington	45	43	3	*	9

10-17-48

In all the above tables one asterisk signifies that the candidate was not on the ballot at the time interviews for this survey were taken, two asterisks indicates he received less than one percent.

By JOHN N. POPHAM
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ASHEVILLE, N. C., Aug. 31—Henry A. Wallace and his retinue of political associates headed for the deep south tonight after a turbulent day which saw irate Southerners continue to pelt the Wallace group with eggs and tomatoes until they reached this resort city in the western hills of North Carolina.

Wed. 9-1-48

Before boarding a train here, Mr. Wallace spoke to an assemblage of 600 persons in the courthouse square. The crowd jeered him slightly but threw no objects, so for the first time in two days he was able to make a completely audible speech.

The Times

Mr. Wallace was so obviously pleased with the sudden change in the temper of the crowd that he grinned broadly and asserted, "I want to thank you good people for this wonderful opportunity to democratically express my views and I want t oexpress my appreciation for all the fine people who have turned out to hear me throughout the state."

Wed 9-1-48

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He added that he felt the people of Asheville would be pleased to know that a few hours before, in the town of Hickory, where he was the target of the thickest barrage of eggs and tomatoes in the enitre trip, he had been approachedl by a Baptist minister who told him, "Mr. Wallace, I want you to know that as a Christian I deeply deplore the things that have taken place in this community."

New York, N.Y.

Had to Give Up at Hickory

At the Hickory meeting, Mr. Wallace and a score of persons close to him were splattered with rotten eggs and overripe tomatoes. The barrage was so heavy that for the first time Mr. Wallace quit his talk abruptly and paraphrased a passage from Scripture for his tormentors.

"As Jesus Christ told his disciples, when you enter a town that will not hear you willingly, then shake the dust of that town from your feet and go elsewhere," Mr. Wallace said before turning on his heels and entering his automobile, parked a few feet away.

The orderliness of the Asheville meeting was attributable to adequate police preparations. Thirty city policemen and ten state highway patrolmen had been assigned to handle the crowd, and Charles W. Dermid, Director of Public Safety, said the police were ordered to arrest anyone they saw throwing objects of any kind.

Mr. Wallace boarded his train for Alabama expressing "happiness" at receiving a report that President Truman had deplored the throwing of things at Mr. Wallace as "a violation of the American concept of fair play."

"I am glad to see that the President has joined so many of the southern Governors in deploring events of this kind," Mr. Wallace said.

Asked which southern Governors he had in mind, Mr. Wallace replied, "Governor Cherry of North Carolina and Governor Wright of Mississippi."

Cherry, Wright Promises Told

A political attaché of Mr. Wallace's explained later that the Wallace group had received word that Governor Cherry had promised them increased police protection for today's trip across the state and that they "had heard" that Governor Wright, who is the Vice-Presidential candidate of the States Rights Democrats, had asserted that Mr. Wallace would not receive in Mississippi the treatment accorded him in North Carolina.

The Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party will carry his message of racial equality to the deep South tomorrow when he arrives by train at Decatur, Ala., with a scheduled stop at Birmingham.

It was at Birmingham last May that Mr. Wallace's running mate for Vice President, Senator Glen H. Taylor of Idaho, was arrested and fingerprinted and subsequently convicted of violating the city's ordinances providing for segregation of the races.

The Alabama visit will also provide a test of old political loyalties since the Governor, James E. Folsom, as a member of the Alabama delegation to the Democratic National Convention in 1944, bolted his group to support Mr. Wallace's candidacy for the nomination as Vice President.

Crowds Show Resentment

The Wallace party completed today an automobile tour across the state which, although it started and ended on pleasant notes, included some of the most violent displays of resentment in the South since the political campaign swing through the region got under way last Sunday.

The motorcade left Winston-Salem in the morning, with a state highway patrolman driving the lead car as part of the promise of increased police protection from Governor Cherry, it was said.

The Caravan passed through several towns on the way to Charlotte without any incidents except in Salisbury, where some one threw an orange that struck the door of Mr. Wallace's car a few inches below the window on the side where he was sitting.

The Times

The largest crowd of the trip turned out in Charlotte before the courthouse. It numbered about 2,500, although many persons kept arriving and departing when they were unable to get close enough to hear the speaker.

It was a good-natured crowd and the hecklers almost drowned out Mr. Wallace's words, but the police had it in control. Just before Mr. Wallace finished, however, a barrage of eggs and tomatoes came hurtling through the air, striking some of Mr. Wallace's group and also some of the spectators.

As he finished his talk in Charlotte, Mr. Wallace pointed to a monument that was erected in memory of the men who framed the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in 1775, a Colonial move to throw off British control.

Wed 9-1-48

"Try to remember the Mecklenburg declaration," Mr. Wallace shouted, "and try to keep that kind of democracy in your minds."

"Eagle Has Left, Right Wings"

During his talk in Charlotte, Mr. Wallace had pointed to a silver pin designed as an American eagle that was worn on the top of her dress by his political associate, Miss Mary Price, who is the Progressive party's candidate for Governor in North Carolina.

"That eagle there is an American eagle and it has left and right wings," Mr. Wallace said. "That is the way of American politics. It has right and left wings."

When Mr. Wallace and his group returned to their cars after being assisted by police through the milling, shouting mob, Miss Price discovered that her pin had been torn from her dress. She replaced it with a Wallace campaign pin.

The party then drove to Hickory, a small manufacturing town in the middle of the state, where about 500 persons assembled in the main street to greet the Wallace group.

There was a great burst of booing and heckling when Mr. Wallace first walked to the loudspeaker set up on the sidewalk. He asked for a chance to talk and suddenly the crowd became very quiet.

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser

Letters to the editor must carry complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names may be used at the editor's discretion. Letters of less than 200 words are given preference. All letters may be cut.

Day Of Reckoning Ahead?

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I can't resist making a few observations on the editorial "Tuesday's Fisherman."

The exercise of the franchise is a traditional American right and privilege

o merely vote to say you voted to my ay of thinking is much worse than not oting at all. In this election we have no hoice—by a combination of confusion nd legality we cannot vote for electors ledged to the National Democratic nomees the representatives of the [illegible] that is the only hope of the South traditionally and as a matter of actual fact.

The States' Right movement (Dixiecrats) is one founded on personal hatred (for Truman) bigotry and intolerance. Any movement so founded will surely die, but I surely would not for one moment deny the right of any citizen to vote for the Dixiecrats if he felt that was the thing to do.

Many of us can't see friend Wallace, or any of the other candidates. When you get right down to brass tacks this election regardless of all other issues reduces itself to the naked fact that it is either Tru- [illegible] Dewey, Democrat or Republican. [illegible] ocratic Party (National) I believe is the best one for the South and the nation. All of the deserters who have left the National Party (understand me it is their right and privilege to desert if they want to, and brother they deserted—they walked out, no one pushed them), are merely helping elect Tom Dewey who is now governor of the State of New York, which now has an FEPC law. All the diabolical schemes that are ascribed to Harry Truman (Roosevelt's choice) can be doubly ascribed to elusive Dewey. When Dewey gets in power and the big money boys get their mitts on the purse strings I don't think this States' Rights business is going to seem nearly so important as some other and very real problems that will come to live with us.

No, Mr. Editor, the ones who refuse to jump to the tune of the selfish or the bigoted and can find no candidate in the field they can honestly support, should not be ashamed. It takes a lot more innards to refuse to be swept along with any proposition that you honestly don't believe in than it does to drift along and be swayed by any thing that comes along.

There is no choice for thousands and thousands of good Alabamians next Tuesday. There will be another day and another election and possibly this whole mess will arouse the citizens from lethargy and inaction. My belief is that you will hear from "Tuesday's Fisherman" in a real and concrete way when we have a choice again.

Sat 10-30-48

JOHN D. ANDREWS

Montgomery.

* * * *

OVERDUE

Editor, The Advertiser:

I may be wrong, but it seems to me when there is even a serious suggestion that the Supreme Court may "force a state's electors" to support any candidate, then a state's rights movement is considerably overdue.

MRS. J. L. HEACOCK.

Montgomery.

* * * *

PROUD OF FOLSOM

Editor, The Advertiser:

The close of the coming election has drawn into its final stretch. I wonder just how the poor electors feel that are pledged to the "States Righters?" They should have realized by now, as they will election day, the majority of the individual votes cast in the state will go to Mister Truman, which will prove that "misrepresentation" no longer controls the votes of a state.

Articles are printed in the paper stating the expenditures spent by the National Democratic Party and the Republican Party for campaigning and where the funds come from. There hasn't appeared anything giving a slight glimpse of where the States Righters campaign funds are coming from. Could it be they are scared to disclose the identity of the few corporations that allocate such expenses to try to make sure their party goes in the national capital, namely the Republican Party?

I'm proud, as the rest of the voting people of the state are, that Gov. Folsom has practically guaranteed us the opportunity to vote again for the National Democratic Party instead of going to the polls and not getting to cast a vote at all for our next president. The privilege of voting against a party with "prejudicial-effects in mind" will be a pleasure.

When the States Righters first started their campaign I anticipated a day would come when I would have the opportunity to write a letter with these contents. Our national security seems to be the least of Mr. Thurmond's and Mr. Wright's campaign speeches. Their main objective seems to be to convert "racial-discrimination" to "racial hate." They will soon realize the old custom of "you're red and I'm blue, so I'm better than you" no longer exists.

D. H. DUNCAN, JR.

Montgomery, Ala.

Sat 10-29-48

★ *Folsom said this week that he was abandoning his projected court action.—Ed.*

* * * *

NOT SINCE

Editor, The Advertiser:

Not since the days when Gov. George S. Houston, "The Bald Eagle of Limestone," drove the Negro office-holders, the carpetbaggers and the scalawags from the throne in Alabama have we been confronted with anything comparable, in importance, to that which now stares us in the face point-blank. The Truman civil rights program. Let's kill it. Motto: Stay with the Rooster.

Dewey, Truman Swap Blows on Red Issue

34a(1)

Atl Constitution

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Sat 9-25-48

Atlanta Ga

A top-rank—if long distance—debate appears to be shaping up between the Republican and Democratic candidates for President, with Communists and fellow travelers the topics at issue.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey said last night that some Communists and fellow travelers have "risen to positions of trust in our Government," said President Truman prepared to argue the issue.

Dewey said in a speech for a major Republican rally at Los Angeles that if present laws are not enough to cope with Communists who engage in illegal activities "we'll get ones which are."

In an obvious reference to Mr. Truman, Dewey said some people jeer at the problem of Communisim, "calling it a 'red herring'."

Other people, said Dewey, "get panicky about it."

"I don't belong to either group," the GOP nominee added.

Mr. Truman, traveling through Yuma and other Arizona points eastward to his next major address at Oklahoma City next Tuesday, was reported to have decided to bear down on the Communism issue then.

Sat 9-25-48

An aide on the President's special train said specifically that Mr. Truman's Tuesday speech will be directed toward Dewey's statements that Red influences are at work in the Administration.

Dewey said that the thing to do is to keep the people informed as to what the Communists are doing.

If they break laws against treason, he said, "they'll get traitors' treatment. If they engage in sabotage or any other laws, we'll jail them."

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President Truman, on his way to Yuma, told a crowd at Oceanside, Cal., that he speaks the truth but that the opposition conceals its intent. He said:

"Try to find out where the rest of the people stand who are in opposition to me. See whether they will tell you or not. I don't think they will, because they are trying to make you believe one thing when they are really going to do another. It's a case of double talk.

Sat 9-25-48

"You don't have to find out what I mean when I say it. I say it so you can understand it. The record speaks for itself."

Mr. Truman's talk at Oceanside was the fifty-fifth of his intensive Western tour which is due to wind up with his return to Washington Oct. 2.

Henry A. Wallace, the Progressive Party candidate, also got into the atomic energy discussion. He said that if industry has too big a part it would hold back development of atomic energy in competition with established forms of power.

Speaking generally, Wallace told a Cleveland news conference:

"A vote for Dewey is a straight, clearcut vote for reaction, but a vote for Truman is a wasted vote because he talks one way and acts another."

This was in retort to Mr. Truman's Los Angeles plea that liberal voters not waste their votes on Wallace.

The Negro vote came in for discussion by Rep. Dawson, Democrat, Illinois) one of the two Negroes in Congress. Dawson predicted at New York that more Negroes will vote for Mr. Truman "than have ever voted the Democratic ticket."

In the South, where Mr. Truman's anti-discrimination proposals have stirred up many white Democrats, the Louisiana House voted to permit President Truman's name to be listed on the State's election ballot—but not as a Democratic candidate.

The Democratic State Committee in Louisiana two weeks ago declared Gov. Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Wright of Mississippi the official Democratic nominees for President and Vice President. They make up the States Rights ticket in the election.

Sat 9-25-48

Gov. Warren, the GOP Vice Presidential candidate, got in blows of his own against Communism. He told a news conference in Detroit that "I'd rather be defeated than have Communist support." Enroute to Detroit, he told a crowd at Marion, Ohio, that Communism would have no place in the Government under an administration headed by Dewey.

Courier Throws Full Support To Gov. Dewey

Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat. 9-25-48

ALBANY, N. Y.—The Pittsburgh Courier will support the candidacy of Governor Thomas E. Dewey for the Presidency this year!

Announcement of this fact was made here Friday afternoon following a forty-minute conference between New York State's chief executive and Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president and treasurer of this newspaper.

34a(1)

Endorsement of the Republican nominee was carried over the radio and throughout the daily press of the Nation.

It will be recalled that The Courier supported the candidacies of the late Wendell Willkie in 1940 and Governor Dewey in 1944.

Sat. 9-25-48

Mrs. Vann's statement, which she gave to newspapermen following her conference with the Governor, follows:

"I have just told Governor Thomas E. Dewey that The Pittsburgh Courier will support his candidacy for President.

"Negroes are, indeed, fortunate in having all of the three major candidates for President, favorably disposed to the advancement and protection of their rights and interests.

34a(1)

"President Harry S. Truman and Henry Wallace have been dramatic in espousing the cause of Negroes, but Governor Dewey has been more effective in giving protection to their basic rights and well-being. He has achieved in New York, for Negroes, most of the objectives and has had enacted most of the laws which President Truman and Mr. Wallace have advocated for the Nation as a whole.

Sat 9-25-48

"Governor Dewey in the pursuit of these rights on a national level for Negroes and other underprivileged people will not have the uncompromising and bitter opposition of a large segment of his own party, which is certainly true of the Democratic Southern opposition to President Truman's civil rights program.

"Negroes cannot hope to have their civil rights protected and their interests advanced through the Democratic party so long as the South is in control of that party in Congress. At this very moment 105 of the 186 Democratic Congressmen come from the solid Southern States while twenty-two of the forty-five Democratic Senators come from these States. When Congressmen and Senators from some of the border States, which are Southern in their racial attitude are added to this number, the Democratic party is clearly under Southern domination when it comes to Negro rights and interests.

Sat. 9-25-48

"It is therefore evident that no Democratic President will be able to do anything on behalf of Negroes through the Democratic party, regardless of his sincerity and sympathy with the aspirations of Negro people.

"Politically, Negroes are dual personalities. They must consider candidates both from the standpoint of American citizens and as Negroes. It is when Presidential candidates are considered by Negroes, solely as American citizens, that the preference for Governor Dewey is decisive.

"He has demonstrated executive and administrative ability far superior to that of any other candidate. He has shown that he knows how to get things done. He has also shown a broad sympathy and understanding of the problems of all the people of the Nation.

"The Courier believes that the Negro people would have the best chance of winning 'equal citizenship status' and of having their national interests protected through the election of Governor Dewey.

"These reasons are briefly why The Courier, in the interests of Negro people in America, and in the interest of citizens generally, feels duty-bound to support the candidacy of Governor Dewey."

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (General)

Knife Civil Rights Move to Unite Demos Behind Truman

The Worker N.Y. 34a(1) Pres (Gen)

Sun. 3-14-48

WASHINGTON.—The Democratic Party leadership this week announced that President Truman's hat is in the ring for re-election and immediately began making peace overtures to dissident Southern Democrats. With the party executive committee meeting Thursday and Friday, it was clear that Chairman J. Howard McGrath, by persuading Truman to make his open bid now, could not stop some demoralized Democrats from continuing to search the field for a different candidate. But the effect of this action was to discourage that quest and rally party regulars and the party apparatus behind Truman.

Meanwhile, Southern Democrats have been assured that while President Truman cannot afford to retract his Civil Rights message, the program will not be pushed by Truman Democrats either in Congress or the convention.

Sun. 3-14-48

AS A TOKEN of the administration's intentions, Truman Democrats absented themselves from the Chamber last Monday when the House voted on the Marcantonio amendment to restore in the Labor-Federal Security appropriations bills a proviso denying federal funds to states which discriminate against Negroes. Thus the Southern Democrats who attended in force, were able to defeat the proposal handily without a record vote. The Worker

The situation was summed up classically by Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-NY) one of the two Wallace men in the House, when in the debate he demanded, "Where are the Truman Democrats?"

McGrath's peace treaty with the Southern Democrats was accompanied by a declaration of war against Henry Wallace and the third party. Speaking at a forum in Philadelphia Tuesday night, the Democratic chairman said his candidate, Truman, had only two foes, "the Republicans on the right and the Communists and other third party elements on the left."

This reflected the conclusion of the Democratic topkicks that efforts to woo Wallace back to the fold were fruitless. It also indicated that the Democrats are seriously disturbed by information from privately conducted polls which reveal that Wallace supporters now number fifteen million.

Sun. 3-14-48

THE ANNOUNCEMENT of Gen. Douglas MacArthur that he is in the running for the GOP nomination is believed here to favor the chances of Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-O). At this writing, the general is not conceded the possibility of copping the nomination, although he may come to the convention June 21 with a sizeable bloc of delegates. In the event of a deadlock between Taft and Dewey, it is believed that most of MacArthur's votes would go to Taft.

Despite this development, Sen. Arthur Vandenberg (R-Mich) is still given odds to emerge as the choice of the GOP convention if and when there is a deadlock.

The Michigander has the backing of strong Eastern financial groups who consider him the most competent operator to insure Wall Street the fruits of the Marshall Plan. These groups, whose opinions are reflected in the columns of Walter Lippmann, are offering a slate with Vandenberg in the top position and either Dewey or Stassen as running mate. Sun 3-14-48

The outcome of the New Hampshire primary Tuesday, which gave Dewey a six-to-one majority, would favor his prospects for the Number Two position, providing he is willing to accept the subordinate role.

The next primary is Wisconsin's on April 6. This is expected to give some indication of the relative strength of Dewey, Stassen and MacArthur. New York, N.Y.

The MacArthur candidacy has another significance quite apart from his chances to secure the nomination. Supported by the Hearst newspapers and radios, as well as by various anti-Semitic and anti-Negro organizations, his campaign will provide a banner to rally the cruder fascist elements in the nation. Out of that will come a stronger organized and openly fascist movement.

BANKER FOR MacARTHUR—Warren Wright (left), Chicago banker who sparks the "MacArthur-for-President" campaign, discusses campaign plans with Rep. Arthur Miller (R-Neb). Banker Wright has opened headquarters in Washington.

Both Truman, Third Party Cast Aside By CIO Official

The Advertiser 34a(1)

Montgomery, Ala

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—(AP)—The CIO is looking for a presidential candidate who shows a "superlative type of leadership," Jack Kroll, CIO political action director, said Thursday. Fri

In an address prepared for the CIO textile workers convention, Kroll cast aside President Truman and the Third Party. He said Sen. Robert A. Taft (R) Ohio, a Republican presidential candidate, "may be counted out" in next week's Ohio primary.

"It is Mr. Truman's misfortune to have succeeded Franklin D. Roosevelt and what he does suffers by comparison with that great president," Kroll said.

Emil Rieve, textile workers' president, who called on President Truman earlier this week to eliminate himself as a candidate, "stated boldly the facts of the present situation," Kroll said.

"I haven't come here with any secret instructions," Kroll said. "The whole question of the CIO's position on the presidency is still to be decided." 4-30-48

Later he told newsmen the CIO probably would wait until July before announcing support of a presidential candidate.

Of the Third Party, Kroll said:

"I charge that these Third Party adherents are using the same tactics on the political front as the employers used against us on the economic front. They are attempting to divide us so that they can conquer us." 4-30-48

Kroll said the CIO's PAC is concentrating on congressional contests. He said a presidential candidate will be endorsed by the CIO after it completes a canvass of "the entire situation . . ." Realize that only a superlative type of leadership can take them out of the present crisis," Kroll said. The Advertiser

He called on the union to back CIO PAC in dollar contributions and in electioneering. Montgomery, Ala.

A message from President Truman read to the convention said the "pressure of official business" kept him from accepting an invitation to address the gathering.

"I am sure the textile workers of America, as they deliberate the policies which will keep their union strong and provide for the greater welfare of their own members, are conscious of their role as responsible citizens of America," the message said. The Advertiser

"I know that, like all good Americans, they are aware of the dangers that threaten the growth of democracy in many parts of the world, and that they will join in the common cause of maintaining and strengthening our democratic institutions at home." Fri. 4-30-48

The convention approved a resolution opposing the candidacy of Henry Wallace. The resolution also followed the line set down by Rieve. Montgomery, Ala.

The resolution predicted "Wallace and his adherents will not carry a single state and may insure the election of a Dewey, a Taft or a Stassen together with an anti-labor reactionary Congress." Fri.

The resolution also said "Wallace and his PCA can claim the support of only one organized group in America today, the Communist Party." 4-30-48

34(a)(1) (Geo)

Truman or Dewey Can Garner Enough Electoral Votes Outside South to Win

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 7-31-48

Poll Gives Wallace 7% of Popular Vote; Civil Rights Implementation Our Concern

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The 1948 Presidential election will be decided by Northern and Western States, particularly pivotal States with large colored votes. As a matter of fact, it is possible and probable that the colored vote will be the deciding factor.

The South, even if it were solidly opposed to President Truman, which it isn't, cannot decide a national election.

On the other hand, either President Truman or Governor Dewey can garner enough electoral votes outside the South to win the election. Republican tickets have had to do so repeatedly, and the Democrats have done so occasionally.

Dixie Party Discounted

The "splinter party" which has nominated Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi for Vice President may not last until November.

If it does, it is not apparent that this ticket will carry more than two States—South Carolina and Mississippi. The others of the Solid South will give their electoral votes to Mr. Truman.

Wallace's Party Effective

The candidacy of Henry Wallace will have some effect on the election results. Public opinion polls indicate that he will receive 7% of the popular vote. 7-31-48

His campaign already has attracted a number of prominent colored persons and undoubtedly he will make inroads on the colored Democratic vote, but to what extent cannot be foretold at this early stage.

The Afro-American

We Are Fortunate

Colored voters find themselves fortunately situated. Both President Truman and Governor Dewey are excellent candidates. Mr. Truman has proved liberal, honest and sincere. Governor Dewey has shown himself to be liberal and a good administrator. His honesty is unquestioned. Sat

Both parties are committed to a civil rights program. As between the party planks on this issue there is little to choose.

This Is the Choice

So far as colored voters are concerned, therefore, the choice narrows itself down to a question of whether civil rights can be better implemented under a Democratic or Republican administration. Baltimore, Md.

One of the important issues on civil rights concerns itself with race and religious discrimination in employment. After he acceeded to the Presidency on Apr. 12, 1945, President Truman recommended to Congress legislation to make the Fair Employment Practice Commission permanent.

7-31-48

The Republican Party in its 1944 platform was unreservedly committed to "the establishment by Federal legislation of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission."

Full Choice In Florida

The News

The way has been cleared for Florida voters to vote for Truman, Dewey, Thurmond or Wallace in the November presidential election.

34(a)(1)

Eight Democratic nominees for elector had been chosen. But in this group sentiment was divided between Truman and Thurmond. Controversy developed, as in other states, over whether the nominees were bound to support the nominee of the national Democratic Party. A judge had held that electors were free to vote as they chose. The situation was badly mixed up. In response to a widespread demand, a special session of the Legislature was called to straighten out the tangle.

Birmingham
Ala.

(Geo)

As a consequence, the voters will have an opportunity to vote for whichever of the four candidates they prefer. News

* * *

Names of the four main presidential contenders will be placed at the top of the ballot. Under the name of each a full list of electors will appear. The voter may merely make a mark in the circle under the name of his choice, thus voting for all the electors favoring that candidate. Or he may vote for each elector individually. 9-16-48

Four of the elector nominees who previously had been chosen by the Democrats will stand for Mr. Truman and four for Mr. Thurmond. Slates for each of these presidential candidates have been completed with the addition of four names on each. Dewey and Wallace slates also will be complete.

The Florida Senate approved by a vote of 25 to 9 an amendment to the election bill which gave the Wallace Progressive Party an equal place on the ballot with the other parties.

* * *

This action in Florida provides a sharp contrast to the situation in Alabama, where voters who wish to support Mr. Truman have no way of doing so.

An Alabama Supreme Court advisory opinion held that the electors have the right to vote for whom they wish. The candidates nominated by Alabama Democrats are all pledged against Mr. Truman and will support Mr. Thurmond. Truman supporters in this state have found no acceptable means of getting a slate of elector candidates on the ballot. The News

Sen. Joseph Langan, of Mobile, leader of these forces, has announced abandonment of efforts along that line and has advised voting for the regularly nominated elector candidates with a view to court action after their election to compel them to vote for Mr. Truman. Birmingham

Mr. Langan holds that custom and sound practice call for the Democratic elector nominees to vote for the candidates of the national party. Ala.

It is highly regrettable that in our own state a substantial number of voters are not going to have a chance to vote as they would prefer. News.

It is obvious that if strong two-party national government is to be served, state elector nominees should be on the ballot who will support the candidates of the national party. 9-16-48

IT SOUNDS FAMILIAR

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

As the presidential campaign gets under way, there is evidence that we are to witness the spectacle of politics being played in the realm of foreign affairs in attempts to curry votes with various minority groups in this country. Around election time, our candidates for president have a way of becoming acutely aware of wrongs inflicted upon the down-trodden Croats, Afghans, or what have you—always provided enough of them have migrated to this country to form a voting bloc worth courting. There is evidence that 1948 will be no exception.

(Geo)

It is happily true that so far there has been no indication of a break in the bipartisan foreign policy that has enabled us to present a solid front to the Russians, except for Wallace's rantings. But signs are already cropping up of sweet-talking European elements with sizable groups in this country. This practice has long been indulged in. It naturally impedes the carrying out of an intelligent foreign policy based on realities and tends to compromise us in foreign eyes when pre-election promises are not always backed by performance. Sat. 8-21-48

As an example, Gov. Dewey recently told an Italian-American group that he favors giving Italy control of her former colonies—Libya, Eritrea, Somaliland—under a UN trusteeship. There are independence moves afoot in those lands, but the Libyans, Eritreans and Somalis have not attained a foothold in this country and consequently are not likely to find a candidate-spokesman. The Italian vote is potent in some areas.

We distinctly recall, before and during the war, that the Italians were pictured as cruel, rapacious colonizers. We read that in Libya a favorite Italian stunt was to take the chief of a rebellious tribe up in a plane and drop him on his native village—without benefit of parachute. The Italians did not hesitate to use poison gas in colonial warfare, something the British and French refused to do, preferring to lick their natives fair and square and retain their respect.

Of course, all that was then and this is now. Italy has acquired a new look since she began to loom as a bulwark against communism, just as Germany is beginning to look different to some folks. It is claimed that Italy's former colonies will help solve her surplus population problem, and it may be that they should be given back to her. But decision in such matters should come through proper channels and not be swayed by embarrassing pronouncements from candidates making an obvious play for votes. 8-21-48

Truman's 32 Per Cent In Alabama

The Advertiser

Pres

THE Gallup Poll on the opposite page today is striking for two reasons:

1. In Alabama, 32 per cent of the voters would—if they could—vote for Harry Truman. Forty-three per cent want to vote for Thurmond, the Dixiecrat candidate.

Jun 10-17-48

34a(1)

2. Despite Truman and all that he is and isn't, Thomas E. Dewey leads him but 6 per cent—46 per cent to 40 per cent—in the national popular vote. In short, were the nominee other than Truman, a Democratic victory would be likely.

Montgomery, Ala

* * * *

THE Gallup Poll findings in the four Thurmond-Wright states are arresting:

ALABAMA—Dewey 16 per cent; Truman, 32 per cent; Thurmond, 43 per cent;

LOUISIANA—Dewey, 20 per cent; Truman, 28 per cent; Thurmond, 34 per cent;

MISSISSIPPI—Dewey, 5; Truman, 12; Thurmond, 66;

SOUTH CAROLINA—Dewey, 10; Truman, 26; Thurmond, 56.

We have no idea why Truman should have more strength in Alabama than in the other three states, nor why Mississippi is more overwhelmingly pro-Dixiecrat than South Carolina, whose own Gov. Thurmond is the standard bearer.

What we do believe more strongly than before is that there is backfire in the fact that 32 per cent of Alabama voters want to vote for Harry Truman—and can't.

We've been saying rather frequently that Alabama has a highly dubious distinction in being the only state in the Union where it is physically impossible to vote for Truman, nominee of the National Democratic Party. We've been saying that this is a circumstance that will not be quickly forgotten.

But in contending that Truman's name should be on the Alabama ballot we did so without any idea that 32 per cent of the people want to vote for Truman.

Our contention was that Truman couldn't get a nickel's worth of votes in Alabama, but that his name should appear on the ballot as a matter of principle.

But, on the basis of the Gallup Poll, we were wrong in a rather large way—but not nearly so wrong as certain others we might name.

Jun 10-17-48

* * * *

IT DOESN'T matter a hoot that the Alabama short ballot—the only one in the United States on which Truman's name doesn't appear—is the work of the people of Alabama. It was the people that voted so overwhelmingly in May to appropriate the Democratic Rooster to Thurmond instead of Truman.

It is true that it was possible for the Truman forces—they have to be called "forces" if they represent 32 per cent of the voters—to have qualified an independent slate of electors the same as did Wallace's Progressive Party and the Prohibition Party.

All of that is true. But that is the secondary fact. The primary fact was and is that the people are confused and have no clear knowledge of how the Alabama short ballot came to be.

As Folsom says, even the Republicans want Truman on the ballot.

Assuming the accuracy of the Gallup Poll estimate of 32 per cent for Truman in Alabama, we are certain that there is going to be a reaction in Alabama. It's going to be an unreasonable and unreasoning reaction, but no less formidable.

* * * *

THE question forthwith arises:

Is the Gallup Poll accurate?

It is difficult for us to believe that 32 per cent of Alabama voters want to vote for Truman. But if the Gallup Poll is wrong—it'll be the first time it's ever been wrong!

Both Gallup and Elmo Roper have for a decade and more been predicting all kinds of elections with unerring accuracy—with what may be validly termed "scientific accuracy."

Jun 10-17-48

That's the record. It's unassailable. There it is.

How can 32 per cent want to vote for Truman? The answer is that it is not for Truman they would vote—but for the nominee of the Democratic Party. That, we believe, is the sovereign explanation.

* * * *

TRUMAN'S strength nationally is arresting. An electoral landslide for Dewey impends, but only six per cent more Americans want to vote for Dewey than for Truman.

Plainly, had the Democrats been able to nominate a strong candidate for President instead of the pesky President Truman, the Democrats would have won this year despite the impediments of 16 years of power.

When one considers the profusely demonstrated infirmities and incompetence of Truman along with the fact that he is close to Dewey in popular strength, you have a glaring evidence of Dewey's lack of appeal.

The tip-off occurred in recent polls which showed, despite Truman's low standing, that Democratic nominees for Congress were running strongly. This clearly showed that the Democratic Party and what it now stands for—like it or not—have a wide and powerful appeal to the American people.

This is further noteworthy when it is considered that boom times find voters in a conservative frame of mind. It has been axiomatic that the country is "normally Republican," that it goes Democratic in distressed times when a leftward trend surges.

Jun 10-17-48

But today it is Dewey's 46 per cent to Truman's 40 per cent—six per cent difference. One speculates that the Vinson affair alone must have cost Truman 6 per cent.

When you make a roster of Truman's similar blunders, you at once realize that Dewey has had a mountainous good fortune in the identity of his opponent.

It would appear that it's a case of the country is going to elect Dewey as a means of preserving the country from the maladministration of Truman—but even so it doesn't like Dewey.

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (General)

JAY G. HAYDEN

Political

South Unlikely To Hear Candidates

(34a)

WASHINGTON—Unless they shift their present strategy, neither President Truman nor Gov. Dewey will do much speechmaking in the South.

It was announced recently that President Truman will include Texas in his approaching coast-to-coast swing, but this was decided only after the victory of his supporters in the Texas Democratic Convention had made certain that Mr. Truman would hold the regular Democratic ballot designation in that State.

9-30-48

Previously it had been settled that the President will not go into any State where the Thurmond-Wright Civil-Rights ticket has usurped the Democratic column and in that category so far are Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana. And while Mr. Truman has not yet been ousted from the regular Democratic ballot position in Georgia he determined not to go into that State as soon as he learned that Herman Talmadge, a bitter opponent of his civil rights program, had won the Democratic nomination for Governor.

Mr. Truman has not replied to an invitation of the Young Democrats of Richmond to speak under their auspices. Gov. Thurmond previously had been invited and had accepted an invitation to address a State convention of Virginia Young Democrats on Oct. 8.

Aside from a great doubt whether speeches in which he would be compelled to defend his civil rights program would win Mr. Truman votes in the South, there is fear among his managers that he would be accorded the same rough reception Henry A. Wallace met with in that section.

In the nearer Southern States—Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee—the last thing most of the local Democratic nominees want is a visit by Mr. Truman. Democratic Congressmen from these States generally declared against the President's civil rights recommendations and they are hoping that the voters on that account will stick with them regardless of how they may feel toward Mr. Truman.

The Democratic National Committee has indicated that it has no intention of interfering where local Democratic candidates run on both the Truman and Thurmond tickets.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Truman scarcely could expect a warm welcome from his fellow nominees in the South.

Gov. Dewey likewise is doubtful that speeches in the South would help his cause, but his reasoning is different.

First, the Republican candidate is fearful that an active campaign on his part would tend to drive the warring Democrats back together. Second, as to the far South he is more than content with a situation that will divert 40 or more normally Democratic electors into the Thurmond-Wright column. Third, and perhaps most important of all, Dewey can't see how he can talk about civil rights in a way pleasing to Southern segregationists without exciting opposition by Negroes and other racial elements in Northern States whose votes he is even more anxious to cultivate. Gov. Dewey has put on the New York statute books the most effective law against racial and religious discrimination that exists anywhere in the nation. In all the big industrial States of the North and West this enactment is one of Mr. Dewey's most valuable political assets It is unthinkable that he would do anything to weaken the advantage thus derived in such vital States as New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois and California to pursue a will-o'-the-wisp hope of capturing the South.

9-30-48

There are three Soutnern States—Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee—where any appreciable Democratic split might swing them to Mr. Dewey and he has a remote chance in Florida and Texas. The Republican managers, however, are turning to the opinion that their prospect in these States will be best promoted by keeping relatively quiet and leaving the Democrats scot free to fight each other.

New Republic

NO PRAYERS PERMITTED

BALTIMORE (NR correspondant)

New York, New York

New Republic

Like three generations of his forebears, the Reverend Richard H. Bready is a successful Methodist preacher. Having been co-chairman of the Cumberland PCA, he journeyed last February to Baltimore from his Western Maryland circuit to offer the invocation at the founding convention of the Progressive Party of Maryland.

New York, New York

None

Shortly thereafter one of his four churches demanded that his preaching license be revoked, hinting he might be a Communist. Denying he had ever been a Communist, Bready suggested that the offering of prayer, even at a Wallace convention, was "a proper activity for a Christian minister." In a petition, members of his three other churches declared Bready to be "a most loyal citizen." 6-21-48

Nevertheless, Bready was omitted from the new list of preaching appointments and his charge assigned to another man.

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (General)

A Warning To Democrats

The News

To the Editor of The News: Birmingham, Ala.

Don't be fooled or misled by the announcement of Big Jim that he is a candidate for president on the Democratic ticket. I say he is not a candidate on this ticket.

I am making a few predictions and I believe time will prove that I am right.

I say this is a scheme to distract attention from other parties who possess the power to really disrupt the South if given a chance.

Henry Wallace was at one time a Republican but he bolted that party and joined the Democrats to help radicalize the New Deal. He then carried his tactics so far the Democrats could not stand it any longer and made it so unpleasant for him that he bolted again and announced himself a candidate for president on an independent ticket. Now finds he has made a mistake for he cannot get anywhere on this ticket. Thurs 2-5-48

I predict that by the time we hold our national convention in Philadelphia in July, Mr. Wallace will bolt again and try to join the Democrats, Big Jim withdrawing in his favor and putting up a fight to nominate him for president on the Democratic ticket, and if this fails, try for the vice presidency, putting all the pressure possible on his delegates.

Big Jim could get far more delegates elected to support him in Alabama than he could to support Wallace but after they arrived at the convention, and Big Jim withdrew, he would have no trouble in getting them to stay with him. The News

I am anti-Wallace, Folsom, Arnall, Beech, Williams and anything they stand for. I am for Truman for president, a good strong, real Democrat for vice president, a platform that is acceptable to the South, especially Alabama. Birmingham, Ala.

P. M. NORWOOD,
2-5-48 Member, State Democratic Executive Committee, Sixth District, Alabama. Thurs

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Truman Backers Try To Deflect Dixie's Wrath

34a(1) (Pres.)

The News

(gen.)

Sparkman Suggests Sen. Lister Hill For Vice Presidency

Birmingham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, March 1—(AP)—The Truman administration tried today to deflect some of the heat of the Southern Democratic revolt by turning new fire on Henry Wallace's third party.

This strategy, as outlined by a party official, is to try to minimize intra-party differences over the president's civil rights program. Mon. 3-1-48

Many of the Southerners are as opposed to Wallace and what he stands for as they are against Mr. Truman's racial views. Thus on the Wallace score, at least, they think alike with the national Democratic organization leaders.

Sen. McGrath, of Rhode Island, the Democratic national chairman, sounded the new administration note in a week-end speech at Indianapolis. He said "A third party has as much place in American politics as does a third party on a honeymoon."

McGRATH ADDED that if Wallace goes on with his campaign he and his supporters "will either waste their votes or . . . give aid and comfort to reactionary candidates."

McGrath did not mention the president's civil rights program specifically. Birmingham, Ala.

Administration supporters thought for a time they had a potent Southern ally in their new party strategy. Mon. 3-1-48

That was because Sen. Connally, of Texas, also aimed his main fire at Wallace and steered clear of the civil rights issue in the formal address he prepared for a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner at Raleigh, N. C. The News

But Connally, one of the few Southerners who didn't boycott the party dinner here last month which Mr. Truman addressed, apparently changed his mind on the way.

HE DEPARTED FROM his advance text to take strong issue with the president's call for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and anti-job discrimination laws.

Declaring that Mr. Truman's civil rights program threatens a "lynching of the constitution," the Texas senator added: "We shall resist it. We shall not take it lying down."

Nevertheless, Connally was the only speaker at the Raleigh fund-raising banquet who mentioned the president by name. He said:

"President Truman has had to face more difficult and perplexing problems than any other man who succeeded to the presidency. I sympathize with him in his difficulties."

34a(1) Pres.

Of Wallace, Connally said the country is faced this year with his "hopeless and fantastic candidacy." The News

Sen. Taft, opening his home state campaign for the GOP presidential nomination, told a Cleveland rally that "President Truman is riding a donkey without a head or a tail."

* * *

SAYING WALLACE already has departed and the Southern wing is in revolt, Taft added:

"Therefore, the party is not progressive because it is completely ineffective." Birmingham, Ala

The rebelling Southerners went ahead with their plans, to chop away the Dixie political props Mr. Truman may need to win in November. Mon. 3-1-48

The South Carolina Democratic State Committee, meeting today, was expected to set in motion machinery which may result in the choice of independent presidential electors in that state, rather than those pledged to the party's nominee.

The Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee met at Jackson to pick a headquarters site for an eight-state "true white Jeffersonian" movement.

Sen. Sparkman of Alabama insisted that there is still "a lot of room for agreement." In an interview at Milwaukee Saturday Sparkman said:

"We wrote an acceptable civil rights plank for the party in 1944 and I think we can do it again."

Sparkman added that he thinks picking a Southerner as Mr. Truman's running mate would do much to quell the rebellion. His suggestion: Alabama's other senator, Lister Hill. Mon. 3-1-48

* * *

SUPPORTERS OF SEN. VANDENBERG for the GOP presidential nomination took heart at word that the Michigan senator has decided to quit trying to keep his name off the ballot in Nebraska's April 13 preferential primary.

Friends said Vandenberg's decision resulted from advice that he probably would have to resort to court action to prevent the listing of his name. The News

Another whose endorsement was made public by the GOP National Committee is Gen. Douglas MacArthur. The supreme Allied commander wrote from Tokyo: Mon.

"The Republican Party is peculiarly well-fitted vigorously to espouse this laudable purpose to further arouse in the youthful mind the all-important concept of public responsibility, for the Republican Party has never deviated from the proposition that all political power resides in the people." 3-1-48

Taft Amazes

John Temple Graves

The Record

34a(1)

"Sir, I had rather be right than be President . . ."

Senator Taft, it has seemed to me, tries to think he had rather be President but is forever being overcome by a cantankerous virtue that forces him, at risk of the Presidency, to be what he considers right. He was overcome that way last week when he voted against the proposed Fair Employment Practices Commission bill, declaring that the compulsory features would "do more harm than good in the end to the Negro race" and that race discrimination must be discouraged "on a voluntary basis through education, not by compulsory federal action." Imagine the reaction of Northern Negro leaders like Walter White to a statement like that from one of the two leading Republican candidates for President. With both parties, and opposing factions within both parties, hell-bent on winning the Negro vote this year, and with the civil liberties issue built to enormous size by present agitations, nothing but an absolutely irresistible itch for being right could have persuaded Bob Taft to say such a thing as this. Columbia, S.C.

Senator Taft is so disappointing sometimes with his too little awareness of our world responsibilities that it is good to be reminded of the thing he most offers his country, namely, high character in office. Tues. 2-10-48

There are three Southern revolts, not just one. There is the revolt against the administration's race policies. There is the long-standing revolt of Southern conservatives against the New Deal, represented by the so-called Southern conservatives who are re-invigorated now by reason of President Truman's New Dealing message to Congress. And there is the revolt of the Wallaceites whose thin remainders in the South are represented by Folsom, Aubrey Williams, Clark Foreman, etc., but could include again, if given a little success, many a time-serving politician and publicist who has run to cover for the present.

Add these three Southern revolts and you have something that mounts up. Even though the third group, the Wallaceites, has nothing affirmative in common with the other two, it does share the dissatisfaction with the Democratic party's present leadership. And the first and second groups have a very greatly affirmative thing in common, if they will realize it enough to join hands, to let Senators Byrd and George, for example, sit down with Governor Wright, Senator Maybank and other leaders against the President's civil liberties message. They have in common the oldest principle of the South, and the finest—state's rights.

There are one-time ardent New Dealers in the South who are putting an emphasis on states' rights now, too. Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, is one, I begin to believe. Once ranked with Claude Pepper for one hundred per cent New Dealing, Senator Hill is identified more and more now with the proposition that federal aids and benefits must be made through the states and under state control and that social reform, especially on the race question, must be achieved through state actions, too. The Record

And a funny thing is that this puts Senator Hill and Senator Taft together on many lists today. The federal aid to education bill, which would give the states the money and leave them alone, is the "Taft-Hill" bill. And when Taft voted with the Senate labor committee's minority against the FEPC bill last week, the name that stood beside his was Lister Hill's. Columbia, S.C.

There are too many other issues before America now to let the states' rights one be continuously dominant. But when you put Southern revolt talk on the high and true plane of states' rights, you include enough Southerners to make something menacing in revolt potential—and you lift a banner that has as many soldiers in the Republican party as in Democratic. Tues. 2-10-48

Even Governor Folsom of Alabama, has been forced to interrupt his Wallace talking with a states' rights speech for want of anything more forthright on the Negro question. Here's hoping Henry didn't hear him.

Polls And Elections

The Record

34a(1)

Henry A. Wallace says the public opinion polls on the November presidential election do not do justice to his third-party candidacy. Columbia, S.C. (gen.)

Many people who will vote for him, he declares, are afraid to tell the poll-takers so because of "terrifying pressures, threats." Fri. 2-20-48

On the other hand, Democratic leaders are saying—at least publicly—that the polls so far taken have indicated more votes for Wallace than he will get. The politicians insist that many persons who now intend to vote for Wallace will weaken after the Republican nominee is picked and as the campaign assumes more and more the atmosphere of a horse race between the two major nominees.

"Americans are more willing to throw their votes away in May than in November," they declare.

Most of the polls have come closer to estimating the popular vote in presidential elections than in predicting the electoral result. In 1940, Dr. Gallup's Institute of Public Opinion showed 18 states with 255 electoral votes as sure for Willkie or leaning toward him. Willkie won only 10 of the 18 with a total of 82 electoral votes. The 1940 Roper poll put the result somewhere between a Roosevelt victory by a subtantial majority, but not a landslide, and a Willkie victory by a narrow margin. It was a Roosevelt landslide, 449 electoral votes to 82. Fri. 2-20-48 The Record

In 1944 the Gallup poll indicated 292 electoral votes for Roosevelt, 239 for Dewey. Roper predicted Roosevelt would win by a "comfortable" majority. The Crossley poll gave Roosevelt 352 electoral votes to Dewey's 177. The result was Roosevelt 432, Dewey 99. Columbia, S. C.

Southern Rights

34a(1)

By Joseph And Stewart Alsop

The News-Age-Herald Birmingham

WASHINGTON—The white supremacy Southerners in Congress are now talking among themselves about placing either Sen. Walter F. George of Georgia or Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia in nomination for the presidency against Harry S. Truman. This underground discussion neatly balances the overt plan of the West Coast left-wingers to put forward Henry A. Wallace as a suitable Democratic nominee.

One thing is already clear. This year's Democratic convention is likely to resemble one of those awful children's parties, at which large numbers of the dear little guests gang up to kick the stuffings out of the brave but tearful host. In his role as universal nursery maid to his party, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Sen. J. Howard McGrath, is going to have a pretty ghastly time preventing public mayhem. And this will be true, even though the Southerners do not carry out their threat to support a candidate of their own. Sun 2-15-48

* * *

Rebel Strategy

Birmingham, Ala.

OVERT SOUTHERN SUPPORT for a rival to Truman, even if limited to the convention, would almost certainly be going further than the Southerners desire. The Democrats have been in so long that the Southern leaders have almost forgotten the hungry misery of dwellers in the political wilderness. But some faint recollection of this horrid state still lingers in their minds. They are still reluctant to destroy their party's chance at the election. This is what may be expected to nip the over anti-Truman movement in the bud, although the plant may be expected to be watered with quantities of the same sort of Northern money that used to finance Gene Talmadge. The News-Age-Herald

On the other hand, the strategy which the Southerners appear actually to be adopting will be almost as difficult for the White House to handle. As of today, it seems probable that the Southern states, including as a minimum South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and Tennessee, will send uncommitted delegations to Philadelphia. The uncommitted delegations will be used to wrest from the platform committee a weasel declaration on the civil and human rights issue.

In the past few days, there have been anxious negotiations between Southern leaders and White House representatives. The Southerners dropped hints that if the White House continued so scornful of the South, the more violent expedient of sending over anti-Truman delegations to the convention would have to be resorted to. Sun. 2-15-48

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Compromise

The News-Age-Herald.

THE PRESIDENT MAY DENY the intention of conciliation until he is black in the face. He may personally have no such intention. But his representatives respond to the hints of the Southern leaders, by hinting in return that the president would in the end approve a compromise on the platform's civil and human rights plank. The Southerners intimated that if such a compromise were forthcoming, they would then content themselves with holding a post-convention rally, as they did after the Wallace nomination in 1940. At this rally, they promised they would give free rein to their propensity for oratory, but would end by resolving that much as they detested Truman, they hated the Republicans even more.

It is symptomatic of the state of the Democratic Party that in these dubious circumstances, the White House political strategists are breathing audible sighs of relief. They are thankful for very little, these days. The arrangements outlined above are very little to be thankful for, because of two obvious drawbacks. Birmingham, Ala. Sun. 2-15-48

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Weasel Words

The News-Age-Herald Birmingham, Ala.

IN THE FIRST PLACE, any weasel words in the civil and human rights platform plank will enrage and alienate precisely the groups in the North at whom the president's civil rights message was aimed. Yet if the weasel words are not spoken, the uncommitted Southern delegates will still be able to put forward their own man. In the second place, the present arrangements may be upset even before convention time, if the fair employment practices act becomes law at last.

House passage of FEPC is a foregone conclusion. So is Senate passage if cloture can be applied. Application of cloture turns upon four or five Republican votes, including Sens. Robert A. Taft, Harlan Bushfield and Albert Hawkes. Taft, it is known, will vote to approve cloture, although opposed to the FEPC bill. Hawkes is in a hard reelection fight in New Jersey, and the other waverers will be not uninfluenced by the fact that this is an election year. If FEPC passes, the Southern fat will really be in the fire. In the ensuing bitterness and recrimination anything may happen, and quite probably will.—©

Someone To Love

John Temple Graves

The Record

34a(1)

"More by your number than your light,
You common people of the skies,
What are you when the moon shall rise?"

Columbia, S.C.

OKLAHOMA CITY—Just when Democrats here, under Governor Turner, were planning to string along peacefully with Truman on a basis of Editor Gaylord's advice in The Daily Oklahoman that this is a border, not a Southern state, and "not to be dominated by memories of something that happened a full generation before Oklahoma was born," Senator Elmer Thomas comes home from Washington and proposes Eisenhower. Immediately there is a new face on affairs here. The Eisenhower name is like that. Whether he would run as a Democrat after refusing as a Republican, he is probably the only man capable of leading the Democratic party to victory this year, and politicians count that first.

Thurs. —— 3-11-48

Senator Thomas, too, warns against the Southern revolt, pointing out that Oklahoma is a doubtful state and any break in Democratic ranks would imply giving it to the Republicans. It has probably been given already, and part credit or blame will go to the civil liberties issue against which enough Democrats here are bitter to swell the Republicans ranks. They don't need to withhold electoral votes here. In a doubtful state like this, those who don't feel Democratic simply vote Republican.

What would happen to the Southern revolt, and the Wallace Third party, if Eisenhower were the Democratic nominee? The latter would fold up, undoubtedly. Would the South? Eisenhower is probably for the civil liberties program much more sincerely than Truman. If he became the Democratic candidate after having refused to be considered as the Republican one, would the issue of the campaign be "liberalism" against "conservatism," with every effort made to identify the general with positions leftist enough to gather all the ranks that once were Roosevelt's, or would the campaign be for national unity under him as a greatly appealing non-political figure?

Thurs. 3-11-48

This country wants someone to love. Eisenhower is just about the only one in sight. So much does it want some one to love that it might forget all the issues, decisions, and tasks before it just for the joy of falling in love. Newspapers in Texas and Arkansas were repeating last week what so many of us have said in recent troubled, hate-filled years. They began saying now the country misses that great Oklahoman, the late Will Rogers. If only we had Will now, they say, to make everybody feel friendly, to laugh at people and things, to stand for the homely virtues without being banal about them, to love his fellow man and be loved! The Record

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This country wants to be loved, and to love. That is sometimes a dangerous frame of mind, when all is not love. Columbia, S.C.

Last night a nationally-known oil man here and a petroleum geologist told me all about how the oil shortage is the government's fault—the price policy during the war and the favoring of Arabian oil fields now with steel allocations needed for new production. They think we are just building up oil production and transportation facilities in the Near East for Russia's benefit when she takes them over. When you speak of the need of conserving American oil resources, they say the estimates of petroleum remaining underground in this country are about to be made meaningless by the digging of much deeper wells to find oil in both new and old places in quantities untold. It seems to me that this is a question which needs to be settled quick. If there is plenty of oil, maybe we won't have to have a war with Russia. The need of oil reserves for war is one of the great present incitements to war. If there really is enough oil for all on Planet Earth we might even get Palestine partitioned, or calmed. Thurs. 3-11-48

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Birmingham, Ala.

Truman Tempted To Weaken SEC

[illegible] Sat. 2-14-48

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON—Boss of the Bronx Ed Flynn, who had a great deal to do with picking Harry Truman for vice president at Chicago, has a queer complex about liberalism. He has repeatedly urged Truman to appoint a Negro as federal judge in New York in order to attract the Negro vote, yet he turns round and tries to undercut a government agency which protects the economic welfare of both Negroes and whites.

This is what the charming Ed was up to when he visited at the White House this week.

His visit was aimed at persuading Truman to appoint Paul Rowen, of Boston, to the Securities and Exchange Commission, and simultaneously to make Ed Hanrahan, of New York, chairman. Sat. 2-14-48

On the surface, this sounds innocent enough. But below the surface, it happens that Hanrahan, already a member of the SEC, has come under the influence of Wall Street to such extent that it's a foregone conclusion that as chairman he would try to throw overboard the holding company act, one of the greatest landmarks in F. D. R.'s battle against the big utilities.

It also happens that Rowen is pledged in advance to vote for Hanrahan for chairman.

Finally, it happens that Ed Flynn's law firm represents some of the best-paying firms along Wall Street. Sat. 2-14-48

Only other thing to do is watch and see whether Truman follows Flynn's advice. Inside word is that he's inclined to do so.

* * *

Merry-Go-Round

The News Birmingham, Ala.

ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH, Bob Taft's best socialite booster, has a new word for Dewey. In 1944 she called him "the little man on the wedding cake." Now she says: "Dewey is a souffle. He never rises twice."

It was Alice who said of Calvin Coolidge: 'He must have been weaned on a pickle."

Biggest wearers of Wallace buttons are the colored people. That's why Democratic leaders privately have virtually given up New York state as lost, especially if Dewey runs. Wallace, they figure, will swing all the Harlem vote, and Dewey would take most of the New York Jewish vote. Also, Wallace will carve out a sizable hunk of the New York City labor vote. Tammany leaders are so glum about Truman's prospects in New York state that many have already decided to sit it out. They're more interested in 1949—the election for mayor of New York. Sat.

Jim Farley is all for the Republicans when it comes to the income tax and the Taft-Hartley bills. That's one reason he says he can't make too many political speeches now—it might be embarrassing.

It was Jim Farley who gave Sen. Howard McGrath his first job as U. S. attorney in Providence, R. I. That's one reason McGrath is so strong for Farley. 2-14-48

JOSEPH AND STEWART ALSOP

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

George or Byrd for President?

34a(1) (gen.)

WASHINGTON—The white supremacy Southerners in Congress are now talking among themselves about placing either Sen. Walter F. George, of Georgia, or Sen. Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia, in nomination for the Presidency against Harry S. Truman. This underground discussion neatly balances the overt plan of the West Coast left-wingers to put forward Henry A. Wallace as a suitable Democratic nominee. Sat. 2-14-48

One thing is already clear. This year's Democratic convention is likely to resemble one of those awful children's parties at which large numbers of the dear little guests gang up to kick the stuffings out of the brave but tearful host. In his role as universal nursery-maid to his party, the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Sen. J. Howard McGrath, is going to have a pretty ghastly time preventing public mayhem. And this will be true, even though the Southerners do not carry out their threat to support a candidate of their own.

Reluctance Overt Southern support for a rival to Truman, even if limited to the convention, would almost certainly be going further than the Southerners desire. The Democrats have been in so long that the Southern leaders have almost forgotten the hungry misery of dwellers in the political wilderness. But some faint recollection of this horrid state still lingers in their minds. They are still reluctant to destroy their party's chance at the election. This is what may be expected to nip the overt anti-Truman movement in the bud, although the plant may be expected to be watered with quantities of the same sort of Northern money that used to finance Gene Talmadge. Sat. 2-14-48

On the other hand, the strategy which the Southerners appear actually to be adopting will be almost as difficult for the White House to handle. As of today, it seems probable that the Southern States, including as a minimum South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and Tennessee, will send uncommitted delegations to Philadelphia. The uncommitted delegations will be used to wrest from the platform committee a weasel declaration on the civil and human rights issue.

Ultimatum In the past few days there have been anxious negotiations between Southern leaders and White House representatives. The Southerners dropped hints that if the White House continued so scornful of the South, the more violent expedient of sending overt anti-Truman delegations to the convention would have to be resorted to. 2-14-48

The President may deny the intention of conciliation until he is black in the face. He may personally have no such intention. But his representatives respond to the hints of the Southern leaders, by hinting in return that the President would in the end approve a compromise on the platform's civil and human rights plank. The Southerners intimated that if such a compromise were forthcoming, they would then content themselves with holding a post-convention rally, as they did after the Wallace nomination in 1940. At this rally, they promised they would give free rein to their propensity for oratory, but would end by resolving that, much as they detested Truman, they hated the Republicans even more.

In Congress, this plan has found favor with many, even among the extreme white supremacy shouters like Sen. Olin D. Johnston, of South Carolina. Meanwhile, some Southern Governors, like J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and M. E. Thompson, of Georgia, have also sent assurances of eventual support to the White House.

Obstacles It is symptomatic of the state of the Democratic Party that in these dubious circumstances, the White House political strategists are breathing audible sighs of relief. They are thankful for very little, these days. The arrangements outlined above are very little to be thankful for, because of two obvious drawbacks. The Constitution

In the first place, any weasel words in the civil and human rights platform plank will enrage and alienate precisely the groups in the North at whom the President's civil rights message was aimed. Yet if the weasel words are not spoken, the uncommitted Southern delegates will still be able to put forward their own man. In the second place, the present arrangements may be upset even before convention time, if the Fair Employment Practices Act becomes law at last. Atlanta, Ga.

House passage of FEPC is a foregone conclusion. So is Senate passage if cloture can be applied. Application of cloture turns upon four or five Republican votes, including Sens. Robert A. Taft, Harlan Bushfield and Albert Hawkes. Taft, it is known, will vote to approve cloture, although opposed to the FEPC bill. Hawkes is in a hard re-election fight in New Jersey, and the other waverers will be not uninfluenced by the fact fact that this is an election year. If FEPC passes, the Southern fat will really be in the fire. In the ensuing bitterness and recrimination, anything can happen, and quite probably will. Sat. 2-14-48

BUT HE'LL WIN, SAYS VISITOR

Democrats' Choice '$64 Question'--Kerr

34a(1) (gen.)

The Constitution Tues. 3-23-48

Who the Democratic presidential candidate will be this year is "the $64 question," but whoever he is, he will win—so said former Gov. Robert Kerr, of Oklahoma, as he arrived in Atlanta Monday night to deliver the Jackson-Jefferson Day Dinner address. Atla.

Georgia Democrats will gather at the Ansley Hotel at 7:30 o'clock. Kerr's address will be broadcast over Radio Station WCON and a statewide hookup at 8:30 p. m. The dinner, staged by National Committeeman E. D. Rivers, will be attended by Acting Gov. Thompson, former Gov. Arnall, and a number of former gubernatorial candidates. It will be boycotted by Herman Talmadge and State Democratic Chairman James Peters. 3-23-48

"The Solid South could insure the renomination of President Truman," Kerr told reporters. "If the South were to oppose Mr. Truman's nomination solidly and were to back some other strong candidate, I couldn't say for certain who would win the Democratic nomination."

Asked if he would discuss the President's Civil Rights program tonight, Kerr replied: "I shall talk of human rights and States' rights."

The Republicans will nominate either Sen. Taft or Gov. Dewey "if they are feeling overconfident at convention time," Kerr predicted. However, if they are looking for a candidate with whom they will try to win, they will nominate someone else, Kerr added.

Henry Wallace's Third Party candidacy won't affect the outcome of the election, Kerr, a candidate for the U. S. Senate in Oklahoma, remarked. If he should take a maximum of five million votes from the Democrats, he would be getting less than 10 percent of the Democratic Party's votes. Since Wallace's tie-up with pro-Russian groups is intensifying the opposition to Wallace, more Democrats will turn out to vote this year, Kerr said.

Wallace and the Democrats

The Courier-Journal

I wish The Courier-Journal would really go all-out in denouncing Wallace. You still seem to believe he is sincere. Wallace is the late Franklin Roosevelt's gift to fame, his Secretary of Agriculture, Vice-President, and Secretary of Commerce. This Wallace is the same old pig-murderer, and not one whit different than he was when he plowed under the wheat. The New Deal made him, and he will cause Truman's defeat, but what's wrong with fumigating the Roosevelt-Democratic Party? 34a(1) (gen.)

The real Democratic Party was born in the South, and if it dies, it will be down South. National control of our party has long since passed into the hands of big-city bosses. Truman knows millions of Negroes have moved North, and that they control 151 electoral votes in five Northern States, while the 14 States from Virginia through Texas only have 148, few of which will go to the Republicans. Louisville, Ky. 3-14-48

I think you are unduly alarmed at the recent selection of Isacson to represent the Bronx in the House of Representatives. At least, you seem so in your tearful editorial, "The Bronx Election Packs a Big Wallop." As that district contains our highest per cent of voters of mixed racial strains, the result was but natural, to me. The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

I am glad Henry Wallace and Taylor are running, for next November we will find out where most of our adult screwballs live.

Sun. BRYANT R. EDMUNDS.
Tulsa, Okla. 2-14-48

EVEN TRUMAN

EDITOR, The Advertiser: I read in Grandma's column one day last week that Mr. R. E. Seibels asked that you publish a list of candidates who wish to go to the Democratic Convention, separating the ones who are for Mr. Truman and the ones who are against him. Tues. 3-30-48

I think that this is a good idea but I think you should go a little farther as I am sure that we have some candidates who feel very kindly toward Henry Wallace. We also have some candidates who have criticized Mr. Truman very severely because of his foreign policy. They also say he is controlled by the Wall Street group, but I've never heard of any candidates criticizing Mr. Truman for his political and civil rights for the Negro. They may claim they are for states rights, but you know a candidate can criticize Mr. Truman for his foreign policy and claim he is for states rights and at the same time be for political and social rights for the Negro. I think that this point should be brought out. Montgomery, Ala.

I have never voted anything but a Democratic ticket. I am not going to vote for Mr. Truman, but I had rather have Mr. Truman any time than Henry Wallace as a man who is trying to hide behind states rights. The Advertiser

We should be careful or we will strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Tues.

Elba, Ala. 3-30-48 J. J. MOORE.

By Albert Deutsch

Odd Man Out—Justice Douglas Or Wallace Rather Than Truman

34 a (1)

PM New York, N.Y.

I am not, as I've noted before, an expert in political analysis. However, having expressed myself in disfavor of the creation of the Wallace third-party movement when it was announced, I feel my readers might like to know how I view the present political situation as a citizen, now that the third party is a *fait accompli* and a definite force in the Presidential campaign. Tues. 3-9-48

Deutsch

I shall not vote for any Republican Presidential candidate now presented for nomination. Barring some miracle between now and November that would convert Harry S. Truman from a talking liberal to an acting progressive, I shall not vote for him. Should Truman bow out and should Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas become the Democratic Party's Presidential candidate, I shall enthusiastically cast my ballot for Douglas. If, by some fantastic turn of fate, Gen. Omar Bradley is drafted as the Democratic nominee, I would vote for him. Bradley has demonstrated, in impressive degree, his ability to administer a civilian agency on a democratic, enlightened basis. I might vote for Chester Bowles under similar circumstances. If President Truman runs, I shall vote for Henry A. Wallace.

At the 1944 Democratic Party convention, it will be recalled, President Roosevelt approved three men as acceptable running-mates—Truman, Douglas and Wallace. The convention chose Truman. One wonders how different might have been the course of postwar world history if Douglas had been chosen then, granted that Wallace hadn't a chance.

Liberal Sentiments Outweighed By Illiberal Actions

PM

I hold no personal animus against Mr. Truman. He did try, at first, to carry out the policies of his departed chief. But he lacked the vision, the essential statesmanship—the freedom from fear—to chart a true course or hold the helm firmly through the stormy political seas whipped up by the winds of war. Truman just didn't measure up to the great challenge of unprecedented demands. Men of small stature sometimes, through a fortunate configuration of circumstances, ride the swell-tides of history to success in high places. Truman was not fated to get breaks of history after being catapulted by a tragic circumstance into the Presidency—an office he wasn't prepared for and which he feared at first.

New York, N.Y.

Truman had been an efficient Vice President, with an impressive record as U. S. Senator before that. He wasn't cut out for the role of Chief Executive of the earth's most powerful nation, and circumstances haven't favored him. 3-9-48

It would be foolish and unfair to overlook Truman's laudable deeds in office. He did appoint General Bradley as Veterans Administrator; he did enunciate a splendid national health program; he did make several important pronouncements on civil rights as they affect racial and religious minorities. But his liberal sentiments and acts have been enormously outweighed by his illiberal deeds.

Truman drove many of the most enlightened public servants out of Washington. He has surrounded himself with assorted mountebanks, mediocrities and self-seeking schemers. Under his regime, the Pentagon has moved over the Potomac and Washington has become a key branch of Wall Street. His attitude toward organized labor has oscillated between lukewarm friendship and outright hostility—witness the gross betrayal of the railway brotherhood unions in 1946. He has brought the country nearer to a police state than it ever was before, even in wartime. He has done much, by word and deed, to spread the witch-hunting hysteria now epidemic in the land. The disastrous Truman Doctrine, instead of checking the encroachments of Communism abroad, has aided fascism and reaction and weakened democracy. The current news from Greece describing the medieval savagery of the government we are supporting militarily forms a terrible epitaph to the democratic pretensions of Truman's foreign policy.

Douglas's Record of Consistent Liberalism

Justice Douglas, on the other hand, has remained faithful to the fundamental precepts of the Roosevelt philosophy. He has a world perspective and is not lacking in courage or integrity. He has confidence in the strength of American democracy; he is not haunted by red phantoms; he is relatively young and certainly robust in outlook. He was an able executive and a consistent New Dealer in the Securities Exchange Commission; his record of opinions and dissents on the Supreme Court bench is almost flawless in essential liberalism.

PM New York, N.Y.

Douglas, it strikes me, is the ideal man to reweld the badly broken liberal ranks and forge a unity that could sweep a liberalized Democratic Party to power in 1948, both in the executive and legislative branches. I don't know what Wallace would do if Douglas were nominated; I believe he would manifest the wisdom and patriotism to withdraw and throw his weight behind the Justice. As Max Lerner put it pithily: "Must it be Truman?" There need be no inevitability in Truman's nomination if true liberals would fight hard enough for an alternative like Douglas. Tues

As for Wallace against the others, these are my present sentiments: I still feel the third party was organized unwisely when and as it was. But I still believe that Wallace, as a man, represents the foremost exponent of progressive democracy; he has made the democratic conscience articulate. None can overlook the fact that, if the Wallace candidacy was an act of disunity, there have been even greater disruptive forces in the liberal ranks. My fears that the Wallace candidacy might hurt the fight for a progressive Congress have been in large measure allayed by the Bronx incident and by the arousal of progressive citizens elsewhere through the new hope that Wallace has created in the breasts of men. Wallace has already forced the national Democratic Party far further to the left, on domestic issues, than any dared hope. Nobody questioned the nomination of Truman until Wallace's popularity became apparent even to hidebound politicos. I don't agree with everything the man says; I am disturbed by some third-party attitudes, such as the failure to support Paul Douglas against the insufferable Senator Curly Brooks in Illinois. 3-7-48

But I neither seek nor expect perfection. As of today, I'm prepared to vote for Wallace, with Douglas as the only foreseeable alternative.

Truman Unmoved by South's Ire

Afro-American 2-14-48 Balt.

Disregards Threats of Bolt From Party

(Full Text of Civil Rights Address on Page 5)

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Apparently unperturbed by threats of southerners to quit the Democratic Party and put up their own candidates for President and Vice President, President Truman last Thursday declined to comment on the threatened revolt.

Reminded of the violent reaction of southerners to his special civil rights message to Congress, Mr. Truman told newspapermen at his press conference that comments were being made in the press itself. Sat. 2-14-48

Despite the angry tirade the press reports to be directed against the President's blanket demand for antilynching, anti-poll tax, anti-jim crow and other legislation banning discrimination against colored persons, only three concrete suggestions of reprisals were made by Southern Congressmen.

Baltimore, Md.

Southerners Air Threats

One was the recommendation telegraphed to Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi by Reps. Thomas G. Abernethy and John Bell Williams, that the Governor, at the Southern Governors' Conference, call for a show-down on the issue with party leaders in Washington.

The second was that the 11 States of the "Solid South" call their own convention to nominate a candidate for whom they could cast their electoral votes and thus throw the election into the House of Representatives.

The third recommendation was that Southern Congressmen back the resolutions now in the House judiciary committee to abolish the electoral college and electors and divide the electoral vote of each State in proportion to the popular vote cast for each candidate for President. Sat. 2-14-48

"The Congress should immediately pass such a resolution," Rep. Ed Gossett (Dem., Texas), declared, adding, "Then and then only will Presidents stop appealing to the minorities' passions and prejudices for the sake of votes."

Tempest in Teapot

Well-informed circles here believe that the reaction of the southerners is no more than a tempest in a teapot—a bold front put up for political purposes, for none of the threatened actions would aid the southerners politically.

If the threat were to become serious enough, some southerners believe, they might induce the Democratic Party leaders to choose one of their number as a running mate for President Truman.

The fact that Mr. Truman is from a border State eliminates the possibility of any southerner getting on the ticket with him. The Democratic Vice Presidential candidate in all likelihood will be an easterner or a westerner—one who will bring strength to the party ticket.

South Can't Expect Favors

As the South realized, its electoral votes are already in the Democratic bag.

It finds itself in the unenviable position of nobody bidding for its favors because of its solidarity in voting the Democratic ticket ever since the Civil War for the purpose of keeping colored citizens down. Sat. 2-14-48

Colored people are now political factors in pivotal States, some of which a party must carry to win a Presidential election; and both major parties, as well as the third party movement of Henry Wallace, are making strong bids for the colored vote in these pivotal States.

Meanwhile Republican leadership in Congress is playing its hands close to its vests on the civil rights legislation issue.

In discussing the President's request for progressive legislation for minority groups, Sen. Kenneth S. Wherry (Rep., Neb.), the party whip in the Senate, said:

"We should go as far as we can to establish equal justice under the law for all. But I think Mr. Truman has dumped into the laps of the Democratic Party legislation that will split the party wide open and make the legislation most difficult to pass."

The Senator expressed belief that an antilynching bill had the best chance of passage this year, "if we can break a Democratic filibuster."

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (General)

Mississippi Chief Urges Party Bolt

34a(1) Pres. (Gen.)

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Wright Calls For Break With National Faction Unless Ways Change

Wed. 1-21-48

Sabotage Charged

Delta State Governor Says Leaders Trying To Wreck The South

JACKSON, MISS., Jan. 20.—(AP)—Gov. Fielding L. Wright Tuesday asked an end to Mississippi's unique secret police force and urged a southern bolt from the Democratic Party if the "anti Southern" trend continues.

The secret police force, whose members are known only to the governor, was set up last November during a protracted strike involving Southern Bus Lines, Inc. The force is scheduled to go out of existence in July, and Wright called for a uniformed state police body to replace it. 1-21-48

In his inaugural address as Mississippi's 50th governor, Wright accused Democratic leaders of aiming to "wreck the South and our institutions." He declared the South "will no longer tolerate being the target" for legislation "which would not only destroy our way of life, but which, if enacted would eventually destroy the United States."

Wright referred to the southern record of adherence to the Democratic Party, but said that "when the national leaders attempt to change those principles for which the party stands, we intend to fight for its preservation with all means at our hands."

Regret To See It

"I would regret to see the day come when Mississippi or the South should break with the Democratic Party in a national election," he said, "but vital principles and eternal truths transcend party lines, and the day is now at hand when determined action must be taken.

"We must make our national leaders fully realize we mean precisely what we say, and we must, if necessary, implement our words with postitive action."

Wright claimed southerners are solving the race problem "in a wholesome and constructive manner," and said:

"Here in Mississippi and the South may be found the greatest example in human history of harmonious relationships ever recorded as exising between two so different and distinct races as the white and the Negro, living so closely together and in such nearly equal numbers." 1-21-48

Wright was elected lieutenant governor in 1944 and became the state's chief executive when Gov. Thomas L. Bailey died 14 months ago. He was chosen to a full term in the higher office last November. The Advertiser

Wright asked also for repeal of the state's "black market" tax on illegal sales, which has been applied only to the liquor traffic. He repeated a campaign pledge that he would not support any effort to repeal the Mississippi prohibition laws. Montgomery, Ala.

Lambasts Committee

In his remarks on southern traditions and the race problem, Wright attacked the President's committee on civil rights and declared its proposals "are deliberately aimed to wreck the South and our institutions."

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

34a(1) Pres. (Gen.)

How Much Damage Can Wallace Do?

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—The die has been cast insofar as Henry A. Wallace's third party candidacy for the Presidency is concerned.

There is hardly any likelihood of the conditions he imposed on his withdrawal from the race being met. At a news conference following his Monday night broadcast he said he would withdraw from the Presidential picture "should either of the major parties become definitely a peace party before the election."

It is a matter of what may be considered to be the basis of a peace party. Fri. 1-2-48

Nor is there any likelihood of the Wallace third party campaign lagging from any lack of funds. The Republicans, we may assume, will see to it that he is provided with all the campaign contributions needed to keep the movement alive.

It will be to the Republicans' advantage to divert as much money to the Wallace campaign as possible. For every dollar spent in promoting the third party will be an indirect investment in a Republican victory.

Support What remains to be seen is how far Wallace will be able to go in corralling liberal support which otherwise might be expected to go to the Democratic ticket. On this question opinion is still divided, though the weight of the argument is on the side of the Republicans. The Constitution

The best evidence of this was found in the reaction to the Wallace announcement which came from the two major party camps. Republicans on the whole were highly jubilant, whereas the Democrats were more sullen. Atlanta, Ga.

Whatever it may mean, the Republicans have made no effort to conceal the satisfaction with which they received the Wallace announcement. Generally, they look upon it as offering a decisive factor in the coming campaign. Fri. 1-2-48

Everyone agrees that Mr. Wallace has absolutely no chance of being elected. It is highly improbable that he will eyen come close to carrying a single state.

But it is not beyond the realm of possibility that he will pile up a considerable vote in some of the states. He might, for example, poll from five to 12 percent of the vote in states like New York, Illinois and California. In a close election that could mean the defeat of the Democratic ticket.

Solace The chief solace to Democrats in the situation is the feeling that if President Truman wins at all he will win by a comfortable margin—enough to absorb any defections to Wallace without affecting the outcome.

It is a feeling based on the history of all Presidential elections since the advent of radio as a vehicle for dissemination of public information. Radio has made it possible for people to sit in their homes and hear the issues of a campaign discussed personally by the various candidates. Fri. 1-2-48

Since it was first brought into general use there has not been a single close Presidential election. The tendency has been for the country generally to veer in much the same direction, probably the result of the people being able to hear all of the major speeches delivered by the respective candidates.

Mass Appeal Whether this is the cause or not, it is interesting to note that since the introduction of radio as a common piece of household equipment every winning candidate for the Presidency has won by a landslide. It may be taken to mean that a great majority of the American people are capable of thinking pretty much along the same lines, when the issues are brought to them personally. Fri. 1-2-48

If this condition holds true in the 1948 election, Democrats reason that Mr. Truman, as the party nominee, will either be elected by a big majority or will be defeated by what will amount to a Republican landslide. In either case the vote polled by Mr. Wallace would not be a decisive factor.

THE GENERALS ARE IN 1-A

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Thurs. 4-1-48

The generals are in great demand today as candidates. As presidential draftees, three of them are in 1-A.

Two of them are conscientious objectors, but the third is ready for mobilization.

Hearst and McCormick want MacArthur. MacArthur wants MacArthur.

Eisenhower does not want to run, but the country isn't taking no for an answer. He was deferred from the draft when, some weeks ago, he said he positively could not be drafted. But the draft board is after him again.

Roy Roberts, newspaper publisher and the most potent of Landon supporters in 1936, tried for a time to advance Eisenhower as the Republican nominee. But Eisenhower's statement convinced Roberts, an intimate of both Ike and his brother Milton, that Ike meant it. The Republicans accepted Ike's word.

Now those double-dealing Democrats are talking of nominating Ike without consulting Ike—something the Republicans didn't think of. The prospect of Ike purloined by the Democrats is driving Roberts daffy. He bellowed yesterday across the Kansas plains that Ike could no more be drafted by the Democrats than by the Republicans. Roberts sounded frantic. Too bad. The Republicans made the mistake of asking Ike.

While Roberts huffs and puffs in his Dust Bowl, Ike's original sponsor in New Hampshire, the state which gave us the Democratic president Franklin Pierce, has revived his Eisenhower agitation.

AND from feverish Mississippi is raised the voice of a congressman who suggests that frustrated Democrats and frantic Republicans compose their differences by a joint nomination of Ike! 4-1-48

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Thurs.

That smacks of the ancient suggestion of the desperate John C. Calhoun that the constitution be amended to provide for two presidents serving together, one from the North, one from the South.

Thus in the case of 1-A Ike, it is not one draft board, but two draft boards, that are after him.

General George Marshall is likewise a conscientious objector. One senses that he meant it even more unreservedly than Ike when he declined to be considered a candidate for anything.

But yesterday the chairman of Alabama's State Democratic Executive Committee, said in a statement to The Advertiser that Marshall would be his idea—rather than Byrd, who is manifestly a lemon in other sions—of a substitute for Truman.

In naming Marshall, Chairman McCorvey was very disarming. He remarked Marshall's great and demonstrated gifts as leader and statesman and the fact that he is a Virginian. Then McCorvey touched the most sensitive of all possible spots in any Southerner:

"A splendid young officer who served in the office of the Chief of Staff under General Marshall during the war remarked to me . . . that he thought General Marshall, in his personal character, came nearer to exemplifying the spotless character of General Robert E. Lee than any man who had appeared in public life in America in the last three-quarters of a century."

Times

4-1-48

NEITHER the South nor any other grateful section of this country fails to appreciate the splendid gifts and character of George Marshall. The comparison with Lee is acute; it is handsomely valid. The Advertiser can even imagine Marshall pulling George Washington's load in the borning days of this country.

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala

But in employing the Robert E. Lee comparison, McCorvey has undoubtedly struck a chord that will make it tougher for Marshall to avoid consideration.

For a year this country has talked of three generals — MacArthur, Marshall and Eisenhower — as candidates for President. Despite earnest renunciations by two of them, they are in evident danger of draft.

It is a symptom of the frightened and despairing times, of fear of war with Russia. The Advertiser

It is fantastic that there should be enthusiasm and demand for three generals in both parties when nobody even knows their party allegiance or how they stand on a half dozen issues. For example, there is no more reason to assume that the Southerner Marshall is against F.E.P.C. than Truman, for Truman has a Southern background and is the grandson of a Confederate soldier. Montgomery, Ala

Theirs

But one thing is clear: a stampede more unlikely than Willkie's may take place in a few weeks in either or both parties. 4-1-48

Democrats' Plight

WITH the election still seven months away, commentators to a man are virtually counting President Truman out. Revolt in the South and the Wallace defection get the longer news columns, but there are also unfavorable historical precedent and the dwindling Democratic popular vote—both pointing in the same unmistakable direction. The gist of the prognosis is that without Southern or Wallaceite defections only a strong Democratic candidate could win; Mr. Truman is not a strong candidate; therefore The Commercial New York N.Y.

But what are the issues on which the President has lost so many followers? His Civil Rights program is hardly a new makeshift. It was fourteen months ago—well before the Wallace candidacy—that Mr. Truman appointed his distinguished national committee of fifteen to draw up a detailed diagnosis of the second-class citizenship situation in these United States. His February 2nd message on the subject was a logical consequence of their recommendations. There was grumbling at the time, but now that the President's position has become so precarious and he has refused to back down in his espousing of the basic civil liberties for all Americans, Southern fire-eaters have been piling it on. Boss Crump of Tennessee has been the most sanctimonious about it, with politicians from Virginia, South Carolina and Mississippi also in the van. Whether they persevere in their extreme hostility to the President right through the convention or not, their present furor is sufficient to damage Democratic morale irreparably. For what is the Democrat Party without the solid South?

3-12-48

The other party pillar, the big city machines (except for Philadelphia), also shows signs of tottering. In the cities where Negroes are a political factor the Wallace forces will seek to counter Mr. Truman's pronounced stand on civil rights by running Negro candidates for Congress. And, of course, in unions and urban districts where the Communists are strong, Wallace will pull votes away from Truman. And what is the main question at issue in this sector? Further appeasement of Russia. This is discussed elsewhere in these pages, but here again it suffices to say that Mr. Truman has the logic on his side.

The lack of enthusiasm he inspires, his inability to carry things through—however just his sentiments—and the slightness of the current impact on the public consciousness of the policies Mr. Truman advocates are other matters. And they are important when qualifications for candidacy are in the balance. But overt opposition to Mr. Truman as standard-bearer stems primarily either from enemies of civil rights or opponents of our firmer bi-partisan foreign policy.

3-13-48

None of the Southern bolters can have any illusion that an anti-civil-rights regional candidate of theirs would get anywhere in a national election. Nor can Mr. Wallace in his most sanguine moments hope to do much but deliver a certain number of districts to the Republicans. Both groups are heedless of the effects of their activities on the hard-pressed Democratic Party; they appear equally oblivious of the results as far as the nation is concerned. 3-12-48

Too Quick Of Promises

The News

There is an old saying that those who are quick of promises are generally slow to perform. Twenty-one of the state's 28 candidates for presidential elector have already promised that they will not cast electoral votes for President Truman. That promise takes no account of what may happen between now and the time for them to vote.

It is only a little past mid-March. The general election will be held in November. The electors will meet several weeks later to cast their official ballots for president. That means that nine months will pass between the time of making the promise and the time for its performance.

34-(1)

3-22-48

Many things may happen in those nine months. There is a nominating convention. President Truman is likely to be the nominee. A Democratic Party platform for 1948 must be adopted. That platform may contain a plank on civil rights which is satisfactory to the South. If President Truman runs on that platform, he will be bound by it should he be elected president. The Republicans may nominate a candidate and adopt a platform wholly out of line with Southern sentiment.

The News

Such a situation seems more of a possibility than that President Truman will put his civil rights program through a Democratic Congress. Suppose, then, that Alabama's electors late next November find themselves with a choice of electing Truman or making sure that a Republican is elected. Will they then want to stick by a promise made in March? Will they deliberately put into office a Republican president pledged to federal intervention in civil rights?

Birmingham, Ala.

The idea is questionable on strong counts. And yet that is what 21 elector candidates have pledged themselves to do. They stand committed to a course that might be highly objectionable to them when the time comes.

It is wiser not to make such blanket promises about the distant future in a time so rapidly changing as this one. In politics, as in marriage, one may act in haste to repent at leisure. Sat 3-21-48

For Truman Or For South, It Can't Be Both, Says Givhan

Montgomery Adv

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Walter C. Givhan, member of the Alabama Legislature, from Dallas County, vice-president of the Alabama Farm Bureau Federation, and president of the Dallas County Farm Bureau, has qualified for delegate from the Fourth Congressional District, and a presidential elector from the state at large, and he is running on a platform of preservation of the ideals of the South.

"A man can't be on both sides of this issue," said Mr. Givhan. "If he is for Truman, he is for what Truman stands for, and that means destruction of everything the South, and particularly Alabama, holds dear. If he is for the South, as our forefathers made it and preserved it, he can't support Truman in the Democratic convention in Philadelphia. And he can't advocate the nomination of any other man who runs upon a platform advocated by Truman.

Montgomery Ala

"The time has come for us to stand up and be counted. We can't be half white and half colored. The South is proud of her traditions. We don't want a doctrine promulgated by gangster political machines of the North and East, made up mostly of foreigners or men of foreign extraction, to tell us how to live.

Ties 3-2-48

"If I am elected a delegate, I promise the people I won't vote for Truman at Philadelphia, or any other man who advocates what he does on racial equality. And if I am chosen a presidential elector, I will withhold my vote in the electoral college from any man who advocates what Truman does, and seek the selection of a Southerner, who is true to the ideals of his section and who opposes the Truman ideals."

Word in Montgomery, Monday afternoon, was that an emissary of Gov. Folsom would leave at dusk for Mobile, with qualifications of a number of men for delegate-at-large, and for presidential elector. Things were shaping up, it appeared, for an all-South ticket for delegate and elector a Folsom-Wallace ticket for delegate and elector, and a Truman ticket for delegate and elector, with the Truman ticket sadly

Applause for Wallace Makes Powell Shift Tune

Tues. 1-6-48 34a(1) Pres (Gen) Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Applause for the name "Henry Wallace," mentioned by Representative Adam Clayton Powell in a speech last Sunday in Harlem, visibly upset the Harlem congressman and caused him to depart from his prepared text. Congressman Powell (D-ALP, NY), in his prepared address to be delivered to a mass meeting called by the People's Committee, of which he is chairman, criticzed Wallace's candidacy as "unwise." Truman and Dewey were attacked in his speech as unwanted candidates. His political strategy for 1948 was given as campaigning for a man "like Eisenhower" on the Republican ticket, implying that the people could expect nothing from Truman and the Democrats.

Tues. 1-6-48

DEPARTS FROM SPEECH

Obviously affected by the warmth for Wallace shown by the crowd, Representative Powell departed from his prepared speech at that point. "I know that a lot of you won't agree with me in what I am going to say," he stated apolegetically. Daily Worker

Continuing, he reaffirmed his great friendship with Wallace and outlined his policy for Republican nomination of Eisenhower. The major hope of the Negro people, he said, was in the two old parties, but since Truman was out of the question, he advised the Negroes to look to the Republicans for a candidate like Eisenhower.

The temperature of the unheated Golden Gate Ballroom was matched by the cool reception in the audence gave to the political strategy outlined. The congressman's listeners remained quiet while he told them his intentions of campaigning until the Republican convention next summer for "a great American like Eisenhower whom I am ready to support 100 percent."

Warmth returned to the audience only when he told them that in case he lost the faith for Eisenhower he "would have to follow my conscience" and support Wallace.

Dixie Man To Run

With Truman?

Atlanta, Ga.

Gov. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, is head of the committee. He was named at a recent meeting of Southern governors. Wed. 2-18-48

Among those reported under consideration for the vice presidential nomination were Sen. Walter F. George, of Georgia, Sen. Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina.

The committee may ask the president to back-track on proposals for federal anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, anti-segregation and FEPC laws, The Constitution added.

It will suggest also, the newspaper said, that another Southerner replace Tom Clark, of Texas as attorney general. Wed. 2-18-48

Clark is not looked on as a "real Southerner" any more, The Constitution explained, since he "intervened in racial disputes."

News

ATLANTA, Feb. 18—(AP)—Dixie Democrats, revolting over President Truman's civil rights program, may demand a Southerner as vice presidential candidate, The Atlanta Constitution said today. 34a(1)

A committee of five governors may make the proposal at a conference with national party leaders in Washington Monday, the paper reported. Birmingham Ala

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'Do Something!' Mizell Urges In Parley Bid

34a(1) Pres (Gen) The Advertiser

Candidate For Congress Asks McCorvey To Call Committee For Action

Montgomery, Ala.

Flays 'Rights' Plan

Sun. 2-29-48

Abernethy Opposes Vote For Truman Or Others With Similar Viewpoint

By ATTICUS MULLIN

The revolt against President Truman and the un-American "gangsters" of the big western and eastern cities—who control the Democratic Party organization—reached the point in Alabama Saturday where a candidate for presidential elector asserted that, if elected, he would "never vote for one of them" and a candidate for Congress, who also is a member of the State committee, called on Chairman McCorvey to call the committee together "to DO something!"

Tom Abernethy, a young man of Talladega who filed for presidential elector, made the plain and unequivocal statement that he would not vote for Truman or "any other man with identical racial views" if the people of Alabama chose him as an elector.

Asks Definite Stand

Frank Mizell, Jr., member of the State committee and candidate for Congress, called for a meeting of the State committee to make it certain that Alabama would not cast a single electoral vote for Truman or any other man running for President on the proposed Truman civil rights platform. The Advertiser

Abernethy said:

"I have qualified as a candidate for elector because I believe it the duty of Southerners to do whatever they can to protect their country and their section from attack upon constitutional government which has been deliberately begun by President Harry S. Truman.

"It is my sincere hope that the National Democratic Convention will repudiate Mr. Truman and his views and nominate for the presidency some individual whose concept of government is not twisted by hatred of the South and its traditions.

"If Mr. Truman is nominated at Philadelphia, and if I am chosen as an elector from Alabama, I will not cast the electoral vote in my keeping for him or for any other person with like views on the so-called civil rights legislation. Montgomery, Ala.

"If I am elected I will not accept as satisfactory some futile compromise which would give the party a lukewarm civil rights plan in its platform while the head of the ticket leaves on the record words which have already set in motion the machinery for the passage of un-needed anti-lynching legislation and unwise laws to abolish the poll tax. The blow has been struck. The damage is done. Sun 2-29-48

GOP No Help

"Should Mr. Truman or someone who thinks like him be the party nominee, I would not cast my vote for the Republican nominee. I see no gain for the South in choosing between two factions of demonstrated hostility to our way of life. If those circumstances arise, I will cast my vote for some Southerner who has proved through the years of public life that he will not sell the South down the river for the sake of personal or political advantage. On this platform, I seek the vote of my fellow Alabamians for the post of presidential and vice-presidential elector.

Frank Mizell, candidate for Congress in the Second District, and also a member of the state committee, said among other things in his statement:

Mizell's Proposal

"All that is necessary, in my belief, is for the State Democratic Executive Committee to meet and adopt, either in the form of resolutions or amendments to its rules a statement providing in substance the following: Sun 2-29-48

1. That the delegates to the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia be instructed not to vote for (a) adoption of any platform for the Democratic party which would favor federal enacted laws setting up a FEPC, a permanent civil rights commission, a civil rights division in the Department of Justice, a joint congressional committee on civil rights, or which would favor Federal anti-lynching laws, federal anti-poll tax laws, or federal anti-segregation laws (those propositions hereinafter referred to as anti-Southern laws); (b) and not candidate who favors the enactment of any such laws. Sun 2-29-48

2. That presidential electors nominated at the Democratic primary election of this state and subsequently chosen in the general election shall not (be bound) to vote for a nominee chosen at the Philadelphia Democratic convention, if such candidate or nominee favors federal enactment of the laws above mentioned, but that such electors shall be free, so far as the Democratic party of Alabama is concerned, to vote for any Democrat known to oppose the adoption of the above mentioned anti-Southern laws, and his action in so doing is not to be

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But This Time State Finds It Has Candidates Galore

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sun 2-29-48 34a(1) Pres (Gen)

By MERCER BAILEY
Associated Press Writer

Many times in the past Alabama has had to draft candidates for national convention delegates and presidential electors. This year she has many more than there are posts to fill.

Several things have worked together to bring this unusually large number of candidates into the field, but probably the two major factors were:

1—President Truman's civil rights proposals which have brought a storm of protest from Southern Democrats.

2—Gov. Folsom's continual insistence that every candidate should have a lot of opposition so the issues of the race will be brought clearly into focus.

And the number of candidates probably will continue to swell until the Monday midnight qualifying deadline for the May 4 Democratic primary. This primary is all-important in Alabama because of the one-party system here.

Midnight Monday

All qualifying papers must be in the hands of Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile, by midnight, Monday. Candidates then have an additional five days to file with the secretary of state.

The South's antagonism to President Truman's civil rights proposals has pushed the offices of presidential elector and national convention delegates to a rare prominence. The Advertiser

Already 19 candidates have filed to run for the eight delegate-at-large posts. Twenty-one men have tossed their hats in for the 11 presidential electors positions.

Old-time political observers readily recall past instances when party leaders had to draft candidates to fill these two usually routine, taken-for-granted posts.

Fifty-three candidates are seeking the 18 district delegate posts. The biggest election battles in the district are shaping up in the Fourth, and Sixth Districts. Each Congressional District is allowed two delegates. The fourth has seven candidates and the sixth has eight. Montgomery, Ala.

Seek Reelection

Alabama's nine congressmen and U. S. Senator John Sparkman also are seeking reelection. All have opposition with the exception of Freshman Representative Robert E. Jones, Jr., of Scottsboro, from the Eighth District. Montgomery, Ala.

A big political fight is expected, too, in the race for delegate-at-large. Gov. Folsom, Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, and Former Lieut. Gov. Handy Ellis are among the 19 candidates from the state at large. The Advertiser

Folsom and Sparks have differed on political views in the past, and the governor defeated Ellis in the gubernatorial runoff in 1946. Sun 2-29-48

Another factor coloring the political picture is Folsom's announced candidacy for the presidential nomination. The governor in recent speeches has been very critical of President Truman and U. S. foreign policies. He said if sent to the Philadelphia nominating convention as a favorite son candidate he would challenge Mr. Truman for the leadership of the Democratic party.

Fuse Is Lighted

Mr. Truman's civil rights proposals, which lit the fuse under a restless Southland, have prompted some candidates to announce they would not support the president for reelection.

State Rep. Norman Harris of Decatur and Tom Abernathy, member of the State Democratic executive committee, said if chosen as presidential electors they will not vote for President Truman. 34a(1) Sun 2-29

Party leader McCorvey predicted Alabama would send to the national convention "unpledged candidates who will refuse to vote for Truman or any other candidate advocating the civil rights bill."

Thus far the delegate and elector races have overshadowed the other political contests.

Sen. Sparkman is opposed for reelection by Thomas H. Maxwell of Tuscaloosa, who runs for some post in almost every election. Speculation has been, and still is, high on whether Gould Beech of Montgomery, close friend and adviser to Gov. Folsom, would come out against the senator. Beech has declined to say one way or the other.

Two Opponents

President Gordon Person of the Alabama Public Service Commission has drawn two opponents so far. They are M. J. Williams, Jr., of Anniston and Mack R. Heatherly of Cullman.

Six circuit judgeships are contested. Broughton Lamberth of Alexander City, Folsom lieutenant, is seeking to upset National Committeeman Marion Rushton of Montgomery. National Committeewoman Mrs. Lennard Thomas of Montgomery is unopposed. The Advertiser

Thomas S. (Buster) Lawson and Robert T. Simpson, both of Montgomery, are unopposed for reelection as associate justice of the State Supreme Court.

Other candidates who had qualified Saturday: Montgomery, Ala.

For U. S. Senator: Wallace Pruitt of Chatom. Sun. 2-29-48

For Congress: Kenneth A. Roberts of Anniston, candidate from the Fourth district.

For Presidential Elector: Walter F. Miller of Tuscumbia; Guy W. Hanna of Birmingham; Walter C. Givhan of Safford; Herbert Meighan of Gadsden; W. R. Withers of Greensboro.

For Delegates to the National Democratic Convention:

First District—John E. Mandeville, Miss Kate Shepard and Earl C. Bassett, all of Mobile.

Third District—E. C. Boswell of Geneva.

Fourth District—Walter C. Givhan of Safford.

Eighth District—Robert L. Malone of Athens.

Ninth District—Guy W. Hanna and Roy Edward Williams, Sr., both of Birmingham. The Advertiser

Delegates from State-at-Large—Gov. Folsom; former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, Eufaula; former Lt. Gov. Handy Ellis, Columbiana; Swann Colwell, Gadsden; State Senator A. L. Patterson, Phenix City; Party Leader Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile; J. M. Bonner, Camden; D. Hardy Riddle, Talladega; State Representative John H. Pinson, Geiger; Dan J. Baker, Troy. Montgomery, Ala.

Joe J. Money, Homewood; J. W. Ayres, Fayette; S. J. Colpack, Bessemer; C. C. Horton, Courtland; Albert B. Stapp, Eugene (Bull) Connor, and Jerome Phillips, all of Birmingham, and Charles G. Dobbins and Carl Griffin of Montgomery.

Presidential Electors: Robert B. Albritton, Andalusia; Roy Mayhall, Jasper; Edmund Blair, Pell City; Bart J. Cowart, Haleyville; Forrest Castelberry, Castleberry; Thomas H. Maxwell, Tuscaloosa; Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile; A. M. Simmons, Hacoda; Roy F. Parker, Attalla; J. A. Carnley, Elba; Tully A. Goodwin, Florala; Tom Abernethy, Talladega; Horace W. Wilkinson and Roger Snyder of Birmingham, and Ben Bloodworth and State Representative Norman Harris of Decatur. Sun. 2-29-48

Representatives in Congress: First District—Representative Frank W. Boykin of Mobile, and Joe Thompson of Butler. Second—Representative George Grant, Troy; Frank J. Mizell, Jr., and James G. Oliver of Montgomery. Third—Representative George Andrews of Union Springs and John E. Pitts of Auburn. Fourth—Representative Sam Hobbs of Selma and Tom Graff of Wetumpka. Fifth—Representative Albert Raines of Gadsden and Theo Steed of Centre.

Sixth—Representative Pete Jarman of Livingston and Dr. H. F. Wheat of Tuscaloosa. Seventh—Representative Carter Manasco and Carl Elliott of Jasper; J. H. Kelly of Haleyville. Eighth—Representative Robert E. Jones, Jr., of Scottsboro. Ninth—Representative Luther Patrick, Laurie C. Battle and George Patterson, Jr., all of Birmingham.

Convention Delegates from Districts: First—A. I. Killgore, Demopolis; John M. Coxwell, Monroeville; State Senator Joseph N. Langan, J. T. Lott and John L. Moore, all of Mobile. Second—Jeff P. Beeland, Greenville; Jimmy Faulkner, Bay Minette; Ed Yeaman, Florala; Wilbur B. Nolen, Jr., and Nesbitt Elmore, Montgomery.

Third: John W. Gentry, Jr., Phenix City; L. H. Adams, Jr., Columbia; H. R. Batchelor, Elba; Waldo E. Ard, Ozark; L. A. Farmer and C. C. Bush, Dothan.

Fourth: Winston Stewart, Rockford; Cecil W. Hastings, Anniston; W. Carvel Woodall, State Senator Graham Wright, and A. L. Hanks, all of Talladega; Truman Reneau, and Tom Graff, Wetumpka.

Fifth: State Senator, C. J. Ownes, Guntersville; Olin C. Hearne, Albertville; James W. Jones, State Rep. E. L. Roberts, and Roy Davis McCord, all of Gadsden.

Sixth: Cohen E. Stapp, Clanton; H. Coleman Long, Uniontown; Max Shiller and H. B. Giles, Marion; Henry J. Mayfield, Thomas H. Maxwell, Fred W. Nicol and Richard A. Thompson, all of Tuscaloosa. The Advertiser

Seventh: Harry Strange, Russellville; J. M. Miller, Cordova; and Kenneth J. Griffin, Cullman. Montgomery, Ala.

Eighth. W. W. Malone, of Athens; and Carl A. Morring, Jr., of Huntsville.

Ninth: Roy E. Williams, Jr., H. H. Askew, Roy Grimmett, and Raymond Weeks, all of Birmingham. Sun 2-29-48

Alternate Delegates-At-Large — Carolyn P. Coots and Roy F. Parker, of Attalla.

Alternate delegates from districts — Third: George C. Wallace, of Clayton, and Lucille Patterson, of Enterprise. Fourth: Edmund Blair, Pell City. Fifth: Paul M. Hodgens, Albertville; George C. Hawkins, and Leslie C. King, of Gadsden. Sixth: Marcus E. McConnell, Jr., of Livingston, and Nelson O. Fuller, of Centerville. Eighth: H. F. Sherwood, of Decatur, and R. L. Malone, of Athens.

Alabama House of Representatives — Jack Hankins, of Vernon.

Circuit Solicitors—Robert M. Mundine, Robertsdale, 28th District.

Circuit Judges—Sixth Circuit: Reuben H. Wright, Tuscaloosa, Judge No. 2. 10th Circuit: G. O. Boner, Alta L. King, M. B. Grace, and Cecil M. Deason, all of Birmingham. 25th Circuit: Kelly V. Fite, of Hamilton, and J. M. Hawkins, of Winfield. 26th Circuit: J. B. Hicks and State Rep. J. W. Brazzell, both of Phenix City. 27th Circuit: Herbert H. Conway, of Albertville, and J. S. Stone, of Guntersville. 28th Circuit: Telfair J. Mashburn, Jr., Hubert M. Hall, and W. C. Beebe, all of Bay Minette; and E. G. Rickarby, Jr., of Fairhope.

Poll Claims Truman Is Stronger Than F. D. R. In South Despite Revolt

34a(1)

BY GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., Feb. 20—The Southern Democratic revolt against President Truman will have to go a long way before its affects voting sentiment in the South.

President Truman is as popular with Southern voters as Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the early days of his administration, and more popular than Roosevelt was during his last term of office.

When Southern voters were questioned during January and February on their preference in various "trial-heat" races for the presidency, the vote for Truman ranged between 74 per cent and 76 per cent. This compares with a vote of only 69 per cent for Roosevelt in the South in 1944.

A number of Southern governors have threatened to withhold electoral votes from Truman unless he modifies his demands for civil liberties reform in the South.

It is possible that these threats may influence Southern voters against Truman. But a somewhat similar revolt in 1944 against the Roosevelt administration fizzled out long before election time, except in Texas, where an anti-Roosevelt movement known as the "Texas Regulars" polled approximately 12 per cent of the vote.

The problem facing any anti-Truman movement in the South can be seen from the following indications the president's popularity there in "trial-heats" against Thomas E. Dewey, Harold E. Stassen, and Sen. Robert A. Taft, and against Henry A. Wallace on a third ticket.

Birmingham Ala

Truman	74%
Stassen	19
Wallace	2
No opinion	5

2.

Truman	75%
Dewey	19
Wallace	1
No opinion	5

3.

Truman	76%
Taft	16
Wallace	2
No opinion	6

This compares with recent elections as follows: in 1944 the Democratic presidential vote was 69 per cent in the South, in 1940 it was 72 per cent and in 1936 it was 76 per cent. Fri. 2-20-48

MANY SOUTHERN LEADERS have deplored the one-sided party situation in the South, claiming that the South would be better off if it had two strong political parties. It would then be in a better position to bargain for favors in Washington, runs the argument, whereas now the national heads of the Democratic Party tend to take the South's support for granted.

On several occasions in recent years the Institute has polled Southern opinion on the idea of two strong parties. Widespread support was expressed.

In 1939 57 per cent of all eligible voters with opinions said they thought the South would be better off with two effective parties. In 1943 the percentage rose to 59, and in 1944 to 64.

However, the second party would have to carry a different label from that of the Republican Party. Except in border states such as Oklahoma and Kentucky and parts of Tennessee, most Southern whites will usually not vote for anything that is called Republican.

The name for a new party which would have the most popular appeal in the South, judging by a 1943 survey, would be "Southern Democratic Party," with "Jeffersonian Party" and "Independent Democratic Party of the South" close seconds.

IN THE FIELD OF POLITICS

How To Put Southerner In White House Told

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Fri 1-30-48

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 29—(AP)—Sen. James O. Eastland, Democrat, Mississippi, predicted Thursday that if Southern Democrats withhold from the Democratic Party their electoral votes, "a Southern man would emerge as President of the United States."

He told the Mississippi Legislature the matter would work out this way:

The South, with 127 electoral votes, could throw them to a "distinguished Southerner." That would deprive the other parties of enough votes to "throw the election into the House of Representatives."

The United States Constitution provides that the top three candidates shall be considered by the House.

Republicans of the South, he said, would take a Southern Democrat before they would take a Northern Republican.

In the election in the House, each State would have but one vote and, he predicted "a Southern man would emerge as President of the United States."

STASSEN "REGULAR"

PORTLAND, Me.—(UP)—Harold E. Stassen said Thursday night he differed "to a major extent" with the political views of Sen. Robert A. Taft, Republican, Ohio, but promised he would labor for a Republican victory in the Presidential election regardless of who might be the nominee.

The former Governor of Minnesota, conducting a six-day tour of New England to gain support for his candidacy, told the Young Republican Club of Maine that he:

1. Would indulge in no personal attacks on opponents in the contest to secure the GOP nomination. The Constitution

2. Would "abide by the decision the Party and voters make in primaries and caucuses" and support the Republican nominee elected at the National Convention at Philadelphia. Atlanta, Ga.

3. Would endeavor to convince the Republican Party that its best chance of success was to meet issues "openly and frankly" and without any "behind-the-scenes" negotiations. Fri. 1-30-48

4. Would oppose the "reactionary and isolationist elements" within the Party.

S. C. DEMOS SORE

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(AP)—Forty-nine South Carolina legislators Thursday denounced the National Democratic Party for "concessions" to minority groups advocating ideas "flagrantly repugnant to the South." The Constitution

Because of this, they said, South Carolina Democrats should be called into convention to "reconsider" the "increasingly serious problem" of their position in the national party.

Saying they were writing as individual Democrats rather than as part of the 170-member State General Assembly, now in session, the letter signers explained:

"The South's distaste for some acts of the National Party has mounted until it now has reached the point that we should reconsider our position in the National Party. Atlanta, Ga.

"We emphasize that this is not a suggestion for withdrawal from the National Party. It is, however, a direct admonition that we take stock and review our position in the light of these elements.

"The question is this: . . . Is there now a sufficient divergence of the policies of the National Democratic Party on the one hand, and the policies for which our State stands on the other, to warrant that our State Party review its position to determine the best interests of our State Democratic Party?" Fri. 1-30-48

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (General)

Dixie Decision

John Temple Graves

The Record Columbia, S.C.

"As a lion, creeping nigher,
Glares at one that nods and winks
Behind a slowly dying fire . . ."

Wed. 3-10-48

The lion has crept into Czechoslovakia. It has set its puppets in Korea, its guerillas in Greece. It is pushing at the Dardanelles, crawling broad-bellied over Italy. It has licked up little Finland. It is chewing its great jaws in Berlin.

In the special lexicon of Columnist Tom Stokes, the South is dividing our country in the face of this dramatic creep across the sea. Scoffing at Governor Thurmond's plea against "highly controversial civil rights legislation which tends to divide our people," my brave but prejudiced colleague says it is "a few noisy southern politicians and a minority of the southern people" who are dividing the country. Relieved of his prejudice, Tom Stokes is honest and intelligent enough to see that the burden of proof is the other way, that those who propose to reform a country, to change its institutions and ways in a manner revolutionary to certain parts, are the divisionists, not those who resist the changes as the South is doing.

Mr. Stokes reminds me of Bishop Oxnam, who says "the best way to destroy dictatorship abroad is to establish democracy at home," when it simply isn't so. He reminds me of Ellis Arnall who says we must "get tough with Russia but first improve democracy here," when it is just not true.. Much remains to make democracy perfect, but we have more than any other land, and certainly enough to face the world in crisis. The ones who woefully hurt their country in this circle are not those who resist revolutions at home but those who go around demanding as a pre-requisite to carrying on abroad crusades here that confuse, interrupt and divide our people. Wed. 3-10-48

Claude Pepper, as smart a gentleman as ever went wrong and wrong and wrong, is entitled to attention when he speaks against any denial to Southern voters of a freedom of choice in the coming Presidential election. Unlike Alabama's Jim Folsom, who just wants to keep the states' rights issue from obliterating his own, Pepper is talking sense. What the southern states do in this fateful moment must represent the will of southern voters or be worthless. These voters must have perfect opportunity to express that will as regards the presidency. That means that, by one device or another, they must have a chance to express themselves on the real issue raised. That issue is not civil liberties, for most of us are of one mind on that. It is how far to go in protest. There must be a chance to vote on (1) carrying protest to the national convention but abiding by the convention's decision and nomination, and (2) not abiding by the decision and nomination.

Wed. 3-10-48

That should be the issue in naming electors, it seems to me. It should be between electors who will be bound, and electors who will hold themselves free. If, to accomplish this, it is necessary to do as Governor Tuck asks and keep the national nominee's name from the November ballot, there should still be a chance to vote for electors who will be bound and ones who mean to be free. The Record

That funny noise from my state is our governor trying to do a Bronx cheer and a rebel yell at the same time. It's all in a demagog's day. But while Mr. Folsom talks of "fancy pants" and dreams he's Huey Long, while his childish mentors tell him he can mix communism and states' rights, while he dodges real contact with states' rights on the race question or anything else—a lion is creeping nigher.

Columbia, S.C.

"Imagine a crooning cowboy in the President's seat," writes Editor Caleb King, of The Florida Times-Union, on Henry Wallace's running mate, Glen H. Taylor, of Idaho. If Caleb wants to play with horrid imaginings he doesn't have to go all the way to Idaho. He could imagine Alabama's Flopping Jim Folsom handing out kisses in the Blue Room. Or he could try. The thing is, of course, beyond imagining.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

34a(1) X

It Looks Like Ike Will Be GOP Choice

Sat 1-17-48

Atlanta, Ga.

The political stage is filled with Hamlets—"Will Eisenhower run or not? That is the question."

Presumably, only Gen. Dwight Eisenhower himself is the one person not engaged in a Hamlet-like soliloquy in picking daisy petals off the stem while muttering, "I will, I won't."

It is a great opportunity for the political seers, and they are making the most of it.

One of them reports that within a few days Gen. Eisenhower will issue a disclaimer which will make the late William Tecumseh Sherman's seem downright doubtful. (Said Sherman, "I will not accept if nominated. If elected, I will not serve.")

There are others who say the General's continued silence indicates that he is letting the chips fall where they will and that while he does not believe in fortunetellers, he is taking no action against those who are gazing into their crystal balls and seeing a fellow whose last name begins with "E" in the White House.

Primaries One does not need a crystal ball to see that the General's candidacy is gaining strength. The Chicago Tribune, which wants MacArthur, is obviously angry about the growing Eisenhower strength and thinks it is a bad thing.

Sen. Charles W. Tobey, of New Hampshire, who is that rare personality, a genuinely liberal Republican, has given genuine substance to the Eisenhower boom by putting him in his State primary.

Until that happened, the Eisenhower boom was a sort of political ectoplasm, wandering like a mist across the political fields, scaring the daylights out of all rightist Republicans, such as Taft, Reece and Taber. The Constitution

Now it is no longer a ghost seen at the windows of the "sound" Republicans. It is walking about and kicking up dust.

The General's name will be entered in the Georgia Republican preferential primary and, before that, in the Arkansas primary. These two GOP tests, the first in the South since Reconstruction days, certainly will see Gen. Eisenhower as the winner, unless the Taft forces, which have had the Southern delegates in their pockets since the days of Mark Hanna, with one or two exceptions, count the primary votes. Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 1-17-48

Truman The fact is, Harry Truman has a chance to be elected against almost any Republican choice save Eisenhower. The chance admittedly is not a good one. It is not one to inspire a gambling man to wager heavily. But it is a chance.

The Republicans want to win. They also need to win.

Therefore, if the Eisenhower boom begins to snowball, they will take him and like him.

Taft is the man Truman most certainly could defeat. Dewey likely would win, as would Vandenberg. Stassen would have a chance. But any of these would find the Republican factions split and sulking in their tents. Sat. 1-17-48

So, they will take the General with three rousing cheers. He is the one man they apparently can get who would arouse the rank and file of the Republican Party to enthusiasm. Taft certainly can't.

Wallace It is interesting to note that the recent Gallup Poll revealed that Mr. Truman would win over Taft, with Wallace running a good independent race. The same report reveals Gen. Eisenhower could win over Mr. Truman with or without Wallace. The GOP will mull over that—furiously. But it will mull.

Wallace's candidacy helps any conservative save Taft, who hereby is revealed to be what he is—no conservative, but a highly intelligent man who for some distressing reason insists on trying to turn back clocks. The Constitution

The GOP also has discovered that while it will, by and large, get the Negro vote in the Eastern and Middle Western key States, it will lose quite a few of these votes to Wallace. It begins to shape up more and more that Wallace is not really going to hurt anyone. He will take from both parties about the same votes—the left-wing ones from the Democratic and Republican progressive groups. With him also will go the Communists and the crackpot fringe. Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 1-17-48

The big cities and labor will be important in the key States and labor has not yet got its machinery going. It won't go to Wallace

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They All Like Ike

Hero Could Win Without Party, Many Think; What Did Mrs. Thomas Say In Washington?

The News BY FRED TAYLOR Birmingham, Ala.

Each day must bring new elation—and humility—to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. Wed. 3-24-48

If he hasn't become the new political Messiah—apparently he still refuses to become one—he is just about the most popular figure this country has produced in many a day.

TAYLOR

First, the Republicans tried to thrust the presidential nomination upon the war hero president of Columbia University. Virtually everybody agreed that if Ike had decided to run, his election would have been a cinch. He could have overwhelmed all the GOP aspirants combined with President Truman and Henry Wallace thrown in.

But he turned the Republicans down cold.

* * *

FALL BACK ON IKE—Now, as more and more professional and amateur politicians in both the South and North fall off Truman, they try to fall back on Ike. The News

A Brooklyn Democratic leader says that two party clubs in his heavy voting Brooklyn district would repudiate Mr. Truman and announce their support of Gen. Ike.

Incidentally, this momentous development may cause the president to change his mind. The Southern rebellion over his "civil rights" proposals has made Mr. Truman all the more determined to pursue the course on which he embarked, it has been emphasized again and again from Washington. Wed.

But the Brooklyn defection is not to be dealt with lightly, we very probably will be told. It is the sort of thing that party bigwigs will consider nation-jarring and soul-jolting. 3-24-48

As for Gen. Ike, both Democrats and Republicans would like to have him become their standard bearer. Both parties need him. Birmingham, Ala

But would Ike need either party, if he decided to run? Apparently not. Most folks think he could win without a party!

* * *

MRS. THOMAS AND THE PRESS—Just what did Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Alabama Democratic national committeewoman, say in Washington, after having lunched with other committee members with President Truman at the White House?

Her statements, reportedly dealing with Mr. Truman's "civil rights" program and the South, were "misrepresented" by Washington newsmen, she said after returning to Montgomery.

The usually reliable Washington Post said that Mrs. Thomas became convinced that Mr. Truman, despite his unyielding stand on the "civil rights" proposals, meant no harm to the South. The paper quoted her as giving this advice to the people of Alabama and the rest of the South:

"My advice to the South," Mrs. Thomas told reporters, "is to forget the revolt, to get busy and raise funds for the Democratic Party, and to stand solidly behind Harry S. Truman."

After Sen. Lister Hill repudiated President Truman, Mrs. Thomas said Hill "expressed my sentiments perfectly. Now we can really pull together and get some work done. That is also what I said in Washington two weeks ago when I was misquoted by reporters." The News

Now Mrs. Thomas is being [illegible]d to resign as national committee woman and withdraw as a candidate for the post, which she has held for eight years. One of those who called on her to step aside was Brewer Dixon, Talladega attorney and State Democratic Executive Committee member. Birmingham, Ala

A supporter of Mrs. Thomas in her previous races, Dixon said he was "shocked and disappointed" by Mrs. Thomas' statements in connection with the president's "civil rights" program. Wed

Mrs. Carolyn P. Coots, Attalla, vice chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, also asked Mrs. Thomas to resign because of her "on again, off again" attitude. 3-24-48

Mrs. Thomas is unopposed for committeewoman. Mrs. Coots, who entered this race and withdrew, told Mrs. Thomas the only reason she did not have opposition for reelection was because of her strong stand taken before the state committee on the very same "civil rights" proposals.

It Still Looks Like Dewey

The News

Although the belief still is strongly dominant that this is a Republican year, that Gov. Dewey will be elected, it is evident that some elements of uncertainty as to the outcome have been underscored by recent developments.

President Truman's fighting acceptance speech, vulnerable as it was in some respects, particularly in his announcement in this way of his intention to call a special session of Congress, nevertheless rallied a party and convention that had been very low in spirit under the weight of internal dissension and national sentiment for a change.

54a

Mr. Truman obviously does believe that his party has a strong case; Sen. Barkley did an effective job in presenting it. And unquestionably the president believes he has a powerful case against the present Republican Congress—and against the Republican record in other recent years. This aggressive, confident attitude on the part of Mr. Truman has made it evident that at least there is going to be a real battle—that the election is not going by default.

Mon. 8-9-48

* * *

Recognizing the efficiency of Gov. Dewey and his organization, it is apparent that there is no great popular enthusiasm for him personally. If the underlying trend for a change were not so strong, that weakness in personal appeal might be a critical handicap for the New Yorker. But his advantages are so strong that he may win comfortably despite that consideration. Still it may mean a good deal in cutting down his support. And that would be another factor of encouragement for Mr. Truman.

Birmingham, Ala

The "States' Rights" movement in the South is making it plain that it is not aiming to help Dewey, that its objective is to throw the election into the House of Representatives and defeat both Dewey and Truman. In the South this appeal will undoubtedly divert to Thurmond many votes that might have gone to Dewey.

If the election is thrown into the House, however, its choice, with one vote for each state, must be made from among the three candidates who received the highest votes. It hardly seems likely that, in such an event, Gov. Thurmond would be selected over both Gov. Dewey and President Truman. However, it also seems quite unlikely—though not impossible, of course—that no candidate will fail to win the necessary majority for election of 266 electoral votes.

Mon. 8-9-48

* * *

Arthur Krock, writing recently in *The New York Times*, reports that some of the politicians who a few weeks ago were saying Mr. Truman had no chance, are now saying he has at least a "fair" one. But events of recent days, he added, had not altered the view of most newspaper men and visiting state and local politicians in Washington that Mr. Dewey will be the next president. For the time being, at least, that remains the strongly predominant prospect.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

'Not Much Heat, Not Much Light.'

Thur 9-23-48

Atlanta, Ga

It is a curious presidential campaign, this one we are in.

It has not much heat, not much light.

Gov. Dewey, in the favorite's position, carefully let Gov. Warren pitch the campaign. Gov. Warren found something good to say about both parties.

Gov. Dewey, with equal care, let his former rival, Harold Stassen, of Minnesota, reply to President Truman's opening blasts at the record of the Republican Congress. It is not without significance that he did not ask Sen. Robert Taft, the party leader in the Congress, to do that task.

54a

Strategy Now Gov. Dewey has opened with his own guns. He will not make a "personality" fight of it. The late Franklin D. Roosevelt blew Dewey out of a similar position with his famous speech in which he deplored the attacks on his little dog Fala, saying he did not mind attacks on him and his family, but he thought it very underhanded to attack a defenseless dog. The angered Dewey came back with a personal attack on Roosevelt. This took the minds of the people off issues. More persons like Roosevelt than Dewey. Dewey destroyed the image of himself which he had created. He will not make that error again.

Therefore, the campaign has little heat and less originality. President Truman talks about the "Gluttons of Wall Street." His phrases are as mild as an after-shaving lotion compared with the acidulous phrases with which Mr. Roosevelt sprinkled the "Economic Royalists," causing them to wince and leap and squeak with anguish. There isn't much hate in the race. Most of the dislike of Truman is directed at him because of Roosevelt.

Heat What heat there is exists in the South. Those States which haven't fallen for the highly-perfumed, richly-clad, well-kept political fourth party called the Dixiecrats, now soliciting in the political streets, but who still wish to see Truman defeated, have begun to think about a possible "out."

Thur 9-23-48

The Dixiecrats are out to destroy the Democratic Party. Many Democrats wish to keep the party but to get Truman out of office. Therefore, the device of withholding the electoral votes and casting them for some other Democrat has been planned in the event it is necessary to defeat Truman.

But, goes the newest argument, if Harry Truman is badly defeated anyhow, he will have been removed, and the electoral votes could then be cast for the party, since Truman would already be removed by the people's votes--and the desired end achieved.

There is no lessening of the determination to defeat Harry Truman. There is more and more wish to help preserve the party with new leadership. That explains the slowing down of bolts from the party to the fourth party.

For those who do not wish to remain Democrats, there still is the Republican Party and the need of a two-party system in the South.

The Senate There is little Democratic hope of electing Harry Truman. There is a great deal of hope the party may hold a slight lead in the Senate. Much of the party campaign is being centered in this field.

The Republicans now hold the Senate by a small majority of three seats. With 49 needed for a majority, they have 51 Senators to 45 for the Democrats.

This year the Democrats, because of their strength in the South, are forced to defend seats in only four doubtful States, Montana, New Mexico, Colorado and Rhode Island.

The Republicans have a fight in seven States. The doubtful Republican contests are between Sen. Joseph H. Ball, Republican, and Hubert Humphrey, Democrat, in Minnesota; Sen. George H. Wilson, Republican, and former Sen. Guy Gillette in Iowa; Sen. E. V. Robertson, Republican, and Lester Hunt, Democrat, in Wyoming; Ross Rizley, Republican, and former Gov. Robert Kerr in Oklahoma; Sen. C. Wayland Brooks, Republican, and Dr. Paul Douglas, Democrat, in Illinois; Sen. Chapman Revercomb, Republican, and former Gov. Matthew Neely, Democrat, in West Virginia, and Sen. John S. Cooper, Republican, and Virgil Chapman, Democrat, in Kentucky.

Thur 9-23-48

Of these, the Republicans believe they are in the most dangerous position in Oklahoma, West Virginia, Wyoming and Minnesota.

Needs In order to win control of the Senate, the Democrats would have to hold their present 45 seats and win four more. There is a possibility they can win four of the seven listed. But this is countered by the fact the Democrats will have real trouble in three of the Senate seats now held. There is a real fight in Montana, New Mexico and Colorado. In New Mexico, former Secretary of Agriculture Clinton Anderson, is having a hot campaign with Pat Hurley. In Montana and Colorado, incumbent Democratic Senators James Murray and Edwin C. Johnson are doubtful winners.

Therefore, while on the face of things it would appear that the Republicans might win the presidency, they may also lose the Senate. But that is a probability only if Dewey fails to catch on. If he builds up momentum he will carry in enough Senators to hold a slight edge.

That is why the political heat is not up in the torrid fig

The heat is localized.

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (MacArthur)

Two Candidates in One Day

About MacArthur

34a(1)

WASHINGTON, March 8—(UP)—Rep. A. L. Miller, Republican, Nebraska, said Monday night the announcement by Gen. MacArthur that he was a candidate for the presidency was "the green light for his friends really to get to work."

Miller, an original MacArthur-for-President booster, said MacArthur "is one man who can be nominated and, if nominated, certainly elected."

Sen. George, Democrat, Georgia, hailed the General as "one of the outstanding military men of World War II and certainly one of the greatest administrators."

The Constitution

Sen. John H. Overton, Democrat, Louisiana, hailed MacArthur as a "great General" and a a "very great administrator."

One Southern Senator, James Eastland, Democrat, Mississippi, hailed MacArthur as a "great American who is above Party and above partisan politics."

Atlanta, Ga.

The Democratic National Committee declined comment on MacArthur's announcement, as did Senate President Arthur H. Vanderberg, Republican, Michigan.

Tues. 3-9-48

Vandenberg, chief Republican spokesman on foreign policy in the Senate, is considered a likely compromise candidate if the Republican Convention should be deadlocked.

In Albany, N. Y., Gov. Dewey's press secretary said Dewey also had "no comment."

Sen. John L. McClellan, Democrat, Arkansas, said he had great admiration for MacArthur, but "I don't know him well enough to know what he stands for."

MacArthur's statement came as no surprise here. His statement on China aid to the House Foreign Affairs Committee last Wednesday was interpreted in some quarters as indicating that he would run.

Sen. Homer E. Capehart, Republican, Indiana, said he always had been a "great admirer" of MacArthur.

Harold Stassen and Speaker Joe Martin, Republican, Massachusetts, other Republican presidential possibilities, also declined immediate comment.

Sen. W. Lee O'Daniel, Democrat, Texas, said: "The MacArthur announcement offers hope to a hopeless world—and a stop sign for Stalin."

Democrats In East Boom MacArthur

The News 34a(1)

Birmingham, Ala.

Virginia Assembly Adopts Substitute Anti-Truman Bill; Dewey Dishes Blast

Thurs. 3-4-48

By The Associated Press

Rebelling Dixie Democrats today received a setback in their drive to keep President Truman's name off Southern ballots. But from the North came fresh support for a change in party standard bearers.

Virginia legislators yesterday threw out a bill to bar Mr. Truman's name from the ballot. But they kept another weapon to use against him.

At the same time, three New England Democrats — including Boston's long-time Mayor James M. Curley—urged Gen. Douglas MacArthur as their party's presidential candidate.

Curley, who last Thanksgiving was granted a presidential pardon after serving five months of a six-to-18-month mail fraud sentence, declared the nation is demanding that Mr. Truman stay out of the race.

The News

He joined former Govs. Joseph B. Ely, of Massachusetts, and Francis P. Murphy, of New Hampshire, in proposing the supreme Allied commander of Japan as the Democratic nominee.

* * *

CURLEY WAS ASKED whether he plans to start a move at the Philadelphia convention to substitute MacArthur to Truman.

"I don't think it will be necessary," he replied to a reporter. "The country is doing it now."

MacArthur has been mentioned frequently as a possible GOP nominee.

Birmingham, Ala

* * *

IN THAT CONNECTION, a campaign committee was organized in New York yesterday "to boom MacArthur to the end that the people demand he be nominated for president."

Thurs. 3-4-48

Warren Wright, of Chicago, acting leader of the group, said no pledged delegates will be sought. Instead, he added, the committee will rely on a nation-wide poll three weeks before the GOP convention to convince party leaders that MacArthur is the people's choice.

In Virginia, Gov. William M. Tuck approved a complete substitute for his "anti-Truman" election law bill.

The revised measure would permit the president's name to appear on the state's ballot, but would require presidential electors to vote as the Virginia party convention orders.

'Mac' Can't Do Much About It

Atlanta Constitution

WASHINGTON—When a fellow offers himself for public office he finds out suddenly that lots of people disagree with him, many challenge his claim for office, and he even discovers that some people he didn't suspect don't even like him. Some of this, of course, is a surprise. But it's what we call the American way, and the average person becomes inured to it, even if some never do exactly like it.

Atlanta

Now we have a case, in the higher echelons, public office for the first time at a late stage in his career. Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who's been a professional soldier all his mature life, says he's willing to be President of the United States.

Wed. 3-17-48

As is usual in the case of such a man who has achieved an eminent peak in his career, Gen. MacArthur is surrounded by some lesser officials who bask in the reflected glory and take it upon themselves to protect their chief. They have done that already to the point of arousing quite a storm among newspaper reporters who are assigned to cover Gen. MacArthur's administration in Japan.

34a(1)

Now that Gen. MacArthur has become a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, they are getting even more dictatorial and meticulous on his behalf. They objected to radio news broadcasts carried over the Armed Forces' radio about the organization of anti-MacArthur veterans' clubs in this country and, as well, censored some editorial reaction in this country to the MacArthur candidacy.

Hereafter, it was decreed, only the "facts" about the General's candidacy can be disseminated in Japan. His public information officer, Col. Marion P. Echols, invented a new classification of forbidden news matter—"controversial conjecture," whatever that may mean. It seems sufficiently vague. If the organization of anti-MacArthur clubs by veterans in this country isn't a "fact," then what is?

Gen. MacArthur's aides should have known that as soon as he offered himself for public office he would, like any other man, become a subject for discussion and controversy, and properly so. His uniform can't protect him. That is our way, and we hope it continues to be our way. He can't do much about that—at least, we hope he can't.

Somebody suddenly woke up to this, possibly when the reaction to the Echols censorship was discovered. For, subsequently, Col. Echols announced that the General had issued an order that no form of censorship should be used to protect his name as a political figure. The public information officer said the General did not know about the censorship until informed by him.

Aside from the fact that such censorship in Japan would screen political news for thousands of Americans, both in the Army and civilians, who are absentee voters, it also shows once again the virulency of the censorship spirit among some of our top officials at this time. It is an ever-present danger and calls for constant vigilance.

It bobs up all around. Here in Washington there is a Security Board composed of top-level civilian, Army and Navy officials, which drafted a set of security regulations some time back classifying information for the press. Some of it was absurd and ridiculous censorship that would have been believed impossible.

One energetic newspaper correspondent here, Nat S. Finney, found out about these regulations when they had been put into effect in one agency, the Veterans' Administration, and exposed them in a series of articles for his newspapers, the Cowles newspapers in Des Moines and Minneapolis. Once he had pioneered, other newspapers and newspapermen took it up in new stories and editorials with the result that the regulations were modified. It was a fine piece of journalistic enterprise.

Wed. 3-17-48

Yet when a committee of newspaper editors voted the annual Raymond Clapper award to Mr. Finney, President Truman took the occasion of its presentation to criticize the award and minimize the situation on which the reporter had turned very much needed light. The President's failure to appreciate the censorship threat shows how far the acquiescence in the censorship philosophy and habit can go, of which the MacArthur episode is another example.

Another is the current proposal of Secretary of Defense Forrestal to set up some sort of a censorship—voluntary or otherwise—on what seemed to some of the newspaper representatives he recently called into consultation to be a flimsy pretext. This matter is still unsettle

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FREEDOM TRAIN

38a

Birm. News

o the Editor of The News:

It seems to me the major point in the Freedom Train fiasco is being missed entirely. Of course, I disagree with Green, Connor and Morgan, whose handling of the situation was wobbly, to say the least. Cooper and Jimmie have long been fence-straddlers and I still remember, as a newspaper reporter covering the Southern Conference of Human Welfare back in 1938, the spectacle of good ole Bull Connor running up and down the City Hall corridors exclaiming, "Long as I'm the po-leece commissioner in Birmingham, the niggers and white folks ain't going to segregate together!"

Personally, as an old Pickens County boy—born and reared—I will be delighted to stand in line with any colored man, anywhere, any time, to see the precious bits of Americana carried by the Freedom Train.

Tues 1-6-48

But as I said, the matter of segregation is a minor point. The question I raise is just exactly to whom does the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the other documents of this Freedom Train, belong? I always had an idea they were the property of those who made them what they are today and that those persons had a right to see them anywhere, any time, under any circumstances whatsoever. I had an ancestor who fought Indians in Virginia 300 years ago and another who dropped his plow and ran off to join the colonists back in 1776 when the Redcoats came into view, and I myself got sucked in on the Okinawa-Philippines deal two or three years ago, which was no picnic. Incidentally, there were a lot of good colored boys in on that deal named Sam and Will and Mose, and there were some 77,000 fellows named Smith and about 35,000 named Jones in on it also. It has been my understanding these documents, after a fashion, belonged to me and Sam and Will and Mose and the Smiths and Joneses and a few fellows named Cohen and Washington and Tannenbaum, who might well question just what right a group named the Heritage Foundation—or for that matter

Harry Truman or Tom Clark or anybody else—has to tell us we can't see these documents unless we see them under rules made up by the said foundation? And another thing—just exactly who pays the salaries of that battery of spit and polish Marines guarding the train?

Frankly, I'm getting a little tired of being pushed around by the left-handed boys. As far as I'm concerned, they can turn their little Freedom Train around and take our documents—mine and Sam's and Will's and the Smith's and the Jones'—back to Washington and put them right back where they belong and stop making up rules about who can and who can't see them and under what circumstances. Incidentally, why are all these "Americanism" projects under the direction of people named D'Arcy something-or-other, Spaatz, Hovick, etc? Wouldn't it be nice to see just one Jones or Smith on such a committee? If these sentiments make me a reactionary—okeh, I'm a reactionary.

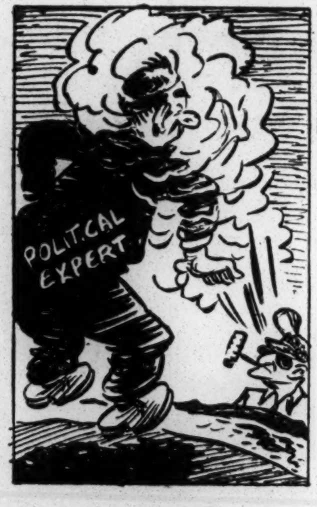
516 Dallas Avenue,
Selma, Ala.
AMASA B. WINDHAM.

Jun 6 48

As We See It---

Free Press

GEN. DOUGLAS MacARTHUR has gone and dried up what could have been a veritable fountain of speculation for the political experts to splash about in.



He was asked by the Senate Appropriations Committee to come home and explain about Japan to it.

2400

The Democratic minority on the committee voted to a man to have Doug brought home. This was instantly construed as a trick to confuse things for the Republican Presidential candidates. Commentators could have written columns on what the effect would be.

Sat. 5-29-48

However, all but three members of the Republican majority also voted for Doug's return—and one of that trio declined to express himself either way. Surely Messrs. Vandenberg, Taft, Dewey and Stassen must, together, have enough friends on the Committee to forestall Doug's homecoming if it was going to mean anything so far as next month's GOP convention?

Any dopester worth his salt could get still more columns of speculation out of that aspect.

Detroit, Mich.

But now Doug has gone and killed off the whole thing. He says he won't come home until AFTER the convention because his motives might be misunderstood. It's that kind sincere, honorable behavior by men in the public eye which makes the analytical prognostication industry such a tough racket.

(1) 1948

Presidential (George C. Marshall)

Marshall Is Man For Presidency, Says McCorvey

Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala.
Wed. 3-31-48

Believes Dixie Demos Will Rally Around If He's Nominated

MOBILE, Ala., March 31 — (AP) — Alabama's Democratic Party Chief Gessner T. McCorvey today urged the nomination of Secretary of State George C. Marshall for president.

McCorvey, who previously had repudiated President Truman because of his civil rights stand, said he believed Southern Democrats would rally around Marshall.

* * *

"I AM OF THE OPINION that it would be best for the Democratic Party and best for the country, for the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia to nominate for president Gen. George C. Marshall," McCorvey said.

"He is one of our great Americans of our era, and has the confidence of all classes of our people, and knows more about our international affairs than any other living American."

The Alabama party leader said Marshall's family had a Virginia background. While his parents had moved into Southern Pennsylvania, he said the secretary of state was born "only about 16 or 18 miles north of the Mason and Dixon Line."

Wed. 3-31-48

"ALABAMA OCCUPIES a very important place at the national convention, being first on the roll-call of states," McCorvey said.

"If our Alabama delegation decided on Gen. Marshall, I believe many other Southern states will join us, as most Southerners are groping around trying to find someone we can support."

McCorvey, a candidate for Democratic convention delegate and presidential elector, said he was speaking his personal views and was not speaking for the state committee which he heads.

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

By RALPH McGILL

CONVENTION HALL, Philadelphia, July 14—Well, I stood there on the press bench and heard it and saw it, and there was a certain grandeur about it which made one's eyes burn a bit.

Charlie Bloch, of Macon, was putting Sen. Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, in nomination for the Presidency of the United States. Alabama had yielded. So, on the hot, heavy night with a rain storm raging outside, it was Georgia that opened the Democratic National Convention.

Charlie Bloch made a fine speech. It caught the delegates who were impatient and angry and were contemptuous of Georgia and the Southern States. It caught them, and it held them. Charlie Bloch laid it on the line. He told them his faith and the State's faith, and it'll be in a minority position and if they jest about it here at this Convention, where the old Democratic Party has disappeared and another one is emerging, it still is their faith. So, he held them with the sincerity and the emotion of his words.

So, Charlie Bloch told them in plain and simple, yet eloquent, words. And when he had finished, there was a demonstration. It began slowly. In the first place the aisles were packed with persons holding great pictures of Harry S. Truman for a demonstration when Arizona yielded to allow Missouri to put his name in nomination. It was difficult. Also there was no music for the first minute of it, but Sam Rayburn, the Chairman, spoke a word and a big organ boomed "Dixie."

Jour. 7-15-48

The State delegation fought its way into the aisles. All of a sudden there was a recognition of the fact that Georgia had played a man's game here, and a Democratic game. Georgia is against Truman. But the Georgia delegation was not owned by oil companies and it was not controlled by Washington officials. It did not have in it any man trying to elevate himself at the expense of the South's position, as did Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina. Georgia was honest and Democratic. Charlie Bloch and Jim Peters had played a straight, honest game.

This afternoon at about 5 o'clock all the plans of the so-called revolters fell to pieces. Arkansas' Ben Laney withdrew as a candidate after stirring all week and claiming more than 100 votes.

The Mississippi crybabies walked out, and half the Alabama delegation walked out like crybabies, too. But Georgia had come to the Convention and Georgia wasn't going to quit, but was going to see it out.

So, when Charlie Bloch came up there on the platform before the great crowd, ahead of the President of the United States by courtesy of the half of the Alabama delegation which had some courage left, they heard him.

With Georgia there came Virginia, Tennessee, South Carolina, Texas, Alabama, Florida—and to the surprise of all—the South Dakota banner.

7-15-48

Note that for a moment in the beginning, it was Harry Byrd, of Virginia, who was going to handle the Southern revolt. There was South Carolina's Olin Johnston and Strom Thurmond who were kicking up a lot of dust. And there was Laney, of Arkansas, who was going to be run himself. Texas had its men who were going to do big things.

They even had a great meeting at Tallahassee, Fla., and another at Washington and finally, one at Jackson, Miss. At Jackson, Georgia's Chairman, Jim Peters, smelling oil and worse, withdrew the Georgia delegation and held them there as observers. The Atlanta Constitution called him wise at the time, tonight's events proved it so.

Tonight, with Jim Peters and Charlie Bloch, the State of Georgia was the only Southern State left with a protest against Harry S. Truman. The others had failed or quit and run because they had made fools of themselves. But, in the end, it was Georgia and only Georgia that stood up to be counted. The Georgians hadn't quit, and they hadn't run.

7-15-48

So, the great organ boomed and the banners of the States that had come at last to follow Georgia moved about the aisles. It was a stirring moment and a big one in its own right. No one was fooled by it. Everyone knew it was a lost cause. Everyone was aware of the fact it was not presented as any real chance to beat Truman. But Georgia, of all the opposition states, had come through with opposition.

I noted a writer near me tapping out his lead. It began this way: "Georgia," he began, "followed by six other Southern States, nominated Sen. Richard B. Russell and began a futile demonstration in behalf of a futile hope."

Well, that was true. But the man didn't quite understand. The fact was that Georgia, not listed with the crybabies or the quitters, had stood up to be counted when the chips were down. And sharing full credit with her were the 13 Alabamans who wouldn't quit or run either, but stayed to yield to Georgia for the show.

So, the organ played on, with Rambling Wreck and Glory to Old Georgia and Dixie.

South Dakota's banner was in there because a kid in the delegation, moved by Charlie Bloch's eloquent speech, grabbed it and paraded on the theory that all Southern States ought to stick together and South Dakota was south of North Dakota. Arkansas didn't join in. And yet it had been Ben Laney, of Arkansas, who kept the spotlight on himself all week as the leader of the opposition.

So, whatever you think of the opposition, Georgia must be given a full hand because while the others talked and got themselves headlines only Georgia was able to act when the blue chips were down.

It was a demonstration meaning more than just opposition to Harry Truman by the South. Not many persons realized it, but what happened here today was that the Democratic Party of many parts—the Party we have known in our time—died. There is developing a new party. It will be based on strength in the cities. I am willing to predict that within 10 years it will have shaken out of it all the rural strength not merely of the South, but the other sections as well. The Democratic Party that inevitably must develop out of this convention of 1948 is going to be an urban party—one farther left than the one of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The death of the current Democratic Party and the birth of a new and different one will pose many problems. Sen. Alben Barkley and his associates may be able to make it into one which much of the South can support; but, that is in doubt. There will be no sudden change, but it is coming.

The scene this afternoon was a tense, wet, hot one. Hair was plastered on sweating heads. Coats and shirts were wet. Neckties were so soaked it was difficult to untie the knots for a change of shirts after the recess.

In this heat the Democratic platform came before the Convention. It had a stronger plank on civil rights than the Republicans had voted. The South offered minority-report amendments. The best of them was by Cecil Sims, of Tennessee. He made a commonsense, even eloquent speech for a reaffirmation of States' rights as reserved by the Constitution. He did a really masterful job, and the pity is he was not the only speaker on that side. Worse was the fact that Dan Moody, of Texas, made the opening talk and got the first vote. His resolution was defeated by a heavy majority.

Then came votes on the proposal advanced by Andrew Biemiller, of Wisconsin, and Hubert Humphries, of Minnesota, for a specific civil rights plank, listing all the items in the Truman report.

It was complicated by the fact that some States wanted to support the Committee report. I say that because, except for the fact I believe the civil rights victory would have been by an even wider margin, it is important to know the truth about these things.

The vote was 651½ to 582½. But had it not been for the try at supporting the Platform Committee, other states would have made the civil-rights program wider. It was not as close as the vote indicates.

7-15-48

It is important that the South know it had no friends here. It is important for the South to realize that the thinking of the Nation **differs from their thinking. Here today the Western states joined with the East emphatically and even angrily to defeat the Southern position.**

I am not here attempting to debate the issues but to let it be made crystal clear that the South has no friends in this fight. It will be a great mistake if our writers and our politicians do not let the people know it, and more important, know it for their own thinking and speaking and planning for the South. Opposition is not enough.

So tonight was just a climax. It was not as late as first seemed inevitable. The civil rights matter was banged through with bludgeons.

Tonight, after Sen. Russell was nominated, they brought on the Truman nomination and the big Liberty Bell in flowers and the hired demonstrators—and the show ran on to an end.

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11 States Support Georgian

Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Jour. 7-15-48

By M. L. ST. JOHN
Constitution Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, July 14—(Thursday)—Eleven Southern States cast 263 votes for Georgia's Sen. Russell for the Democratic Presidential nomination shortly past midnight as they went down in defeat, protesting to the last against President Truman and his so-called civil rights program.

Voting for Russell and denouncing the civil rights program were: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Sen. Russell explains use of his name as States' Rights candidate at Convention on Page Three.

Sen. Harry Byrd cast Virginia's 26 votes for his desk-mate, Russell.

Alabama later placed Russell's name in nomination for Vice President.

Texas, Alabama, Florida, Tennessee, Virginia and South Carolina fell behind Georgia in a 30-minute parade and demonstration on the floor, following a dynamic speech by Charles Bloch, of Macon, boosting Russell for the Presidency.

Alabama's Atty. Gen. Albert Carmichael seconded Russell's nomination. He lauded Russell's fight in the Senate for agriculture, free school lunches and Federal aid for education and his work on the foreign policy.

Some newspaper people said the demonstration for Russell was more spontaneous than anything the Republican Convention offered for any candidate, including Dewey.

The South Dakota banner was in the parade for a time. However, Chairman Lynn Fellows said it was unauthorized since the delegation was pledged to Truman. He said "some kid jerked up the banner of an alternate delegate" and "joined in the parade for Russell until other delegates stopped him."

The band played "Dixie" and "Rambling Wreck," and cowbells and horns sounded as the parade progressed.

7-15-48

Russell's name was the first to be placed before the Convention, and he replaced Arkansas' Gov. Ben Laney as the choice of some Southern States who had considered quitting the Party. Bloch made it clear, amidst cheers from the Hall, that Georgia would not bolt the Party, but would stick to Russell to the end.

Georgia was enabled to let Russell's name lead the roll call when Sen. Lister Hill yielded Alabama's turn to Georgia.

One of the highlights of the Convention was Bloch's fiery nominating speech which was frequently interrupted by cheers—and boos—as he demanded protection of States' rights.

All cheered when he said Georgia would stay in the Party, just a few moments after Mississippi and half of Alabama had started a walk that is scheduled to end in a Birmingham "Fourth Party" Convention soon.

Handy Ellis, Chairman of the Alabama Delegation, announced the walkout move. He said Alabama electors were under pledge they would never cast their votes for Harry S. Truman. He said the Alabama delegation to the Convention was under pledge to walk-out of a Convention which adopted a civil-rights platform such as this Convention had.

The Georgian's candidacy received a decided boost when Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, withdrew as State's-rights candidate, releasing some 104 votes which his backers say were pledged to him.

Russell, the Southern leaders predicted, would receive a good share, if not all, of these newly released votes. These, added to votes already pledged the Russell backers, would thrust the Georgia Junior Senator into a sure-fire second spot in the Presidential balloting.

7-15-48

In a bristling warning that the South "will not be crucified on the cross of civil rights," Charles Bloch, of Macon, in a prepared speech asked the Convention to pick for its standard bearer a Senator who prevented any such program from being "crammed down the throat of the South at the behest of well-organized minority groups."

Bloch invited delegates from other states to ask their own senators for indorsement of Russell's record in the Senate.

In urging Russell for the presidency, Bloch said: "I want to say to this Convention that we delegates from Georgia are not bolters. We came to this Convention to participate in its deliberations as Democrats—as Georgia Democrats. We sit over there 72 strong—and we shall be sitting over there when this Convention shall adjourn sine die—and we shall then and there be opposing the nomination of any candidate who advocates the interpretation placed on the 1944 platform of this Party, such as the so-called civil rights program.

"We shall be opposing the nomination of any candidate, be he President of the United States or not, who advocates, openly or tacitly, such proposals as have been made here today in the platform of this Party.

7-15-48

Bloch quoted excerpts from one of Russell's speeches against FEPC and against encroachment by the Federal Government on the State government, and declared:

"You Democrats of the South—and of the North and the East and the West who are seeking a leader who will preside over the Government of the United States under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, have found one in the person of Richard B. Russell—true and tried.

"We from Georgia who have served with him for the common good of our State and Nation these past 25 years can add our testimoney to that of your own Senators who know him well. From 1921 to 1931, he served in the General Assembly, the last four years as speaker. In 1931 and 1932 he was Governor—an administration of the affairs of our State which has never drawn anything but praise. During his administration he led to the Chicago Convention of this Party a delegation committed to the nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt for the first time. In January of 1933, he took the oath of office as Senator from Georgia. Re-elected in 1936 and 1942, he will be re-elected this Fall unless you call him to higher duties.

"In presenting him to you—I say to you delegates from all parts of the Nation here assembled—you know, or if you do not know you can learn here and now—you cannot longer take the South for granted. The South is no longer going to be the whipping boy of the Democratic Party. And, you know, or if you don't you can learn here and now, that without the votes of the South you cannot elect a President of the United States.

7-15-48

"I do not mean to suggest yet secession from the Democratic Party. But I do mean to say to you Democrats of the North, West and East—paraphrasing the language of the Great Commoner of a generation ago—you shall not crucify the South on this cross of civil rights," Bloch warned.

Bloch reminded the delegates that but for the votes of the South four years ago, Henry Wallace would be sitting in the White House today.

"Our thanks for that blessing to our Nation has been the infliction upon us of the civil rights program," he commented bitterly. "We propose to remain the last bulwark of a real democracy.

"Typical of that real democracy is Sen. Russell. Georgia offers her beloved son—her true Democrat—her patriot in times of peace and war—to the Nation," Bloch concluded.

During the afternoon, the Georgia delegation voted in favor of several resolutions designed to replace the so-called Civil Rights platform with States' rights proposals. It was defeated on these moves.

Earlier on the Convention floor, the Northern Democrats riveted an indorsement of President Truman's civil-rights program into the 1948 Party Platform in a stinging triple defeat for enraged Southerners.

The Truman-Barkley team will have to hit the campaign trail against the Dewey-Warren Republican combination with none of the comforting assurance of past years that all Dixie is firmly behind the ticket.

The struggle was over an old but flaming issue—racial and civil rights, and President Truman's stand for laws against lynching, poll taxes and racial discrimination in employment.

The South said those were things that should be left to the States. Attempts to write States' rights into the platform were defeated.

However, the voting power of the North hammered into the platform a declaration that:

"We highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights.

"We call upon the Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental American principles—the right of full and equal opportunity of employment; the right of security of person; and the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our Nation."

The final roll-call count was 651½ to 582½.

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (The South)

Give It Back

34a(1)

Man. 1-5-48

Representative Hugo S. Sims of Orangeburg, announced candidate for Congress, seems to be conducting a sort of xenophobic campaign, with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, which isn't even a South Carolina organization, as his immediate target.

The salvation of the South, Mr. Sims declares, lies in organizing and bargaining with the Democrats and the Republicans in the 1948 presidential campaign. The South, his argument is, should convert itself into a minority group and so win for itself the recognition that other minority groups—the Negroes for example—have won from both parties. Record

The idea is not Mr. Sims'; it is imported from the Charleston News and Courier. The basic trouble with it is that it would not work.

If the Southern states had adopted this plan of divorcing themselves from party affiliation and bargaining with the two parties for their support they could have done their bargaining in only three elections in 70 years. For in only three elections since the election of Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876 have the electoral college votes of the South been decisive—the two victories of Grover Cleveland in 1884 and 1892 and the second election of Woodrow Wilson in 1916.

Harding, Coolidge and Hoover were elected without the support of the South and Roosevelt could have been elected for his four terms without the South's support. Every one of these elections would have been over, so far as the South was concerned, the day of the election and there would have been nothing for the South to bargain with and nothing, therefore, to bargain about. Columbia, S.C.

A South, committed to any independent party, would have simply deprived the Southern members of Congress of their seniority in the Democratic party and of the committee chairmanships which have enabled them to exert no inconsiderable influence on legislation, certainly during Democratic administrations. In addition the South by adopting the Sims proposal would deny itself the influence it has exercised in the Democratic conventions. Man. 1-5-48

The result of the adoption of the Southern bargaining unit plan would therefore have been and will be a net loss to the South.

Mr. Sims had better reconsider and give the idea back to The News and Courier. It is as unrealistic as one of Henry Wallace's schemes.

Truman Visit to Southland Is Indicated to Solons

34a(1)

BY EDGAR POE

(The Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

Washington—For the first time in a "blue moon" the Deep South apparently is going to see a candidate campaigning for president of the US. In bygone presidential years such a political oddity has been about as scarce as hen's teeth. New Orleans, La

This week President Truman indicated that he is going to do a little political courting down in Dixie along about golder rod time. He is going to Louisiana. The when and where in the state is yet to be determined. Sun

Chieftains of the Democratic party here, in accordance with recommendations that have already been submitted, said the Louisiana trip—assuming he is nominated at Philadelphia about seven weeks from now—means a swing through the Solid South that's got a few cracks in it.

5-30-48

See Way to Help

Sen. Allen J. Ellender and his new interim colleague, Sen. William C. Feazel, went to the White House during the week and submitted the invitation, and the president said he would include Louisiana this fall. He expressed doubt that he could make it on his way back from his Western trip next month.

The Louisiana trip, which undoubtedly will include New Orleans, will naturally mean that he will travel into other Southern states either on his way down or back to Washington.

The projected Louisiana trips fits into talk by some Democratic higher-ups. They have talked informally of such a tour, expressing the belief that a few rear platform appearances and extemporaneous chats would have a good effect in some of the states that appear ready to kick over the traces. Sun

Democratic presidential candidates have never "wasted any time" with the South, because the South has always been in the bag. The Republican candidates likewise have "wasted" no time in that sector. 5-31-48

Incidentally, the Democratic chieftains last week went Southward in picking as assistant to Sen. J. Howard McGrath, chairman of the Democratic national committee, William J. Primm, Jr., 38, of Montgomery, Ala., and Washington, D. C., was given the post.

Fits the Trend

Formerly associated with the late Alabama governor, Bibb Graves, Mr. Primm came to Washington in 1943 as an assistant to Sen. Josiah W. Bailey of North Carolina. He married Sen. Bailey's eldest daughter, but left the employ of the Senate in 1945 to return to private business. Primm is Young Democratic national committeeman from Alabama. 5-30-48

His appointment also fits in with another southward trend of late Sen. Alben W. Barkley, minority leader from Kentucky, a "border state," and ex-House Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas have been named Democratic national convention keynoter and permanent chairman, respectively. The Times-Picayune

Meantime, the Republicans in Congress during the week suddenly awakened with a lot of headaches. With the Republican convention opening on June 21, they are disturbed about a lot of important legislation that apparently will die in committees.

After the president's "civil rights" message, GOP leaders said they would pass some sort of civil rights program. The FEPC was junked more than two months ago. They then turned to the federal anti-lynch law, but as the week ended, the bill still remained locked in the Senate judiciary committee. The anti-poll tax bill, which would affect seven Southern states, including Mississippi and Alabama, was passed by the House last year and still remains in Senate committee.

Sen. Homer Ferguson, R., Mich., and some other Republican senators, said during the week that the Republicans planned to press toward enactment of one or more of the bills. The Republicans in their 1944 platform went on record in favor of a civil rights and special welfare program. The welfare program embraced housing, federal aid to education, expanding the social security program and raising the minimum wage of 40 cents an hour.

The Times-Picayune

Above Minimum

The original plan was to raise the minimum wage to 60 to 65 cents an hour, but now they point out that most people in the lower wage brackets are getting more than 60 cents an hour minimum. New Orleans, La

Among the other major proposals staring the Republican leaders in the face now are selective service, Housed-passed oleomargarine, displaced persons, tidelands legislation, a farm program, recoprical trade and the Taft-Ellender-Wagner public housing bill. Several of these proposals appear likely to die in the 80th Congress. Sun

A series of major appropriation bills is yet to be acted upon, including flood control, rivers and harbors. 5-30-48

South Needs Two Parties, Says Stassen

The Record

34a(1)

Columbia, S.C.

Southern Democrats today might set a wary eye for a possible Republican penetration of Dixie, according to Harold E. Stassen, currently booming in Mid-western preferential primaries as the popular GOP nominee for president.

Stassen, in Columbia last night enroute to Miami said his party is "developing some support among Republican delegates of the South —and also plans to do some speaking in the South before the June (Republican party in Philadelphia) convention." Sat. 4-17-48

The former Minnesota governor left Columbia early today by plane for Miami where he will address a Republican delegation and a convention of the Variety Clubs of America.

Although declining to expand on his reference to a campaign in the South, Stassen touched on the lack of a two-party system below the Mason and Dixon line.

"I have found many indications that there should be definitely a two-party system in the South," he remarked in connection with the possible cultivation of a greater political following in the South in view of the present rift between President Truman and Southern Democrats.

He said the Democratic party has "ignored the South and taken it for granted" and that the Republicans have "ignored the South because they thought they couldn't get them anyway."

Stassen recently practically made clean sweeps of preferential primaries in Wisconsin and Nebraska where he easily outdistanced other leading contenders for the Republican nomination. He will make a bid in early May for a portion of Ohio's 53 delegates before turning his attention to Oregon where he will again meet New York's Thomas E. Dewey head-on in primaries May 26. The Record

Although indicating his present trip South would be brief, the Republican presidential hopeful hinted that his party might make a stand in the South to work on dissatisfied Truman Democrats.

Stassen declared that it was "too early to judge how the Truman vote would be affected" by Dixie Democrats' opposition to the President's civil rights proposals.

"I hope to find out something in Florida," he added.

Stassen also told reporters that:

His victory chances in the coming Oregon primary "look pretty good."

He "hopes to beat Mr. Truman" this fall. Columbia, S.C.

"We have a good prospect" of "getting European countries on their feet within the next few years." Sat. 4-17-48

He believes Paul Hoffman, newly appointed chief of the European Recovery Program, "is an able administrator and will administer the program well."

Strengthening the United States air force "is of first priority."

Stassen was accompanied on his flying visit by Jim Bell of Time and Life magazines, Tom Murrell of the Chicago Tribune, Marr McGaffin of the Minneapolis Tribune and the Des Moines Register, Paull Cornell, and Ed Larson, his private secretary.

Stassen Talks Human Rights

The Washington Post

Miami, Fla., April 17 (U.P.).—Harold E. Stassen made a new bid for the support of Florida's 16 delegates to the Republican National Convention today with a plea for "balance between States rights and human rights" throughout the South. 4-18-48

Speaking at a Republican luncheon in a one-day stand in Florida, Stassen told Southern Republicans that "force and violence" will not bring progress in the South but that he favored national legislation "in matters of lynching and the poll tax." Sun.

In a full schedule which wound up with a speech tonight before the annual convention of Variety International, show business charity organization, Stassen held almost continuous talks with Florida Republican leaders, including the two candidates for governor—perennial Bert Leigh Acker of Miami and John L. Cogdill of Jacksonville. Washington D.C.

TAFT PLEDGES GOP FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

The Times

~~34a(1) Pres~~

His Overflow Cleveland Rallies Lead Backers to Feel That Stassen Wanes in Ohio

New York, N.Y.
Mon. 3-1-48

By WALTER W. RUCH

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CLEVELAND, Feb. 29—Senator Robert A. Taft finished a two-day swing through this city and its environs today with repeated demands for a slash in Federal taxes. Also, he promised that the Republican Congress would do everything possible to make an immediate reality of the civil rights program which has threatened to split the Northern and Southern Democrats.

Received with enthusiasm and by overflow audiences in three appearances this afternoon, Senator Taft conceded that Henry A. Wallace might garner 10 per cent of the popular vote next November, or about 5,000,000 votes—"and that's enough to swing an election."

Mr. Taft addresed crowds in Lakewood, a predominantly Republican suburb; in the heart of the Negro section of Cleveland and in University Heights, another Republican-dominated area. He spoke extemperaneously at each meeting, referring occasionally to penciled notes on the back of an envelope.

Urges Tax Cut First

The Times

Only by cutting taxes, and thus reducing the income of the Government, Senator Taft said in Lakewood, could the electorate hope to effectuate a cut in Federal expenditures. Congress was not by nature, he added "inclined to be a very economical body."

Federal and other tax receipts would aggregate about $60,000,000,000 this year, the Senator declared, or about one-third of the national income, which meant "that each of you works three of every ten days for the Government and only seven for yourself."

Then, in the city, at the Central Young Women's Christian Association Building, more than 400 persons, almost all Negroes, jammed an auditorium and adjoining corridors to hear Mr. Taft criticize the Democrats for promising civil rights and not fulfilling their pledge. Only the Republicans could mean what they said on this issue, he declared.

As quickly as Congressional consideration of the Marshall Plan for European recovery were out of the way, he continued, a GOP caucus would be held to decide which of several vicil-rights measures, as backed by the Republicans, should receive first attention.

New York, N.Y.

Sees Anti-Lynching Success

He intimated that the Republicans could get together sufficient strength to pass an anti-lynching bill at this session—a move he said he would favor and promote—and keep activated their plans for housing, non-discrimination in all fields, a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission and other problems related principally to the right of minority groups.

Relative to taxes and civil rights, however, Senator Taft said, repeatedly, that the Republicans could not do the job unless they had a Republican in the White House.

"I'm not so sure it was a good thing," he continued, referring to Republican control of both Houses of Congress as a result of the elections in 1946, explaining that many voters had now got the notion that everything which had happened in a legislative way since then was attributable to the GOP. 3-1-48

He said that under the United Nations, the President now had the power to take the nation into war without prior approval by Congress, and that through other Constitutional or statutory powers could consummate reciprocal trade agreements and initiate treaties.

"Most of our foreign relations," the Senator maintained, "consist of lending other people money."

President Truman, he continued, "wholly opposed to tax reduction," saying that the nation had to get its spending "sights down."

TAFT BIDS SOUTH HOLD TO TRADITION

The Times

He Hits New Deal 'European Theory' of Control Through Centralized Government

New York, N.Y.

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LENOIR, N. C., June 5—Senator Robert A. Taft urged the South today to preserve its sectional tradition of "individual liberties free from outside interference" by forswearing allegiance to the New Deal and "its European theory of control by centralized government." Sun.

"This is no time to abandon the system given us in the various declarations of principles made in the days of our colonial history and to adopt these foreign theories of central control that have failed everywhere they've been used," the Senator declared.

Mr. Taft brought his three-day southern campaign tour to a close with an address to a crowd of farmers and town folk. He spoke from a platform erected under shade trees facing a Confederate army memorial shaft in the public square of this manufacturing center in the western hills of the state. 6-6-48

The Senator asserted that the present Democratic administration was responsible for "letting Communists get into the national government" and added that President Truman was no[illegible] asking "for $50,000,000 to be us[illegible] get them out."

He scored Henry A[illegible]lace and the late Harry Hop[illegible]nfidential adviser to Preside[illegible]osevelt, as men who "believe[illegible] many of the features of com[illegible]unism and who hailed that totalitarian philosophy as just another form of democracy."

Without referring to President Roosevelt by name at any time, Mr. Taft declared that "it was the New Deal President whose soft attitude at Yalta and Teheran brought on the present world condition in which Russia is the greatest threat to peace and security."

"Even Secretary of State Marshal seems to think the Chinese Communists are all right," Mr. Taft asserted. "He won't insist on getting the Chinese Communists out of the Government."

A primary aim of the European Recovery Program is to stem the advance of communism, he continued, and added:

"It isn't so much the war damage that is holding down European production as it is the theories of central government control that have strangled freedom and justice. The Germans should be on the way to making their own living by now instead of costing the United States taxpayers billions of dollars for subsistence."

Senator Taft said that the first issue before the American people today was that of "spending and spending and whether to go on dishing it out to anyone who asks for it."

He praised the results of the Taft-Hartley Law and declared that it had "restored justice and equality in labor relations as never existed under the New Deal."

Tells Father's Visits to South

In opening his talk Mr. Taft recalled that his father, William Howard Taft, former President and Chief Justice, had frequently visited the South and had served as a Federal judge in a Circuit Court that embraced Tennessee and part of Kentucky. The Times

"My father often said that Southerners were the finest friends he had," the Senator declared. "He said that Southerners would do anything in the world for him except vote for him." 6-6-48

While Mr. Taft was criticizing the Democratic party for vetoing tax reductions and seeking a return of wartime controls, two lusty "booes" were heard from the crowd. New York, N.Y.

"I see we have several recalcitrant new dealers with us today," Mr. Taft said quickly as the crowd drowned out the hecklers. Sun.

Mr. Taft referred twice to President Truman by name. Once he said that Mr. Truman's present western trip was "essentially a campaign trip" and the other time he referred to President Truman's recent assertion that communism must be met by improving democracy at home. 6-6-48

"I approve making improvements at home and I have introduced legislation to that effect, bills for housing, education and medical welfare," Mr. Taft declared. "But the answer to Communism is not in what we are going to do. It is in what we already have done in achieving the greatest country in the world with principles that have been our guiding star since 1776." Sun.

Mr. Taft is spending the night in Lenoir at the home of J. Ed Broyhill, Republican national committeeman. He will return to Washington tomorrow.

NEW PLAN TIGHTENS CONTROLS OF 'VOICE'

WASHINGTON, June 5 (AP)—The State Department is getting ready to revise and tighten its whole system of farming out overseas programs to commercial networks. Officials said today that new "Voice of America" contracts with the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System would provide these things:

The State Department will write and control, through an expanded staff, all official news and commentary beamed to foreign listeners.

Entertainment and special features such as the travelogue series in Spanish for Latin America which backfired in Congress, will be contracted for individually. They will be tailored to official specifications and carefully reviewed, much as a radio sponsor goes over a domestic commercial program in advance.

"We're giving top priority to means of assuring adequate controls and a high standard of quality for all programs," Assistant Secretary George V. Allen said.

To keep its men fit all the time the Navy is famous for the attention and recreational time it gives to its athletes. In the Navy only the best men win. See your Navy recruiter.

Taft: The 'Good' And The 'Bad'

Drew Pearson

The Record

If the members of the United States Senate had their choice in selecting a Republican candidate for President, most of them would vote for Robert Alphonse Taft.

This is because they like him, consider him a square-shooter, a man who always keeps his word. And this goes for a lot of Democrats too. Even when they disagree with Taft, they pay tribute to his honesty and courage.

This, in a body where men live cheek-and-jowl, know each other's faults and failures, is no mean compliment. Columbia, S.C.

It is also said in the Senate, even by those who like him, that: "Bob Taft is always right the second time." Wed. 6-16-48

And a friendly examination of his record indicates that this is true. Sometimes, in fact, Bob has had to wait for the third or fourth round to get right.

In 1943, for instance, Taft led the fight against the Roosevelt aid-to-education bill, and defeated it. This year he is leading the fight for it. n explanation he frankly states: "I had to give the problem a lot of study and saw there was a re need."

But it took five long years for Taft to wake up to that need—five years during which schoolhouses bulged, new war babies grew up, and the literacy rate in the United States dropped to a level comparable with Russia's.

Two years ago, also, Taft was leery of veterans housing. Now he has led the fight for long-range housing, including help for veterans housing. Two summers ago he was blasting the OPA and on July 1, 1946 flatly predicted: "The President's figures on possible price increases are a wild guess and for the most part dead wrong."

Prices, of course, have been going up ever since. And today, June 16, 1948, prices are much nearer the figure set up by Harry Truman than by Bob Taft. Wed.

In January, 1947, Harry Truman sent to Congress an economic recommendation for the nation, which didn't go down with the Republican Senate at all. But in September the same year, Bob Taft, speak- before the Commonwealh club San Francisco, outlined the same general program. 6-16-48

Once again Bob Taft was right the second time.

Taft Appraises Self

It is doubtful if Taft had his own changing social and economic views in mind, when, back in 1939, he remarked to a friend:

"They say I've improved since I've come to the Senate, but I'm just the same as I ever was."

However, it is a fact that Taft has improved. He is still just as brusque, just as frank, just as inclined to step on people's toes—though with such open-faced honesty that you have to admire it. But Taft has changed when it comes to policies—and changed radically. He has become more liberal.

For a man of Taft's background, this is a revolutionary change. For you have to remember that he springs from a family that put one grandfather in the Grant cabinet as secretary of war, sent another grandfather as ambassador to Russia, elected one President of the United States; and that the Taft family, owners of utility stocks, real estate and a prosperous Cincinnati newspaper, is one of the wealthiest in Ohio. Wed.

The tax laws that Taft sponsored while an Ohio state senator, for instance, in no way hurt the family fortunes. Nor have the tax revisions voted by the Republicans at this session of Congress been much different. However, those who watch Taft daily detect a steady shift away from the rank reaction-arism of House Republicans who would dump everything in the lap of big business, and predict that, one year hence, Taft will be proposing just as heavy high-bracket taxes as Harry Truman. 6-16-48

Once again, they say, Bob Taft will be right the second time.

Taft The Isolationist

In these difficult days, however, a President of the United States has to be right most of the time, the first time up to bat.

Especially he has to be right on foreign policy. And, although some islationists still consider Taft right, the majority of the nation and Congress has voted him wrong on the most vital foreign problems facing the nation. The Record

Before Pearl Harbor, for instance, Taft opposed every single major defense issue. If Congress had followed his leadership we would have been so miserably prepared that the Axis could hardly have been defeated.

Since the war, Taft has also been opposed to most of Vandenberg's foreign-affairs leadership. He was strong for curtailing the Marshall plan—if passed at all. And even after the Russians moved into Czechoslovakia, the Republican leader of the Senate charged that Truman was merely using the Russian bogey to stir up a war scare.

Anyone who looks up the written record can see that this was pretty much what the Senator was saying a few months before Pearl Harbor. "The situation," Taft told the nation in August, 1941, "looks infinitely safer." Columbia S.C.

All of which raises the question as to whether the American people, faced with urgent, unpostponable problems at home and abroad, can wait a year or two for the man in the White House to change his mind. This is something G. O. P. delegates to the Philadelphia convention will want to consider most carefully. If they don't, then the people who do the final selecting next November will be faced with the difficult problem of choosing between the present incumbent who makes snap decisions—sometimes wrong—anad a man who waits a couple of years to be right —the second time. The Record

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Vivacious Martha Taft, a great political asset to her husband, is sometimes given credit for the Senator's isolation. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Washington's high priestess of isolation and a close friend of the Tafts, sometimes hints that she does a little isolationist proselytizing through Martha. . . Though drifting toward the liberal side, Taft still has an undying antipathy for New Dealers. Perhaps it's the trade mark. Though he has adopted some of their ideas, he dislikes their brand. To this is attributed his battle against Atomic Energy Chairman David Lilienthal, former administrator of the Tennessee Valley authority. . . . Taft even went up to New Haven to vote against Tom Emerson as a member of the Yale faculty, because he considered Emerson a New Dealer. . . . Taft has a well-oiled political machine in the South, has helped keep Mississippi's Negro delegates in line by giving a job in the Senate post office to the son of Perry Howard, Negro boss of Mississippi's G. O. P. 6-16-48

CONFIDENCE VOTE IS ASKED BY TAFT

~~The Times~~

Appeal for Negro Support Marks the Close of Primary Drive in Northern Ohio

New York, N.Y.

By JAMES RESTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CLEVELAND, May 2—Senator Robert A. Taft ended his primary campaign in the industrial north of Ohio today with an appeal to the Negro voters of southeast Cleveland.

Seeking to make good his prediction that he would take at least fifty-two of the fifty-three delegates in Tuesday's Republican Presidential primary election, he appealed to Negro voters on the basis of the Republican party's policy on education, housing, the poll tax, the anti-lynching bill and fair employment practices legislation. Mon. 5-3-48

He started this tour this afternoon in the Eleventh Ward at the Western Reserve Club, a vast dingy building at East Fifty-fifth and Cedar Avenues. There he declared that the Republican party had written the principle of fair and equal employment into its 1944 platform and that it was the Republican party's policy to provide better housing, better education and better protection for Negroes through its support of anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation.

At this meeting were sixty-one persons, including children and the speakers.

Discusses Bilbo Exclusion

Senator Taft then went on to the Twelfth Ward, where he repeated the claims and promises before about 250 persons at the "Paradise Bar." He added that it was mainly because of the efforts of the Republican majority in the Senate that the late Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi had been barred from taking his seat.

He offered a detailed explanation of how the Republicans had kept Bilbo from entering the Senate chamber after the last "election" in Mississippi and his story of those proceedings was received with wonder and appreciation.

At the St. James Methodist Church Ohios' favorite son candidate took part in a "literary forum." Members of the audience asked him questions, listened to his broadcast on the Taft-Hartley Act and recited "quotations," one of which dealt with the death of Senator Bilbo and another with the thesis that "a wise man changeth his mind sometimes but a fool never." Mon

In his broadcast from this forum, Senator Taft said that the Taft-Hartley Act had restored a balance in the nation's labor relations and criticized those who had attempted to label it a "slave-labor" act. 5-3-48

It was notable, he asserted, that no objective critic had called for the repeal of the act. If it did need any amendments, he concludeed, a committee had been established to consider suggestions from any one.

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The Senator went this evening into the suburbs of Cleveland, where the Republican party has considerable strength, and addressed rallies with Representative George H. Bender and Representative Frances P. Bolton, who, along with Governor Thomas J. Herbert and Senator John W. Bricker, have been speaking for Taft candidates for delegates to the national convention. New York, N.Y.

Senator Taft attacked New Deal bureaucracy and called for a vote of confidence, his statements being well received. Mon.

He took the overnight train for his home in Cincinnati, where he will complete his campaign with a speech and two radio broadcasts tomorrow. 5-3-48

Before leaving Cleveland Senator Taft told friends that he would be "very disappointed" if he lost more than six delegates to Harold E. Stassen, who is seeking 23 of the state's 53 delegates. Yesterday he told reporters that he thought Mr. Stassen might get one delegate because to the complexity of singling out the one Stassen candidate for delegate-at-large from the nine Taft candidates for delegate-at-large.

It is unlikely that any large "beat Taft" movement will be organized by union leaders as was freely predicted when Mr. Stassen decided to challenge Mr. Taft in the Ohio industrial areas.

Several factors seem to explain this. The first is that Frank J. Lausche, former Democratic governor and popular with the workers, is running for the Democratic nomination for governor against Ray T. Miller, who has strong organization backing.

It is possible in Ohio for a Democratic voter to ask for a Republican ballot on Tuesday and vote in the Taft-Stassen race, but to do so the voter would risk the chance of being challenged and would also miss the opportunity of voting in the Democratic primary. For this reason the "switch voters" are likely to be few.

A second reason is that Senator Taft has made a strong campaign in the last two weeks and undoubtedly has wide "favorite son" and organization support. N.Y.

A third reason is that, while many labor union leaders are hostile to the Taft-Hartley act, many workers do not feel any sense of personal outrage about the law.

Stassen Backers Dubious

~~The Times~~

It may be that Mr. Stassen will continue his primary success here on Tuesday, but events since the former Minnesota Governor decided to enter the Ohio race have made many of his supporters wish that he had stayed out.

These supporters, admittedly with the benefit of hindsight, take the view that Mr. Stassen's victories in the Wisconsin, Nebraska and Pennsylvania primaries made his campaign in Ohio unnecessary. If he does well here he will merely "keep the string going," while if he loses the cry will go out that he has been "stopped." Mon.

As it has turned out, in fact, Tuesdays voting gives Senator Taft a chance for a come-back, which he probably would not have had after the Nebraska defeat if Mr. Stassen had stayed out of Ohio. That, at least, is one thought that is running through the minds of Mr. Stassen's supporters tonight, and it does not cheer them very much. 5-3-48

The former Minnesota governor is due here tomorrow and will make a last-minute broadcast appeal to the voters. More than 200 Stassen-for-president cars, operated by volunteer supporters, will be touring the disputed areas for the next two days. They will distribute leaflets which proclaim that Stassen is the "man America needs" and what is important in this election, explain precisely how to mark the complicated Ohio ballot.

GOP Chilly About Recall Of Congress

The Post

Washington D.C.

Philadelphia, June 20.—If the Eightieth Congress is called back into session to consider housing legislation or anything else, it will have to be President Truman who calls it. Mon. 6-21-48

Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio), sleepy-eyed from the Senate's 44-hour footrace to adjournment, practically said as much on arrival here today.

"I see no reason for Congress to be called back," he told reporters.

"We have some long-term problems left over, but they are elaborate and complicated. They can best be handled in January."

Only in "Emergency"

Congress adjourned Sunday morning subject to recall at any time by Republican leaders. The President, of course, has the constitutional right to call Congress back whenever he sees fit.

Taft, interviewed by the press under lights after a round with news photographers and a trunk-shaking bout with a live elephant, made it plain Republican leaders will take up their own option only in an "emergency."

He said he saw no particular point in returning to consider the Taft-Wagner-Ellender long-range housing measure "because the House has rejected the bill." Taft added he regarded that as an "unfortunate mistake" but a special session wouldn't necessarily remedy it. 6-21-48

A reporter asked the No. 2 GOP presidential contender what he would do about the civil rights program if he were elected.

"Will you have any more luck with it than you did as Senate leader?" was the query.

Taft replied that the civil rights program failed this session because filibuster threats posed the practical problem of "taking out a month of the Senate's time" to pass the bills.

"We weren't able to sacrifice that much time," he said. "The best time to develop a civil rights program is at the beginning of a session." The Post

Ohio's favorite son at this convention said he hadn't yet had a glimpse of the preliminary draft of the Republican platform, but added: Washington, D.C.

"I think it will uphold the record of the Republican Congress. It may add other points we haven't dealt with." Mon. 6-21-48

A reporter asked if he favored a platform commitment for "further aid to Europe."

Taft said he'd rather not comment on that offhand.

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Before leaving Cleveland Senator Taft told friends that he would be "very disappointed" if he lost more than six delegates to Harold E. Stassen, who is seeking 23 of the state's 53 delegates. Yesterday he told reporters that he thought Mr. Stassen might get one delegate because to the complexity of singling out the one Stassen candidate for delegate-at-large from the nine Taft candidates for delegate-at-large.

It is unlikely that any large "beat Taft" movement will be organized by union leaders as was freely predicted when Mr. Stassen decided to challenge Mr. Taft in the Ohio industrial areas.

Several factors seem to explain this. The first is that Frank J. Lausche, former Democratic governor and popular with the workers, is running for the Democratic nomination for governor against Ray T. Miller, who has strong organization backing.

It is possible in Ohio for a Democratic voter to ask for a Republican ballot on Tuesday and vote in the Taft-Stassen race, but to do so the voter would risk the chance of being challenged and would also miss the opportunity of voting in the Democratic primary. For this reason the "switch voters" are likely to be few.

A second reason is that Senator Taft has made a strong campaign in the last two weeks and undoubtedly has wide "favorite son" and organization support. N.Y.

A third reason is that, while many labor union leaders are hostile to the Taft-Hartley act, many workers do not feel any sense of personal outrage about the law.

Stassen Backers Dubious

The Times

It may be that Mr. Stassen will continue his primary success here on Tuesday, but events since the former Minnesota Governor decided to enter the Ohio race have made many of his supporters wish that he had stayed out.

These supporters, admittedly with the benefit of hindsight, take the view that Mr. Stassen's victories in the Wisconsin, Nebraska and Pennsylvania primaries made his campaign in Ohio unnecessary. If he does well here he will merely "keep the string going," while if he loses the cry will go out that he has been "stopped." Mon.

As it has turned out, in fact, Tuesdays voting gives Senator Taft a chance for a come-back, which he probably would not have had after the Nebraska defeat if Mr. Stassen had stayed out of Ohio. That, at least, is one thought that is running through the minds of Mr. Stassen's supporters tonight, and it does not cheer them very much. 5-3-48

The former Minnesota governor is due here tomorrow and will make a last-minute broadcast appeal to the voters. More than 200 Stassen-for-president cars, operated by volunteer supporters, will be touring the disputed areas for the next two days. They will distribute leaflets which proclaim that Stassen is the "man America needs" and what is important in this election, explain precisely how to mark the complicated Ohio ballot.

GOP Chilly About Recall Of Congress

The Post

Washington D.C.

Philadelphia, June 20.—If the Eightieth Congress is called back into session to consider housing legislation or anything else, it will have to be President Truman who calls it. Mon. 6-21-48

Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio), sleepy-eyed from the Senate's 44-hour footrace to adjournment, practically said as much on arrival here today.

"I see no reason for Congress to be called back," he told reporters.

"We have some long-term problems left over, but they are elaborate and complicated. They can best be handled in January."

Only in "Emergency"

Congress adjourned Sunday morning subject to recall at any time by Republican leaders. The President, of course, has the constitutional right to call Congress back whenever he sees fit.

Taft, interviewed by the press under lights after a round with news photographers and a trunk-shaking bout with a live elephant, made it plain Republican leaders will take up their own option only in an "emergency."

He said he saw no particular point in returning to consider the Taft-Wagner-Ellender long-range housing measure "because the House has rejected the bill." Taft added he regarded that as an "unfortunate mistake" but a special session wouldn't necessarily remedy it. 6-21-48

A reporter asked the No. 2 GOP presidential contender what he would do about the civil rights program if he were elected.

"Will you have any more luck with it than you did as Senate leader?" was the query.

Taft replied that the civil rights program failed this session because filibuster threats posed the practical problem of "taking out a month of the Senate's time" to pass the bills.

"We weren't able to sacrifice that much time," he said. "The best time to develop a civil rights program is at the beginning of a session." The Post

Ohio's favorite son at this convention said he hadn't yet had a glimpse of the preliminary draft of the Republican platform, but added:

Washington, D.C.

"I think it will uphold the record of the Republican Congress. It may add other points we haven't dealt with." Mon. 6-21-48

A reporter asked if he favored a platform commitment for "further aid to Europe."

Taft said he'd rather not comment on that offhand.

A Light Has Dawned On Strom Thurmond

7-21-48
The Courier-Journal
34a(1)

SOUTH CAROLINA'S Governor STROM THURMOND, the rebel States Rights Democrats' choice for President, is plainly troubled. At the Birmingham conference where he was nominated, he must have seen many a sign that everybody there did not stand on the high ground of constitutional principle which he claimed as his base.

The signs were everywhere. One of them was the small, hard core of the meeting's control. The thousands of visitors and "delegates" in the hall, mostly home-towners, cheered the Confederate flags and the impassioned reminders of Reconstruction and of recent slights at Philadelphia. But a handful of men behind the scenes ran the works, wrote the resolutions, picked the candidates, gave the cues to arise, shout and parade. They were easily to be identified as representatives of large interests of which Birmingham is a citadel.

Louisville, Ky.

There were signs, too, in emotions easily aroused to a kind of screaming hysteria, that the gathering was less concerned with principle than with native legend and prejudice. The cult of White Supremacy ran riot. And hovering at the edge was the sharp-eyed GERALD L. K. SMITH who, after everything was over, gave his blessing to the movement and his own notion of its meaning. "Our followers," said he, "believe that the Negro and the Jew are exerting too much pressure in American politics."

Ind.

Now back home in Columbia, Governor THURMOND adds up the score and is impelled to speak his mind. He wants to keep the movement respectable and Southern in the classic sense—in the sense of JOHN C. CALHOUN and WADE HAMPTON, who came out of the same soil as he; not in the sense of "Cotton Ed" SMITH, another South Carolinian. This surely means that he already has become doubtful. He finds it necessary to say that he is "not one whit interested in white supremacy." 7-21-48

True, Governor THURMOND is himself partly to blame for the turn which he deplores, and for the necessity of disavowing GERALD SMITH. His speech after he found himself stuck with the nomination had its own incendiary passages. He brought his listeners to their feet amid a vivid flutter of the Stars and Bars with his shout that there are not enough troops in the country to break down segregation in the South. His reminders that he had proposed repealing South Carolina's poll tax, that he stands for equal (though separate) facilities for Negroes, were lost in the thunder of cheering for his more defiant words, both in Birmingham and at the Philadelphia convention.

Governor THURMOND was also to learn afterward that Governor LANEY of Arkansas, one of the triumvirate with himself and Governor WRIGHT of Mississippi who were engineers of the movement, had pulled out of it and was counselling Democratic unity and regularity. It could be that still another obvious truth came more clearly into light at Birmingham. This was that behind all the tumult, the shouting and the hotspur incitement, the movement is mainly a fight to win control of Democratic party organizations in the States and the nation. In the States where the shouting is loudest, conservative groups have come into dominance for the first time since 1932, and mean to stay there. The formula of racial division is tried and true.

And so Governor THURMOND tries hard to get the thing back on to high ground. He sounds a bit disillusioned, as if he fears he cannot do it. 7-21-48

Thurmond Resigns From Executive Committee

34a(1)

Governor J. Strom Thurmond has recognized the incongruity involved in the acceptance of the job of national Democratic committeeman, to which he was elected by the state convention, when instead of promoting the election of President Harry Truman, the party's nominee, he is working to accomplish his defeat. He has resigned the executive committeeship.

The Columbia Record

This incongruity which The Record pointed out at the time has existed ever since the state convention served notice upon the party that its electors would not vote for Truman or any other candidate of the same mind on civil rights, so called, and the national convention nominated Truman on a specific civil rights issue. 7-22-48

It exists also so far as the executive committeewoman from South Carolina, Mrs. Anne Agnew, is concerned, unless she doesn't expect to go along with the South Carolina party in opposing Truman.

For the incongruity grows out of the fact that the Democratic party of South Carolina proposes to bolt the national organization and served notice upon it by formal resolution of its intention. Governor Thurmond has added nothing to this intended bolt by becoming the "suggested" candidate of the Dixiecratic party.

Columbia S.C

South Carolina's Democratic party is not to be a part of the national Democratic party this year and it should in honor sever all its ties with the national Democratic party, if the convention decision to bolt stands. 7-23-48

Thurmond Says His Only Plank Is States' Rights

New York Herald Tribune
July 7-20-48

Rebuffs Southern Advocates of 'White Supremacy,' Insists He's Progressive

By David McConnell
A Staff Correspondent

New York, N.Y.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 19.—Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina rebuffed Southern advocates of "white supremacy" today with the assertion that he is an "open progressive" Southerner who will campaign for the Presidency on a single platform of states' rights.

By telephone from the Governor's mansion in Columbia, S. C., the states' rights candidate for the Presidency told reporters that he will shun the "white supremacy" question when he starts a south-wide campaign against President Truman and his strong civil rights program. Governor Thurmond was named the candidate for the Presidency and Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for the Vice-Presidency at a convention held here Saturday by Southerners protesting against President Truman's civil rights program.

Openly irked by the repeated stress placed by some of his Southern followers on the "white supremacy" issue, Governor Thurmond asserted that "I have no feeling against the Negro people." He explained that he has advocated better facilities for the Negroes and emphasized that when he wase inaugurated as Governor two years ago he announced in favor of repeal of the poll tax.

Disturbed by Speeches

The Governor's concern over the racial question arose from tub-thumping talks given at the convention here. Such speakers as "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, former Governor of Oklahoma, ignored the states rights issue to stress the racial question with such assertions as "Christian principles and white man's brains have made this country great."

New York Herald

In reviewing his "Southern liberalism," Governor Thurmond explained that it was he who received national praise by ordering police to bring suspects in the Greenville, S. C., lynch case to trial in April, 1947. It was at his insistence that a special prosecutor was assigned to try twenty-three defendants.

Declaring that "I am not interested one whit in the question of white supremacy," Governor Thurmond promised that in a short time he would start campaigning throughout the South in an effort to capture at least 127 Electoral College votes for the Presidency.

July 7-20-48

Other sections of the South still were looking askance at the states rights revolt against the Democratic party, traditional voting vehicle of southerners since the Civil War.

Former Governor Ellis Arnall, of Georgia, was inclined to scoff at the Birmingham convention and its fourth-party ticket, while other Georgia observers forecast that if the Thurmond-Wright ticket gets on Georgia's ballot in the November election it will make little headway. James S. Peters chairman of the Georgia State Democratic Eexecutive Committee, said however, that his group would take a stand "at the proper time."

New York, N.Y.

Some states' righters were contending today that by corralling a sizable protest vote in such states as Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina and Maryland they could effectively stop President Truman and possibly throw the states into the Republican column this year.

New York Herald

In [illegible] of the states there is a growing Republican organization. Maryland, a border state, cast 51.9 per cent of its vote in 1944 for the Democratic ticket, while Tennessee showed 39.4 per cent of the voters in the Republican column that Presidential year.

Kentucky in 1944 voted 54.6 per cent Democratic to 45.4 per cent Republican, a narrow enough margin, states' righters contend, to upset the Democrats should their Thurmond-Wright slate go on the ballot and receive support in the state. Virginia voted 62.5 Democratic in 1944 to 37.5 Republican.

7-20-48

Rejects Gerald Smith Aid

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 19 (UP).—Governor Thurmond spurned today the offer of support of Gerald L. K. Smith, director of the "Christian Nationalist Crusade.

"We do not invite, and we do not need, the support of Gerald L. K. Smith or any other rabble-rousers who use race prejudice and class hatred to inflame the emotions of the people," Governor Thurmond said when he learned that Mr. Smith had offered to help the states rights' movement.

"We are interested solely in protecting the rights of states to manage their own internal affairs, which is a fundamental guaranty of the Constitution of the United States."

New York N.Y.

The Governor said he was unaware that Mr. Smith was at the convention Saturday.

In Birmingham, Horace Wilkinson, chairman of the convention's resolutions committee, said "we're not going to fool with a bird like Gerald L. K. Smith."

Meanwhile the states rights people got support of a more welcome sort. The community of Inverness, Miss., notified Governor Wright that a campaign check for $3,500 was on the way.

Gov. Thurmond Scored By Own S C Supporter

[illegible]

Copies of letters from a native South Carolina white man rebuking Gov. J. Strom Thurmond Dixiecrats' nominee for President, for anti-Truman civil rights stand at the National Democratic Convention have been received by Atty. George Vaughn. The letters were signed by Charles Britton, Charleston, S. C.

In one letter addressed to the governor, he stated in part:

"When I read of your response to a question put by Asst. Atty. Gen. George L. Vaughn, of Missouri, I was both shocked and ashame.

7-23-48

"In fact, your attitude toward the entire convention, with paticular reference to the civil rights issue, has been un-American, un-Democratic and un-Christian.

"I must confess that I made the mistake of voting for you in your race for governor. In my opinion you have made South Carolina the laughing-stock of the entire nation."

In his letter to Atty. Vaughn, Britton stated:

St Louis Mo.

"My hearty and sincere congratulations are extended to you for your efforts in behalf of human rights. I am not a Negro, but I have many friends who are, and as a citizen of a free country, I have a firm belief and abiding faith in the brotherhood of man.

"It is downright stupid for us to think in terms of states' rights when we should be thinking in terms of one world."

And Where Will South Carolina Go Now?

Columbia Record

Governor J. Strom Thurmond has never been, in any realistic sense, a candidate for the presidency, although he may have had some hopes, at one time, of receiving the votes of two Southern states—Mississippi and South Carolina.

Columbia S.C.

The South Carolina Democratic (Politicians') party at its May convention passed a resolution, which was not submitted to the resolutions committee as all resolutions are supposed to be, indorsing Thurmond for the presidency and pledging him the South Carolina votes so long as he has a chance. The anticipated Mississippi support did not develop.

Tues. 7-6-48

The Governor announced Saturday that he would release the South Carolina delegates to allow them to vote for General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Actually no release was necessary. The instructions to the South Carolina delegates are to support Thurmond so long as he has a chance, but no longer. They are free, therefore, to vote as they please on the first ballot, except, of course, they cannot vote for Truman or any other advocate of his so-called civil rights program.

And the Eisenhower boom continued to gain momentum until the general himself pricked the big balloon of the politicians' hopes by declaring that his "No" meant No. James Roosevelt, California state chairman, Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York and others have called a caucus to meet July 10 at Philadelphia prior to the convention "to achieve an open and free Democratic convention," which is their way of saying to find a candidate with whom the party hope to win as it cannot with Harry Truman.

Eisenhower was their choice. And it must be conceded that the general was as good a choice as could have made.

7-6-48

But with Eisenhower declining to be a candidate who will be the caucus' second choice? And where will the South Carolina votes go?

Free Elections, Secret Ballot In South Carolina

The Columbia Record

Governor J. Strom Thurmond, States Rights nominee for president, wants a "free election" in South Carolina.

"I want the people of South Carolina to have free elections," he told a press conference Tuesday," to vote for whom they want in this presidential race.

Thur 8-19-48

"If there is any sentiment for the other three major candidates," the Governor modestly went on, "meaning Dewey, Truman and Wallace, then their supporters will see to it that their ballots are at the polling places in this state on election day.

"If their ballots aren't distributed then I would say that is pretty conclusive proof that there's not much sentiment for them."

Columbia SC

This declaration seems to indicate that the Governor, although he still gives lip service to the Australian ballot, has abandoned the secret ballot for this general election year.

And the Australian ballot is the only way to give South Carolinians the real "free election," which the Governor advocates.

Under the antiquated general election system now prevailing in South Carolina elections are not actually free. The voter can not make a choice except at the cost of considerable trouble and frequently some expense.

If for example a Republican who voted in the Democratic primary—and always some Republicans at heart have voted in the Democratic primaries for local, state and federal officers, if they desired to vote at all—wants to cast his ballot for the primary nominees and at the same time vote for the Republican electors he cannot do it, unless he prepares his own ballot and brings it to the polls with him.

If the Democratic party of South Carolina, committed this year to the States Rights nominees, fails or neglects to prepare ballots and get them distributed—and barring a catastrophe or printers' strike this will not happen—no States Rights votes in South Carolina could be cast except by voters preparing their own ballots in black ink on white paper of proper width and length.

If the loyal Democrats, committed to the national party, do not pay for and get ballots printed containing the names of electors desiring to vote for Truman and Barkley—and there can be nothing on the ballots except the names of the candidates for electors to distinguish them from the States Rights Democratic ballots—no Democrat who wants to remain a Democrat can vote, unless he prepares his own ballot.

If the Republicans fail to get their ballots distributed at the polls—and there have been such failures in the past—no Republican votes can be counted, unless the voter prepares his own ballot.

And so also for the Progressive party, if any, in South Carolina.

Section 2304 of the code, governing the conduct of general elections, describes the general election ballots in legal, which is to say not exactly understandable English:

"There shall be three separate and distinct ballots (for each party), as follows: one ballot for United States Senator, Representatives in Congress and presidential electors; and one ballot for Governor, lieutenant governor, state officers, circuit solicitors, members of the House of Representatives, state Senator, county officers and one ballot for all constitutional amendments and special questions, each of three said boxes to be appropriately labeled; which ballots shall be of plain white paper and of such width and length as to contain the names of the officer or officers and question or questions to be voted for or upon, clear and even cut, without ornament, designation, mutilation, symbol or mark of any kind whatsover, except the name or names of the person or persons voted for and the office to which such person or persons are intended to be chosen, and all special questions, which name or names, officer or officers, question or questions shall be written or printed or partly written or partly printed thereon in black ink; and such ballot shall be so folded as to conceal the name or names, question or questions thereon, and so folded shall be deposited in a box to be constructed, kept, and disposed of as herein provided by law, and no ballot of any other description found in either of said boxes shall be counted."

Thur 8-19-48

To make this a secret ballot a voter may adopt one of two procedures. He may, as the Governor suggests, pick up one copy of each ballot, which wouldn't fool anybody in any normal year, vote the one he wants and "pocket the others." Or he may bring his own ballot to the polls, ask for a Democratic, i. e. States Rights, ballot, palm it and vote his own.

Both of these procedures border on legerdermain and should not be required of self-respecting voters by any self-respecting state.

Contrast this with the Australian ballot procedure, under which the names of the candidates of all qualifying parties are printed on one sheet of paper, which the voter takes into the voting booth, marks as he sees fit and then deposits in the proper box. He may vote for the Republican electors and for the Democratic candidates for Congress. He may support a Republican for Governor and Democrats for the House of Representatives and the state Senate.

If the Governor wants a really "free" election, a real secret ballot he should issue the call to the General Assembly to meet in special session to enact an Australian ballot law, as requested by him and as advocated by the state Democratic convention.

THURMOND: WHITE SUPREMACY

Editor, The Advertiser:

The Advertiser

Recent issues of The Advertiser seems quite confusing. Your paper of the 9th of September seems to be contradicting itself.

On page 1, bottom of column 5, you gave a slight description of the so-called states rights Democratic presidential nominee's speech given in Dallas, Texas, Wednesday night, 8th of September. By process-of-elimination, I can only interpret his speech in one category. Namely, "White Supremacy." Yet on page 4, column 5, in the same paper, in your editor's note to a letter from a fellow writer, you distinctly say Gov. Thurmond "will have no part of a 'White Supremacy' campaign."

Sat 9-11-48

Montgomery Ala

Can you explain this "contradiction." Please don't blame the Associated Press. You see the main part of the speech was in quotation marks.

D. H. DUNCAN, JR.

Montgomery.

Shortly after the Birmingham convention, Gov. Thurmond said pointedly that he was "not one whit interested in the question of White Supremacy." He said that first to The New York Times, and subsequently repeated it to the AP. Thurmond is intelligently campaigning in the name of State Rights.—Ed.

34a(1)

Presidential (Thurmond)

Thurmond ights for irginia's Votes

Edward F. Ryan
Post Reporter

Roanoke, Va., Oct. 6.—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina tonight launched his campaign here to win Virginia's 11 electoral votes in his States Rights campaign for the presidency.

Governor Thurmond, speaking to about 600 persons in the American Legion auditorium, renewed his attack on his three major opponents for their support of a Federal civil rights program.

Virginia sponsors of the States Rights campaign are counting on Governor Thurmond's swing through the State this week to add thousands of new supporters. An estimate of his strength in the Sixth Congressional District where Roanoke is located runs as high as 40 per cent of a vote which may total around 50,000.

The Dixiecrats believe the race in this area is between Thurmond and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York. 9-7-48

Republican leaders here, however, question whether the States' Rights group will poll more than [illegible] the vote. They expect Dewey to carry the district, but believe his major competitor will be President Truman.

Governor Thurmond arrived at the Roanoke Airport about 7 p. m. from New York, where he spoke at a luncheon. With him were his attractive wife, Jean, 22, and J. O. Emmerick, publisher of the McCmob (Wis.) Enterprise Journal. From Roanoke, the Thurmond campaign party will go to Lexington and Charlottesville for speeches Thursday. Thurmond will speak twice in Richmond on Friday. On Saturday he will attend the football game between Virginia Military Institute and William and Mary College at Norfolk. He will speak at Williamsburg Saturday night.

raino Washington D.C.

Governor Thurmond was warmly applauded at the Roanoke rally. He said Truman, Dewey and Henry Wallace, the Progressive candidate, by their support of the civil rights program, are "committed to an unconstitutional and un-American program." Thu. 9-7-48

Thurmond struck especially hard at the Fair Employment Practices Program which has been set up in Governor Dewey's home State. He said the New York law makes it unlawful to ask a man his birthplace or to show a birth certificate, to ask about his religion and excludes many other questions. He renewed earlier charges that Communists could use a Federal FEPC law to force saboteurs "into all the secret places of our defense program, including the atomic laboratories." 9-7-48

Earlier in the day in New York Governor Thurmond said that if the South's lynchings need the remedy of a Federal law so do the North's gangster slayings.

The Governor made his sinble Northern campaign speech at a luncheon of the Overseas Press Club. He predicted his party will get more than 100 electoral votes.

"The fight we are making si not motivated by racial prejudice," Thurmond said. "Neither the people of New York nor those of South Carolina approve murder. Lynching is murder, just as gangster killing is murder. We had one lynching in the South last year. You have had more gang murders in New York in five years than we have had lynchings in the South in 50 years.

"If we need a Federal law for murder by lynchings, you need a Federal law for murder by gangsters. I believe you feel that the crime of murder is one for the State courts."

Thurmond's Campaign Speeds Up

34a(1)

The Record

Columbia, S.C

Headquarters Leaders Picked

Thurs. 7-29-48

Up to his neck in campaign correspondence, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond will be relieved of States Rights routine business Aug. 9 with the opening of headquarters.

As presidential nominee, Thurmond announced that the Dixiecrats, speeding up their campaign, will maintain headquarters in Jackson, Miss., and that Judge Merrit Gibson of Longview, Tex., will be campaign director.

Thurmond has been swamped with mail from "about every state in the Union" since he was chosen to lead the rebellious South in Birmingham July 17. His office reported that he has averaged working 15 hours daily.

Flood Of Letters

Even comely Mrs. Thurmond, first lady at the executive mansion, has pitched in to help answer the flood of letters. She was a secretary in the office prior to her marriage to Thurmond November 7.

The governor's office said that the chief executive was not letting the campaign interfere with his duties as governor, however.

Four campaign speeches have been arranged. Thurmond will speak in Memphis, Tenn., August 25 and in Arkansas, August 26.

Previously, he announced that his campaign will be formally launched August 11 in Houston, Tex., where the official notification will be made to Thurmond as presidential candidate and to Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi as vice presidential candidate.

The Record

Many Invitations

Thurmond's office reported that hundreds of invitations to speak have poured into his office but that a regular speaking schedule will be arranged later.

Thurs.

The executive committee of the States' Rights Democrats will include Gov. Ben. T. Laney of Arkansas, as general chairman; former Gov. Frank Dixon and R. T. Goodwyn of Alabama; J. O. Emmerich and Everett Truly of Mississippi; Frank Upchurch and C. E. Shepherd of Florida, Arch Rowan and Palmer Bradley of Texas; John Daggett and C. E. Parker of Arkansas, William P. Baskin and George Warren of South Carolina; Judge Leander Perez and Frank J. Looney of Louisiana.

Columbia S.C.

A steering committee will include Governor Laney as chairman; Dixon, W. W. Wright of Mississippi, Perez, Rowan, Upchurch and R. McC. Figg, Jr., of South Carolina.

Thurmond said that as other states are fully organized additional members will be added to the executive committee. 7-29-48

George C. Wallace will be national campaign treasurer. Headquarters will be in the Heidelburg hotel, Jackson, and liaison offices will be in Columbia and Washington.

34a(1)

Three-Month Campaign

The States' Rights Democrats are planning an intensive three-month national campaign beginning on Wednesday, August 11, with a statewide Texas rally in Houston, Tev.

Veterans, colleges, and women's divisions will comprise a part of the national organization and will have their executive committees in each state along with such other state organizations as will be necessary.

The Record

Governors Thurmond and Wright were enthusiastic today over the response they are receiving as thousands of people over the South and nation pledged support to the States' Rights cause. They promised a speaking schedule in early August that would take them into many states. They feel confident the States' Rights electoral strength will force this year's presidential election into the national House of Representatives and Senate.

Thurs.

If the Republicans should run away with the election outside of the South, Governor Thurmond predicted that he and Governor Wright would receive more electoral votes than Truman and that such an event would make State's Rights Democrats the minority party in the 81st Congress. This would give the Congressmen and Senators of States' Rights states the minority assignments on all committees.

7-29-48

Appeal To All

Columbia S.C.

Governors Thurmond and Wright appealed to Americans in all states of the Union who believe that individual freedom and human rights are dependent upon constitutional State's Rights government to rally behind them and to assist in this flight for the way of life Americans have enjoyed and under which our nation has prospered for 150 years.

They deplored Truman's, Dewey's, and Wallace's appeal to fringe groups and their willingness to desert constitutional government and States' Rights and thereby jeopardize the security, unity, and tranquility of the nation in order to win votes from unAmerican minorities.

Dixiecrat Presidential Nominee Hates Lynching, But Opposes Federal Law

The Call Kansas City, Mo

Fri. 7-30-48

COLUMBIA S. C. —(ANP)— The Dixiecrat candidate for President, Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, "hates" lynching, but he does not favor a federal anti-lynching law. He also "hates" poll taxes, but he does not favor a federal statute outlawing them.

34a(1)

In his own state, though he is on record as urging the passage of laws outlawing poll taxes and lynching, neither of these suggestions has been passed.

He is well remembered for his action in the Willie Earle lynching in Greenville. He ordered an investigation, and told his chief constable not to report until the case was broken.

As a result, 24 men were indicted. When placed on trial, however, they were acquitted, and the governor termed the lynching a "mob murder which South Carolina will not tolerate."

Anti-lynch and anti-poll tax laws would violate the U. S. constitution, he says. Of the "FEPC, he remarked, "FEPC is the closest this country has yet come to communism. It would turn this nation into nothing but a police state."

Fri.

During the war he reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel with the 82nd Airborne division of the first army. He won 12 military medals. 7-31-48

Before going to war he served as state circuit judge and state senator. He graduated from Clemson college in 1923, and taught school several years. He once served as superintendent of education in his native Edgefield county.

He married his officce secretary, the former Miss Jean Crouch, in November, 1947.

THURMOND CALLS LYNCHING MURDER

South Carolina Governor a Foe of Poll Tax—Fought in War, Is Former Judge, Educator

34a(1)

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 17 (AP)—Gov. Strom Thurmond, states rights candidate for President, enters national politics after successfully inaugurating a program to modernize and streamline the government of South Carolina.

Mr. Thurmond, 45, who advocated a "cleanup" of government in his 1946 campaign for the governorship, devised and pushed through the General Assembly measures creating a governmental reorganization commission.

The commission, having broad powers to eliminate overlapping and duplication in government agencies, probably will begin work this fall.

The Times

The Governor has consistently urged abolition of the state's poll tax, legislation to provide secret ballots in general elections and creation of a personnel merit system for state government. These measures have failed of passage so far.

New York, N.Y.

Although he opposes federal anti-lynching legislation, Mr. Thurmond is known in South Carolina as a bitter foe of lynching. Immediately after the Willie Earle lynching at Greenville, the Governor ordered the state constabulary to the scene to investigate.

He told his chief constable not to report back until the case was cracked.

Sun.

The result was the trial of twenty-four men charged with the crime. They were acquitted, however, Mr. Thurmond repeatedly denounced the Earle affair as "mob murder, which South Carolina will not tolerate."

He has opposed federal anti-poll tax and anti-lynch legislation on grounds that its passage would violate the United States Constitution.

7-18-48

Governor Thurmond is even more bitter against the proposed federal fair employment practices law, contending it would violate Constitutional guarantees of the right to trial by jury.

"FEPC is the closest this country has yet come to Communism," he told the South Carolina State Democratic Convention in May. "It would turn this nation into nothing more than a police state."

A veteran of World War II, holding the rank of lieutenant colonel in the army, Governor Thurmond has twelve military medals. These include the Purple Heart, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star, Belgian Cross of the Officer of the Order of the Crown and the French Croix de Guerre.

He served with the First Army in Europe, landing on Normandy with the Eighty-second Airborne Division. He was with the First all the way across Europe.

In civilian life, Mr. Thurmond has served as State Circuit Judge an das State Senator from his native Edgefield County.

After graduating from Clemson College in 1923, Mr. Thurmond taught school for several years. He later was superintendent of education in Edgefield County.

In November 1947 he was married to his office secretary, the former Miss Jean Crouch.

Sun.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond

Rebuke To Bigotry

34a(1)

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina has given the "white supremacy" fanatics in his following a stiff rebuke that augurs well for his fourth-party campaign in the South. If the noisy groups who nominated him for the Presidency at Birmingham thought he would vie for the mantle of the late Senator Bilbo as rabble-rouser No. 1 of the South, they have suffered a keen disappointment. The Governor classifies himself as a "progressive Southerner," pooh-poohs white supremacy, calls for better facilities for Negroes as well as whites, although on a segregated basis, and favors repeal of State poll taxes. His campaign for electoral votes this fall will be wholly devoted, he says, to the cause of State sovereignty as against interference by the Federal Government.

The Post

Washington, D.C.

Wed. 7-21-48

We think that if the Southern States had been half as zealous in upholding the rights of their minorities as they have been in safeguarding States' rights, the issue which has now split the Democratic Party would not have arisen. Most of them, as we noted the other day, have invoked States' rights to perpetuate human wrongs. It is, however, an encouraging fact that the man whom the deep South has chosen to run against President Truman, Governor Dewey and Henry Wallace has turned his face against bigotry of the Bilbo-Rankin brand. Governor Thurmond had previously demonstrated his interest in impartial justice by ordering the trial of 23 white men arrested in connection with the Greenville lynching. Now he has clearly indicated that he will not be high-pressured into an extremist position by the bitterness that cropped out at Philadelphia.

7-21-48

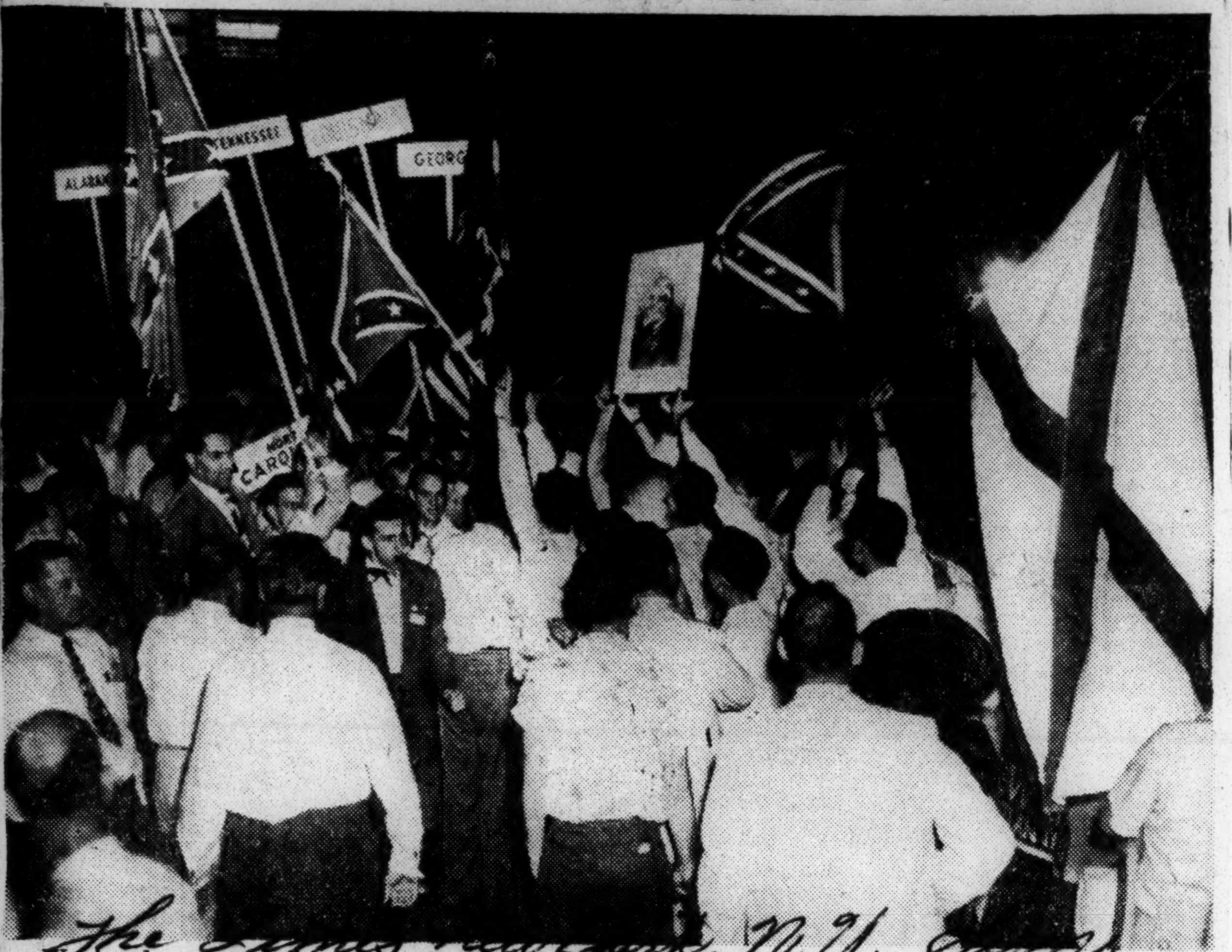
The South's candidate could further strengthen his position by moving positively against the evils that have given impetus to the President's civil-rights program. If he could induce South Carolina and a few other Southern States to abolish their poll taxes, it would promptly deflate the crusade for enactment of a Federal anti-poll-tax law. Something more than talk will be necessary, however, for the dissidents as a group to earn the objective "progressive." The country and especially fair-minded voters in the South will be waiting eagerly to see what they have to offer.

The Post

Washington, D.C.

Wed. 7-21-48

DEMONSTRATION IN BIRMINGHAM AND THE TICKET NAMED



The Times, New York, N.Y. 7-18-48

Waving banners on the convention floor yesterday after the keynote speech. Confederate and state flags are seen while portrait of Gen. Robert E. Lee is being held aloft.

Associated Press Wirephoto

THURMOND GIVES UP NATIONAL PARTY POST

New York, N.Y.

34-D Thurs

7-22-48

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 20 (AP)—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, Presidential candidate of the Southern States' Rights Democrats said tonight that he had resigned from the National Democratic Committee.

He mailed his resignation to William P. Baskin, chairman of the state Democratic executive committee, and sent a copy to United States Senator J. Howard McGrath, national committee chairman.

Governor Thurmond was elected to the national committee May 19 by the state party convention. He succeeded United States Senator Olin D. Johnston, who declined to be considered for re-election.

Mr. Thurmond said earlier this week that he had "given no thought" to serving on the committee.

He added that he was interested in "doing everything I can to assure the defeat" of President Truman.

The Times

States' Rights Candidate Is 'Cleanup' Move Chief

The Times-Picayune

34-D

Governor Thurmond Wants Streamlined Government

(The Associated Press)

Columbia, S. C., July 17.—Gov. Strom Thurmond, states' rights candidate for president, enters national politics after successfully inaugurating a program to modernize and streamline the government of South Carolina.

Thurmond, 45, who advocated a "cleanup" of government in his 1946 campaign for the governorship, devised and pushed through the general assembly legislation creating a governmental reorganization commission.

The commission, having broad powers to eliminate overlapping and duplication in government agences, probably will begin work this fall.

The governor also has consistently urged abolition of the state's poll tax, legislation to provide secret ballots in general elections and creation of a personnel merit system for state government. These measures have failed of passage so far.

Lynch Case Cited

Although he opposes federal anti-lynch legislation, Thurmond is known in South Carolina as a bitter foe of lynching. Immediately after the notorious Willie Earle lynching at Greenville, the governor ordered the state constabulary to the scene to investigate.

He told his chief constable not to report back until the case was cracked.

The result was the trial of 24 men charged with the crime. They were acquitted, however. Thurmond repeatedly denounced the Earle affair as "mob murder, which South Carolina will not tolerate."

He has opposed federal anti-poll tax and anti-lynch legislation on grounds that its passage would violate the US constitution.

Thurmond is even more bitter against the proposed federal fair tending it would violate constiemployment practices law, contutional guarantees of the right to trial by jury.

"FEPC is the closest this country has come yet to Communism," he told the South Carolina state Democratic convention in May. "It would turn this nation into nothing more than a police state."

Holds War Medals

A veteran of World War II, holding the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Army, Thurmond wears 12 military medals. These include the Purple Heart, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star, Belgian Cross of the Officer of the Order of the Crown and French Croix De Guerre.

He served with the First Army in Europe, landing on Normandy with the 82nd Airborne Division. He was with the First all the way across Europe.

In civilian life, Thurmond has served as state circuit judge and as state senator from his native Edgefield county.

After graduating from Clemson college in 1923, Thurmond taught school for several years. He later was superintendent of education in Edgefield county.

The governor was in the national news in November, 1947, when he was married to his pretty office secretary, the former Miss Jean Crouch.

Since his marriage Thurmond more or less has thrown the governor's mansion open to industrialists visting South Carolina.

He works until late at night and makes many out-of-state trips to attract big industries to the Palmetto state.

THURMOND PREPARING CAMPAIGN VIA RADIO

34-D

Dixiecrat Candidate Plans To 'Go' To Many States

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 20.—(UP)—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond Tuesday revealed he will carry his campaign for the presidency on the Dixiecrat ticket into "many states" by means of the radio.

Thurmond predicted that the "Solid" South would go solid again this Fall—for the Dixiecrats.

"When November has come and gone, the leaders of the present Democratic Party will be split 48 ways," Thurmond said. "We're not going into this thing half-heartedly. We're going in vigorously."

He waved a sheaf of letters and telegrams which he said were "pouring in from everywhere" in support of the Dixiecrat program. One letter came from Film Star Mary Martin, a Texan.

Campaign contributions also are beginning to pour in, Thurmond said.

Gerald L. K. Smith, head of the Christian Nationalist Crusade, whose offer to support the Dixiecrats was rebuffed by Thurmond, had this to say Tuesday at Jackson, Miss.:

"In a few weeks from now, after Governor Thurmond has been run through the wringer by Walter Winchell, Drew Pearson and the smear bund in general, he will understand what some of us have gone through in defense of the white man's rights."

Thurmond had rejected Smith's offer on the grounds that the Dixiecrats did not want the support of "rabble rousers" who inflame the people with "race prejudice and class hatred."

Thurmond Should Resign

The Lighthouse and Informer

8-1-48

Columbia, S.C.

34-D

Governor J. Strom Thurmond, elected by Democrats o a Democratic platform, and who has since abandoned th Democratic party, ought to resign forthwith and uncondi tionally, as the Democratic governor of South Carolina.

Taking cognizance of suggestions on resigning, Mr Thurmond last week pointed to Governor Warren, Dewe and Stassen and examples of men similarly situated, wh had sought higher offices while serving their respecti states.

But what Governor Thurmond neglected to conside was the only case on modern record in which a candidate a variance with the party which elevated him to office, acte in light of the circumstances in which he found himself..

That singular example is presidential candidate Henr A. Wallace, who after disagreeing with his party, resigne from the post to which it had lifted him, left its salary t a successor and devoted his full time to the party of hi preference, one he started and headed himself, much in th fashion of Mr. Thurmond.

Sun. 8-1-48

The Democratic party, Mr. Thurmond now denounces is the same party which favored him. It is not fair no to that party to draw a living from its resources and us these to defeat the party.

Thurmond Runs Behind Dewey In Southern Poll

Columbia Record

Columbia S.C.

Sat 8-21-48

The first Gallup poll of the South since the "nomination" of Governor J. Strom Thurmond by the States Rights Democrats reveals that it would be easier to defeat Truman in the South with Governor Dewey than with Governor Thurmond.

As of the time of the survey the Southern preference, as repored by Dr. Gallup, stood:

Truman	41 per cent
Dewey	34 per cent
Thurmond	14 per cent
Wallace	2 per cent
No opinion	9 per cent

Sentiment for Thurmond runs strongest in South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana and Texas.

This is, of course, only a first sampling and opinion in the South may change as the campaign develops, although history seems to indicate that campaigns do not greatly affect the voters' opinions.

And Thurmond's strength in the electoral college cannot be estimated until the vote by states is known. He stands now to get the electoral votes of South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi where the States Rights party has absorbed the Democratic party machinery.

The real significance of the poll, taken in the 13 Southern states, indicates in the strength shown by Dewey in the South that, as The Record has argued, this was the year to set up a real two-party system in the South, if the Dixiecratic movement had not been organized to divide the anti-Truman votes.

Sat 8-21-48

If the Dewey and Thurmond votes were combined the division would be:

Truman	41 per cent
Anti-Truman	48 per cent
Wallace	2 per cent
No opinion	9 per cent

And what the South needs is the two-party system under which it will have a voice in both parties and under which both parties will have to court the South for the South's votes as they now court the so-called crucial states and the minorities that may control them. And the South may even get the two-party system in 1952.

Thurmond Asks 'Free' Elections

Urges Complete Ballot Choice

Columbia Record

Tues 8-17-48

Columbia S.C.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond expressed himself strongly today for "free elections."

"I want the people of South Carolina to have free elections, to vote for who they want in this presidential race," the States' Rights Democratic presidential candidate said at a news conference.

"If there is any sentiment for the other three major candidates," he went on, "meaning Dewey, Truman and Wallace, then their supporters will see to it that their ballots are at the polling places in this state on general election day.

"If their ballots aren't distributed, then I would say that is pretty conclusive proof that there's not much sentiment for them."

The governor had discussed briefly this state's system of each party's printing and distributing general election ballots. The state Democratic party's ballots will include presidential electors pledged to Thurmond.

Tues 8-17-48

. The question had been asked as to how Democrats wishing to vote instead for President Truman, might do so.

"Just like those wanting to vote for Dewey or Wallace can do so," he replied. "By picking up the ballots, voting the one they want and pocketing the others."

Voter's Procedure

Voters, he reviewer, at general elections in this state pick up the ballots they want from the polling place tables. It is up to each party to see that its ballots are at the polling places.

The voter may pick up one copy of each ballot, the governor recalled, vote the one he wants and tear up the others, if he wishes to vote secretly.

Or a voter may ask openly for the party ballot of his choice, and let polling place workers and other nearby voters know just how he votes.

Thurmond re-expressed his previous strong sentiments for a single, Australian-type ballot for the general election. He has asked the General Assembly to enact a law creating such a ballot.

Disclaims Influence

Continuing his remarks Governor Thurmond disclaimed exerting any influence on the state Democratic party in support of his States' Rights Democratic presidential candidacy.

"I did not know, and I do not know now," he told a news conference today, "who all was on the state (May 19) Democratic convention's resolutions committee that endorsed me.

"I was not aware until they were read that resolutions were to be offered endorsing me for president —for president, not just as a candidate for Democratic nomination to be the naional party's presidential candidate—and directing electors to oppose President Truman or any other candidate endorsing similar civil rights views."

He was commenting on requests for a special legislative session to enact a law to direct nomination of presidential electors. A law exists saying how electors shall be elected.

The Democratic party leaves selection of its elector candidates to the state executive committee, which has pledged the electoral college votes to Thurmond.

The Republican party also has its executive committee name its electors.

'Spontaneous' Results

"I have in no way attempted to influence these matters," he continued. "They were spontaneous. They came from the grass roots—from the people at their local (Democratic) precinct meetings that elected delegates to the county conventions, ~~and~~ that in turn selected delegates to the state convention."

Tues 8-17-48

The Greenville county Democratic executive committee has suggested that because, since the time when the precinct, county and states meetings were held, a federal court decision has opened party membership to Negroes, the legality of the party's selection of its presidential electors might be questioned.

Thurmond had no comment on this point, although he made no attempt to refute a suggestion from several reporters that the court decision, coming after the meetings were held, might have come too late to affact the matter.

Governor Thurmond also delivered an impressive appeal for belief in his "sincerity in this States' Rights battle" at the close of his bi-weekly news conference today.

The nine press and radio reporters attending were out of their conference room chairs and heading for the door when the governor stopped them.

'I Am Sincere'

"There is one thing I want you people to know," he said. "That is that I am as sincere in this States' Rights battle as a man can be about anything,"

Their attention caught, Thurmond went on:

"I know that the two capital (The Columbia Record, and The State) newspapers and some others in the state are against me.

"I am not in this fight for anything in the future. I will battle it to the finish if it should cost me every office I should ever run for in the future.

"There have been no shenanigans or scheming about this whole matter. Everything is above board and in the open.

"I am convinced that this fight should be made for the American people as a whole as well as for the South."

7 HOURS OF YES AND NO

Advertiser

In Gov. Thurmond, South Carolina has given the nation a candidate for President who may get as many electoral votes as Truman, but it is having difficulty deciding, even so, whether it has severed connections with the national party.

The Democratic Executive Committee of South Carolina met this week to instruct its electors (the machinery is different from Alabama's). The session provoked hoarse shouting over whether the state was or was not divorced from the national Democratic Party.

The Columbia State's news story recorded:

Montgomery, Ala

Sat 9-4-48

A fiery 7-hour session of the . . . committee exploded into wild shouting and near complete disorder between States' Righters and old line Democrats . . .

Chairman Baskin declared that no severance from the national party had been effected . . . Mr. Welborn then asked, "Are our senators, specifically Burnett Maybank, members of the national party or not?" Mr. Baskin replied, "I do not know."

9-4-48

"This is a vital issue," Welborn shouted in the heat of debate. "Maybank was elected because the majority of the people think he has seniority and dignity in Washington. If we take this action (name States' Righters electors) it will cost us our seniority in the Democratic Party.

Mr. Baskin declared "that is not a part of the order of business but merely argument."

Senator Brantley Harvey of Beaufort joined the verbal battle to say, "I don't know if the gentleman is serious or not, but I have the answer at the tip of my tongue. In California the Republicans and the Democrats both named the same candidate on two separate tickets. We nominated Senator Maybank and he is our nominee for South Carolina and no one, except those trying to stir up trouble, try to think he is not."

Mr. Welborn asked, "Do you know, the status of Glen Taylor, Wallace's running mate, in the Democratic Party?" Harvey said he did not and Welborn interrupted to explain between other interruptions that Taylor was "stripped of seniority and he has no status in the Democratic Party . . .

Advertiser

The mercury continued to climb until Roosevelt became an issue:

9-4-48 Montgomery

"And you all keep yelling, Let's go on! Let's go on!' Those that are yelling that today are the ones that fought Roosevelt . . . I was at memorial services out in Texas for Roosevelt and I didn't go off in the corner to cry. I cried out in the open. I only hope when I die that I will get five minutes in heaven so I can shake Roosevelt's hand."

A committeeman then interposed, "You take a lot for granted, don't you. I wonder if Roosevelt will be there."

9-4-48

In three columns of debate the committee did not determine whether Senator Glen Taylor, nominee for vice-president on the Progressive Party ticket, and Gov. Thurmond, candidate for President on the States' Rights Tickets, were or were not members of the National Democratic Party

Thurmond has resigned as national Democratic committeeman from South Carolina and he is running against Truman for President, but his status is debated Perhaps if Thurmond assassinated Truman that would settle the argument.

One Southern Voter In Seven Favors Thurmond, Poll Says

The News Birmingham, Ala.

In Popular Votes, Both Truman And Dewey Lead Him

8-20-48

BY GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., Aug. 20—At the start of the campaign the "Dixiecrat" movement has the support of about one voter in seven below the Mason-Dixon line.

In the first survey to be conducted on the popularity of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond since his nomination for president by the States' Rights Party, Gov. Thurmond polls 14 per cent throughout the 13 Southern states as a group.

In terms of popular votes he is topped by both President Truman and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey in the South, but the popular vote percentage does not fully indicate the extent of the Thurmond threat to the Democratic Party. Dixiecrat spokesmen claim that 32 electoral votes are already "in the bag" for the States' Rights ticket. These 32 consist of Alabama, 11; Mississippi, 9; South Carolina, 8, and Florida, 4 of the state's 8 votes. In those states, the Dixiecrats claim, the Democratic candidates for presidential electors already have pledged themselves to vote against President Truman. The News

Those 32 electoral votes are votes which the Democrats have always in the past counted on as "absolutely sure" for them. To offset their loss this year President Truman would have to take virtually all the New England states which have a total of 40 electoral votes.

Throughout the South interviewers for the Institute put the following question to Southern voters in a survey begun directly after the formation of the States' Rights Party: Birmingham Ala

"If the presidential election were being held today how would you vote—for Dewey, for Truman, for Wallace or for Thurmond?"

The results among voters who said they plan to vote in November were:

SOUTHERN VOTERS	
Truman	41%
Dewey	34
Thurmond	14
Wallace	2
No opinion	9

F 8-20-48

With the no opinion vote eliminated the results are Truman 46 per cent, Dewey 37 per cent, Thurmond 15 per cent and Wallace 2 per cent.

The 13 Southern states include South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Oklahoma. Thurmond sentiment runs strongest in the first eight, comprising the so-called "deep South."

'If The Election Were Held Today'

With election day only 10 weeks away, the final phase of the 1948 presidential campaign is about to begin. The candidates soon will start stumping the nation from Maine to California.

What would happen, if the election were held today instead of Nov. 2.

Did the special session of Congress help Truman's chances and hurt Dewey's?

How are the Progressives and States' Rights candidates faring?

Be sure not to miss the latest Gallup Poll standings of all the candidates in an exclusive analysis of current political trends, reflecting the full effect of the special session on voter opinion.

Read this up-to-the-minute Gallup Poll in Sunday's issue of The News-Age-Herald.

While the new party plans to make a strong effort to get on the ballot in all Southern states, it remains to be seen how successful this effort will be. Today's poll figures indicate the extent of Thurmond's popular following at the present time assuming he were on the ballot in all states in the South.

Henry A. Wallace's figure of 2 per cent in the South compares with a national Wallace percentage of 5 per cent in the last Institute poll reported Aug. 1. Mr. Wallace plans to invade the South for an intensive campaign tour in early September. Future surveys will indicate whether his campaign efforts increase his popularity below the Mason-Dixon line.

* * *

THE DEWEY FIGURE for the South—37 per cent among those with opinions—is slightly higher than the percentage he polled in the South in 1944 presidential election when he ran against the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. That year Dewey polled 31 per cent of the major party vote in the South.

President Truman's figure of 46 per cent compares with the Roosevelt figure of 69 per cent in the 1944 election. President Truman's percentage in the South is roughly comparable to the 1928 election when Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic candidate, polled 48 per cent. The low Democratic figure this year, however, is not due so much to increased Republican strength as to the split of the Democratic vote between Truman and Thurmond.

Gov. Thurmond Opens Drive In Arkansas

The Post

34 (1)

Marianna, Ark., Aug. 26 (U.P.)—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the State's rights candidate for President, appealed for votes in Arkansas tonight with a warning that the alternative is "a second reconstruction era."

Attacking the Democratic and Republican Party promises of Federal antilynch, antipoll tax, antisegregation and FEPC legislation, Thurmond told an Arkansas audience in a prepared address:

"A vote in November for either Dewey or Truman would be an invitation for passage in January of all those vicious bills . . . Every vote for either Dewey or Truman is a vote for a second reconstruction era." Fri 8-27-48

The idea ,he explained, is to prevent President Truman and Governor Thomas E. Dewey from getting a majority in the Electoral Colleg and thus throw the presidential election into the House of Representatives, where each State would have one vote.

"Then the States which vote with us will then have the balance of power," he added.

Thurmond accused the Democratic and Republican parties of indorsing the so-called civil rights program to "buy" the votes of minority blocs in the big cities of the north. Wash. D.C.

If the so-called civil rights bills ever became law, he said, it will be a step in the direction of a centralized, police state dictatorship. It would permit Federal police intereference in elections, local law enforcement and private business practices.

Tennessee Students Support Thurmond

The News

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Sept. 28—(AP)—"We may not elect a president this time, but we will gain something in this fight—we are going to reclaim the Democratic Party."

Tues 9-28-48

Harvey Hutchins of Jackson, Miss., made this remark Sunday at a meeting of Middle Tennessee college students who are supporting the States' Rights Democratic movement.

B'ham Ala

Hutchins, a Cumberland University law student, told the gathering that "this is not a racial fight—not a fight of white against black—but it is a fight for the restoration of the eminence of the United States Constitution.

The meeting was called to seek support of high school, college and university students in Tennessee for the States' Rights ticket of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and Gov. Fielding Wright.

Thurmond Invites a House Guest

The Post

By Drew Pearson

34 (1)

BELIEVE it or not, but Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, whose Dixiecrat Party broke away from the Democrats over the Negro issue, once invited a Negro to be his house guest at the Executive Mansion in Columbia, S. C.

The incident came near going down as one of the worst social blunders in the history of the segregated South. Thurmond not only extended the hand of Southern hospitality to Gov. William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands, but invited him to bring his family along.

Meanwhile, Thurmond's own States' Rights Party has bitterly criticized President Truman for being the official guest of the Negro Governor during the presidential visit to the Virgin Islands last February. Wash D.C.

Ironically, Thurmond's invitation to Governor Hastie was written on official stationery, bearing the great seal of South Carolina. Thurmond wrote:

"Dear Governor Hastie: It was indeed a disappointment to me that you were unable to attend the Governors' Conference.

"It is my earnest hope that, during my term of office, you and your family will honor South Carolina with a visit to Columbia and be our guests at the mansion."

The Negro Governor was most tactful. Writing on his own official stationery from Charlotte Amalie, Virgin Islands, he said: "Dear Governor Thurmond: I was happy to receive your gracious letter . . . You may be sure that I share your disappointment that we did not have an opportunity to meet and discuss matters of common interest.

"Thank you for your gracious invitation to me and my family to make a visit to South Carolina as your guests. Because it is relatively early in my administration and because we have quite young children in the family, it has not been possible for us to travel extensively.

"We do, however, appreciate your invitation and express the hope that you and your family may be able to visit the Virgin Islands and be our guests at Government House." Sun 10-24-48

Since writing the letter, Governor Hastie has taken official leave from the Virgin Islands to go to New York to campaign for President Truman. But the discreet Negro Governor does not plan to visit South Carolina.

THURMOND ATTACKS TRUMAN CIVIL RIGHTS

Times

COLUMBIA, S. C., Nov. 1 (AP)—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, States Rights Presidential candidate, ended his campaign tonight with a final broadside at President Truman's civil rights stand.

Tues 11-2-48

"Regardless of the outcome of tomorrow's election he will have paved the way for the reorganization of the Democratic party and its rededication to the principle that the states shall govern their internal affairs," the South Carolina Governor declared in his speech, prepared for a radio network broadcast.

New York N.Y.

"We will have made it unprofitable for any candidate for President to barter away liberty of the American people to win blocs of racial votes.

"We will have crystalized sentiment against the so called civil rights program and made its passage improbable.

"We will have brought about recognition for the South in the political affairs of the nation which it has not fully enjoyed since the War between the States."

He spoke from the Governor's mansion here.

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (Thurmond)

Thurmond Urges U.S. Worker Slash

Wash Post
Fri 10-8-
Wash D.C.

By Edwar
Post R

24a(6)

Charlottesville, Va., Oct. 7.—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina tonight called for a one-third cut in the number of Federal employes.

The Dixiecrat presidential candidate attacking the centralization of Federal authority, declared: "We must abolish some of these commissions, departments and bureaus. We could reduce Federal employes by one-third and get just as muc hefficiency and save the U. S. Government millions of dollars."

Speech Heard by 1200

The economy plea was made to capacity crowd of more than 1200 persons including University of Virginia students and residents of Charlottesville, gathered in Cabell Hall at the university.

Sound Truck Out

The governor hit a jackpot of enthusiasm when he arrived here this afternoon. One of the first things he saw and heard when he arrived at the Monticello Hotel was an improvised sound truck blaring out an advertisement for the night meeting. The truck was manned by two members of the States Rights Democratic Club of the university, Cecil Kilpatrick, who lives at 4120 42d st nw. in Washington, publicity manager for the States Rights group in this area, and Bill Baylor, of Richmond.

Thurmond, accompanied by his pretty wife, Jean, 22, was greeted upon his arrival here by Colgate W. Darden, jr., president of the university and former governor of Virginia.

The Thurmond party made an afternoon visit to Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, and to Ash Lawn, the home of James Monroe. President Darden showed them over the campus of the university which was founded by Jefferson.

Blasts Opponents

In his night speech, Governor Thurmond stepped from a prepared manuscript into a hard-hitting extemporaneous blast at his opponents.

Fri 10-8-48

Challenge to Truman

He said that if President Truman is sincere about the civil rights program he ought to have the courage to face another candidate in a debate on the program.

"If he doesn't have that courage he knows he's wrong and again he's not fit to be President.

"Hary Truman has never been elected President of the United States and he never will be," Thurmond predicted.

Turning to Governor Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, Governor Thurmond attacked the GOP candidate's sponsorship of the New York fair employment practices law and his support of the Federal civil rights program. Hhe also charged that Dewey attempted to hold [illegible] equalization of freight rates [illegible] South.

Then Governor Thurmond asked, "Now what about Henry Wallace?"

Just Passes Him By

After a pause he added: "Let's just pass him by."

Thurmond announced plans to stay overnight at the home of President Darden, before moving on Friday to Richmond for two speeches there.

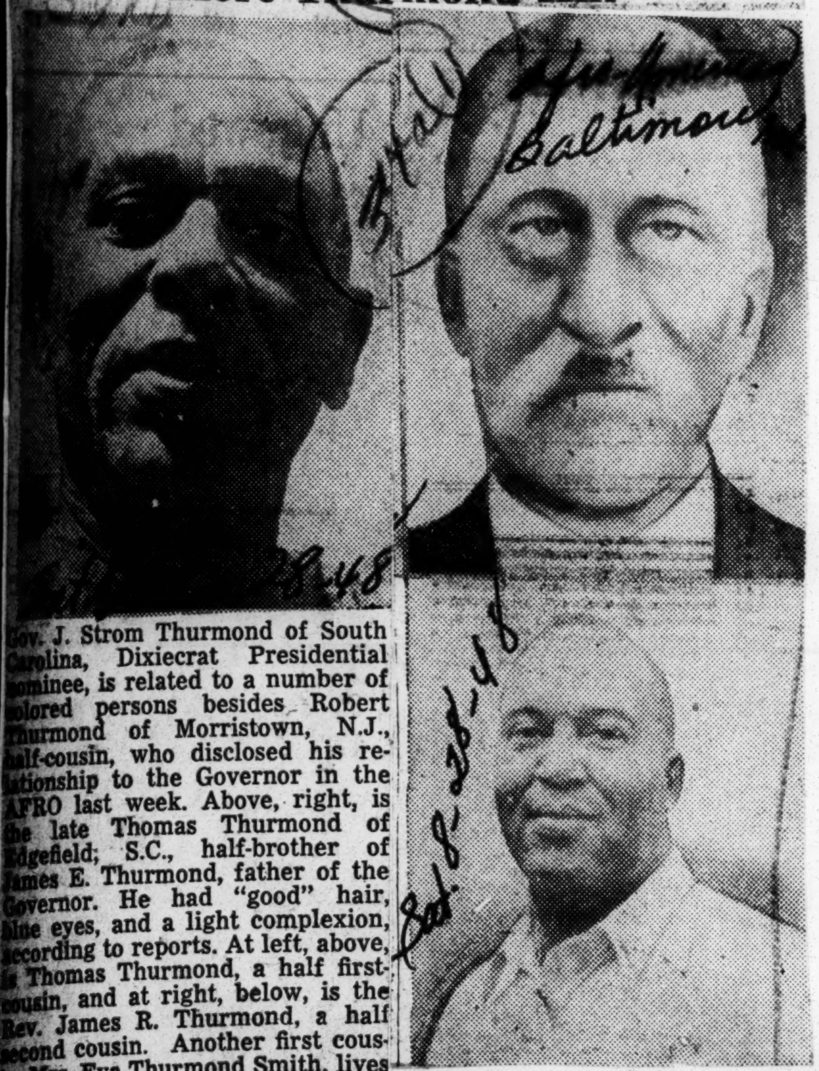
Earlier in the day, he spoke spoke to some 400 students at Washington and Lee University in Lexington.

Arter the speech at Lexington, Governor Thurmond visited the campus chapel where Gen. Robert E. Lee is buried. The general was president of Washington and Lee from 1865 until his death there in 1870.

This was the second day of Governor Thurmond's swing through Virginia, where 11 electoral votes are at stake in the with the Thurmonds were Virginia State Senoatr Frank Richeson of Richmond, campaigning for Dixiecrats in the State; J. C. Emberich of McComb, Miss., publisher, and Frank Burton, jr., Virginia State chairman of the party. During the morning ride from Roanoke to Lexington, the Governor rode in a Virfinia State car, driven by Police Lieut. Charles W. Blue. On the afternoon ride, following lunch in Lexington, the GWovernor took over the back seat of a second car for a brief nap before reaching Charlottesville.

Fri 10-8-48

More Thurmond Kin



34a(1)

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 8-28-48

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Dixiecrat Presidential nominee, is related to a number of colored persons besides Robert Thurmond of Morristown, N.J., half-cousin, who disclosed his relationship to the Governor in the AFRO last week. Above, right, is the late Thomas Thurmond of Edgefield, S.C., half-brother of James E. Thurmond, father of the Governor. He had "good" hair, blue eyes, and a light complexion, according to reports. At left, above, is Thomas Thurmond, a half first-cousin, and at right, below, is the Rev. James R. Thurmond, a half second cousin. Another first cousin, Mrs. Eva Thurmond Smith, lives in Augusta.

THURMOND DEFINES AIMS OF HIS PARTY

Proposed Civil Rights Laws Step Toward 'Police State,' He Says in Talk Here

Her. Trib. 10-9-48

34a(1)

New York, N.Y.

In his only campaign speech in the North, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, States Rights Democratic candidate for President, predicted again yesterday that his party would win 100 electoral votes in the Southern States.

Governor Thurmond expressed the views of the Democratic "splinter" party at a luncheon of the Overseas Press Club at the Roosevelt Hotel. He arrived here by plane from South Carolina at 10 A. M. and left at 3 P. M. by plane for Roanoke, Va., to continue his campaign in the South. His short visit went unnoticed by liberal and left-wing groups. He was not harrassed by picketing.

The Governor centered his main attack against the "so-called civil rights program, which is un-American to the core, and it will not work," and the Fair Employment Practices Commission bill, which he called dangerous to the American way of life and an ideal tool for Communists.

"The States Rights Democrattic campaign," he declared, "is based upon fundamental governmental principles, the preservation of which is of vital concern to every American citizen in every section of the nation."

Precedents for Congress Seen

Governor Thurmond asserted that proposed Federal civil rights legislation would provide precedents for Congress to take over control of state elections, step into state crime prosecutions, interfere with state and local segregation laws, assume the right to regulate private employment practices and create a "national police force, thereby invading the field and functions of state, county, city and town policemen, and of duly elected sheriffs, a long step toward a police state in America."

Her. Trib. 10-9-48

"In their platforms this year," he said, "the major political parties have advocated such radical change in our Government. Their action left the American people no way of expressing their opposition to such change at the ballot box.

"When the Democratic party abdicated its historic function in American political life of opposing the centralization of power in the Federal Government and opposing Federal encroachment on the sovereignity of the states, the States Rights Democrats came into being virtually spontaneously to perform that function and give the people a chance to express themselves."

Tackling the problem of race segregation, he declared: "If you people in New York want no segregation, then abolish it and do away with your Harlem. Personally, I think it would be a mistake, but if the people of New York want no segregation, that is their right under the Constitution and no Federal law would seek to force segregation upon you. And by the same reasoning, no Federal law should attempt to force the South to abandon segregation where we have it and know it is best for both races."

Governor Thurmond attacked the anti-lynching bill, declaring that since lynching was murder it was a crime for prosecution in state instead of Federal courts. He recommended abolition of the poll tax but added, "I say this is a state matter and we do not want the Federal Government to make a Federal anti-poll tax bill an entering wedge for controlling our election machinery."

Her. Trib. 10-9-48

Thurmond Lumps Rivals In One Un-American Mold

Courier Journal

Tells Covington States' Righters Offer Only Hope

Fri 10-15-48

By ALLAN M. TROUT,
Staff Correspondent, The Courier-Journal.

Louisville Ky

Covington, Ky., Oct. 14—The civil-rights program of his three opponents is full of the same kind of deception that prostrated Europe and today spreads out of Russia into all parts of the world, Governor J. Strom Thurmond charged here tonight. The speech closed Thurmond's three-day campaign in Kentucky.

The States' Rights Democratic nominee for President said President Truman, Thomas E. Dewey, and Henry A. Wallace "have become political agents of a kind of doctrine that would be fatal to the American system of government." They are acting, he charged, "either out of ignorance or malicious intent."

Charges Bid for Race Votes.

Truman, Dewey, and Wallace, the South Carolina Governor continued, are advocating the civil-rights program in a bid for minority blocks of racial votes. But he charged the program has been twisted by Communists into an instrument to promote their own advancement in this country.

"All good Americans favor human rights," he said, "but thoughtful Americans know that our constitution is the only guarantee of human rights. Without its fundamentals of local self-government and home rule, human rights will be subject to the destructive assault of dictators."

"We maintain, in addition," he added, "that the civil-rights proposals would make radical changes in the American way of life, which can lead only to violence, lawlessness, and widespread racial discord."

Constitutional guarantees of self-government and home rule, Thurmond declared, would be violated by such civil-rights proposals as:

1. The anti-poll-tax bill. "This would establish a clear precedent for Congress to seize control of elections and voting qualifications in the States."

2. The antilynching bill. "This woul destablish a precedent for Congress to usurp State legislatures and State courts."

3. Antisegregation laws. "This would establish a precedent for Congress to interfere with State and local laws dealing with relationships between the races."

Sees Seizure of Police Power.

4. Fair-employment-practices control. "This would establish a precedent for Congress to regulate private business and private employment in the States."

"Further," he declared, "my opponents would create a national police force through the civil-rights division of the Department of Justice, thereby invading the functions of State, County, and local police."

The speaker assailed Fair Employment Practice Commission ~~proposals in~~ particular.

To Resist Foreign Doctrine.

Fri 10-15-48

"It is perfectly plain," he said, "that F.E.P.C. originated with forces seeking to undermine the Government of the United States. It is perfectly plain that the Communists would use this law to force their agents into industrial plants and secret atomic laboratories, where they would be ready to strike when Stalin passes the word."

But the States' Rights Democrates," he declared, "are making it equally plain that we will resist this foreign doctrine, and that it will never be forced upon a free America."

The South, he continued, has stood and fought for States' rights since the Virginia resolution of 1787 ratified the federal Constitution upon the rigid condition that "every power not granted remains with ~~the~~ people, and at their will."

Fri 10-15-48

"We cannot accept the socialistic claptrap of Henry Wallace," he exclaimed. "We cannot countenance the use of petty people to front for Pendergrast-type city machines, such as the Harry Truman Administration has brought. And we cannot accept the big-government, special-interest, high-tariff leadership of someone like Tom Dewey, who once flatly stated he thought the South should be subjected to unfair freight rates : protect Northern industry.

Says Party Only Choice.

"We are told that Henry Wallace is a shining savior of mankind. W eare led to believe that Harry Truman is a regular guy, or a good fellow, as he himself once said of Joe Stalin. And they try to sell us the idea that Tom Dewey is a brilliant glamour-boy executive type, whatever that is.

"But we have yet to be shown that either one of these three has any conception of the genuine fundamentals of American representative government. The course of thoughtful, loyal Americans in this election is clear. The States' Rights Democrats offer the only chance by which you may cast a vote against prostration of our ideals by the demands of selfish minorities," he concluded.

Gov. Thurmond Hands Lashing To Civil Rights

The Advertiser

Dixiecrat Candidate Sees Big Change In Party; Makes Last Vote Call

Tues 11-2-48

COLUMBIA, S. C., Nov. 1—(AP)— Governor J. Strom Thurmond, States' Rights Democratic presidential candidate, said tonight that "regardless of the outcome" of Tuesday's election "we will have paved the way for the reorganization of the Democratic Party and its rededication to the principle that the states shall govern their enternal affairs."

In a final pre-election campaign speech on a network broadcast, Thurmond declared, "we will have made it unprofitable for any candidate for president to barter away liberty of the American people to ~~win~~ blocs of racial votes.

Montgomery Ala

"We will have crystalized sentiment against the so-called civil rights program and made its passage improbable," he continued.

"We will have brought about recognition for the South in the political affairs of the nation which it has not fully enjoyed since the War Between the States.

Cold-Blooded Plan

"Every vote cast for the States' Rights ticket tomorrow will be an important contribution to these objectives."

Thurmond charged that President Truman's "misnamed" civil rights message to Congress was "designed to enable President Truman to outbid Governor Dewey and Henry Wallace for blocs of minority votes in doubtful states."

The message, he said, "sprang from no humanitarian desire to help the Negro. It was a cold-blooded proposal by a president of the United States to barter away the sovereign rights of the 48 sovereign states to win an election," he asserted.

Thurmond denounced "the shameful proceedings of the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia" by which he said the South was "insulted" when "a vicious civil rights plank" went into the party platform.

"To add insult to injury, President Truman strutted out on the convention hall rostrum and with a great dramatic gesture called an extra session of Congress to enact, among other things, his so-called civil rights program," he continued.

"My friends, after this kind of treatment, the people of the South had to fight. If we had not, we would have forfeited any claim to the nation's respect."

Thurmond declared he and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, his vice presidential running mate, "have informed the nation that the South is now on the road to economic security for all ~~races~~."

Tues 11-2-48

"We ~~have cited~~," he said, "the remarkable progress of our Negroes, and have challenged anyone to show where any race in history has done more for another race than the white people have done for the Negroes in the South . . ."

"We have placed before the American people the danger to constitutional government of the civil rights program. . . ."

Thurmond Flays 'Reds' Democrats

Columbia Record

Sat 9-25-48

Says National Party 'Radical'

Columbia SC

MADISONVILLE, Ky., Sept. 25 — (AP) — States' Rights Democratic Presidential Candidate J. Strom Thurmond said today "The radicals, the subversives, and the Reds" were "in complete control" of national Democratic party machinery.

"I'd rather be right than president" in "this age of political expediency" in an address prepared for delivery here today.

The South Carolina governor quoted Kentuckian Henry Clay in saying "I'd rather be right than president," and recalled the Kentucky resolutions of Thomas Jefferson declaring "the indestructible rights of states."

"Those rights," he said, and "those of us who follow the course made clear by the United States Constitution, find our pathway obstructed by a new and evil kind of political doctrine.

'Racial Democrats'

"Today the candidates of the Republican, the radical Democrats and the Wallace Reds claim to have discovered the road to great new freedoms and human rights.

"But the detour they ask us to take is the road to totalitarianism. These candidates pose as bearers of the torch of liberty. But the flame they carry is a firebrand from the steepes of Russia."

He termed the civil rights program "a cheap political trick designed to buy the votes of small but powerful racial minorities in big-city states." He said opposition quickly developed in the Southern states, "the cradle of American democracy."

He insisted that "the States Rights Democrats are the only hope of the American people to preserve the traditions of the American way of life. . . ."

Sat 9-25-48

Rights And Freedom

"The rights of a state to manage its own internal affairs means simply the right of an individual man to live his own life in the kind of freedom that America alone can give him. If that man gives up States' Rights, he gives up his own rights.. . .That is why our forefathers set up a government composed of strong states" rather than a centralized government."

Scores FEPC

He scored the federal fair employment practices proposal as denying a man the right to choose his associates at work.

The FEPC would make the President a dictator, he said, with police agents "trained and encouraged to stir up trouble."

Agents of the "total state" have chosen the traditions of the Southland for their primary attack, he said of his opponents.

He predicted that Dewey would have carried most of the Southern states had not the States' Rights movement sprung up.

"A thumping vote for the States' Rights Democrats will deal a crippling blow," he predicted, "to those who seek to convert America into a totalitarian state" and will protect the South against being ignored "because we are in the bag," or being left behind in preference for "a machine minority group."

Thurmond was carrying his campaign into Kentucky today bolstered by the announcement that States' Righters had won a place on the Arkansas general election ballot.

Governor Thurmond last night challenged President Truman to a debate on civil rights and states rights.

Sat 9-25-48

Thurmond, States' Rights Democratic presidential nominee, issued the challenge in an address at the Rocky Bottom (Pickens county) camp recreational area before a gathering of some 600 people.

The ocasion was the annual banquet staged by the Pickens County Good Will club.

Among the guests were South Carolina Sens. Olin D. Johnston and Burnet R. Maybank. Both spoke briefly on non-political subjects.

How Does Thurmond Stand?

To the Editor of The [illegible] Herald:

While a supporter of Gov. Thurmond in his candidacy, I have been waiting to learn his position on the other issues that a candidate for the presidency might properly be concerned with. If he will get his ear nearer the ground he will learn that many of his constituents are very much concerned over the high cost of living. While wage earners in the higher brackets can now buy proportionately 20 per cent more food than in 1939, those with fixed incomes, pensions and on social security, can now buy much less, and I have yet to hear of Gov. Thurmond's concern about them.

Another issue is right here at home. It would seem that people so much concerned over a threatened violation of the federal constitution regarding civil rights would be equally concerned about a long tolerated violation of our own state constitution. I refer to reapportionment, taxation without equal representation.

And is it good sportsmanship to suppress the rights of minorities? Is it good democracy? Can Alabama afford to be placed in this position in the eyes of the nation? Does not the right of free speech extend to the right of freedom to vote for the candidate of one's choice? The name of Wallace, I am told, will be on the ballot, and he ranks much lower than Truman in the opinion of many of us. If Truman supporters are denied the right to vote for him, Alabama will get a lot of unpleasant publicity, and what will hurt will be that it will reflect the opinion of people who believe in fair play.

Sad, Says Thurmond, But Wallace, Dewey, Truman States' Right Foes

8-1-48

BY ALDERMAN DUNCAN

CHERRYVILLE, N. C., July 31—(AP)—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, the States' Rights Democratic presidential nominee, declared here Saturday night that "It is a sad commentary on the condition of the American government when three of the four candidates for president favor 'unconstitutional invasion of the rights of states.'

"Tom Dewey has already set up the FEPC in New Yorw State," Thurmond said.

"Harry Truman is demanding that the so-called civil rights be forced upon every state.

"And Henry Wallace is the daddy of them all.

"Let us not be fooled by the apparent differences among these three men, for in the matter of failure to protect states' rights they are birds of a feather . . ."

* * *

Pins Hoje On House

SPEAKING AT THE ANNUAL Cherryville Watermelon Festival in his first public appearance outside his home state since his nomination at Birmingham, Ala., July 17, Thurmond lashed out at "some of our so-called political leaders" in the South for what he said was their willingness "to barter away the rights of the South for a mess of political pottage."

Thurmond told his audience that it was "a certainty that Dewey would have defeated Truman and could have been elected president if the States' Rights Democrats had not put forward their candidates."

"Since the States' Rights Democrats have already entered the race," he continued, "we believe that no candidate will receive a majority of the votes in the electoral college and that the election will be thrown into the House of Representatives.

"This is the best method of defeating both Dewey and Truman."

* * *

'South Not Alone'

SUPPORT FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS program, he said, comes from "smart little political tycoons who are working like beavers to turn this nation into a socialistic states," from "those who favor a powerful and centralized government," from "those who are dedicated to the proposition that federal power should reach down and control every act of every American," from "the advocates of a totalitarian socialistic government," and from "politicians who do not care what happens to American liberty so long as they remain in power."

These groups "have chosen the South as a whipping-boy in an effort to gain minority votes," he charged.

He added that the South "does not stand alone in this fight." . . .

"The thousands of letters we have received from every state in the nation have proved that Americans who love their country and who love the freedom it gives them are getting ready for action."

He separately denounced the proposed anti-poll tax law, the anti-lynching law, the Fair Employment Practices law and non-segregation laws contained in the president's civil rights program.

"The FEPC is the nearest thing to communism this nation has ever seen and I do not believe the American people are going to accept it," he declared.

was egged during his tour of the state last month. It was the first demonstration against Thurmond.

The South Carolina governor said if the states' rights movement succeeded in blocking civil rights legislation, it would win "the great victory for which we are fighting."

THURMOND WARNS OF RIGHTS STRIFE

The Times

Truman Program, He Asserts, Would Cause 'a Virtual Revolution in South'

CHERRYVILLE, N. C., July 31 (UP)—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina opened his campaign for President on the Southern States' Rights ticket tonight by warning that civil strife "horrible beyond imagination" would result from President Truman's civil rights program.

Governor Thurmond, nominated at the recent convention in Birmingham, Ala., said that "a virtual revolution in the Southern States" would be the outcome of writing the Truman program into law.

Speaking at a watermelon festival, he said:

"I did not risk my life on the beaches of Normandy to come back to this country, and sit idly by, while a bunch of hack politicians whittles away your heritage and mine. As for me, I intend to fight!"

He denounced the Democrats and Republicans for failing to guarantee states' rights in their platforms.

Striking at the proposed anti-poll tax law, he said:

"I have advocated that we repeal the tax in my state. But I cannot agree that the Federal Government has the right to force any state to abolish this tax if the people of the state want it."

He condemned any Federal anti-lynching law.

Asserting that the South "has almost wiped out lynching without outside assistance," he added:

"Lynching is murder. And murder is a violation of state laws, punishable by state laws. We do not intend to let the Federal Government come in and take over our state courts."

Mr. Thurmond hit at the proposal dealing with separation of races as "the most dangerous club ever held over the heads of the American people."

"If the segregation program of the President is enforced, the results in civil strife may be horrible beyond imagination," he declared.

"Lawlessness will be rampant. Chaos will prevail. Our streets will be unsafe. And there will be the greatest breakdown of law enforcement in the history of the nation.

"Let us tell them that in the South the intermingling of the races in our homes, in our schools and in our theaters is impractical and impossible."

He said that a Fair Employment Practices Commission would make private business a thing of the past.

"Unless a man is willing to hire the kind of people the FEPC tells him to, he must go to jail," he said. "Tom Dewey has already set up the FEPC in New York State. Harry Truman is demanding that the so-called civil rights be forced upon every state. And Henry Wallace is the daddy of them all."

8-1-48

parts knows it."

Thurmond Booed in N. C.

HIGH POINT, N. C., Oct. 5 (UP)—States' rights presidential candidate J. Strom Thurmond said today "we don't have to win the election to accomplish our purpose."

Boos from the crowd were heard as he left a courtroom where he spoke here. Police said the boos came from a group of young Negroes.

New York N.Y.

In the same city, Progressive Party candidate Henry A. Wallace

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3 in Augusta, Ga., Own S. C. Governor

Afro-American

Baltimore Md. 8-28-48

Daughter of Dixiecrat's Father's Half-Brother, Presser, Minister Talk

8-28-48

By DOUGLASS HALL

AUGUSTA, Ga.—Three more Thurmonds, a housewife, a presser, and a minister told the AFRO this week that they are cousins of South Carolina's Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, Dixiecrat nominee for president.

8-28-48

They are Mrs. Eva (Thurmond) Smith, half first cousin; Thomas Thurmond, half first cousin; and the Rev. James R. Thurmond, half second cousin.

Supporting the contention of Robert Thurmond, Morristown, N.J., the three stated that, not only do they have names spelled the same as the governor's, but that they are blood-relatives to him.

Pastor's Statement

"Not only that," asserted the Rev. Mr. Thurmond, who has eight little Thurmonds (half third cousins), "if you really want to see the Thurmonds, you should go up into McCormick County (joining Edgefield County).

"It seems like everybody up there are Thurmonds. They are of all colors. Some are so white that you cannot tell them from the original Thurmonds.

"Sometime ago I preached up there and after I had finished, it seems like everybody in the church came up and told me that they were Thurmonds. They may not be blood-Thurmonds but they have the name."

Matron Gives Proof

To support her belief that she was a blood Thurmond, and not just someone who picked up the name, Mrs. Smith pointed out a picture of her blue-eyed father, Thomas Thurmond, who was the half brother of James Thurmond, the governor's father.

"Why, I remember well when Gov. Thurmond's father used to visit my grandfather," the Rev. Mr. Thurmond added, "and they used to sit and eat, and talk for hours.

"I remember asking my grandfather why did that 'white' man always visit our home. My grandfather told me that they were brothers."

8-28-48

Plenty Relatives

There are several hundreds persons, colored and white, in this city and surrounding communities who claim relation to the Governor of South Carolina.

"When I came back to Augusta in 1941," said Thomas Thurmond, "I went to the employment office to get a job. They asked me my name and I told them. Then they asked me to spell it. I did.

"The man, who was also named Thurmond, asked me didn't my folk come from over in Edgefield. I told him that they did. He then told the folk in the office that we were all related."

The only thing that surprises colored Thurmonds is, why is it so important that they are related to the white Thurmonds. It is an old story and "everybody in these

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (Truman)

Truman OKs Civil Rights' Plank Anew

Montgomery Advertiser

34a(1)

Pre

President Tells Harlem Crowd He Will Fight For 'Equal Rights' 'Democrats Safer'

Sat 10-30-48

Dewey, Martin Pledge White House-Congress Will Work Together

Montgomery Ala

By The Associated Press

President Truman pledged in New York's Harlem district yesterday to fight for "equal rights and equal opportunity with every ounce of strength and determination I have."

President Truman told a Brooklyn crowd last night that "the fate of mankind" depends on U. S. foreign policy and "our policy is safer in Democratic than in Republican hands."

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, his Republican opponent, arrived in New York meanwhile, to address a gathering tonight in Madison Square Garden.

But even before he got to New York, Dewey had words of his own on foreign policy, as well as a new pledge of White House-Congress cooperation. Speaker Joseph W. Martin (R), Massachusetts, joined in the pledge of cooperation, if the Republicans win the White House and Congress next Tuesday.

Wallace In Harlem, Too

Henry A. Wallace also spent yesterday on a New York City tour of his own. The Progressive Party candidate for president capped his day's schedule with a night speech in Harlem.

Mr. Truman's Civil Rights topic in Harlem was a natural in view of the heavy Negro population there, but it hit on a sore spot which already has driven many Southern Democrats from the regular party.

Standing firmly behind a 10-point anti-discrimination proposal he asserted "our determination to attain the goal of equal rights and equal opportunity must be resolute and unwavering."

This program, and a plank in the party platform supporting it, split Southern Democrats away from the regular party and brought the States' Rights presidential ticket into the campaign.

Mr. Truman told his Harlem audience he would work for the "kind of freedom" that comes when:

Sat 10-30-48

Here're His Reasons

1. "Every man has an equal chance for a job—not just the hot and heavy job—but the best job he is qjualified for."

2. "Every American boy and girl has an equal chance to get a good education."

3. "Every citizen has an equal opportunity to go to the ballot box to cast his vote and have it counted."

4. "Every man, woman and child is free from the fear of mob violence and intimidation."

The president was presented with the Harlem Ministers' Award for his espousal of anti-lynching, anti-poil tax and anti-discrimiv proposals.

He said in his talk that he set up the civil rights committee, whose report formed the foundation for his recommendations "because racial and religious intolerance began to appear after the war," threatening "the very freedoms we had just fought for."

Thurmond In Texas

Meanwhile, Democratic National Chairman J Howard McGrath recognized the pro-Truman group in South Carolina as the state's "official Democratic party." The long-established Democratic party organization is supporting state electors pledged to the States Rights party headed by Gov. J. Strom Thurmond for president.

Thurmond campaigned in Texas yesterday against what he called "the mis-named civil rights program of Truman ,Dewey and Wallace."

Sat 10-30-48

The Dewey-Martin pledge of cooperation between a Republican president and Congress came at Martin's home town of Attleboro, Mass., where Dewey was campaigning toward New York.

Dewey told a crowd at New Haven, Conn., that the Truman administration's "foot is slipping with increasing regularity," and "you can't buy peace by giving away other people's freedom."

MR. TRUMAN MAKES HISTORY

The Defender
Sat 8-7-48
Chicago, Ill.

No week in modern history has been more significant for Negroes than last week when the President of the United States struck several mighty blows for freedom. On one day Mr. Truman issued two executive orders dealing directly with the problem of first class citizenship for Negro Americans. On the next day the President called upon Congress to act upon his program of civil rights and to pass laws necessary for the stabilization of our economy.

In the two executive orders Mr. Truman attacked racism within the framework of the military establishment, and discrimination in federal employment. In both instances he set up machinery which can and will eventually eliminate Jim Crowism and the vicious anti-Negro practices which serve to deny equal opportunity to one-tenth of America.

In his order dealing with the armed services Mr. Truman declared, "It is essential that there be maintained in the armed service of the United States the highest standards of democracy." Certainly segregation does not represent the high standards of democracy.

There is no question about the course which Mr. Truman has chosen to steer the ship of state. He is determined to move forward toward a fuller realization of the high ideals of our democratic system. Mr. Truman is, without question, ready and willing to use the full power of his office to eliminate the evils that confront us. No president in modern history has shown more courage and more determination in the face of great controversy.

His stand has aroused the totalitarian South to great anger, and threats of secession are once again heard across the canebrakes. The last and strongest bastion of racial bigotry in America is under fire.

Despite all the Dixie threats and proclamations of alarm, we believe that the great majority of Americans will support the President. They recognize that the time has come in American history for the abolition of a double standard of democracy. We do not believe that the majority of citizens will permit Mr. Truman to be crucified on a cross of racial bigotry.

The Courier-Journal
34a(1)

Louisville, Ky. Mon 9-27-48

Courier-Journal Photo.

CIVIL RIGHTS and President Truman's chances of election are discussed by, from left, George L. Vaughn, St. Louis attorney; Mayor Charles P. Farnsley; William L. Dawson, Illinois congressman, and Frank L. Stanley, chairman of the Kentucky Civil Rights Committee for the Election of Truman and Barkley.

FORMER DISTRICT LEADER OPENS CAMPAIGN FOR TRUMAN

BY CONRAD CLARK

34a(1)

NEW YORK __ (ANP) - Herbert L. Bruce, former Democratic leader of the 21st Assembly district, from where Congressman Adam C. Powell Jr. first got the designation to congress, opened a Truman-For-President bank account at the Corn Exchange bank Lenox Avenue branch Monday.

With a goal set for $1,000,000, Mr. Bruce, who was the first Negro elected a leader in Tammany hall from the Beavers-Ramapo Democratic club, now headed by Atty. Carson DeWitt Baker, and who is "outside of Tammany" at the present time, declared that "freedom is not a cheap commodity."

The former district leader said that he had not consulted the National Democratic committee about his plans, which include the raiding of the money by individual contributions.

"We intend," Bruce said, "to ask a million Negroes to give $1 each and demonstrate that we know how to reward our friends. No individual will be permitted to contribute more then $5 because this is going to be a crusade by, for and of the little people representing all the Harlems in this country.

"I did not consult the National Democratic committee about our plans but we will eventually turn over $500,000 to that body. We will spend the rest of it to educate the 5,000,000 potential Negro voters through the press, radio and magazines."

Head of a prosperous wine and liquor store at 145th st. and Eighth ave., Mr. Bruce is one of the city's leading Negro business and political leader, and although he is said to have retired from the political field, both local and state administrations yet consider him a top leader here.

Pres. Truman the Last To Know?

The Constitution
Thur 9-16-48
Atlanta, Ga.
34a(1)

WASHINGTON—President Truman starts out on the second lap of his campaign for re-election under handicaps that would be completely disheartening to a man of less fortitude.

On the one hand, he is faced with a three-way split in the ranks of his own party; while, on the other, he is confronted with the unanimous verdict of the leading poll takers that he is hopelessly defeated before he begins.

The Wallace third party movement, which must be marked down as a split in Democratic ranks, was enough, in itself to bring about the President's defeat. It seems certain to take away enough liberal support to make it impossible for the Truman-Barkley ticket to win.

On top of that comes the revolt of Southern Democrats reflected in the Dixiecrat ticket. Through manipulation and otherwise, the President's name will not even appear on the ballot in some of the Southern states.

In the first samplings of public sentiment as the campaign begins to get actively under way, the recognized poll takers give the President hardly an outside chance to win. That is true of the Gallup, Crossley and Roper polls. Earlier another poll of 50 leading Washington correspondents by Newsweek Magazine showed a similar result. All 50 of the news writers polled expressed the view that Mr. Truman would be defeated.

Mr. Elmer Roper, whose record in calling the turn on Presidential elections is far better than any of the others, says with a finality that borders on rashness that "Thomas E. Dewey is almost as good as elected to the Presidency of the United States." Indeed, he is so convinced of that development that he says he will not bother to make a further report on the election contest, "unless something really interesting happens before November."

Amer 9-16-48

Mr. Roper finds from his latest survey that only 31.4 percent of the electorate now thinks they will vote for Mr. Truman. He gives Dewey 44.2 per cent, with the balance scattered among Wallace, the Dixiecrats, Norman Thomas and the uncertains.

Dr. Gallup produces a set of figures that are a little different but are just as conclusive as to the final decision. He finds that Governor Dewey has the support of 48 per cent of the voters and Mr. Truman 37 per cent, leaving a smaller balance for the others in the field.

Mr. Roper makes the interesting observation that "all the evidence we have accumulated since 1936 tends to indicate that the man in the lead at the beginning of the campaign is the man who is the winner at the end of it." Hence he says he can "think of nothing duller or more intellectually barren than acting like a sports announcer who feels he must pretend he is witnessing a neck-and-neck race that will end in a photo finish or a dramatic upset for the favorite—and then finally have to announce that the horse which was eight lengths ahead at the turn is still eight lengths ahead."

Amer 9-[illegible]-48

If Mr. Truman is depressed by any of this gloomy outlook for the Democratic ticket he does not show it. On the contrary, it seems to have spurred him on to a greater effort. He is planning one of the most intensive campaign tours ever undertaken by a Presidential candidate. As he once put it privately, "I do not depress easily."

The American people admire this quality in a man who ignores the odds and keeps on plugging. And so it is that Gov. Dewey had best descend from his ivory tower and get down to more personal campaigning or he may yet find at the finish that he has a race on his hands. Up to now the Republicans have acted more on the assumption that it was only necessary for them to coast to victory without bestirring themselves very much.

Truman the Bulldozer

34a (1)

The picture of the first family and its satellites, at the Armory and the ballroom of the Seelbach, must have been very disappointing to the Negro. Not one picture of a Negro was in the group. That alone should prove that Truman and the Democratic Party are trying to bait the Negro for his vote. I read a letter from the extreme Northwest. The Western people are not going along with Truman and his abusive slang. It would be a safe bet that Truman won't carry a single Western State.

Mr. Truman must have inherited his bulldozing from the Tom Pendergast political machine. In his speech at the Armory, Truman charged the Republicans with causing inflation. Mr. Hillard asked if this statement was made from ignorance or political hypocrisy. Mr. Truman has stooped the lowest of any politician. According to rumors, Mr. Truman was schooled by the most political machine that ever existed in the U.S.A.

OLD TIMER.

Louisville Ky

Tallulah For Truman

In introducing the president to a radio audience, Tallulah Bankhead spoke of Mr. Truman as "the human being" she prefers for president over Mr. Dewey, to whom she referred as "the mechanical man."

Miss Bankhead, daughter of the late Speaker William B. Bankhead and the granddaughter of one U. S. senator from Alabama and the niece of another, expressed an attitude that is shared by many other Americans.

B'ham, Ala

Mr. Truman, for all his limitations and mistakes, appeals to many Americans as a sincere and courageous man, striving to do his best in an extremely difficult and immeasurably responsible position, as a man very much like themselves.

On the other hand, many such Americans, recognizing and even accepting the claims of Gov. Dewey's efficiency, nevertheless feel that he is decidedly lacking in warmth and magnetism, qualities they regard as highly desirable in a president of the United States.

Miss Bankhead declared: "I have no doubts about Harry Truman. He's been through the wringer. And by the wringer I mean that 80th Congress. That 80th Congress which ignored his passionate pleas for veterans housing, for curbs on inflation, for legislation to aid and comfort the great mass of our population."

This was support of the president suggesting that Miss Bankhead's exceptional talents extend beyond the stage and that she is not lacking in the political insights and capacities that have long distinguished her family.

The Defender

Full Steam Ahead

34a (1)

While debate over the character and ability of the various candidates for the presidency rages in the hinterland, the liberal Civil Rights program of President Truman moves forward vigorously day after day.

The President's executive order which created a Fair Employment Practice Committee within the federal government, took on active life after the appointees to the committee were announced last week.

The seven man board which will assure equality of opportunity to all job seekers and job holders in the federal government, includes two Negro members, Eugene Kinckle Jones, General Secretary of the National Urban League and Jesse H. Mitchell, President of the Industrial Bank in Washington. Both these gentlemen of color, as well as the five white members of the new board, are eminently well qualified to perform the functions of their office and they have the confidence and respect of the public at large.

As one reviews the handiwork of Mr. Truman as he moves boldly in the controversial realm of civil rights, we are compelled to applaud. The President has made a liar out of those carping critics who have tried so desperately to prove that he is merely a man of words and not of action. The record clearly shows, however, that Mr. Truman has made brave statements and he has matched them with brave deeds.

Chicago Ill

Long after this election has gone down in history, all of us and all of our children will have good cause to remember this man from Missouri. He set his course in the right and like the mule of his home state, he is not budging an inch. It is such men who have made America the greatest democracy on earth, the Republicans not withstanding.

Chicago

Truman In Harlem

Commercial Appeal

Some of the Democratic Party's spokesmen and orators have recently been doing a little more than hinting that their candidate's Civil Rights program shouldn't be taken too seriously—that everything was going to be all right after election. They seemed to have considerable inspiration from the White House itself, for, until Friday, President TRUMAN had made only vague allusions to the civil rights issue—never more than a sentence or two in his speeches.

[illegible] 10-31-48

And then came Friday and an outright declaration from him that "I intend to keep moving toward this goal (civil rights) with every ounce of strength and determination I have." He said he had asked the 80th Congress to do 10 things recommended by his Civil Rights Committee, and when it did nothing, he did the best he could without the help of Congress. That, he explained, was to issue executive orders establishing a committee on equality of treatment and opportunity in the armed forces and covering fair employment practices in the Federal Government.

Memphis Tenn

The place President TRUMAN chose to give the civil rights issue "the works" and to take his no-retreat stand on a platform his followers have been attempting to soft pedal in the South was in the heart of New York's overpopulated Harlem district.

Long avoidance of a full campaign discussion of the civil rights issue was to encourage a more favorable Democratic Party viewpoint in the South. Friday's full and accurate exposition by the President of where he stands was for the purpose of grabbing the big negro vote in Harlem.

By the look of things he is going to need it—and much more!

Truman Will Let 'Em Take 2 Walks

34a (1)

Afro American

WASHINGTON

President Truman, in a press conference held here Thursday, affirmed the report made earlier this week by Sen. Carl A. Hatch (Dem., N.M.). who declared that he (the President) "was in the fight to a finish."

When asked about the Dixie Democrats, who have loudly proclaimed that they have walked out of his camp, the President suggested to reporters that they await until November and see whether they will walk back.

Truman Confident

Exuding confidence, the President stated that he was not disturbed at what was referred to as the "rising revolt" against his nomination at the Democratic National Convention this summer, because of his civil rights program.

Baltimore Md

In addition to that, the President flatly predicted a Democratic victory in the November elections, telling the reporters that it was no hunch, but a prophecy.

GALLUP POLL

34a(1)

The Constitution

Truman Still Losing Strength

Atlanta, Ga. Sun 4-11-48

PRINCETON, N. J.—Latest testing of voter sentiment on the 1948 presidential campaign reveals dramatic changes in the political fortunes of the leading contenders.

In a nationwide poll completed less than a week ago the American Institute of Public Opinion asked thousands of representative voters for whom they would vote in four "trial heats," if the election were held now.

The "trial heats" pitted President Truman, Democrat, against Henry A. Wallace, Third Party, and, respectively, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, Harold E. Stassen, Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg and Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Republicans.

Results of the poll may be summarized as follows:

1. Last January a similar Institute survey showed that President Truman was then in a position to win over all Republican contenders except Gen. Dwight Eisenhower who shortly withdrew from the race.

Today, three months later, the situation facing Democratic strategists is almost completely reversed. Their only avowed candidate is now running behind four of the leading Republican possibilities in terms of the popular vote. The Constitution

2. The four GOP candidates are running a tight race, the difference in their margins over President Truman being very narrow.

3. Despite Gov. Dewey's poor showing in the vital Wisconsin primaries, last week, he enjoys a slight advantage in the national poll over his fellow-Republican candidates. Harold E. Stassen, who undoubtedly gained prestige by his smashing victory in Wisconsin, ties with Sen. Vandenberg for second place, closely followed by Gen. MacArthur.

4. The lead of these four Republicans over President Truman is so substantial at the moment that the Third Party candidacy of Mr. Wallace loses much of its tactical potency. In the case of Gov. Dewey the margin over Truman completely wipes out the power of Wallace to "throw" the election to the Republican party as far as the popular vote is concerned. Atlanta, Ga.

THE QUESTION asked in today's poll was the same in each "trial heat" except for the name of the Republican candidates. This is the question: "If the presidential elections were being held today, and Truman were running for the Presidency on the Democratic ticket against (Dewey) on the Republican ticket and against Wallace on a third party ticket, how do you think you would vote—for Truman, (Dewey) or Wallace?"

Sun 4-11-48

The vote:

Truman-Dewey-Wallace	
Dewey	47%
Truman	39
Wallace	7
No opinion	7

Truman-Stassen-Wallace	
Stassen	44%
Truman	39
Wallace	7
No opinion	10

Truman-Vandenberg-Wallace	
Vandenberg	44%
Truman	39
Wallace	7
No opinion	10

The Constitution

Truman-MacArthur-Wallace	
MacArthur	44%
Truman	41
Wallace	7
No Opinion	8

The Times

TRUMAN HELD 'SURE' OF ONLY 26 VOTES OF THE 404 IN SOUTH

New York, N.Y. Wed. 6-30-48

But Backers Say Unpledged Bloc Will at Least 'Go Along' —Henderson for Withdrawal

SEES PRESIDENT LOSING

ADA Head, Calling Convention 'Open,' Says Eisenhower, Douglas Could Beat GOP

34a(1)

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 29—President Truman will have but twenty-six delegate votes pledged to him from below the Mason-Dixon line fo rthe Presidential nomination at the Democratic National Convention. The Times

This was indicated today in a check on instructions to delegates from this area, who will cast 404 of the 1,234 votes in the convention, now just two weeks away. Only Southern delegations pledged to the President are Maryland, with twenty, and the District of Columbia, with six. 6-30-48

Virginia will not pick its delegates until Friday, but the state, hostile to the Truman candidacy since his civil rights message, has set up machinery to make a bolt possible in the event he is renominated. All other sixteen delegations from the area have been chosen. New York, N.Y.

69½ Votes Against Truman

But examination of the various state delegate slates also shows that, while there are only twenty-six votes assured the President, there are but sixty-nine and one-half committed against him.

The anti-Truman bloc, which may be expanded when the Virginia delegation is instructed, is made up of Mississippi's twenty-two votes, South Carolina's twenty, fourteen of Alabama's twenty-six and thirteen and a half of Florida's twenty.

The remaining 282½ delegates are unpledged, which from the Administration viewpoint is important.

Truman forces have been cataloguing delegates from the South either as "walkers"—those who will bolt in the event of Mr. Truman's renomination—or "sitters"—those who will abide by the convention decision. 6-30-48

The President's supporters believe that unpledged delegations not only will abide by the convention decision but will vote for Mr. Truman's nomination if a civil rights plank, similar to that incorporated in the 1944 platform, can be adopted. Wed.

34a(1)

Many Southerners hold this view also. As one prominent Texan declared in laughing off talk of revolt: "Truman will be nominated before the roll-call gets to Texas." The Times

Biggest Delegation Unpledged

In this regard, it is considered significant that the two largest delegations south of the Mason-Dixon line—Texas with fifty votes and North Carolina with thirty-two—are uninstructed. 6-30-48

While all of Alabama's twenty-six delegates oppose Mr. Truman, only fourteen are pledged to walk out of the convention if he is nominated. Four others will vote for him if there is no other candidate. New York, N.Y.

Like Alabama, the Florida vote is split. Eleven and a half votes are pledged to Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, leaders of the revot against the President. Two are uninstructed "against Truman" while the other six and a half are for Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, if he is placed in nomination.

Other delegations line up in this fashion:

Louisiana's 24, uninstructed and supposedly controlled by Gov. Earl Long, who has held aloof from the anti-Truman drive.

Georgia's twenty-eight, uninstructed, with verbal assurance from James H. Peters, delegation chairman, that there will be no bolt. Wed

Arkansas' twenty-two, uninstructed, though Gov. Ben Laney has been outspoken in his criticism of the President. 6-30-48

Tennessee's twenty-eight, uninstructed after movement to instruct against Mr. Truman was beaten.

Kentucky's twenty-six, uninstructed and supposedly friendly to Mr. Truman.

West Virginia's twenty, uninstructed and believed friendly.

Oklahoma's twenty-four, uninstructed and friendly.

Meanwhile, Leon Henderson, national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, asserted today that President Truman had only 310 pledged delegates of the 1,234 votes in the convention and that a free and open session might nominate Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower or Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas.

At a press conference, Mr. Henderson told reporteds of growing opposition to the President, even in the instructed delegations, and declared that if a showdown vote were to be taken at least ninety of the delegates now counted for Mr. Truman would support another candidate. The Times

The ADA chairman also unveiled himself as a Vice Presidential possibility, declaring in response to a question that he would take second place even to Mr. Truman whom he still hopes will withdraw to avoid certain defeat in November. New York, N.Y.

Mr. Henderson said he thought that General Eisenhower could easily defeat the Dewey-Warren ticket and that Justice Douglas would have a closer race but still would win. He said his hopes Mr. Truman still will get out of the race were based on information that top-ranking politicians were advising the President he could not win. Wed. 6-30-48

Mr. Henedrson said the President's 310 pledged votes included California's, but he added that California was in revolt, and, in a show-down secret caucus, only twenty of the fifty-four votes were cast for the President on the issue of whether the delegation must continue bound to Mr. Truman.

"Claims that the President's nomination is 'in the bag,' are utterly unfounded," he said. "The convention is already wide open and President Truman is clearly not the first choice of the delegates. 6-30-48

Harlem Speech Lauds Truman For Civil Rights

34a(1)

Herald Tribune

New York, N.Y.

Dr. Imes Praises Program at 28th Annual University Day at St. Mark's Church

It was God's will that President Truman should "deal a telling blow for common decency and human rights," and in so doing "put to shame some of his fellow-Americans in high places in the church, in politics and in business," the Rev. Dr. William Lloyd Imes, director of social and adult education of the New York State Council of Churches, said yesterday. Herald Tribune

Dr. Imes was the principal speaker for University Day, sponsored annually in Harlem by Cleveland G. Allen. The meeting was the twenty-eighth in the series and was held at St. Mark's Methodist Church, St. Nicholas Avenue and 137th Street. The movement was launched by Mr. Allen to focus the attention of Negro college graduates "on social evils that can be attacked through the tools of education." It is dedicated to advancing the status not only of the Negro, but of all minorities.

A resolution offered by the Rev. Arthur W. Parker, Bronx evangelist to convert the movement into a national organization with college and universiyt chapters, was carried and Mr. Allen appointed a committee to study and report on a permanent program. New York N.Y.

Dr. Imes said that it was worthy of note that God should use for divine ends the "personality of a man" who has been described by his critics as "a small-time politician and as the tool of the Kansas City political machine." He praised President Truman as "a God-fearing man," who "has put fundamental rights into our consciousness," and said that it was now up to the people to prevail on Congress to translate these rights into action."

Negro to Seek Million For Truman Campaign

7-27-48

New York, July 26 (AP)—Herbert L. Bruce, a Harlem political leader, today announced plans for raising $1,000,000 among Negroes in behalf of President Truman's campaign for re-election. 7-27-48

He said such a fund would "serve as the Negro's contribution to the fight to make the Truman civil-rights program a living reality."

Bruce said, "We intend to ask 1,000,000 Negroes to give $1 each and demonstrate that we know how to reward our friends."

State's Oldest Resident 107, Strong For Truman

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

BY JACK HOUSE
News State Editor

Tues.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 29—The man who claims to be Alabama's oldest resident thinks President Truman will stay in the White House after the November election.

He's 107-year-old "Uncle Tom" Jordan, an ex-slave who thinks President Truman will receive the Democratic nomination and follow up with a victory over the Republican nominee, Thomas E. Dewey, in November. 6-29-48

"When you've got a good man up there you'd better keep him there," "Uncle Tom" declared today.

"Truman is a good man and he's there to stay," the old Negro man, a familiar figure around the state capitol for many, many years, prophesized.

Born in slavery, "Uncle Tom" says he and his parents were purchased by an Alabama family of Baldwins for a total price of $1,000 "more than 80 years ago."

His father, Hezikah Jordan and his mother, Flo Jordan, then came to Alabama to live. "Uncle Tom" has resided in Alabama ever since.

Recalling his slave days, "Uncle Tom" said that "the white folks treated us all right, the ones who would work." He said he doesn't know anything about President Truman's civil rights program.

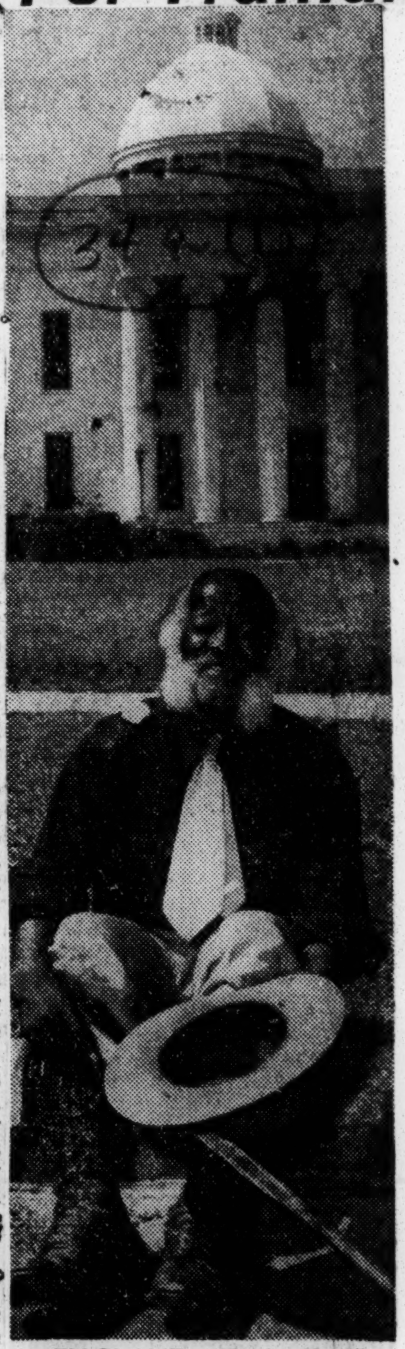
* * *

"UNCLE TOM" was born in Charleston, S. C., 107 years ago. He says only 'about seven or eight' of his 22 children are living. "Uncle Tom" has outlived three wives.

The ex-slave spends much of his time on the capitol grounds today. He's in remarkably good health for his age, still retains some of his teeth and has never been sick a day in his life. He doesn't drink, and limits his smoking to a pipe. Tues.

"Mr. Folsom is the best governor we ever had," "Uncle Tom" told The News reporter. 6-29-48

Turning to the weather, "Uncle Tom" agreed it was hot. "But we've had a weather a lot hotter than this before," he added, taking another wipe of his brow.



EX-SLAVE—"Uncle Tom" Jordan

Tues. 6-29-48

Fri. 7-16-48

Calling Back of Congress Assures a Long and Slugging Campaign

BY PAUL R. LEACH
Chief of Our Washington Bureau

PHILADELPHIA—When President Truman called the Republican-controlled Congress into special session for July 26 to consider all the legislation he wrapped up in his nomination acceptance speech, he assured one thing definitely.

That is: The Presidential election campaign—with Battling Truman-Barkley in this corner versus Kid Dewey-Warren in that corner—is going to be an old-fashioned slugfest.

And look out for horseshoes in the gloves. With nails in them.

THE DEMOCRATIC National Convention formally chose President Truman and Kentucky's Senator Barkley to carry its colors at the Wednesday-night windup session, which extended past midnight.

Mr. Truman won a first-ballot nomination. He received 947½ votes.

Senator Russell, of Georgia, candidate of the states' rights Southerners, got 263 and Paul V. McNutt, of Indiana, got a half vote.

Barkley was nominated by acclamation for vice president.

* * *

THE PRESIDENT, in an acceptance speech to the cheering delegates, announced his plan to recall Congress. He issued the formal call Thursday.

The party completed its business Thursday with re-election of Senator McGrath, of Rhode Island, as national chairman.

McGrath's selection by the National Committee was unopposed. Several Southern members were absent.

Free Press
Detroit Mich.

ORDINARILY, a Presidential campaign does not get under way until after Labor Day. That provides 60 days of oratory and traveling over the country.

Fri. 7-16-48

Except in war times Congress members are away from Washington in national-election years.

It is customary—in fact, it's usually a gentleman's agreement—that they get that time off to do their own campaigning.

* * *

BUT MR. TRUMAN has done the unexpected in calling a special session.

He is laying down enough work in legislation he wants passed to keep all hands in Washington possibly until next January, when the 81st Congress goes in.

Is that special-session call good Democratic politics, or will it kick back on Mr. Truman?

Republicans as well as Democrats recognize the special call as a political act.

The special session will be a political session. It was Mr. Truman's idea to put the Republicans on a spot. At the moment, he's done just that.

* * *

THE REPUBLICAN National Committee described the call for a special session as "the act of a desperate man * * * to obtain partisan advantage after he himself has lost the confidence of the people."

Rep. Scott, of Pennsylvania, the committee chairman, said that Mr. Truman "evidently hopes in some way, out of the confusion, that he may benefit at the expense of the country."

Many other Republican congressional leaders branded the special-session call "cheap politics."

* * *

SENATOR VANDENBERG, now at home in Grand Rapids,

Angry Southerners prepare to organize against Truman. Page 22.

said he doubted that any good to the country could come from the President's action.

Rep. Woodruff, of Michigan, chairman of the House Republican Conference, said that the President is trying to "bulldoze" Congress.

Rep. Wolcott (R., Mich.), House Banking Committee chairman, said that "the call is purely political and the session will not be conducive to constructive legislation."

It was in Wolcott's committee that housing legislation sought by Mr. Truman was tied up.

* * *

MOST DEMOCRATIC leaders approved the special session, though some anti-Truman members called the idea unwise.

While the Democrats will be making the most political capital they can out of the special session, the Republicans will not be sitting back sucking their thumbs.

And that brings up an interesting political consequence for the voters to keep an eye on.

* * *

WHEN THOMAS E. DEWEY was just another governor running for the Republican presidential nomination, he could not say a word to the Republican congressional leaders.

If he had made just one suggestion to Congress, Senator Taft (R., O.), and a couple of hundred other members of both Houses would have jumped him so fast he never would, have got his balance back.

But now the picture has changed. Dewey is the presidential nominee of the Republicans. He's the leader of the party. Mr. Truman is shooting at him while aiming at Congress.

Whether he likes it or not, whether congressional Republicans like it or not, Dewey has to take a lively interest in what's going on in Washington.

That sets up a challenge to Dewey's campaign strategists.

* * *

THE PRESIDENT wants price and housing legislation especially. He asked for rationing and price control in his special message last fall.

He said in his acceptance speech that he still wants it.

The Republicans in Congress were pretty certain the people did not want those things.

The Democraic platform calls for its outright repeal. That's a sop to organized labor.

When the Republicans passed the law over Mr. Truman's veto—with the help of a large part of the Democrats—they thought the rank and file of labor wanted it. That's one to watch.

* * *

MR. TRUMAN called the Republican Displaced Persons Act "anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic." That will come in for some comment in Congress.

In his acceptance speech, the President took a leaf from Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal book.

What he asked for in legislation would, as the Republicans put it, give just about everybody in the voting mass something that costs Federal money, except the people who pay taxes.

Mr. Truman called the tax-reduction act, passed over his veto

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Man On Mobile Bay Who Wrote Truman Song Needs Help

The Defender

Sat 9-4-48

Chicago, Ill

MOBILE, Ala.—Here in this garden spot of the South not too far removed from the rabid headquarters of the waning Dixiecrats, an inspired composer who has alleady sent his cash contribution to the National Truman Headquarters in New York, N. Y., is feverishly working out plans whereby his new song which caught the political pulse of the Democrats at the Philadelphia convention, may be spread throughout the nation.

In a modest little place at 1515 S. Washington ave., Holger C. Lanther and Cleda Gray created this new song likely to eventually become the battle cry of the Democrats when they enter the big battle for votes shortly after Labor Day. Lanther says by that time every man and woman wishing to preserve their civil rights will be chanting, "Demo, Demo, Democrat. The battle cry is to go to bat and see the U. S. through with Truman," as the words of the song go.

World Atlanta, Ga.

A Fighting Challenge.

Since April, 1945, Truman as President has been carrying out the platform pledge of the late President Roosevelt. If he succeeds in the Presidency next November, he will be carrying out a platform of his own choosing. He committed to a genuine platform of civil rights, and in his acceptance speech at Philadelphia, left no room for doubt as to where he stands on this important issue. He is committted to a foreign policy which will extend hope and democracy to oppressed Nations of the world, as well as food and shelter, without which they will promptly starve. He is committed to the extension of Democracy to the backward peoples of the earth as much so as to the oppressed minorities at home, and is wasting no time in proving to the world where he stands on it. Sat. 7-17-48

In short, therefore, Mr. Truman, by his action is calling on America to follow his leadership to make the Four Freedoms upon whose promise our men and women, too, have fought and worked and died to make a reality for all people. That is how the nominee of the Democratic party feels towards the call of his party as its Standard Bearer.

In a fighting tone, the President opened his campaign, much to the surprise of his enemies and to the delight of his supporters. He wants action, and not mere words, on Civil Rights legislation; on discrimination by reason of race color or national orgin, on protection of racial and religious minorities from discrimination in employment, the right to vote, the the right to equal protection under the law and most of all, he wants a chance for the lawmakers at Washington who have been so anxious to rescue the Nation from the brink of disaster, to come forward now and show it by their votes on sorely needed legislation, which cannot wait until a Presidential Election is ended.

To that end, he has announced that he will recall the lawmakers to Washington this month and will ask them to do specific things, now promised in the platform of the two major parties. What a challenge the President has posed to the leaders in both parties. No longer can the predominant Republican Congress hide behind criticism of Franklin D. Roosevelt. No longer can they dodge the issue of mob violence, the poll tax, political equality for all groups and numerous other burning issues, as housing, inflationary prices, a minimum wage level. Now they must face this issue squarely and coragecusly, or else words on the political platform will sink them this Fall before the voters.

For this corag ous and forthright leadership Americans and especially American Negroes, owe to Mr. Truman an undying debt of gratitude. Such a man deserves not only the undivided loyalty and support of Negro voters but likewise, deserves a hallowed spot in their memories in order that posterity may know of his bold and determined advocacy of the cause of freedom and equality for them.

The Times New York, N.Y.

Nomination of President Truman

To the Editor of The New York Times:

One cannot but gain admiration for President Harry S. Truman after the ordeal he has gone through in the past few weeks at the hands of his own arty members.

Despite the many unkind cuts he received from these politicos, despite the bitterness that exists on his Civil Rights program, he remained undaunted and persisted that this measure become part of the platform plank. His desire to be nominated was truly a gesture that required stamina in the face of the many things being said and published, proving that he had the courage of his convictions and that what he has done was what he believed to be right. To prove his belief he wanted the voters to be the ones to determine his fate and not those who disagreed with him.

I am happy that he was nominated, because I am certain that Mr. Truman made every move he did make with sincere, honest and purposeful intention. I do not feel he ever resorted to subterfuge, and that is what will endear him to those who want their Presidents along the Abraham Lincoln pattern. Harry S. Truman is the real home-spun type of person who has not learned to double-deal and has the courage to fight back when necessary. That is the man we want in the White House again. 7-19-48

Harry S. Truman has proved to be the courageous person required to guide this nation to a lasting peace by his untiring efforts to defeat the Communists and other subversive groups. Let us not fail him. NAT R. ADLER.

Brooklyn, July 15, 1948. Mon.

Demagogy on Jimcrow

By Benjamin J. Davis

New York, N.Y. Fri. 7-30-48 Daily Worker

PRESIDENT TRUMAN's executive orders on the armed forces and on federal employment are two more examples of a grandiose scheme of election demagogy which is by now revoltingly cheap and vulgar. Such methods — which characteristically come from a product of the Prendergast machine—bring discredit upon a White House, the level of which had been raised by its last occupant, Franklin Roosevelt.

The executive order on the armed forces speaks vaguely and abstractly about "equality of treatment and opportunity," but it is completely silent about the very heart of discrimination against Negro soldiers, namely, segregation. This means segregation will continue, with the blessings of Truman.

Even Walter White, NAACP secretary and one of Truman's most pathetic apologists, felt compelled to state: "President Truman, I am sure, is aware of the fact, as is every other intelligent American, that there can be no equality with a segregated pattern." But White, like the other bankrupt liberals and right-wing Social Democrats, it still trying to convince Negroes to vote for Truman, although White, in his own statement, calls Truman a hypocrite. 7-30-48

The executive order on federal employment re-affirms merely with additional words a policy which has been in existence for 60 years—like the 14th Amendment—but which anyone would be downright silly to expect Truman to enforce.

•

THE PRESIDENT of the United States is a desperate man. Discredited by the pre-convention Eisenhower and Douglas booms, he is trying any and every maneuver to recapture his irrevocably lost face among the masses, especially among Negroes and other defenders of civil liberties. He is trying to overcome the fatal crisis in his own party, and somehow keep the Negro people chained to the two-party system. He is searching for a way for the bankrupt liberals, who said "down with him" before the Democratic convention, to say "up with him" afterwards. Truman is trying to disorient, confuse and divide the Negro people who favor Wallace. Frightened by the prospect of defeat in November, Truman is anxious that he, and not Dewey, shall win the right to serve Wall Street for the next four years.

The Republicans have assailed Truman's executive orders and the special session as election hypocrisy. Truman has assailed them back. Both are right. During the last four years, both the Democrats and Republicans had control of Congress—neither passed civil rights legislation.

The same is true for the last 80 years. With Nov. 2, starting him in the face, Truman feigns interest in the issue. But even so, not much. Once he said he could not in propriety tell Congress what specific bills to pass. In his message Tuesday, he dropped propriety and told Congress the name of bills he wanted passed in every case—except in the case of anti-poll tax, anti-lynch and FEPC legislation. This kind of fakery is an insult to the intelligence of the Negro people. 7-30-48 Fri.

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THE ONLY AREA in which Truman and his Gestapo bloodhounds act is in imposing "loyalty" oaths, tearing up trade unions, and jailing and framing Communists in an attempt to outlaw the party—all in Hitler's image and in an attempt to silence all opposition to his bipartisan war program. Fri. 7-30-48

We Communists have been fighting for two decades for civil liberties and against the force and violence practiced by lynchers upon Negroes, labor and upon American democracy. We are jailed. But the Ku Klux Klan gangsters can hold an open daylight convention in Atlanta, Georgia, dedicated to "enforce white supremacy by force," and neither Truman nor Tom Clark, nor any of their gentlemen-bloodhounds take action. The Ku Klux Klan, of course, supports the Marshall plan and opposes the Progressive Party, and thus the Klan meets the Rankin-Truman-Parnell Thomas test of so-called "Americanism."

Truman does great honor to the Wallace-Taylor Progressive Party. He knows it had a terrific impact upon the essentially democratic population of the country, and he is trying to undermine it—with words. In this, he might as well try to bale out the ocean with a thimble. He must also tip his hat to the fighting militant spirit of the Negro people.

This party has arisen because a fundamental new realignment of forces is necessary today, to save the country from the ruin of war and fascism into which both major parties would drag it.

With all the demagogy in Truman's message to the special session, there's not a word about foreign policy because both major parties constitute one war party. On this, the major issue of the campaign, only the Progressive Party offers an alternative to Negro and white Americans. Nevertheless, the competition in demagogy on civil rights between Truman and Dewy must not be underestimated.

For whatever reasons Truman called the special session, labor and the people—Negro and white—should by their dramatic presence in Washington see that their will, and not Wall Street's, is done.

The Truculent (Truman)

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Harry Truman came out of his corner fighting when he accepted the Democratic nomination for the presidency. And in that fact he gave his party the promise, if not of victory, at least of a warm campaign, and maybe of a closer race than has generally been thought likely. When November comes the Republicans will know they have been in a fight.

Fri. 34 a(1) 7-16-48

President Truman's acceptance speech had the virtues as well as the faults of the temper he was in. It contained some of the crudities of belligerence. The chip he carried on his shoulder did not make for grace. His choice of words sometimes had closer kinship with the street than university classrooms. Some of his statements, particularly his references to the ungratefulness that would be shown by farmers and organized labor if these groups did not support the Democratic ticket, may have antagonized more than they helped.

But on the whole it was an effective political speech. It contrasted sharply with the acceptance speech three weeks ago of Gov. Dewey. The Republican nominee gave a polished oration, full of sounding phrases and noble ideals. But somehow it seemed that an automaton was speaking. There was a man behind Truman's speech, a battling, earnest man; a man sometimes wrong, sometimes crude, but always sincere. He was taking a political program down to the political level where it would have to be worked out.

* * *

The challenge of the whole speech reached a climax in the announcement that Congress would be called into special session. That call will be questioned, for many impressive reasons, but it is politically daring. It is intended to put the Republicans on the defensive, a role they had not wanted to take in this campaign. How well it will succeed is very questionable. It involves decided dangers.

7-16-48

There are many matters that should be acted upon by Congress, notably housing and the rising cost of living. But they are not problems that have arisen since Congress adjourned early in June. They existed then, and exist now only in aggravated form. There is proper question raised, therefore, as to the extent of the need and feasibility of the special session.

The News

Since that question exists, there cannot be avoided certain political overtones to the call. It will be charged that campaign strategy influenced the call and its timing. Certainly the occasion which President Truman chose to announce the special session emphasizes its political aspects.

The session will be held, therefore, in a political climate that cannot be wholly avoided. In a larger degree than is usually the case, the nation will be watching the lawmakers as voters more than as citizens. The political spotlight will shine on Capitol Hill.

Birmingham, Ala.

Constructive legislation may come out of the session. It is to be hoped that it will. But one result of the session may be to throw light upon whether the Republicans mean what they say in their program.

Fri. 7-16-48

* * *

Probably never before in the country's history has a political party had an opportunity to put some of its platform promises into effect before, and not after, an election. President Truman is giving the Republicans that opportunity. Apparently he is sure they will not, or cannot, take advantage of it, and their failure will hurt them. But he is committing the Democratic Party to a big risk. People do not like the idea of using Congress in this way for campaign purposes.

It is not the first time, however, that President Truman has risked not only his own political career but also his party's position. Will he win now? That is a question. But certainly the odds against him are not quite so great as they have been. His fighting mood is proving contagious.

TRUMAN IS HAILED ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The Times

34 a(1) Thurs.

Head of FSA Tells Association for Aiding Negro Advancement He Risked Political Future

New York, N.Y.

By GEORGE STREATOR

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 23—The delegates to the annual convention of the Natoinal Association for the Advancement of Colored People were told today that President Truman had deliberately risked his political welfare to fight racial prejudice on every front. Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, said that a more cautious occupant of the White House wouud have side-stepped grave social issues in an election year.

6-24-48

"In taking this forthright stand, President Truman deliberately antagonized a large wing of his own party and laid himself open to an unparalleled barrage of threats and personal abuse," Mr. Ewing asserted, "at a time when such threats and abuse could damage his political prospects most. And he stuck to his guns."

In praising President Truman "for throwing the full weight of his authority in support of Federal legislation against lynching, the poll tax and a permanent FEPC," the speaker criticized Congress for failing to act. Although a Fair Employment Practices Commission was lacking, said Mr Ewing, the United States Employment Service, the Office of Education and Department of Commerce had entered into a program of aiding Negroes by educating the general public to the urgency of the situation.

Assails Congress on Housing

The Times

Mr. Ewing also asked the delegates to view "the shocking overcrowded slums of Harlem, or the little communities of tumbled-down shacks in a southern town," as a rebuke to Congress which had, he said, refused to act upon the President's "repeated requests" for adequate housing measures.

He also blamed Congress for blocking health measures, and asked the association to campaign for including in the social security program 20,000,000 farm hands, small farm owners, share-croppers and domestics.

Mr. Ewing praised the officials of the Government-operated Gallinger Hospital in Washington, for admitting to its training facilities, Negro medical internes from Howard University and the Meharry Medical College. This action should stimulate other blows against race discrimination in this country, he said.

Thurs

In all these things, he asked that Negroes cooperate with liberal whites by joining political forces. A campaign for democracy will fail "if we present less than a solid front to the opposition," Mr. Ewing added.

6-24-48

Regional Colleges Denounced

Thurgood arshall of the association's legal staff, said tonight that any plan fo r a regional college whose students would be selected on the basis of race, was "vulnerable." Classing such colleges with other forms of "separate but equal" policies of the South toward Negroes, he declared that the association looked upon segregation "in any form and in any disguise as undemocratic, un-American and immoral, a thesis that is no longer debatable."

The association announced that it would continue to support the fight of Mrs. Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher, who seeks admission to the law school of the University of Oklahoma.

Discussion of political action was set aside today while delegates debated the question of "democracy" within the organization itself, will be opened at the next business session of the association. Walter White, association secretary, accused "some political organizations" of seizing upon technical questions of organization detail, as a means of spreading confusion in the association.

Feather In President's Cap Cited

Daily World

34 a(1)

Atlanta, Ga.

Nothing Found Objectionable In Barkley Record

Thurs.

7-22-48

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

PHILADELPHIA—(NNPA)— The Truman-Barkley ticket plus the strong civil rights plank in the Democratic platform are bound to have a definite appeal to minority group voters and hold in line some of the colored voters who have shown a tendency to desert the Democratic party either to return to the Republican fold or support the Wallace-Taylor third party ticket.

The biggest feather in Mr. Truman's cap insofar as colored voters are concerned in his civil rights program. Whether his actions be regarded as sincere or merely lip service, the fact remains that it was he who decided to appoint the Committee on Civil Rights, whose report made civil rights a burning national issue.

34 a(1)

But even before Mr. Truman appointed his civil rights committee, his Attorney General had advocated in the South a strengthening of civil rights preparatory to seeking a broadening of existing civil rights statutes to overcome the limitations placed upon them by United States Supreme Court interpretation.

SPECIAL MESSAGE Thurs

Mr. Truman himself on February 2, sent to the Congress a special message calling for legislation to implement the report of the Civil Rights committee. The message called for a strengthening of existing Federal civil rights statutes, a Federal anti-lynching law, more adequate protection of the right to vote, establishment of a fair employment practice commission, and prohibition of race discrimination in interstate travel.

7-22-48

Southern Senators, Representatives and Governors responded to this message with one of the bitterest attacks ever made upon a President, climaxed by rebellious members of the Alabama and Mississippi delegations walking out of the Democratic national convention last Wednesday.

BARKLEY'S RECORD

While Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky President Trumans' running mate, has been no crusader, there is nothing objectionable in his record. The Vice-Presidential candidate, who will be 71 years old on November 24, next, is a conservative but he has voted for cloture on both FEPC and anti-poll tax legislation.

Daily World

In his acceptance speech at the convention early last Thursday morning, Mr. Truman, apparently referring to the bitter fight over the civil rights issue, said:

7-22-48

"This convention met to express the will and reaffirm the beliefs of the Democratic party. There have been difference of opinion and that's the democratic way. Those differences have been settled by a majority vote, as they should be. Now is the time for us to get together and beat the common enemy, and that's up to you."

Atlanta, Ga.

Later in his speech dramatically announcing that he was calling the Congress back into session on July 26, Mr. Truman declared that one of the things he will ask them to act upon is "civil rights legislation, which they say they are for."

Daily World

Mr. Truman appeared undisturbed by the fact that twenty-two delegates from Mississippi and [illegible] of the twenty-six delegates from Alabama had walked out of the convention after it had approved a minority report indorsing his civil rights program and rejected a States' rights proposal.

HAUNTED BY ROOSEVELT'S SHADOW

Truman Aims to Fight Battle on His Own Merits

Free Press

BY EDWIN A. LAHEY
Of Our Washington Bureau

PHILADELPHIA—Four years ago, in a Chicago Stadium that was as steamy and oppressive as this Philadelphia Convention Hall, the party bosses pulled the rug out from under Henry Wallace.

To the rage of the CIO they nominated their boy Harry S. Truman for Vice President.

The modest, low-voiced Senator from Missouri stood in the rostrum that July night in 1944 full of humility.

34a(1)

* * *

HE TOLD THE delegates to the Democratic National Convention, most of whom were in the hall again Wednesday night, that he didn't feel worthy of the honor that had been thrust upon him.

Nine months later, the friendly, gregarious and unassuming man answered his phone at the Capitol and was told to come up to the White House and be sworn in as President of the United States.

Seldom has a man been so overwhelmed by fate as was Harry Truman when he took the oath of office as President in April, 1945.

At his first press conference in the White House he asked the reporters to pray for him.

* * *

THERE IS NO record that the reporters ever did this. But if they did, their prayers were not very effective.

Free Press

Mr. Truman has had nothing but trouble ever since.

Detroit, Mich

His popularity curve, according to public opinion polls, has gone up and down with such violent and rapid fluctuations that the President might well be cynical about the fickleness of the American public.

Thurs.

For many months after he assumed his heavy duties as President, Mr. Truman answered all criticisms with the petulant asertion that he had never sought the office in the first place.

This petulance has disappeared.

7-15-48

* * *

MR. TRUMAN has no detectable delusions of grandeur, but he certainly does not feel now that he is inadequate for his job.

Stubbornness and pride have taken hold and turned him into a fighting candidate for a full-term election on his own merits.

His Western trip proved beyond doubt that if Mr. Truman goes down to defeat in November, as so widely predicted, he will go down fighting and with his head up.

And the Republicans will know, when it's all over, that they have been in a contest.

* * *

THE SOREST BURDEN of Mr. Truman as he begins his desperate fight for vindication is the failure of the so-called "liberal" elements of the Democratic Party to rally to him.

7-15-48

There are dozens of elusive reasons for the present disintegration of the liberal forces.

Franklin D. Roosevelt managed to keep them in the same tent with the middle of the roaders and the conservative Southerners of the Democratic Party for so many years.

But Harry Truman is not Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Thurs.

The fuzzy assumption that there may be some remedy for this immutable fact is mainly responsible for the lack of spirit of the Democratic Convention of 1948.

7-15-48

* * *

FRANCES PERKINS, the former Secretary of Labor, has been the only person at this convention to face the obvious fact that Truman is not Roosevelt.

She told the delegates the other night they'd better stop trying to find another Roosevelt as a candidate and settle for a couple of men who are willing to carry on what Roosevelt started.

Mr. Truman himself is rather tired of being measured by the Roosevelt standard. He's very much in the position of a second husband whose wife is forever reminding him of the virtues of her late spouse.

The first husband might have catted around some, but the vices of a good man—or a good vote getter—tend to become blurred in the memory of his loved ones.

* * *

THE EAGERNESS of Mr. Truman to be President in his own right, without being reminded how the Great White Father would have done it, explains in part the power of the so-called "Missouri gang" at the White House.

Free Press

It is a whisky-drinking, poker-playing mob, the members of which have won their places in the palace through real or pretended friendship for the President, rather than for any service in the world of statesmanship and politics.

Detroit, Mich

Whether he gets encouragement from the Missouri gang or from his own inner felicity, Mr. Truman seems not at all concerned about the difficult and bitter months ahead of him.

Thurs. 7-15-48

HE HAS WHAT he considers a vital issue in the record of the Republican-controlled 80th Congress, which he says has legislated for the special interests and not for the people.

Mr. Truman is prepared to win or lose on that issue. He has indicated that he will preach the derelictions of the Republicans in Congress at every cross roads in the United States.

The President appears in excellent shape for the grueling campaign he has tentatively outlined for himself.

Thurs.

HE LOOKS fresh and sprightly for his 64 years.

He shows fatigue after a hard day of campaigning, but has the blessed faculty of relaxing and recouping for the next day's routine.

He is an early-to-bed and early-to-rise man, and usually has a good start on a day's work when most people are just climbing out of the sheets.

7-15-48

THE PRESIDENT keeps in shape with mild exercises, walking and swimming, and gets a "let down" each night with a massage by an expert physical therapist supplied by the Navy.

Mr. Truman is looking forward with courageous zest to his coming bout with his Republican rival, Gov. Thomas Dewey of New York.

Thurs 7-15-48

If he shares the pessimism of some of the Democratic leaders at this convention he has concealed it well behind his friendly and confident smile, his new sense of liberal leadership and his determination to tell his story to the American people and let them decide for themselves next November.

Leaders To Help Raise Funds For Demo Campaign

Defender

A national committee of prominent Negroes in all fields of endeavor is being formed to raise funds for the Democratic Party as an answer to the South's refusal to help finance President Truman's campaign, it was revealed this week.

34a(1)

Chicago

John Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the Chicago Defender, and Congressman William L. Dawson disclosed that the committee will include newspaper publishers, business and professional men and women, many of whom have never been active politically.

Sat.

This will mark the first time in history that Negroes have sought to help finance a major political party in America.

7-31-48

The charge of some Southerners that Negroes are taking over the machinery of the Democratic Party in Dixie without assuming any of its responsibilities will be answered by Southern Negro leaders. They expect to make up the deficit in the Democratic National Committee caused by the withholding of funds on the part of some Southern Democratic Party organizations.

Truman Takes On Big Battle On Two Fronts

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala
Fri. 7-16-48

Fights GOP In And Out Of Congress, And Dixie Democrats In Party

34a(1)

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

PHILADELPHIA—(AP)—President Truman Thursday took on momentous political battle, with Republicans in and out of Congress and with rebelling Southerners in his own party.

The opposition swiftly accepted the challenges Mr. Truman laid down. The Republicans did it with charges of "cheap politics" and the shifting of G. O. P. campaign headquarters to Washington.

34a(1)

Southerners who bolted the Democratic National Convention Wednesday night in a rage over the civil rights issue reacted with a formal call for a rump convention in Birmingham Saturday. They plan to pick a candidate who thinks the states—not the Federal government—should handle such problems as lynching and poll taxes.

Mr. Truman stirred up both the Republicans and part of the once solid South in a short, hard-swinging pre-dawn speech Thursday. In it he:

What He Wants

1. Accepted the presidential nomination of the Democratic Convention at the moment of the greatest party split in 88 years—a split over racial and civil rights issues.

7-16-48

2. Announced he was summoning the Republican-led Congress back into a special session that promises to be as hot as a Washington Summer. His announced purpose: To carry the offensive to the G. O. P.; to make it put up or shut up right now on its own platform promises.

3. Appealed for Democratic Party harmony while swatting the South in its sorest spot. One thing he will ask—again—is that Congress pass some laws against lynching and poll taxes and "Jim Crow" discrimination against Negroes.

Following Uncertain

In the national campain, it will be Mr. Truman and Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, against Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, and Gov. Earl Warren, of California.

Just how much of a following the Birmingham meeting could rustle up was uncertain, because some of the South wasn't quite sore enough to get out of the party.

7-16-48

Russell said at Winder, Ga., he would have no part of the meeting. Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, who withdrew as a states rights candidate at the convention here, said he hadn't made up his mind about Birmingham.

7-16-48

Laney quit because he said he couldn't stand on that civil rights plank in the platform.

Virginia delegates were undecided, too, about keeping the new civil war going. Louisianans were just as irate as any in the South but made no plans to go to Birmingham because they figured they ought to have more time to think things over.

34a(1)

Truman Hailed by Drs. Tobias, Bethune for Forthright Action

Afro-American-Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 1-3-48

34a (1)

BALTIMORE

President Harry S. Truman, through his forthright address before the national NAACP convention last summer and because of the report submitted both by his Committee on Civil Rights and Commission on Higher Education, has drawn the praise of Dr. Channing Tobias and Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune.

Dr. Bethune in addition to praising the President for his own actions, gave him credit for the action of the Justice Department in joining forces with the democracy in the restrictive covenant and railroad firemen cases before the Supreme Court. "These actions," she says, "have re-affirmed and heightened the prestige of the democratic way of life." 1-3-48

Dr. Tobias points out that no other President of the United States has came out as openly against the anti-democratic forces in America as did President Truman in his NAACP speech. His "courage" drew an enthusiastic hand from the director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

34a (1)

The President Reveals His Intention

The Constitution

WASHINGTON—It will be difficult to place but one interpretation on the announced decision of President Truman for making a cross-country tour of the nation on the eve of the coming Democratic National Convention. The trip, having all the earmarks of a Presidential campaign tour, tends to remove any lingering doubts as to Mr. Truman's willingness to run for a second term.

Starting out from Washington the first week in June, the President plans to go all the way to the Pacific Coast by slow stages. Usually in his travels about the country Mr. Truman has gone by plane, but the present trip will be made by train, enabling him to make any number of rear platform appearances along the route.

It will thus be the first opportunity the country has had to see the President at first hand. From the itinerary arranged by the White House, there is every evidence that he plans to take full advantage of it.

Mon 5-10-48

Major speeches have been scheduled at both Chicago and Omaha on the trip West. Still others may be put down on the program before the arrangements are completed. Visits are to be made to Washington and Oregon before the President goes on to California for several days stay. He plans to make at least three speeches in California, one at the University of California in Berkley, another at San Francisco and a third at Los Angeles.

Atlanta Ga.

California, with its big block of 25 electoral votes, is one of the Democratic sore spots of the West. The indicated widespread defection of party followers there to the Wallace Third Party ticket has raised serious doubts as to the ability of the Democrats to carry the State in November.

The fact that the President is planning to spend as much time as he is in the State is therefore considered not without some political significance.

The Constitution

His plans for returning to Washington after leaving California have not yet been revealed, but there is some speculation that he may come back over the Southern route, with suggested stops in such key cities as Houston, New Orleans, Atlanta and other points beyond. The purpose of this would be to soften up the threatened Southern rebellion against his renomination, it is supposed.

Mon 5-10-48

For the President to undertake a trip of the kind a short time before the party's national convention in July has apparently only one meaning. It is taken to mean that he has definitely made up his mind to run for re-election and is laying the groundwork for a minimum amount of opposition to his nomination.

Otherwise it is inconceivable that Mr. Truman would go on such a long jaunt with all of the political frills that have been arranged as an accompaniment. Moreover, instead of going by train he expected to travel by air, which would enable him to cover the distance without spending too much time away from the White House.

With the political trend running against him, as it is, there has been a lingering suspicion among some top-ranking Democratic leaders that the President, at the proper time, would make known his decision not to offer for a second term. There was a suspicion that, seeing the handwriting on the wall and preferring not to go down to defeat, he would step aside at the last minute and ask the convention to nominate Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, the man who seems to offer the best prospects of a Democratic victory this year.

Atlanta Ga.

Few party leaders doubt the willingness of Gen. Eisenhower to accept the nomination under such circumstances. Most of them are agreed also that he would be a sure winner.

But all of this now appears to have been inspired by wishful thinking. It still could happen that way, but the odds are against it. Mr. Truman seems to have revealed his hand sufficiently by committing himself to the cross-country jaun he is about to make. It is hardly likely that he would be making a trip of the kind with the political trimmings involved, if he were thinking of anything but running for re-election.

Negroes Backing Truman

Memphis World

It is most gratifying to know that Negro leaders throughout America have accepted assignment on the National Citizens Committee for the re-election of Pres. Truman, with Congressman William L. Dawson as the General Chairman. It would have been a source of great and painful disappointment to the rank and file of American Negroes if this could not have been done. Thus, with Negro publishers, editors, lawyers, business and professional leaders, accepting the call to lead in the crusade for Truman's re-election, the task should be greatly simplified.

To forsake Mr. Truman at such a critical hour would be the height of ingratitude on the part of Negroes. Nothing else should be greater in the minds of American Negroes in this election than the fact that Harry S. Truman gave his last full measure of devotion to the cause of civil rights for Negroes, more than for any other minority group in America. And the weight of all of the fight against the President today has its origin in his advocacy of the passage of civil rights legislation.

Fri 8-6-48

Thus, millions of American Negroes will throw their votes, their money and their influence behind Mr. Truman. He should be re-elected. We think he will be, if we take advantage of the opportunities that are ours now. In advocating civil rights Mr. Truman is seeking to build the kind of America which the Constitution stands for. In this position the Demagogues and Dixiecrats are leagued to defeat him. They do not want freedom and equality for all Americans. They do not want universal suffrage, either for Negroes or for whites. They do not want freedom from terror and death by the mob. And they do not want education for the masses, either for whites or for Negroes. In other words, the Dixiecrats are waging a desperate battle to hold on to their age-long traditions to rule by terror and thus subject the Negro to second class citizenship.

Memphis Tennessee

A government which seeks to accord to the Negro equal justice in the courts, freedom from terror and mob-violence honest wage for honest work, they say is "an insult to the South," a menace to southern traditions, and "an invader of State's rights."

No sensible Negro will be fooled by southern congressmen who say they are not against the abolition of the poll tax but are against the invasion of states' rights. The plain and undeniable truth is that they are against a free and unrestricted ballot. They are against universal education for the masses and they, for the most part, profit by hatred between whites and Negroes, between capital and labor, and between the masses and the classes.

Fri 8-6-48

Truman in 3-Way Political Fight With GOP, In-Out Solons, Rebels

Atlanta Constitution

Fri 7-16-48

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

PHILADELPHIA, July 15—(AP) President Truman took on today a momentous three-front political battle, with Republicans in and out of Congress and with rebelling Southerners in his own Party.

The opposition swiftly accepted the challenges Mr. Truman laid down. The Republicans did it with charges of "cheap politics" and the shifting of GOP campaign headquarters to Washington.

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Mr. Truman stirred up both the Republicans and part of the once Solid South in a short, hard-swinging predawn speech today. In it he:

1. Accepted the presidential nomination of the Democratic Convention at the moment of the greatest party split in 88 years—a split over racial and civil rights issues.

2. Announced he was summoning the Republican-led Congress back into a special session that promises to be as hot as a Washington Summer. His announced purpose: To carry the offensive to the GOP, to make it put up or shut up right now on its own platform promises.

3. Appealed for Democratic Party harmony while swatting the South in its sorest spot. One thing he will ask—again—is that Congress pass some laws against lynching, poll taxes and "Jim Crow" discrimination against Negroes.

In the national campaign, it will be Mr. Truman and Sen. Barkley of Kentucky against Gov. Dewey of New York and Gov. Warren of California.

Barkley accepted the Democratic Vice Presidential nomination, also in this morning's early hours. He won it unanimously on the first ballot.

Mr. Truman was a first ballot winner, too, but far from a unanimous winner. For the South, angered by his civil rights program and a Northern maneuver that wrote it into the Party platform, put up Sen. Russell of Georgia as a protest candidate.

Russell pulled 263 votes to Mr. Truman's 947 1/2, with 618 needed to nominate. But he registered the extent of Southern unhappiness within the Party.

Before that, the whole Mississippi delegation and half of Alabama's thumbed their noses at the rest of the Convention and walked out into the rain. The downpour failed to cool their anger over the Civil Rights plank in the Party platform.

And this morning, Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi appealed to "every man and woman who believes in States' Rights and who opposes Harry S. Truman and the things he stands for" to assemble Saturday in Birmingham.

Thus Party unity was at the lowest point since the Democrats broke apart in 1860 — over the issue of slavery. Through the gap in their ranks, the Republican Party marched to its first victory with the immortal Lincoln leading the way.

Just how much of a following the Birmingham meeting could rustle up was uncertain, because some of the South wasn't quite sore enough to get out of the Party.

Russell said at Winder, Ga., he would have no part of the meeting. Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, who withdrew as a States' Rights candidate at the convention here, said he hadn't made up his mind about Birmingham.

Laney quit because he said he couldn't stand on that civil-rights plank in the platform.

Virginia delegates were undecided, too, about keeping the new civil war going. Louisianans were just as irate as any in the South but made no plans to go to Birmingham because they figured they ought to have more time to think things over.

Nobody turned up to represent Mississippi at a meeting of the Democratic National Committee today. Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina likewise stayed away.

A main purpose of the meeting was to re-elect Sen. J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, National Chairman. This was done without opposition.

The way Russell sized up the special session of Congress, Northern Democrats and the Republicans will "fight to see who can kick the South the hardest" with civil rights legislation.

He said Mr. Truman's call to Congress is "a desperate move" to "rivet national attention on what he has picked as the national issues in the 1948 campaign."

Republicans, too, almost unanimously said there were political motives behind the move.

Political or not, supporters of Mr. Truman said it was a wise move. Former Sec. of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson said Mr. Truman put the Republicans on the spot. He added it up this way:

"If they don't do anything about the special session program, he's got them. If they do, the credit will be his."

Fri. 7-16-48

Besides civil rights, Mr. Truman said in his acceptance speech he would ask Congress to get busy on such items as help for schools, improving the nation's health, enlarging the social security program, and a boost in the 40-cents-an-hour minimum wage."

He said the special session will determine whether the GOP "can fool the people with such poppycock" as he said he found in their platform.

Loudly and confidently he told the hundreds of delegates and thousands of spectators who stuck it out until the convention quit: "Sen. Barkley and I will win this election and make these Republicans like it."

Barkley told a reporter he plans to keep his Senate seat while campaigning. His present term lasts until 1951. He said he was going back to Washington and then **home to Paducah, Ky., for a week or so of rest.**

Revolt Strategy

Birmingham News-Age-Herald

Southern Democrats Don't Expect To Block Truman But Are Planning To Fight Civil Rights

Sun. 5-23-48

BY FRED TAYLOR

Critics of revolting Southern Democrats, particularly those pledged to a walkout at the Philadelphia convention, repeatedly ask this colmn just what these dissident Democrats hope to accomplish.

After all, they ask, won't the revolters be butting their heads against a political stone wall?

The revolters don't think so.

The revolters have little hope, if any, of blocking President Truman's nomination.

TAYLOR

They may be steam-rollered by Northern and Eastern Truman backers in their efforts to block the president's "civil rights" force measures.

But the revolters' over-all strategy goes beyond the 1948 presidential election. They look to 1952 and the other quadrenniums to come.

Their aims are to establish the South's political independence and make it a factor in national elections, so that Southern states will be wooed by both Democrats and Republicans instead of being ignored by both parties.

Birmingham News

* * *

WILL FIGHT BE FUTILE?—Skeptics think the revolt will die, gasping its last breath at Philadelphia. They point out that State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, revolt leader and walkout spearhead, concedes Mr. Truman's nomination, probably on the first ballot.

They say the revolters must view realistically the fact that by sheer weight of numbers the North and East will be able to overwhelm the South in delegate votes. And, in doing so, force adoption of "civil rights" measures.

Sun. 5-23-48

But the Southern revolters, at least, some of the Alabama leaders, don't concede this. They believe that if a strong enough fight is made, the race equality force measures will be greatly toned down if not beaten down.

The Southerners don't think the fight will be futile. And they are banking on getting real help from some of the Western states.

* * *

WALK OUT — But why walk out of the Democratic National Convention? This question is asked most of all.

Strong arguments have been against a walkout. It was—and is—one of the issues in the delegate campaign.

It is disputed only as a method of opposing Truman for the nomination and combatting his proposals.

This column has pointed out time and again that all the delegate candidates, as were all the presidential elector candidates, are publicly committed against Mr. Truman and his force measures.

Those opposed to a walkout argue that Alabama delegates should stay in the convention and fight the president and his program to the bitter end.

Chairman McCorvey and other candidates pledged to a walkout say they are going to stay in the convention and fight adoption of the "civil rights" plank. A walkout would come if they lose.

Then, and only then, do they propose to take a walk. To remain in the convention after that, they contend, would be to give tacit approval to these "anti-South" measures.

5-23-48

"GLITTERING GENERALITIES"—Some observers expect the proposals, as recommended by the president, to be compromised along the lines laid down by that master politician, Franklin D. Roosevelt, at Chicago in 1944.

F. D. R., with his deft touch and vote-winning finesse, had written into the platform a declaration promising only in a general way to bring about greater equality among the races.

But McCorvey has emphasized that the Southern revolters will continue to fight the "civil rights" proposals, even if these measures are reduced to "glittering generalities."

He says the time has come for the South to assert itself as a political part of the nation, make it wants heard and its wishes considered.

Birmingham News

SOUTHERN CONVENTION—Plans have been made to hold a Southern convention in Birmingham, if Alabama and other Southern delegates walk out at Philadelphia.

Arrangements for the Birmingham convention were made at the Southwide conference of states' rights at Jackson, Miss., recently. Tentative date for this session was set for July 17, following opening of the national convention July 12. But Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney, permanent chairman, was authorized to change this date, if developments make this necessary.

Whether the revolting Democrats, who have repudiated Truman, nominate a presidential candidate of their own is a matter of conjecture. Actually, the threat this group has raised against the National Democratic Party is this:

If the "civil rights" proposals are written into the national party platform at Philadelphia, the revolting Southerners will meet in separate convention to take whatever action is "necessary and appropriate."

* * *

RUNOFF HOLDS ANSWER—While all runoff delegate candidates are committed against Truman and his program, there is sharp division among them as to a convention walkout.

Of the four delegates-at-large already elected, two favor and two are opposed to a walkout. Seven candidates are scrapping it out in the runoff for the four additional at-large places. Four of these aspirants favor a walkout, three are against.

Of the 11 district delegates already chosen, four are against and three favor a walkout, with four uncommitted.

In the runoff races for seven other district places, 11 are pledged to walkout, eight are opposed and two uncommitted.

The runoff will decide whether those favoring or opposing a walkout will have an edge, but the uncommitted delegates may decide which group has majority control of the delegation.

CATHOLICS BACK TRUMAN ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The Guardian
Boston, Mass.
7-10-48

NEW ORLEANS, La. — The New Orleans Achdiocesan Committee of the Catholic Committee of the South is in agreement with the basic principles of Pres. Truman's message on civil rights.

In a statement issued this week the committee said "We, as Catholics and citizens, subscribe to the basic principles of human dignity and of the responsibilities of individuals in a free democratic society, and believe that these concepts are part of the natural law and are recognized in our constitutional scheme."

"We regret that many leaders in the South have refused to accept in good faith the President's message. We sense in their statements the seeds of race prejudice and reaction, indicating to us a lack of agreement on the fundamental principles of human rights. We fear that such an approach to the problems involved will tend to isolate the South **as a region** and weake nthe nation."

In New York, the importance of immediate enactment of federal anti-lynching legislation was emphasized by Roy Wilkins, editor of Crisis and assistant secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., at a forum of the Catholic Inter-racial council. He said:

"The vast mapority of people in this country today don't approve of lynching and yet a number of the mwon't accept a federal bill to stop it. They say that lynching is dying out, that most people are good, moral citizens, and why not let the South handle its own problems. What these people fail to realize is that it has been the pressure of outside opinion, the indignation, really, of people outside the South, and even outside the United States, that has affected this decline."

They Shy At Stumping Alabama For Truman

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

BY JAMES FREE
News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 11—It begins to look as if there'll be no official Alabama accents in the 1948 presidential campaign if Democrats choose President Truman and his civil rights program.

Five Alabama members of Congress made it plain today how they feel about a mimeographed call from their party that now is the time for all good Democrats to rally round. Tues. 5-11-48

"If Mr. Truman is renominated, I could not serve in the campaign for his reelection," Sen. John Sparkman said flatly.

Senior Sen. Hill agrees with his colleague and even plans to work for nomination of Dwight D. Eisenhower as the Democrats' offering.

The senators made their comments after they had received a letter sent to all party members by the Democratic National Committee asking that they be available for speeches in the coming campaign.

* * *

"I TOSSED IT IN the wastebasket," said Rep. George Andrews. "I'll make no speeches for Mr. Truman or anyone else backing the so-called civil rights."

Rep. Carter Manasco said crisply that he "never answers mimeographed letters." Tues

Rep. Bob Jones said he would make no plans or commitments for backing a Truman nomination.

"There'll be plenty of time for talking about campaign speech possibilities after the Democratic National Convention in July," said Jones. 5-11-48

Rep. Andrews said he believes it would be "safe to assume" that, with Truman as nominee, the Democratic Party would get no financial backing from its Alabama wing.

Other members of the delegation, not yet returned from elections at home, are believed to agree with the sentiments of their colleagues.

Sen. Sparkman's case is a striking example of how relations between the party and the South have deteriorated. In the 1946 congressional campaign Sparkman headed the whole speakers' bureau for the Democratic National Committee.

Democrats In Midwest Pledge Truman Support

The Courier Journal

13 State Chiefs In Conference Urge South To Follow Suit; Eisenhower Not Mentioned

Louisville, Ky.
Mon. 4-12-48

By the United Press.

Des Moines, April 11.—Directors of the 13-state Democratic Midwest Conference today gave President Truman their "wholehearted" support for election and urged Southern Democrats to do the same

No sentiment for General Dwight D. Eisenhower was voiced at the meeting, as had been expected.

Carl V. Rice, Kansas national committeeman, who had been expected to ask the conference to indorse Eisenhower, said "the people of my home state believe Eisenhower means it when he says he is not a candidate."

The conference, attended by 14 persons, urged that rebellious Southern party members "pledge themselves as we hereby pledge ourselves to accept the result (of the Democratic national convention) and unite behind our platform and candidates for the good of our country and party."

Truman Not Mentioned.

The Courier Journal

Although the resolution directed at the Southerners did not mention Truman by name, the Midwestern leaders left no doubt that they expect the national convention to nominate him. Louisville, Ky.

James C. Quigley, Nebraska national committeeman and chairman of the conference, will send the resolution to the Southern Democratic Conference, which meets at Atlanta tomorrow. Mon. 4-12-48

States represented today were Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. However, resolutions adopted today put the entire conference on record, including party units in Missouri, Montana, Wyoming,

The Courier Journal

Colorado, and Oklahoma.

Louisville, Ky.

The conference said the Democratic Party "has a national program," whereas "the hopeless confusion of the Republican leadership and the lack of a national Republican program is shown clearly by the contest for the Republican nomination now being staged in Nebraska."

Mon. 4-12-48

Truman's Election Chances

Birmingham News

Almost everybody one sees nowadays, asked for an opinion, will say very knowingly and positively that, even if he is nominated, President Truman has virtually no chance of being elected. There are many obvious reasons to support that prediction.

Even the immensely popular Franklin Roosevelt felt the swing of changing sentiment several times before he died. Administrations in power, however successful, disappoint people, make enemies, create active opposition. The more effective an administration is, the more is it likely to generate reaction of some sort. Mr. Truman took over when the desire for change was developing strongly. The Democrats now are in their 16th year of national power. 6-13-48

Mr. Truman is not the kind of leader to inspire a great renewal of enthusiasm for his party and for its leader. He has made serious mistakes. Many Americans do not like the way he picks his advisers. Many do not like his association with the Pendergast machine of Kansas City. In the South his civil rights proposals have evoked a fervent and widespread protest. Many Southern Democrats will oppose him in every way they can because of these proposals.

Mr. Truman does not claim to be a great man. On the contrary, he plainly and repeatedly indicates his own awareness of his limitations. In any presidential race such a candidate would have decided handicaps. But it is the great swing of desire for change that underlies the conviction of so many that the Democrats have little or no chance this year. 6-13-48

On the whole, this seems to be a sound conception as to the outlook. This paper is not disposed to present any broad challenge of its validity.

But there is, it believes, some possibility that such thinking, based on such obvious considerations, may grow careless and overlook other factors that may enter into the situation.

There are some things that, before November comes, may contribute substantially to the improvement of Mr. Truman's standing. Sun. 6-13-48

There is the fact that, above all things, the people want a sound peace, and that by Fall the administration's program to that end may be showing so much promise that a considerable argument may be made against changing it.

Sen. Vandenberg and some of the ablest of the nation's Republicans have supported a bi-partisan foreign policy. But this policy has been carried out under a Democratic administration, and to that administration must go much of the credit if it proves successful. Sen. Vandenberg is himself, of course, a possible Republican presidential nominee. He would be able to share much of this credit, but Dewey wouldn't, nor Taft nor any other likely nominees. Birmingham

Mr. Truman is confident that peace is going to be maintained, that Russia dare not start a war if we build up our strength and that of Western Europe. If the international situation is markedly improved by November—as it may be—the Democrats will bear down strongly on that factor. News

They will also bear down heavily on already apparent division and extreme reaction among the Republicans.

They will continue to present their claims as the party of hope and progress. Mr. Truman will be presented more and more as a stout average man, much like the rest of us, doing his utmost courageously in a tremendously hard job. 6-13-48

These considerations are not presented as greatly brightening the outlook just now for the Democrats, but they are factors not to be lightly dismissed.

Associated Press

Time

SOUTHERN GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE*
The President would not take back anything he said.

THE PRESIDENCY

Time

"Little Southern Pats"

34a(1)

President Harry Truman gave no sign that he knew his feet were wet; he was peppy, dapper and punctual as usual, and he reflected a hearty good cheer. But there was something a little unreal about his brisk attitude of unconcern. The angry waters of Democratic politics washed muddily through the White House all week and the President scarcely moved without sloshing in the stuff. Mon. 3-22-48

He began his press conference by calling Columnist Drew Pearson a liar. The reason: Pearson's charge that the President, in private conversation with an unidentified Manhattan newspaper publisher, had called New York Jews disloyal. Speaking slowly and without heat, Harry Truman told newsmen: "I want to pay attention to a vicious statement . . . it is just a lie out of whole cloth." Chicago, Ill.

Soothing Words. Next day, he met with the executive committee of the Democratic National Committee. The committee had spent two days in private argument, but members had emitted various soothing off-the-cuff announcements—that the Southern revolt was not serious, that the President's declaration of candidacy had calmed intra-party bickering, that he would be nominated on the first ballot at Philadelphia and would probably have Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas for a running mate.

Having thus presented an unbroken, if slightly mottled, front to the world, the members trooped into the White House state dining room for luncheon. The occasion was to be strictly social; they were to meet the President and Cabinet and quietly absorb 32 pounds of smelt which an American Legion post had just sent from the State of Washington's Cowlitz River. Chicago, Ill.

Visitor from the South. But politics raised its head immediately. A Mrs. Lennard Thomas of Montgomery, Ala. adjusted a floppy black hat adorned with pink plumes, gave the President "some little Southern pats" to attract his attention, and engaged him in conversation on his civil rights program. It went, said Mrs. Thomas later, like this:

Mrs. Thomas drawled: "You don't know where I'm from."

"Oh, yes, I do. You're from Arkansas."

"Worse than that."

"Alabama," the President replied.

"Just then," said Mrs. Thomas, "a waiter came up and knocked the cup of coffee the President was holding out of his hand. The President was real nice about it. The waiter—yes, he was colored—was so apologetic it was pathetic. The President said: 'That's all right, Pete.' He's so human."

The President then read Mrs. Thomas a passage from the Constitution; he announced, she said, that he would not take back anything he had said on civil rights.

For some reason, this convinced Mrs. Thomas that he was "not going to ram anti-segregation down our throats." She added: "The White House looked just like a beautiful home instead of a cold ole capital. I do feel that we're all right."

But at week's end, members of the Southern Governors' Conference loudly announced that things were all wrong. Seven members (six governors and Virginia's Senator Byrd, who represented Governor Tuck) voted to "fight to the last ditch" against the nomination or election of Harry Truman or any other candidate advocating equal rights for Negroes.

Thomas D. McAvoy—LIFE

JUSTICE DOUGLAS
For lunch, smelt.

Truman And Missouri

The News

34a(1)

To the Editor of The News:

Our primary election, predicted upon the civil rights issue, purposely angled to embarrass President Truman, is over. There is much evidence available that all the facts have not been presented to the voters. The whole truth and nothing but the truth is that President Truman never committed himself to any civil rights issue but what was a plank in the Democratic platform of 1940 and 1944. Therefore, the name "Truman civil rights program" is a misnomer and misleading.

It is a well-known fact that Missouri politicians and voters have never raised their voices with slander against President Truman, such as used here, suggesting they had found him guilty of any breach of faith on the national Democratic platform civil rights issue. If the people in any state could be needled about a new national change in civil rights issues, Missouri should be the first state to complain. Birmingham, Ala.

Our politicians here should have first reviewed the following state history before blasting the voters with their demagogery and childish fears about President Truman. It should be generally known by most voters that Missouri has the most enviable record, representing Southern traditions on civil and state rights matters, regarding both white and colored folks, of any state in the Union. This record has been maintained since the Civil War under very adverse conditions. Wed.

Missouri maintains every civil rights and state rights viewpoint, excepting the Jim Crow law, that is maintained for white and colored folks in Alabama. Missouri is bounded on the east by Illinois, where white and colored attend the same public schools and have many equal social privileges. Missouri is bounded on the north by Iowa, which state also offers both white and colored the same privileges as does Illinois. Missouri is bounded on the west by Kansas, which state is noted for its liberalities in behalf of colored people. 5-19-48

It is interesting to know that white and colored people get along well together in St. Louis. The politicians in St. Louis, a city with a large Negro population, never mention the race issue at election time. Both races have learned much from the race riots years ago in St. Louis. There is a good reason for this political viewpoint. We all know that St. Louis is a large shoe, dry goods, stove and beer manufacturing center. Their products are shipped into states whose people think differently than Missourians do about states' rights and the race question. Was it not wisdom applied years ago by Missouri business people to hush up their politicians about this race question, before it ruined their business? Just because Missouri has handled this subject with some diplomacy, don't think their traditional way of life has gone by default.

Thanks to The Birmingham News and Age-Herald for doing a fine editorial job in presenting both sides of this civil rights issue.

5-17-48 DR. FRED G. LEIGHTY.
2111 Fifth Avenue, North.

IT'S NOT SULLIVAN WE CAN SPARE

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Ed. 5-1-48

It appears that President Truman, whose ineptness is of a magnitude that makes his presence in the White House a kind of impertinence, is bent on reducing our whilom Paul Bunyan of a party to wheezing impotence.

34a(1)

We abort the stricture here long enough to say that this is not intended as another clout at Everybody's Punching Bag. As we've said before, Truman strikes us as a gallant and decent little gent who did what he did because it appeared to him as standard practice.

Let it be remembered that some of the most comprehending political minds in Alabama were a long time in recognizing the extent and durability of the revolt; they thought the resentment would wind down as it had in the past. 5-1-48

Truman was unable to remember more than a Southern wink when FDR won the Northern Negro vote away from the Republican Party in 1932. He saw Roosevelt keep the South solid in 1944 after he had created a wartime FEPC by executive ukase. We say Truman, who left the Senate as reluctantly as did Warren Harding, had every right to be bewildered by the sulphur fumes that boiled up from the sidewalks in the South in response to his Civil Disturbance program. Sat.

Nevertheless, ignorance is not excuse under the law, as it were, and four things have irreparably washed up Truman. We venture to recite them in the order of their importance—Truman, Wallace, Palestine and the Civil Disturbance program.

After nearly 16 years, the normal wear and tear on the party, would make it difficult for any leader to keep it together. The task is twice formidable because of Truman's multiplicity of inabilities.

The Advertiser

He ought to step down at the proper time. But meanwhile, and as we started out to say, he is spilling such milk as has not already been spilled. The purge of Gael Sullivan, director of the Democratic National Committee, is a major example.

Montgomery, Ala.

Amid a camarilla of dispirited mediocrities, Truman has given the sack to one of the few stars left on our team. Sullivan

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14

is young, daring and thinking. He is as ready to go as a mustang and has the steam of Casey Jones' boiler. He is one of the few Democrats around who crow like the Rooster is supposed to crow although he stands on a mat of his own plucked tail-feathers. Most of the other roosters are sitting about as if setting. Sat. 5-1-48

Sullivan got the sack because, as he acknowledged recently before a convention of editors, he thought Truman ought to come down and that Supreme Court Justice Bill Douglas was his idea of a successor. Sullivan will be missed.

Nearby Counties Join To Beat Pro-Truman Candidates

The Advertiser Montgomery Ala. Thurs.

Counties adjoining Montgomery County generally followed the state in supporting anti-Truman candidates, reelecting district congressmen and a U. S. senator.

Incomplete returns showed Senator John W. Sparkman far ahead of his four opponents for Senate.

Rep. George Grant appeared winner in the Second District with 15,515 votes in 226 of 325 boxes. James G. (Country) Oliver received 3,013; Frank J. Mizell, Jr., 2,360; Burton C. Fincher, 1,520.

Third District, 184 boxes of 229, Rep. George Andrews, 18,384; John E. Pitts, 2,925.

Fourth District, 163 of 235, Rep. Sam Hobbs, 9,934; Kenneth A. Roberts, 6,661; and Tom Graff, 247. 5-6-48

Fifth District, 206 of 290, Rep. Albert Rains, 21,005; Theo Steed, 9,453. The Advertiser

The voting trend by counties follow: Montgomery Ala.

Crenshaw: Senator Lister Hill led the delegates at large in eight of 30 boxes with 301 votes. Other leaders were ex-Governor Chauncey Sparks, 279; A. A. Carmichael, 271; Handy Ellis, 218; Charles G. Dobbins, 218; J. Miller Bonner, 214; Gessner McCorvey, 208; Gov. Folsom, 209. Thurs.

Presidential electors, eight of 31 boxes: Albritton, 205; McCorvey, 209; Abernethy, 179; Goodwin, 179; Givhan, 184; Wilkinson, 165; Bloodworth, 160; Carnley, 144; Maxwell, 144; Parker, 141; and Lusk, 142. 5-6-48

National committeeman: Lamberth, 135; and Rushton, 304.

Only one local election was held as the other candidates were without opposition. Incomplete returns showed Lester Bell was ahead of Earl Moody, 715 to 500.

Gordon Persons led the race for public service commission by a one-sided vote.

Bullock County — 19 of 19 boxes: Presidential electors: Abernethy, 837; McCorvey, 781; Givhan, 724; Bloodworth, 688; Lusk, 713; Albritton, 642; Wilkinson, 642; Blair, 586; Snyder, 541; Rodger, 517, and Harris, 455.

Other races—Nine of 19 boxes: Senate: Sparkman received more than twice the votes of his opponents. Public service commission: Gordon Persons easily led with 330. Delegates-at-large: Hill, 197; Bonner, 189; Carmichael, 187; Conner, 172; Ellis, 190; McCorvey, 206; Riddle, 179, and Sparks, 223. National committeeman: Rushton, 270, and Lambeth 78.

Butler County—32 of 32 boxes: Public service commission: Persons led by more than 10 to one with 3,001 votes. National committeeman: Rushton, 2,097, and Lambeth, 892.

Local election—30 of 32: Tax collector: J. A. Cheatham, 2,047; George Gentry, 664; Pat Lowe, 381. Tax assessor: Norman Nix, 907, and Calvin Steindorff, 2,191. County commission — first district: W. T. Blackman, 1,920; R. L. Jernigan, 658, and L. G. Sellers, 409. District two: Grady Foster, 420; Lloyd Grayson, 853; Cling Hill, 570, and Rufus Pool, 1,287. District three: S. L. Bratcher, 1,217; Clay Stabler, 1,354, and M. Thompson, 534. District four: Charles Cooper, 747; Ed Phillips, 745, and Frank Sellers, 44.

Barbour County: Sparkman had a big lead in the Senate race and Persons was well ahead in the Public Service Commission races. Hill and Sparks led in the delegate contest. In a local election, Tax Collector Harrison was trailing Stanley Baker, 1,206 to 1,080. Tax Assessor Clarence Norton appeared as winner in his race. The Advertiser

Elmore County—all boxes in—Senator Sparkman more than doubled the votes received by the opposition. Persons easily won the Public Service Commission vote. National Committeeman: Ruston, 2,857 and Lambeth, 2,766. Delegates: Ellis, 2,137; Folsom, 2,192; Hill, 3,028; Carmichael, 2,403; Sparks, 2,746; Connor, 1,764; Bonner, 1,882 and McCorvey, 1,904. Montgomery Ala.

Electors: Elmore, 1,698; Givhan, 1,870; Goodwin, 1,790; Lusk, 1,710; Maxwell, 1,942; McCorvey, 1,862; Miller, 1,807; Parker, 1,670; Abernethy, 2,059; Albritton, 1,888 and Blair, 1,835. Thurs.

Fourth District delegates: W. C. Woodall, 3,112 and Winston Stewart, 1,874, led. Leading alternates: George Martin, 3,045 and Edmund Blair, 2,887. For Congress: Hobbs won by a close vote over two opponents. 5-6-48

Local elections:

Tax Collector: Robert C. Cooper, 723, Willie Cousins, 1,942; W. J. Johnston, 1,849. Superintendent of Education: Earnest S. Collier, 3,119; John R. Formby, 3,172. Commissioner, Second District: Felix Macon, 649; P. L. Mulder, 844. Board of Education: W. J. Benton, 1,096; L. B. O'Daniel, 2,332; J. A. Summers, 2,421.

America Speaks:

34a(1)

Truman's Popularity Has Declined Among Voters, Recent Survey Shows

The Courier-Journal Louisville Ky.

Fri. 4-23-48

Strong Stands Are 'Preferred'

By GEORGE GALLUP

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

Princeton, N. J., April 22.—At the end of Harry S. Truman's third year in the White House his popularity with voters is at a low ebb. President Truman, however, once before staged a dramatic comeback in public approval. Can he do it again?

The answer to that question will have an important bearing on the national party convention two months from now.

Today 36 per cent of voters in a coast-to-coast survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion say they approve the way Truman is handling his job as President. This compares with 55 per cent who felt that way last October.

Started With 87 Pct.

Fri. 4-23-48

The Truman popularity chart looks for all the world like the blueprint of a roller coaster. Starting at a high of 87 per cent shortly after Franklin D. Roosevelt's death in 1945, it nosedived to a low point of 32 per cent just before the November, 1946, elections. Then began an even sharper upward climb in voter favor; at the end of two years as President Truman's job was approved by six out of 10 voters throughout the nation.

Three comments on the President's present standing with voters seem pertinent:

Fri. Courier-Journal

1. Truman has tended to gain favor with rank-and-file voters when he has taken strong stands on vital issues.

2. Cardinal points in the Administration's policies enjoy overwhelming support from voters of all parties, namely European Recovery Program and his demand for immediate strengthening of the nation's military defenses.

Many Won't Desert Party.

Louisville Ky.

3. A great many Democrats who now say they do not like the way Truman is handling his job, probably would not desert their party affiliation in November to vote for a rival party's candidate. Much will depend on the Republican chosen to run against him and events between now and election day. Fri.

4. The current Institute survey is an up-to-the-minute check of voter sentiment, the final ballots being counted only three days ago. Thus, it reflects what possibly may be the peak of ill-feeling against the President in the South on the civil-rights issue and in other sections on his Palestine-partition stand.

5. After considering all these points, however, the fact remains that the performance of the Democratic Party's most likely candidate is approved by fewer than four out of 10 voters, with the election less than seven months off. 4-23-48

Even among Democratic voters only one out of two give the party's chief a nod of approval. Fewer than one out of two voters who call themselves independents approve of Truman's performance: this is the group, amounting roughly to one out of every four voters, which contributed so greatly to Roosevelt's victories.

Truman's major sources of strength still are among the farm and worker groups. Geographically, the lowest ebb is in the Southern section and highest in the West Central.

Presidential popularity is based on the answers to the following question:

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way Truman is handling his job as President?"

The trend, since July, 1945, follows: The Courier-Journal

	Approve	Disapprove	No Opin.
July, 1945	87%	3%	10%
Feb., 1946	63	22	15
July	43	45	12
October	32	53	15
Jan., 1947	35	47	18
February	48	39	13
March	60	23	17
July	54	33	13
October	55	29	16
Today	36	50	14

The following tables show results of the latest poll by occupation, geographical section, and party affiliation:

BY OCCUPATION

	Approve	Disprove	No Opin.
Professional and business	30%	62%	8%
White collar	31	58	11
Farmer	39	45	16
Manual workers	40	42	18
Union members	41	43	16
Veterans	37	52	11

BY SECTIONS

Louisville Ky.

New England and Middle Atlantic	35%	50%	15%
East Central	33	53	14
West Central	42	44	14
South	30	58	12
West	39	48	13

BY PARTIES

Fri. 4-23-48

Democrats	50%	37%	13%
Republicans	24	63	13
Independent voters	32	54	14

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Presidential (Truman)

Truman Ignores Revolts, Predicts Election Victory

34a(1) The Times

New York, N.Y. Fri. 3-26-48

By CHARLES HURD

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 25—President Truman voiced today an undiminished optimism over Democratic political prospects in the face of direct questioning based on rising manifestations of discontent in that party's ranks.

He told a news conference that he would give the dissident groups, currently embracing both the conservative leaders in the Old South and the radical supporters of Henry A. Wallace, a chance to walk back into the party. He said he expected the Democrats to win in November.

In addition, he confirmed a recent statement by Senator Carl Hatch, Democrat, of New Mexico, that he would go through with his campaign for re-election on the basis of what he considered proper conduct of the Presidency without regard to political considerations.

In reply to questioning about politics, the President, in evident good humor, first replied that he had no comment. He quickly added that the situation did not disturb him, if that was what the inquirer wanted to know.

"Do you think," he was asked, "the Democrats who took a walk will walk back in November?"

The President suggested waiting until November to see. He would give them every chance to walk back. The Times

"You were correctly quoted," a reporter asked, "on the Hill as saying you intend to go through with it?" New York N.Y.

Yes, the President said, that was a correct quotation, the truth.

When another reporter asked if he was also correctly portrayed in a cartoon carrying the caption, "I Would Rather Be Right Than President," Mr. Truman laughed and said that he had the original of that cartoon. Fri 3-26-48

The President's cheerful prediction for November found little echo, however, in Congressional circles. The Southern representation seemed to be as solid as heretofore in its break with the White House over the civil rights program. The only exception appeared to be Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas, minority leader, whose floor position gives him special responsibility. 34a(1)

Congressional political interest centered today in plans to bring to the floor of the House in the near future a proposed Constitutional amendment by Representative Clarence F. Lea, Republican, of California, to nullify the electoral college system. The amendment has been approved by the judiciary committee, but a subcommittee met today to hear Representative Ed Gossett of Texas, speak in its favor on the ground that the Communist party might use the electoral system in a tight election to sway a Presidential election. Fri. 3-26-48

Under the electoral system the candidate who wins in a state gains the entire electoral vote. The amendment proposed by Representative Lea would direct that electoral votes be cast for all candidates in proportion to the popular votes they won in each state.

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7 OF 15 GOVERNORS REPUDIATE TRUMAN

The Times

New York, N.Y.

Sun. 3-14-48

One in Southern Conference Withholds Vote, Seven Absent —'Last-Ditch' Fight Urged

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 13—Seven Governors of states in the Solid South pledged themselves today to oppose President Truman for election in November.

A special meeting of the Conference of Southern Governors adopted a resolution calling on the people of the South to join them in such a project. The manifesto also formally repudiated the national leadership of the Democratic party. 34a(1)

The action brought to a climax a movement begun by the Governors at a conference at Tallahassee, Fla., on Feb. 7, in protest against the President's civil-rights program.

While they did not mention Mr. Truman by name, the Governors flatly stated that they would support only candidates for President and Vice President who entertained views similar to their own on the civil-rights issue. The Times

"We recommend to the people of the Southern States," the document stated, "that they fight to the last ditch to prevent the nomination of any candidate for President or Vice President who advocates such invasions of state sovereignty as those proposed in the said program."

The resolution went on to urge Southerners to see to it that Electoral College votes of their states were not cast for Democratic nominees favoring the proposed Federal laws against lynching, the poll tax, racial discrimination in employment and racial segregation. New York, N.Y.

It outlined methods by which this could be done without an outright bolt from the Democratic party. Sun 3-14-48

The Governors also called for restoration of the two-thirds rule in the Democratic national convention, by which Southerners in the past have been able to exercise a veto over some candidates favored by a convention majority. Sun.

They asked Democratic state conventions to instruct national convention delegates to work for the two-thirds rule and for the adoption of a plank in the national party's platform opposing the enactment of civil-rights laws.

Of the conference's fifteen members, seven were present. Six voted for the resolution, and the name of Gov. William M. Tuck of Virginia was signed to it by Senator Harry F. Byrd, who represented Mr. Tuck on a special committee which drew up the document and presented it to the conference.

Gov. William Preston Lane Jr. of Maryland, conference chairman, withheld his vote. He took the position that he could not speak for the Maryland Democratic convention prior to its meeting in May, but said he would present the proposal to that organization.

Voting to endorse the resolution were Govs. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, Beauford Jester of Texas, James E. Folsom of Alabama, M. E. Thompson of Georgia, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Ben Laney of Arkansas. 34a(1) 3-14-48

Absent from the meeting were the Governors of Florida, Louisiana, Kentucky, West Virginia, Oklahoma, Tennessee and North Carolina, who are also members of the conference.

The heart of the eleven-page manifesto was the following passage: The Times

"Resolved, by the Conference of Southern Governors in meeting assembled in Washington this 13th day of March, 1948: New York,

"1. That we go on record as repudiating the present national leadership of the Democratic party in sponsoring the so-called civil rights program.

"2. That we recommend to the people of the Southern States that they fight to the last ditch to prevent the nomination of any candidate for President or Vice President who advocates such invasions of State sovereignty as those proposed in the said program; and we pledge our influence in our respective states to this end.

"3. That we recommend to the people of the Southern States that, if the national Democratic party should nominate any candidate who advocates such invasions of State sovereignty as those proposed in the said program, they shall see to it that the electoral college votes of their States are not cast for such nominees; and we pledge our influence in our respective States to the objective that the delegates to the national convention will support and fight for a positive declaration for States' rights in the party platform and will support only candidates for President and Vice President who entertain similar views."

The Governors then urged Southern Democrats to "take all effective political action possible" to implement the resolution.

They suggested the following as among the available methods:

That state conventions defer the nomination of electors for President and Vice President until after the national convention. Sun.

That state conventions pledge their nominees for electors to vote only for candidates who oppose the civil-rights program. 3-14-48

That state conventions bind electors to vote for candidates selected by the conventions or by state Democratic executive committees. The Times

The Governors suggested a caucus of Southern electors "so that they can take concerted action in the electoral college if necessary." New York N.Y.

ANTI-TRUMAN BILL STIRS VIRGINIANS

The Times

New York, N.Y.

Some Democrats Rebelling at Measure Approved by the State Legislature

34a(1) Sun. 3-21-48

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

RICHMOND, Va., March 20—Political temperatures climbed a little higher in the Old Dominion this week as Gov. William M. Tuck's "anti-Truman" bill headed for its last round of formalities.

The measure will become law June 29, in ample time for Democratic party leaders to put machinery in motion to keep President Truman's electors, assuming he is the national nominee, toward the bottom of Virginia's ballot in November. At the top of the ballot will be the ticket and the electors designated by a state Democratic convention to be held after the party's national convention adjourns in Philadelphia.

A Stormy Reaction

The Times

Reaction to the Governor's measure has been on the stormy side. In the "Fightin' Ninth" District of southwest Virginia, scene of some warm Republican-Democrat battles, Dickenson County Democrats flatly revolted from the Governor's leadership. They pledged themselves solidly behind President Truman and the national convention. Liberal Democrats in eastern Virginia also have dissented sharply. New York N.Y.

The "anti-Truman" bill sailed through the State Senate March 12 by a 29-10 vote, after winning a convincing victory in the lower chamber of the General Assembly. The Legislature adjourned March 13, but will return to Richmond March 30 so that last-minute bills can be signed. The "anti-Truman" bill will be signed then. 3-21-48

Closing hours of the 1948 session also saw passage of a joint resolution which will permit a state-wide referendum in 1949 on the question of repealing Virginia's $1.50 poll tax. Sun

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State Committee Urged To Assemble And Speak For Party

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala

Sat. 3-27-48

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Handy Ellis, former lieutenant governor and candidate for delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention, at Philadelphia, opposes Truman, or any man sharing his views, for either the presidential or vice-presidential nomination. 34a(1)

He says, however, that he believes candidates for delegate should not bear the responsibility alone but that the State Committee should hold a meeting and speak for the party.

Mr. Ellis' statement was written in answer to an Advertiser questionnaire. He expresses the belief that Chairman McCorvey, of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, will call a meeting of that body as soon as the constitutionality, or non-constitutionality, of the Bentley bill governing electors is disposed of by the Alabama Supreme Court.

Straight Answer

Mr. Ellis does not dodge or quibble in his answer to The Advertiser. He hopes that Truman will not make it necessary for a division in Democratic ranks but, if he insists on the nomination and is nominated, Mr. Ellis is ready for the South to proceed under its own power. 3-27-48

The full statement of Mr. Ellis follows: The Advertiser

"The first duty confronting the delegates to the Democratic National Convention, after organizing, will be to write and adopt a platform upon which the Democratic Party will go before the people in the November election.

"If elected a delegate from the state at large, I will use my utmost efforts and all ability I possess to have a platform plank on civil rights as will meet the approval of the people of Alabama and the South. This means that there will be omitted any party declaration in favor of federal intervention in the matter of poll tax, anti-lynch laws, segregation, and employment practices.

United Effort

"I have been to the National convention before and we have always been able to keep these things out of the party platform. It seems that we should be able to do so again, and the united effort of the delegates from the South should be co-ordinated to this end.

"When a proper platform is adopted, I shall support some Democrat who is in accord with our Southern views and who does not wish to destroy our cherished traditions, time honored customs, and our way of life.

"I shall, at the convention, support for presidential and vice-presidential nominees only those who are in accord with the Southern view on racial matters, and a Civil Rights program.

"It logically follows that I will not support Mr. Truman in the convention, irrespective of what the Democratic platform may contain. The Advertiser

Definite Stand

"I do not favor any phase of President Truman's so-called civil rights program, and I reiterate that I will not vote for any candidate for nomination for the presidency or vice-presidency who favors any such program.

"I think the State Democratic Executive Committee should be called together to consider further the State's position in the event President Truman is nominated, or in the event the platform adopted at the convention is antagonistic to the South. I have good reason to believe that the committee will be called as soon as the Supreme Court of Alabama acts upon the request now pending before it to determine the validity or constitutionality of the Bentley act of 1945. Montgomery, Ala.

Cites Emergency

"An emergency exists, probably as never before, and there should be party action on this important matter, and the candidates for delegate individually should not alone be forced to make the decision. Sat.

"In my judgment, when the convention meets President Truman will be eliminated as a nominee for president, but in order to be sure of this result, the Alabama delegation should be fortified and supported by party action as well as by the temper of the Alabama delegation itself. When thus supported the convention would be made to realize that Alabama and the South are not bluffing, but are in dead earnest." 3-27-48

PRESIDENT READY

The Times

He Will Not Back Down on Palestine, Civil Rights Stands

34a(1)

M'GRATH TELLS DECISION

New York, N.Y.

Says After Talk With Truman That Democratic Leaders Requested the Move

Tues. 3-9-48

By ANTHONY LEVIERO

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 8 — President Truman declared this afternoon that he was willing to be a candidate for President if the Democratic party nominated him.

Making his first formal bil for a full, four-year term in the White House, the chief executtive affirmed that he would not back down on his civil rights policy, the most troublesome issue facing his administration and his party.

Mr. Truman also asserted that he would handle the Palestine problem without regard to politics but mindful of the security of the United States and of the world. He reiterated that decisions of the United Nations would be supported by the American Government.

The surprise announcement that Mr. Truman, heir of Fraaklin D. Roosevelt's unexpired term, was ready to run on his own record, came in undramatic circumstances.

McGrath Tells of Decision

Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, announced the candidacy and Mr. Truman's views in the lobby of the White House executive office. Before he did so, however, he talked with Mr. Truman for ninety minutes. The Times

"The first thing that I have to tell you," Senator McGrath told reporters, "is that in response to numerous requests from Democratic leaders throughout the country, I asked the President if I might state what his intentions are with respect to the coming Democratic National Convention.

"The President has authorized me to say that if nominated by the Democratic National Convention, he will accept and run."

Mr. McGrath came to the White House at 3:30 P. M. with a package of political woes that accumulated during Mr. Truman's recent fifteen-day Caribbean tour and vacation. With him were Gael Sullivan, executive director of the Democratic committee, and John M. Redding, publicity director. The latter remained in the lobby. At 5 P. M. Messrs. McGrath and Sullivan came out of the President's office, looking serious. New York, N.Y.

Civil Rights Plan Stands

Tues. 3-9-48

The revolt of the Southern Democrats, with its rising threat of secession from the party, became acute during the President's absence from the capital. During that time, the storm also arose over the restatement of American policy on Palestine by Warren R. Austin, chief American delegate to the United Nations.

Without prmpting, Senator McGrath plunged into the civil rights question.

"I talked to the President with respect to his civil rights message," Mr. McGrath said. "The President's position remains unchanged since he delivered that message. The Times

"I might state that it is my view, which I expressed to the President, that the substance of his message is as old as the Constitution of the United States itself and as new as the 1944 Democratic national platform." New York, N.Y.

Of the ten points of the civil rights program, which the President sent to Congress on Feb. 2, seven points directly bear on the Negro issue in the South. The Administration has sent to Congress a civil rights bill, but it is being held in abeyance by Democratic Congressional leaders. 3-9-48

Had they discussed Palestine, Senator McGrath was asked.

"I asked the President to explain the present status of the Palestine situation, which he did in considerable detail," the Senator said, adding:

34a(1)

"This question is one which affects the security of the nation and probably of the world, and the President will continue to handle the problem without regard to its effect on politics." The Times.

The Democratic chairman was asked if the remark on security was a reference to this country's oil interests in the Middle East. He replied that he had nothing to contribute on this point, then said:

"I assume the President is speaking for the policy of our Government. The President has assured me that our original position of backing up decisions of the United Nations has not and will not be changed." New York, N.Y.

When a reporter recalled that the Austin speech was branded by a New York group as a "betrayal" of American policy, Mr. McGrath reiterated that the President's policy "is not affected by political considerations." Tues. 3-9-48

He replied that "I can't discuss that" to a question as to whether the embargo on arms to Palestine would be lifted.

Truman's Move Called Astute

Political observers agreed that the announcement was an astute move at a moment when Democratic fortunes appeared to be sliding down an abyss. Messrs. McGrath and Sullivan were credited with the engineering and the timing of it. Tues. 3-9-48

Only about six weeks ago, Mr. Truman laughed off in a press conference questions on his candidacy, saying there would be plenty of time before the convention in July for an announcement.

Although it was generally acknowledged that Mr. Truman would be the candidate, there has been increasing speculation recently that he might decide not to run. This seemed to have been in Mr. McGrath's mind when he said that he had numerous requests as to Mr. Truman's intentions from party leaders.

When asked for particulars, however, Mr. McGrath said that the queries were from people who wanted Mr. Truman to run and wanted him to go on record.

A reporter asked if these queries reflected rumors that big-city political bosses wished to "dump" President Truman. Senator McGrath dismissed this by saying that "I'm glad as national chairman that this statement puts at rest all such rumors."

Truman Leaders to Meet

The effect of Mr. Truman's declaration on party discipline was awaited with interest, but observers doubted that the Southern wing would close ranks in the near future. The Times

Senator McGrath announced that the Presient would give a luncheon on Friday in the White House to the top leaders of the party, the recently appointed executive commmittee of the Democratic National Committee. Among its members are two from the deep South and two from Arizona and Oklahoma. New York, N.Y.

Mr. Truman will make his first appearance as an avowed candidate in New York when he addresses the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick on March 17. Tues. 3-9-48

Asked if a Vice Presidential candidate was discussed, Mr. McGrath turned to Mr. Sullivan, then said, "My gosh, we forgot that." The Wallace third party movement was not discussed, he added.

Mr. McGrath said that he was sure Mr. Truman would be reelected and Mr. Sullivan asserted that his stock was going up.

About Truman

34a(1)

WASHINGTON, March 8—(AP)—President Truman's announcement that he would accept his Party's nomination for a full four-year term left Democratic leaders divided and Republicans, on the whole, well pleased.

Among Southern Democrats, many of them in open revolt against Mr. Truman's leadership because of his civil rights program, the announcement caused gloom but little surprise.

However the man who made known the President's decision, Sen. J. Howard McGrath, Democrat, Rhode Island, expressed confidence he would be nominated and elected.

Sen. Holland, Democrat, Florida, said Mr. Truman "will have plenty of trouble in the South—some support but a great deal of opposition."

Sen. Eastland, Democrat, Mississippi, one of the leaders in the Dixie civil rights revolt, told reporters: The Constitution

"I'm going along with the Democratic Party of Mississippi. Our course is clear."

James S. Peters, Georgia's Democratic Executive Committee Chairman, remarked merely, "I'm against him (Truman)."

Gov. Jim McCord, of Tennessee, remarked, "I should think he would run, wouldn't he, if nominated?" Atlanta, Ga.

Mississippi Democrats already have made plans to prevent the State's electoral vote from going to Mr. Truman. Tues. 3-9-48

Sen. Thye, Republican, Minnesota, predicted Mr. Truman "will be one of the easiest men for the Republicans to defeat."

Sen. Williams, Republican, Delaware, added: "We welcome him into the race."

Sen. McMahon, Democrat, Connecticut, an Administration supporter, said only he had expected the announcement.

So did Sen. Pepper, Democrat, Florida, another who has defended Mr. Truman.

Sen. Ellender, Democrat, Louisiana, said: "I'm not surprised. I expected it."

In Jackson, Miss., Gov. Fielding L. Wright said he was convinced the Party wouldn't nominate Mr. Truman.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, said, "I'm agaianst him (Truman) from start to finish."

Desperate Demos Trying To Dump Pres. Truman

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

BIRMINGHAM, ALA—(SNS)

Desperate Democrats are trying to dump President Truman for several reasons. Fri.

The political bosses in the East are looking for a strong man which they do not see in the President to help pull their local tickets through.

7-9-48

Southerners are mad with him over his "Civil Rights Objectives" which Mr. Truman announced in a message to Congress but failed to fight for.

New Dealers are angered with the Democratic Party Chieftian for his removal of strong New Dealers from key cabinet and other influential positions of government.

Southerners are even talking of being willing to support Supreme Court Justice Douglass, a fervent New Dealer who holds even more positive and broader civil rights view than President. That is the give way of Dixie Desperation.

The truth is that no man can be elected president of the United States in November who does not have an authentic favorable record on civil rights. Daily World

Excursions to several different sections of the Nation convince me that Dwight D. Eisenhower will not pull many Negro votes because of his testimony before Senate Military Committee which has been interpreted as either status quo or less. Walter White of the N. A. A. C P. who had written glowingly of the General reversed his position after the testimony. Atlanta, Ga.

Dump Truman and I believe that the Democratic Party will deprive itself of the Negro vote in key states. The Negro vote is the balance of power in 17 states and a dominant factor in several others.

The Negro vote, if Eisenhower is nominated, is likely to be heavily split between Governor Dewey and Henry Wallace. President Truman has more appeal right now among Negro voters throughout the Nation than Gov. Dewey. Gov. Dewey has failed to abolish the jimcrow guard in his state. Pressure by the multi-minorities living in New York are responsible for New York's state FEPC and other civil rights and anti-discrimination laws.

Fri. 7-9-48

Eisenhower could give Dewey no more than good run, it seems to me. In a political campaign, much that is often forgotten is dug up. On the contrary, Dewey's public record is well known.

It is possible that Negro voters who would be angered over the ditching of Truman would go on a voters' strike and therefore enable Dewey to win handily winning the electoral votes in the 17 pivotal states.

I can list at least ten enticing reasons why a substantial number of Negro voters are enthusiastic about President Truman:

1. His foresight in organizing the Committee on Civil Rights and his courage in building civil rights program out of it and sending it to Congress.

2. Appointment of Judge Hastie to be Governor of the Virgin Islands gin Islands.

Daily World

3 The naming of Irving C. Mollison and Herman Moore to federal judgeships.

4. His appearance before the 1947 annual NAACP conference as a headline speaker. Atlanta, Ga.

5. He took Negro newspaper correspondents on his tour of the Virgin Islands and his non-political trip to the West Coast.

6. Twice he spoke out forthright for the FEPC. Fri.

He "lent the prestige and weight of his office" to defeat Congressman Slaughter "from his home state of Missouri who took pride in boasting that that he had killed the (FEPC) bill by bottling it up in the House Rules Committee."

7. His refusal to back down on his civil rights program after being threatened with revolt by the Southern wing of his party.

7-9-48

8. His attack on the 80th Congress was a brilliant piece of public service. For the Republican-controlled Congress with its working alliance of backward Southerners blocked civil rights and social welfare legislation.

9. Attacks on the President from the extreme right and left seem to indicate that he has been on good middle ground.

10. His record as a Senator in which he supported fully the New Deal tends to show that he is sensitive to the responsibility of modern revitalized democracy.

As Henry Moon points out in his book, "Balance of Power," "Unlike the Southern vote, the Negro vote today is tied to no political party. It cannot be counted in advance." He further warns that: 'The size, stratgic distribution, and flexibility of the Negro vote lend it an importance which can no longer be

overlooked." Daily World

Harry S. Truman is having a hard time as did Wendell Willkie. What ever, the outcome, he will be beloved by the common people with an affection that will endear him to generations to come. He has taken his stand for the good of his country. A few politicians do not like this. They may toss out but that can't turn back the march of man toward a democracy giving and guaranteeing full civil rights and freedoms to all of its people alike. Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 7-9-48

Truman Urged To Back Anti-Jim Crow Law

Journal & Guide

1-3-48

Norfolk, Va.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—A telegram urging President Truman in his annual message to Congress to appeal for abolition of discrimination against colored people was sent to the White House Christmas Day by the National Negro Council following a meeting of local colored leaders.

Racial segregation in schools in the District of Columbia and 17 states, including Missouri, not only works to the disadvantage of 4,000,000 colored students, the council asserted, but endangers the rights of 40,000,000 white school children in the United States.

Sat 1-3-48

President Truman was urged to call on Congress to carry out recommendations made by the President's Commissions on Higher Education and the Committee on Civil Rights.

In recent reports, the commissions cited flagrant injustices resulting from discrimination against colored people and other minority groups.

TRUMAN WITHDRAWAL URGED BY THURMOND

The Times

N.Y.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina appealed to President Truman last night not to compete for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. He conceded that Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's refusal to seek the nomination might have left the field so favorable for President Truman that he would be nominated on the first ballot, but argued that this would spell certain defeat for the Democratic party in November.

Governor Thurmond declared that by his "so-called civil rights program" President Truman had so offended most Southerners that he actually had slowed up social progress in the South, and alienated most of the supporters on whom he could traditionally count. The Southern states have been working to improve the educational and economic opportunities of Negroes, he said, but they believe firmly in segregation of the races and will not tolerate "unconstitutional" Federal attempts to break it down. Sat 7-11-48

But while President Truman is an unacceptable candidate in the South and elsewhere, Governor Thurmond declared, "the liberal minded people of America, those who believe in the progressive social and economic development of our country, do not want a Republican administration." N.Y.

"We must defeat a Republican party which numbers among its inner circle so many of the same old powerful and influential reactionaries, who hope to ride back into the same old control of our domestic affairs by means of the Republican Philadelphia ticket," he said. The Times

"We must keep the nation's foreign affairs out of the hands of a Republican party which is still isolationist at the core." 7-10-48

Negro Publisher Praises Truman's Equality Orders

Courier-Journal

7-29-48

Special to The Courier-Journal.

Chicago, Ill., July 28.—John H. Sen[illegible], publisher and editor of The Chicago Defender, today wired congratulations to President Harry S. Truman on his "tradition-shattering executive orders which are being hailed as historic in their significance as the Emancipation Proclamation."

Louisville Ky.

"In demanding full equality of opportunity and the end of all racial bias in the armed forces of the United States and Federal Government, you have thrown the full weight of the executive branch of the Government behind full citizenship for Negro Americans," the wire said in part.

Truman Finds Some Dixiecrats Supporting Him On A-Veto Stand

Birmingham News

Both Hill, Sparkman Back Up President With Other Senators

Sat. 5-22-48

WASHINGTON, May 22—(AP)—President Truman had evidence today that some of the Southern Democrats who have been battling his civil rights program still are willing to support him on other matters.

The evidence came in the form of 27 Democratic Senate votes which sustained his veto of a bill which would have permitted senators to order an FBI investigation of key atomic officials.

Two Republicans—Langer of North Dakota and Morse of Oregon—also went along. But as yesterday's count turned out their votes weren't needed to give Mr. Truman his first veto victory this year.

GOP LEADERS had counted on Southern anger over the president's civil rights proposals to help them override the veto. 5-22-48

But only nine Democrats joined the 38 Republicans voting to override. That was four short of the necessary two-thirds majority.

Among those supporting Mr. Truman's argument that the bill would invade his executive powers were such outspoken critics of his civil rights program as Sens. Olin Johnston of South Carolina, Hill and Sparkman of Alabama and Stennis of Mississippi.

Other Southerners who voted with the president included Sens. Ellender of Louisiana, Fulbright of Arkansas, George of Georgia, Hoey of North Carolina, Pepper of Florida and Umstead of North Carolina. Birmingham

The nine Democratic votes cast against the veto came from eight Southerners—Byrd and Robertson of Virginia, Eastland of Mississippi, Holland of Florida, McClellan of Arkansas, McKellar and Stewart of Tennessee and Russell of Georgia—and Sen. Downey of California.

SEN. SPARKMAN, an outspoken critic of the civil rights proposals, said his veto vote was based solely on a constitutional question. Sparkman's state already has fixed matters so it won't cast its electoral vote for Mr. Truman.

Walter White Praises Truman Anti-Bias Move

New York Herald

Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said Monday night:

"President Truman, I am sure, is aware of the fact, as is every other intelligent American, that there can be no equality with a segregated pattern. We are confident, therefore, that he will do everything in his power to abolish not only discrimination based on race or creed, but also segregation in the armed services.

Wed. 7-28-48

NAACP TOLD TRUMAN CHAMPION OF RIGHTS

6-25-48

(The Associated Press)

Kansas City, June 24.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was told Wednesday night that President Truman was the acknowledged champion of civil rights.

Oscar R. Ewing, federal security administrator, said Mr. Truman "deliberately risked his whole political future" in taking his "forthright stand" in setting out his civil rights program. Fri.

"He antagonized a large wing of his own party and laid himself open to a nunparalleled bar-

"I personally am convinced from experiences as a war correspondent in both the European and Pacific theaters of war, that this can be done more easily and swiftly than many of the brass hats in the Army Department believe. Wed 7-28-48

"With respect to both the executive order abolishing discrimination in the armed services and the establishment of machinery to eradicate discrimination and segregation in other government departments, we are delighted that one President has had courage enough to tackle these two basic evils. This will restore faith in the democratis process at home and help to re-create American prestige abroad."

…e of threats and personal abuse—at a time when such threats and abuse could damage his political aspects most," Ewing said in a prepared speech before the association's 39th convention. "And he stuck to his guns." New Orleans, La.

CRUMP LOSES FIGHT TO REJECT TRUMAN

The Times

New York, N.Y. 34a(1)

Tennessee Democrats Vote to Send Uninstructed Group to Philadelphia Convention

Fri. 4-16-48

NASHVILLE, Tenn., April 15 (AP)—The Tennessee State Democratic Convention rejected a sharply worded, anti-Truman resolution today in favor of a milder one leaving delegates to the national convention in Philadelphia uninstructed on the Presidential nomination.

The convention adopted the resolution on a voice vote after an hour of debate. The resolution instructs the delegation of forty to vote as a units at Philadelphia.

The action of the convention, which wa sclosely divided on the anti-Truman measure, was a defeat for E. H. Crump, party leader of Shelby County (Memphis) whose delegation of more than 400 supported it.

The convention, however, selected Mr. Crump — who has announced his opposition to Mr. Truman both in the national convention and the general election—as one of sixteen delegates-at-large to the July 12 national meeting.

The anti-Truman resolution, presented by Roane Waring of Memphis, was the minority report of four members of a ten-man resolutions committee. The resolution would have pledged delegates against Mr. Truman in the convention and pledged the party's Presidential electors to vote against him. The Times

It would have put the state party on record as saying "We shall never cast our votes for him, but, on the contrary will vote for a true Democrat representing the best interests of the people of Tennessee, the South and the nation."

Mr. Waring insisted on adoption of the minority resolution after attacking the President and his civil-rights program.

He declared the national party head "does not represent the true Democratic party" and that he had "forfeited his right for consideration as a Democrat."

"For such a man I have the most supreme contempt," Mr. Waring added. New York, N.Y.

The convention went on record as opposing Mr. Truman's c… rights program and the propos… FEPC bill. It pledged the state's delegation to fight for restoration of the two-thirds rule. Fri.

Tennessee's forty delegates at Philadelphia will cast a total of twenty-eight votes. 4-16-48

STATE DECLINES TO FIGHT TRUMAN

The Times-Picayune

New Orleans, La.

Central Committee to Seek Two-Thirds Rule

Thurs. 6-24-48 (34)

(The Associated Press)

Baton Rouge, La., June 23. — Louisiana's Democratic central committee has refused today to take any part in the revolt against President Truman's civil rights program.

The Louisiana House and Senate recently approved resolutions urging the committee to adopt the anti-civil rights program outlined by a conference of Southern governors in Washington several weeks ago.

Today the committee instructed its delegates to the national convention only to work for a restoration of the two-thirds rule "and of states' rights." The civil rights proposal did not come before the meeting.

Sen. Allen J. Ellender, a supporter of Earl K. Long in the recent gubernatorial primary, was dropped from the list of delegates as the committee chose its representatives to Philadelphia.

Among those named as delegates at large were U. S. Reps. Hale Boggs and Otto Passman.

William Helis, millionaire race horse owner, was among those named as alternates.

Gardiner Vice-Chairman

The committee elected State Sen. Lessley Gardiner of Opelousas as vice-chairman and confirmed a list of delegates to the national nominating convention.

Gardiner succeeds E. Wayles Brown of Shreveport, who died about three weeks ago. Thurs.

Gardiner, who introduced the resolution, told newspapermen that the reference to state rights was not intended to bind he delegates to any particular course of action. He said the delegates were free to consider the legislative resolution "if should

Named to represent the state at the convention were:

Delegates-at-large, one-half vote each; four for each US senator.

James A. O'Connor, Jr., James A. Comiskey, Hugh Wilkinson, Hale Boggs, Fred Peiper, all of New Orleans; Frank Ard of Lafayette; E. H. Williams of Shreveport; Ed Gillia mof Gilliam.

Alternates— A. Harry Fisher, Dudley Desmare, Harry Batt, Paul Maloney, Jr., all of New Orleans; Otto Mestayer of New Iberia; Mrs. P. C. Fair of Mansfield; A. K. Kilpatrick of Monroe, and Vincent Mouser of Columbia.

Additional delegates-at-large, one-half vote each, as "bonus" for the state's support of the Democratic ticket: 6-24-48

Otto Passman of Monroe; William F. Kline of Clinton; Charlie Cole of Greensburg; Robert Boudreaux of Lake Charles; Adraste Landreneaux of Mamou; Edward Boagni of Urania, and Dr. George S. Long of Pineville.

Alternates—C. Ory Dupont of Plaquemine; A. C. Lewis, Jr., of Baton Rouge; Henry A. Reid of Lake Charles; John Clark of Eunice; Dr. Walter M. Murrell of Alexandria; J. M. King, William Helis of New Orleans and William Bisso of New Orleans.

Congressional district delegates, one vote each:

L. H. Perez of Dalcour; Sam Boylan, Frank B. Ellis and William Harry Talbot of New Orleans; Harvey Peltier of Thibodaux; Joe Daigre of New Iberia; Ben F. Roberts of Shreveport; Mrs. John Wessly Glover of Shreveport; Elliott D. Coleman of St. Joseph; Allen Sholars of Monroe; Horace Wilkinson of Port Allen; Ivan A. Magnitski of Bogalusa; Robert L. James of Lake Charles; C. L. Marcantel of Elton; J. A. Blackman and Paul Gilham of Alexandria. The Times-Picayune

Alternates — John J. Grosch, Louis Knop, Henry Heaton, all of New Orleans; Vernon Wilty of Gretna; Aildar Mahler of Houma; Leo Bullard of St. Martinville; A. J. Broussard of Benton; Hop Fuller of Bossier City; Henry C. Sevier of Tallulah; Willard Kilpatrick, Lake Providence; Jesse L. Webb, Baton Rouge; Robert D. Jones, Bogalusa; A. L. Stuart, Jack Daigle, Winston Stokes of Bunkie, and Dr. W. E. Reid of Leesville. New Orleans, La.

The committee made several changes in the earlier list of convention delegates,, named in March. Officers said too many delegates for the votes allowed the state had been named then. Thurs.

A number of delegates and alternates were shuffled between district lists and positions at large.

Delegates dropped completely from the earlier list included:

Fred A. Earhart, Aubert Talbor, Sen. Allen J. Ellender, Dr. Bell Hewitt, C. C. Barham, Coleman Lindsey, W. H. Knott and Frank W. Hawthorne. 6-24-48

The committee announced another meeting July 9 to issue the formal call for the August 31 senatorial and congressional primary.

Democrats Still View

Daily World

Truman Ahead

[illegible]

Sun 7-4-48

Not Since 1872 Has Area Varied From Demo Ranks

34a(1)

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C— (NNPA) — Republicans are hoping, with the Dewey-Warren ticket, to crack the "Solid South" in the Presidential election, Speaker of the House Joseph W. Martin, Jr., had revealed Saturday.

Democratic leaders, however, believe that southern states will cast their electoral votes for President Truman, who is assured of nomination at the Democratic national convention opening in Philadelphia on July 12. Their forecast is based on the belief that the civil rights program of Mr. Truman is less distasteful to southerners than the civil rights record of Governor Thomas E. Dewey. Sun

At his press and radio conference last Thursday, President Truman not only forecast his nomination on the first ballot in the convention, but predicted that he would beat Dewey and Warren.

He also discounted reports of a southern revolt at the convention. Some southern Democrats and the American for Democratic Action are supporting General Dwight D. Eisenhower and opposing Mr. Truman's candidacy. The southern bloc, which is bitterly opposed to Mr. Truman's civil rights program and the ADA, which is strongly supporting that bloc, will be unable to form an anti-Truman coalition. 7-4-48

The President rejected as foolish a question of whether he would withdraw as a candidate for the nomination.

THE RECORD

Not since 1872 has there been any defection from the Democratic party of the states in the Deep South. In 1872, northerners, who had gone south after the Civil War, and freedom, put the electoral votes of all the southern states into the Republican column for the reelection of President Grant.

In 1876, the Returning Board for Florida gave Tilden, Democrat 22,923 votes and Hayes, Republican, 23,849, but the State Supreme Court gave Tilden 94 majority.

The Returning Board of Louisiana gave Tilden 70,508, and Hayes 75, 135, but the figures on the face of the returns are said to have been: Tilden, 82,326; Hayes, 77,023.

Since then Hoover has been the only Republican to carry any state in the Deep South. In 1928, he carried Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Mr. Martin preditcted "a major shift in the border states." The border states of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia have several times shifted their political allegiance.

CASE OF DELAWARE

Delaware was carried by Cleveland in 1896, McKinley in 1900, Theodore Roosevelt in 1904, Tale in 1908 Hughes in 1916, Harding in 1920, Coolidge in 1924, and Hoover in both 1928 and 1932.

Kentucky was carried by McKinley in 1896 and Hoover in 1928.

Maryland was carried by McKinley in 1896 and 1900, Theodore Roosevelt in 1904, Taft in 1908, Harding in 1920, Coolidge in 1924 and Hoover in 1928.

Missouri was carried by Theodore Roosevedt in 1904, Taft in 1908, Harding in 1920, Coolidge in 1924, and Hoover in 1928.

Oklahoma was carried by Harding in 1920 and Hoover in 1928.

West Virginia was carried by McKinley in 1896 and 1900, Roose… 1904, Taft in 1908, Harding in 1928,

Mr. Martin named Tennessee, Virginia and Florida, in which the Republicans may pick up House seats long occupied, by Democats.

"We've got a vot-getting ticket that can't be beaten," he said.

BREACH-HEALING

Democratic leaders, however, took the view that the nomination of Governor Dewey may heal the breach in the Democratic party in the South over the civil rights issue. They believe it will prevent southern states, in revolt against Mr. Truman over the civil rights issue, from carrying out their threat of withholding their electoral votes if Mr. Truman is nominated at Philadelphia.

Under Governor Dewey's leadership, New York State has enacted and is enforcing a law against discrimination in employment and also has enacted a law against racial discrimination in the admission of students to institutions of higher learning.

President Truman in February reommended to Congress a 10-point legislative program, including legislation to establish a Fair Employment Practice commission make lynching a federal offense abolishing poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in federal elections

Negroes Told Truman Leads

Their Right

Louisville, Ky

Kansas City, June 23 (AP) — The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was told tonight that President Truman was the acknowledged champion of civil rights.

Oscar R. Ewing, federal security administrator, said Truman "deliberately risked his whole political future" in taking his "forthright stand" in setting out his civil-rights program.

"He antagonized a large wing of his own party and laid himself open to an unparallelled barrage of threats and personal abuse — at a time when such threats and abuse could damage his political aspects most," Ewing told the association's 39th convention. "And he stuck to his guns." Thurs. 6-24-48

Ewing said it was the business of the "Federal Government to fight vigorously the prejudices and hostilities — the selfishness and greed—which so long have prevented a decent solution of our so-called Negro problem."

Ewing warned the association against "enemies abroad" who pointed out the "Negro problem" as a "failure of our democracy."

Ewing said the nations problems, including civil rights, should be settled "within our own family as American citizens."

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Presidential (Truman)

Law Forcing Electors' Vote For Truman Slated For Test

Montgomery, Ala. The Advertiser

Wed. 3-3-48

By ATTICUS MULLIN

The Bentley law of 1945, authored by Senator Bentley of Coosa, which would require a presidential elector, chosen in a general election, to vote for a candidate nominated in any particular party primary, is "mere balderdash" according to Chairman Gessner McCorvey of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee. Wed. 3-3-48

This law has been cited by some as a reason why Alabama electors cannot vote against Truman, the racial equality candidate for the Democratic nomination for the presidency.

Electors, it is pointed out, are chosen in the general election. Certainly they could not be bound to vote for any convention nominee. They are the servants of the people and not of a party. And, furthermore, if there was an independent candidate for President who was not nominated by a convention, there could be no law preventing him from getting elected at the hands of the electoral college.

Court Ruling

I predict that the Supreme Court of Alabama, the only body which can pass upon this matter insofar as Alabama is concerned, will soon be asked for an opinion as to the constitutionality of the Bentley law. And nobody with whom the writer has talked doubts that the court will act quickly. The Advertiser

And I predict further that, in the next few weeks, a meeting of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee will be called. When that committee meets it is possible that candidates will be further pledged not to vote for Truman or anybody like him or that a State convention will be called which will fix a platform upon which every Democratic candidate will be forced to run. Montgomery, Ala.

An interesting event took place Tuesday. Jeff Beeland, of Greenville in Butler County, announced as a candidate for delegate to the National Democratic Convention from the Second Alabama District sometime ago. At that time he said he was for Truman. Now he says in a letter to the writer: Wed 3 3 48

Reverses Stand

"Since writing you in reference to being a candidate for delegate to the Democratic convention, men in whom we had some confidence have made declarations to which I cannot subscribe. (He means Truman.)

"I will not vote for Truman or any other person who endorses a civil rights program contrary to the traditions of the South. I will not vote for any person who does not declare himself opposed to the FEPC. I stand firmly for white supremacy in the Democratic Party. Advertiser

Thus Mr. Beeland follows Walter Givhan of Dallas in an outright unequivocal bid for the white vote of Alabama and of those who sympathize with white supremacy. Wed. 3-3-48

'Dead Bird' Tag Pinned On Truman

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Rivers, South Carolina, Pleads For President To Pull Out Of Race

Wed. 3-3-48

'Shame On GOP'

Anti-Lynching Bill Gets Nod In House Unit; Crump Stand Backed

WASHINGTON, March 2.—(AP)—A cry that "Harry Truman is a dead bird" was raised by a Southern Democrat Tuesday as Republicans piled new fuel on the Dixie "civil rights" revolt.

Rep. Rivers (D), South Carolina, beat the anti-Truman drum after: The Advertiser

1—The House judiciary committee, dominated by Republicans, approved a federal anti-lynching bill. Montgomery, Ala.

2—Seven senators, five of them Republicans, pressed for Senate action on a bill to set up a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission to outlaw job discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups. Wed

The anti-lynch and FEPC bills are among the Truman recommendations which have touched off a revolt among Southern Democrats, with threats to break with the national party if the President is nominated for a full term in the White House. 3-3-48

Rivers told Republicans in a House speech they were making a mistake in trying to "embarrass" Mr. Truman by pushing through his program.

"You are going to burn down the house to get at the rats," he shouted. "You had better make friends with the South right now while there is still time."

Committee Meets 3-3-48

A committee of Southern Democrats in the House who are fighting the Truman program met later in the day. Chairman Colmer (D), Mississippi, told reporters no decisions were made.

In New York, Henry A. Wallace's campaign manager said there would "no doubt" be Negroes among the congressional candidates on Wallace's third party ticket. Montgomery, Ala.

The spokesman, C. B. Baldwin, denied reports that the party itself would run Negro candidates in specific districts. That's "entirely up to our state organizations," Baldwin said.

Tuesday's developments came after Mississippi and South Carolina Democratic organizations threatened a clean break with the party's national leaders and took steps to raise money for possible separate campaign this Fall. The Advertiser

Governor Dewey, of New York, announced he would give up his usual Spring vacation and personally lead his campaign for the GOP presidential nomination.

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Democrats Ponder Ditching Truman

News

Birmingham, Ala.

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON—Anti-Truman resentment among the Democrats is now so deep that some are actually talking about trying to dump him. 2-13-48

What Truman has succeeded in doing is alienating both wings of the party—the Southern Democrats and the Northern liberals. This was something that Roosevelt, despite the kicking around he gave to some leaders, was careful never to do. Fri.

But now Truman has rubbed Northern liberals the wrong way by ousting such Roosevelt appointees as Marriner Eccles, James Landis and John Fahey. Simultaneously he has made Southern leaders boil over with indignation at his civil-rights message.

Result of all this is that some Democratic leaders are even talking among themselves about finding a new candidate. Admittedly they don't think the chance is great; for it's almost impossible to block the renomination of a sitting president. However, some of them have been quietly discussing a boom for Justice William O. Douglas, while others talk about a draft-Eisenhower move for the Democratic ticket. After all, the first and only political speech Ike ever made was at a Jackson Day dinner at the age of 18. 2-13-48

Meanwhile Henry Wallace has told friends that he would yank his third party out of the running if the Democrats nominate Eisenhower, Douglas, Judge Thurman Arnold or any other Roosevelt Democrat.

Note—What Democratic leaders fear most is that Wallace's third party will carry so much of the labor vote that it will be impossible for Truman to carry New York and Illinois.

Putting On The Pressure

Southerners opposed to the civil rights proposals of President Truman—and they unquestionably constitute a great majority—can put a lot of pressure on the national Democratic leadership. They already have begun to do so. The special committee of the Southern Governors Conference, which called on National Democratic Chairman McGrath, has already turned on a good deal of heat.

* * *

2-25-48

Of course Mr. McGrath and his associates dare not be indifferent to the possibility of a break in the "Solid South." The Hoover victory of 1928, which was substantially aided by strong Southern support, is not to be forgotten. Sentiment against the national leadership of the party conceivably might become even stronger than in 1928. So, of course, Mr. McGrath was concerned.

He assured his callers that he had never taken Southern support of the Democratic Party for granted. Birmingham Ala.

He declared that Mr. Truman's statement that he had ordered a civil rights division set up in the Justice Department was not a move aimed at the South, but was intended as a means of dealing with "hoodlumism" in industrial districts.

Sen. McGrath said he himself would be satisfied with the civil rights platform plank of 1944. Wed. 2-25-48

His manner was friendly and conciliatory. But, when asked two crucial questions, he stood firm. He said he would not use his influence as chairman to restore the two-thirds rule in the 1948 Democratic convention or to have civil rights proposals withdrawn from consideration by Congress.

Mr. McGrath was very explicit on those points. So the governors could not claim a victory. Their next move is to report to the full conference.

Birmingham, Ala.

In the meantime, the committee issued a statement saying that "the Southern states are aroused and the present leadership of the Democratic Party will soon realize that the South is no longer 'in the bag.'" This plainly implies, of course, that desertion of the party will be advocated unless satisfaction is obtained. Wed. 2-25-48

But it is to be noted that the statement went on to say that "each Southern state, under the framework of an over-all program, will work out the most effective means of resisting the proposals of the present leadership of the party, but resist them we will." Further, "the time has come for strong and effective action by the Southern states not only to save the Democratic Party. . . ."

These latter passages indicate that the committee is still thinking of action within the party.

Wed. 2-25-48

Of course neither the committee nor even the full conference could commit Southern Democrats in general to desertion of their party. News. Birmingham, Ala.

There are other important issues besides the civil rights proposals—issues upon which there are differences between the Democrats and Republicans.

The protesting Southerners can exert pressure on the party's national leadership—and are doing so—but fulfillment of threats of party desertion and the meaning of a Republican victory for the South are other matters.

Truman's Predicament

John Temple Graves

The Record

"Cannon to right of them, cannon to left of them,
Volleyed and thundered . . ."

Columbia, S.C.

Mr. Truman has to deal with a Bronx cheer now in addition to a rebel yell. After taking all sorts of pains, at great cost, to outbid Henry Wallace in what goes for liberalism, he has been given to understand that liberals of this ilk prefer Wallace, nevertheless, and that party ties don't count. That is what the Bronx election means, it seems to me. Not that there is a chance of a Wallace national victory, but only that the radical vote belongs to him and no amount of bidding by Trumanites can take it.

Tues. 2-24-48

Ellis Arnall and others who are saying the Democratic party can only win when it is "liberal" may or may not have some good suggestions now. What should be done when (1) liberals in that sense won't vote Democratic and (2) the country as a whole is against such liberals, no matter how an isolated little lot of them in the Bronx comes out and votes.

If Mr. Truman loses the South or any part of it now, he is lost for sure. Is he convinced that there is danger of losing it? Or is he still so sure of the South that he will go on bidding against Wallace until Wallace is persuaded back to the fold as presidential heir apparent for 1952? In the later event the South would most certainly not go Democratic.

The situation makes this more than ever a time for Southern Democrats to take an absolute stand. Without the radical vote, Mr. Truman needs the Southern more than ever. With the radical vote, won back at the high price that would now have to be paid, the South could not go along with Mr. Truman or any party over which he presided. It is a time for great settlement.

Tues. — 2-24-48

The Democratic party is in so bad a situation its chances of victory next November do not seem large. If there is to be a Republican administration, this is all the more desirable a time, from the South's point of view, for the party shake-up and realignments indicated. Great history is on the program. These states can ride its wave if they will be bold. The Record

They will have to be considerably bolder than when they breath uncompromising objection to the civil liberties program of the President without looking further than the Democratic convention. Their cause at the convention is lost in advance if they are not prepared to act beyond the convention. Columbia, S.C.

Four years ago, with less cause, there was great talk of revolt in the South. It failed for several reasons. One was the lack of enough looking beyond the convention. The only plan was a half-baked one of having electors violate their moral obligation to support the national nominee. This time, in one way or another, there need to be candidates for elector who will be subject to no absolute pledge as regards the nominee.

President Makes Up With James Roosevelt

Burbank, Cal., Sept. 23 (U.P.)—President Truman and James Roosevelt buried their political feud here today. 34a(1)

Roosevelt climbed aboard the rear platform of Truman's train and grasped the President's hand. Both grinned.

Roosevelt sponsored a preconvention attempt to ditch Truman for Dwight Eisenhower and was left holding the bag when the general refused to let his name go before the convention.

Will A Southerner Run With Truman?

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

He May Choose Course To Pacify Dixie Demos Angered Over Civil Rights Bill

Wed. 2-4-48

34a(1)

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4—(AP)—Politicians wondered today whether the cries of Dixie Democrats outraged by the racial issue might influence President Truman to choose a Southerner as his running mate.

The speculation among some Democrats here runs this way:

1. The revolt against Mr. Truman's 10-point civil rights program may never bring about the electoral college results its sponsors predict, but it could hurt the president in border states. Wed 2-4-48

2. The late President Roosevelt was sufficiently concerned in 1944 by an even weaker Dixie protest to toss Henry Wallace overboard. He picked Mr. Truman, a Missourian, for his vice presidential nominee.

3. Someone like House Minority Leader Rayburn of Texas could be chosen without serious offense to either racial or labor groups in the North. He would give Southern Democrats a voice at court. Birmingham Ala

THE POLITICIANS who talked of these things emphasized that they are only speculating. President Truman alone knows how seriously he regards the Southern complaints. His party leaders are inclined to discount them.

Sen. McGrath (R. I.), Democratic national chairman, told a news conference at Troy, N. Y., yesterday that the Democratic Party historically has championed human rights. He added he does not expect it to "fail in this issue." The News

It apparently is the party leader's view that they have more to worry about on the score of Wallace's third party bid for the presidency than they have about the role of the South. Wed 2-4-48

In some quarters, the president's submission of the 10-point program was credited, in part, to a desire to head off Wallace's appeal to minority groups.

Wallace has been working the minorities side of the street hard. The News

AS AN EXAMPLE, he telegraphed the Senate labor committee yesterday to oppose segregation of Negro war veterans in hospitals. Wallace said such a deal would be "outrageous" and smacked of "Fascists' creed."

While his Southern colleagues fumed, Sen. Lucas (D., Ill.) took a dig at Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York by publicly inviting the GOP presidential aspirant to help congressional Democrats support "the New Deal farm program." Birmingham, Ala.

In a speech to the Senate, Lucas said Dewey's comments in a recent address show that the New Yorker is for that program "100 per cent."

Dewey and the Democrats agree, Lucas said, that there should be a floor under farm prices, that production controls should be used only as a last resort and that the family farm should be preserved.

"All of this advice to the farmer makes me wonder where the governor has been for the last several years," Lucas said. "After all, Albany is not so far from Washington." Wed. 2-4-48

SENATORS CHOSEN FOR WIDE SCRUTINY OF TRUMAN REGIME

The Times

New York, N.Y.

34a(1)

Aiken Names Ferguson Head of New Body With Unlimited Powers for Investigations

Fri. 2-27-48

CLARK MADE ISSUE AGAIN

Kem Consults Inquiry Chief on Missouri Vote Charges—Many Studies Looming

Fri. 2-27-48

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26—The most powerful Senate Investigating Committee in history, with an unrestricted and primary mandate to inquire into the acts of the Executive branch, was organized today to confront the Administration across the bitterness of this election year. The Times

Its newly designated chairman, Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, within two hours of his appointment was in consultation with Senator James P. Kem, Republican, of Missouri, the original sponsor of an investigation of Attorney General Tom C. Clark.

Mr. Kem, who for more than a year has been accusing the Attorney General of "whitewashing" alleged vote frauds in a Democratic primary election of 1946 in President Truman's home county in Missouri, would comment upon his conference with Senator Ferguson only to this extent:

"It can be stated that I continue to have an interest in this matter of investigating Mr. Clark."

The Ferguson Subcommittee was created as the chief, and, in effect, the only investigatory body of the Senate, in an action which for the first time centered such power and jurisdiction in a single group.

Group Is Chosen by Aiken

The group was chosen by Senator George D. Aiken, Republican, of Vermont, from among the membership of his Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, in a closed session within eighteen hours of the Senate's final approval yesterday of an appropriation of $170,000 for the investigators.

Its seven members, with Senator Ferguson as the chairman, constitute collectively a majority of all the thirteen members of the parent group, the Committee on Expenditures.

Mr. Aiken termed it "as strong a group as could be got in all of Congress." The membership is as follows: 2-27-48

Republicans—Senators Ferguson, Irving M. Ives of New York, John W. Bricker of Ohio, Edward J. Thye of Minnesota. Fri

Democrats—Senators John L. McClellan of Arkansas, Clyde R. Hoey of North Carolina, and Herbert R. O'Conor of Maryland.

Senator Ferguson disclosed that the intention was to have the largest permanent staff of investigators ever assembled in Congress.

The committee has or will have jurisdiction shortly over all major inquiries into the executive branch of government; over all the war-procurement and allied matters formerly in charge of the old Senate War Investigating Committee; over any further inquiries into commodity speculation; and over a presently recessed investigation into the disposal of war surplus goods.

Wide Surplus-Property Inquiry

In the field of surplus property alone, Mr. Ferguson declared, there were "fifty or more matters" which would engage the committee's counsel, apart from "ten or fifteen" war-procurement cases left over from the War Investigating Committee. The Times

So much work was in prospect, he said, that the committee would be busy after Congress had adjourned for the Democratic and Republican conventions and would be active all during the rest of the year and through the Presidential campaign. New York, N.Y.

The creation of the committee, and the extraordinarily large appropriation granted to it only yesterday, proceeded in every aspect of a plan laid down many weeks ago by the Republicans after it had become apparent that they could not bring about an investigation of Mr. Clark under the existing state of affairs. Fri

Mr. Kem's resolution for the inquiry was turned down earlier by the Republican-controlled Judiciary Committee, by the margin of one vote, that of a party irregular, Senator William Langer of North Dakota. 2-27-48

The Republicans turned their attention then to the floor, attempting in vain to obtain a decision there to overturn the Judiciary Committee. The Democrats, pointing to the fact that the Judiciary Committee had refused to sanction such an investigation, cried "politics" and never would permit a vote.

It was then that the Republicans reached the conclusion that what one termed "anoher avenue" must be found. New York, N.Y. 2-27-48

George Boom Slated By Georgia Democrats

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Fri. 3-26-48

ATLANTA—(AP)—A Walter George-for-President boom gained momentum in Georgia Thursday.

34a(1)

Two top leaders in Herman Talmadge's powerful political organization plumped for the senior Georgia senator as the Democratic presidential nominee.

They said President Truman didn't have a chance to win.

State Democratic Chairman James S. Peters said the veteran Georgia senator, a former chairman of key Senate foreign relations and finance committees, "unquestionably would bring more votes to the Democratic Party this year than would President Truman." 3-26-48

Another spokesman, State Comptroller Zack D. Cravey, predicted the Georgia delegation to the Democratic National Convention definitely would en-

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"the committee down the[y] might
instruct delegates anyway, but I
have not consented to anyone."
ter George for president.
In Washington, George said

They Want To Stop Truman

(34a(1)) Pres. Atlanta Contitution

WASHINGTON—It seems that the chief entertainment in the preliminaries next week before the Democratic National Convention opens in Philadelphia will be one of those "stop" movements that occupied the Republican Convention briefly before it fizzled out. This, of course, will be a stop-Truman performance.

It is, interestingly enough, the failure of the stop-Dewey maneuver that has given new hope to the stop-Truman crowd. If Sen. Taft, of Ohio, had been nominated, or if a deadlock had occurred and resulted in the selection, say, of Sen. John W. Bricker, of Ohio, or Speaker of the House Joseph W. Martinor some other conservative, then President Truman would have been a stronger candidate than he now appears and the case of those who want to ditch Mr. Truman would have been weakened.

But the Dewey-Warren ticket, it is generally agreed, is about the strongest that the Republicans could have picked. Such a ticket, the anti-Truman people now argue, emphasizes the need of another and stronger candidate for the Democrats.

Fri. 7-2-48

So, for a few brief days at Philadelphia, we'll see the huddles of anti-Trumanites, the issuance of statements filled with high hopes and optimistic claims and then it will all blow up after filling columns in the newspapers and taking big chunks of radio time. But it will all be fun.

Atlanta Ga

The job of the stop-Truman crowd is literally herculean compared to that of the stop-Dewey crowd. Where the stop-Dewey forces had a whole bevy of candidates—too many, in fact—the anti-Truman contingent has none that it can count upon. The stop-Dewey drive collapsed, as so many such "stop" movements have wilted in the past, because of too many prima donnas. But the stop-Truman campaign lacks even one prima donna. Nobody courts this role, that is, nobody who could satisfy enough delegates and pull together the dissident elements of the badly mangled Democratic Party.

Atlanta Constitution

It is the schism in the Party that raises the chief obstacle to the stop-Truman group. The latter necessarily is made up of so many irreconcilable elements which could never get together on a candidate who otherwise might be available.

There is the old New Deal element now organized in Americans for Democratic Action, ADA, and embodying CIO support and some smattering of AFL Labor. There is the bloc of Southern revolters, extremely conservative and anti-New Deal and anti-Labor for the most part, which was moved to rebellion by President Truman's civil rights program, which they abhor and which the ADA crowd is supporting stongly. Then there is the big city machine element represented so far chiefly and publicly in Jake Arvey, the new Democratic boss of Cook County and Chicago, with which New Dealers have joined forces before, strange as that alliance always seemed, but which has little in common with the Southerners.

Field marshal of the ADA forces is chunky, talkative Leon Henderson, ADA Chairman. He will have headquarters for his group in a college fraternity house in Philadelphia, hired for the occasion, and he promised, being himself an inveterate cigar smoker, that there would be "smoke-filled" rooms for the anti-Truman campaign. He makes grandiose claims about the number of delegates who are ready to drop President Truman, far more than a majority by his calculations, but is a bit vague about how these are to be drawn together behind another candidate.

All the otherwise dissident elements probably could agree on Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower—for varying reasons and for no one particular reason except that the polls show he could win against any Republican combination. But Ike is having none of this, he has made quite clear.

The real candidate of the ADA-CIO alliance is Associate Justice William O. Douglas, of the Supreme Court. Mr. Henderson points out that the Justice has raised no bar against the campaign for himself. How well the Justice, an ardent New Dealer in the Roosevelt Administration, would suit the Southerners is quite a big question. He is for the civil rights program, and his views on social and economic welfare measures do not comport with the standard Southern conservative viewpoint.

7-2-48

After the usual amount of smoke at anti-Truman conferences you may expect to see Harry Truman nominated. There is no easy way of salvation for the Democratic Party, such as a new face on the campaign posters. It seems destined for the hard road of defeat and slow rebuilding.

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Truman Doesn't Weigh His Words

(34a(1)) Pres.

The News

BY DREW PEARSON

Birmingham, Ala. Mon 4-12-48

WASHINGTON—A few months after F. D. R.'s death catapulted Harry Truman into the most important elective office in the world, he was sitting on the front porch of the Summer bungalow of the widow Morris at Reelsfoot Lake, Tenn. Newspapermen in the party asked him about the atomic bomb. Would the United States, they queried, keep the bomb's know-how a secret? The new president emphatically replied that we would.

Almost falling off the porch, newsmen scurried into the night, looking for telephones.

Mr. Truman looked around at George Allen. "What did they want to leave for?" he asked. "There's still plenty of liquor."

Harry Truman did not seem to realize that his words as president of the United States meant a lot more than his words as Harry Truman, the senator. 4-12-48

Three years have now passed since the fateful afternoon when Harry Truman became president of the United States, and even today he still does not seem to realize that his words and actions reverberate around the world. As Jimmie Byrnes describes it, he still shoots from the hip, he still makes snap decisions that influence the fate of millions. He still seems unconcerned that our jerky, up-and-down-hill, somersault policies would make it difficult for our friendliest allies to remain our allies—except that we have too much money to lend. They never know what we're going to stand for day after next.

* * *

Sizing Up Truman

The News

WHEN HISTORIANS chronicle the story of Harry Truman, they will probably evaluate him as honest, sincere, courageous, stubbornly right about such domestic policies as price control, taxes, civil rights, labor and monopoly. But they will also accuse him of putting personal loyalty ahead of national welfare. They will find that his temper frequently proved his undoing, that he was hotheaded, unbalanced in times of crisis, and so frequently flew off-the-handle on vital decisions that the American people finally lost confidence. 4-12-48

Bob Hannegan, in the days when he was still trying to alibi for Truman, used to say: "Sure he made a mistake, but he was man enough to come out and admit it."

Birmingham, Ala.

The trouble is that no president can afford to make many mistakes.

* * *

Shooting From Hip

JIMMIE BYRNES, when secretary of state, was always careful to warn Truman, when he had to decide on an international matter, not to make up his mind until he, Byrnes, had explained both sides. Byrnes knew that if he wanted to, he could get any decision he wished merely by presenting one side first. For one of Truman's greatest weaknesses is shooting from the hip.

The News

That's why Secretary of Defense Forrestal, in a few brief minutes of pleasant conversation, was able to reverse a decision made by the Truman administration and the United Nations on Palestine after weeks of careful debate.

Birmingham, Ala.

Even after three years of holding press conferences, Harry Truman still does not realize that his words reverberate round the world. Last month, he called this columnist a liar. This affected only one man. But in the very same press conference he also called his own secretary of state a liar on Chinese policy. This affected 400,000,000 people. Mon. 4-12-48

He said that at no time had the United States considered taking Chinese Communists into the Chinese government. Newsmen attending the conference, realizing Truman's mistake, tried to save him. They asked questions calculated to remind the president that he himself had sent a special ambassador to China for the express purpose of getting the Chinese Communists to participate in the Kuomintang government.

But either the president couldn't remember or didn't want to remember this once widely publicized fact.

4-12-48

He himself, when Gen. Marshall was appointed special ambassador to China, had announced that Marshall was undertaking the mission in order to bring the Communists and Chiang-Kai-Shek into a coalition government. And Marshall on his return from China announced to the world that he had failed because of recalcitrance on both sides. These were irrefutable, public statements.

Truman Bawled Out Stalin

PROBABLY TRUMAN'S most disastrous shot from the hip occurred when he was a senator. That shot is still ricocheting down the corridors of the Kremlin, spattering occasional blood in our delicate relations with that most difficult of all nations.

In June, 1941, when Harry Truman was senator from Missouri and Germany invaded Russia, he was asked by the press for comment. "If we see that Germany is winning," he said, "we ought to help Russia. And if we see that Russia is winning, we ought to help Germany, and that way let them kill as many as possible."

The News

A lot of people have shared that view—then and since. But they were not members of the United States Senate, serving under a president who laid down a national policy of aid to Russia. Naturally, the gentlemen in the Kremlin read the newspapers. Naturally also, when Stalin sat down with the new president of the United States at Potsdam, this remark was not forgotten.

Probably it was even re-emphasized by the bawling out Truman gave Stalin on the first day of their meeting—a bawling out which caused that great foreign affairs expert, White House Military Aid Harry Vaughan, later to remark:

Birmingham, Ala

"Chief, you certainly gave it to him. That was wonderful."

Mon 4-12-48

Stalin has deserved many a bawling-out as far as Soviet-American relations are concerned. But you can't reprimand a chief of state as if he were a schoolboy on the first day you meet him—and then expect future relations to be cordial.

So when historians chalk up the final record of Harry S. Truman they may well compare him to a freight locomotive engineer who suddenly finds himself pulling a streamliner. And as we near the end of Harry's run, the United States of America is still on the tracks, but the sleepless, shaken-up passengers just don't want to ride with him at the throttle any more. At the next division point they are pretty sure to seek a new engineer.—©.

Truman's Southern Allies

This, one supposes, is the time to haul out the old bromide about what politics does to bedfellows. Some Southern Democrats who have been scrambling out of Truman's bed for some time because of his civil rights program are scrambling back in again because of his veto of the Bulwinkle bill. They are determined to back the president in this latter move of his. Sen. Russell, of Georgia, one of the chief bolters, has jumped to Truman's defense. Southern Democrats, he said, "are going to fight like the devil to sustain him on this."

34a(1) 6-15-48

If there is any observation to be made on such matters of expediency, it may be simply that men can work together or apart with singular intensity when their interests so guide them. The South does not want the Bulwinkle bill, which protects ICC-approved railroad rate-making from anti-trust prosecution, to become the nation's law. It feels it would be discriminated against and that its economic interests are to be served by defeating the bill. Birmingham News

Undoubtedly the bolters believe sincerely that a program of civil rights such as the one espoused by Mr. Truman is wrong. Even those, however, who may concede that there are certain of the president's proposals which might not greatly disturb the pattern of Southern life are not able to take a chance on supporting him. For they feel that they cannot be elected on such a platform. 6-15-48

They will say that they are for the president when he is right and against him when he is wrong.

President Truman

The Herald 34 a (1)

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

There are two recognized sources for obtaining an education in our nation, through which men are qualified for political or business life. One is the college or university, the other the "school of hard knocks." The writer, like President Truman, was brought up in this latter school. The duties are rough and rugged, but the rules of conduct are very simple. These rules demand that you pay your honest debts, that you do not lie or steal, and that you be loyal to your friends. For some reason these rules have developed a sense of courage and modesty that often goes unnoticed in our modern world of false pretense and verbal bull-boogery. To accept failure in silence without offering a long-winded alibi is also a part of the tradition. Let us see if our president has lived up to his bringing-up. Birmingham, Ala

It is in the record wherein President Truman publically admitted his mistakes. The rebuke by a Baptist College in Texas which withheld an honorary degree from him because he drank whisky and played poker is generally known. He accepted this rebuke with humility and by practice has improved the cause for this complaint.

Let us review one of Truman's accomplishments. President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill first met Stalin. As horse trading goes, we now know that in some respects Stalin traded them out of everything but their breeches. Later President Truman met Stalin at Potsdam. When he left for Potsdam, his mother gave her son this advice: "Don't let them bluff you, Harry." Her son, Harry, took the best hand in the deck to Potsdam, which was the atomic bomb secret. The record shows President Truman played dumb at Potsdam for 30 days and let Stalin do the talking. We had often urged Stalin to help us in Manchuria, but he always said no.

President Truman left this meeting without batting an eye. He took three days of further meditation en route home to prepare his conscience for a terrible act of human destruction. The responsibility for this destruction to be unleashed at his will was a duty no other president in our history has been asked to assume. Finally, he literally snapped his finger and an atom bomb hit Hiroshima that killed 100,000 Japanese. In 48 hours Stalin ordered thousands of Russian troops to invade Manchuria. Newspapers reported that Stalin, with shame in his heart, sulked for six weeks at a health resort, because a good horse-trader beat him at his own game. June 4-11-48

Viewing our president's political conduct at home, there is much evidence available that he is a poor public speaker and has no concept of how to cement good public relations. His first mistake in this matter was evident when Churchill spoke at Fulton, Mo. President Truman felt he was helping the home folks by adding tradition to this religious school through Winston Churchill. Churchill took advantage of him by making a strong speech against the Russians that he should have made in England. Next, Henry Wallace had Truman approve a speech he did not understand. He felt Wallace tricked him in this matter and fired him. His civil rights committee handed him a report from which a college professor wrote a speech he made in Congress. This speech brought on the present civil rights controversy.

The subjects of civil rights and civil liberties are most confusing. Civil rights is by law a constitutional matter. Civil liberties, which are often confused with civil rights, is unwritten law established by custom and tradition by which human conduct is governed. Few of our best educated Americans could speak for our nation as a whole on these subjects without offending someone. This being true, should we not withhold some of our ill will toward our president?

States' rights are still states' rights in our nation because some laws in most states vary. Women have for years past and are today fighting for equal rights in some form in almost every state. Japanese of American birth have a campaign on for civil rights. The Negro is very active, too, as we know. Henry Wallace and numerous other rabble-rousers are campaigning for office on this issue. Do you think it fair to pick our president out of all this confusion of opinions and declare him the only man to be purged?

The three issues on civil rights our president often has spoken out on with frankness are as follows: Equal educational rights, equal voting rights and equal professional rights. Equal educational rights, qualified by states' rights privileges, where the government provides the money, seems fair. Equal voting rights will in time work themselves out. Equal professional rights are justified and but few will deny it. The News

Many believe the difficulties in Europe our nation's No. 1 problem. If true, why not let President Truman, who is hand-made for the job, handle Stalin? Birmingham, Ala

June 4-11-48 DR. FRED G. LEIGHTY.
2111-A Fifth Avenue, North.

Rally to Protest Truman Talk at Jimcrow College

34 a (1) Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

Daily Worker Wed. 5-19-48

Special to the Daily Worker

PHILADELPHIA, May 18.—The CIO Teachers Union has asked President Truman to cancel his scheduled address at Girard College here Thursday "because it is a Jimcrow institution."

A "White House spokesman" was quoted in the **Philadelphia Inquirer** as saying that the President would make the address as scheduled, and that he had no comment on the teachers' protest.

The North Philadelphia Civic League, a Negro organization, has called a mass rally in front of the college for Thursday noon.

Truman will be the main speaker at the 100th anniversary celebration of the founding of Girard College, a home restricted by its founder, Stephen Girard, to "poor, white, male orphans."

The Pennsylvania edition of The Worker initiated a campaign some months ago against the lily-white restriction at Girard. It is supported by a fund that has grown to 90 million tax-free dollars, invested largely in anthracite mine holdings and Philadelphia real estate and administered by the Board of City Trusts. 5-19-48

The local Negro press and other groups have joined the campaign to have the college admit the first Negro orphans in its 100th-year existence. They are also protesting Truman's appearance there. Wed

Earlier this year, the trustees closed the institution for several days, sending "home" some 1,200 boys, in order to break a strike for higher wages by 25 AFL engineers. New York, N.Y.

Teachers at the institution are also victims of discrimination. They have no standard salary scale, no tenure, and recently a teacher with 22 years service was discharged.

Daily Worker

WASHINGTON, May 18 (UP).—President Truman will speak extemporaneously when he addresses Girard College students at Philadelphia Thursday. Wed

He will address the 1,300 students in the College chapel at 5:05 p.m. (EDT) for 10 or 15 minutes. He will arrive at the 30th Street station in Philadelphia at noon. He will tour the college campus before the speech. 5-19-48

Members of the Democratic National Committee's executive committee will be in Philadelphia on the same date to pick a keynoter and permanent chairman for the party's national convention.

Wallace Finds Truman Is at Fault; Says Self-Made 'Angel' Shifts Onus

34 a (1) New York Times

CLEVELAND, June 20 (UP)—Henry A. Wallace tonight called President Truman "a selfannointed angel" whose head is "too big for his halo." Mon. 6-21-48

In an attack on Mr. Truman, Mr. Wallace, a Presidential aspirant, charged that the President always blamed "the other guy for everything that goes wrong."

Mr. Wallace's speech was prepared for delivery before a mass rally in Cleveland's public auditorium. The rally was called to protest the refusal of Edward J. Hummell, Ohio Secretary of State, to put the Wallace Third Party on the Ohio ballot in November.

"It is interesting that Mr. Truman in his Western travels put all the blame for the reactionary course of domestic policies on the Congress," Mr. Wallace said. "That's one kind of speech Mr. Truman has learned how to deliver—speeches blaming the other guy for everything that goes wrong."

"And he wasn't very far from Washington before his head got too big for his halo. The self-annointed angel blames all domestic ills on the Republicans in Congress; and all the ills beyond our borders from Bogota to Athens are Joe Salin's fault."

He charged that Mr. Truman was not "the fighting liberal he pretends to be" but "a partner in the move to curtail civil rights."

"It is always a safe bet that Harry Truman will be right 50 per cent of the time," Mr. Wallace said. "He is on both sides of everything." 6-21-48

Mr. Wallace said he would not debate Mr. Truman's statement that this was "the worst Congress in history," but he held the President equally responsible for this country's difficulties.

"Inflation — housing — health — taxes—business—labor," Mr. Wallace intoned. "It is obvious that Mr. Truman's protestations of purity and innocence and his accusations of guilt are about as valid as those of the man who plans a robbery, loads the gun and then tells the police it was his partner who pulled the trigger and killed the cashier." 6-21-48

Mr. Wallace declared that "a united protest will stop the philosophy of Hitler, Himmel and Hummell from conquering freedom in the sovereign state of Ohio." He asserted that since February 46,000 persons in Ohio had signed petitions for the third party but that Mr. Hummell, "without hearings, without due process, without any legal grounds whatsoever," had decided that the people of Ohio "should not have a chance to choose between the cold war and peace next November."

"The Secretary of State based his utterly irresponsible, un-American decision on his own allegation that some signers of a new party affidavit are Communists," Mr. Wallace said. "Even if one assumes that the Communists advocate violence, end even if Mr. Hummell had evidence that some signers of the affidavit were Communists, we would be at a loss to understand his mental gymnastics, perverted patriotism and callous contempt of citizenship."

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Truman)

The News Birmingham, Ala. Mon. 3-22-48

Sparkman And Truman

It is easy to understand Sen. Sparkman's feeling that the only hope for a Democratic presidential victory this year lies in the withdrawal of Mr. Truman from the race.

The sentiment against the president is very strong in the South. Unquestionably he made a great mistake in the presentation of his civil rights recommendations.

It was a grave mistake in dealing with the South's racial situation. It was a basic misconception of how best to advance progress in this field, which should come by continuation of voluntary and regional measures. Anything else would be attempted compulsion of a majority in a great region. That could not work.

Mr. Truman's move was also a major political blunder. It is now apparent that he may indeed lose some Southern states even if his program is not pressed, even if the Democratic convention adopts only a general racial plank similar to that approved in 1944.

Mr. Truman, of course, is facing a hard fight in other parts of the country. Without the South, it is hardly conceivable that he can win. It was on this basis that Mr. Sparkman reluctantly came to the conclusion that the president should withdraw. Mon. 3-22-48

* * *

But, of course, there are obvious and very serious drawbacks to such an appeal, coming from Southerners.

In the first place, it is most unlikely that the president will withdraw. Mr. Truman may have many weaknesses, but timidity and lack of determination are not among them. His pride is profoundly involved.

It is to be realized also that many Democrats in other parts of the country feel very differently about Mr. Truman from the way so many Southerners do. They are not thinking about his withdrawal. They feel that if he withdrew that would make Democratic defeat even more certain than would Mr. Truman's nomination. with efforts continued

The one hope in the minds of Mr. Sparkman and many others is that Eisenhower might accept the nomination. That still may be a possibility, of course, but it remains a very slight possibility. We believe Eisenhower meant just what he said in taking himself out of the race. It would take a tremendous public demand to change that decision, if indeed it could be changed at all. There are too many conflicting considerations to make likely a great united sentiment leading to such action.

Would Truman withdraw without broad agreement on who would be the nominee? do not think that is at all likely, even to work out a basis of harmony in the party.

So, on the grounds of what is best for the party, there is much question whether it would be served by withdrawal.

if it be assumed he would do so on the basis of such an agreement. The News

Would Eisenhower agree to run if Truman agreed not to do so? We doubt that, too

Further, it is extremely difficult for this paper to see how the national interest, especially in world affairs, could be served and adequately protected if Mr. Truman's withdrawal were forced and the government for many months were weakened by a leadership that had in effect been repudiated. Birmingham Ala.

Mr. Truman would only withdraw under pressure, if at all. Such pressure would have to be based on rejection of his leadership by his own party. What would be the nation's position and future, what would be the party's position and future, in the event of such a rejection? Mon.

The next few months are going to be extremely critical for the fate of all mankind, for the fate of this country. Mr. Truman, fighting for reelection, would be one thing. Mr. Truman, repudiated by his own party, would be another. 3-22-48

We understand Sen. Sparkman's viewpoint, but, frankly, we see little realistic hope in it.

Dixie Leaders Just As Balky As President

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Tues. 3-9-48

Wright Reaffirms Stand; Rushton: 'No Support For Truman In State'

ATLANTA, March 8.—(AP)—Rebellious southern Democrats were as "unchanged" as President Truman Monday night on the civil rights issue.

They made that clear after the President said that if the Democratic Party naminates him he will accept and run for a full term.

Southern political leaders displayed little surprise that Mr. Truman should seek the presidential nomination. Whether he can be nominated or, if so, with the election, were questions that brought varying opinions.

Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, one of the first Southern governors to oppose the president, said:

"We are not only opposed to Truman but to anyone else who advocates Truman's policy."

Earlier Monday Wright said he was convinced the Democratic Party would not nominate President Truman, but that even that action "will not satisfy the South."

Folsom's Comment

The Advertiser

Gov. Folsom of Alabama, who has announced his own candidacy for President, had only this to say: "Any good American should run for the presidency if nominated by the Democratic Party." Montgomery, Ala.

However, Alabama's National Democratic Committeeman, Marion Rushton of Montgomery, commented: Tues. 3-9-48

"Unless he changes his pronouncements of anti-southern legislation and unless the party adopts a platform without bringing in his civil rights program, Truman won't get any support in Alabama."

Crump Speaks Out

From Ed Crump, veteran Memphis political boss, came a prediction that Mr. Truman "probably will get the nomination." Tues. 3-9-48

"He has sufficient key men North, East and West," Crump continued. "Yes, he'll get the nomination but his election is another thing. Many of us will vote for a real Democrat, probably a Southerner."

Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas said Saturday he did not believe President Truman can be nominated.

"No comment" was the reaction from Gov. Millard Caldwell of Florida.

James S. Peters, Georgia's Democratic executive committee chairman, remarked merely, "I'm against him (Truman)." The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Gov. Jim McCord of Tennessee remarked, "I should think he would run, wouldn't he, if nominated?" Tues. 3-9-48

Flight From Truman Mon 4-5-48

The sudden bolt of Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama from the discordant Truman bandwagon has had a profound effect on other party regulars. Although Hill is a Southerner, his Senate colleagues feel that his action cannot be dismissed as just another civil-rights protest. A former majority whip, Hill has an impressive record as a liberal, and close associates say that his bolt was due more to Truman's "poor showing" on domestic policies than to the civil-rights program. He's said to have been dismayed by the President's dumping of such liberals as Chester Bowles, Marriner Eccles, Wilson Wyatt, and James Landis. Look for Northern and Southern progressives to follow Hill's example.

[illegible] Dayton O. Mon 4-5-48

Will Truman Be Ditched?

By Marquis Childs

The News

WASHINGTON—PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND THE ADVISERS close to him are busy putting out public and private assurances that the man in the White House has no intention of removing himself from the political scene by renouncing the Democratic nomination at Philadelphia. They say that he will stick to the end, come what may.

But what is happening both here and out in the country makes it possible—yes, probable—that the decision will be taken out of his hands. The professional politicians are moving in to save what they can of the party organization, including their own claims in bankruptcy on what is left of the Democratic machine.

That is the real meaning of the talks that have gone forward quietly here and in New York and Chicago. Speculation turns on a respective ticket that would best hold together what is left of the party. Birmingham, Ala.

The Dissidents' Ticket

DEMOCRATS ON CAPITOL HILL in touch with dissidents out in the country are talking in terms of Sen. Scott W. Lucas of Illinois for president and House Minority Leader Sam Rayburn of Texas for vice president. Or the order might be reversed, with Rayburn in the No. 1 place and Lucas in No. 2.

In this there is no hope of victory. Repudiation of the president by his own party would be too big a handicap to overcome. The campaign would be comparable to that waged in 1924 by John W. Davis, who was nominated after the Democratic Party, in the Madison Square Garden convention of that year, had all but destroyed itself over Al Smith, the Ku Klux Klan and the Catholic issue. Fri. 3-26-48

The candidates would give a respectable imitation of a campaign, doing it as cheaply as possible since, naturally, large contributors would not be flocking in to volunteer donations. In this way utter disaster, threatening dissolution of the party, would be averted. As the gloomy professionals cast up the score, that is about the limit of their hopes.

* * *

Two Important Events

TWO EVENTS BROUGHT ABOUT the grim fact-facing sessions of the past week. One was the outright reversal of the Palestine partition decision. That produced open revolt in New York and Chicago, where the Jewish vote is a vital factor.

The second event was the defection of Alabama's two senators, Lister Hill and John Sparkman. This was like a sudden lightning flash revealing the extent and the depth of the Southern revolt.

Hill and Sparkman are both liberals, both men of integrity. They had announced that they would support the president. But the groundswell of revolution back home made that impossible. The News

This, plus the situation with respect to the delegates to the Democratic convention and the Democratic electors to be chosen in the Alabama primary. Of 28 candidates for electors to go to the electoral college and cast Alabama's 11 electoral votes in November, 22 had pledged that they would not cast them for Harry S. Truman. Thus if Hill, running for delegate to the Philadelphia convention, were pledged to Truman, he would be committed to a candidate who could not receive the vote of his state.

Surveying the gloomy scene, the party's professionals realized that Mr. Truman might go down to a defeat as sweeping as that of Alf Landon in 1936. GOP Candidate Landon carried only two states, Maine and Vermont. Birmingham, Ala.

The Southern States would accept a Lucas-Rayburn ticket. They would, in fact, accept almost any other Democrat than the present occupant of the White House. 3-26-48

Thus, by sidetracking Mr. Truman, the Democrats would carry the Solid South. They might pick up other scattered states, particularly if the Republicans go back to William McKinley for their candidate. They might save congressional seats in cities which would otherwise go down in the general ruin.

The presidency is a powerful office in more ways than one. But whether the present president could head off such a move, if and when it takes final and definite form, is highly uncertain.—©

The Tide Of Revolt

IF THE TIDE OF SOUTHERN revolt continues at the present flood, Mr. Truman seems likely to lose all of the states south of the Mason and Dixon Line with the exception of North Carolina and possibly Florida. Gov. Millard Caldwell of Florida has said that he will do everything he can to prevent Mr. Truman's nomination but, failing to prevent it, he will not lead a move to deprive Candidate Truman of the state's electoral vote. Fri.

1

Truman Vs. Wallace

The News

President Truman departed from his prepared St. Patrick's Day speech to make a few remarks on Henry A. Wallace. He would have done better to have kept to his manuscript. For extemporaneous personalities of the sort to which he yielded could possibly help Wallace more than they hurt him, and they probably did not help Truman.

Birmingham, Ala.

(34a(1)) Fri. 3-19-48

President Truman said he would not accept the political support of "Henry Wallace and his Communists." He would as soon be defeated, he said, as to accept the support of the Wallace following. "Any price for Wallace and his Communists is too much for me to pay," he added.

Mr. Truman's rejection of Mr. Wallace's support is understandable. Most Americans, in all probability, share that general attitude. But the manner in which Mr. Truman phrased the rejection could conceivably aid Mr. Wallace.

The Truman implication that Wallace's supporters are all, or even chiefly, Communists is a kind of demagogy that could react in Wallace's favor. Not all of the Wallace support comes from Communists. Perhaps only a small amount of it does. 3-19-48

A recent Gallup poll gives Wallace 8 per cent of the total popular following. That would mean about 4,000,000 voters. Does Mr. Truman think there is anything like that number of Communists in the country? A press association study made in the Summer of last year found only 70,000 Communist Party members in the United States. The 1946 congressional elections listed only 7,472 Communist votes. The 1944 presidential election showed only 45,336 votes for the Socialist-Labor ticket supported by Communists. If all minor parties with a leftist tinge are included, there were only 950,000 votes in the 1944 election that could by the broadest of definitions be called Communist. It is preposterous to think that the number of Communists in the United States could have multiplied in the last four years to the point where even a majority of Mr. Wallace's following could belong to that party.

The News Birmingham, Ala. Fri. 3-19-48

* * *

3-19-48

Name-calling is poor political tactics, questionable for all and especially for the United States. In this instance it may well boomerang. Most American people like fair play. They want truth in their political charges. They don't want exaggerated and misleading statements from those whom they look to for information and leadership. Extravagant charges against Wallace may create sympathy for him, just as they might for anybody else.

(34a(1))

If Truman wants to minimize Wallace's influence, let him ignore him. Let him pitch his own utterances on a level far above personalities. Let him remember, if he can, that it isn't Wallace or Truman or Dewey or Eisenhower that count the most, but principles and standards and ideals.

Birmingham, Ala.

The News Fri. 3-19-48

But lest anyone be misled by this criticism of Truman, let us add that this paper prefers Truman to Wallace by a margin as wide as the Tennessee River in flood time. And that is one reason why we don't want Wallace helped by unfair personalities.

The Governors And Mr. Truman

The News

What are the implications of this action of six Southern Democratic governors meeting in Washington to discuss politics, especially the Truman candidacy for the party's presidential nomination? How far does it represent Southern sentiment? How far can the governors go in putting their ideas across?

Tues. 3-16-48

Six governors signed the statement, representing Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas. The governor of Florida was in Washington, but did not attend the meeting. The governor of North Carolina sent word he had important business at home. The governor of Virginia, who lives only a short distance from Washington, did not attend, although represented by the approving Sen. Byrd. No statement was made about the governors of Tennessee, Louisiana and Kentucky. The governor of Maryland was present but abstained from voting. Oklahoma, considered a border state along with Maryland, was not represented.

Birmingham, Ala.

Do these six men speak for the South? They do not speak for men like Sen. Lister Hill. They do not speak for Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Alabama Democratic ommitteewoman, in their to-the-bitter-end opposition to President Truman as the Democratic nominee.

The News

The six governors apparently would lead their states to vote against Mr. Truman regardless of what stand is taken on civil rights in the party's platform. Their vote to "fight to the last ditch" against anyone advocating federal legislation on civil rights does not seem to leave any loophole for later support of Mr. Truman on a platform acceptable to the South. They stand pledged to vote and work against him if he is nominated, no matter what the platform says.

That is going pretty far, much farther than a lot of good and loyal Democrats in the South are willing to go. There are many Southern Democrats who "prefer Mr. Truman, on an acceptable platform, to anything that could be offered by the Republicans with their historic and present policy toward the South and Southern problems.

Birmingham, Ala.

The six governors will have some influence. But they have no authority to bind their states or their states' electors or delegates to any specific course. They can adopt resolutions and make recommendations, and that is all that they did in Washington. The decisions still rest with the voters.

Tues. 3-16-48

JAY G. HAYDEN

(34a(1))

Has the Truman Revolt Failed?

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga

Ralph Jones, whose column usually occupies this space, is ill.

Tues. 4-20-48

WASHINGTON—The move to block the nomination of President Truman is rapidly fizzling out—mainly because his Democratic opposition, excepting Southerners and the Wallace group, failed to find any place else to go.

Edward J. Flynn, of New York, and Frank Hague, of New Jersey, combined to put a quietus on the effort to swing Northern city machines against Truman, which Boss Jake Arvey, of Chicago, the Roosevelt boys and the CIO had hopefully started.

Flynn and Hague acted after they had assured themselves that there was not the slightest chance that either Gen. Eisenhower or Associate Justice of the Supreme Court William O. Douglas would permit their names to be entered in opposition to Truman. And beyond those two the most ardent opponents of the President are unable to suggest anyone with even a remote prospect of winning the nomination.

If Flynn and Hague thought it worth inquiring about they also found that there is no prospect whatever that Mr. Truman will voluntarily renounce the nomination.

Not New In the course of his nearly 30 years in politics, Mr. Truman has faced gloomier outlooks than his current one without quitting. For example, when he came up for renomination to the Senate in 1940, just after his good friend and political boss, Tom Pendergast, had been shipped off to prison, Mr. Truman's stock was at extremely low ebb. He won the primary with barely more than one-third of the votes cast because his two opponents, Gov. Lloyd Stark and Maurice Milligan, spent all their efforts fighting each other. In his recent book dealing with Missouri politics, Mr. Milligan says that Truman was nominated because at the last minute a segment of the St. Louis Democratic machine, headed by Robert E. Hannegan, switched from Stark to Truman.

The Constitution

In the current instance an argument entirely aside from partisan politics is known to have influenced Mr. Truman's decision to stick. Thus if he either steps out of the fight for nomination or is beaten within his own party his effectiveness as President for the remaining six months of his term would be largely destroyed.

Certainly nobody, either abroad or at home, would pay much attention to a President proven incapable of mustering support of even a majority of his own party. State Department officials especially have stressed the danger that Russia's Communist bloc would see in such a complete repudiation of the American President an ideal opportunity to extend its aggressions.

Tues. 4-20-48

There is hope in the White House circle that this international consideration will decide even the South to stick with the President, after it has waged its fight against him in the Democratic National Convention.

Atlanta, Ga.

Crump's Failure The most encouraging development so far for the White House was the failure of the redoubtable Boss Crump, of Memphis, in an attempt to pledge Tennessee's Presidential electors to vote against President Truman. Instead of a fixed bolt, a resolution was passed merely condemning the President's civil rights program. The State's delegates, including Crump, will go to the national convention uninstructed, except for a mandate to vote as a unit on all issues.

The reason Tennessee Democrats were loath to go against the Presidential nominee of their party is that this would lead to such a split all down the line as probably to hand over a lot of State and local offices, as well as Tennessee's Presidential electors, to Republicans.

Tues. 4-20-48

Whereas that possibility holds in Southern border States, however, the deep South has no fear of being taken over by the Republicans. The likelihood still is that five or more Southern States will cast their electoral votes for somebody other than Mr. Truman.

Negro Group Backs Truman

The Constitution

The Georgia Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs, statewide Negro Democratic organization, Friday commended President Truman for his Civil Rights stand and urged his renomination by the National Democratic Party.

A. T. Walden, Atlanta attorney and President of the State group, said President Truman's stand was commended in a formal resolution of the group.

Sat. 5-22-48

In another resolution, Walden said, the state organization censured Larkin Marshall, Negro newspaper editor at Macon, for joining the Wallace-for-President Third Party and called upon the Citizens' Democratic Club at Macon to oust him as President.

Atlanta, Ga.

A companion resolution directed the Macon group to commit itself to the support of President Truman's renomination, and said if it failed to do so, it would be expelled from the state organization.

Walden said Negro Democratic leaders from all sections of the state attended the closed session.

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A WAVE IN THE RAIN FROM THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Truman greets crowd outside his hotel in Kansas City, Mo., as the doorman holds an umbrella over his head to protect him from the inclement weather.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Text of Truman's Final Words to the Voters

Following are the texts of speeches prepared for delivery over the radio last night by President Truman speaking from Independence, Mo., and by Senator Barkley speaking from Paducah, Ky., the Senator introducing the President, who then went on the air:

President Truman

Times 11-2-48

~~By The Associated Press~~

My fellow-citizens:

I want to thank Senator Barkley for his generous introduction, and to say what I have said before—that no candidate for President ever had a finer running mate. The people of this country are everlastingly in his debt for his leadership in their interest. Senator Barkley will go down in history as one of our greatest public servants.

During the past two months I have been going up and down the country, telling the people what the Democratic party stands for in government. I have talked in great cities in state capitals, in county seats, in cross-roads villages and country towns.

Everywhere the people showed great interest. They came out by the millions. They wanted to know what the issues were in this campaign, and I told them what was in my mind and in my heart.

I explained the meaning of the Democratic party platform. I told them that I intend to carry it out if they will give me a Democratic Congress to help.

Gratitude to the People

From the bottom of my heart I thank the people of the United States for their cordiality to me and for their interest in the affairs of this nation and of the world. I trust the people, because when they know the facts they do the right thing. I have tried to tell them the facts and explain the issues.

Times 11-2-48

Now it is up to you, the people of this great nation, to decide what kind of government you want—whether you want government for all the people or government for the privileged few.

Tonight I am at my home here in Independence, Mo., with Mrs. Truman and Margaret. We are here to vote tomorrow as citizens of this Republic. I hope that all of you who are entitled to vote will exercise that great privilege. When you vote, you are in control of your Government.

Tomorrow you will be deciding between the principles of the Democratic party—the party of the people—and the principles of the Republican party—the party of privilege.

Your vote tomorrow is not just a vote for one man or another; it is a vote which will affect you and your families for years to come.

Things He Believes In

Now maybe you would like to know why I have made this fight for the people. I will try to tell you. It is a matter of the things I beliieve in.

I believe in a free America—strong and indivisible.

I believe in the principles of the Declaration of Independence—that we, the people, shall govern ourselves through our elected representatives—that every man and woman has a right to an equal voice in the management of our nation's affairs.

I believe that the Constitution, which rightly protects property, is still more deeply pledged to protect human rights.

I believe that the Democratic party is the party of the people. I believe that through the Democratic party, all classes of our citizens will receive fairer treatment and more security.

Nation's Role in World

I believe, in particular, that the industrial workers, the farmers and the small business men of this country can best protect themselves against reaction and against inflation through the Democratic party.

I believe that a Democratic Administration, pledged to continue the present policies of our country, is our best insurance against going back to the dark days of 1932.

I believe with all my heart and soul that Almighty God has intended the United States of America to lead the world to peace. We were in that position thirty years ago. We failed to meet our obligation then, and World War II was the result.

This time, we must live up to our opportunity to establish a permanent peace for the greatest age in human history.

We have two great goals—one to build a secure life for ourselves here at home, the other to build a lasting peace for the world.

Questions Put to Voters

Times 11-2-48

As you mark your ballots tomorrow, I want every housewife to ask herself: Will this protect my home and my children for the future?

I want every husband to ask himself: Is this best for my wife and family?

I want all voters to ask themselves: Is this the best way to insure a free and prosperous country?

And now, my fellow citizens, the future welfare of our country is in your hands. I have told you the truth as God has given me wisdom to see the truth.

Go to the polls tomorrow and vote your convictions—your hopes—and your faith—your faith in the future of a nation that under God can lead the world to freedom and to peace.

Senator Barkley

On the twelfth day of April, 1945, the news came to a shocked world that Franklin D. Roosevelt had died at Warm Springs, Ga.

In millions of homes, around the firesides of millions of families in America and throughout the world could be heard the muffled sounds of grief. No man has been looked upon by so many people as the apostle of democracy and the embodiment of popular faith in the ultimate objects of peace and humanity.

Now that this great personality had merged with that of other great men in the eternity of the ages, all eyes and hearts turned to the man who under our Constitution grasps the pilot's wheel of our Ship of State.

The war was still in progress on every front. Momentous questions of both war and peace and world policy must be grappled with, and domestic economy awaited the decisions of the Executive and the Congress.

Task of the Successor

Before the message carrying the news of President Roosevelt's death had flashed across the plains, through mountains and under the deep billows of the sea, the new pilot stepped forward to grasp the helm.

Harry S. Truman was new President of the most powerful Republic of our times.

No man called suddenly to the Presidency of this nation ever faced a greater task. Whether this task involved our internal economy or the delicate and dangerous course of international relations, it called for the exercise of patience, tolerance, firmness, foresight and courage.

Let us call the roll of those who have become President of the United States on the death of another President.

John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Andrew Johnson, Chester Arthur, Theodore Roosevelt, Calvin Coolidge ~~and Harry~~ S. Truman.

Times 11-2-48

Record in the Presidency

Search the history books and tell me whether any of them, or all of them combined, were confronted with anything approaching the great questions that confronted the successor of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Then, tell me whether any of them singly, or all of them combined, did a better job in administering the Government of the United States than has been done during the past three years and a half by the present Chief Executive of this nation.

I am sure your answer will be that which history will truthfully record—that this quiet, modest, patient, courageous, determined man in war and the aftermath of war, at home and abroad, has brought strength to our economy, expansion and permanence to our influence and hope to hopeless men and women throughout the world.

I am happy to be associated with him in the course we present and represent before the people of this nation.

I present to you Harry S. Truman, the present and the next President of the United States.

President Is Out to Upset Predictions

By JOHN L. CLARK

Political Analyst

ABOARD THE TRUMAN SPECIAL—Hoping to capture six Midwestern States—four of which have already been "conceded" to GOP candidate Thomas E. Dewey—President Truman is making a strong bid to upset the predictions of all political dopesters in this rich electoral vote field.

In these six States—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota and West Virginia—there are a total of ninety-seven electoral votes. Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin have been conceded through different "saplings of political opinion" to Governor Dewey, while West Virginia and Minnesota have been listed as "doubtful."

But with characteristic Truman aplomb, the Democratic standard-bearer hopes to annex the entire six. What observers had previously considered a hopeless case became tinged with a heavy atmosphere of optimism on the President's last trip when he improved his position in Texas, Kentucky, Oklahoma, West Virginia and Arizona and caused Utah, Colorado and Nevada to lean more towards the Democratic side. There is a hope that his present foray into hitherto "Republican" States may bring a similar reaction.

Sat 10-16-48

ATTACK REMAINS SAME

The pattern of the President's appeal is not expected to change. He will continue to hammer away at the GOP-controlled Eightieth Congress for its failure to provide low-cost housing and slum clearance programs and will continue to blame the Republicans for the high-cost of living. Civil rights—a moot issue—will doubtlessly remain on the "silence" agenda for reasons of political expediency at the moment.

Mr. Truman made his first major speech on this Midwestern tour Monday morning at a breakfast conference in Cincinnati. It was arranged by former Ohio Governor Frank Lausche and other Ohio Democratic leaders.

The President had on his schedule five stops in West Virginia; twelve stops in Indiana; eleven stops in Illinois; eight in Wisconsin, and eight in Minnesota. There were eighteen stops on his schedule in Ohio.

Dixiecrats, GOP Assailed By Truman

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Wed 10-20-48

North Carolinians Are Reminded of Carpetbagger Era After Civil War

Wash. D.C.

By Marshall Andrews
Post Reporter

Raleigh, N. C., Oct. 19.—Here in the heart of the disgruntled South, President Truman returned to politics today with two forthright attacks on Republicans and States Rights Democrats.

He reminded the Dixiecrats, who deserted the Democratic convention in protesting his nomination, that their own Andrew Jackson "knew that the way to correct injustice in a democracy is by reason and debate, never by walking out in a huff."

And he told an audience of dirt farmers at the State Fair Grounds: "You don't have to be hit on the head twice to know who hit you the first time."

His target was not the Republican Party alone. In the same speech he spoke directly to rebellious Democrats in these words:

"You stand with the Democratic Party or you stand against it.

"You stand with the Democratic Party or for all practical purposes you stand against it."

However pleased his audiences may have been at his attacks on the GOP, they sat on their hands when he aimed his shots at Dixiecrats.

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The President's farm speech, delivered this afternoon, was a barefisted dismemberment of the Republican Party's pre-depression record. He symbolized that record by recalling the "Hoovercart," which he said was indigenous to North Carolina and described as "the remains of an old tin lizzie being pulled by a mule because you couldn't afford to buy a new car or gas for the old one."

And he went even farther back in history for examples of what he said the South might expect from a Republican administration.

"You know," he said, "what Republicanism means in North Carolina and everywhere else in the South. 'First it meant rule by carpetbaggers, then it means rule by the money-baggers. Either way it means rule that treats the South and West as colonies to be exploited commercially and held down politically.

"Republicanism means that the Federal government is controlled by the powerful man and the greedy Wall Street interests that want cheap labor and cheap farm products. Republicanism puts the almighty dollar first and is not above using a little tidelands oil money to grease the way to power."

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Then Mr. Truman appealed directly to the Southern members of his own party who are in open rebellion over his civil rights program.

"Today big-money Republicanism is on the march," he said in measured accents, "and to beat it we've all got to stand together. That's where we Democrats belong—together—shoulder to shoulder . . .

"We all belong together. I believe in loyalty as the great force in politics—the loyalty of free men and women, freely given and honorably received.

"But above all treasure the basic principle of democracy itself—the right to disagree among ourselves without letting differences of opinion lead us into temptation to betray our own best interests."

Capitol Speech Coolly Received

The reception given the President by his farm audience was many degrees warmer than the one he received from Raleigh at large this morning. His speech on the capitol grounds was coolly received and the procession to the capitol drew a moderate crowd which was friendly but not enthusiastic. There were few violations of traditional Southern hospitality. Here and there among the crowd a small Confederate flag waved and one man was heard to shout: "We are for the States Rights ticket! We're for Thurmond!"

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina is States Rights Party candidate for President supported by Southern Democrats who split with Mr. Truman on the civil rights issue.

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But at the fairgrounds this afternoon, the Chief Executive told his audience exactly what they wanted to hear and in words they understood. They rewarded him with whoops of delight.

Describing himself as "fighting mad," Mr. Truman lit into the Republican depression record and the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress for curtailing soil conservation, rural electrification, the Commodity Credit Corporation and the reciprocal trade agreement. He said the Congress threatened a "death tax" on farm cooperatives and "tried to kill the farm tenant purchase program."

"In the 1920s," Mr. Truman said, "the Republican Party could not fight depression. It was incapable of bold action for the people. The big business owners of that dismal party said there was nothing to do but 'ride it out.' You did—in Hoover carts.

"Today, the Republican Party stands convicted of being incapable of fighting inflation. Some of its present leaders have tried to put the blame for inflation on farm prices."

Mr. Truman denied that prices of finished industrial products were influenced by prices paid the farmer.

"Now wheat prices have fallen a dollar a bushel," he said, "but the price of bread has not come down a cent.

"It's the same with cotton. Nobody can blame the cost of a shirt on the cotton that's in it.

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"The price of tobacco is infinitesimal in the cost of cigarettes."

The President let fly another roundhouse swing at GOP Candidate Thomas E. Dewey's pleas for "unity." Speaking of the Republican leadership of the Eightieth Congress, he said: "They have given us a sharp warning of what the Republican Party stands for today. And their record shows that the Republican Party stands for the same thing today that it did under Herbert Hoover.

Dissident Democrats Warned

"That is the record on which the Republican presidential candidate wants us to be unified." Governor Dewey, said Mr. Truman, has "indorsed the record of the Eightieth Congress. He says he is proud of the Eightieth Congress."

Dewey Preparing Campaign Windup

Governor Dewey prepares speeches for tonight and Thursday night, maps campaign windup. Page 10.

President Returns From Southern Trip

President Truman landed at National Airport at 5:30 p. m. yesterday after a two-day flying trip into the South.

He and his party went immediately to the White House, where he said he would dig into the work on his desk and polish up his speech to be delivered Saturday at Pittsburgh.

Accepts Party Bid; Raps GOP

Thurs 7-15-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 15— (Thursday) —(AP)— President Truman told cheering Democratic legions early today that he is calling Congress into session July 26 to give it a chance to enact Republican platform promises into laws if it will.

34a(1)

CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA, July 15—(UP)—The Democratic National Convention early today nominated Harry S. Truman as its presidential candidate over a roar of Southern protests against his stand on civil rights.

The official result of the balloting:

7-15-48

President Truman 947½.

Sen. Richard Russell, of Georgia, 263.

Paul V. McNutt, of Indiana, ½.

Not voting 23.

Sen. Alben Barkley, of Kentucky, early today was nominated by acclamation the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee.

The President, fighting for a chance to win a full term in the White House, showed up at Convention Hall with Mrs. Truman and their daughter, Margaret, long before the nominating roll call began.

He remained in Party Chairman McGrath's office, watching the balloting by television, until time for his acceptance speech.

The next order of business was the nomination of Mr. Truman's Vice Presidential running mate, the reluctant Sen. Alben Barkley, of Kentucky. Mr. Truman tapped him after trying vainly to get Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas.

When the President stepped to the platform he was given a big demonstration calculated to ease the sting of what had been one of the bitterest Democratic conventions in many years.

Gov. Phil M. Donnelly of Missouri put him in nomination with a paen of praise that inspired everyone but the rebellious Southerners to dance in the aisles for 40 minutes.

The nomination was seconded by a long list of Mr. Truman's stalwarts, including Gov. Mon Walgren of Washington; Will Rogers, Jr., Miss Doris I. Byrne, Vice Chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee; Mrs. Marguerite Peyton Thompson, National Committeewoman from Colorado, and Catherine E. Falvey, of Massachusetts.

But no amount of cheering could hide the fact that Mr. Truman will lead a faction-torn party into the November election against the GOP's Dewey-Warren ticket.

Before the President reached the hall, the entire Mississippi delegation and half of Alabama's 26 delegates walked out in protest against the strong civil rights plank which the convention voted into the party platform. Georgia entered her Sen. Richard B. Russell in the Presidential fight as a States' rights protest.

And a surprise candidate popped into the lists.

Byrd Sims, of Pensacola, Fla., put into nomination Paul V. McNutt, former Governor of Indiana and a long-time party wheelhorse.

The President slipped into the Convention Hall almost unnoticed, after driving through a heavy rain from the special train which brought him and his party here from Washington at 9:30 p. m. (EDT). The huge auditorium was packed to the rafters, and secret service men and local police officers assigned to guard the President were all over the house.

Gov. Phil M. Donnelly, of Missouri, put his name before the delegates and the huge hall was a bedlam of yelling, dancing delegates. The band blared out "The Missouri Waltz" in competition with a howling siren.

But the delegations from the Deep South sat sullenly on their hands and ignored the show.

Donnelly told the Convention the President's policies are the nation's "strongest guaranty of peace."

Donnelly read the record of the Democratic Party's 15 years in power and of Mr. Truman's contribution to it as Senator, Vice President and President. He challenged the Republicans to repeal a single one of the social and economic laws enacted under the Democratic regime.

We Stand By Truman

Lighthouse and Informer

Sun 10-31-48

Columbia S.C.

34a(1)

This coming Tuesday, November 2, we of South Carolina will go to the polls with millions of other Americans to vote our preference among four candidates for the presidency.

There is little point in discussing here which candidate has the appreciation of most of us. It is not a matter of deciding which man we are going to vote for; rather, it is to decide how many votes we can give him and how might we get around any attempts to limit our votes, or have them counted for the wrong person.

We of South Carolina are standing with President Truman and with the Democratic party and, with the millions of white South Carolinians, Southerners and Americans elsewhere who, as we, believe America cannot be any stronger than its weakest link, nor effect abroad any more decency than it can effect at home.

We of South Carolina know also that millions of people are watching the Tuesday election to decide whether there's any truth in the oft-repeated advice to officeholders, "It is suicide to fight for the rights of Negroes." We know that if we don't stand with the man who has stood by us who hasn't been content, as his opponents, to talk and promise vaguely, but has done all he could, almost single-handedly and, has elected to sink or swim on his convictions nobody will dare again to stand by our side for a long, long time.

Every loyal and faithful one of us is going to the polls and vote on November 2. Nothing is going to keep us at home or on the job that day. November 2 is the day of the second emancipation for our people, the day we show cur little support. And we'll stand by President Truman.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN SHAKES HAND WITH A NEGRO LADY IN TEXAS AND IS "BOOED"

The Argus

Fri 10-8-48

St. Louis, Mo.

34a(1)

It is very difficult to understand some of the white people in the South. They not only wish to practice their outmoded customs upon other persons, to whom they are distasteful and annoying, but they endeavor to force other persons to engage in childlish and uncivilized practices. They are willing to insult a ~~transient~~ guest who disregards their customs.

President Truman has been campaigning in Texas. In a community through which his schedule carried him he chances to meet a Negro lady and shakes hands with her. The white citizens who witnessed the incident, "booed him." Is it possible to imagine anything quite so crude as this?

Some of the white people in the South are determined to make the world believe that Negro people should not be treated as other human-beings are treated; that one cannot encounter a Negro person, and follow the same ordinary rules of courtesy and politeness as are enjoined in meeting other persons.

Such conduct is so shocking, one cannot help asking: why are these customs insisted upon?

It is not because the white dislike the Negro people "whom they know." Many of the white people manifest strong affection for "our Negroes." They have had the services of Negroes for most of their needs. Negroes have cared for the young from birth until adolescence. They have cleaned their homes, have cooked their food, washed their clothing, and attended them when ill. Some have been so endeared to their Negro servants that they have wished these servants to be buried at their side.

One would need to search the pages of history a long time before finding a paralleled instance of the relation of slave to white woman and children during the Civil War. These slaves took care of wives and children when fathers, and sons were fighting to keep them enslaved.

Notwithstanding these experiences some of the white people believe that in order to possess the greed and luxury of slavery, they must preserve the spirit of slavery when the letter is dead. To justify the moral baseness of slavery, whether in letter or spirit, they try to make it appear that the Negro people are dependent upon them for existence. He is incapable of making his own way.

Fri 10-8-48

This vicious circle of denying to the Negro the right and opportunity to make his own way and then alleging that he is incapable of making his own way is the unpardonable sin of the iniquitous institution of slavery.

This wanton and outrageous conduct insults the President of the United States when he is a guest in a Southern Community.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

History Will Deal Kindly With Truman

34a(1)

I recall that it was a very cool day for Chicago and I was grateful for it, walking to the hotel where a Senator from Missouri, Harry S. Truman, had his rooms.

It was the day before the 1944 convention opened and already it was obvious that Henry Wallace was out and the tides were running toward Sen. Truman.

I got in to see him almost immediately. We talked for a while. And, of course, I asked him how he felt about the probability he would be the Vice President.

Wed 11-3-48

He was torn between pride, as any man would have been, and worry.

"I honestly don't want it," he said. "I haven't the money to be Vice President. It requires a lot of entertaining and expenses outside the official position.

"The social part of it would be all right. I've got a wife who can take care of that part easily," he said, with open pride in his wife. "But I don't want it. The boys tell me it's mine if I will say the word. But I don't know."

Later, of course, he did say the word.

Atlanta Ga

Appraisal History, I think, will be kind to him. He has tried honestly to be a good President and to serve his country well. He was thrust into the presidency to follow one of our greatest Presidents and into a situation which would have tested the best of any of our great leaders of the past.

He himself removed most of the wartime controls. The inflation we have has not soared to the great heights it has attained in other countries. Yet, he railed against the removal of controls, which he himself had begun, with apparent honesty. I do not think it ever occurred to him there was any connection between his early removal of controls, at a time when many of his advisers were saying all we needed to avoid a rise in the cost of living was production, and the later breakdown of OPA.

He did bring back to Government the Cabinet and also a supplementary "kitchen Cabinet." They had said of Roosevelt he would never take advice, that he was a one-man show. Ironically, and especially so since he chose men from big business, many were to damn Truman for having such poor advice. That he was betrayed by some is obvious.

Help When the war ended and most of the men who had ability left the government service and went into business to make money, he had to call on his friends to fill in. Therefore, the jokes about Missouri being depopulated and the Missouri gang in Washington.

It is one of our paradoxical attitudes that few men want to make a career of government service, especially in the top levels, and yet we heartily curse our government because it is inefficient. Truman tried desperately to get good men to take top jobs. He got only a few.

Thomas E. Dewey will encounter the same difficulty, although he has been trying to avoid it by lining up able Republicans who will take government administrative positions.

Wed 11-3-48

FDR Franklin D. Roosevelt was able to gather around him many extremely good men. We sometimes forget them in remembering the few crackpots and failures among them. Since his death the quality of the administration steadily has declined. It is this factor alone which has convinced many persons that the Democratic Party needs to be removed. The machinery of its administration has slowed down. Dewey. at least, will bring to it a new enthusiasm and a fresh approach from men who believe they can do a job and that it will pay political dividends.

Dewey's success or failure will depend upon what he is able to do as an administrator. A coldly efficient administration, lacking in an appreciation of the humanities, will destroy him. He must find, somehow, the men who will do an efficient job and provide, too, a warmth and an understanding which the people demand.

It is a great mistake for those of us who are employed, comfortable, fed and housed to think that everyone is so fixed. With all the world turned toward some form and degree of socialization save us, we must be watchful and the more concerned with making our system apply its benefits to an ever-growing number of our people.

Truman Puts It Up to Labor

The New Republic

34a(1)

WITH HIS APPEARANCE at Detroit, Harry Truman has outlined frankly the whole course of his campaign for the presidency. Going on the assumption that a big vote will be a Democratic vote, Truman will do everything in his power to get out a record vote this November. Realizing that it will take a massive labor turnout for him to win in the crucial big cities, the President will demand repeatedly, as he did at Detroit, an exceptionally powerful effort by labor for "an all-out vote on election day." His theme is to be Republican special privilege v. Democratic efforts on behalf of the little man. And the center of his attack will be "the Taft-Hartley, backward-look-

Mon 9-13-48

New York, N.Y.

ing Congress" rather than Thomas E. Dewey.

Franklin Roosevelt went so far toward making the Democratic Party the party of labor that Labor Day never again can be merely the occasion for hypocritical holiday speeches it once was for Democratic politicians. The six speeches Truman delivered to the 750,000 Michiganders he addressed in the course of this Labor Day all showed that he understands the probably decisive role labor will play in his own political future. The President told labor what would happen to it if the Republicans got in. In that case, he warned, "the boom is on for the Republican reactionaries and the bust is on for you. . . . You men of labor can expect to be hit by a steady barrage of body blows. . . . The position of labor will be so greatly weakened that I would fear, not only for the wages and living standards of the American workingman, but even for our democratic institutions of free labor and free enterprise."

Also clearly in Truman's mind was what certainly will happen to him if he is deserted by labor. "You must register, you must vote if you expect to get a square deal in this great nation," the President told his Detroit labor audiences. It is equally true that if labor does not do these things Harry Truman will not be in on the deal at all after this election. Democratic campaign managers figure that Truman has no chance to win unless a record number of voters, up to 60 million or more, go to the polls November 2. There is no chance that this will happen unless the CIO-PAC and the AFL's newborn League for Political Education ring a record number of doorbells and recruit a record number of block workers and poll watchers.

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Even then, the going will be tough for Truman in many parts of the labor movement. Henry Wallace can upset the apple cart in key states where the labor vote is the marginal factor. In Michigan itself, for instance, Roosevelt won in 1944 by only 22,000 votes. Henry Wallace, whose party has already qualified for a position on the Michigan ballot this year, may, according to the experts, attract some 25,000 to 100,000 votes.

One usually accurate and objective reporter who accompanied the President on his swing into Michigan wrote that the crowds which greeted him were "friendly and curious, but not demonstrative." It will be the job of those sections of organized labor which have endorsed Truman's candidacy to turn this friendly curiosity into the kind of enthusiasm that will move the voters to the ballot boxes. Candidate Dewey, meanwhile, has shrewdly decided to let Truman and Wallace fight it out for the CIO while he directs his pitch to the more conservative AFL.

Mon 9-13-48

Alabama Only State To Bar Truman Vote

[illegible]

[illegible]

Question Is Unsettled In Louisiana, Georgia; Write-In Impractical

[illegible]

BY REX THOMAS
Associated Press Writer

Alabama, which has supported every Democratic candidate since 1872, may be the only state this year where the voters can't mark their ballots for President Truman.

The question hasn't been settled yet in Louisiana and Georgia, but every other Southern State has a place on the November ticket for Truman or electors pledged to him.

Even in Mississippi, where the States' Rights Democratic Party was born out of resentment toward the President's racial policies, the voters can vote for him if they like. The regular Democratic Party candidates are committed to the Thurmond-Wright slate, but a separate slate of Truman electors will be on the election list too.

[illegible]

The president's name was dropped from the ballot in Louisiana, too, and Govs. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, were designated as the official candidates for President and vice president.

"Democrat" Out

Gov. E. K. Long called the Legislature into special session, however, to get Truman back in the running. A bill passed by the House and now pending in the Senate would let the President's supporters put him on the ballot as long as they do not call him a Democrat.

Georgia's Gov. M. E. Thompson also has called a special session to straighten out the election tangle in that state. The legislators will meet Monday. Meanwhile, the State Democratic Committee is scheduled to convene Wednesday to name the Democratic electors. Whether they will be committed to any candidate remains to be seen.

Both Truman Democrats and the States' Righters are expected to be on the ballot in Tennessee, but neither has been officially certified. Three of the 12 regular party electors have promised to support the Thurmond-Wright ticket and the State Democratic Committee has taken steps to replace them. But nothing final has developed.

More Clear-Cut

Elsewhere in the South, the issue is more clear-cut.

The States' Rights Democrats have been ruled out in Oklahoma in favor of Truman backers. The attorney general's office, which decided the question, has suggested the Thurmond-Wright followers take the matter into court, but nothing like that has happened yet.

Pro-Truman and anti-Truman Democrats will share the ballot in seven states—Mississippi, Arkansas, North Carolina, Florida, Kentucky, Virginia and Texas.

South Carolina has no state ballot, each political party distributing its own. The regular Democratic ticket is supporting Thurmond and Wright, but a pro-Truman faction says it will pass out ballots too.

Alabama's Democratic electors said even before Truman was nominated that they wouldn't vote for him or any candidate who ran on the explosive civil rights platform.

Mind Changes

Truman followers, led by State Sen. Joseph N. Langan, of Mobile, tried at first to get a separate slate of electors on the ballot, but changed their mind.

Instead, Langan has said he will seek a federal court order to make the regular 11 Democratic electors support the national party nominee. That won't come, however, until after the Nov. 2 election.

The Legislature of 1945 passed a bill to require electors to vote for the national party candidate, but the State Supreme Court said in an advisory opinion that the law is unconstitutional. Electors, the court said, are free agents with the right to vote as they please.

Of course, there is the write-in vote, but it's too impractical to rate consideration. The President's name won't be on the ballot; only those of the 11 electors.

Without an organized slate—and none has been presented—no write-in candidates for elector could be expected to get enough votes to matter.

34(4)

Truman Pins His

The Constitution

WASHINGTON—President Truman in formal four broad issues, if they may be called that, on House term. In the order of their importance the,

(1) The high cost of living and inflation.

(2) The record of the Eightieth Congress, which he has described as the second worst in history.

Mon 9-13-48

(3) The general prosperity of the country and the necessity for adopting sound legislative measures to prevent us from going to a boom-and-bust end.

(4) The Taf-Hartley Labor Act, which has aroused the bitter opposition of organized labor throughout the country.

There will be other issues the President will discuss in the campaign, to be sure. At different places he is expected to dwell on his controversial civil rights program which has alienated a considerable support from normal Democratic strongholds of the South. For the most part, however, he is expected to soft-pedal this question.

But the main topics to be emphasized by Mr. Truman are those enumerated above. They constituted the main body of the series of speeches he made on his Labor Day jaunt to Detroit, where he launched his campaign before a flattering crowd variously estimated at between 125,000 and 175,000 people.

Atlanta Ga.

He will seek to hang the blame for the high cost of living on the Republicans, believing it to be his best issue of the campaign. In doing so he will bolster his charge about the present Congress being the second worst in history by citing its failure, among other things, to adopt constructive measures for bringing prices under control.

This is an issue which reaches to the fireside of every home in America and if the President can succeed in getting the country aroused his chances of winning will be greatly increased.

In the same connection Mr. Truman may be expected to drive home the theme of the great prosperity that now exists throughout the land and the need for preserving it by holding inflation down. It is axiomatic of national elections that the sitting administration always benefits by prosperous times. When the people are content with their jobs and incomes they usually do not vote out the party in power. Hence the emphasis that the President is expected to put on the national prosperity.

As for the Taft-Hartley Law, the President will continue to raise that as a live question as a means of holding his labor support in line.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican candidate, has not yet opened his campaign, but his answer to the Truman tack was given in the speech made at Detroit the other night by former Gov. Harold E. Stassen, of Minnesota, who was personally selected by Dewey to reply to the President's Labor Day remarks. Reduced to its essence, it was that Mr. Truman is incapable of providing the leadership necessary to steer the nation through the trying times ahead.

Mon 9-13-48

That promises to be the Dewey answer to the Truman charge about the incompetence of Congress. But the New York Governor cannot rely on others to sell this theme for him. He will have to get out and do some speaking on his own. This was made evident in the sparse audience commanded by Gov. Stassen at Detroit, where only a few thousand turned out to hear him and with many vacant seats in the hall, contrasted with the massed outpouring for the President.

Whatever may be his chances of election, the President is known to have returned from his opening campaign trip highly pleased with the reception he got. There is no question but what he plans to make a real fighting campaign for a second term.

Between now and November the country may be expected to hear much of the issues raised by the President at Detroit and other Michigan cities. He intends to drive them home with a repetition that will put the Republicans to some pains to explain why more was not done to relieve the high price situation.

As things now stand, the President may be said to have started out by putting the Republicans on the defensive. It remains to be seen whether he can keep it that way.

Big Cities Join Opposition Against Truman

The News Birmingham, Ala. Wed.

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, March 24—(AP)—Reports of new big-city opposition and a "serious political situation" in California multiplied signs today that President Truman may face a tough fight for the Democratic presidential nomination. 3-24-48

Chicago politicians visiting Washington were said to have brought word that they fear it will not be long before the rash of criticism for Mr. Truman's policies breaks out in their ranks.

34a(1)

Unlike the Dixie complaint against the president's civil rights program, Northern opposition is based on the administration's about-face on Palestine.

In New York three Brooklyn district leaders announced they won't support the president for the nomination. One of these, James M. Power, said two party clubs in the 13th Assembly District will announce their support of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

AT LOS ANGELES, Democratic State Chairman James Roosevelt summoned 62 prospective national convention delegates to an "urgent meeting" in Sacramento next Thursday "because of the serious political situation." The News

There have been demands within the party in California for the expulsion of county central committee members who have announced their support of Henry A. Wallace's third party candidacy 3-24-48

All of this is serious business for Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath and his aids who are committed to getting the nomination for Mr. Truman. Birmingham, Ala.

McGrath was silent. But there seemed little doubt that if the revolt spreads the president may be caught in a party cross-fire.

Southern Democrats who advocate discarding Mr. Truman hope the president will become convinced before the July convention that he can't win in November.

THE SAY THEY THINK he can be appealed to then not to insist on heading a ticket that might take local candidates down to defeat.

A near-convert to the Dixie cause was Sen. Pepper (D., Fla.). Pepper stuck with Mr. Truman two months ago when Wallace went cantering out of the party. The News

But now Pepper says he has different ideas. Birmingham, Ala.

He wants the Democratic Party to wait until the July convention before it actually makes up its mind about a nominee. He said the states ought to choose uninstructed delegations. 3-24-48

Without opposing or supporting Mr. Truman, Pepper said other things than the civil rights program must be considered.

"We are faced with a grave international crisis," he said. "War could come almost any day. It is sounder politics to select a Democratic nominee in July than in March."

PEPPER SAID he wants the Democrats—Southerners included—to stick by the nominee chosen by the convention. Wed

Most of his Dixie colleagues, however, remained firm in their intention to bolt if Mr. Truman is picked to head the ticket. 3-24-48

Four of them spoke out in an all-South radio program last night in opposition to the President's proposals that Congress enact anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, anti-job discrimination and anti-Jim Crow laws.

Sen. Maybank (D., S. C.) criticized the "meddlers" who he said want to interfere with states' rights and abolish the poll tax.

Sen. Hoey (D., N. C.) said no mob is going to be dispersed by an anti-lynching law.

Sen. Hill (D., Ala.) said a bill to set up a Fair Employment Practice Commission offers "an invitation to sabotage" because firms making secret military equipment would lose control of their hiring and firing.

And Sen. Russell (D., Ga.) said the report of the president's Civil Rights Commission, if written into law, would wipe out individual rights "long considered sacred." The News

THIS DRUBBING of the Truman domestic program was matched by Sen. Taylor of Idaho, Wallace's third party running mate, in criticims of the president's foreign policies. Birmingham, Ala.

Taylor told an audience in New York last night, gathered to welcome Russia's new ambassador to the United States, Alexander S. Panyushkin: Wed 3-24-48

"We see many things transpiring which could well lead us to doubt the sincere desire for peace on the part of some of our leaders who have come to power by accident of fate." The News

Taylor praised Wallace as the "greatest" of American democratic leaders.

Sen. Bridges (R., N. H.) served notice that the State Department's short wave "Voice of America" had better not air Wallace's views to the world. Wed 3-24-48

"I'm not going to vote money here to publicize Henry Wallace and his efforts to deprecate American foreign policy," Bridges told Secretary of State Marshall at a Senate appropriations committee hearing. Birmingham, Ala.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur wrote a Wisconsin supporter of his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination that he has been marked down as the American Communist Party's "primary target." It was this fact, the general added, which prompted his decision to enter the race openly.

Truman 'Thrown Away Chances,' Sen. McClellan Says: Favors Byrd

34a(1)

Atlanta Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24—(AP)—Sen. McClellan, Arkansas Democrat, said Tuesday President Truman "has thrown away his chances" of being re-elected.

"I don't think that President Truman can win in November—not even with Southern support," he told reporters.

He said he personally favors Sen. Byrd, Democrat, Virginia, for President—"He's my choice at the moment. He's my choice for the Democratic nomination." Wed 2-25-48

McClellan's remarks came at the conclusion of a meeting of Southern Senators with a Southern Governors' Committee which Monday was rebuffed in efforts to have Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath use his influence to have President Truman withdraw his Civil Rights program from Congress. Wed. 2-25-48

McClellan said after the meeting in his office Tuesday that the group came to no final decision about what action to take, but that "plenty will be done."

He and Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, a member of the Governors' Committee, said "each State will do whatever is necessary to protect themselves" in the present situation.

Earlier, Laney described as "evasive" McGrath's responses to the Southern Governors' protests against Mr. Truman's Civil Rights program.

"But they were about what we expected," he told a reporter.

Laney said McGrath's answers to various other questions the Governors asked were "evasive and unsatisfactory."

"There was a slight appeal made to us for party unity, but it involved swallowing what already has been done and said."

Laney said the Governors now will proceed "with our work." The next step, he said, is for the Committee to report to the Southern Governors' Conference at a meeting yet to be called.

McClellan said the group of seven Senators and two Governors discussed "the advisability of a different nominee for president than Mr. Truman" but "only in a general way."

"No names were mentioned and I don't want to speak for any of the others." But, he said, he personally favors Byrd.

At Tuesday's meeting were Sens. Hill and Sparkman, Alabama; Byrd, Virginia; Overton, Louisiana; McClellan, Johnston, South Carolina, and Stennis, Mississippi; and Govs. Laney and Thurmond, of South Carolina.

Sen. Maybank, of South Carolina, declared in Columbia he believes it would be a mistake for the South to bolt the Democratic Party at this time but that "we must" select "independent democratic electors."

Meanwhile, formation of a new party by Democrats dissatisfied with policies of their present leaders was mentioned as a possibility by Arkansas' Democratic National Committeeman.

The Committeeman, Dr. R. B. Robins, of Camden, proposed organization of "the Conservative Democrats of America" if the Democratic Party nominates President Truman as its 1948 candidate and refuses to withdraw the civil liberties plank from its platform.

Calling for a slate of Georgia delegates to the Democratic National Convention pledged to Sen. George, Rep. Wood, of Canton, said in Washington he believed Georgia's senior Senator could solidify the Southern States. Wed 2-25-48

Pointing to the failure of the Southern Governors to gain any concessions on the Civil Rights issue at the conference with McGrath, Wood declared the South, if it failed to block Civil Rights legislation in Congress, must be prepared to fight out the issue on the floor of the Convention.

Mississippi's Democratic Executive Committee has been called into special session for next Monday to map plans to defeat the Civil Rights program. 2-25-48

Judge Herbert Holmes, of Senatobia, Miss., Chairman of the Committee, called the meeting after a morning conference with Gov. Fielding L. Wright and other State party leaders Tuesday.

Virginia Advances 'Anti-Truman Bill'; Senate Tones Down Governor's Measure

34a(1) Wed. 3-13-48

The Times New York, N. Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

RICHMOND, Va., March 12—The State Senate of Virginia late today approved a watered-down version of Governor Tuck's original "anti-Truman bill," and sent it back to the House of Delegates (the Lower House) for final concurrence in minor amendments.

The Senate's action ended, for the time being, a controversy which has kept voters of the state aroused since Governor Tuck two weeks ago called for a bill which would have made it virtually impossible for the names of President Truman or Henry A. Wallace to be put on Virginia's ballot for 1948.

The far different version approved today by the Senate retains the one key point on which Governor Tuck insisted—that a State Democratic Convention possess veto power over the ticket of the national convention. In the wordin gof the amended measure, the National Democratic Party has the guarantee of a place on the ballot; but its candidates—assuming that Mr. Truman is the Presidential nominee—cannot run under a party label identical with that selected by a State Democratic Convention.

Thus, should Mr. Truman be nominated in Virginia, a slate of electors in his behalf will appear on the Virginia ballot. Those electors, however, will appear below a slate of electors named by a State Democratic Convention in behalf of another ticket. Virginia's Democrats, thereby will be able to take their choice. Most observers believe the Presidential nominee of a State Convention would be the Senior United States Senator, Harry F. Byrd.

Senator Byrd's son, who is a member of the state's Upper House, spoke in support of the measure today. It is designed "to protect the integrity of the Democratic party," he declared, in praising Governor Tuck for being sponsor of a measure which shows that "we will not sit idly by and see the Democratic party ravished by those who would destroy it from without." 3-13-48

Ex-Gov. Rivers Opposes South's Critical Attitude

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Wed 3-3-48

Ex-Gov. E. D. Rivers is quoted in the Athens Banner-Herald as opposing the South's critical attitude towards the National Democraic Party and President Harry S. Truman.

In the February 18, 1948 issue of the Banner-Herald, Rivers accused certain forces here in the South "of trying to scuttle the Democratic Party, from within."

Assailing Roy V. Harris, publisher of the Augusta Courier, Rive was quoted as saying: Wed.

"If Georgia and the South do follow such people as Harris, the 1948 Democratic National Convention will be the beginning of the end for the Democratic Party as an instrument of government in the United States. For generations to come the South's influences over federal legislation will be worthless.

"GOOD ENOUGH 3-5-48

"President Roosevelt picked Truman as his running mate, knowing that if he dropped the reins Truman would pick them up and carry on nationally and internationally. If Truman was good enough for Roosevelt he is good enough for me and he is good enough for the South." Daily World

"The Democratic Party has always championed civil rights. No later than the last National Democratic National Convention adopted a platform calling for the protection of civil rights. President Truman was carrying out the Party Platform when he asked Congress to translate in to law the civil rights policies of the Democratic Party. Harris was a delegate to the last Democratic Convention. And he voted for the Party's platform."

REVOLT AGAINST TRUMAN ALTERS POLITICAL SCENE

The Times New York, N.Y.

Sun. 3-28-48

At This Stage of Campaign Both Old Parties Seem to Be Moving Toward Strenuous Convention Fights

GOP TALKS MORE OF MARTIN

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, March 27—Not since 1912, when insurgent Republicans sought to deny renomination to President Taft, until this month of 1948 has a widespread movement appeared in either major party to force an incumbent of the White House to retire at the end of his term. The current attempt is being made by Democrats in all sections of the country against the nomination of President Truman to succeed himself. Its probable effects on the choices of both the Democrats and the Republicans in their forthcoming national conventions are now the topics of all political discussion. Sun. 3-28-48

The uppermost questions are these: Will the Democrats select another candidate for President, with or without Mr. Truman's cooperation, and, if so, who will he be? Whether or not the Democrats do this, how will their obvious plight influence the Republican choice?

No confident answer is offered by prudent observers at this stage, and the reasons are plain. First, the rush of world events may call for national decisions so grave that the President by July may find himself at the head of a unifying party, with all the issues now splitting the Democrats submerged by much larger and more perilous concerns. Second, a President, if he stands by his expressed determination to be nominated, generally can dispose of any rivals in a convention. Third, the only Democrats who could possibly unite the party after the rejection of the President are personally beholden to him and conceivably would not abet an effort to retire him. Fourth, the uncertainty of world events may prompt the Republican politicians not to take a chance on a machine-made candidate whose vulnerability in ordinary circumstances would invite defeat.

Changes Time May Bring

The Times

But these are the reasonings of March, 1948, and by June they may appear as unsound as an opinion that prevailed among competent political authorities in February. This opinion was that Mr. Truman would be overwhelmingly nominated, though not with enthusiasm. When the President this week told a press conference that he expected the Democrats to win in November, intended to be their nominee and would give all the dissidents every chance to return to the party standard by November, he was patently counting on the rapidly changing aspects of the times. His hearers gathered that the party amnesty includes the Southern Democrats, the big-city bosses, who are openly suggesting another candidate, and Henry A. Wallace as well. But events which could send this assortment to the mourners' bench would be extraordinary events indeed. New York, N.Y.

To a degree that might happen. But the current portents are all the other way. And there are basic differences between the situation in the Democratic party today and that of the Republican party in 1912. Sun. 3-28-48

The Contrast With 1912

Then President Taft, whose renomination was imposed by the party bosses and the Federal officeholders on a rebellious convention, had been elected in his own right, while Mr. Truman is President by succession. Then also a third-party threat under Theodore Roosevelt did not materialize until Mr. Taft was renominated, while Mr. Wallace — though nothing about him, including his following, is comparable to T. R.'s 1912 equipment—has already formed an independent group. Furthermore, the Republican opposition to Mr. Taft's renomination came largely from the West, and Mr. Truman's party opponents have appeared in every section of the country. Finally, despite the Republican split, the Democrats nominated an outstanding citizen against the preferences of their state and big-city party machines, Woodrow Wilson. 3-28-48

But there is a difference between the present and 1912 which, as noted above, possibly could change some of Mr. Truman's political debits to credits by July and enrich them by November, as he appears to believe. This is the world situation. Though World War I began in Europe two years later, the voters of the United States in 1912 had their backs turned to its prologue.

Weighing of Possibilities

Nevertheless, present indications are that Mr. Truman cannot succeed himself, whether or not he compels his nomination by remaining in the field and declining to give way to any other Democrat. If this condition becomes fixed, the President may resolve the party crisis by withdrawing in favor of someone on whom the party can reasonably well unite. Because the Southern and non-Southern opponents of Mr. Truman's nomination are deeply divided on other basic issues, such Democrats are difficult to discover. The one most mentioned is the Chief Justice of the United States, Fred M. Vinson, whom the President appointed to this and other high offices. But there is no evidence he would leave the bench, even at Mr. Truman's request, or that the President would ask him to. 3-28-48

The calls on the President to retire, and the diversity of their sources, have encouraged some Democrats to hope that Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower will agree to salvage the party. A campaign to this purpose is in full career, and citizens as dissimilar as Jacob M. Arvey, the boss of Illinois, and Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. are engaged in it. Those who know the general well, and all who take his recent statement at its face value, are certain he will never consent to be the beneficiary of such an effort. But the politicians who are making it are desperate, and even Gen. George C. Marshall, the Secretary of State, may be urged by them to reconsider his stern and high-minded rejection of political office.

Prospects of the GOP

The Times

This plight of the Democrats is, of course, beginning to have an effect on certain professionals among the Republicans. They are sure of victory in November, whatever the international situation may become, partly because their leaders in Congress are now full partners in a forceful foreign and military policy and have anticipated the President in some of its aspects. Why not, they ask themselves, nominate a candidate of the organization type and take no chances on "idealists," "boy scouts," "rugged individualists" and "world unionists"—by which terms all of them identify Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Harold E. Stassen and some add Senator Robert A. Taft. And those who include Mr. Taft among the candidates they would prefer not to nominate, and believe could win with in the circumstances, almost invariably turn their thoughts to Speaker Joseph W. Martin Jr.

3-28-48

Whether the present prospect continues or changes one thing is sure: the two national conventions at Philadelphia will be hard-fought. And among things possible is a walk-out of Democratic delegates before the nomination, if the President is the choice of the majority. New York, N.Y.

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Truman)

About The Ballot

The News

States' Rights Leaders Say They Won't Mind Pro-Truman Electors On Ticket In November

BY FRED TAYLOR

By all means there should be a slate of pro-Truman electors on the Nov. 2 general election ballot in Alabama.

State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey has assured his fellow townsman, Mobile State Sen. Joe Langan, that neither he nor any of the other anti-Truman electors nominated in the May 4 Democratic primary would "throw any stumbling blocks" in the way of placing names of Truman elector candidates on the ballot.

34a(1)

The state chairman wrote Langan further that they would not contest any court proceedings which might be necessary to get the pro-Truman elector names printed on the ballot, but "all our elector nominees would welcome a slate of Truman electors . . ."

SHOULD GO FRUTHER—It seems to me that McCorvey, whom I always have found to be sincere and fair-minded, should go further than that.

As chairman of the Alabama Democratic Execu Committee, and as one of the big wheels in the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights movement, it would be the magnanimous thing for McCorvey to help Sen. Langan and his cohorts get names of pro-Truman elector aspirants on the ballot.

He should insist that such names be placed on the ballot forms, even though there legally may be technical obstacles in the way. Then the issue among Alabama Democrats would be sharply drawn between the Thurmond-Wright and Truman - Barkley presidential tickets.

Aug 1-19-48

TEST SENTIMENT — The party's state chairman, in his letter to Langan, said "the question of whether or not the Democrats of Alabama wished to support President Truman for another term was settled in our primary elections and showed a complete rejection of President Truman and his diabolical racial program . . ."

He went on to add that "we hope very much that you will succeed in your effort (to get pro-Truman elector candidates' names printed on the ballot) as we would like for you to realize when the votes are cast, as you evidently do not now realize, just what little standing President Truman has among Alabama Democrats."

From McCorvey's viewpoint, this should be all the more reason why he would want a test of voter sentiment in the presidential election. This should make him want to urge Secretary of State Sybil Pool, if she has the legal leeway, to print the pro-Truman names on the voting ticket.

LANGAN ARGUES CAN DO—Sen. Langan is hopeful the secretary of state will certify names of pro-Truman elector candidates for inclusion on the ballot. He contends she has the legal right to do this, if the names are submitted to her on or before Sept. 1.

If she refuses, then he has alternative legal plans to file either mandamus or injunction proceedings to accomplish his aims.

Langan and his followers, who say they want to "restore Alabama to the Democratic Party," will meet in Birmingham Aug. 28 to nominate 11 elector candidates. They will submit their names to Miss Pool promptly thereafter.

Langan says he is not worried over the warning given him by Chairman McCorvey that the senator would be written out of the Democratic Party of Alabama, if he continues to promote a slate of pro-Truman electors.

* * *

CARIBBEAN COMMUNIQUE—Comes a communication from Rufus M. Lackey, funeral homes and insurance mogul, and Judge Edgar Bowron who, with their wives, are on a cruise through Central and South American waters.

They embarked at New Orleans some three weeks ago for their sea journey and planned to visit by plane faraway South American cities they failed to reach by boat. Their trip, they write, is a great success.

* * *

BLANTON FOR GOVERNOR?—One of the most popular probate judges in the state is Dallas County's Claiborne Blanton. He long has been a wheelhorse in the potent state organization of county officials.

This is not the first time he has been mentioned for governor, but a number of the county officials who yesterday closed their convention in Birmingham, were strongly booming him as a candidate for the state's No. 1 offic in 1950.

Some think he might be persuaded to jump into the race for the big office on Goat Hill, which a dozen or more prospective candidates already are eyeing avidly.

4th Labor-Liberal Group Swings To Truman as 5th Readies Pledge

The Constitution

34a(1)

By D. HAROLD OLIVER

WASHINGTON, Sept. 1—(AP)—President Truman won the indorsement for election of his fourth labor-liberal group today—the CIO Political Action Committee.

A fifth—the Liberal Party of New York—arranged to hook its wagon to the Truman star at a night meeting in New York City.

Except for the American Labor Party in New York, which is supporting Henry A. Wallace's Progressive Party candidacy, and some other former New Deal elements backing the former Vice President, the Truman-Barkley ticket now has won the official support of majority strength in liberal groups which used to rally to the Roosevelt banner.

They include the CIO - PAC, whose unanimous support was pledged Mr. Truman during a White House call today; the CIO Executive Board, by a vote of 35 to 12, and a private committee of most AFL union heads, as well as the Americans for Democratic Action, organized in 1947.

The anticipated backing by New York's Liberal Party was regarded by Democratic Party leaders as a probable big offset of ALP defections to the Wallace column. The late President Roosevelt carried New York State by only 316,591 in 1944. The ALP and Liberal Parties each more than made up his margin. The former cast 496,405 votes and the latter 329,235 for Roosevelt.

A forerunner of what Mr. Truman may elaborate upon in his opening campaign speech next Monday in Detroit was seen in a Labor Day statement made public by the White House.

In it the President again called for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, curbing inflation to give workers more for their money, raising the minimum wage from 40 to 75 cents an hour, providing Social Security and health insurance to additional workers, and an enlarged Department of Labor with "adequate" staff and funds.

On the Republican side, Harold E. Stassen went to Albany to confer with Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican Presidential nominee, regarding Stassen's speech in Detroit next Tuesday. It is intended as a reply to the President's Labor Day address.

The first campaign swing for Gov. Earl Warren, of California, Dewey's running mate, was announced here. Warren will leave Sept. 15 on a 10-day trip through 12 Western and "border" States. He will make major speeches at Salt Lake City, Utah, Pueblo, Col., Albuquerque, N. M., Tulsa, Okla., St. Louis, Louisville, Columbus, Ohio, and Detroit.

The CIO-PAC pledge was carried to the White House by Philip Murray, CIO President; Jack Kroll, CIO-PAC Director, and others. They gave Mr. Truman a copy of the CIO resolution adopted yesterday.

Sen. Barkley, of Kentucky, Democratic Vice Presidential nominee, was another White House caller. Barkley leaves tomorrow for the Inter-Parliamentary Union meeting at Rome, Sept. 6-12. He said he would return about Sept. 15 for four or five speeches the last half of the month and a strenuous campaign in October that would take him to every section of the country.

Students Urge Placing Truman On Ballot

34a(1)

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 10.—(AP)—A University of Mississippi student said Tuesday he is beginning efforts to get the Truman-Barkley ticket on the Mississippi ballot.

Thomas J. Griffith Jr., of Aberdeen, a law student, said at the university that he and two other students are urging in a letter to the national Democratic chairman that steps be taken to place elector candidates on the ballot pledged to the national party candidates.

The slate of electors of the State Democratic Party is pledged to the candidates of the States' Rights Democrats.

Griffith said that neither he nor the other two students are seeking to be named as candidates for Truman-Barkley electors. They would prefer, he said, to see business men and other leaders in the seven congressional districts listed as candidates.

Griffith's group, he continued wants to see the Democrats of Mississippi have the opportunity to choose at the Nov. 2 polls between the States' Rights Democrats ticket and the National Democratic Party ticket.

Monday the attorney general's office, replying to a letter from Griffith, ruled that Truman electors may get their names on the ballot by filing with the secretary of state.

HE COMES OUT FIGHTING

The Defender

In true championship style, Mr. Truman opens up the first rounds of the heavyweight battle for the Presidency with a slashing attack upon his opponent. He feints with his left at the record of re-action and in-action of the do-nothing 80th Congress, and follows with a body blow to the hopes of the Republican contender with a right handed hay-maker, branding and documenting the Republican platform for 1948 as "the most hypocritical document in history."

Sat 10-2-48

That his style of fighting, carrying the battle to the enemy in down-to-earth plain talk naming names and citing examples, is popular with the voting fans is attested by the crowds which turn out to hear him and cheer him along the campaign route. When he opened up with his Sunday punch in staid and traditionally Republican Iowa, 110,000 farmers and small town folks turned out, a record attendance for ANY political meeting is that state. He read them the record of prosperity of farm folks under the federal programs of 16 years of Democratic administration, and they loved it.

In Denver 65,000 people turned out to hear him lay down the gage of battle on reclamation public power and the development of other national resources, so dear to the heart of the west, to be picked up by Governor Dewey when he follows him within a few days. He challenges the governor to "explain away" the sabotage of such programs by the Republicans in the recent sessions of congress.

All along the way crowds have met him at every "whistle stop" as Senator Taft contemptously described the small towns of the middlewest. They listen thoughtfully to the plain commonsense that Mr. Truman talks. His simplicity, his corrage and determination to carry the issues directly to the people have won him enthusiastic response. His tour has given the people a chance to see him as he is, in contrast to the caricatures which 70 per cent of the press has attempted to foist on its readers. At Salt Lake City the crowd in the huge Mormon tabernacle heard him lay it on the line," putting it squarely up to the people themselves as to what kind of government they want in Washington during the next four critical years.

Sat 10-2-48

In all his talks Mr. Truman has made it clear where he stands and has stood in government as a Senator, Vice President—always on the side of the plain and ordinary [illegible] of the country. He calls the roll on the programs and proposals he has made for meeting the critical problems of the nation, both domestic and in the field of foreign affairs, only to have them sabotaged by a reactionary congress and sniped at by GOP big-wigs hungry for office.

"You don't have to translate any double talk," he told his Utah audience, "to know where I have stood and where I stand today." He challenged his opponent to "come out in the open and tell where he stands." The nation will be listening to hear what Governor Dewey has to say.

TRUMAN PUTS GOP IN HOLE

The Afro American

34(a)(1)

The Republican Party, which pretty nearly won the Presidency four years ago with a slogan, "Had Enough?" now comes back with another, "Vote Republican in 1948; Save What Is Left."

The GOP didn't win in '44 and it may not in '48.

Last week President Truman came out with an exceedingly liberal program asking for equal educational opportunities for everybody, a Federal Fair Employment Practice Act and a vote for every citizen, white or colored, North or South.

Sat 1-17-48

He asked for Federal aid to schools in the States which are poor, compulsory military training, social security for servants and farmers and an increase in the minimum wage.

Republicans immediately damned the President's program as "political," "designed take the country into bankruptcy," "appeasement for Henry Wallace," and a "design to socialize the U.S."

They boasted that the President's message was received coldly.

Baltimore Md.

Most of the applause in Congress comes from the emotional Southerners. We don't expect them to applaud even a Truman proposal to give colored people more civil rights.

The President's message has many excellent advantages. It could well be the platform on which he will campaign for re-election.

Certainly it appeals to a large number of the common people.

Even if the Republicans came forward with a program as excellent as that of Mr. Truman, it would still be poor campaign material for them.

The reason is that they are in control of Congress. They have a majority of the votes. They can enact an anti-lynching bill, an anti-poll tax bill and a fair employment measure now.

If they didn't do it in 1946 and 1947 when they had the votes, how can they make us believe they will do any better this year?

Sat. 1-17-48

It looks to us like Mr. Truman has put the Republicans in a deep hole from which they will find it very hard to climb out by next November.

PRESIDENT RENEWS CIVIL RIGHTS PLEA

The Times

In Harlem, He Repeats Views That Caused Southerners to Revolt Last Winter

Sat 10-30-48

By ANTHONY H. LEVIERO

President Truman re-committed himself yesterday to the full measure of his ten-point civil rights program, pledging to work for it "with every ounce of strength and determination I have."

Thus the Chief Executive lifted the controversial issue that has split the Democratic party out of the limbo in which it has lain since the Democratic National Convention last July.

New York N.Y.

In words that appeared to foreclose any possibility of compromise between Mr. Truman and the States Rights Democrats Mr. Truman rededicated himself to the program in Harlem, the largest big-city Negro community in the world.

Immediate and far-reaching repercussions were expected from the South. The President and his advisers apparently had weighed whatever risks were involved in his declaration.

Tte speech, however, fitted in with the major objective of the final phase of Mr. Truman's campaign to rally all minority groups to the Truman banner.

The President recalled the "momentous report" of his President's Committee on Civil Rights in his prepared text, and explained that, "I asked Congress to do ten of the things recommended by the committee."

Sat 10-30-48

Mr. Truman did not enumerate the ten points. As given in his special message to Congress on civil rights last Feb. 2—the message that started the Southern revolt—these objectives were:

"1—Establishing a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.

"2—Strengthening existing civil rights statutes.

"3—Providing Federal protection against lynching.

"4—Protecting more adequately the right to vote.

"5—Establishing a Fair Employment Practice Commission to prevent unfair discrimination in employment.

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"6—Prohibiting discrimination in interstate transportation facilities.

"7—Providing home rule and suffrage in Presidential elections for the residents of the District of Columbia.

"8—Provoding Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and a greater measure of self-government for our island possessions.

"9—Equalizing the opportunities for residents of the United States to become naturalized citizens.

"10—Settling the evacuation claims of Japanese citizens."

When Congress did not act on his program, he went ahead and did what he could as Chief Executive, Mr. Truman said, by issuing two executive orders. One was designed to achieve "equality of treatment and opportunity in the armed forces," and the other strengthened the fair employment practices policy in the civil Federal establishment.

Sat 10-30-48

Way to Answer Challenge

"Today the democratic way of life is being challenged all over the world," Mr. Truman said. "Democracy's answer to the challenge of totalitarianism is its promise of equal rights and equal opportunity for all mankind.

"The fulfillment of this promise is among the highest purposes of government. Our determination to attain the goal of equal rights and equal opportunity must be resolute and unwavering.

"For my part, I intend to keep moving toward this goal with every ounce of strength and determination I have."

Mr. Truman made the speech, regarded by observers as one of the most critical to his political fortunes on domestic issues, before a crowd of 65,000, predominantly Negroes, in Dorrence Brooks Square, 135th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue. The rostrum faced St. Nicholas Terrace, where the pennacles of City College showed among the trees.

Before the President's arrival in mid-afternoon, adherents of Henry A. Wallace, the third-party leader, distributed handbills urging attendance at an anti-Jim Crow meeting tonight. But the signs in the crowd were all for Mr. Truman—"C. C. N. Y. Wants Truman," and "Truman for New Deal," and "Veterans Want Truman."

At the high point of the ceremony, Mr. Truman received the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Brotherhood Medal from the Rev. Dr. C. Asapansa Johnson, president of the Interdenominational Ministers Alliance. Just then the C. C. N. Y. students chorused loudly, "Give them hell, Harry."

Sat 10-30-48

O'Dwyer Praises Firm Stand

Mayor O'Dwyer, who before the Democratic convention advocated the candidacy for Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, praised Mr. Truman for his display of courage at that convention for standing firm against Southern leaders when the alternative was a compromise on civil rights or their secession from the party.

Mr. O'Dwyer quoted Mr. Truman as uttering these words at that party crisis:

"Let them go. I'm not going to change my opinion."

In this address Mr. Truman used none of the witticisms and play on words that have marked his recent speeches. He sat with Mayor O'Dwyer behind red, white and blue bunting while waiting to speak, but a bright sun beating down made Mr. Truman visible from the press table through the cloth. He was serious in demeanor, his lips tight, as he listened to the preceding speakers.

Sat 10-30-48

He rose, however, with his ready smile. The decision to make this speech, it was learned, was not made until 8 o'clock yesterday morning in his suite in the Biltmore Hotel, after a special messenger had brought a draft from Washington.

Yet it was apparent that long and careful preparation was made for this occasion. For one thing, as Mr. Truman pointed out, this was the first anniversary of the report of his committee on civil rights. It was believed that the decision had to do not with the question as to whether the speech should be made but as to its form and the weight of its content.

Sat 10-30-48

Recently a close adviser said privately that Mr. Truman would not make a major civil rights speech in this campaign. The decision to do so apparently was made at the time it was agreed upon to appeal strongly to the minority issues.

Pro-Truman Ballot Bid

But this does not eliminate the pressing need to give all Alabamians—and other Southerners—an opportunity to vote for the candidate of their choice, be he Thurmond, Dewey, Truman, Wallace or Norman Thomas.

We become involved at each effort to penetrate the apparent confusion over party regularity with the question of loyalty to state, or to national party. That seems an issue not soon to be settled, and about which many have strong opinions.

Sen. Langan may be doing his effort no good in making bitter charges against a well-fortified States' Righters' position. Those most concerned lest some Alabamians be deprived of the right of a free and full choice of candidates in November want only a conscientious and persistent effort to insure pro-Truman electors being candidates in the November balloting. That is a fundamental requirement, in our opinion. Even a manifest minority should have the privilege of expression. It is not clear that a primary held seven months before the general election is adequate opportunity for expression of final choice. Many events might influence voters' opinions in that lengthy interim.

The struggle of Sen. Langan and others still seems involved. It may be extremely difficult for this group to get a pro-Truman slate on the ballot. In the light of the declaration of the State Democratic chairman and other electors, it would seem, however, that some way yet may be found to give pro-Truman Democrats of Alabama an opportunity to vote for the man of their choice in the general election.

Of men who make up the directing corps of the States' Rights Democratic movement, certainly none is more to be admired for his Democratic devotion, according to his own convictions, than Gessner T. McCorvey, state Democratic chairman. The fine hand of Mr. McCorvey is visible in the formal announcement by all 11 electors that they will do nothing to oppose efforts of pro-Truman Democrats of Alabama to get a separate slate of electors on the ballot for November.

Mr. McCorvey and the other electors are not just being generous, though we assume a general inclination to be so. They believe they are the recipients of overwhelming support in Alabama. In supreme confidence, the electors declared in a letter to State Sen. Joe Langan, who has spearheaded the pro-Truman effort: "We hope very much that you will succeed . . . as you evidently do not now realize just what little standing President Truman has among Alabama Democrats." They seem to think they are offering the senator a very long piece of rope.

Mr. McCorvey only last week, however, had a somewhat different comment to offer. At that time he strongly implied a warning that Sen. Langan might find himself partyless—as far as the State Democratic Executive Committee was concerned—if he persisted in openly seeking to place Truman electors on the ballot.

Mr. Langan has persisted. But the meeting in Montgomery Monday was unimpressive. There is little doubt now that a majority of Alabama voters are probably sympathetic to Mr. McCorvey's view, and that they will support the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Unsegregated Thousands Greet President Truman

The Dallas Express

Sat 10-2-48

Dallas Texas

DALLAS — A mixed crowd of 12,000 with near 4,000 Negroes intermangled throughout the throne, greeted President Truman at Rebel Stadium in Dallas Monday and heard the president declare his favor of measure for the benefit of the common man.

President Truman said in his speech he "wants low cost housing," "Federal aid to education," "price control.'

Declaring that the Republican party [illegible] where it benefited the common man, the President lambasted what he calls the "do nothing, good for nothing 80 th Congress." He asked to be voted back into the presidency with a Democratic Congress that would work with him for the common man because republicans would work only for special interests dominated by a big business.

NEGROES IN WELCOMING PARTY

In the welcoming party ,headed by Harry L. Seay, a State Democratic leader. were several representative Negro citizens with Dr. Ward scheduled as spokesman and assigned by officials to shake hands with the President. In the welcome party were Dr. E. E. Ward, R. A. Hester, A. C. Partee, Mrs. M. S. Flanagan, W. J. Durham, N. C. Chalmers, Mrs. O. J Cansler, Dr B. E. Howell, A. A. Braswell, Joe Fields, Sherman A Harmon and J. Clarence Davis.

FAVOR FREEDOM AND EQUALITY FOR ALL

The President didn't mention his Civil Rights program in the 20-minute address. The nearest approach to saying anything came admist speeches by Texas Democratic leaders who spoke prior to the president. All the speakers and other platform guests were pro-Trumanites who had thrown out the Dixiecrats and gained control of the Democratic party at the State convention.

Among the Texas democratic leaders who made utterance for equality were: Congressman J. M. Combs, from Beaumont, who declared that "Boys from Texas, South Carolina, Washington and Arizona shared the same fox holes, and sailed the same ships; they deserve equal treatments under the law."

Tom Tyson, who presided, was cheered roundly by both Negroes and whites when he spoke of advancing the program for economic equality.

Negroes sat in what are ordinarily reserve seats, box seats, and grand stand seats and a group of Negroes served in the welcoming party, which sat down near the speakers' platform. Anybody that was segregated, was not asked to be. Although there were officials helping people to find seats, both Negroes and whites were shown in the same direction to vacant seats. At entrances where there were no ushers, white citizens came in and took seats where they could find them or where they could best see the president and did not bother about whether they sat next to a Negro or not. Negroes did likewise.

Negores got not only their first chance to view the President of the United States, but saw for their first time many of the big guns in Texas politics, including Governor Buford H. Jester, Congressman Lyndon B. Johnson, democratic nominee for U.S. Senator; Tom Tyson, former chairman of Texas democratic executive committee; John C. Calhoun, new chairman; State Senator Fred Harris; District Judge Sarah Hughes; John H. Cullum, and others.

In the party also were the wives of the president and of the governor and Miss Margaret Truman, daughter of the president.

JOE LOUIS GETS PLUG

U. S. Attorney General Tom Clark, in introducing the President made a bobble in naming several Devastating Forces which the president had stopped with able, courageous, and strong action.

"I have seen the president's courage in stopping the Jap with the atomic bomb and saving American lives," Clark said.

"I have seen the president's stout courage stop Russia with the Turman Doctrine.'

"And I saw the courage of Harry Truman stop Joe Louis.

This drew laughter from the crowd, but the U. S. Attorney General did not recognize his mistake until he had sat down, but the President took care of it nicely. Mr. Truman said, "Tom, you gave me to much credit; it was not Joe I stopped, it was John L. Lewis. I don't have that much muscle."

President Visits South Street And People Love Him For It

The Defender

Sat 10-16-48

Chicago Ill

PHILADELPHIA—"It's the first time any President of the United States ever came on South Street," they're saying in awed tones here this week.

And as a result of President Truman's trip down South street, plus his iron clad stand for civil rights, Negroes here will vote nearly all-out for the President, political dopesters say.

South street, like Chicago's South Parkway, New York's Lenox avenue, Memphis' Beale street and the other throughfares of Negro life throughout America, saw in the President's visit a silent reassurance of his determination to continue his fight for the rights of the "little people" all over America, regardless of race, creed, color or political consequence.

Sat 10-16-48

Truman's visit came as a surprise to the thousands of citizens who live on South street. The President's official party turned into the street shortly after leaving historic Independence Hall. He smiled a warm and friendly greeting to the crowds. Often he waved his hat at the sea of eager faces. But at the same time, the poverty, housing and health needs did not escape his attention.

Later he blamed the Republican 80th Congress for the large slum areas in the city. Addressing a huge throng in front of the Richard Allen Homes, a federally sponsored housing project occupied by Negroes, he said:

"I can't see for the life of me why the real estate lobbies resists building such projects as this." He discounted claims that federally sponsored projects were a drain on taxpayers' pocketbooks, saying they pay for themselves within a short time.

Typical of comment following his appearance was the statement of Ernest Logan, South street barber. Logan says he's been a Republican since 1940, but "I'm voting for President Truman this time. He's done alright under the circumstances. He had the whole 80th Congress against him."

y His Deeds hall Ye Know Him

The Courier - Sat 8-21-48
Pittsburgh, Pa.
34 a(1)

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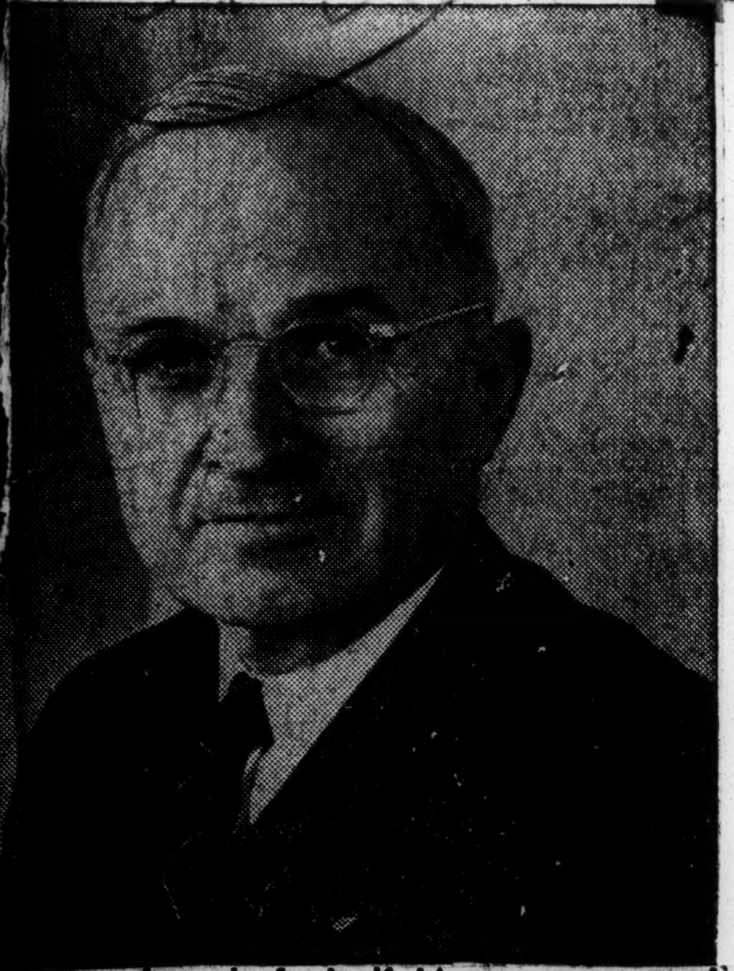

- Mr. Truman made history when he made the precedent breaking appointments of William H. Hastie as Governor of the Virgin Islands and Irving C. Mollison as Judge of the United States Customs Court.
- He appointed a special committee of distinguished Americans and charged them with the responsibility of reviewing the entire status of minority groups in this country.
- This committee known as the President's Committee on Civil Rights, presented its report to the President. He did not file it away. He ordered it released officially and it has become our charter of freedom.
- February 1948, in a special message, President Truman called upon Congress to enact Civil Rights legislation.
- On July 26, 1948, President Truman issued two executive orders which initiated a program for the end of segregation and discrimination in the armed forces and Federal government.
- President Truman has refused to back down in the face of great pressure by those who would sabotage his Civil Rights program.

e Truman record speaks for itself. It's up to us to match his deeds our dollars.

Sat 8-21-48

By making this great stand for freedom and liberty, President Truman lost the financial support of those who would deny you your right to hood under the Constitution. What else can you do but rally to his ? The chips are down. Your dollars count. What better use could find for your dollars than investing them in your own freedom and rsuit of life, liberty and happiness.

Back the man who has withstood all pressures to change his stand. Mobilize all forces to work for and vote for the re-election of President ry S. Truman. We urge you to send a contribution for yourself and for every member of your family. Act today!

- Soon after Mr. Truman became President of the United States he began his sade for equal opportunity by openly requesting that the Rules Committee ort out the FEPC bill.
- His January 3rd, 1946 message to Congress contained a request for the ment of FEPC legislation. He thereby became the first President to make a request officially of the Congress of the United States.

Truman Reporter Insulted by Guard

Courier Pittsburgh Pa.
34 a(1)
Sat. 6-26-48

CHEYENNE, Wyo.—(ANP)—A Southern newspaperman on the special Presidential train to the West Coast, severely reprimanded an MP on guard duty at the Governor's mansion when he insulted a Negro member of the Presidential group. 6-26-48

J. Lacey Reynolds, a native of Texas and representing the Nashville Tennessean, came to defense of Mrs. Alice Dunnigan when the military policeman insulted her. The guard, seeing her at the gate, ordered her to leave the group.

PUSHED BY MP

When she refused to obey, he snatched her away and pushed her toward the crowd of observers behind a rope. Sat.

At the moment Reynolds rushed to her aid and warned the MP that such tactics were unwise as he was interfering with the party of the President of the United States. He said:

"Mrs. Dunnigan is with us. She has a badge and she as it on."

The guard stepped back to his post position without saying a word. 6-26-48

PRESIDENT SOLICITOUS

This was the first "incident" involving Negro reporters on the tour. 6-26-48

Later, during the trip, President Truman, himself, came to her compartment and asked how she was being treated on the trip. When she said everything was all right, he smiled, shook her hand and said. "That's good."

Says President Only Choice For Negro Citizens

The Daily World
Jun 10-24-48
Atlanta Ga
34 a(1)

Democratic Victory Viewed As Meaning Justice, Jobs For All

By Cong. WILLIAM L. DAWSON
(Assistant Chairman, Democratic National Committee)

President Harry S. Truman will et a larger Negro vote than any other candidate has ever polled. He will be the next President of the United States. In the next four years his administration will bring o every Negro man, woman and hild the full rights of American citizenship.

You know as well as I do that the GOP is using large sums of money to fool the Negro people in this campaign. We won't be fooled. It is the same party and the same candidate that we licked with our otes four years ago. Four years ago 80 percent of our press was claiming GOP victory, but 80 percent of the Negro voters backed up F. D. R. and Harry Truman.

Make no mistake, the fight to relect President Truman is your fight. I sat in the Republican 80th Congress. I saw the GOP leaders arrogantly turn thumbs down on anti-lynching bills: I saw them cold-shoulder housing bills which would have given tens of thousands of Negro mothers a decent home for their children. I saw them kill FEPC and anti-poll tax bills. I saw them destroy the OPA and send the price of food, and clothes and rent skyhigh.

Jun 10-24-48

What about Wallace? You know he answer. He admits himself he annot win. Thus every vote for ivil Rights program. Every vote or him is a vote for the Negroim is a vote against the Truman Civil Rights program. Every vote for him is a vote for the Negro hating States Rights Party, a vote or the greedy big business groups hat run the Republican party.

The simple truth is that we Negro Americans have the chance of our lives to win freedom by supporting the man who has stuck his neck out for us. Don't waste your vote. November 2nd is Freedom Day ~~for Negro America. Vote for~~ Harry Truman and Alben W. Barkley. Vote the straight Democratic ticket.

President Truman Wins Voting Poll

The Commentator
Sat 10-30-48
Pontiac Mich.
34 a(1)

PONTIAC, Mich.—

Democratic President Harry S. Truman is the victor in the COMMENTATOR "Presidential Poll" as the final tabulations were made on the eve of the election.

The COMMENTATOR has been running a poll for the past six weeks to determine HOW MEL-

LOW LANE would vote in the November 2nd balloting. Mr. Truman has lead this poll right from the start and held a 7 to 1 lead when the poll was terminated at press time.

Despite the sentiment toward presidential candidate Thomas E. Dewey, President Truman never seemed in trouble in the COMMENTATOR poll. Whether this is a hold-over of Democratic power from the Roosevelt days is not known although it is reasonable to believe the Democrats will carry the state and national ticket in Oakland County. This, of course, would mean that G. Mennen Williams would be the new governor and that Kim Sigler would be returned to private life, for the present at least.

Negro Voters Hail Truman In Northwest

34a(1)

Defender
Chicago Ill.
Oct. 19-48

Interracial Group Leads Seattlers Who Pledge Suport

BY JOHN H. YOUNG III

SEATTLE — More than 100,000 citizens turned out last Thursday to see and hear President Truman lambaste what he called a "special interest" congress.

The President who has been raising the tempo of his denouncement of congress all along the way minced no words in telling his cheering audience at the high school stadium that the 80th congress had been obstructionist and that it has passed a "rich man's tax law." Oct. 6 19-48

The reception that the President received was by far the greatest of the tour. The President debarked on pier 91 in Seattle to receive a 21-gun salute aftr a trip across Puget Sound in a yacht owned by Governor Mon. C. Wallgren. He was met at the pier by a reception committee of distinguished citizens of Seattle.

For the first time in the entire tour, Negroes were represented in a welcoming committee. Rev. F. W. Penick of the Peoples Institutional Baptist Church, and Mrs. Ola Gray Browning were among those welcoming President Truman. Rev. Penick is also executive chairman of the Christian Friends for Racia Equality iin Seattle.

The presidential party [illegible] the pier in a procession of automobiles and entered the city as bands played along the route. As the procession reached 4th and Pike, it was clear that Seattle had outdone itself in welcoming the President.

All business windows carried dent; serpentine and confetti literally filled the sky; ticker tape flowed from windows as the presidential car rolled down winding Fourth ave., under an umbrella of flags and signs which said: "Welcome President Truman."

The procession moved to the high school stadium where 6,000 citizens were enthusiastic over the new "fighting" Truman. Often the speech was interrupted for spontaneous applause as the President reached a new high in speech-making.

The spe[illegible]ded by music furn[illegible]th army band from Fort Lawton. The band was composed of an integrated group.

After the speech in Seattle, the President moved on to Olympia-

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President Truman Chats With Jersey Joe Walcott

34a(1)

Joe Walcott (left) heavyweight boxer, whose two attempts to wrest the heavyweight crown from Champion Joe Louis proved unsuccessful, chats with President Truman just before the latter made a campaign address at the City Hall in Camden, New Jersey.

A Southerner TALKING

by LILLIAN Smith

The Defender

Sat 7-17-48

I am going to vote for Harry S. Truman and I would like to tell you why.

I am voting for him because I am a white Southerner and I am proud of the magnificent thing that he has done in taking so brave a stand for the civil rights of all Americans. I think that he, as our President, has done my region great good by dramatizing democracy's belief in civil rights. I think he has stirred the southern conscience to profound depths. I think he has made the evil people angry and the good people glad. I think he has brought the White Supremacists, the American communists, the facists, and the scary folks up to the surface of our life where they can be counted and where the sunlight of publicity can kill the bacteria they spread wherever they go. I think he has made civil rights a world issue that can never again hide behind the iron curtain of States Rights whether here or in Russia. I think he has spoken good words, uncompromising words and that these words have stirred the imagination of millions of people.

I am voting for him not because he is a strong "Father" but because he is one of democracy's sons, like the rest of us. I think we need in a democracy ten thousand mature, wise leaders scattered throughout our government and our communities—not One Man to whom all minds and hearts must bend reverently. I think such a Man is for Russia, not for America. I prefer an Ordinary Man of extraordinary courage and integrity, a common man of uncommon goodwill and warm heart; one who has no Messianic complex but who thinks of himself as the decent, honest, good democratic human being that he is.

I don't want "An Answer to Prayer" in the Presidency but I do want somebody humble enough to do a little praying himself. I think we have grown lazy and fat-minded and have enjoy having our democracy run for us. Now it is time for us to realize that democracies are run by millions of responsible free people or else cease to be run as democracies. I think some of us are mixed up and are thinking of the kind of man who would be a fine ruler of a totalitarian regime; not democracy's kind of a man.

I think Harry Truman has made mistakes and bad ones. I think any other President in this same troubled complex age would have made mistakes and bad ones. I thing Republicans and Dixiecrats on the one hand and Communists on the other have played up the mistakes and played down the triumphs until people are utterly confused. But I don't think you can fool all the people all the time; that is what elections are good for: to show people's intelligence.

I am voting for Harry Truman because he is as stubborn as a Missouri mule and so far, has been stubborn mainly about the right things: civil rights for all mankind, controls to keep down inflation, opposition to the Taft-Hartley bill, steady support for ERP, federal housing, and federal aid to education and health; and a decent opposition to Red-baiting while at the same time fighting hard the causes that breed communism. I think these things that he has been stubborn about are terribly important to the welfare of all the earth's people:

I am voting for Truman because I think he is a learner; he has learned the hard way but he has learned; and he will learn more during the next four years. I hope the 135 million citizens of the United States have learned as much as their President has learned during the past three and a half hard years. If we have, we need not worry about America's future. We can make it together: Harry Truman and the rest of us.

Truman in 3-Way Political Fight With GOP In-Out Congress. Rebels

Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 7-16-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 15—(AP) President Truman took on today a momentous three-front political battle, with Republicans in and out of Congress and with rebelling Southerners in his own Party.

The opposition swiftly accepted the challenges Mr. Truman laid down. The Republicans did it with charges of "cheap politics" and the shifting of GOP campaign headquarters to Washington.

34a(1)

Southerners who bolted the Democratic National Convention last night in a rage over the civil rights issue reacted with a formal call for a rump convention in Birmingham Saturday. They plan to pick a candidate who thinks the States—not the Federal Government—should handle such problems as lynching and poll taxes.

7-16-48

Mr. Truman stirred up both the Republicans and part of the once Solid South in a short, hard swinging predawn speech today. In it he:

1. Accepted the presidential nomination of the Democratic Convention at the moment of the greatest party split in 88 years—a split over racial and civil rights issues.

2. Announced he was summoning the Republican-led Congress back into a special session that promises to be as hot as a Washington Summer. His announced purpose: To carry the offensive to the GOP, to make it put up or hours. He won it unanimously on the first ballot.

Mr. Truman was a first ballot winner, too, but far from a unanimous winner. For the South, angered by his civil rights program and a Northern maneuver that wrote it into the Party platform, put up Sen. Russell of Georgia as a protest candidate.

Russell pulled 263 votes to Mr. Truman's 947 1/2, with 618 needed to nominate. But he registered the extent of Southern unhappiness within the Party.

Before that, the whole Mississippi delegation and half of Alabama's thumbed their noses at the rest of the Convention and walked out into the rain. The downpour failed to cool their anger over the Civil Rights plank in the Party platform.

7-16-48

And this morning, Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi appealed to "every man and woman who believes in States' Rights and who opposes Harry S. Truman and the things he stands for" to assemble Saturday in Birmingham.

Thus Party unity was at the lowest point since the Democrats broke apart in 1860 — over the issue of slavery. Through the gap in their ranks, the Republican Party marched to its first victory with the immortal Lincoln leading the way.

Just how much of a following the Birmingham meeting could shut up right now on its own platform promises.

3. Appealed for Democratic Party harmony while swatting the South in its sorest spot. One thing he will ask—again—is that Congress pass some laws against lynching, poll taxes and "Jim Crow" discrimination against Negroes.

7-16-48

In the national campaign, it will be Mr. Truman and Sen. Barkley of Kentucky against Gov. Dewey of New York and Gov. Warren of California.

Barkley accepted the Democratic Vice Presidential nomination, also in this morning's early rustle up was uncertain, because some of the South wasn't quite sore enough to get out of the Party.

7-16-48

Russell said at Winder, Ga., he would have no part of the meeting. Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, who withdrew as a States' Rights candidate at the convention here said he hadn't made up his mind about Birmingham.

Laney quit because he said he couldn't stand on that civil-rights plank in the platform.

Virginia delegates were undecided, too, about keeping the new civil war going. Louisianans were just as irate as any in the South but made no plans to go to Birmingham because they figured they ought to have more time to think things over.

Nobody turned up to represent Mississippi at a meeting of the Democratic National Committee today. Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina likewise stayed away.

A main purpose of the meeting was to re-elect Sen. J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, National Chairman. This was done, without opposition.

The way Russell sized up the special session of Congress, Northern, Democrats and the Republicans will "fight to see who can kick the South the hardest" with civil rights legislation.

He said Mr. Truman's call to Congress is "a desperate move" to "rivet national attention on what he has picked as the national issues in the 1948 campaign."

Republicans, too, almost unanimously said there were political motives behind the move.

Political or not, supporters of Mr. Truman said it was a wise move. Former Sec. of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson said Mr. Truman put the Republicans on the spot. He added it up this way:

"If they don't do anything about the special session program, he's got them. If they do, the credit will be his."

Besides civil rights, Mr. Truman said in his acceptance speech he would ask Congress to get busy on such items as help for schools, improving the nation's health, enlarging the social security program, and a boost in the 40-cents-an-hour minimum wage."

He said the special session will determine whether the GOP "can fool the people with such poppycock" as he said he found in their platform.

7-16-48

Loudly and confidently he told the hundreds of delegates and thousands of spectators who stuck it out until the convention quit: "Sen. Barkley and I will win this election and make these Republicans like it."

Barkley told a reporter he plans to keep his Senate seat while campaigning. His present term lasts until 1951. He said he was going back to Washington and then home to Paducah, Ky., for a week or so of rest.

Truman Helped Chances But Dewey Seen Winner

The Courier Sat

By JOHN L. CLARK
(Courier Political Analyst)

Pittsburgh Pa.

ABOARD THE TRUMAN TRAIN—According to Democratic leaders in eleven different States, President Truman has definitely improved his chances for election in Texas, Kentucky, Oklahoma, West Virginia, Arizona and Iowa. He caused Utah, Colorado and Nevada to lean more to the Democratic side and plans to clinch Missouri on a later visit.

No report is available on how President Truman will fare in Indiana. Ohio will be touched later in the campaign. Although excellent crowds turned out in California, factional fights within the Democratic party leaves California in the Republican column, unles the Wallace forces weaken and switch over to the Democrats,, in which case, the President's chances would be improved, but not enough to expect a Democratic victory in that State.

When the sixteen-day trip ended on October 2, Mr. Truman had made 137 speeches in the first phase of his crusading and was given a "fighting chance" in polls conducted by correspondents-covering the trip.

HAPPY OKLAHOMA SURPRISE

Tulsa, Okla., turned in a happy surprise for President Truman when he made his last major speech in Oklahoma on Wednesday afternoon.

Known to be the strongest Republican section in Oklahoma, there was much guessing about the reception Mr. Truman would receive. About 1,000 people congregated at the railroad station and an estimated 10,000 lined the streets, and at Skelley football field, home grounds of Tulsa University, an estimated 18,000 were waiting.

Sat 10-9-48

FRIENDLY CROWDS

The unexpected large turnout was not the only surprise. It was a friendly crowd which showed its feeling every time the President "gave the Republicans hell." His talk dealt with farmers and price supports, rural electricity, flood prevention and power projects.

President Truman detrained at Ardmore, Okla., where police estimated a crowd of over 40,000 heard and saw him. This included people in the stands at the station and along the streets. Eighty-five per cent of the audience at the Ardmore railroad station were Negroes. Ardmore's total population is around 22,000.

The first instance of planned segregation occurred at Ardmore. On a door at the railroad station was a sign reading: "Negro Passengers." As the President's party was leaving the First Methodist Church, a native of Ardmore bragged in this way: "Did you notice that no colored people were in the crowd when the President spoke?" Then he went on to explain that they had been segregated at the railroad station and not permitted in the crowds leading to the speakers' stand.

But it wasn't that way.

NOT SEGREGATED

It is a fact, that Negroes made up 85 per cent of the crowd to greet the President when the train rolled into the station, and they stood on both sides of the tracks. But along the streets in Ardmore and in front of the stand where the President spoke, Negroes were mixed in with whites.

This was noticed by all correspondents traveling in the Truman train, to determine where and how much opposition is shown to his civil rights doctrine which would abolish these conditions by Federal law.

Although many political leaders in Oklahoma say that the State is in the doubtful category on November 2, this claim is disputed if crowds mean anything.

Largest Crowd in History Swarms Into Fairgrounds To Hear and See Democratic Candidate

The Black Dispatch

Sat 10-2-48

Oklahoma City Okla

34(1)

Wife and Daughter With President On 18-Hour Stay in Sooner Capital

MAKES 18 STOPS IN OKLAHOMA

One of the largest crowds in state history, estimated at more than 100,000, jammed the Oklahoma State Fairgrounds here Tuesday evening to see and hear President Harry S. Truman deliver one of two principal political addresses on an extensive tour of the country. Mr. Truman is making 18 stops in Oklahoma on the tour.

From the Santa Fe station, where his huge party, joined by high state Democratic officials when the train reached the southern border, the entourage boarded open cars and paraded through the business section and north to Tenth and eastward to the fairgrounds with the entire several miles route jammed with spectators.

Gates to the large annual fair were thrown open for the afternoon and the thousands poured into the race track, stadium and sodded inner track that made a mass spectacle of humanity incomparable in state history.

Observers said the throng Tuesday was by far larger than on a similar visit made here in 1938 by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who also spoke at the Fairgrounds.

Sat 10-2-48

Among the Truman party of correspondents representing many of the largest newspapers and magazines was former War Correspondent Fletcher Martin, representing the Negro weekly, The Louisville (Ky.) Defender.

Secret service men arrived in the city last week-end and met with state, county and city officers to formulate plans for the safeguarding of the president. (It will be recalled that during the 1938 visit of the late Mr. Roosevelt a "crank" broke lines, rushed up to the late president's car attempting to shine his shoes, and a city patrolman was taxed to the limit in overpowering the eccentric man, almost creating pandemonium on the parade route; rumors spread like wildfire that an assassination attempt had taken place and like hysterial reactions).

Sat 10-2-48

Mr. Truman slightly eased up on his avowed pre-tour statement that he would "give 'em (80th GOP Congress) hell," but continued his espousal of the Republican controlled congress as driving the Communists under cover with the present open hearings on "Red" connections of federal officials, and called the investigation the waving of a red herring to cover up the GOP failure to pass any constructive legislation.

Sat 10-2-48

After eighteen hours in the city with Mrs. Truman and daughter concert singer Margaret. the party continued to Tulsa for a second major stop and address with car-platform speeches between the two points.

Sat 10-2-48

Bennie Payne, Northeast Second street waiter at the Skirvin hotel, where the Truman party was accommodated, and an old acquaintance of Mr. Truman when the president was a judge in Kansas City. Mo., was specially assigned by hotel owner Dan James as the Truman family's special waiter.

Payne has been at the Skirvin since 1923 and during his tenure here and in Missouri, he has served and formed personal acquaintance with some of the outstanding personalities in American life.

Dr. Tobias Gives Reasons for Supporting Truman

34(1)

The Defender

Cites Records as Senator, President, Lauds Courage in Civil Rights Fight

Sat 10-9-48

Afro Am

NEW YORK—In a statement issued this week, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, listed 10 reasons why he will vote for President Truman in the coming election.

Mr. Tobias issued the statement, he said in a letter to AFRO President Carl Murphy, "because of my deep sense of loyalty to the man who has done more to dramatize the issue of civil rights than any President that ever lived."

Mr. Tobias' reasons were:

1. Mr. Truman's support of progressive legislation as a Senator.

Appointed Judge, Governor

2. Tis "courage to defy custom" in appointing a colored federal judge and a colored governor of the Virgin Islands.

3. His inclusion of the Virgin Islands among his stops and his "whole-hearted acceptance" of the courtesies extended to him by Gov. and Mrs. William H. Hastie, during his visits of U.S. Territories in the West Indies.

4. His appointment of a committee to study the rigths of American citizens after receiving a committee in Sep., 1946 which protested the Walton County, Ga. lynching.

Sat 10-9-48

Civil Rights Activity

5. His issuance of Executive Order 9808 appointing the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

7. His special message to Congress, sent after his Civil Rights Committee's report, asking for legislation to put into effect the principal recommendations.

8. His issuance of executive orders directed against discrimination in the Armed Forces and in the civilian government services.

Has Withstood 'Pressure'

9. His belief that Mr. Truman has, "without apology," put the prestige and power of his office behind the struggle for a single standard of citizenship for all people, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

10. His having held his ground "against pressures and threats unparalleled in the political history of our country."

The Case Against Truman

PM

So President Truman finally had to announce his candidacy for the Democratic nomination (*story on Page 3*). His move is, at least in part, an effort to hold together the disintegrating Democratic support for him. Seeing his political strength crumbling, Truman has announced to the Nation that if nominated, he will accept and run. New York, N.Y.

No doubt. But the question of whether he is to be nominated and elected is not for him to decide, but for the Democratic and liberal voters of the Nation. I think it is going to be hard—terribly hard—to persuade them that he is the man whom they want to lead the liberal forces to victory.

What looked a month ago like an impossible pipe-dream of liberal Democrats—the chances of scuttling Truman as 1948 candidate and nominating someone better—has now become a real possibility. Tues 3-9-48

Partly it comes as a result of the Wallace movement. But only partly. For the strength of the Wallace movement is a sign, rather than a cause, of Truman's lack of a real hold on the imagination of people. The revolt of the Southern Tories, at the other end of the political scale from the Wallace left-wingers, is also a sign rather than a cause: a stronger President could make an unpalatable political move stick, while a weak one cannot make even the right move stick.

Does Truman Have the Stature To Hold the Party Together?

The real cause is President Truman himself. The component elements of the Demoratic Party have always been uneasy partners, but in a time of world crisis like the present one it takes a figure of great stature to hold them together. Roosevelt could. Truman can't. Truman is his own worst enemy.

He has talked of the need for Democratic liberalism, and his Jackson Day speech was wholly on that theme. But to talk liberalism and act liberalism are wholly different things. The only strongly liberal move he has made recently was his Civil Rights program. It deserved—and still deserves—praise. But it came late, after the Wallace forces had beaten him to the punch. And it was not believed. Both the Negroes in the Northern states and the reactionaries in the South figured it as a wholly political move: it enraged the Tories without rallying the liberals. Tues 3-9-48

Aside from that one gesture, Truman's recent record has been the sort to make him impossible as the liberal candidate of a liberal party. He has gone on with military intervention in Greece and Turkey, has yielded to those who pressed for more of the same kind of intervention in China, and his current moves on guaranteeing the military borders of western Europe mean that the Marshall Plan is in danger of being transformed into a military alliance. His recent record on appointments—his scuttling of Chairman Landis, Chairman Eccles, Surgeon General Parran—show a tragic unconcern about rewarding courage and ability in the Government service. Finally—and beyond all else—the Administration sell-out on the Palestine partition and the UN shows Truman as a man willing to be tough against everyone but the enemies of justice. Our generation has seen many sell-outs, but one would have to go back to Munich to recall a sell-out as cynical, as bedraggled, as contemptible as the State Department's weaseling out of its commitment to partition under the UN.

The Bosses' Standard: Candidates Who Can Deliver the Votes

New York, N.Y.

I wrote in this space on Feb. 19: "Either the Democrats must change their cynical and bungling policies, or they must change their Presidential candidate." The two are really linked, for Truman is what he is, and his policies will stay or go with him. He is a man of good will who is bewildered in a crisis world and doesn't measure up to the size of his job. He has allowed himself to become the instrument of the big generals and the big corporations, and he has made their military-minded and property-minded policies his policies.

What I have thus far wrtten is wholly on the score of principle. It sums up why I do not believe that Truman should be nominated. But there is an additional reason on the score of practical politics. From this distance I do not see how he can win if he is nominated. The movement of the pro-Wallace liberals is increasingly away from Truman rather than back toward him. Even the anti-Wallace labor movement has little enthusiasm for Truman. The Southern Tories have broken with him. I despise the motives that animate these Southerners, and in a contest between Truman and them my own sympathy is wholly with Truman: yet the political fact of the break is there, and must be reckoned with. The Isacson election shows the extent to which the minority-groups, which count for a good deal in the crucial industrial states, have been alienated from Truman. The big-city Democratic bosses, who would like to cling to Truman if they could, are now faced by what is for them a hard fact of life: the probability that they could not win with him. And it is in the nature of a boss as a political animal that he won't consciously back a likely loser.

An Instrument of the Big Generals And the Big Corporations

PM New York, N.Y.

The Democratic politicians are worried. On Thursday and Friday there will be a strategy meeting of all the big Democratic machine bosses. For the time being, no doubt, they will continue to assert their loyalty to Truman, and Truman will continue to be a candidate to succeed himself. A man who has had that much power, even when it has been thrust on him, does not easily abdicate it. And the men who put him into power, and whose position depends partly on the system of patronage, do not easily abandon their titular party chief. But politics is an unsentimental affair, as is so much else in American life. In business, money talks; in politics, it is the final votes that talk. The hard fact is that barring a miracle Truman can no longer deliver the votes. Five times in American history the party politicians have scuttled a Vice-President-become-President when the time came for a new nomination. Five instances ought to be good enough, if what you are looking for is precedent. But the decisive fact is that Truman does not deserve the nomination, and in all probability could not be elected if he got it. New York, N.Y.

Are there other leaders to whom the Democratic Party could turn? There are. I shall discuss them in detail at another time. But for the present it is enough to give the names of those who have been most frequently discussed in the past weeks: Justice William O. Douglas, General Eisenhower, former OPA Administrator Chester Bowles. Any one of them would give the Nation good leadership. Any one of them would go a good deal to re-unite the split Democratic forces. Any one of them would stand a good chance of winning, even with Wallace in the field, and would be sure to win if Wallace were to withdraw before November. A ticket made up of two of the three would give the Democrats a new outlook and future.

A New Base Must Be Broad Enough To Bear a New Structure of Unity

That is the crucial problem—the problem of building a base broad enough so that on it could be built a new structure of Democratic unity. Whether justly or not, Truman has today become a divisive and not a unifying force within the Democratic Party and among American liberals. His policy has become a divisive policy—exactly because it is reactionary in the foreign field and indecisive in the domestic. New York, N.Y.

What we need is a Democratic leader who will unify the liberals and give the nation the guidance it needs in a crisis age.

AGAINST

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

I believe that every candidate for delegate at large should declare his position plainly.

As a candidate, and if elected as delegate, I am against the renomination of Harry Truman. I stand for white supremacy 100 per cent. There is no middle ground.

JOHN C. WALTERS.
Troy, Ala.

Thurs. 3-18-48

Truman Predicts Victory; Leaves Door Ajar For Dixie

The Advertiser Fri 3-26-48
Montgomery, Ala.

By D. HAROLD OLIVER

WASHINGTON, —(AP)— President Truman confidently predicted Thursday a Democratic victory in November and said he's in the race to stay.

He told a news conference he is not upset over the revolt in

party ranks and that rebels will be given a chance to walk back into the fold before the election.

Southerners are rebelling against his civil rights proposals. Several senators have demanded that he withdraw his bid for nomination.

Some Democrats in New York

and Chicago have bolted the Truman ranks because of last week's reversal on Palestine partitioning. The Advertiser

Clarifying his stand on the latter issue Thursday the President read a formal statement to reporters. He explained that this government's new proposal for a United Nations trusteeship for the Holy Land is only an emergency step to stop the killing of Jews and Arabs and is without

prejudice to ultimate partitioning. Montgomery, Ala.

He also called a truce betwee the Palestine fighting factions. Fri.

Administration officials and party strategists said afterward they hoped this latest statement would heal some of the party wounds caused by last week's statement before the UN. 3-26-48

The President, when asked for

right," Colmer said without elaboration.

Newsweek - N.Y. N.Y.

Party Schisms and the Crisis

Mon. 3-22-48

by ERNEST K. LINDLEY

THE politicians and experienced observers in Washington who really believe Mr. Truman could win if the Presidential election were held next week would hardly crowd a telephone booth. There are not many who think he has much of a chance in November. The Democratic party appears to be shattered beyond repair by him or perhaps by any other Democratic politician in 1948.

Mr. Truman's prospects looked hopeless also in November 1946. Yet by the end of 1947 the popular-opinion polls indicated that he probably could defeat any Republican nominee except Eisenhower. Many things could happen during the next few months to improve his chances of reelection. Among his potential assets are, of course, stupidity and overconfidence in the Republican party. They accounted in no small part for his recovery between November 1946 and November 1947. The Republicans have plenty of both left. If they decide in June that they can win with anybody, Mr. Truman may become again a formidable adversary.

WHILE the spotlight has been playing on the schisms in the Democratic party, it should not be forgotten that the Republican party remains far from united in its approach to the grave issues of foreign policy and national security. Twenty-four Republican senators backed the Taft amendment to reduce the initial ERP authorization to $4,000,000,000. Twenty-five stood with Vandenberg against the cut. The Democratic alignment was 36 to 9. (These totals include pairs and absentees whose position was announced.)

The comparable test on the interim aid bill last November was on the Malone amendment to chop off $197,000,000. Twenty Republicans and ten Democrats in the Senate voted for this amendment, against the unanimous recommendation of the Foreign Relations Committee.

On aid to Greece last spring, the Senate line-up (again including absentees whose position was announced) was: Republicans, 35 for, 16 against; Democrats, 37 for, 7 against.

On the basis of these and other tests, between one-fourth and one-third of the Republicans in the Senate must be regarded as isolationists, and another one-fourth as halfhearted or unreliable supporters of American foreign policy and security. In the House, isolationist sentiment has been stronger than in the Senate and, until recently, has included most of the Republican leaders.

Events abroad have tempered some of the isolationists and perhaps converted a few, at least to the need for larger expenditures on the armed services. But they have not yet united the Republican party on the greatest issues of the time. The so-called bipartisan front still consists, in Congress, of most of the Democratic party plus perhaps half of the Republican party. The relative solidity of the Democrats in Congress on questions of foreign policy and national security has not been impaired in the slightest by the open splits over domestic questions.

In the fall of 1938 the Democratic party was torn with strife and bitterness. That was the year of Roosevelt's unsuccessful "purge." It was also the year of Munich. Roosevelt put the New Deal aside and reunited his party on the issue of foreign policy. Mr. Truman is not Roosevelt and he has to deal with organized rebellion on two sides. He cannot heal the schism with Wallace, which is over foreign policy. But it is hard to believe that, in the showdown, the South will so conduct itself as to help an isolationist Republican win the Presidency. And if foreign policy is an issue between the two major parties and candidates, it will certainly decide many votes in other parts of the country. The nomination of Taft, Bricker, Speaker Martin, or any of several other Republicans might make foreign policy the dominant issue of the campaign.

Mon. 3-22-48

THE division over foreign policy is the most serious weakness in the Republican party, and it could be ruinous. The outcome of the election may be decided at the Republican National Convention in June but it will not be decided before that, forlorn as Mr. Truman's position seems today.

Truman a 'Dead Bird' Says Dixie Democrat

P.M. - N.Y. N.Y.
3-3-48
Wed.

By Associated Press

WASHINGTON

A cry that "Harry Truman is a dead bird" was raised by a Southern Democrat as Republicans piled new fuel on the Dixie "civil rights" revolt.

Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D., S. C.), beat the anti-Truman drum after:

¶ The House Judiciary Committee, dominated by Republicans, approved a Federal anti-lynching bill.

¶ Seven Senators, five of them Republicans, pressed for Senate action on a bill to set up a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission to outlaw job discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups.

Touch Off Revolt

The anti-lynch and FEPC bills are among the Truman recommendations which have touched off a revolt among Southern Democrats, with threats to break with the national party if the President is nominated for a full term in the White House.

Rivers told Republicans in a House speech they were making a mistake in trying to "embarrass" Truman by pushing through his program.

"You are going to burn down the house to get at the rats," he shouted. "You had better make friends with the South right now while there is still time."

A committee of Southern Democrats in the House who are fighting the Truman program met later. Chairman William H. Colmer (D., Miss.), told reporters no decisions were made.

Negro Candidates

In New York, Henry Wallace's campaign manager said there would "no doubt" be Negroes among the Congressional candidates on Wallace's third party ticket.

The spokesman, C. B. Baldwin, denied reports that the party itself would run Negro candidates in specific districts. That's "entirely up to our state organizations," Baldwin said.

The anti-lynching bill cleared the House Committee by an unofficially reported 18 to 8 vote. Members said two Republicans voted against it along with six Democrats.

It now needs only clearance by the GOP-dominated Rules Committee before it comes up for full House action. Republicans, along with Democrats who are backing President Truman's civil rights stand, are almost certain to push the measure through.

3-3-48

'Dead Bird' Speech

Rivers' "dead bird" speech followed another Democratic prediction that Truman would be "overwhelmingly defeated" if he runs—because of the Civil Rights program—and a plea that he withdraw from the Presidential picture.

Rep. Tom Murray (D., Tenn.) aid he indorsed the statement by Tennessee Democratic leader E. H. (Boss) Crump, who said he would "vote for a Democrat next November but it will not be Truman."

"I would like to see the Democrats nominate either Sen. Byrd of Virginia, Secretary of State Marshall, Sen. Tydings of Maryland or Gen. Eisenhower if he could be drafted," Murray said in a statement.

Suggest States Withhold Their Electoral Votes

Birmingham Ala
Sun. 3-14-48

Other Trouble Looms For President As Anderson Resigns

WASHINGTON, March 13—(AP)—Trouble doubled for Candidate Harry S. Truman Saturday.

Six Southern governors banded together to fight his nomination for president this Summer.

A few hours earlier, Secretary of Agriculture Anderson announced he is quitting the president's cabinet to run for the Senate.

Both moves, although not totally unexpected, added up to bad campaign news for Mr. Truman.

The Southern governors pledged themselves to fight the nomination of any presidential candidate who advocates the civil rights proposals of Mr. Truman: Anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, anti-segregation and anti-job discrimination laws.

3-14-48 Sun.

* * *

THE GOVERNORS, meeting here, recommended that the Southern states withhold their electoral votes from any candidate following the Truman civil rights pattern.

Joining in the recommendation were Govs. Wright, of Mississippi; Jester, of Texas; Folsom, of Alabama; Thompson, of Georgia; Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Laney, of Arkansas. Gov. Lane, of Maryland, said he refrained from voting "because any recommendation on my part, to the Maryland Democratic Convention, to which I probably will not be a delegate, would be resented."

Anderson's announcement stirred some expressions of surprise in New Mexico, although he had mentioned he might run for the Senate.

Anderson has been counted a political asset in the cabinet, with his farm and Capitol Hill links. The secretary plans to enter the New Mexico Democratic primary in June and leave the cabinet when Congress quits, possibly in July.

Anderson told a news conference of his plans. He aspires to the Senate seat vacated by Democratic Sen. Carl Hatch.

* * *

HATCH ALREADY has said he will be available for an appointment to the Federal Court bench if it comes to him. But he must wait until his present term ends next Jan. 3 before he will be eligible.

Anderson, appointed by President Truman to succeed Claude R. Wickard on June 30, 1945, said he is taking the step "reluctantly."

As a former House member from New Mexico, Anderson is popular with many members of Congress. He has been close to farmers' problems and has carried his agricultural arguments to Congress in committee hearings, many of which involved the issues of price control and rationing.

Birmingham Ala

The cabinet member said he feels that he can "best serve New Mexico and the interests of the nation in the Senate."

He said if Mr. Truman is willing he will stay on the job until Congress quits to press for adoption of permanent farm legislations to take the place of the expiring price-support program.

By that time, he said, the present food export program will have been completed and schedules drawn for the Fall months.

Sun. 3-14-48

THERE WERE PREDICTIONS that when the new cabinet member is named he will come from the Midwestern farm belt where Democrats are trying to break into a Republican voting stronghold.

Led by Sen. Taft (R., Ohio), Republicans immediately read into Anderson's decision a fear on the part of Democrats that Mr. Truman won't be able to beat the GOP presidential nominee in November.

But Sen. Sparkman (D., Ala.) retorted that this isn't true.

Anti-Truman Ire Rolls As South Stands Pat

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs.

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

As dissatisfaction with President Truman as nominee of the Democratic Party in the coming Presidential campaign spread into Illinois and California, Southerners Wednesday had not relented in their opposition to him and his civil-rights proposals. 3-25-4

In Washington questions were fired at a Senator before a Senate Rules Committee considering a measure that would outlaw poll taxes as a voting requirement in Federal elections. The President, among other measures, called for such enaction.

In Alabama, a critic of Mrs. Lennard Thomas sought to oppose the Democratic National Committeewoman at the polls.

Explaining her decision to oppose Mrs. Thomas for re-election, Mrs. S. Brooks Whitton said the National Committeewoman's position on the civil rights dispute "has made many people in the State doubt her firm allegiance to their cause."

After talking with President Truman recently, Mrs. Thomas said she was convinced Party leaders would not force anti-segregation laws, "down our throats" in the South. She said later she meant National Committee officials, such as Chairman Howard McGrath. Thurs.

Rep. George H. Bender, Republican, Ohio, in Washington objected to being linked with Communists in his advocacy of poll-tax repeal. 3-25-48

Bender testified before a Senate Rules Committee considering his bill to outlaw the poll tax as a requirement for voting in Federal elections. Gov. William M. Tuck, of Virginia, and Rep. J. Lindsay Almond, Democrat, Virginia, told the Committee Tuesday that Communists were the first in Virginia to seek poll-tax repeal by Federal legislation. The Constitution

"I object to being referred to as a Red," Bender told the Committee. "I happen to be a Republican from Ohio . . . and an elder in the Presbyterian Church. And, frankly, there isn't anything about Protestantism or Catholicism that that has anything in common with Communism." Atlanta, Ga

Bender insisted that the poll tax should be abolished in the interest of free and clean elections. Thurs.

Virginia is one of seven Southern States which still levy a poll tax. The others are Mississippi, Tennessee, South Carolina, Alabama, Texas and Arkansas. 3-25-48

Sen. John C. Stennis, Democrat, Mississippi, only Southerner on the Committee, was the only committeeman to question Bender.

Truman Not Disturbed Over Revolt in Party

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga 3-26-48

WASHINGTON, March 25—(UP)—President Truman confirmed Thursday that he is in the Democratic presidential race to stay.

Southern Democrats cracked right back that they still intend to try to knock him out. 3-26-48

The President told a news conference he intends to go ahead with his candidacy. He didn't say whether he expects to win it. But he said he isn't disturbed by the spreading revolt within party ranks which has been marked by demands that he withdraw. Fri.

And he confidently predicted a Democratic victory in November.

The President was asked whether he expects Democrats who are walking out on him now to walk back in again. He said he preferred to wait until November to give them a chance to come back.

Rep. William Colmer, Democrat, Mississippi, Chairman of a 76-man group of House Democrats fighting the President on the racial rights issue, said they wouldn't return if Mr. Truman is the nominee. The Constitution

"There's nothing new in what the President says," Colmer said. "There's nothing to alter the position of those of us who are dissatisfied with his stand on civil rights. We will not support the nomination of any man who includes that in his platform."

There were signs that some of the Dixie Democrats will support Mr. Truman on a veto of the GOP tax-cut bill and in his requests for bigger national defense appropriations. But they repeated their determination to oppose him on the racial rights issue. Atlanta, Ga.

If the Southerners can't prevent Mr. Truman's nomination, many of them plan to deny him their State electoral votes. Some States already have started amending their election laws with that thought in mind. Fri.

Sen. John C. Stennis, Democrat, Mississippi, suggested during a hearing on anti-poll tax legislation Thursday that it might be a good idea to have presidential electors appointed by State Governors instead of elected. 3-26-48

The intraparty bolt against Mr. Truman is broader than the South's revolt against his request to Congress for Federal laws against the poll tax, lynching, job discrimination and racial segregation. Fri. 3-26-48

It spread into some of the big-city Democratic strongholds when the Administration pulled back on its advocacy of immediate partition of Palestine to create a national homeland for Jews. Fri.

Mr. Truman told his press conference Thursday that he still favors partition, but he wants a United Nations trusteeship as a temporary means of governing Palestine. He said it was only a stop-gap proposal until the dispute can be settled without bloodshed between Arabs and Jews. 3-26-48

IN THE FIELD OF POLITICS

34a(1)

Truman Seen Bowing Out: Ike Running as Democrat

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 3-7-48

GADSDEN, Ala., March 6—(AP)—President Truman will "bow out of the Presidential race within 60 days, and there is a strong feeling in Washington that Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower will accept the Democratic nomination," Rep. Albert Rains, Democrat, Alabama, said here Saturday night.

"It is more in the rumor stage, but it is being talked more and more in Washington that Eisenhower would run for President on the Democratic ticket," Rep. Rains said.

"I'm not making any prediction that Eisenhower will accept the nomination, but it is being talked," he added.

JACKSON DAY DINNER

DES MOINES, Iowa — (UP) — Agriculture Secretary Clinton P. Anderson accused Republicans of campaigning on the strength of the Democratic farm program.

In a Jackson Day Dinner address here, Anderson said Republicans spent three years criticizing Democratic farm policies and now, in the election year, sound their "mating call" of "me too-oo, me too-o-o." The Constitution

"No wonder the poor old Republican elephant gets so confused by the similarity between its trunk and its tail that it doesn't know which end to sit on," he said.

Anderson keynoted his speech before 800 Iowa Democrats at a $25-dollar-a-plate dinner, by saying: Atlanta, Ga.

"In the past decade and a half the Democratic Party has done more to help the American farmer achieve peace of mind than all the Republican administrations since the time of Abraham Lincoln."

REFUSES TO RUN

INDIANAPOLIS — (INS) — Former Gov. Henry Schricker flatly refused to run for the 1948 Democratic nomination for Governor in Indiana. Sun

Schricker voiced his final refusal in a telephone call to members of the Indiana Democratic Editorial Association, who held a special meeting this afternoon in Indianapolis in an attempt to "draft" the former Governor for the nomination. 3-7-48

Schricker said:

"I am certainly sensitive to the honor the Association is trying to bestow on me, and I hate to disappoint my many good friends and wish to thank them from the bottom of my heart.

"But I am not—and will not—be a candidate for Governor."

LONG SHOWS TEMPER

BATON ROUGE, La. — (UP) — Gov. Designate Earl K. Long, showing a flash of the late Kingfish's temperament, slapped a State Senator-elect in the chamber of the House of Representatives and bellowed: "You're fired right here and now!" Constitution

Long slapped Sen.-elect John O'Connor, of New Orleans, across the chest with his open hand during a short but loud argument that followed a meeting of the State Central Democratic Committee. They had an audience of several dozen of the State's leading Democratic politicians. Atlanta Ga

"You, your brother and your father have been on the payroll all your life," Long said loudly. "You are fired right here and now!"

A friend grabbed O'Connor lest he return the Governor-to-be's slap and led him away. 3-7-48

Actually, Long cannot fire O'Connor from the State Senate, since he was elected by popular vote. Constitution

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Elector Candidates' Pledge, Sparkman Plea In Spotlight

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala

By The Associated Press

U. S. Senator John J. Sparkman's proposal that President Truman withdraw as candidate for renomination topped Alabama's weekend political developments.

34a(1)

The Huntsville senator, a candidate for renomination in the May 4 Democratic primary, previously had endorsed the President.

But, he said in a statement at Washington, he is now convinced the Democratic party will be "cut to ribbons" unless Mr. Truman withdraws. Sun. 3-21-48

The statement brought a comment from Phillip J. Hamm, candidate for Sparkman's seat, that "it looks like Mr. Sparkman won't stay hitched. He is the champion pussyfooter."

Sparkman said the President's "colossal blunder" in urging that Congress enact a "civil rights" program forced him to change his mind. Mr. Truman has urged enactment of federal legislation outlawing lynching, poll taxes, Jim Crow practices and job discrimination.

"Only One Way"

"I have at long last reached the conclusion," Sparkman said, "that there is only one way that this controversy can be settled and only one way to avoid defeat for the the Democratic Party in November—that is for Mr. Truman to withdraw."

As to suggestions that Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower would be a presidential candidate the South would support, Sparkman commented: The Advertiser

"Eisenhower is a good man and one behind whom we could unite. But there are others." He did not say whom he had in mind.

A major development during the week was the announcement by Attorney Horace Wilkinson, of Birmingham, that 21 of the 28 candidates for Alabama presidential electors had signed a pledge not to vote for Mr. Truman in the electoral college regardless. Wilkinson is one of the candidates for the 11 places.

Montgomery, Ala.

Solid Vote

Sparkman said he believed the 11 electors finally chosen would vote solidly for some candidate other than the President. 3-21-48

The senator headed the Democratic Party's speakers bureau in 1946.

Lister Hill, Alabama's senior senator, Saturday declined comment on Sparkman's move. Hill is a candidate for delegate to the Democratic National Convention in support of Mr. Truman, although he opposes the President's civil rights proposals.

Sparkman is scheduled to leave Washington next Wednesday for

Alabama to press his campaign for re-election. He will speak in Montgomery Thursday night and attend the Alabama Education Association convention in Birmingham Friday.

In charging that Sparkman is a "champion pussyfooter," Hamm said in a statement Saturday:

"He was with Folsom and turned on him. He was with labor and he turned on them. He was for all the people and he turned on them by voting with the monopolists. He was with Truman and is now trying to turn on him.

"What the people of Alabama really want to know is what to expect of Sparkman next. What does he really stand for?"

Hamm, close friend of Gov. Folsom, resigned recently as State Revenue Department commissioner to make the race. The governor was on the stand with him for his opening campaign address.

He has been engaging in an extensive stump tour and Saturday announced an itinierary for 28 appearances during the coming week.

State Democratic Executive Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey conferred with Gov. Folsom Thursday night regarding Alabama law that would require the state's electors to support President Truman if he were nominated by the national convention.

McCorvey, one of the electoral candidates who is pledged not to vote for Truman, contends the act is unconstitutional because: (1). Electors are chosen by the people and not the party, and (3) electors are state officers and the Legislature cannot tell them how to vote.

Folsom said he probably will ask the State Supreme Court to rule whether the 1945 legislative act is constitutional.

The act says electors must vote for the "nominee of the national convention of the party by which they are elected."

Dixie Rebels Shift Tactics On Truman

The News, Birmingham, Ala. 34a(1)

Wed. 2-25-48

They Want To Knock President Out Of Nomination, Avoid Inner Party Fight

The News Birmingham, Ala.

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25—(AP)—Dixie Rebels switched tactics today.

Their aim now is to knock President Truman out of the Democratic presidential nomination to avoid having to fight him within the party.

Their strategy is to try to convince Northern Democrats that (A) Mr. Truman has no chance to win in November and (B) the party should get another nominee less inclined to press for congressional action on anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and similar racial equality proposals. Wed. 2-25-48

Sen. McClellan (D., Ark.) told a reporter: 2-25-48

"The time can come when the party may realize that President Truman can't win. Maybe then we can get another nominee."

McClellan and six other Southern senators met yesterday with two of the protesting Dixie governors still in Washington. The News

* * *

THE SOUTHERNERS made clear they are willing to think about a great many other men, so long as the one finally picked is not publicly identified with the president's civil rights program. 2-25-48

They came up with some names.

Sen. Olin Johnston (D., S. C.) said Secretary of State Marshall would be just the man. Marshall has said flatly he will "never" run for public office. Wed.

McClellan, who says he doesn't think President Truman could win in November even with Southern support, plugged Sen. Byrd (D., Va.) as a substitute nominee. But Byrd asked that his name be kept out of that kind of talk.

Another revolt leader said the name of James F. Byrnes, former secretary of state, is on many of the Southerners' minds.

Birmingham, Ala.

BYRD AND BYRNES, however, probably would encounter as much opposition from the North as Mr. Truman is finding in the South.

SEN. HILL (D., Ala.), who has said he is supporting Mr. Truman's bid to return to the White House, poured some oil on the troubled waters. Wed. 2-25-48

"I'm in favor of working this matter out within the present Democratic Party just as we have been able to work out our problems in the past," Hill told a reporter.

None of Mr. Truman's civil rights proposals is ready for a vote in Congress yet. But Sen. Ferguson (R., Mich.) predicted last night that an anti-poll tax bill will be laid before the Senate by week's end.

The July nominating convention in Philadelphia probably will provide the first real battle between the Truman Democrats and the Southerners fighting the president's civil rights proposals.

In preparation for that showdown, members of the Dixie group are discussing a two-fold plan to (1) set up "official" Democratic parties in each of their states and (2) take the presidential and vice presidential candidates' names off those ballots on which they usually appear. The News

The whole idea would be to divorce the state Democratic organizations from the national committee. Birmingham, Ala.

The first formal move may come tomorrow at Richmond. Gov. William M. Tuck has arranged to deliver a special message to a joint session of the Virginia General Assembly then

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Truman Lacks F. D. R.'s Finesse In Handling Race Question

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Thurs. 6-3-48

BY JAY G. HAYDEN

WASHINGTON, June 3—(NANA)—Alabama's selection by popular vote of a majority of its Democratic convention delegates, firmly pledged to walk out unless President Truman's civil rights program is repudiated, highlights the dilemma that the Truman managers face in this regard.

The very fact of this Southern challenge makes compromise impossible. President Truman got right down to cases in his recommendation of legislation to prevent racial discrimination. He asked for federal laws to outlaw lynching, abolish poll taxes, establish a permanent FEPC to search out and punish unfair discriminations in employment, and eliminate Jim Crowism in interstate transportation.

For the Democratic national platform to be materially less specific would wreck the party's chance of holding Negro votes—without which, it would have lost half a dozen large industrial states in 1940 and 1944.

But just as certainly if the Truman proposals are embodied in a platform plank, electors from Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina will vote against Mr. Truman, and Virginia, Arkansas and Texas electors probably will do the same.

Up to and including the convention of 1936, in which the two-thirds rule was abolished, Democratic platforms completely avoided any reference to the problem of racial discrimination.

* * *

THE 1940 DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM laid great stress on the relief bounties and government jobs that Negro citizens had received from the New Deal and added:

"We shall continue to strive for complete legislative safeguards against discrimination in government service and benefits, and in the national defense forces. We pledge to uphold due process and the equal protection of the laws for every citizen regardless of race, or color." The News

Until 1944 the Republicans were not very specific, but in that year they got right down to cases. After promising an immediate congressional inquiry to ascertain the extent of "mistreatment, segregation and discrimination against Negroes who are in our armed forces," the Republican platform continued:

"We pledge the establishment by federal legislation of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission. Birmingham

"Anti-Poll Tax—The payment of any poll tax should not be a condition of voting in federal elections and we favor immediate submission of a constitutional amendment for its abolition. Ala. Thurs

"Anti-Lynching—We favor legislation against lynchings and pledge our sincere efforts in behalf of its early enactment." 6-3-48

* * *

CONFRONTED WITH THAT Republican declaration President Roosevelt looked to be in a bad fix. Negro organizations were demanding that the Democratic platform promise at least as much, but Southern Democrats, then as now, were on the warpath. Texas had actually voted to take its electors away from Roosevelt if he sanctioned racial equality, and Mississippi and South Carolina were threatening to follow suit. 6-3-48

Roosevelt looked both ways and decided that the Southern danger was the greater. So, the Democratic platform of 1944 never once mentioned the word "Negro." It made no mention of particular legislation to guard against discrimination.

Mr. Roosevelt, of course, had done for the Negroes in other ways. But he always avoided putting down on paper anything that would place him in direct conflict with the South. Thurs. 6-3-48

Mr. Truman, in contrast, put his offerings on this subject in a form too definite and positive either for himself to escape or the Southern politicians to swallow.

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Hostility To Truman Rages Backstage

The News Birmingham, Ala.

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON—Without benefit of publicity, a significant backstage battle is being waged regarding the question; "To nominate or not to nominate Mr. Truman." Tues.

A host of Democratic leaders would like to duck Harry's nomination, but most of them—at least from the North—are afraid to stick their necks out. They are secretly encouraging others to do the sticking, however, and they are quite delighted to hold anybody else's coat. 5-25-48

But despite this hesitancy, more and more Democrats are quietly lining up—with the hope of blocking nomination on the first ballot. If Truman doesn't make it on the first ballot, they figure he's licked.

Illustrating the current inside strategy is what's happening regarding California. The California delegation is pledged to Truman. Under the law it can't switch until after the first ballot. But there's nothing to prevent the California delegation from "seconding" the nomination of Gen. Eisenhower or of anyone else.

Therefore, the strategy now being discussed is for Alabama, first state to vote at the Philadelphia convention, to nominate Eisenhower and then for California to second him.

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Truman)

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

The Constitution

Truman Has Cause To Worry

Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 3-12-48

WASHINGTON—President Truman's acknowledgment of his willingness to run for a second term was obviously designed to head off the movement started in quiet circles of the party to give the nomination to someone else.

Otherwise, there would have been no necessity for him to make any statement as to his candidacy until right up to the date of the July convention, even if then. President Roosevelt, it is recalled, saw no occasion to announce his candidacy for a second, third or fourth term. He merely allowed events to take their natural course.

It has come to be assumed, as a matter of course, that every President in good health who is serving his first term will be a candidate to succeed himself. No necessity arises for him to acknowledge his candidacy formally for the reason that, being in control of the party machinery, it is virtually impossible for anyone else to take the nomination away from him.

Mr. Truman has been so regarded as a candidate for some time. Up until a short while ago no suggestion had been raised in any responsible quarter that he step aside.

In recent weeks, however, an agitation has sprung up for naming some other man as the party's 1948 standard bearer. The person most frequently mentioned has been Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, retired Army chief of staff, who soon is to take over his new duties as President of Columbia University. Fri. 3-12-48

The agitation for replacing Mr. Truman with someone else at the head of the Democratic ticket has come about through two developments. First, the sharp inroads Henry A. Wallace appears to be making in Democratic liberal support with his third-party candidacy for the Presidency. And, second, the threatened Southern revolt against the President's civil rights program.

Many party leaders are convinced that either one of these two developments, if carried much further, could result in a disastrous, defeat for the Democratic ticket this Fall. Rather than take a chance on failure, some party stalwarts have quietly suggested that the wisest course would be for the President to step down and open the way for a less controversial figure to be nominated.

Not all of the suggestions have been quietly made. Some of the Southern Democratic contingent have been openly demanding such a course. The Constitution

Mr. Truman's top advisers in the Democratic National Committee, Sen. McGrath, of Rhode Island, the Chairman, and Gael Sullivan, Executive Director, evidently saw some danger of the movement growing and went to the White House to discuss the situation. After a lengthy conference with the President, they emerged with the announcement that Mr. Truman would accept renomination. Atlanta, Ga.

The chief purpose of this was to put down the agitation for selecting another party candidate. The President's announcement will have that effect because of the realization that it will be all but impossible to defeat him for the nomination so long as he is out to get it. Fri. 3-12-48

At the same time, what the President has done must be taken to mean that he has some concern over the situation. He would not have been led to make the announcement if things had been different.

34a(1)

OVER-TRADED

EDITOR, The Advertiser: In your editorial, "Truman a Goner Anyway," you state, "The lack of esteem for Truman's abilities—all apart from his anti-segregation advocacy—is a prime key to Southern disgust. The South would not be so scornful in the case of a Cleveland, Wilson or Roosevelt." This is the second reference you have made within a short period that the South's attitude is motivated by a personality rather than a cause.

I believe this to be an entirely wrong conclusion. The South would not swallow the "civil rights" legislation, no matter who proposed it. Until Truman made known his campaign plans, which included "selling us down the river for political expediency," the South had backed his policy, both foreign and domestic. His personality didn't enter in then, and it doesn't now. The Advertiser

While our Southern leaders are weighing methods of preventing the inclusion of the obnoxious planks in the Democratic platform, there are bills pending in Congress that are a daily threat to the South's way of life. It is imperative that our leaders act for us now. The best weapons we have to fight with are our ballots; but they might be the deciding factor. We are determined to use them for the ones who will help keep the South a fit place to live in. It looks as though Truman over-traded. Montgomery, Ala.

3-8-48 MRS. J. F. DUGGAR, JR.
Hope Hull, Ala.

TRUMAN A GONER ANYWAY?

Possibly the paramount consideration in whether the South should forsake the Democratic Party in November is whether or not Harry Truman is a goner in any event. 34a(1) Sat. 3-6-48

We have first to face the fact that if the South brought about the defeat of the Democratic Party that would mean a Republican president for four years and very probably a Republican congress. It is more than likely that in these four years a G. O. P. version of Truman's Civil Disturbance program would be enacted—if not before January. Montgomery Advertiser

But if Truman is going to go down in defeat anyway, many Southerners will feel that there is something to gain by deserting the Democratic Party and occasioning the election of a Republican. Presumably it will demonstrate to the G. O. P. that Southern support is available. Demonstrated independence as a two-party region would render the South something to bargain after. Montgomery, Ala.

At the present there are too many unknowns in the equation to predict that this would inevitably follow in the South. We have not yet had time to think our dilemma through. In Alabama even the attendant legal questions are undecided.

That Southern leaders are moving with more ardor than calculation is evident in the Virginia situation. There, Gov. Tuck no sooner submitted to the legislature a plan for depriving Truman of the Virginia electoral college than he had to withdraw it and substitute another.

But meanwhile, there is obvious and widespread revulsion for Truman. The lack of esteem for Truman's abilities—all apart from his anti-segregation advocacy—is a prime key to Southern disgust. The South would not be so scornful in the case of a Cleveland, Wilson or Roosevelt.

It appears at this time that Wallace will deprive the Democrats of critical margins in Northern states—possibly enough to insure Truman's defeat regardless of the South's 127. Sat. 3-6-48

Further, as Walter Lippmann is saying, Truman's election this year would be remarkable in the most favorable circumstances. For a Truman victory would represent the fifth successive victory of a party, and that has happened only twice before in U. S. history.

Unforeseen developments such as international crisis might intervene to restore Truman's ascendancy, but current circumstances daily suggest that Truman is a goner. That must have top consideration in any move to abandon the party.

Not So Solid

34a(1)

Editor Constitution: There is much discussion among the Southern politicians about how to safeguard the Southern segregation laws. You know our own Democratic President has turned YANKEE and has gone so far as to try and do away with all Jim Crow laws.

I thought a Democrat should be loyal to their party and support its platform, but I believe we will have to do something else besides vote for Truman. Atlanta Constitution

Most of the Southern Governors, Senators and Representatives are out to defeat some of the ridiculous legislation. Wed. 3-17-48

They don't think much of the Negroes except during election year.

I don't believe the South is as solid as they think, and the way to show them is to vote for a man who isn't so interested in his personal gains.

Comer. COILE J. GRAHAM.

Matter Of Fact

By JOSEPH AND STEWART ALSOP

34a(1)

WASHINGTON.

THE MISERIES of Harry S. Truman are becoming so numerous that it is almost inhuman to report them. Nonetheless, it is an inevitably significant political fact that the President has more misery in store for him when the greatest satraps of the Democratic Party gather in Washington March 11. This is the date of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee. Several of its members have already let it be known that they will seize the opportunity to tell the President a few home truths. The Advertiser

The opinion that home-truth-telling is needful arises from the change in the man Truman, which the satraps also complain of. Initially, Truman seemed actually to dislike the immense burden that had been laid upon him. There followed a period when he simply and rather admirably resolved to bear the burden as best he could, letting the chips fall where they might. The results of this approach to his duties were good. These good results were in turn gratifying, and now the satraps complain that the President is suffering from a bad case of Presidentitis.

Montgomery, Ala.

NOTHING is more difficult to penetrate than the obscurity which inevitably surrounds the personality and state of mind of a President. It does seem to be true, however, that the President has met his recent misfortunes, his run of bad luck and his chickens coming home to roost with a curious mixture of complacency and sense of being unjustly persecuted. He is no longer so eager to be advised as in the past. He is not even aware how desperate his political situation is. Indeed he has no one to tell him how bad things are, for the voices of the few really competent men with continuing access to the White House are daily drowned by the smoking-car jollity of Brigadier General Vaughan and the smooth reassurance of the pursy Dr. Steelman. Tues.

The first stage of the satraps' reaction to this situation will be to beat the President over the head with the grim facts. It may be expected they will tell him he has almost irretrievably lost the South. (There is a faint hope that the Southerners may be wooed back by naming a Southern vice-president and re-using the 1944 civil rights plank in the 1948 convention platform. But even this hope is too dim to be voiced with real enthusiasm.) What is almost worse, the satraps will also tell the President that he is losing the mass vote in the North and that nothing can win this vote back except strong leadership. 3-9-48

THE DIFFICULTY is that telling the President large numbers of home truths like these, even in the loudest and most menacing possible voice, will neither alter the man nor simplify his problem. At this juncture, in the opinion of the most competent Democratic strategists, there is really nothing much that the President can do to restore himself. The real price of the Southerners is the removal of Truman from the head of the ticket. The only real means of regaining Northern mass support, in present circumstances, is actually to put through the social and other measures which the President has advocated.

The strategists close to the White House count on the inevitable worsening of the foreign situation to bring their man back. But the more impartial Democrats are even unable to see hope in this grim remedy. "Truman isn't the kind of man," one of them admitted bitterly the other day, "that people think they've got to keep in office just because there's a crisis."

If all this is so, moreover, it is necessary to look forward to still another stage in the reaction of the great Democratic satraps. They made Truman, and he has not used the presidency in such a way as to prevent them from un-making him. On a recent trip around the country, one of the President's closest political advisers was shocked to discover how many party leaders wistfully speculated on whether Truman might not be induced to step aside in favor of General Eisenhower. For the present, of course, this is a mirage. But for the future it will certainly have meaning. The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

IT DOES not mean, of course, that General Eisenhower is any more likely to run as a Democrat than as a Republican. Nor does it mean that the President will actually be replaced at the head of his party's ticket in the election. It is simply a sign of very bad further trouble ahead. The Southern Governors are meeting immediately after the Ed Kellys, Frank McHales, Ed Flynns et al gather in Washington for the satraps' rally. It is almost inevitable that the satraps' best efforts will not disclose a formula short of side-tracking Truman for bringing the South into line again. The real trouble will start at the Governors' meeting, when the Southern rebellion is quite likely to become formal and official. Tues. 3-9-48

Then, if the deterioration continues, at least a few of the Northern satraps are quite likely to join in a putsch, sometime in the Spring, to make the President request a successor. The betting is still ten-to-one that the Democrats at Philadelphia will nominate Truman. But after these preliminaries, the convention should be a somewhat melancholy gathering.

(C), 1948, New York Herald Tribune, Inc.

SOUTH UNYIELDING IN TRUMAN STAND

The Times

Announcement of Candidacy Greeted by Capital Retorts That He Cannot Win

WASHINGTON, March 8 (UP)—President Truman's formal announcement that he is a candidate today failed to shake Southern revolt against him.

Some Republicans claimed that it clinched a Republican victory in November. New York, N.Y.

Southern Democrats in Congress insisted that Mr. Truman was fighting a lost cause and said he could not be elected even if he got the nomination over their objections. Tues. 3-9-48

Some Democrats who are for Mr. Truman would not claim that he would be elected.

One Republican who claimed it clinches a Republican victory was Senator Edward J. Thye of Minnesota. He termed Mr. Truman "the easiest man to beat."

No One Is Surprised

Nobody in Congress was surprised by the formal announcement that Mr. Truman was a candidate for a full four-year term in the White House. Bringing it in the open merely sharpened the criticisms of Southerners who have balked at the racial-rights issue.

Senator Olin D. Johnston, Democrat, of South Carolina, said he still thought Secretary of tSate George C. Marshall or Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower would be a better candidate. The Times

Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat, of Arkansas, recalled that he was the first to saw publcily that Mr. Truman couldn't win and "I still say he won't win."

Senator Claude Pepper, Democrat, of Florida, who split with the other Southern revolters to stand behind Mr. Truman, declined to comment on the President's chances. New York, N.Y.

Representative William T. Colmer, Democrat, of Mississippi, chairman of Southern revolters in the House, refused to say whether Mr. Truman would lose some of the solid South on the race issue but thought he would have "rough sledding." Tues. 3-9-48

Representative John E. Rankin, Democrat, of Mississippi, predicted that the South would nominate its own Presidential candidate.

Representative Oren C. Harris, Democrat, of Arkansas, charged that Mr. Truman's decision "jeopardizes the welfare of the party and of the country." He said he was going to continue to urge nomination of a candidate "who will stand for a realignment of the true Democratic party."

Senator Brien McMahon, Democrat of Conneticut: "I expected Mr. Truman would announce his intentions to run."

Senate Republican Whip Kenneth S. Wherry, of Nebraska: "The issue is clearly drawn. Do you want continuance of policies, both foreign an ddomestic, which we have had for the past sixteen years? Truman represents the New Deal." The Times

Representative John McCormack, Democrat, of Massachusetts: "Naturally I am very glad President Truman has announced his candidacy and will run for re-election. On his record he deserves re-election. He's done a splendid progressive job." New York, N.Y.

Rayburn Withholds Comment

House Democratic Leader Sam Rayburn: "No comment."

Representative Emanuel Cellar, Democrat of New York—"I admire his statement about civil rights but he will have to do something more than that to bolster up his candidacy. In metropolitan areas repercussions from the wobbly attitude of the Administration on Palestine have become very serious. Unless the Administration's attitude ceases to be mawkish the Democratic party might just as well fold up in districts like my own." Tues. 3-9-48

Representative Sol Bloom, Democrat, of New York: "There is no one else the Southerners can nominate who would stand a chance of re-election. Win or lose, who else are they going to vote for?"

Representative John Bell Williams, Democrat, of Mississippi: "The President has played fair with us by telling us what he wants. Now we're going to play fair with him and tell him he's not going to get a thing he asks for."

Senate Democratic Whip Scott Lucas of Illinois: "I've never had any doubt about his being a candidate and I have no doubt about his being re-elected. He will be elected." Tues. 3-9-48

Senator John J. Sparkman, Democrat, of Alabama, chairman of the Democratic Speakers Committee: "No comment."

Senator Burnet R. Maybank, Democrat, of South Carolina: "The statement is no surprise. Of course, he would accept the nomination. That's just comomn sense. Anyone would be honored to receive the nomination of either party."

TUCK PLAN ADVANCED BY VIRGINIAN GROUP

Times + New York, N.Y.

RICHMOND, Va., Feb. 27 (AP)—Democratic organization supporters picked up Governor Tuck's proposal to bar the name of President Truman from the November Presidential ballot and hustled it through the House Privileges and Elections Committee today by a unanimous vote. 34a(1)

The action paved the way for quick adoption by the Virginia General Assembly of Mr. Tuck's reply to Mr. Truman's civil rights program. The Assembly will meet tomorrow for the first Saturday session of the term. 2-28-48

Before reporting favorably on the Tuck bill the committee amended it in two particulars. One amendment would leave a place on the ballot for Henry Wallace's third party, which the bill, as drawn, would have excluded. The other would permit only state conventions of political parties to instruct Presidential electors how to cast their ballots, instead of permitting the convention to delegate this authority to a committee.

State Democratic Chairman Horace H. Edwards, Mayor of Richmond, disclosed meanwhile that the Tuck plan caught him by surprise. Sat 2-28-48

"Weren't you as Democratic chairman for the Commonwealth consulted in advance about the Governor's proposal?" a reporter asked Mr. Edwards.

"I was not," the mayor replied.

He said he would have something to say later as soon as he had time to make a detailed study of the Governor's plan.

Meanwhile, state Republicans hit at the Tuck proposal, and the state GOP director, Earle Lutz, said he believed that marking the ballots with party designations would be a violation of the State Constitution.

County Demos Seek To Rescind Truman Support

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Birmingham News Ala

Group Calls Meeting To Kill Endorsement As 'Standard Bearer'

34a(1) Sat. 3-13-48

Members of the Jefferson County Democratic Executive Committee Saturday moved to rescind the body's action in endorsing President Truman as party standard bearer in the November election.

Objections to the president's "civil rights" proposals prompted the move. Sat. 3-13-48

On petition of members, Chairman Holt McDowell has called a special meeting of the committee for 11 a.m., March 22, to consider rescinding a resolution endorsing Mr. Truman for the party presidential nominee. This resolution was adopted at the committee's regular meeting Jan. 29, before the president came out with his "civil rights" program. Sat. 3-13-48

H. A. (Gus) Thompson, committee clerk, said approximately 100 names had been signed to the petition presented McDowell. He explained that a special meeting could be called on petition of 17 members of the 252-member body.

The Etowah County Democratic Executive Committee a week ago rescinded its action endorsing Mr. Truman for the nomination.

Truman Backers

Seek To Delay Demo Showdown

Birmingham News, Ala.

Sat. 3-13-48

Mrs. Lennard Thomas Talks With President, Beams, Pledges Unity

34a(1)

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, March 13—(AP)—Administration officials were reported seeking today to stave off a civil rights showdown until the Democratic Convention in July.

At that time, a party official said, the resolutions committee will be asked to work President Truman's hotly-debated proposals into a compromise plank in the 1948 platform. Sat. 3-13-48

These proposals come before a committee of Southern governors here today. Indications were they would be roundly condemned. And the governors' report might throw new fuel on the fire of a Dixie Democratic revolt.

* * *

WITH THIS IN MIND, Mr. Truman's supporters are said to have agreed to leave it strictly up to the resolutions group to decide how strong a pledge the party wants to make toward bringing about race equality. Sat. 3-13-48

The convention group will be made up of members from each state and territory and the District of Columbia.

Thus rebelling Southerners will have a voice in deciding the issue, even if they are outnumbered by Northern and Western Democrats.

National Chairman J. Howard McGrath told four Southern governors recently that he would be willing to go back to the 1944 platform declaration.

That plank said the party believes minorities "have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens," and it urged Congress to "exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."

* * *

THE ADMINISTRATION, meanwhile, counted Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Alabama national committeewomen, as one Southern convert.

She said after a White House luncheon of the party's executive committee with Mr. Truman yesterday that the president had given her a satisfactory answer to a vital question. That question was whether she could "go back and tell my people that you are not going to tear up our social structure in the South and that you are everybody's president."

She said the president replied: "I do not take back one word I said. I stand on the Constitution of the United States. I'm everybody's president."

Beaming, Mrs. Thomas told reporters:

"We are going to stand together and work for a Democratic victory."

And other executive committee members came out of the meeting with the president saying their slogan would be "Peace and Prices."

Frank McHale, Indiana committeeman, said the Republicans had missed the boat on the high cost of living issue. And he said the party committee is certain that "the mass of the people will make any sacrifice for peace."

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Truman)

Washington Calling

Party Split Kills Truman's Chances

The Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

By MARQUIS CHILDS

Thurs. 3-18-48 WASHINGTON.

THE first gob of campaign mul is here on my desk. It is a book called "Missouri Waltz," to be published early in April. On the cover is a convict photograph of the late "Boss" Tom Pendergast, of Kansas City, with the number assigned to him when he went into Leavenworth Penitentiary.

There is nothing very new that can be told about Harry S. Truman's relationship with the Pendergast machine, in the final phase, became so vicious and corrupt. But it can be dressed up again for campaign purposes, just as the Moscow radio is dressing up the wicked spectre of bossism linked to corrupt capitalism for the purposes of another kind of campaign.

If a time ever called for self-restraint, that time is now. The Republicans, with a little sober reflection, will surely realize that they can afford self-restraint.

They can afford it because Mr. Truman's defeat is assured. Two factors alone would have assured his defeat—one the defection of the right in the Southern States, and the other the splitting off of the extreme left with Henry Wallace and the Communist manipulators. Many other causes are at work but there is little point in discussing them.

We are living in a perilous interregnum. It will endure for more than nine months. Mr. Truman might have decided at some point after November, 1946, to demonstrate the inherent weakness of our constitutional system by resigning in favor of a Republican, which would have been perfectly possible and legal under the Constitution. The Advertiser

HE APPARENTLY never seriously considered that course, taking even the suggestion as a slur on his courage and integrity. So we see him standing before a Congress that has repeatedly ignored and repudiated him. The vote of no confidence in November, 1946, has echoed again and again in Congress, and the world knows it as well as we do here at home. Montgomery, Ala.

Self restraint is, to be sure, a rare virtue. The temptation at this point to dance on the corpse of the Democratic Party is understandable. This kind of interregnum invites the excesses of victory, and the Republican regulars have waited a long time. Thurs 3-18-48

After 1930, poor Herbert Hoover was caught in the same trap. In my opinion he never even approached an adequate plan for curing and checking the depression. But if he had had the most perfect and far-reaching plan in the world, the Democrats riding high in the House would have thrown it out. And one of the rebels was John Nance Garner, who has today become such a hero of the ultra-conservatives. Thurs.

In 1931, the crisis of depression threatened the entire nation. Banks and factories were shutting down and food was rotting on the farms while millions were hungry. The crisis this time is, if anything, more grave. It is the threat of a war that might be avoided by steady, firm resolution and a broad show of unity. The war that threatens can last for years. It can cost infinitely more in precious lives and treasure than the last holocaust.

3-18-48

RESTRAINT is needed above all to stop the warfare now going on between the executive and legislative branches of the government. The Republican invasion of private and confidential functions of the executive branch is producing chaos. This is not government, this business of deliberately pillorying conscientious public servatns and demanding access to private documents. It is anarchy.

The dark threat across the world should be enough in itself to induce a reasonable self-restraint. But there is another consideration which, while less important, has a bearing on our conduct at this time.

From the screams of outraged virtue that rise up, one would think Mr. Truman was the first product of machine politics in the United States. You get the strange impression that a machine never existed before Pendergast took over Kansas City.

In pursuing Mr. Truman—and the baying of the pack in full cry is not a pleasant sound—we may want to forget that you and you and you and I made the machine possible by our indifference to and contempt of politics—or because the machine served our own private and profitable interests. The Advertiser

Machines, Republican and Democratic, have been a too familiar feature of the political landscape. The Penrose machine in Pennsylvania was no aggregation of angels. Montgomery, Ala

The victory snake dance, if it goes on through the next nine months, can do incalculable harm. Self-restraint is not a luxury because the Republicans can so well afford it. And the need for it is so desperate.

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Truman Willing To Aid Congress On Civil Rights

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

34a(1)

But He Won't Submit Own 10-Point Plan; Hits Anderson Move

Pep Talk Heard

Fri 3-12-48

McGrath Urges Party To Repel Onslaught; Refers To Reds, GOP

By J. W. DAVIS

WASHINGTON, March 11.—(AP)—President Truman said Thursday that if Congress wants some suggestions from him on how to phrase civil rights legislation, he will be glad to oblige.

But he made clear at a news conference that he isn't going to submit any draft of a bill to carry out his race relations proposals. They have stirred many in the South to anger.

Mr. Truman explained that Congress never feels very happy about the executive branch of the government submitting detailed legislation. Then he added the remark about supplying suggestions if asked.

In another political phase of the news conference, the President opposed the tentative steps Secretary Anderson has made toward leaving the cabinet to run for the Senate from New Mexico.

He said he expects to see Anderson Friday. He told a questioner that he hopes Anderson will stay in the cabinet, that he would oppose his leaving. He said Anderson has done an excellent job.

Mr. Truman declined to expand on his own candidacy for presidency. He said he thought Democratic Chairman McGrath had stated the case thoroughly in announcing Monday that Mr. Truman would accept the nomination.

Quoted Correctly

McGrath quoted him correctly, he added. Fri. 3-12-48

This brought a laugh because Mr. Truman had just a moment before denounced a columnist for quoting him as having said New York Jews are disloyal. That was "a lie out of the whole cloth," the President said.

Still another political point came up in a discussion of Communism and China. Mr. Truman said that there are a great many liberals in China who are not Communists.

These liberals do not believe in government from the top as Communists do, he said. A reporter asked if there weren't similar differences between U. S. liberals and Communists.

Same difference, Mr. Truman replied.

Meanwhile, Chairman McGrath said the Democratic Party is under vicious attack, and must strike back hard.

He told a rally of Democratic leaders that critics have centered on President Truman and have "a super effort under way to discourage Democrats."

Not At Dixie Leaders

"It is being viciously pursued," he added. The Advertiser

McGrath's words at the closed door session were relayed to newsmen by Publicity Director John M. Redding. He said McGrath, in naming sources of opposition, was referring to Communists and Republicans, not Southern Democrats.

"He told them," Redding said, "that we are in the middle of a world crisis, a struggle for leadership, and the stakes are high. He told them to get out and tell the people about it and the attempts to discourage party members." Montgomery Ala

Mayor David L. Lawrence, of Pittsburgh, and Frank McHale, of Indianapolis, reported there was "some discussion" of the President's civil rights program, which has angered many in the South. Fri. 3-12-48

Also, Mrs. Lennard Thomas of Montgomery, Ala., told a reporter she expects "to bring it up for full discussion later."

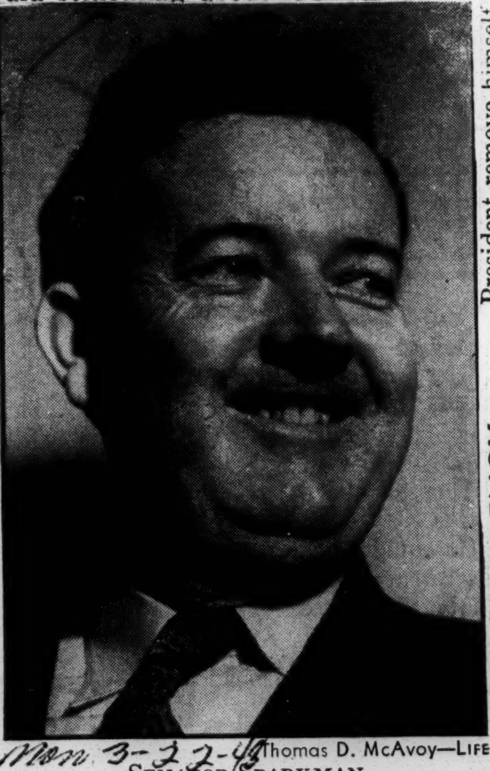
"I'm against it," she said. "I'm for the South."

The conference is to run through Friday; it was called to discuss convention plans.

Some Southern political leaders are talking of pulling their delegations out of the convention if it nominates Mr. Truman on a platform backing his civil rights program. Montgomery Ala

McHale and Lawrence saw Henry A. Wallace and his third party as a positive menace. Both recommended that the Democrats "go after" the former vice president. The Advertiser Fri.

As for civil rights, McHale said he thought most of those at the conference felt that "civil rights have been a part of the constitution for a long time, and if we're going to hold ourselves up to the rest of the world, it's time we did something about it." 3-12-48



Mon 3-22-48 Thomas D. McAvoy—LIFE

SENATOR SPARKMAN

Out of the sand.

THE PRESIDENCY

Time Chicago, Ill.

President's Week

Mon 3-29-48

Southern politicians were still circling the White House like Sioux menacing a covered wagon. A lot of the hallooing after Harry Truman's scalp came from men who simply enjoyed listening to the echo, but last week the President heard one statement which hurt. Alabama's Senator John J. Sparkman, former Democratic whip of the House, and hitherto an ardent Truman supporter, demanded that the

President remove himself as a candidate.

"There is no use hiding our heads in the sand," cried the Senator. "People in the South are so bitter . . . that they will never accept him as a candidate. I wish very much that he would sense the situation and withdraw." He predicted that the Democratic Party would be "cut to ribbons" in November if Truman were its standard bearer, and urged the nomination of General Dwight D. Eisenhower.* The President, who had firmly announced his candidacy a fortnight ago (TIME, March 15), made no comment.

Last week the President also:

¶ Directed all executive agencies to refuse both Congress and the courts access to confidential information gathered in loyalty investigations of Government employees. Republican Congressmen immediately attacked the order as a step toward "one-man government." The President's explanation: "Disclosure of sources would embarrass informants . . . disclosure of information might be the grossest kind of injustice." 34a(1)

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* A Republican also attempted to revive the Eisenhower-for-President boom. A Manhattan adman started a "People for Eisenhower" campaign, hoped to get an avalanche of letters and postcards to dump on the Republican convention floor.

¶ Reviewed Manhattan's St. Patrick's Day Parade, and came face to face with New York's Republican presidential aspirant, Governor Thomas E. Dewey. Both beamed, exchanged enthusiastic handshakes and stood shoulder to shoulder in amiable conversation while the parade passed. Time Chicago, Ill

¶ Appointed Joseph O'Connell Jr., former general counsel for the Treasury, to the Civil Aeronautics Board. Mon 3-22-4

¶ Accompanied Mrs. Truman and daughter Margaret to Constitution Hall for a concert by the Don Cossack Chorus (whose members had been carefully investigated by the Secret Service and duly pronounced White Russians). The President slipped out before the intermission, went to the Statler Hotel to address a savings bond rally. As he left for the concert again he said: "I've got to escort them [Mrs. Truman and Margaret] home. What I mean is, I have to escort them to the White House. There's a decided distinction and a difference."

Gov. Lane Calls Dixie Governors

34a(1) Pres.

The News, Birmingham, Ala.

They'll Hear Report On Civil Rights Proposals Drawn Up By Southerners

Sat. 2-28-48

By The Associated Press

Gov. Preston Lane of Maryland has summoned Southern governors to meet March 13 in Washington for a committee report on President Truman's civil rights program.

Lane, chairman of the Southern Governors Conference, called the meeting yesterday at the request of the committee headed by Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. 2-28-48

The Committee, appointed Feb. 9 at Wakulla Springs, Fla., was given 40 days by the conference to prepare a report on the civil rights proposals which have caused so much rage in the South.

Two Georgia congressmen, Cox and Preston, yesterday asked for a special session of the State Legislature to take positive action against the proposals.

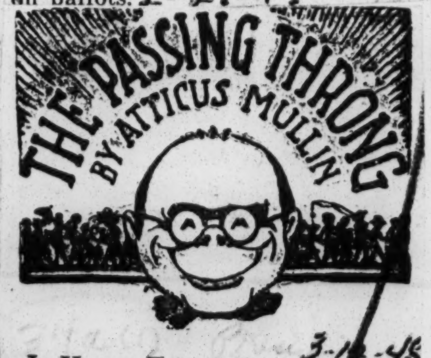
THEY RECOMMENDED that Georgia follow the lead of Gov. William Tuck of Virginia, who has asked the Virginia Legislature to bar President Truman's name from the November ballot. The

Such legislative action, however, would not be necessary in Georgia, where state presidential electors and vice presidential electors are free to vote for whom they choose. They are named by the party and appear on the ballot under the party name, not the party's presidential nominee. News

There also is no provision by law for inclusion of presidential and vice presidential candidates on general election ballots in Arkansas, Alabama, Florida and South Carolina.

If the president's name is barred some other Southern states, however, would have to change existing regulations. Birmingham, Ala

IN LOUISIANA, a state law requires Democrats to support their party nominee. Tennessee, Kentucky and North Carolina laws require that presidential and vice presidential candidates be printed on ballots. 2-28-48



34a(1) Pres. 3-12-48

Is Harry Truman's word worth anything? At the Chicago convention four years ago the Alabama delegation turned the tide against the nomination of Wallace for Vice-President in spite of the fact that Jim Folsom wanted him. I remember the events of that convention and I remember the hours before Alabama turned the tide for Truman:

Senator John H. Bankhead, Governor Chauncey Sparks and Ed F. Taylor, delegates at large visited Mr. Truman. They talked to him about his attitude toward the South. They knew Wallace's attitude because he had openly stated his desire to end white supremacy in the South.

"I will never forget our interview with Truman" said E. F. Taylor of Montgomery, a delegate at large to that convention. "I wanted to be certain of his attitude towards the South. So, in the conference, I asked him;

"'Senator if you are named vice-President what will be your attitude towards the South and her traditions? The Advertiser

"My Grandfather wore the Confederate Gray and my mother was a Southerner. I will always cherish the South and be her friend and ally,' was Truman's answer. Montgomery, Ala

Later, I remember Senator Bankhead coming to a meeting of the Alabama delegation just before the fateful step was taken to throw the vice-Presidential nomination to Truman. "He will do boys, he is at heart for the South and has given us his promise."

Now we find Truman against the South. We find a few Southerners saying they are for him in spite of his going back on his word with the argument that the Marshall Plan must be adopted. Of course if the Marshall Plan is adopted, it will be by the votes of Republicans who control the Senate and House in Washington. Truman's influence with Republicans is as potent as that of Stalin or Henry Wallace and not more so. And he influences only a handful of Democrats in Congress. Fri 3-12-48

Frank Kent Criticizes Those Who Predicted Truman's Resignation

The Courier

Louisville, Ky.

Sat. 3-13-48

By FRANK R. KENT

IN THE last few days the shape of things politically in both parties has changed very much—so much, in fact, as to leave a number of our most eminent journalistic and political forecasters, prophets and prognosticators looking rather foolish. That is, they would look foolish if anyone checked up on them—which very few do. 34a(1)

For example, there were the "authoritative" predictions concerning Mr. Truman. Dismayed by the situation, it was declared the President was on the point of withdrawing as a candidate to succeed himself. If he did not do so immediately, it was asserted, important "party satraps" intended to tell him personally in "no uncertain terms" that for the good of the party, the country and himself he must step aside; that unless he did so, the National Committee heads would resign; that other disagreeable, not to say disastrous, things would happen to him.

The quiet Truman statement of his candidacy at least has affected a return to the realities. Chief of these, of course, is that there never was any alternative to Mr. Truman's nomination. For better or for worse, the Democratic party is stuck with him. Both he and it will have to make the best of that. All of which has been plain from the start. For the President to have withdrawn, voluntarily or under pressure, not only would have been a craven act but an admission of Democratic Administration failure so complete as to make winning impossible.

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

Few Men Are Eligible

Concededly, Mr. Truman has many deficiencies but he cannot be coerced and he does not lack courage. His present position is the only one a decent man who values his self-respect could take. Any other would have made things worse all around, because there literally is just no one to whom the so-called "satraps" could have turned. The Eisenhower suggestion was patently absurd, and a review of the Democratic governors, Democratic senators, Democratic Cabinet and Administrations fields reveals no available man. Nor in the field of private enterprise is there any figure equipped with the following, the record and the personality essential to the job.

Undeniably, Mr. Truman has lost much political ground in the last month. However, it seems timely to recall to the loud-mouthed gentry who still want to sweep him up in the corner and strike a match, that right after the Republicans gained control of Congress in 1946, his prestige and popularity were fully as low as today. At that time a Democratic senator, with considerable journalistic and political support, vociferously demanded that he resign. Yet, in six months Mr. Truman had rebounded to a point where he was running ahead of all presidential aspirants in the popularity polls and the sponsors of the retirement idea appeared extremely silly. Probably this will not happen again, but clearly it is a possibility. In politics, as in baseball and bridge, the rule is always play for the error. In the next nine months there is plenty of room for quite a lot of Republican errors. Sat. 3-13-48

Roosevelt's Combination Falls Apart

It is true that disintegration of the combination that supported Mr. Roosevelt three times seems well advanced. That is not altogether Mr. Truman's fault. It was unavoidable because it was an incongruous, illogical and utterly unprincipled combination, put together by slick and unscrupulous men. It worked wonderfully in one campaign but it would not have worked in 1940 or 1944 save for the war. It is falling apart now, though Mr. Truman (mistakenly, many think) has appealed to its constituent parts on the same policies and along the same lines as his predecessor. Organized labor is lukewarm. The Northern Negroes are no longer a unit. The conservative South has really rebelled; the Communists and radical groups are with Mr. Wallace. Mr. Truman has not held them together but there is not the slightest basis for the belief that any other man in his position could have done better.

The Courier-Journal

Once the country got over its Roosevelt infatuation and the unrestrained use of the public funds and Federal patronage as cement to keep this combination together was ended, it was inevitable that the combination should crumble and inevitable that the Democratic party should suffer. The idea that the combination could be continued indefinitely was never one seriously entertained by the more practical men who helped form it. Any calm review of the facts compels the conclusion that it was Mr. Roosevelt who really wrecked the party, not Mr. Truman. If the latter is defeated, certainly there will be nothing disgraceful nor discreditable about it. A consoling thought is here offered. More often than not in our history the better man has been beaten for the Presidency and some of the best very badly beaten. There are many worse things. Louisville Ky

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (Truman)

34a(1)

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

Will Truman Get Out of the Race?

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga Fri. 3-26-48

WASHINGTON—The Administration's reversal of its position on the petitioning of Palestine causing President Truman as much of a political headache as the threatened Southern revolt.

Since the announcement was made of the change in policy on the troublesome Palestine question the wires have been kept hot with protests to the Democratic National Committee. Sen. J. Howard McGrath, the National Party Chairman, is reported to have been informed by a number of big city Democratic leaders that it will now be impossible for Mr. Truman to carry any of these past strongholds of the party.

From New York, Chicago and Los Angeles the word is the same. A revolt of liberal voters in these key Democratic cities is now threatened in addition to the Southern revolt already under way. Fri. 3-26-48

Top officials at Democratic National Headquarters here are being told there is not a chance of the party ticket winning in these cities, if it is headed by President Truman. Accepted at its face value, that means the Democrats will have to write off the important States of New York, Illinois and California, with a combined vote of an even 100 in the electoral college.

In a tight election the Democrats would need at least two of these big States to win. To lose all three would foredoom them to certain defeat.

As a result, new pressure has been added to the movement for having Mr. Truman step aside and open the way for the coming Democratic National Convention to name another candidate for President. A growing number of party leaders are convinced that therein lies the only hope of the Democrats in the November election. The Constitution

It is too early yet to say whether the movement will succeed. At the moment there is no indication that the White House has been sufficiently impressed. The only word that has been forthcoming from sources close to the President is that his plans have not been changed by the series of unfavorable developments.

In other words, he still stands on the announcement recently made by Chairman McGrath that he will be a candidate for renomination. Atlanta, Ga

Nevertheless, it is coming to be recognized now for perhaps the first time that there is a real possibility of Mr. Truman eliminating himself. It is still nearly four months before the Democrats meet at Philadelphia in July and what he does may depend on events between now and then. Fri 3-26-48

Suggestions are being made privately by responsible party leaders that a group of Mr. Tru- s friends in Congress go to see him for a et discussion on the subject. If party leaders t it up to him coldly and in a friendly way, e are reasons to believe he would be guided their advice.

Supporting this view is the fact that Mr. Truman came up through the practical school of politics. It would not be as difficult to convince him that his defeat was inevitable, for example, as it was former President Hoover in 1932. And certainly if he should become convinced of this, he could have little desire to make himself the victim of defeat. Fri 3-26-48

As to who the Democrats might name in the possible event of the President's self-effacement, the belief is general that the man who lends himself more to a party victory is Gen. Dwight Eisenhower. The Constitution

No one knows whether the popular military hero is a Republican or a Democrat. No one seems to care. Nor is it known for sure whether he would accept the nomination if given to him. He has tended to remove himself definitely from consideration. Yet he stands out s the most likely choice, [illegible] the President step aside.

It may be the [illegible] hope of Democrats for victory next Fall. Atlanta, Ga.

Washington Calling

By MARQUIS CHILDS

The Advertiser

34a(1)

WASHINGTON.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN and the [illegible] close to him are busy putting [illegible] public and private assurances that [illegible] man in the White House has no intention of removing himself from the political scene by renouncing the Democratic nomination at Philadelphia. They say he will stick to the end, come what may.

But what is happening both here and out in the country makes it possible—yes, probable—that the decision will be taken out of his hands. The professional politicians are moving in to save what they can of the party organization, including their own claims in bankruptcy on what is left of the Democratic machine.

That is the real meaning of the talks that have gone forward quietly here and in New York and Chicago. Speculation turns on a respectable ticket that would best hold together what is left of the party. Montgomery, Ala

Democrats on Capitol Hill in touch with dissidents out in the country are talking in terms of Senator Scott W. Lucas, of Illinois, for President and House Minority Leader Sam Rayburn, of Texas, for vice-President. Or the order might be reversed, with Rayburn in the No. 1 place and Lucas in No. 2. Fri. 3-26-48

In this there is no hope of victory. Repudiation of the President by his own party would be too bi[illegible]dicap to overcome. The campaign would be comparable to that waged in 1924 by John W. Davis, who was nominated after the Democratic Party, in the Madison Square Garden convention of that year, had all but destroyed itself over Al Smith, the Ku Klux Klan and the Catholic issue.

THE candidates would give a respectable imitation of a campaign, doing it as cheaply as possible since, naturally, large contributors would not be flocking in to volunteer donations. In this way utter disaster, threatening dissolution of the party, would be averted. As the gloomy professionals cast up the score, that is about the limit of their hopes.

Two events brought about the grim fact-facing sessions of the past week. One was the outright reversal of the Palestine partition decision. That produced open revolt in New York and Chicago, where the Jewish vote is a vital factor. Fri.

The second event was the defection of Alabama's two senators, Lister Hill and John Sparkman. This was like a sudden lightning flash revealing the extent and the depth of the Southern revolt.

Hill and Sparkman are both liberals, both men of integrity. They had announced that they would support the President. But the ground-swell of revolution back home made that impossible.

This, plus the situation with respect to the delegates to the Democratic convention and the Democratic electors to be chosen in the Alabama primary. Of 28 candidates for electors to go to the electoral college and cast Alabama's 11 electoral votes in November, 22 had pledged that they would not cast them for Harry S. Truman. Thus if Hill, running for delegate to the Philadelphia convention, were pledged to Truman, he would be committed to a candidate who could not receive the vote of his state.

Surveying the gloomy scene, the party's professionals realized that Mr. Truman might go down to a defeat as sweeping as that of Alf Landon in 1936. GOP Candidate Landon carried only two states, Maine and Vermont. 3-26-48

IF THE tide of Southern revolt continues at the present flood, Mr. Truman seems likely to lose all of the states south of the Mason and Dixon line with the exception of North Carolina and possibly Florida. Gov. Millard Caldwell, of Florida, has said that he will do everything he can to prevent Mr. Truman's nomination but, failing to prevent it, he will not lead a move to deprive Candidate Truman of the state's electoral vote.

The Southern states would accept a Lucas-Rayburn ticket. They would, in fact, accept almost any other Democrat than the present occupant of the White House.

Thus, by sidetracking Mr. Truman, the Democrats would carry the solid South. They might pick up other scattered states, particularly if the Republicans go back to William McKinley for their candidate. They might save congressional seats in cities which would otherwise go down in the general ruin.

The presidency is a powerful office in more ways than one. But whether the present President could head off such a move, if and when it takes final and definite form, is highly uncertain.

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Jess Edwards Says Truman Sold South To Buy Northern Votes

The News Birmingham, Ala

Tues. 3-16-48

Lashing out at President Truman and his "civil rights" proposals, Brighton's Mayor Jess Edwards today charged the president with "selling us into disorder and local self-government into the discard to buy votes north of the Potomac."

Edwards, former Jefferson County legislator and candidate for Democratic delegate from the Ninth District, declared he did not propose to bolt the party "but to save it from treason, stultification and ingratitude."

34a(1)

"I have always been and propose to remain a Democrat," said Edwards, in outlining his position as delegate aspirant. "By that, I mean loyalty to the only party in American history which stands for local self-government and freedom from federal dictation in local affairs. I am determined to do what I can to save that party from imminent betrayal."

"Mr. Truman's message to Congress of Feb. 2 was aimed directly at the South," asserted Edwards. "There is no demand anywhere for federal laws of that nature to discipline Northern people. It is to satisfy the South haters, radicals and revolutionaries centering around Wallace's third party movement." 3-16-48

EDWARDS EMPHASIZED it not only is against our interest but against the public interest that these groups and their objectives should be invited into the Democratic Party, influence our platforms and determine our choice of candidates.

"They belong in a minority party of aliens, discontents and people incompetent to administer representative government," he added.

"The South recognized and threw Wallace out in Chicago in 1944. It was directly responsible for that result and for Truman's selection as vice president and thus for his present position. The Truman program is based on ingratitude, panic and petty selfishness."

Birmingham, Ala

THE MAYOR SAID Mr. Truman is not betraying the party principle of respect for local custom and local self-government because of any increase in inter-racial misunderstanding or because of newly-gained qualification by colored people in the South for participating in our local governments. He pointed out that there has been steady progress in racial betterment and understanding.

"Over one-third of the payroll in Birmingham is received by Negroes from gainful employment," pointed out Edwards. "In the whole world there is no such example of free association between people with the distinctive philosophies and aptitudes of different races as there is in the South." The News

EDWARDS ASSERTED that "it is a brutal thing for Mr. Truman, in these critical times, to raise the issue of segregation and provoke public discussion of the reason why segregation is an imperative condition to our peace and welfare."

Edwards said "I will not vote for a Republican nominee or lend aid and comfort to the Republican Party." But he added that if it became necessary, he would seek to have this state's delegation join with Democrats from other Southern states to disclaim action of the Philadelphia convention, release our electors from any implied obligation to vote for Truman and throw the election into the House of Representatives. 3-16-48

Truman Silent Over Protests Of Southerners

The News Birmingham, Ala

KEY WEST, Fla., Feb. 26—(AP)—President Truman began today what may be his last extended vacation before the 1948 presidential campaign. Thurs. 2-26-48

He relaxed at his favorite vacation spot—the naval submarine base here—after a Caribbean trip which carried him to the largely Negro Virgin Islands.

There was no word from the temporary White House at the Commandant's house of reaction to the trip, which came while Southern Democratic governors and congressmen were protesting his civil rights proposals to Congress.

These proposals include poll tax

repeal, passage of anti-lynching legislation and enactment of a prohibition against segregation of passengers in interstate carriers.

The president, still unannounced, is regarded by Democratic headquarters strategists as a certainty for the Democratic nomination in the 1948 election.

Ambitious traveling plans are in the making, even before the action of the party convention in early July. Thurs. 2-26-48

* * *

MR. TRUMAN'S staff has announced his plans to visit New York March 17 for the St. Patrick's Day dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. The Times

Numerous other trips, both before and after the convention, are being considered.

Meanwhile, Mr. Truman, paying his fourth visit to the base here, got out his swim trunks for new sessions of swimming and sunbathing. [illegible]

He has no plans to reach Washington until March 5 unless unexpected developments dictate an earlier return.

Some of Mr. Truman's supporters, in suggesting plans for his 1948 campaign, want him to make frequent appearances before comparatively small audiences where he will come in personal contact with individual voters.

Legislation extending rent controls through March will be flown here tomorrow for President Truman's signature, the White House said today.

The present rent law expires Sunday night. The Senate completed congressional action on the emergency extension yesterday.

Wallace Says Truman Talk 'Prejudice'

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 3-20-48

NEW YORK, March 19—(AP)—Henry A. Wallace said Friday night President Truman "appealed to prejudice, because he could not answer us with reason," when he "attempted to brand as 'Communists' those who support our fight for peace."

"Millions of Americans who stand firmly opposed to his (Mr. Truman's) policies know that they are not Communists and they will not be frightened into accepting militarism because someone calls them Communists,' Wallace declared in a radio talk (MBS).

The speech was his second on consecutive nights in reply to the President's two addresses on St. Patrick's Day.

In a New York speech to the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, Mr. Truman had asserted he would not accept "the political support of Henry Wallace and his Communists."

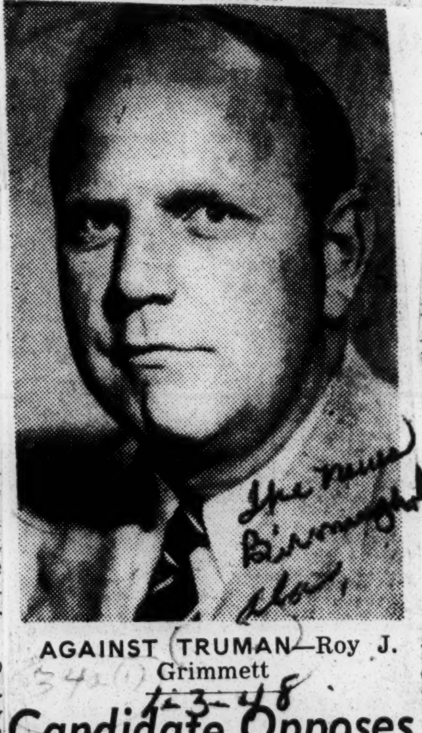
The third party Presidential candidate said Mr. Truman "was trying to give the impression that it is only the Communists who disapprove of his policies of supporting Fascists, Kings and reactionaries around the world, that it is only Communists who stand for repudiation of the Truman Doctrine, that it is only Communists who fight his plans to draft our young men and militarize the country."

"Mr. Truman," Wallace added, "has done what other professional politicians have done before him—he has given the Communists credit for all the decent ideas which are advocated in this land of ours. The Constitution

"I don't like to have the President give them credit for ideas that come from Isaiah and Christ, from Jefferson and Lincoln. We all remember the many times Franklin Roosevelt was charged with 'Communism.' Atlanta, Ga.

"Like those who used this tactic against Roosevelt, he presents no evidence that I have ever advocated a single policy inconsistent with the most fundamental American concept of freedom. 3-20-48

"Either the Communists are better folks than we have been told to believe, or Mr. Truman is giving them such a reputation."



The News
Birmingham
Ala.

AGAINST TRUMAN—Roy J. Grimmett

34a(1)

1-3-48

Candidate Opposes Civil Rights Plan

Mon. 1-3-48

Roy J. Grimmett, Birmingham salesman and Ninth District Democratic National Convention delegation candidate, announced his platform today, declaring among other things, that he is against President Truman's civil rights stand and will oppose him for the nomination.

Grimmett, 32, said he would go to the convention unpledged and uninstructed. He asserted that the states should have the right to settle such problems as the civil rights program advocated by the president. Sat. Mon. 3-15-48

"I cannot support President Truman as the Democratic candidate," his announcement said. "But I am sure there will be some good Democrat who will look with favor upon our Southern problems. That is the man I will support and that is the reason I believe I should go to the convention uninstructed."

Grimmett criticized both Sens. Hill and Sparkman for what he said was their "two-faced" stand on President Truman and the civil rights measures. Mon. 3-15-48

"I do not see how they can come out for President Truman and be against his civil rights program." Grimmett declared.

Grimmett was graduated from Ensley High School and attended Birmingham-Southern College. He is an Air Corps veteran of the recent war and is a member of the American Legion. Also he is a Methodist.

The candidate stated that Democrats should settle their differences within the party and not by bolting.

Two Candidates dge To Vote nst Truman

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Sat. 2-28-48

Wilkinson, Abernethy Promise All-Out Fight Against Nomination

34a(1)

The Alabama revolt against President Truman's "civil rights" program continued to gather momentum Saturday, with two candidates for presidential electors pledging to vote against Truman.

Tom Abernethy, state Democratic Executive Committee member and editor of The Talladega Daily Home, who is candidate for elector, declared he not only would vote against the president, but hoped the Democratic National Convention would "repudiate" him. The News

Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney and presidential elector aspirant, announced a one-sentence platform. It is: "I am not going to vote for Mr. Truman, period."

Birmingham, Ala.

MEANTIME, STATE Democratic Executive Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, said Democrats of this state will not vote for Truman or any other candidate advocating the "civil rights" program.

"I have qualified as a candidate for elector because I believe in the duty of Southerners to do whatever they can to protect their country and their section from the attack upon constitutional government, which has been deliberately begun by President Truman," said Abernethy. Sat. 2-28-48

"It is my sincere hope that the National Democratic Convention will repudiate Mr. Truman. If Mr. Truman is nominated by the convention and if I am selected as an elector, I will not cast the electoral vote in my keeping for him or any other person who shares his views on so-called 'civil rights' legislation.

"If those circumstances arise, I will cast my vote for some distinguished and trustworthy Southerner who has proved through years of public life that he will not sell the South down the river for the sake of personal political advantage."

Rep. Norman Harris, Decatur, also a candidate for presidential elector, made a similar announcement Friday.

Meanwhile, Gov. James E. Folsom was promised at least one vote in behalf of his presidential aspirations. Atty. Nesbitt Elmore, Montgomery, a candidate for Democratic National Convention delegate, declared that if elected he would cast his "first vote" for the tall governor.

"As to any other vote I may cast at the convention," said Elmore, I shall be guided by the principles which Gov. Folsom advocated in his speech announcing his favorite son candidacy."

McCorvey predicted the state will send to the National Democratic Convention "unpledged delegates who will refuse to vote for Truman o rany other candidate advocating the civil rights bill."

McCORVEY MADE HIS PREDICTION yesterday at Shawmut at a joint luncheon meeting of governors and commissioners of the Alabama and Georgia Bar Associations.

"The South no longer is in the bag," declared McCorvey. "We people in Alabama and in the South just can't take this thing, and the time has come for us to stand up and fight."

He said he believed the South has a good chance of being the main factor in "putting a real Democrat in the White House, a man like Sen. George of Georgia, or Sen. Byrd, of Virginia.

"When the political bosses in the Democratic Party know the South means business, he continued, "they'll drop Truman and select a nominee the South can support."

TWO BIRMINGHAM MEN addressed yesterday's sessions, presided over by Howell Morrow, president of the Alabama Association, and Vance Custer, head of the Georgia bar. Judge William Logan Martin discussed the election and tenure of judges. Roderick Beddow explained the organization and working of an integrated bar which functions under legislative action.

In Montgomery it was announced that four more persons qualified for posts in the May 4 Democratic primary. They are: 2-28-48

Mayor Herbert Meighan, Gadsden, presidential elector.

Mitelle F. Noble, Montgomery, alternate convention delegate from the state at large.

Kenneth Cooper, Robertsdale, solicitor of the new 28th (Baldwin County) judicial circuit.

J. Sam Snoddy, Russellville, seeking to oust Congr. Carter Manasco, of the Alabama Seventh District.

How Truman Announced

34a(1) The Record

The President of the United States was blazing mad and shooting from the hip when Democratic Chairman Howard McGrath and Executive Director Gael Sullivan went in to see him earlier this week. They had expected to have a quiet talk over political conditions and warn Truman of growing revolt inside the party.

But they never had a chance.

Once inside the door, Truman said he was fed up with the lack of loyalty by certain party leaders. He blamed the southern revolt on Senator Byrd of Virginia and described Byrd as the "finest Republican in the Democratic party."

The two callers almost gasped at the vehemence of the tirade.

The President said he wanted his candidacy announced at once. He wasn't going to wait until the meeting of the Democratic executive committee scheduled for later in the week, he said, indicating that he didn't want to have it appear that he had waited for them to ask him to run. The Record

Turning to Matt Connelly, his secretary, who was in the room with McGrath and Sullivan, he asked his advice on the form of the announcement. Connelly suggested that McGrath announce it to reporters when they asked him what he had talked to the President about. Sat.

"Suppose they don't ask me," suggested McGrath.

"Even if they don't ask, you go ahead and announce it," insisted Truman. 3-13-48

Truman also leveled a blast at the "no-good columnist Drew Pearson" and congratulated McGrath for having issued a statement denying a Pearson report that he, McGrath, would like to resign as national chairman.

"It was the best thing you ever did," encouraged the President, adding that McGrath should issue a second blast against Pearson. (McGrath did so at 11:15 that night.)

Palestine Solution Still Possible

By this time, the President had quieted down somewhat, and McGrath had a chance to get in a word about Palestine.

"Come over here, Howard," replied the President, motioning to a big globe.

He pointed to a line on the map where the United States army had built a railroad north from the Gulf of Persia and explained that the Russians were out to get this rail line plus all of the Arab oil regions and the Eastern Mediterranean. At one time, Truman added, he thought the had the Palestine problem all settled, then things turned out differently.

"While I was in Florida I put a lot of time in on this," the President said, adding that he expected to come up with something right away. Columbia, S.C.

Reaching into the third drawer of his desk, the President took out a copy of the Palestine report prepared in part by Bartley Crum of San Francisco who visited the Near East with the Anglo-American Commission. Tr. march 13-48

"That's my bible," said Mr. Truman. Columbia, S.C.

He explained that he thought he had British Foreign Minister Bevin persuaded to put the Crum ideas on Palestine into effect, but that Bevin had backed out.

Note—The Anglo-American commission, which Truman referred to as the "Crum report," recommended a trusteeship for Palestine under the United Nations and urged that Britain continue its mandate until the trusteeship could be set up. It opposed any separate Jewish or Arab state, warning that such division would cause world-wide disorders. The report also asked for the immigration of 100,000 Jews into Palestine immediately, but urged that other countries also open their doors, since Palestine would not be able to hold all Jewish refugees.

Forgotten Vice President

McGrath had intended talking to Truman about a vice presidential running mate, and planned to suggest Senator Lister Hill of Alabama. He thought a southerner on the ticket would win back the South, and that Hill would also be liberal enough to suit the North.

Knocked off base by the vehemence of the President's tirade, however, McGrath forgot all about mentioning Hill's name.

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (Truman)

The Promises Get Emptier

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

A PROMISE a day will make November OK seems to be the frantic election strategy of President Truman.

Truman is promising everything. But his deeds belie his words in a way that has rarely been seen in our nation's history. Tues. 2-24-48

TRUMAN

Truman made a speech against the Jimcrow system which is the bedrock of the Democratic Party's rule in the South. But the Democratic state governors have gathered to defy their party leader. Will Truman back up his nice words about Negro rights with decisive action against the Jimcrow governors? You can bet your last dollar he won't, and the governors know it despite all their hot talk about "secession."

Truman recently "ordered" the end of Jimcrow in the U.S. armed forces. But his own Secretary of Army Royall defied his orders, as did his Secretary of Defense Forrestal. And President Truman cagily pretended that he didn't see what was happening. He thus can garner credit as the big, brave foe of Jimcrow while his assistants—**whom he could fire at will if he wanted to**—make sure that Jimcrow remains.

Truman keeps on saying that he's a "liberal" and that the GOP is reactionary. He's right about the last all right. But Truman's false "liberalism" is beginning to smell so bad to the people that even his "we-will-love-you-always" followers among the backsliding pseudo-liberals are ashamed to mention his name at mass rallies.

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

The Americans for Democratic Action, which was organized to act as a liberal "front" for the Democratic Party machine, has found Truman's name so unpopular that they now say they're firmly against Henry Wallace, but "not so firmly" for Truman. They are trying to pretend an "opposition" to Truman since they failed to sell their hero as a popular candidate. Also, the people are not swallowing the "lesser evil" hoax as avidly as the ADA had hoped. Tues 2-24-48

Every piece of election bait that Truman hands out to win the Wallace progressive vote only proves that the third party is the only practical challenge to the profiteers, militarists and war-makers in the land today.

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Leak-Outs Will Hurt President

The News Birmingham, Ala.

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON — President Truman was talking to a prominent New York publisher the other day about Palestine. He was not merely talking; he was almost shouting.

Pounding his desk he used words that can't be repeated about "the—New York Jews."

"Those—New York Jews!" the president exclaimed. "They're disloyal to their country. Disloyal." Mon. 3-8-48

"Would you mind explaining that a little further, Mr. President?" interrupted the publisher, whose wife happens to be Jewish. "When you speak of New York Jews, are you referring to such people as Bernard Baruch? Or are you referring to such New York Jews as my wife?"

Truman glared, assured his visitor that he did not mean to include Baruch or the publisher's wife, then abruptly changed the subject.

This conversation is not an isolated case. There have been others, and they illustrate why it is that Truman has received so little credit for the position he has taken officially on Palestine, on civil rights, and for labor.

Ordinarily, Negro voters would be out shouting and drumming up votes for Truman as a result of his civil rights message. But too many times the president has talked to intimates about "the—niggers" in exactly the same way he talked about "the—New York Jews."

These conversations leak out.

* * *

Presidential Tangents 3-8-48

ONE OF THE MOST significant conversations to leak out was between Chester Bowles, then head of OPA, and President Truman in the early Winter of 1945-46 when there was still time to save price control.

Bowles, who saw clearly what would happen if price controls were taken off, told the president with great satisfaction that he had worked out a deal with the AFL and CIO not to ask for wage increases if price controls were continued. The News

He explained that if price controls were abandoned, organized labor was all set to ask for a series of big wage boosts, which in turn would lead to more price increases, more inflation, and another round of wage increases. Birmingham, Ala.

However, organized labor had agreed to a moratorium on wage increases if price controls were kept. Naturally Bowles expected Truman to be pleased. He wasn't. Instead, he launched into a tirade against labor leaders. Mon 3-8-48

"Those—labor leaders," he said. "You can't trust 'em. They're wrecking the country. There's only one you can trust and that's John L. Lewis. Aside from him I wouldn't trust any of those—labor leaders."

Naturally this conversation leaked back to Phil Murray of the CIO and William Green of the AFL. It didn't endear Truman to them. But, more important, it upset an agreement by which the present disastrous inflation could have been prevented—all because Truman lost his temper. Incidentally, it was only a few months later that Truman was cussing out John L. Lewis for tying up the entire nation with a coal strike. 3-8-48

In brief, more and more people have got wise to the manner in which the president tangents. He can send messages to Congress which read beautifully on paper, but, when it comes to carrying out those messages, it's all too apparent that Truman doesn't believe in them.

* * *

Secret Anti-Lynch Debate 3-8-48

REPUBLICANS HAVE been planning to take in Negro votes with their anti-lynching bill, but it looks as if they would have trouble with their own members, and three staunch Republicans—Reps. John Gwynne of Iowa, Frank Fellows of Maine and Edward Devitt of Minnesota—upset the GOP applecart at a closed door session of the judiciary committee. The News

Speaker Joe Martin and other GOP leaders had decided at a previous secret caucus to make the anti-lynch law applicable to crimes against property as well as persons. Also, they decided to approve Section 1 of the bill, a declaration of racial equality which Democratic foes claimed was a "political stump talk, aimed at further dividing the Democratic Party." Birmingham, Ala.

However, when the judiciary committee met behind closed doors, Gwynne and Fellows joined the Democrats in a close vote to delete Section 1. Mon. 3-8-48

"Let's confine this to an anti-lynching bill and leave out political stump talk, aimed at Southern states, which has no place in legislation," demanded Democrat Francis Walter of Pennsylvania.

GOP Rep. Clifford Case of New Jersey, the bill's author, contended that Section 1 was written on the advice of "experts," who felt that a preamble was necessary.

"I don't care who wrote it," persisted Walter, a Northern Democrat "It's inflammatory and doesn't belong in the bill."

Republican Devitt of Minnesota offered the motion to kill the "crimes against property" provision. This would have made it a violation of the anti-lynch law for two or more persons to conspire to injure the property of another. The motion carried over hot opposition from Republicans Case and John Jennings of Tennessee, who insisted that if it was wrong to lynch a man, it also was wrong to "wreck his store or his home." 3-8-48

"I submit again that this is irrelevant to the problem of preventing lynchings," broke in Walter of Pennsylvania. "This is either an anti-lynching bill or it isn't. Let's hew to the line."

The Republicans also had to accept defeat on a provision that federal grants-in-aid be withheld from any state if a town or community therein refused to pay a judgment to heirs of a lynch victim.

"A state would be penalized for lynching committed within its borders by out-of-state thugs under this provision," objected Democrat Fadjo Cravens of Arkansas.

"Could an appropriation for hot lunches for school children be withheld from a state where a lynching judgment is not paid?" inquired Fellows. Mon. 3-8-48

"Unquestionably," replied Walter. "Any type of grant-in-aid to the states would be affected." The News Birmingham Ala.

That ended the debate.

* * *

TEXAS STATE COLLEGE students, taking a poll of a typical Texas town, Denton, found that only 27.8 per cent wanted to keep the poll tax. Forty-six per cent said they wanted to get rid of the poll tax, 25.7 per cent had no opinion.—©.

Mr. Truman Is Willing

The News

No one should be surprised at President Truman's statement that he would run for election if the Democrats nominated him. Mr. Truman has never been the man to quit under fire. One might go even farther and say that opposition tends to strengthen his determination.

Really, however, there was nothing else Mr. Truman could do. Announcement on his part that he would not accept the nomination would have been a declaration of political bankruptcy for him and for his party. The divisions within the party have greatly weakened it as far as 1948 is concerned, but Mr. Truman's withdrawal from the race would have been an open acknowledgment of defeatism from which the party could not have recovered this year.

Birmingham, Ala

Can the Southern rebels within the party prevent his nomination? It is extremely doubtful. While there is some dissatisfaction with President Truman's administration for one reason or another among Democrats throughout the nation, the South's particular cause for revolt is not generally shared. And none of the dissatisfaction elsewhere seems strong enough to lead Northern Democrats to take the obvious risk of throwing over their chances for success in November by rejecting Truman as the nominee.

What then will Southerners do who oppose the nomination of Mr. Truman but cannot prevent it? They have two choices. They can work for a civil rights platform plank which they can accept, which will not do injustice to honest feelings. Or they can break away entirely from the Democratic Party even before the nominating conventions are held. The News

The latter would not be the most sensible course, no matter how much the South may resent Mr. Truman's program of federal legislation on civil rights. For one thing, it is far from being clear that the majority of Southern Democrats carry their hostility to the Truman program to the point of being willing to cast overboard all chances of party success this Fall. Many Democrats among them Alabama's own Sen. Hill, regard loyalty to the Truman international program as of paramount importance.

3-10-48. wed

The best course is for all candidates for delegate to the party convention to make clear their attitudes on all the controversial issues. Then the voters can decide. They can make clear, by their ballots, whether they are against Truman under any circumstances, or would be willing to support him provided the party's platform was acceptable, or whether

their loyalty to the party would extend even to sticking by him and the party regardless of its platform.

Mr. Truman's announcement that he will accept the nomination makes it all the more incumbent upon candidates for party posts to make known their stands.

Bow Out, Truman Told For Harmony's Sake

The Constitution

34a(1)

Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 3-20-46

WASHINGTON, March 19—(UP)—Sen. Sparkman, Democrat, Alabama, demanded Friday night that President Truman step out of the Presidential race and suggested that Democrats nominate Gen. Eisenhower as a candidate who could restore party harmony.

Sparkman's statement came as a surprise because he had been considered an Administration stalwart who would try to ease the North-South Democratic split on the civil rights issue.

The Alabama Senator was Democratic Whip of the House before he moved up to the Senate Chamber in November, 1946. He served as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee's Speaker's Bureau in the 1946 campaign.

Sparkman said he had abandoned hope that the North-South split could be healed with Mr. Truman at the head of the party.

"I had clung to the hope that we could work this out inside the party, but it has become increasingly apparent that we will not be able to win with Mr. Truman as a candidate for the nomination," he said. The Constitution

"I hope therefore, that to preserve harmony President Truman will not be a candidate and that delegates to the convention might be free to look elsewhere for a nominee." Atlanta, Ga.

Sparkman said he didn't know whether Eisenhower would be available but suggested that "he'd be a good candidate." He said there are "other good candidates" but did not name them. 3-20-48

Sparkman said he was issuing the statement in line with his "great desire to preserve party harmony and to go before the country with a united front in November." He said he hoped for a "free and open" Democraic convention at Philadelphia his Summer which would adjourn with a united party.

Sparkman's announcement was a blow to Administration supporters who had hoped that Southern applause for Mr. Truman's broadside attack on Henry A. Wallace and Communism this week presaged a return of party unity.

There was little sign, however, that the South was willing to let its civil rights revolt die.

Sen. Hoey, Democrat, North

Truman's Tough Position

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Sun.

3-7-48

34a(1)

With President Truman's return to Washington, it may be assumed that Democratic leaders will engage in even more intensive talks respecting the acute and dangerous crisis within the party.

It is now apparent that sentiment in the South in opposition to the president's civil rights recommendations is a formidable obstacle to victory next November. Moreover, certain Southern leaders, apparently gathering confidence, seem to be concentrating now on blocking even the nomination of Mr. Truman.

The talk of leaving the party entirely seems to have been almost entirely superseded by consideration of plans for defeating Mr. Truman either at the convention or in the electoral college.

National Chairman McGrath is reported to have suggested a return to the 1944 platform declaration on civil rights—which was merely a generalized declaration for greater equality of justice and opportunity—as a possible compromise. As to this, Jack Bell, of The Associated Press writes: "The Southerners were reported to have said, in effect, that this would be fine, but not enough. What they want, they made it plain, is for Mr. Truman to take himself out of the November election picture. As one Southerner put it to a reporter, Mr. Truman has become a "personal issue." 3-7-48

* * *

Would that issue be built up entirely on the civil rights recommendations? What about the other grave national and international problems facing the nation?

The extent to which those Southern leaders campaigning against Mr. Truman represent the mass of the voters of the South is yet to be made evident. Certain it is that the vast majority of Southerners do strongly oppose the president's proposals. But whether their opposition is such as to lead on to uncompromising opposition to Mr. Truman and defection from the party, if he is nominated, is another matter. The News

* * *

Many things can still happen to affect this situation. It may be that some sort of compromise will yet be reached.

Though the Republicans seem to be pushing civil rights action intensively now, with a view to deepening the Democratic split as much as possible, it still may turn out that Congress will not produce much in enacted legislation before the convention.

But, assuming that certain measures were passed—and with overwhelming Republican backing—just what point would there then be to talk of bolting to the GOP? Birmingham, Ala

* * *

There are many factors that will surely provide strong resistance to the sidetracking of Mr. Truman. It does not seem likely that he would, at this point, be willing to step aside, thus acknowledging in effect that he had made a crucial mistake. It is to be remembered that his recommendations were based on a report returned by a group of Americans of high standing. Mr. Truman would have strong backing for a stand based on a conception of high principle. Sun

As for the political considerations, a Democratic retreat from Mr. Truman now obviously would have many far-reaching disadvantages. 3-7-48

Dixie Governors Speed Home To Push Anti-Truman Fight

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

Mon. 3-15-48

WASHINGTON, March 14.—(AP)—Dixie governors hurried homeward Sunday, to line up support in their announced fight to prevent the nomination and election of President Truman to a four-year term. 34a(1) Montgomery, Ala

"We must act in unison," said Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi. Mon. 3-15-48

A group of Southern governors threw down their challenge to the president yesterday. They called on their people for a last ditch fight against the president if he persists in his demands for anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, anti-job discrimination and anti-Jim Crow laws. Advertiser

President Truman already has said he stands pat.

Governor Ben Laney, of Arkansas, told a reporter that "Truman is not acceptable to our people, even if he repudiates his support of the civil rights program." He predicted that Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina "are certain to go Republican" if Mr. Truman is the Democratic nominee.

To Call Parley

A meeting of Southern Democratic party leaders, called by state chairmen of the Southern States, may be the next step in the anti-Truman campaign.

Governor Wright, before boarding a train for Jackson, said he will discuss such a suggested meeting with leaders in his own state and other Southern States.

National Democratic Chairman McGrath called the governor's proposals "undemocratic."

Gov. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, rejoined today: "His views don't coincide with ours right now." Mon. 3-15-48

As the Truman-Southern rift seemingly widened, the president heard his pastor say today that Christ was rejected because he stood by his convictions.

Without directly mentioning the president's civil rights program, Dr. Edward Hughes Pruden, of the First Baptist Church, told his morning congregation, which included the president:

"Jesus would have been gladly received had he been willing to compromise his convictions and accommodate himself to the prevailing ideas of his day." 3-15-48

Asked by a reporter if his sermon referred to the present political situation, Dr. Pruden replied he would not like to "speak on it definitely." But he added:

Mon. 3-15-48

"In everything said from the pulpit I try to make it minister to some need of the present hour."

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Truman)

SPLINTER PARTY

Editor, The Advertiser:

I am in sympathy with the move to prevent the nomination of Truman, on account of his so called civil rights program, but I am not in accord with the effort to disrupt the Democratic Party, either in Alabama or elsewhere. I am not convinced that Truman wants the nomination. The Advertiser

Our party differences can be settled at the national convention by wise counsel and constructive compromise. That is the way it should be. Every great settlement in history is a compromise. The peace that follows every war is a compromise peace. The constitution of the United States is a bundle of compromises. Party policies and issues always derive from a compromise of individual and group ideas and principles. Montgomery, Ala.

Custom and long practice have the sanction of law. By such practice and custom we have implemented the constitutional electoral college plan of electing the president. We have developed the two-party system. Nominations for president are made by the two great national conventions, Democratic and Republican, and the electors who are elected by the people always vote for their respective nominees according to their party affiliations. Under this development either the Republican or Democratic nominee is always elected president. Sat. 4-3-48

The party issues will be determined and the candidates nominated by a majority vote of the delegates of the national conventions soon to be held at Philadelphia. This is proper and approved American democratic procedure and practice under our elective system of representative government.

If any of the delegates are not satisfied with the choice of their respective conventions, should they withdraw and nominate their own candidate thus promoting the "splinter party" system? To do so would only tend to confuse and divide the country, even as Henry Wallace and his gang are now trying to do. It is the "splinter party" system as developed in Europe that has contributed so much to totalitarian government and the spread of Communism on that unfortunate continent. Our two-party system works and has preserved our way of life, but it requires party discipline and party loyalty.

Our next president will have a rocky and difficult road to travel. The American people should be united behind him. We will have to forget our party bickerings and strife in trying to deal with Russian aggression and in our undertaking to achieve and maintain world peace without war, and this must be done—with the aid of Russia, if possible—without her if necessary. We must make democracy work, otherwise the alternative is Communist or Fascist tyranny and slavery.

RALPH W. QUINN

Birmingham, Ala. Sat 4-3-48

New Thunder On Civil Rights

Montgomery, Ala.

Advertiser

Shakes Nation

Delta State Democrats Threaten Parley Bolt; Fund Drive Is On

Buttons For Sale

34a(1)

'Boss' Crump Says He'll Vote Democratic But It Won't Be For Truman

By The Associated Press

Mississippi Democrats threatened outright secession from the Democratic National Convention Monday unless national leaders backed down on President Truman's civil rights program.

And the flames of revolt burned brightly elsewhere in the South—Even as Mr. Truman touched off a separate political row, with the Republicans this time, by accusing his opponents of playing politics. 3-2-48

Top developments in the Dixie rebellion against the President's program of anti-poll tax and other civil rights legislation were: Tues

1—Mississippi's delegates to the National Democratic Convention were asked by the party's state executive committee to walk out unless the party reverses itself on the civil rights issue.

The Mississippi committee laid plans for a fund-raising drive in its campaign to bring the campaign to the "average man." Delegates plan to sell buttons at $1 each to "loyal Democrats." The buttons bear a picture of Thomas Jefferson and the wording "States' Rights Democrats."

2—The South Carolina Democratic Executive Committee opposed the nomination or election of Mr. Truman, and charged the national party with "contemptuous political betrayal" of the South.

3—Memphis Democratic Chieftain E. H. "Boss" Crump said: "I will vote for a Democrat next November but it will not be Truman." Crump added: "In his scheming cold-blooded effort to outdo Henry Wallace and Governor Dewey of New York for the Negro vote, he (Truman) has endeavored to reducing the south to a country of crawling cowards." Advertiser

Crump

Laney Hits Plan

4—Arkansas Governor Ben T. Laney formally proposed that the South repudiate the Democratic Party's national leadership. His letter was addressed to the Southern Governors Conference which will meet in Washington March 13. Montgomery, Ala.

5—In Virginia, a bill which would bar the name of Mr. Truman or any other candidate from the state ballot ran into heavy opposition on the floor of the legislature and was sent back into committee. 3-2-48

It was in Virginia, and with this bill, that the legislative phase of the anti-Truman rebellion began last week.

6—Rep. Williams (D), Mississippi, proposed in the House that Mr. Truman "gracefully withdraw" from the 1948 presidential campaign. Tues.

There was Republican political activity Monday, too.

General Douglas MacArthur was brought back into the limelight as a possible presidential candidate. And Senator Vandenberg (R), Michigan, sought to keep his own name out of the Nebraska presidential primary.

Asked For Opinion

The GOP-dominated House foreign affairs committee asked MacArthur to give his opinion on several Far Eastern questions—by coming here from Tokyo or, if he preferred, by writing the committee a letter.

The invitation came after the Hearst newspapers, in front page editorials, said: "If we are to save ourselves from our own follies, we must draft General MacArthur for the presidency." 3-2-48 Tues

The President told a news conference at his Key West, Fla., vacation spot that election year maneuvering "is having a very bad effect" on the settlement of "both foreign and domestic problems." Advertiser

Tartly, Republican National Chairman Carroll Reece said the President's remarks on politics "should be taken very seriously because there is no more eminent authority on that subject than Mr. Truman." Montgomery, Ala.

Chairman Eaton (R), New affairs committee said the administration has produced "a background of prejudice, stupidity and ignorance by its various foreign aid proposals.

WHO KNOWS WHAT? Advertiser

"We have one party downtown (at the White House) in power which doesn't know how to handle the situation and another party on the hill in a like evil condition," Eaton declared. "The leadership leads up North one day and down South the next." 3-2-48

In a like vein, Senator Tues. Taft (R), Ohio, said of Mr. Truman's statements: "It seems to me the Democrats are balking him more than the Republicans." Montgomery, Ala

Both Taft and Eaton were referring to the Southern Democratic "revolt" against the President's civil rights proposals.

Mr. Truman talked gingerly around that situation--including the Virginia move to bar the names of candidates, his own name among them if he runs for a full term--from the state ballot next November.

Every state has the right to make its own election rules, the President said, so long as everybody has a chance to vote.

Senator Hill (D), Alabama, voiced support of the President, however, while opposing the civil rights program. "I shall continue to fight such federal measures," he said in announcing that he wants to be a delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention. Advertiser 3-2-48-Tues Montgomery, Ala.

Jennings Perry

PM New York, N.Y.

Presto!

Wed 3-10-48

Now it is established that President Truman—that "nice man," as even Big Jim Folsom admits—is going to run again; and he starts in trouble. Out of natural compassion, and out of an old, sentimental affection for the Democratic Party, I am moved to look at his troubles and tell him how to get in there and win.

His main trouble is, of course, that he has to run against Franklin D. Roosevelt. This is unavoidable, and will continue to be the hard lot of Democratic candidates for the Presidency till memory runneth to the contrary. What Mr. Truman should do about it is to try to make no statements orally that can be made in writing, and otherwise to dodge personal comparison as much as possible. At the same time, he should never forget that the finest words Mr. Roosevelt left with the American people are: "There is nothing to fear but fear itself."

Perry

Mr. Truman's No. 2 Problem

This brings us to Mr. Truman's No. 2 trouble, which we may call Henry Wallace, but which really is the common animalistic fear of dying prematurely. The people do not want war and are sick of the threat of it. A large part of their FDR nostalgia relates in the conviction that we would not be in this miserable dog-and-cat fight with Russia if FDR had lived.

What Mr. Truman can do about it is to put the U. S. back into the UN wholeheartedly and with both feet; go and talk sense with Stalin (or send somebody who can); and chuck a shoe at the State Dept. every time it starts howling on the back fence. It probably would be a good idea to make Henry Wallace Secretary of State, call an honest-to-goodness disarmament conference, and ditch UMT.

Wed. 3-10-48

This would repatriate in the Democratic Party at least nine million of the 10 million votes that otherwise are going to the Third Party—including a lot of good Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, who have nothing to fear but fear, and plenty of it, ever since we jumped over the UN into Greece, Turkey, Iran and China.

Mr. Truman's No. 3 trouble is the rebellion against basic democratic principles within the Democratic Party itself, called the Southern Revolt. Everybody knows that this whoop-to-doodle has been stirred up by privileged politicians who don't want free elections. The answer to it is free elections.

3-10-48

Where He Will Find The Answer

Mr. Truman will find the answer spelled out on page 56 of Ellis Arnall's book *The Shore Dimly Seen.* In 1945 when free elections were proposed in Georgia, the local politicians screamed bloody murder. But when Gov. Arnall showed he had constitutional authority to allow the people *one* free election on the issue itself, and meant to use it, the politicians fell over each other welcoming the free elections law. "These former opponents became publicly the most fanatical converts to the wisdom and virtue of the measure."

The Southern Revolt is aimed at making trouble for Truman at the convention. If Mr. Truman will go to work on the U. S. Senate and get the Federal free elections law on the statute books right away, the wind will go out of the Southern Revolt.

At the convention, the Dixie boys will be falling over each other to cheer the wisdom and virtue of a long-overdue reform that will have exposed them to the scorching will of 10 million never-before voters in their states and districts.

3-10-48

The whole business for Mr. Truman is as simple as that. Of course, he ought to call back Chester Bowles to fight the cost of living, and touch a few other things deftly. But peace outside and democracy at home are his trump cards, if he is running to win.

New York, N.Y.

Washington Calling

Montgomery Advertiser

O'Mahoney Boomed To Run With Truman

By
MARQUIS CHILDS

3/2(1)

WASHINGTON.

THE TALK about substituting another candidate for Harry S. Truman is regarded by most realists in the Democratic Party as just talk. However desirable it might be in theory, they see two major objections to such a move.

No. 1 is the difficulty of getting agreement between the two wings of the party on a substitute with super voting appeal. A liberal, backing the civil rights program and thereby appealing to the mass vote in the cities of the North, would be rejected by the South as vehemently as Mr. Truman.

Montgomery, Ala.

No. 2 is the unanswerable objection. By the very act of selecting another candidate, the Democrats would be confessing failure so publicly as to make the chances of the substitute practically nil.

Therefore, even though new handicaps seem to pile up each day, realists in the party are thinking in terms of a revised win-with-Truman strategy. They advocate at the outset a frank recognition that New York is hopelessly lost.

Tues 3-2-48

THEY would build confidence around two factors—the West and a vice-presidential candidate who is a recognized liberal of high integrity. On both points the answer they come up with is Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming.

O'Mahoney has a long and impressive record of battle for the small business man and against monopoly concentration of power. His vigorous demand for action when the steel companies raised their price the other day was in line with what he has been preaching for a decade or more. There would be no question of the Communist or fellow-traveler taint. O'Mahoney is a Roman Catholic who believes passionately in free enterprise, seeing in monopoly the real threat to freedom.

Tues. 3-2-48

The realists believe the fact he is a Catholic would add to his appeal. The senator was born in Chelsea, Mass., and has a claim on loyalties in that state with its high proportion of Catholic voters.

O'Mahoney is popular in the West. He has frequently been one of the most effective and articulate spokesmen for western interests. Arrangements are now being made for him to speak at a large dinner meeting of western Democrats in Los Angeles.

WHEN YOU come down to figuring electoral votes, the totals west of the Mississippi are depressingly small. O'Mahoney's own state of Wyoming cast three electoral votes in 1944.

Adding the votes of Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming, you get a total of 32. Compared to New York's 47, this looks like small potatoes.

Assuming that the South does not go all the way with its revolt—a dangerous assumption at this moment—you add 32 to the South's 127 and come out with 159. The remaining 107 necessary to elect would have to be found elsewhere.

While this sounds like the logic of despair, there is nevertheless a certain logic in it. It is the logic of concentrating on those areas where the rewards promise to be greatest rather than dissipating money and energy in a shotgun attack.

Tues. 3-2-48

THIS HAS caused great resentment, according to reports reaching here. It contrasts with 14 years of Democratic generosity and encouragement to western project and it comes at a time when the West is eager to develop its own independent industry.

Several of the Republicans swept in on the '46 tide have proved to be ultra-conservative or reactionary. This is particularly true of Senator Harry P. Cain of Washington and Senator Henry C. Dworshak of Idaho.

Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon contributed to the GOP sweep in the West by a whirlwind tour in the Fall of '46. Following a consistently liberal line, Morse is now at odds with his party and the recipient of deliberate snubs from the leadership. This will be a factor in the coming campaign.

In making official appointments, President Truman has given more recognition to the West than any president in a long time. So, the argument of the realists goes, concentrate in the area where there is something to build on.

The Unkindest Cuts

Birmingham News

34a(1)

FRANKLIN, JR., AND ELLIOTT ROOSEVELT'S STATEMENTS urging the Democrats to substitute Eisenhower for Truman bring things into the open with a vengeance. They openly reflect the Northern leaders' discontent with the president, which is almost as strong as the disaffection of the South. Franklin's action is a clear signal of the trend within the labor movement, which young Roosevelt always follows very closely. And it is the president's second blow from this quarter. It can now be disclosed that Mrs. Roosevelt has also written the White House, offering to resign from the American delegation to the United Nations.

The two actions were entirely independent. Franklin Roosevelt notified his mother that he was going to issue his statement but is emphatic that he did not ask her advice. Mrs. Roosevelt wrote the White House some days previously, while her son was in the hospital.

Birmingham, Ala.
Tues 3-30-48

In her letter she declared her strong opposition to President Truman's recent Palestine policy and especially the withdrawal of support for partition. She said she feared this disagreement on principle on an issue before the U. N. might make it embarrassing for her to continue on the United States delegation. She therefore made her resignation available to the president. His decision in the matter has not yet been taken, so far as is known.

* * *

Heavy Blow

Birmingham News
Tues 3-30-48

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT that if Mrs. Roosevelt does retire as a United Nations delegate, it will be a blow to Truman almost heavier than her sons' remarkable declaration for Eisenhower. With the possible exception of Gen. Eisenhower himself, no living American commands the respect and affection of so many fellow citizens as Mrs. Roosevelt. Her wise and steady opposition to Henry A. Wallace's Communist-dominated third party movement has had a deciding influence in holding innumerable American progressives out of the Wallace camp.

Her resignation from the U. N. delegation, if accepted, would inevitably be taken as a tacit indication of the same feelings which Franklin and Elliott Roosevelt have publicly expressed. Nor will this interpretation be far from correct. The Democratic dovecotes in Washington have been hideously fluttering, for some time now, over the entirely authentic report of a warning from Mrs. Roosevelt to one of the most eminent New York

By Joseph And Stewart Alsop

Birmingham News

leaders. Mrs. Roosevelt frankly said that, as of today, she could no longer support the president.

Birmingham, Ala.
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Furthermore, it must also be understood that Franklin Roosevelt would not be acting, if it were not for a curious and unknown factor in the situation. A number of other Northern and labor leaders have wished to do precisely what Franklin Roosevelt has done. They have been temporarily dissuaded by the Democratic chairman, Sen. J. Howard McGrath, on the ground that opposition to Truman at this juncture will influence the delicate Italian election. The same argument has been used to moderate, for a while, the fury of the Southern revolt. In short, the Roosevelt statements are only the first major trickle through a dam that shows every sign of bursting.

Another trickle is already in preparation. The Americans for Democratic Action, leaders of the non-Communist progressive opposition to Henry A. Wallace, are about to take a preferential Eisenhower-Truman poll of their membership. The outcome is regarded as a foregone conclusion.

* * *

Labor For Eisenhower

BUT THE TRUTH IS THAT THE REBELLION against Truman and the sentiment for Eisenhower are both gaining everywhere. Fear that the rank and file may otherwise desert to Wallace has caused the leaders of the labor movement to become strongly and quite frankly Eisenhower-minded. Among the Northern politicians, big Ed Flynn, of New York, is known to be disaffected; Jake Arvey, of Chicago, has hinted at his disaffection in public, and the situation is not much better in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The flames in the South have long been visible.

Altogether, despite the president's optimistic statements, there is now only one factor working for Harry S. Truman's renomination. With the single exception of Gen. Eisenhower, no candidate exists on whom the various wings of the Democratic Party—South and North, labor movement and conservatives—can easily unite. Eisenhower has taken himself firmly out of the race.

There is one thing, however, which is worth remembering. When he talked to friends in the long and difficult months before issuing the letter killing his candidacy as a Republican, Eisenhower always made two points. First, it was presumptuous to reject the presidency in advance. Second, if the nation had need of him in an emergency, he would be ready to serve. It is on the second point that the Democrats for Eisenhower build their hopes.—©.

ADDRESSING THE VIRGINIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Times New York, N.Y.

Gov. William M. Tuck asking legislation in reply to President Truman's civil-rights program. Fri 2-27-48

Governor Calls on Virginia To Bar Truman From Ballot

The Times

New York, N.Y. Fri. 2-27-48

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

RICHMOND, Va., Feb. 26—Gov. William M. Tuck asked the Virginia General Assembly today for legislation to keep President Truman's name off the state's Presidential ballot next November.

To an applauding joint session of the Assembly, the Governor urged a new election statute which would leave Virginia Democrats free to secede from the national party. Under terms of the bill recommended by the Governor—and regarded as certain of swift approval by the legislators—Virginians would vote only for Presidential electors.

The electors would be bound to support the national party nominees, unless they were directed by a state party convention to vote for some other candidate in the electoral college.

There was little question in this predominantly Democratic state that Democratic party electors would be chosen in November. There was equally little question that these electors would not vote for Mr. Truman if he is the Democratic nominee.

States' Rights Issue Raised

The Times New York, N.Y.

The Virginia Governor attacked President Truman's civil-rights program as an "unwarranted" intrusion on states' rights and said that "iniquitous influences" behind the President could lead to dictatorship. He particularly denounced the proposed Fair Employment Practices Commission and said the FEPC bill would create a "ready-made Gestapo for the harassment and persecution of the successful business man." Fri.

Legislation recommended by the Governor also is designed to keep Henry A. Wallace from becoming a candidate in the Old Dominion. Only those political parties the candidates of which appeared on the 1944 ballot would be permitted to place the names of electors on next November's ballots. 2-27-48

This limitation would keep the competition down to Republican, Democratic, Socialist, Prohibitionist and Socialist-Labor parties. The Governor conceded that if one of the three minor parties organized behind Mr. Wallace in Virginia, electors could be listed for the former Vice President. 2-27-48

A bill embodying the Governor's recommendations was introduced a few moments after he finished his address. The Tuck administration holds an overwhelming majority in the Assembly, and legislative leaders were confident that the bill would go through with scarcely a dissenting vote. The 140-member legislature includes only ten Republican members.

Governor Tuck urged other Southern states to follow Virginia's lead.

George Unwilling to Run

ATLANTA, Feb. 26 (AP)—A proposal that Senator George, Democrat, of Georgia, seek the Democratic Presidential nomination was received cooly by the Senator.

Correspondence with Mr. George on the subject was disclosed today by Georgia's comptroller general, Zack D. Cravey. The Times

Mr. Cravey had written that many Georgians, opposed to President Truman's civil-rights program, thought Mr. George should seek the Democratic nomination.

Mr. George replied:

"While I strongly disapprove of the whole course taken by President Truman so far as the civil-rights program goes, I do not wish to be drawn into any contest."

Mr. Cravey is a strong supporter of Herman Talmadge, who earlier this week received control of Georgia's Democratic party from the State Supreme Court. Mr. Talmadge declined comment on the George proposal. Fri. 2-27-48

In his letter to Mr. Cravey, Mr. George expressed the hope that "many of the crackpots, extreme left wingers and uplifters will leave the party, and will be able to reorganize a true Democratic party." New York, N.Y.

Florida Judge Assails Truman

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Feb. 26 (AP)—A Circuit Court judge charged today that President Truman was willing "to destroy Southern civilization" in order to get the Northern Negro vote.

Judge Miles W. Lewis made the statement from the bench to some judymen who were being dismissed. The judge's attack on the President's civil rights program was considered unusual under the circumstances. The Times

The veniremen applauded when Judge Lewis said he did not intend to vote for Mr. Truman. He asked the jurymen to do likewise.

"It is perfectly apparent to me," the judge said, "that Truman and his supporters are willing to destroy Southern civilization. Since he takes that attitude, he is no longer worthy of our vote and support." New York, N.Y.

Judge Lewis said:

"I've tried to do my duty, and I said long ago as a judge of this court that all persons, regardless of religion, race or creed, look alike to me. Fri. 2-27-48

"The time has come when the people of the South must stand together and preserve our institutions."

Bar Anti-Lynching Vote

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26—House Democrats blocked Judiciary Committee approval of anti-lynching legislation today by invoking a rule which prohibits a committee from sitting while the House is in session.

Already approved by a three-to-two vote in subcommittee, the measure is sure of approval in the full committee in which thirteen of the twenty-five members are Republicans and only four of the Democrats are from the south. The vote may come next week.

Favorable committee action would pave the way for the early consideration in the House itself which Leo Allen, the Rules Committee Chairman, has promised.

As Southern members of Congress, continuing their protests against President Truman's civil-rights message, blocked action today, there were these other developments:

Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia rose on the Senate floor to endorse "without reservation" the special message by Governor William M. Tuck to the Virginia Legislature calling for the selection of unpledged Presidential electors.

Proposal Made and Attacked

Representative Clare E. Hoffman, Republican, of Michigan, proposed to Southern Democrats in a House speech that they enter into a "deal" with the Republican party. He said the South could support a Presidential ticket mutually agreeable in return for having civil-rights legislation killed by the Republican Congress.

Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democratic National Chairman, refused comenmt on Governor Tuck's action, but attacked Mr. Hoffman's proposal. He contended that it was a "dishonest and contemptible bid for voes" that actually was an "insult to the honor of the South."

"I hope," the Senator said, "that, whatever the future may hold in store for the Democratic party, we shall argue our differences, both among ourselves and between ourselves and the Republican party, on the basis of our convictions and beliefs, and not by any 'deals' concluded with 'but you have to deliver this time.'"

Mr. Hoffman opened his speech, which brought chuckles but no apparent serious consideration either in Republican or Democratic ranks, by noting that there were many newspaper accounts of indignation in the South at the President's proposals.

Talking to Republicans in the House, he said the situation seemed ripe to "make a deal" with the Democrats from the South.

Argues for Deal by GOP

"I do not believe in deals ordinarily," he said, "but I would not be averse to doing it if out of it we could get something for the good of the country.

"Then all right. So I suggest to my Republican friends that we tell these Democrats that, if they will vote for the selection of a Republican, that they and we get together in some kind of conference, agree on someone agreeable to both an delect him, that then we will kill this program of civil rights and satisfy you folks from the South.

"He will make a deal, but you have got to deliver this time."

Senator Byrd, entering Governor Tuck's message in the Congressional Record, said it contained "no weasel words," and that it 'may well become historic and of deep significance as affecting the existing political conditions in our Republic."

The Truman Tangents

The Record Columbia, S.C. Mon. 3-8-48

WASHINGTON—President Truman was talking to a prominent New York publisher the other day about Palestine. He was not merely talking; he was almost shouting.

Pounding his desk he used words that can't be repeated about "the —— New York Jews."

"Those —— New York Jews!" The President exclaimed. "They're disloyal to their country. Disloyal."

"Would you mind explaining that a little further, Mr. President?" interrupted the publisher, whose wife happens to be Jewish. "When you speak of New York Jews are you referring to such people as Bernard Baruch? Or are you referring to such New York Jews as my wife?"

Truman glared, assured his visitor that he did not mean to include Baruch or the publisher's wife, then abruptly changed the subject.

This conversation is not an isolated case. There have been others, and they illustrate why it is that Truman has received so little credit for the position he has taken officially on Palestine, on civil rights, and for labor.

Ordinarily, Negro voters would be out shouting and drumming up votes for Truman as a result of his civil rights message. But too many times the President has talked to intimates about "the —— niggers" in exactly the same way he talked about "the —— New York Jews."

These conversations leak out.

Presidential Tangents

One of the most significant conversations to leak out was between Chester Bowles, then head of OPA, and President Truman in the early winter of 1945-46 when there was still time to save price control.

Bowles, who saw clearly what would happen if price controls were taken off, told the President with great satisfaction that he had worked out a deal with the AFL and CIO not to ask for wage increases if price controls were continued.

He explained that if price controls were abandoned, organized labor was all set to ask for a series of big wage boosts, which in turn would lead to more price increases, more inflation, and another round of wage increases.

However, organized labor had agreed to a moratorium on wage increases if price controls were kept. Naturally, Bowles expected Truman to be pleased. He wasn't. Instead he launched into a tirade against labor leaders. The Record

"Those —— labor leaders," he said. "You can't trust 'em. They're wrecking the country. There's only one you can trust and that's John L. Lewis. Aside from him I wouldn't trust any of those —— labor leaders." Columbia, S.C.

Naturally, this conversation leaked back to Phil Murray of the CIO and William Green of the AFL. It didn't endear Truman to them. But, more important, it upset an agreement by which the present disastrous inflation could have been prevented—all because Truman lost his temper. Incidentally, it was only a few months later that Truman was cussing out John L. Lewis for tying up the entire nation with a coal strike. Mon 3-8-48

In brief, more and more people have got wise to the manner in which the President tangents. He can send messages to Congress which read beautifully on paper, but, when it comes to carrying out those messages, it's all too apparent that Truman doesn't believe in them.

Secret Anti-Lynch Debate

Republicans have been planning to take in Negro votes with their anti-lynching bill, but it looks as if they would have trouble with their own members, and three staunch Republicans—Representatives John Gwynne of Iowa, Frank Fellows of Maine and Edward Devitt of Minnesota—upset the G.O.P. applecart at a closed door session of the judiciary committee.

Speaker Joe Martin and other G.O.P. leaders had decided at a previous secret caucus to make the anti-lynch law applicable to crimes against property as well as persons. Also, they decided to approve section 1 of the bill, a declaration of racial equality which Democratic foes claimed was a "political stump talk, aimed at further dividing the Democratic party."

However, when the judiciary committee met behind closed doors, Gwynne and Fellows joined the Democrats in a close vote to delete Section 1.

"Let's confine this to an anti lynching bill and leave out political stump talk, aimed at Southern States, which has no place in legislation," demanded Democrat Francis Walter of Pennsylvania.

G.O.P. Representative Clifford Case of New Jersey, the bill's author, contended that Section 1 was written on the advice of "experts," who felt that a preamble was necessary. The Record

"I don't care who wrote it," persisted Walter, a northern Democrat. "It's inflammatory and doesn't belong in the bill." Columbia S.C.

Republican Devitt of Minnesota offered the motion to kill the "crimes against property" provision. This would have made it a violation of the anti-lynch law for two or more persons to conspire to injure the property of another. The motion carried over hot opposition from Republicans Case and John Jennings of Tennessee, who insisted that if it was wrong to lynch a man, it also was wrong to "wreck his store or his home." Mon.

"I submit again that this is irrelevant to the problem of preventing lynchings," broke in Walter of Pennsylvania. "This is either an anti-lynching bill or it isn't. Let's hew to the line." 3-8-48

The Republicans also had to accept defeat on a provision that federal grants-in-aid be withheld from any state if a town or community therein refused to pay a judgment to heirs of a lynch victim.

This was stricken out on a motion by Democrat Walter, again supported by G.O.P. Congressmen Gwynne and Fellows.

"A state would be penalized for lynching committed within its borders by out-of-state thugs under this provision," objected Democrat Fadjo Cravens of Arkansas.

"Could an appropriation for hot lunches for school children be withheld from a state where a lynching judgment is not paid?" inquired Fellows.

"Unquestionably," replied Walter. "Any type of grant-in-aid to the states would be affected."

That ended the debate.

Mr. Truman's Challenge

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Mon 3-1-48

To the Editor of The News:

Having taken a slap at the South, and the sovereignty of every state in his message to Congress, assailing state rights and scrapping the Constitution of the United States, the president then hied to the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner and proceeded with a 30-minute harange versus the "privileged few." Before him was a reserved empty table, about him were dozens of empty chairs—silent protest of Southern senators and congressmen against his political blunder against the South, its people and all of its traditions.

Shortly thereafter, and with alacrity, according to the press, he boarded the "Sacred Cow" and betook himself to distant lands. I quote a press dispatch: "He will visit San Juan . . . with Puerto Rico's first native-born governor, Jesus T. Pinero, and with William H. Hastile, Negro governor of the Virgin Islands. Three Negro reporters were included in the group of newsmen accredited to cover the president's trip from Washington. This was the first assignment of Negroes to a presidential trip of this nature."

The president informs us that "this is a year of challenge." I propose to meet that challenge "head on." The president deliberately threw down the gantlet and challenged the South, and we shall, with all the power we possess, with all the strength and courage that is ours, and with all the light and intelligence that God Almighty has given to us, bravely and courageously meet that challenge. The News

We need a statesman at the present time as the chief executive of this great nation, and we do not need a politician who belongs to a political ring and machine in the president's native state. Centuries past, when Rome was in decay, through political corruption and vice, Cincinnatus was called from the plow to save Rome, and as its ruler he gave to Rome and its people justice, equity, peace and prosperity. Oh, for a Cincinnatus in the United States today!

Birmingham, Ala.

We shall preserve the sovereignty of our states and the spirit and the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Remember this: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Mon. L. B. RAINEY.

Gadsden, Ala. 3-1-48

Jennings Perry
PM New York N.Y.
34a(1)

Hairbreath Harry

Tues. 2-17-48

I think now there is a good chance that Harry Truman will be re-elected President on a wave of common sympathy. Certainly the volume of brickbats and dead cats heaved his way since the statement of his civil rights program is building him up an impressive claim on this count, assuming the average American voter to be a rather kindhearted cuss like the people who live next door to all of us. Tues. 2-17-48

Perry

We must appreciate the appeal of a man every vital hand is against, poor devil. The voter is apt to think nobody can be that bad. The danger of this sort of rationalization is, of course, that, in making excuses for Truman out of fellow feeling, the voter may minimize the promises the President has made – and would be encouraged to make if his Gallup rating continues to reflect the tolerance of which I am speaking. Since his repudiation of Henry Wallace's famous Madison Square Garden speech—as weaselish and uncourageous an act as recent history records—apparently gave no lasting turn to the public stomach, Mr. Truman may be the more easily persuaded that he can back up on his civil rights statement without serious consequences to himself or his party. This would be unfortunate for the Nation whether or not Mr. Truman personally should be forgiven for this.

The fact is that the chances for the reforms he called for in his civil rights note to Congress grow with the vehemence of the political attack upon Mr. Truman, the candidate, from all sides. That attack itself is education with regard to the issues, and the very competitiveness of it feeds the forces in Congress on which enactment of the reform program depends. PM New York, N.Y.

The more violent the noise of the poll-taxers, the firmer the reform stand of progressive Democrats must be to counteract it, for the party's sake; and the more the reforms are put forward as Democratic reforms, the more the Republicans must seek credit for their side. It happens that, with Congress in session, the credit can be won by either side only by legislative action.

Meanwhile, with party harmony the Democrats are hoping against hope that in his Jefferson-Jackson Day speech Thursday night Mr. Truman on the highwire can pull off the miracle of pedaling backward and forward on civil rights at the same time. Republican Chairman Reece is plastering the press with the news that the GOP holds a cozy right on every civil rights proposal the President has made. As Mr. Reece tells it, abolition of the poll tax, anti-lynch legislation, fair employment statutes, etc., were well-known Republican goals before Harry Truman was born. PM New York, N.Y.

These maneuvers prove that the issues Mr. Truman has stirred up have a virtue in them that politicians are compelled to recognize in an election year. What Chairman Reece has yet to explain is why his party, so long in power in the past and in control in both Houses of the legislature at present, has not yet gone beyong lip service to the civil rights program it professes to cherish. His attempt to place the blame on the filibusters is shoddy when only the past is considered. When applied to the present Congress it must be judged by legislative tests that fall due in the session now sitting. Tues. 2-17-48

Mr. Truman's next test comes Thursday night. The best that can be hoped is that he will not recant his own civil rights statements and throw himself again, as after his runout on the speech he approved for Wallace, on the public mercy. Conceivably, the public might again say: "Well, poor Harry," and give him grace, but the event would pull Harry's chestnuts from the fire only at the risk of abating the fire itself, whose heat alone melts the way for the civil rights program among the coldly calculating politicians in this year's legislative halls.

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Leaders Troubled By Truman Race

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON—It has now been nearly four years since Democratic Party moguls met at a secret White House dinner and persuaded Franklin Roosevelt to accept Sen. Truman, of Missouri, as vice president. They knew then, of course, that the chances of F. D. R.'s living through the next four years were slim. The News

Present at that dinner were Ed Flynn, of the Bronx; Mayor Ed Kelly, of Chicago; Mayor Hague, of Jersey City, and Bob Hannegan. Today almost the same Democratic moguls convene at the White House. And despite this week's announcement that Truman is a candiate, they still hope they can deftly dislodge from office the man they put in. 3-11-48

They know in advance that this will not be easy—for two reasons: (1) the embarrassment of breaking the news to Truman; (2) finding another candidate who can win.

Two years ago all this would have been easy. At that time Truman himself was saying he did not want to be president. But no man likes to retreat under fire, and Truman's ideas on this are well illustrated by the staunch support given such friends as Ed Pauley and Brig. Gen. Wallace Graham when they were under fire for speculating.

However, the party moguls have promised each other privately that they will be hardboiled and tell the president the truth—namely, that the chance of victory with him at the head of the ticket is nil.

If they do this, then finding a candidate to take Truman's place will not be easy. Chief Justice Fred Vinson, of Kentucky, would be acceptable to the South, but wouldn't arouse too much enthusiasm in the North. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas is a great administrator and would have the advantage of probably persuading Henry Wallace to withdraw. Henry Kaiser would be popular in the West, with labor and with small business men. Birmingham, Ala.

However, it takes time to build up any candidate. And while it's not too late, the sooner the Democrats get busy, the better their chances. Thurs. 3-11-48

That's the problem facing Democratic moguls as they walk into the White House today.

50,000 Hear Wallace Assert Prejudice Will Fail in South

Pres. (34a(1))

Progressive Candidate Hails 'Success' of Tour and Notes Unsegregated Rallies Were Held—65,000 Pay $78,000 for Tickets Here

The Times
Sat 9-11-48

By JAMES A. HAGERTY

New York, N.Y.

Speaking at the postponed "Yankee Doodle" rally at Yankee Stadium, Henry A. Wallace, Progressive party candidate for President, declared last night that the significance of his recent campaign through the South lay in the fact that he had been able to hold two dozen completely unsegregated meetings there, not in the violence to which he had been subjected.

Though the attendance fell short of the 70,000 expected by the sponsors of the rally, the American Labor party and the national and state Wallace for President Committees, the spectators, according to a police estimate, numbered about 50,000 when the meeting was opened, with the Rev. John Howard Melish, rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, delivering the invocation.

It was said officially that 65,000 tickets had been sold by yesterday afternoon. With admission prices ranging from 50 cents for the bleachers to $3.60 for the box seats, it was estimated that the tickets averaged about $1.20 each, bringing the total of ticket sales to $78,000.

In his speech, Mr. Wallace said that the throwing of eggs and tomatoes and the sight of men, women and children with faces contorted by hate furnished dramatic proof of the known existence of deep prejudice and fascism in the southern states. He predicted that progressive Southerners would triumph ultimately and that the South would be "freed from the shackles in which it has been held by huge corporations with headquarters in Wall Street."

Sat 9-11-48

Mr. Wallace charged that it was the owners of the mines, mills, great plantations and newspapers that incited violence in the South.

"They don't personally engage in lynching either free speech or human beings, just as they don't personally engage in fighting the wars from which they profit," he said.

"But they inflame the passions of others. They have had others do their dirty work. But the ranks of new recruits for their dirty work are narrowing as more and more men and women of the South see how they have been victimized by prejudice—as they see how it has profited the few and brought misery for themselves and their neighbors."

Other speakers at the rally included Paul Robeson and Alfred J. Fitzgerald, co-chairmen of the Progressive party; Representatives Vito Marcantonio and Leo Isacson, O. John Rogge, candidate for Surrogate of New York County and chairman of the New York State Wallace-for-President committee; Ada B. Jackson, Lee Pressman and Irma Lindheim, American Labor party Congressional candidates, and William S. Gailmor, radio commentator.

WALLACE PROPOSES VAST AID FOR SOUTH

The Times

Mon 8-30-48

Says Government Should Give the Region a Billion a Year, Taxing Absentee Owners

New York, N.Y.

34a(1)

By The United Press.

DURHAM, N. C., Aug. 29 — Henry Wallace today proposed a Marshall Plan for the South under which the Government would give the South $1,000,000,000 a year for four years to aid its industry and agriculture.

The Progressive Party Presidential candidate, speaking at a state convention of his party here, said his "Southern Plan" could be financed by taxing corporations profiting from southern farms, labor and factories.

"I am confident that the people of the South will get more benefit from a billion dollars advanced in this manner than the people of Europe are getting from ten billion dollars of political handouts under the wasteful foreign programs of the bipartisans," Mr. Wallace declared.

Mon 8-30-48

Tonight's speech before the North Carolina progressive party was the fourth in Mr. Wallace's whirlwind tour of twenty cities in seven southern states. He left New York by plane this morning, spoke in Norfolk, Suffolk and Richmond, Va., and flew here for a reception and the convention.

In his seven-day tour Mr. Wallace will not speak at any meeting where white persons and Negroes are segregated and will refuse to stay in hotels which refuse accommodations to his entire staff of seven because it includes one Negro, a woman secretary.

Mon 8-30-48

Laws in some Southern states prohibit non-segregated public meetings. But both Wallaceites and local law officials in some places were side-stepping the issue by agreeing to call Mr. Wallace's audiences "private" gatherings. Under this interpretation, segregation laws will not be applicable.

34a(1)

Mr. Wallace proposed that his Marshall Plan for the South be split evenly between industry and agriculture and be in addition to Federal aid for schools, hospitals, homes, health and social security.

"It is no handout I propose," he said. "There is a simple method to finance it, and the return in increased production, in health and happiness will repay the investment over a few years."

The former Vice President proposed that the $500,000,000 for Southern industry be used to build factories planned, owned and controlled in the South and paying high wages, and to help build homes and machines. The $500,000,000 for agriculture, he said, should be used to help "the honest and industrious Southern farmer establish a sound and solvent agriculture."

"Each year billions, literally billions of dollars of profits are drained from Southern labor in field and factory by large corporations owned by wealthy and powerful men who reside elsewhere," Mr. Wallace declared. "We progressives propose only that the Federal Government, through taxation of these riches, return to the people of the South a part of the stolen fruits of their toil and sweat."

Mr. Wallace said he was not proposing that the Federal Government establish outside bureaucratic interference in Southern affairs "as the bipartisans interfere in the affairs of Europe and Asia."

"I propose this measure," he said, "as part of a program to end —once and for all—outside interference in Southern affairs. This real outside interference in their affairs cannot be ended by the people of the South themselves. It must be ended by a new national party in the North and South dedicated to uprooting the most powerful monopolies which today control both old parties."

In his first speech today, in the Norfolk Municipal theatre and auditorium, Mr. Wallace accused both Republicans and Democrats of hypocrisy in their advocacy of civil rights legislation.

Mon 8-30-48

"The record shows that in their actions not only have they failed to extend civil rights to those who have been denied them, but they have tried to impose new restrictions on existing rights," he said. "They have proclaimed loyalty orders and engaged in witch hunts.

"Far from extending civil rights, the Trumans and the Deweys and their political machines have lent themselves to programs for curbing existing civil rights."

In his Richmond speech, the candidate denounced the Thurmond-Wright States Rights ticket as "an invention to make the Trumancrats look liberal."

He declared that lawyers representing Eastern corporations were behind the Southern party which nominated Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for Vice President.

"The Dixiecrats are an invention to divert the people of the South from real problems to false ones, from high prices to hot words," Mr. Wallace said. He singled out Senator Harry Flood Byrd of Virginia for attack although Mr. Byrd, a Democrat, opposed the nomination of President Truman and has not switched his support to the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

"Byrd fights against Federal bureaucracy but his own 'political machine' rests on a greater number of office-holders per capita than any other state," Mr. Wallace said.

Mon 8-30-48

Audiences numbered about 1,[illegible]00 each in Richmond and Norfolk. About 90 per cent of each audience were Negroes.

About a 100 persons, virtually all Negroes, heard an address by Wallace in Suffolk at a meeting sponsored by the local Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union, CIO.

Cheers, Jeers Vie In Volume

The Constitution
Tues 8-31-48

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., Aug. 30—(AP)—Henry A. Wallace was booed long and lustily at a ball park rally here tonight after being splattered with ripe tomatoes and raw eggs in three other North Carolina towns.

Atlanta, Ga

An estimated 2,500 persons—about three-fourths Negroes—braved intermittent downpours to cheer and jeer the Progressive Party's Presidential nominee.

In a continuation of the hostile reception he has received at nearly every appearance in the State, Wallace spoke with difficulty to the accompaniment of continuing boos and constant heckling.

"We are progressive," Wallace said, "because we put the man first."

A dozen uniformed policemen and numerous detectives patrolled the ball park to guard against any repetition of the egg and tomato throwing that took place at Burlington, Greensboro and High Point earlier in the day.

Miss Mary Price, the Party's Gubernatorial nominee, could not be heard above the boos and catcalls as she introduced the former Vice President.

Tues 8-31-48

Two separate chants of "Down with Wallace" and "We want Wallace" were started when he began to talk against big business.

Wallace, in his shirt sleeves with a raincoat draped around his shoulders, reiterated his often-voiced plan for peace.

Police at Burlington said they did not know who tossed the missles from a throng of 2,500 on the main street. After two attempts to complete his address, Wallace stepped into an automobile and drove off to Greensboro. Two tomatoes and one egg struck the former Vice President at Burlington.

The barrage at Greensboro was heavier when he sought to speak at the Guilford County courthouse. When a few missles splashed near him he smiled, but he turned angrily upon his audience when others struck him about the head and body.

Wallace spent last night in the home of a wealthy Negro at Durham and stopped at another Negro's home here tonight.

His non-segregation policy promised further repercussions after he leaves North Carolina tomorrow night following speeches at Charlotte and Asheville and smaller cities in between.

Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Conner of Birmingham, Ala., announced he has sent Wallace a copy of Birmingham's segregation laws. Wallace is scheduled for a talk there Wednesday afternoon. City ordinances provide for separation of whites and Negroes by "well-defined physical barriers."

At Jackson, Miss., Gov. Fielding L. Wright announced Wallace will have an escort of State Police there Thursday.

Sorting Wallace's Congratulatory Messages

The Black Dispatch Oklahoma City Okla.

Sat. 1-31-48

34a(1)

Mrs. Viola Scott, (left), secretary to Henry A. Wallace, smiles as she and Barbara Cordany sort out some of the 2,000 letters and telegrams congratulating Wallace on his decision to run as an independent candidate for President. Fifty-one nationally prominent Negroes were among those congratulating Wallace on his candidacy, and on his historic speech before Alpha Phi Alpha in Tulsa, Okla., last month, when he called for an all-out offensive against jim crow. Sat. 1-31-48

Wallace Pelted With Eggs, Fists Bang His Car in South

The Times

Tues 8-31-48

34a(1)

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

New York N.Y.

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., Aug. 30—Henry A. Wallace, his shock of gray hair stained with the yolk of eggs thrown by sidewalk hecklers, clashed in verbal tilts with angry crowds of Southerners on five occasions today as he continued his political tour.

The former Vice President displayed physical courage as he stood in the sun-drenched streets of four North Carolina towns and engaged in give-and-take discussions while he and his party were pelted with eggs, tomatoes, ice cream cones, peach stones and green peppers.

From the start of his automobile tor of the Piedmont area of this state today, Mr. Wallace was met by hostile audiences, and in the hosiery mill town of Burlington a crowd of 500 persons got away from police "control," banging their fists in anger against the cars of Mr. Wallace's caravan and forcing him to forego his street talk. Tues 8-31-48

As the day neared its end, however, the spectacle of the Presidential candidate of the Progressive party pleading for "a democratic chance to have my say" seemed to catch the sympathy of many Southerners and resulted in cries of "we may not like him but it's only fair to let him talk."

Throughout the day Mr. Wallace, coatless and with the stains of eggs and tomatoes marking the collar and sleeves of his shirt, marched coolly and smilingly through milling groups of men, women and children who jeered and shouted "Hey, Communist" and "Hey, nigger-lover."

Mr. Wallace sought to parry harsh words and menacing gestures with humorous thrusts, asserting several times to the crowds that "I don't mind a little good-natured throwing of eggs and tomatoes, but I'd much rather see that food being fed to children."

When informed that police in Greensboro had taken into custody a young man who allegedly threw an egg that broke against the back of Mr. Wallace's head. Mr. Wallace asked police officers in the vicinity to convey to the chief of police his request that the youth be released "because he really didn't know what he was doing." Tues 8-31-48

Mr. Wallace twice showed anger over developments on his trip. The first time was at Burlington, where he stepped close to several of his hecklers, shook an admonishing finger under their noses and shouted, "Remember that you are in the United States."

The second time was at a press conference, when he expressed a feeling of resentment over the stabbing of one of his youthful adherents at the Progressive party meeting in Durham last night.

President Assails Wallace Egging; Missiles Thrown Again in South

The Times New York N.Y.

Wed. 9-1-48

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 31—President Truman denounced today the acts of rowdyism throughout North Carolina against Henry A. Wallace, his Progressive party opponent. As "a highly un-American business" and as violating the national spirit of fair play.

The President's sentiments on the subject were relayed to reporters by Charles G. Ross, White House press secretary, when he was asked whether Mr. Truman had expressed himself on Mr. Wallace's North Carolina reception.

"He expressed himself very vigorously," said Mr. Ross. "He said he thought the throwing of eggs and other missiles was certainly a highly un-American business and contrary to the American spirit of fair play. Mr. Wallace was entitled to say his piece the same as any other American." 9-1-48

President Truman discussed the Wallace reception in North Carolina later in the day with Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who said the chief executive might have something to say on the subject at his next regular press conference.

Mr. White expressed the opinion that "a small minority" had been responsible for the treatment accorded Mr. Wallace. He said the "decent people" of the South would deplore these outbursts of rowdyism by "an irresponsible Ku Klux element."

The Negro leader voiced the opinion in response to questions that Negro attendance at Wallace meetings throughout the South would not be reduced by the unfriendly demonstrations from whites.

"I don't think the Negro will be frightened," he said. "The Negro is not scaring easily these days."

He mentioned as a factor in the situation the presence of a million Negro voters throughout the South whose rights had been strengthened by the Supreme Court's decision in the "white primary case" as well as by a Federal Court ruling in South Carolina.

There were a great many Negroes, particularly war veterans, "who are not going to run any more," according to Mr. White. "They are tired of running."

Mr. White called on the President preparatory to his departure for Paris Sept. 13, for the meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations. He said his organization was one of thirty or forty sending consultants to the meeting.

Bogus Martyr

34a(1)

The Commercial Appeal

Wed 9-1-48

Memphis Tenn

Wherever HENRY WALLACE has attempted to speak in North Carolina the type of reception he has received has been unvaried. He has been jeered and heckled so loudly that, in most instances, he has had to abandon efforts to speak. The egg and tomato throwing has, too, been the same. All of this establishes a definite pattern for which WALLACE's radical Progressive Party is probably responsible. In fact, the chief of police of Winston-Salem asserts that his men recognized known radicals as the leading hecklers in that city. If the party is responsible for what is happening, that makes HENRY WALLACE a co-conspirator—a self-seeker for the role of bogus martyr. The people of the South will be foolish if they let him get away with it.

He won't get away with it if loyal, decent-minded Southerners make it a point to stifle their curiosity and stay away from his meetings. That is the only sensible way of countering such an obvious undertaking. He and his backers thrive on abuse, and are depending on sympathy to win them some votes among those whose emotions generally determine decisions.

HENRY WALLACE has scheduled some speakings for the MidSouth. He will speak at Memphis. While he is in this area we hope that he will be permitted to go his cockeyed way without incident or unseemly behavior on the part of those who do not agree with him. Trouble is just what he is seeking, because he can make political capital of it in other sections of the country where exists all the political strength to which he can lay claim. Wed 9-1-48

The curest way to kill HENRY WALLACE as a political aspirant is to ignore him. If he is silly enough to let his own backers egg him that is his business. If his rowdy followers go too far, then the police are thoroughly competent to deal with them in legal manner.

Don't be a sucker for a bogus martyr!

Willard Townsend

The Other Side

WALTER WHITE VIEWS WALLACE WITH SKEPTICISM

The Defender

Sat. 9-25-48

THE New York Herald Tribune for Sunday, September 12 carries a very interesting article as a by-line of Walter White, Executive Secretary of the NAACP and my fellow columnist on this page. I am sure Walter will not object to my quoting him in my column this week because he recognizes the need for truth during this period of political evasions and the attempt of the communists to garner the Negro vote by screaming civil rights from the house tops. To carry on their campaign of racial deceit and political intrigue, they have engaged the services of Henry Agaard Wallace whom they propose for president of the United States.

I think Walter does a very fine job in analyzing Mr. Wallace as follows:

"In the light of his recent performance, Mr Wallace's previous record is distinctly disappointing and inexplicable. Lester Granger of the National Urban League has described him as "an eloquent protester" and "an accomplished denouncer." But Mr. Wallace's record on racial discrimination and segregation while he was Secretary of Commerce is almost totally bad so far as performance is concerned. Not only is there no record of Mr. Wallace acting to end discrimination, there is evidence, some of it detailed by Gardner Jackson in a recent issue of "The Atlantic Monthly," that Mr. Wallace blocked attempts of some of his subordinates to correct discrimination in those agencies.

A NOTORIOUS THEFT

"The outright theft by white plantation owners and landlords of parity checks from Negro tenant farmers under the Agriculture Adjustment Administration is notorious. C. B. Baldwin, Wallace's campaign manager, included in grants to white sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the South funds to pay their poll taxes; he refused the same privilege to Negroes and admitted as much in a hearing before a Senate subcommittee.

"The Farm Security Administration, under Dr Will W. Alexander, himself a native of Georgia, repeatedly called Mr. Wallace's attention to the abuses from which Southern Negro farmers were suffering, but to no avail. Later when Dr. Alexander resigned, Mr. Wallace, according to Dr. Alexander, said in a curious voice, "Don't you think the New Deal has undertaken to do too much for Negroes?" Dr. Alexander was replaced by another Georgian, this one markedly at varience in his racial attitude to the liberalism of Dr. Alexander.

"While segregation and discrimination against Negroes were being firmly and swiftly eradicated from other government agencies, such as the Department of the Interior under Harold L. Ickes and in the United States Housing Authority under Nathan Straus, the restaurant at the Department of Agriculture remained tightly segregated. Negro employees of the department continued to eat in a basement room. The same discriminatory policies in employment continued in the department, the only Negro workmen being messengers and charwomen. A study of racial segregation in the nation's capital reveals that the Department of Agriculture and Commerce continue to have among the worst employment practices.

APPEALS MADE TO WALLACE

"As Secretary of Commerce, appeals were made to Mr. Wallace to clean up employment discrimination in the Bureau of the Census, whose racial attitude causes Negroes and many whites to call it "the Alcatraz on the Potomac." Nothing was done.

"Thus the record of performance of the Progressive party's candidate, at a time when he had the power to execute changes precisely as other Cabinet officers and officials like Messrs. Ickes and Straus were doing so, is such as to cause one to look with skepticism upon his present speeches."

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Wallace Hurts Negroes' Case

Argus

Saint Louis

The more we think of, and observe the conduct and attitude of Henry A. Wallace, the Progressive Candidate for president of the United States, the more thoroughly we are convinced that he his hurting our cause in our fight for Civil Rights.

Mo. Fri. 10-1-48

Of course, it doesn't take a seer or even a close observer to see what is really going on in the Wallace campaign throughout the nation.

Everybody knows that the Dixiecrats are all out, aiding and abetting Wallace's campaign, not because they love him more, but because they fear Harry S. Truman. Four years ago, the same bunch, the crowd were "ten-to-one," in favor of Truman over Wallace. But today, - - - - why are the Dixiecrats aiding and abetting Wallace?

They know good and well, Wallace can't win or be elected president of the United States at the November election, with the aid of Republican money, the Dixiecrats regard Henry Wallace as their "ace card," to beat Truman, because the president dared to speak out for Civil Rights for all, and they know the President means what he says.

So bitter are the "Dixies" against Civil Rights, that they have made it a personal fight on President Truman and believe us, they do not care from whom they can get the least support to down Truman. And don't believe for one moment that they are shunting Communists.

"Kill Truman," to them means "Dead Civil Rights." No man in America today knows that better than Henry A. Wallace. He knows it to the nth degree. He, Mr. Wallace knows that his campaign against Mr. Truman, is in reality, a campaign against Civil Rights. He knows that "downing" the man who is carrying the Civil Rights ball, is hurting the Negroes' cause, and he also knows that every blow against the President "tickles" the Dixies almost breathless.

All of these facts, we assume Henry Wallace knows. If he does not know these things, his leadership is the more dangerous.

10-1-48

If he prefers the spirit of the Dixies to prevail over the Civil Rights program of President Truman, he is doing not only the Negroes, but this nation a disservice which he will never out-live in this country.

In this connection, we think it proper to mention, that some of the Wallace supporters, while admitting that their candidate can't win, say theirs is a "protest vote."

DO NOT BE DECEIVED. A protest vote will aid the Dixies, looks worst than the woman who cut off her nose to spite her face.

Don't throw your vote away to help Wallace in his spite work.

Racial Cause Holds Wallace

El Paso, Tex., Sept. 30 (AP).—Henry Wallace, 24 hours after being egged in Houston, pledged here tonight he will carry the fight against racial segregation and poll taxes "so long as I live."

In a speech before a mixed audience including Latin American and Negroes, the Progressive Party candidate for President:

Fri

Promised his party will end the unfair treatment of Spanish-speaking Americans and what he said was their use by big corporations as a pool of cheap labor.

Charged El Paso has no secrecy of the ballot and demanded the Justice Department and the House Committee on Un-American Activities should investigate all interferences with free and secret balloting. He called such interferences "true subversion."

10-1-48

Compared the four freedoms of Franklin D. Roosevelt with what he called the four freedoms of Dewey and Truman and Thurmond.

Wallace said he is afraid the Dewey-Truman-Thurmond "four freedoms" are: 1—Freedom for big business to pursue super profits at the expense of people. 2—Freedom from taxes that should be paid. 3 and 4—Freedom from labor's rightful demands for good jobs and security.

Jim Crow Is Target C

CINCINNATI, Aug. 25 — (AP) — Henry A. Wallace said yesterday

"Jim Crow is the offspring of profit-mad tycoons wedded of the proposition of divide and rule."

"Jim Crow keeps profits high and wages low," he declared in a speech prepared for the National Convention of Negro Elks.

"What a comment it is upon the status quo," he said, "when the spokesmen for 15,000,000 Americans had to come to the United Nations to charge that their homeland, the land of Lincoln and Roosevelt, denied them an abundant life, a peaceful life, a free and equal life.

"But this charge was very wisely not directed against the people of the United States, for the people are also victims of the pattern of denial. Jim Crow is not the natural flower of American soil."

The Progressive Party nominee for president continued in the speech his attacks on President Truman and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey.

The News

Test For Birmingham

Birmingham tomorrow will be visited by a man who has been both a vice president and cabinet member and now is a candidate for president. But under present circumstances, the visit of Henry A. Wallace cannot be anticipated with complete tranquillity.

News 8-31-48

Wallace is coming here with a chip on his shoulder. The fact that he is a person of moral character and a great zeal for what he thinks right only makes his attitude harder to cope with. Wallace has always been a crusader. He has had something of the martyr complex. Events of the last year or so have intensified those characteristics. The messianic spirit today weighs heavily upon him.

B'ham News

34a(1)

Southerners against whom Wallace is directing his crusade naturally dislike him. More than that, they fear him. They see in his ideas and in his conduct threats to the social forms which they regard as indispensable. And that is the spirit in which many of this community await his coming.

But this, let us remind ourselves, is America. Here we believe in freedom of speech, freedom not only for the doctrines we dislike but freedom also for the doctrines we fear. We are fond of saying that any man in this country has the right to urge any change he desires as long as he advocates only peaceful methods. Tomorrow we will have a chance to prove the sincerity of that claim. Tomorrow, Birmingham's Americanism will be on trial.

* * *

The situation will be rendered less difficult if all of us remember the background, the sources of our freedom. That applies to Wallace and his local supporters. It applies to those in authority. It applies to the general public.

News 8-31-48

It will be the duty of authorities to enforce existing laws fairly and impartially. Any deviation from that principle will hurt the South's cause before the nation and before humanity. The law must be interpreted and applied alike to those with whom we agree and those with whom we disagree.

Authorities should be on guard against excessively narrow application of the laws. If the laws pertinent to this situation are good and needed, they are strong enough to stand without undue attention to minor technicalities.

Let Wallace speak. Let him and his followers have their day in an orderly manner. Let the trouble-makers stay away. Let no one play into the hands of those who would intensify our present difficulties and tensions.

'We Shall Go On' Candidate Says As Eggs, Tomatoes Fly

B'ham Age Her

34a(1)

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Aug. 31—(AP)—Henry A. Wallace, his Southern campaign trail splashed with raw eggs and ripe tomatoes, marched on today toward more segregation troubles.

"We shall go on," Wallace said.

Charlotte and Asheville were the major points on the schedule today—his third day in this state—with stops at a number of smaller cities en route.

Birm ham News

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CHARLOTTE'S POLICE CHIEF, Frank N. Littlejohn, promised jail for anyone who threw anything at Wallace here during his speech from the courthouse steps.

8-31-48

Although determined to continue, the former secretary of agriculture from Iowa displayed anger and disappointment yesterday as he was pelted with eggs and ripe tomatoes.

Stopped entirely from speaking and splashed with debris at Burlington, Wallace grasped a bystander by the arm as he turned to his car.

"Am I in America?" he asked.

"Get your hands off me," the unidentified man growled and gave the candidate a push.

Again at Greensboro, his clothes stained with egg yoke and a shell sticking to his head, Wallace cried:

"I don't mind being hit by eggs and tomatoes, but they would be more useful being fed to children.

"The faces I have seen distorted by hatred are of people for whom I have in my heart profound compassion, because most of them have not enough to eat."

There was laughter and more boos.

News 8-31-48

At High Point, eggs and tomatoes again were hurled.

AND AT LAST NIGHT'S rally at Winston-Salem, Wallace was booed long and lustily as he stood in the rain and attacked the Marshall plan, declaring:

"Only with an understanding with Russia can we avoid another war. We (the Progressives) are fighting on the side of the Lord."

The crowd, estimated at 2,500—about three-fourths of them Negroes—set up opposing chants of "We want Wallace" and "Down with Wallace" at one time during his speech. The party's gubernatorial nominee, Miss Mary Price, could not be heard above the boos as she introduced Wallace.

Gov. Gregg Cherry deplored the violence to which Wallace has been exposed beginning with his first public talk at Durma Sunday night, and castigated those responsible.

His six-state Southern tour began quietly enough in Virginia Sunday.

Unsolved difficulties faced him in other states on the program.

THE AUDITORIUM BOARD at Little Dock, Ark., where Wallace is scheduled Friday, denied him the use of its building.

But at Jackson, Miss., Gov. Fieldin? L. Wright promised an escort of state police Thursday and said "I don't think there will be any discourtesy toward him."

Wallace practiced what he preached in North Carolina, attending gatherings at Negro clubs and spending both nights at the homes of wealthy Negroes in Durham and Winston-Salem.

News 8-31-48

When he was in Winston-Salem while vice president in 1941, he stayed at the home of R. J. Reynolds, multi-millionaire tobacco manufacturer.

Nashville Gives Wallace Best Reception Yet

N.Y. Herald Tribune

N.Y. N.Y.

34a(1)

He Tells Press He Opposes Mixed-Marriages Ban; Ends Tour in Knoxville

Sun 9-5-48

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., Sept. 4 (UP).—Henry A. Wallace came here tonight to close out his turbulent week-long campaign tour of the South, which has been marked by heckling and barrages of eggs.

He came from Nashville, where he got perhaps the best reception of his entire Southern swing. Some 2,000 persons greeted him there and, although one heckler tossed an egg, his Progressive party supporters said the reception was "excellent."

Mr. Wallace was even cheered—when he said his faith was "renewed in the great and God-fearing people of the South." In his own assessment of his Southern trip, Mr. Wallace said it would have "profound" influence on the future relationship between Negro and white people.

At Nashville Mr. Wallace told reporters that he advocated removal of state laws that prohibit mixed marriages of whites and Negroes, and he said the South's churches should take the lead in attacking segregation.

Dallas Bars Fairground Site

DALLAS, Tex., Sept. 4 (UP).—The Dallas Park Board has refused a request by the Progressive party to allow Mr. Wallace to speak at the Fair Park bandshell on Sept. 28. Park Director L. B. Houston said the refusal was necessary because of preparations for the Texas State Fair opening Oct. 9.

Sun 9-5-48

Speaks Here Tomorrow

Henry A. Wallace, returning from his Southern campaign tour, will speak tomorrow at the thirteenth annual convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, an affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, at Manhattan Center, 311 West Thirty-fourth Street, it was announced yesterday by the Progressive party, 30 Park Avenue.

Sun 9-5-48

22 Indicted for Mixed Tennis

BALTIMORE, Sept. 4 (AP).—The grand jury indicted twenty-two supporters of the Young Progressives of Maryland yesterday for taking part in an interracial tennis match here on July 11. The seven counts included conspiring to riot, disturbing the peace and interfering with policemen.

The group said before the match it was holding the mixed games to test the Park Board's segregation policy. It was warned by the board that park police would enforce the policy. Twenty-four were arrested, but two minors later were released.

Orderly Group Hears Wallace In Alabama

Columbia S.C.

34a(1)

DECATUR, Ala., Sept. 1—(UP)—Henry A. Wallace arrived here today from a stormy, egg-and-tomato ride through North Carolina and addressed an orderly crowd of 500.

Adv 9-1-48

This stop on his Southern campaign tour was in striking contrast to his experience of the past two days when on five different occasions he was bombarded by rotten eggs and ripe tomatoes. He was hit squarely twice.

Columbia S.C.

Wallace's stand on segregation, however, raised the possibility of further trouble in Alabama and other Southern states in which he will campaign the rest of the week.

But officials along the remainder of his route appealed to the citizenry to leave the eggs in the hen house.

Tomatoes Near Stand

It happened that a truckload of tomatoes was near Wallace speaking stand here, but it had no significance. Tomato grower Bertha Timberlake did a thriving business among housewives on their way to market who stopped long enough to hear Wallace.

Reaction was mostly against the North Carolina egg-throwing incidents.

Adv. 9-1-48

North Carolina editors deplored the episode as a "blot on the name" of the state but they also said Wallace was partly responsible because he "flaunted" anti-segregation laws.

"Disagreement with Henry Wallace does not justify a community debasing itself," commented the Nashville Banner.

The Memphis Press Scimitar said that 'issues cannot be settled with overripe eggs and tomatoes. It's not for the South to tarnish its reputation for hospitality by hurling henfruit."

The Atlanta Journal observed simply that "eggs must be a sight cheaper in North Carolina than they are in Georgia."

In addition to the cost of the eggs, throwing them at Wallace yesterday cost three Charlotte, N. C., men $25 each and court costs today. They were fined for disorderly conduct in police court.

Wallace had a state highway patrol escort through Alabama, heart of the next Dixiecrat political movement which was started over the race issue.

Adv 9-1-48

He is refusing to speak where segregation of whites and Negroes is enforced, as it is by either law or custom in virtually all public establishments and meeting places in the South.

Commenting on the possibility of Wallace running into trouble today, Palmer Weber of Atlanta, Southern representative of the Progressive party, remarked cryptically that Alabama is a "very rugged state."

He said Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor had warned that Birmingham's segregation law would be enforced rigidly. It requires separation of whites and Negroes by "well-defined physical barriers. at public meetings.

Wallace was not listed for a public appearance at Birmingham on his itinerary for the day. A radio broadcast over a statewide hookup had been arranged to originate there at 7 p. m. (CST) a spokesman for Wallace said he might make a public appearance if some way could be found to get around the segregation ordinance.

Adv 9-1-48

Birmingham was the site of the Dixiecrats nominating convention last July when they bolted the national Democratic party over segregation and other civil rights issues.

Stays Out Of Hotels

In protest against Southern segregation, Wallace has been staying out of hotels and restaurants.

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Wallace)

Wallace Wooed by Democrats

Detroit Free Press

34a(1) Pres.

Detroit, Mich.

Party Feelers Sent Out to Lure Him into Family Circle Again

Det. 7-24-48

BY EDWIN A. LAHEY
Of Our Washington Bureau

PHILADELPHIA—Peace feelers have been made to bring Henry A. Wallace back into the Democratic family circle, it was learned here Friday as the Wallaceites opened the founding convention of the "New Party."

Some question of the authenticity of the peace bids existed.

In Washington, Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democratic national chairman, told the Free Press that the emissaries who proposed the Wallace return to the fold were not speaking officially for him.

* * *

HE ADDED, however, that it was his understanding that a large part of the Wallace following was in the mood to consolidate its forces behind Truman, and that he would be glad to discuss the matter with any of the Wallace leaders.

Det. 7-24-48

The first peace proposal to the Wallace people came in a telephone conversation from Robert Straus, former New Deal official, to Rexford Guy Tugwell, co-chairman of the National Committee for Wallace.

Straus, a brother of Michael Straus, Federal reclamation director, is a member of the Democratic committee of Prince George County, Maryland, and likewise a member of the Maryland state committee of the Wallace party.

Tugwell, definitely one of the wavering leaders among the Wallace people, listened to the Straus proposal for reuniting the progressive movement in the Democratic party, and referred Straus to C. B. (Beany) Baldwin, Wallace's campaign manager.

* * *

LATER, a Washington radio man named Ed Hart telephoned Baldwin in Philadelphia and renewed the peace proposal.

Hart gave Baldwin the impression that he had talked the matter over with McGrath, and was speaking for McGrath.

He advanced the somewhat fantastic proposal that if Wallace came back to the Democratic fold, it might be possible to send him and Harold E. Stassen, of Minnesota, to the Soviet Union to explore the "avenues of agreement" that Wallace talks about in his peace crusade.

Walter White Assails Wallace for His Record on Civ

34a(1) Pres.

By Walter White

Executive Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Herald Tribune

Praises His Courage on Recent Southern Tour, but Says 'Discrimination' Was Fostered by Him in Agriculture and Commerce Posts

The issue of human rights has already become one of the most important and explosive issues of the 1948 Presidential campaign, as well as one which affects American prestige throughout the world more profoundly than ever before in history. This is the first of a series of three articles dealing with the records on that issue of the three major candidates for the Presidency. As far as is humanly possible, the yardstick of performance as well as of promise of civil rights will be applied to Messrs. Wallace, Truman and Dewey.

Jun 9-12-48

New York, N.Y.

With respect to Mr. Wallace let it be freely admitted that the stubborn courage exhibited on his recent trip through the South has established a model for other candidates. A man of lesser determination and courage would have found some excuse for abandoning the tour after the first onslaught of eggs, tomatoes and other missiles. Under normal circumstances it was virtually certain that states in the deep South would be more riotous than a more enlightened Southern state like North Carolina.

To the credit of Mr. Wallace and the Progressive party, the non-segregation policy was distinctly in evidence at the Philadelphia convention and in the selection of candidates for office. Both major political parties would be exceedingly wise to take a leaf from Mr. Wallace's book in the nomination of qualified members of minorities, especially Negroes, for important posts.

In the light of his recent performance, Mr. Wallace's previous record is distinctly disappointing and inexplicable. Lester Granger, of the National Urban League, has described him as "an eloquent protester" and "an accomplished denouncer." But Mr. Wallace's record on racial discrimination and segregation while he was Secretary of Agriculture and later as Secretary of Commerce is almost totally bad so far as performance is concerned. Not only is there no record of Mr. Wallace acting to end discrimination, there is evidence, some of it detailed by Gardner Jackson in a recent issue of "The Atlantic Monthly," that Mr. Wallace blocked attempts of some of his subordinates to correct discrimination in those agencies.

Jun 9-12-48

The outright theft by white plantation owners and landlords of parity checks from Negro tenant farmers under the Agriculture Adjustment Administration is notorious. C. B. Baldwin, Wallace's campaign manager, included in grants to white sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the South funds to pay their poll taxes; he refused the same privilege to Negroes and admitted as much in a hearing before a Senate subcommittee.

The Farm Security Administration, under Dr. Will W. Alexander, himself a native of Georgia, repeatedly called Mr. Wallace's attention to the abuses from which Southern Negro farmers were sufferng, but to no avail. Later when Dr. Alexander resigned, Mr. Wallace, according to Dr. Alexander, said in a curious voice, "Don't you think the New Deal has undertaken to do too much for Negroes?" Dr. Alexander was replaced by another Georgian, this one markedly at variance in his racial attitude to the liberalism of Dr. Alexander.

Jun 9-12-48

While segregation and discrimination against Negroes were being firmly and swiftly eradicated from other government agencies, such as the Department of the Interior under Harold L. Ickes and in the United States Housing Authority under Nathan Straus, the restaurant at the Department of Agriculture remained tightly segregated. Negro employees of the department continued to eat in a basement room. The same discriminatory policies in employment continued in the department, the only Negro workmen being messengers and charwomen. A recent study of racial segregation in the nation's capital reveals that the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce continue to have among the worst employment practices.

Jun 9-12-48

As Secretary of Commerce, appeals were made to Mr. Wallace to clean up employment discrimination in the Bureau of the Census, whose racial attitude causes Negroes and many whites to call it "the Alcatraz on the Potomac." Nothing was done.

Men have been known throughout human history to experience a change of attitude. One of the most notable transformations in recent political history was that of the late Wendell Willkie, from a corporation lawyer to one of the great, courageous Americans of all time. But the reformation of Mr. Willkie was not so great as some Americans imagined. The racial employment policies of Commonwealth Southern were not exemplary, and in large measure followed the Southern pattern. But the treatment accorded Negro employees by Commonwealth Southern, a private corporation, was never so rigidly segregated and limited as were the patterns of the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce, agencies of the Federal government.

Jun 9-12-48

Thus the record of performance of the Progressive party's candidate, at a time when he had the power to execute changes precisely as other Cabinet officers and officials like Messrs. Ickes and Straus were doing so, is such as to cause one to look with skepticism upon his present speeches.

Georgia Mob Mauls, Kidnaps 4 Women Wallace Workers

34a(1) Pres.

New York Star

AUGUSTA, Ga., Sept. 26 (UP)—Five Henry Wallace campaign workers reported tonight that a band of men dragged them from their headquarters here and drove them 10 miles out of town, where they were released with a warning to "stay out of Augusta."

Mor 9-27-48

Four women and one man who had been circulating a petition to get the Wallace party on the Georgia ballot charged that their abductors broke down the door of the house where they were staying in a fashionable section of Augusta and mauled them severely when they resisted.

New York Star

(Associated Press quoted Augusta police chief George Folds as saying he understood some Wallace workers were taken away by 40 or 50 men who kicked in a window and a door.

Women Bruised

(It was the second incident of the kind reported over the weekend. Columbus, Ga., police reported Saturday that seven Wallace workers were taken from a hotel there late the night before by a group of men, at least one of whom was armed. The seven reported they were driven 30 miles out of Columbus and warned not to return.)

Forbes Hill, 23, had a black eye and a torn shirt and two of the women showed bruises when they reported the incident at Grovetown, Ga., 15 miles west of here.

The Progressive workers hiked into Grovetown from the spot where they were let out on the highway. They asked the Georgia Bureau of Investigation to pick them up and return them to Augusta "so we can finish our work."

Wallace headquarters at Atlanta announced that the FBI would be called into the case.

Bettye Ann Kimmel, 22, one of the girls who was bruised, reported the incident as follows by telephone from Grovetown:

Mor 9-27-48

Overpowered

"The five of us were in the house when these men began crowding around outside. We knew that they meant trouble so we locked the door. But they threw themselves against the door and broke in.

"They ordered us to come with them, and when we refused a fight began in the living room. Four men jumped on me and someone hit Mr. Forbes in the eye, either with a pistol-butt or with fist. They overpowered us and made us accompany them."

Eggs, Tomatoes Greet Wallace In Charlotte

Columbia Record

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Aug. 31—(UP)—More raw eggs and ripe tomatoes were thrown at Henry A. Wallace here today and the third party presidential candidate was roughed up when he stepped out of his car into a jeering throng of 2,000 persons.

Times 8-31-48

TRUMAN FLAYS ACTION

WASHINGTON, Aug. 31—(AP)—President Truman today termed the throwing of eggs at Henry A. Wallace, progressive party presidential candidate, in North Carolina, a "highly Un-American business."

Columbia, S.C.

Determined To Continue

Determined to continue his whirlwind campaign tour of the South despite mounting oppositon, Wallace arrived here to find a crowd already waiting in front of Mecklinburg county courthouse.

In his recent memory were his appearances at two North Carolina points yesterday where he was struck twice by eggs. Wallace's jaw was set in a firm line as he pushed his way from his automobile.

A roar went up from the crowd, and about a dozen eggs and tomatoes were hurled in his direction.

34a(1) 1948

Presidentail (Wallace)

Branded Segregation 'Sin' Where It Is Way of Life

Afro American

34a(1) Sat 9-18-48

Undaunted by Missiles, Insults or Threats, Crusader Preached Equality Without Fear

Baltimore, Md.

By DOUGLASS HALL

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. — The South has just received a new baptism of freedom. For seven days, Henry Wallace and his unsegregated staff have defied Southern traditions, customs and laws in order to drench this area with much needed interpretation of true American democracy.

It has been a long journey, punctuated with bitterness, hate, rotten eggs, ripe tomatoes and name-calling, but, undaunted Mr. Wallace has refused to stop.

He has looked down the throats of racially bitter-persons and has called segregation "a sin, whose pay-off is death." Sometimes he has even had to ask the question that every colored person has asked many times, "Is this America?"

Disciple of Democracy

Henry Wallace has come closer to realizing treatment accorded colored persons in the South than any other white man I know.

He was not an Uncle Tom, bowing and grinning in order to get by. He was a militant disciple of democracy, preaching equality of man.

When traveling through Tennessee, nearing the end of the trip I sat and talked with Mr. Wallace.

I asked why he felt that he had to make a personal issue out of this matter of fighting segregation, pointing out that he surely did not have to do so. He could have carried his campaign through the South on a basis of strick observance to the traditional jim-crow laws.

I asked:

Why do you choose to pioneer into the segregation-bound wilderness at a time when it is at a fever-heat? Why do you continue to make yourself a personal target for eggs, tomatoes and other missles hurled by misguided bigots?

Sat 9-11-48

Fighting in His Blood

"I have never been prejudiced," Mr. Wallace told me, "but it was in 1944 when I got the idea that I should do something about segregation," adding:

"I think that I was attending a meeting of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare. Some of my friends have told me since then that they did not expect me to go as far as I have gone in my fight against segregation.

"I guess this fighting is just in my blood—a kind of carry-over from my grandfather, who was a member of the Underground Railroad during the days of slavery."

Threats to Life Received

In addition to getting egg baths, Mr. Wallace has actually received threats against his life.

As he was leaving Sherveport, La., he received a telegram from Georgia, stating that if he visited there, they would not only throw eggs at him, but would add a little "hot lead."

Many times I have seen persons walk up to him and call him a "N---r lover," and make other statements like, "How much N---r blood do you have?" "What N---r house are you going to sleep in tonight?"

Was Mr. Wallace ever afraid?

"I was never afraid," The Progressive Presidential candidate told me, "I just thought the Lord would take care of me."

The Wallace Tour And Dixiecrats

34a(1)

Birmingham Post

"Eftsoons they heard a most melodious sound . . ."

The Heaviside Layer and the wide world to which it bounces radio waves heard Wednesday evening what we of the South identified as a rare and most melodious sound. It was famed Edward R. ("This Is London") Murrow, of Columbia Broadcasting Company, speaking to his nightly nation-wide audience from Birmingham, speaking tolerantly, understandingly, penetratingly, of this area's conduct and viewpoint as Henry Wallace passed and of our deep conviction that we must be let alone in solution of our problem. Without overlooking many things undone, he told of things we are achieving for ourselves, white and black. Without needing to get himself sunburned and pass for anything but an honest man, he found much to praise.

Mon. 9-6-48

Atlanta, Ga.

Every word was worth its gold-weight to a region whose heaviest of many sins is the sin of not getting its case across to the nation. Can it be that our hope of getting it across is through gentle outsiders like Ed Murrow? Certainly it is not put by those of our own people who are usually selected by outsiders to tell the story and who think it their part to return the compliment by confessing more than they disprove.

Russell Long's victory in Louisiana is partly dynastic urge, it would **seem, but partly, too, another success** for the famous technique of taxing and taxing to spend and spend and elect and elect. Uncle Earl, with Russell's aid and advice, has taxed Louisianians an additional $80,000,000. With this money he has inaugurated services, institutions and handouts which win the family the votes it needs when election days come.

Those North Carolinians who made out unfairly that the States' Rights mass meeting in Birmingham last July was all Claghorn, clamor, cheapsterism and claptrap must be blushing as the nation is told how the per capita of unruly eggs thrown at Henry Wallace in their state exceeded that in Alabama by hundreds of per cent. Perhaps they will grant our historic right to wave a Confederate Flag and sing "Dixie" now that it is embarrassingly proved for them that human nature is human even in Durham, Burlington, Greensboro, Charlotte and shining Winston-Salem.

Mon. 9-6-48

As President, Mr. Truman did well to lecture North Carolina on its treatment of Mr. Wallace. But the lecture did not come well from Mr. Truman as the individual whose politics-playing with southern misery on the race question created the inflammation Mr. Wallace was exploiting.

Into every politician's life some **eggs and tomatoes must fall.** Be sorry for Mr. Wallace, but not too sorry. It was all immensely worth his while. Think what a hero he will be when he gets back to Madison Square Garden.

Mr. Wallace helped himself but I think he also helped the States' Rights ticket. His reception in North Carolina told upper South politicians that their people are not so far removed from deep Southerners after all. And he focused southwide attention and feeling on the dream world in which outsiders live when they picture the South.

Mon. 9-6-48

Immortal in that dreaming should be his reported comments at Greensboro, N. C., after being egged and tomato-ed there.

His messiah complex oozing with the eggs, he said: "The faces I have seen distorted by hatred are of people for whom I have in my heart profound compassion, because most of them have not enough to eat."

The laughter which greeted this was sincere. There may be people in North Carolina who don't have enough to eat even in times of farm and factory prosperity, but they were not those Greensboro people.

John T. Graves

Chairman McGrath, of the total-state wing of the Democratic party, says Southerners can't be in the party if they support Thurmond and Wright. There are two answers to that, one is—Says who! The other is—So what!

Jeers Ring Out, Eggs Fly As Aid Tells Of Decision

The News

Birmingham

Ala.

Segregation Held Reason; Bessemer Talk Also Called Off

Thurs.

BY IRVING BEIMAN

News Staff Writer

9-2-48

Henry Wallace had come and gone today. He made one public address—a radio jab last night at "Northern-owned corporations" who he charged keep the South in "economic poverty and political bondage."

He failed to make two other scheduled addresses—at the courthouse in Birmingham and at DeBardeleben Park in Bessemer. His spokesmen said he canceled those talks because the audiences were segregated.

Full Page of Pictures, Page 4

* * *

IN WALLACE'S WAKE here today were memories of the smashed eggs thrown at one of his followers at the courthouse yesterday, a lot of jeers, boos and laughs, and the feeling in general that the public took advantage of the Progressive Party's political sortie here to have some fun.

Only one voice was raised in behalf of Wallace when his Alabama campaign director, J. P. Mooney tried to explain to the more than 2,500 persons at the courthouse yesterday afternoon that Wallace would not speak because whites were separated from Negro listeners by ropes.

"We want Wallace," this lone voice cried. It was drowned out in a chorus of boos and jeers and finally six raw eggs were tossed that found Mooney disappearing from the scene.

In his radio address over a statewide network last night, Wallace drew a comparison between the "courteous reception" he said he received in Decatur and Huntsville and his treatment in Gadsden, Birmingham and Bessemer.

Wallace said his group could not hold meetings in the latter three cities "because the police insisted on dividing free Americans by the colors of their skins." 9-2-48

Wallace charged those cities are "dominated by Northern steel corporations," and added:

"Republic Steel and U. S. Steel's Tennessee Coal and Iron pay no income taxes here, no sales taxes, yet they have political power machines to dominate these cities."

WALLACE DECLARED "the Big Mules" have kept the people of the South in political serfdom "by means of poll taxes, by complicated registration, by white primaries, by crooked politics and by outright intimidation."

The News

"These rich and powerful men haven't been throwing eggs and tomatoes," he continued. "These men never do their own dirty work. They inflame the passions of others with deliberate falsehoods and lies. They never fight our wars—they profit from them. They never personally engage in lynching either free speech or human beings. They have others do their dirty work."

Wallace said he came South "to talk about a program for peace and abundance and raising the living standards of all Americans."

Birmingham

"The courageous men and women of the South who are challenging the Big Mules: the men and women who are building the Progressive Party here in the South are doing a magnificent job of defending the very foundations of our democracy," Wallace said.

Ala.

"In fighting anti-labor legislation; in fighting for $100-a-month old-age pensions; in fighting for $1-an-hour minimum wage; in fighting for free elections and against intimidation of any kind—they are fighting for all the people, workers and farmers and independent business men, white and Negro alike.

"They were fresh eggs," Murrow reported. "At least one was dropped from a window of the courthouse. One spectator standing near the front was hit on the shoulder. The police took away one youth, pursued by cries of 'You've got the wrong man . . . he didn't throw it'.

"There was no police intimidation. The crowd was good-natured. Most of the colored people in my line of vision remained expressionless."

Thurs. 9-2-48

Murrow said people who know Alabama politics estimate Wallace will get from 2,000 to 10,000 votes in Alabama.

"The opinion is widely held that Wallace is making this swing through the South in the hope of influencing votes in the rest of the country rather than in the South," Murrow added.

"I would like to see us spend the same kind of money to help our people that we have spent to support the Chinese dictator and his corrupt generals. If we will spend the same money here in the South, we can develop Southern industry and agriculture in four years to the point where the South will be on the road to a prosperity unsurpassed in any section of the nation. . . .

* * *

"TODAY THE SOUTHERN worker and farmer has an income only half the average of several states in the North."

Wallace said he proposed a four-year program for the South which would double the purchasing value of the average Southern income.

He concluded with an appeal that President Truman and Gov. Dewey join him in running a "freedom train" through the South "so that all the people of the South may know that we are on their side and not on the side of those who have corrupted their politics."

* * *

ABOUT AN HOUR before Wallace was scheduled to speak at Station WBRC last night, a car stopped near the station, and several men got out.

One of them asked a News reporter where Wallace could be found. The reporter said he didn't know.

The News

The man then produced a card which bore the legend, "Federated Ku Klux Klan."

"There are about 200 of these here," the man told the reporter.

Wallace did not appear at the courthouse west steps where he had been scheduled to speak.

His Alabama campaign director, J. P. Mooney, told the crowd Wallace would not speak to any gathering "that violates the constitution."

Birmingham

"We believe in free speech and free assembly without police interference," Mooney said.

Ala.

Eggs then started falling. One struck a spectator, J. J. Pickens, Birmingham, on the chest. Another hit a reporter on the back. Another splashed the arm of a photographer standing nearby.

Thurs.

Mooney disappeared.

Several voices in the crowd had jeeringly called on Mooney to speak louder, louder."

"What's his name?" one man in the crowd yelled.

9-2-48

"Insky," another voice replied.

* * *

POLICE OFFICERS KIRKLAND and Jamie Moore then attempted to take a man into custody who had been pointed out to them as having thrown some of the eggs.

As they started to cross the rope barrier that separated the white and Negro standing sections, a youth shouted, "Block those policemen."

Officer Kirkland seized the youth who was later identified as Joe Gilbert, of 2324 13th Avenue, North, a senior at Phillips High School.

As the two officers led Gilbert to the sheriff's office in the courthouse, the youth, 17, argued violently with the officers. He kept repeating the words, "free speech."

Later he denied throwing the eggs. Commissioner Eugene Connor talked with Gilbert, then instructed the officers to take him home "to his mother." Gilbert told officers his faher worked for a shipyard company in Mobile.

* * *

SOON AFTER WALLACE LEFT the Courthouse and the meeting had begun to disperse, nine Negro men appeared carrying signs. They said they had intended to picket Wallace with the signs if he spoke.

They said they were civic-minded Negroes of Birmingham interested in the national welfare of their race.

The signs bore legends protesting Wallace's appearance and pointing to progress the Negro has made in the South.

Among them were:

"The colored people want education, not agitation."

* * *

"Mr. Wallace, your program has set the Negro back 50 years. We are tired of being made a political football."

* * *

"Mr. Wallace, we live in harmony with our fellowmen and are not rabble-rousers. Why don't you and all Communists do the same?"

The News

* * *

"Our Parker High School is the largest and finest school of its kind in the world."

"Tuskegee Institute is the largest Negro college in the world. An Alabama institution, not Moscow."

Birmingham

A HALF-HOUR before Wallace was scheduled to talk, Public Safety Commissioner Connor appealed to the crowd, which was more than two-thirds white, to give Wallace a "respectful" hearing.

"Mr. Wallace has a right to address you here today and to say whatever he pleases," Mr. Connor said.

Ala.

"You may differ with him, and that is your right and privilege . . . the people of Birmingham are law-abiding. I believe Mr. Wallace is coming here to obey our laws."

Mr. Connor asked the crowd to remain "peaceful, orderly and lawful."

The Wallace motorcade left the courthouse and passed Smithfield Court, low-cost Negro housing project on Eighth Avenue, North, adjoining Parker High School.

Some 700 persons were waiting for the motorcade when it stopped in front of DeBardeleben Park in Bessemer. All were white. About 30 Negroes stood across the street from the park. Mr. Mooney, Wallace's campaign director here, said Wallace would not speak to a segregated audience.

* * *

WALLACE TOLD A NEWS reporter, "I will follow this procedure for the remainder of my Southern tour. I will not speak before segregated audiences."

Wallace kept the windows of his car rolled up during the five-minute stop in Bessemer. He rolled them down only to talk to The News reporter.

Thurs

At no time during the stop did any of the crowd approach within two or three feet of the Wallace car.

9-2-48

Police officers hovered nearby. And most of the jeering was done from a distance.

One man swung his fist at a car behind Wallace containing newspaper reporters.

The crowd broke up as the motorcade pulled away. During the motorcade's run to Bessemer and back to Birmingham, it was paced all the way by an automobile containing six plainclothes men from the Birmingham Police Department. The men had a walkie talkie and kept up a running account of the Wallace trip over the microphone.

Murrow Broadcasts Wallace Visit Account

Edward R. Murrow, national news commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting System, told a nationwide audience last night about the scheduled Wallace meeting at the courthouse steps in Birmingham. Wallace did not speak.

"The lawn in front of the courthouse was divided by newly-made barriers," Murrow said, "the white folks on the right, the colored people on the left. The crowd was good-natured, there was no sense of tension.

"Police Commissioner Connor said Mr. Wallace had a right to address the crowd . . . he was sure the people of Birmingham are law-abiding."

J. P. Mooney, Wallace campaign director in Alabama, then spoke, and a few eggs were thrown.

Mrs. Roosevelt Reveals Doubt About Wallace

Says Former Vice-President's Past Record Doesn't Tally With Present, Queries Sincerity

Afro-American
Sat. 9-11-48

NEW YORK (NNPA) — Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of former President Franklin D. Roosevelt, said bluntly here last Wednesday that Henry A. Wallace's past record does not "tally" with his present stand on social and racial equality and that she questions his sincerity when he takes such a stand.

Baltimore Md.

Mrs. Roosevelt made the statement at a press conference before addressing a rally sponsored by the local branch of the NAACP at Abyssinian Baptist Church. The former First Lady's blunt pronouncements on the former Vice President were made in reply to a question by a reporter from the Daily Worker, Communist newspaper.

Asked Mrs. Roosevelt whether or not she felt Henry A. Wallace's stand on the race question compared favorably with that of her late husband Franklin Roosevelt, Mrs. Roosevelt frowned, turned almost completely around so as to face the reporter and asked, "Have you ever checked Mr. Wallace's previous record on the race question?"

Doesn't Call Him Communist

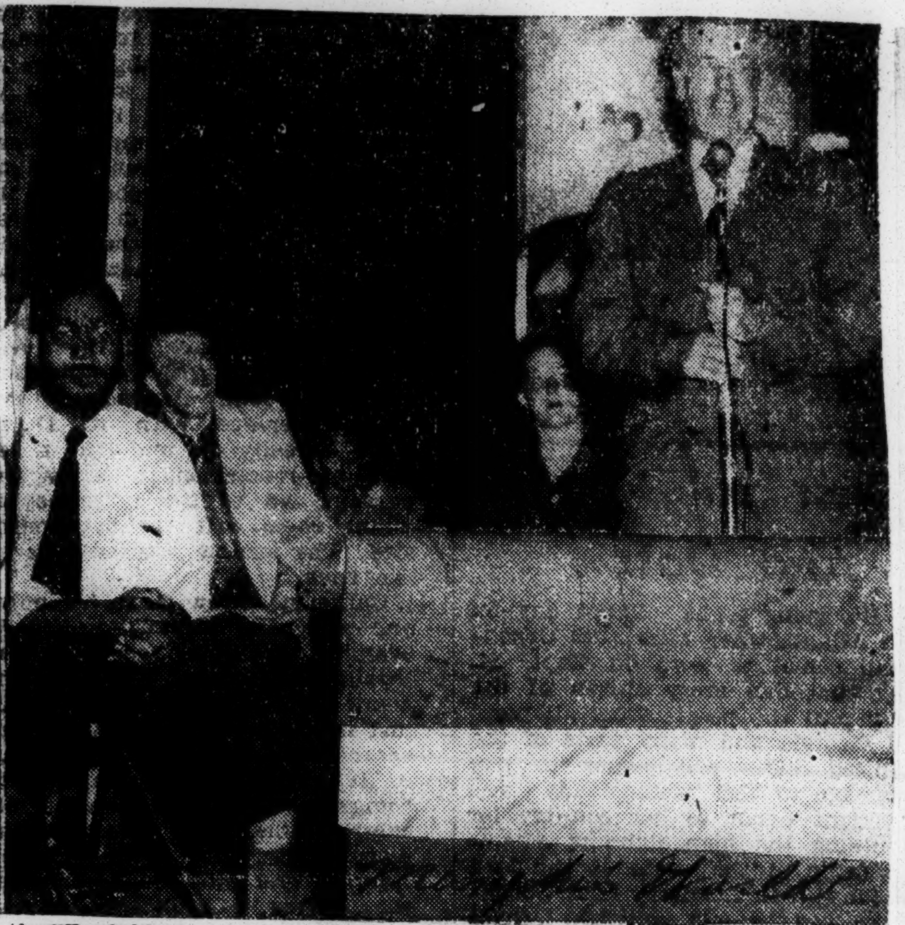
Then, carefully pointing out that she does not consider Mr. Wallace a Communist, she emphasized that she felt his views parallel those of the Communists very closely and added that she felt Mr. Wallace often was under the influence of Communists without knowing it.

In her speech to the more than 2,500 persons present, she pointed out that the organization needed money to provide education and enlightened citizenship to its members, adding that "if we expect things to be done for us in a Democracy they will never be done. We must do them ourselves."

Also speaking on the program, Justice Jane Bolin traced the history of the NAACP from its founder in 1909. She credited the NAACP with the recent executive orders issued by President Truman on treatment of minorities in Government and military service.

LT. JEMISON ASSIGNED

KITZINGEN, Germany — First St. John H. Jemison of Detroit has been assigned to Company B of the 371st Infantry Battalion.



Memphis World

Memphis World

(Commercial Appeals Photos)

MEMPHIS, Tenn. 8-6-48 (SNS) — WALLACE ADDRESSES MIXED AUDIENCE HERE— Henry A. Wallace, in the face of ugly demonstrations by hecklers motored into Memphis from Little Rock, Ark., early enough Friday to give a radio address over WHHM, and to fill his scheduled appearance at Bellevue Park before audience of approxishow Mr. Wallace (left) immediately upon his arrival in the lobby of the Sterick Building for his Radio address over WHHM Friday afternoon at 5:45; and (Right) on the improvised speaker's platform situated near the center of the field. Declared Mr. Wallace: Fri

"As we build peace, we can realize the better life, for all the common people of the South, and all the common people of our country. We will not be stopped by violence or arbitrary arrests. We will not be stopped by discrimination, segregation, or other means by which our enemies try to divide us. 8-6-48

The striking increase in Southern registration this year shows that the people of the South are on the way--- on the American democratic way....to the goals we all share."

Police Commissioner Joe Boyle ordered about thirty police officers to the park to maintain order, and assigned an officer to accompany Mr. Wallace during his entire stay in Memphis. Most of the jeers came from what appeared to be an organized gang of youthful hecklers who arrived on the scene about the same time as the official's car bearing Mr. Wallace and members of his Progressive Party. Alert police officers kept down disturbance.... limited demonstrations to one egg flung at Mr. Wallace's car after his speech was made and he was leaving Bellevue Park and a quid of tobacco which also struck the car. Demonstrators, by their appearance gave evidence of being of the lower economic status which Mr. Wallace had referred to in North Carolina as the victims of the very social order they were trying to preserve through their unsportsmanlike reception of the Presidential Candidate.

Fri 8-6-48

Following Mr. Wallace's address, Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference of Human mately 3,500 people. A larger crowd would have been on hand but for change of the hour from 8:00 p. m., which had been widely publicized to 6:30. Hundreds of persons were headed toward Bellevue Park as late as 7:30, a full hour after the new time schedule was set.

Memphis World

These commercial Appeal pictures Welfare, who bolted from the "blue blood" circle of his relatives and friends of Atlanta, Georgia to line up with the Progressive Party, got in the final blows at the Wallace meeting. He stated in part:- Fri

Memphis, Tenn

"We are making progress. Less than a year ago, it was not possible for the Freedom Train to come to Memphis. Tonight the 'Freedom Man' has been to Memphis."

Mr. Foreman, in forceful tone, added that had Lincoln been privileged with the opportunity of touring the South in 1860 we would not have faced the awful experience of the South seceding from the Union and the economic plight of this section would not be what it is today. Fri 8-6-48

Rev. Dwight Vincent Kyle, pastor of Avery Chapel AME Church, who served on the arrangements committee with Mrs. Lee Richardson, white chairman for the "Wallace-for-President" group in Memphis, offered prayer at the opening and closing of the meeting. The prominent young minister is shown seated on the left in the scene on the right. He offered the following prayer:- Fri.

"Eternal God, our Father, the Father of all mankind, we thank thee for this opportunity and for these, thy children, both black and white. We pray Thee that we might become one even as Jesus prayed. Have mercy upon us and bless this our leader of the Progressive Party, Henry A. Wallace....yea the leader of the people. We thank Thee for this prophet, this servant and lover of all mankind who so clearly enunciates the principles of the Heavenly Father. Grant us courage, not only to see the right, but to do the right so that in November we will go as a solid phalanx and vote for Civil Rights, goodwill, brotherhood, peace, for Henry Wallace. Amen.' 8-6-48

Mrs. Richardson, who presided over the meeting told the audience that every Presidential candidate has a right to be heard, and that we are not able to arrive at an intelligent conclusion about voting until we do hear everyone of them.

MR. WALLACE MAKES AN OFFER

The Times

Tues 8-31-48

New York N.Y.

Henry A. Wallace launched his campaign in the South Sunday night with a typical gesture. Speaking at Durham, N.C., he declared that the Progressive party was prepared to give the South a "real states' rights" program. Under this program, he told his audience, the South would be delivered from the economic bondage in which it is now held by "Wall Street and absentee industrial emperors." Mr. Wallace would achieve this objective with government funds. The South would be advanced a billion dollars a year for the next four years, to be employed for the development of its industry and agriculture. But, it may be asked, wouldn't this place one more burden on the pocketbook of the taxpayer? Mr. Wallace has anticipated this not wholly unreasonable question. The money, he explains, would be raised by the simple process of taxing "the billions of profits drained from Southern labor in field and factory by large corporations." In sum, a form of domestic reparations would be assessed against those who had as it were "invaded" the South by investing their capital there.

From the practical standpoint of economics, Mr. Wallace's generous offer to put the South on a billion-dollar annual dole over the next few years makes no sense whatever. In the first place, the South has been doing quite well under its own steam in recent years. In the second place, while absentee ownership has its drawbacks, capital, after all, is the life blood of industry, and except in very unusual cases, indeed, it conveys benefits to the area into which it flows. As for Mr. Wallace's proposal for financing the huge advances of which he talks, to the extent to which it succeeded its chief result would be the early and complete economic euthanasia of the South.

But it is idle to discuss Mr. Wallace's Durham speech in terms of economics. The politician who makes such fantastic promises has to resort to casuistry, however crude. He has to find a plausible moral basis for his action. This Mr. Wallace does, first, by redefining "states' rights" so as to give it a meaning totally foreign to the accepted one; second, by painting a picture of the South as a section that has long been and is presumably still being systematically plundered by a sinister group to which he applies the label "Wall Street" and "big corporations."

Tues 8-31-48

In this one speech can be recognized most of the standard props of the accomplished demagogue — the divide-confuse-and-conquer technique; the personal devil technique; the substitution of the emotional word or phrase for the intellectually exact one. Every good citizen must deplore the attempts to break up Mr. Wallace's meetings. Logic is the best answer—and logically he answers himself.

In Doubles! . . .

4A(1)

The main motivation of the cancellation of Henry Wallace's projected speeches in Birmingham and Gadsden yesterday seems quite clear.

Mr. Wallace could hardly have been concerned for his personal safety or comfort. He is a courageous, hard-fighting man. He has a positive zest in the acceptance as well as the making of trouble. Moreover, there was every indication of adequate protection for him, little sign that he would have encountered serious hazard in these appearances. The News.

If he was primarily concerned to uphold a principle, he could have done so with due regard for law and sentiment in this community, without yielding on his own conviction. Birmingham, Ala.

But this was a campaign. There was political capital to make. In some other centers of the country, there was a chance that such a protest against local requirements might strengthen his support. He evidently has an intense preference for putting himself in the position of the mistreated, of the martyr.

Whatever he may have gained elsewhere, he only deepened the feeling against him hereabouts and made more firm the conviction he is far from qualified for the high responsibilities he seeks. Thurs. 9-2-48

* * *

In three cities in North Alabama he had been heard without serious incident. In Gadsden there was a manifestation of bitter feeling against him. At the courthouse in Birmingham a few eggs were thrown—not directly at him—when word went about that he was about to appear. It seemed likely that with the assurances and preparations of Police Commissioner Connor he could have spoken without disrupting or dangerous challenge if he had wished to do so. But his strategy chose the cancellation.

He went his way more, it seemed to us, in default rather than in valiant service of principle.

It is gratifying that for the most part he was received according to the American tradition of free expression and a fair hearing. Of course any departures from this spirit are to be unreservedly condemned. But, on the whole, Alabama citizens, who gathered for his appearances, strong as was the aversion for him on the part of many, maintained a proper restraint and deportment. That is pleasing and reassuring, particularly after the demonstrations in some other Southern cities. The News

Mr. Wallace did not show as well. The law as interpreted by responsible officials is due a reasonable respect. Regard for the convictions and customs of others, however one may reject them, is also in the American tradition. In both particulars Mr. Wallace and his advisers were lacking. Birmingham Ala.

* * *

In his radio address last night, he expressed once more the self-righteousness and blindness of a zealot. He began his talk by repeating the Lord's Prayer. He spoke with seeming sincerity. At times he seemed the kind of a voice in the wilderness as which he likes to conceive of himself—but a lost voice, indeed; almost a pathetic voice at times, and a confused, futile crier of some important truths, but mostly alarms, delusions and distortions. It was as if only he and his followers favored brotherhood and peace, human welfare and progress. His oversimplified and false generalizations attested once more the unreality of his loose and dangerous conceptions and fell far short of the spirit he himself professed to champion. Thurs. 9-2-48

WALLACE KEPT OFF BALLOT IN ILLINOIS

The Times New York, N.Y.

He Tells Rally Court's Action Subjects Party 'to Taxation Without Representation'

Wed. 9-15-48

3A(1)

By CHARLES GRUTZNER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CHICAGO, Sept. 14—Henry A. Wallace stepped from an airplane here today and was told that the Illinois Supreme Court had just doomed the Progressive party's chances of having the names of its national and state candidates printed on the Nov. 2 ballot in this state.

The Presidential candidate, who had come from New York, went immediately into a huddle with local campaign leaders and there was talk of organizing a write-in campaign. It was considered possible, too, that the fight might be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. In his address tonight at Wrigley Field, Mr. Wallace made it clear that the Progressive party leaders regarded the blow to their candidates in Illinois as more than a local issue.

"If they steal your Progressive vote," he declared, "they take your property without due process of law, they take a thousand dollars a year in higher prices from each family without a chance to vote for a rollback of prices to decent levels.

"If they keep us off the ballot, they wipe out your freedom of assembly, they threaten new bloody Fridays, new Haymarkets, without a chance to vote for a return of the Wagner Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act."

Mr. Wallace asserted that citizens to whom a chance to vote for the Progressive party were denied were "subject to taxation without representation, taxation for war preparations without a chance to vote for peace."

The hopes of the Illinois Progressives of upsetting a ruling by the State Electoral Board on Aug. 31 were severed by a single word. The Supreme Court merely "denied" the motion for leave to file a petition for a mandamus to compel the board to put the party's candidates' names on the ballot, without written or oral opinion.

Thus the court refused to consider the question of the constitutionality of a requirement that 200 valid signatures must come from each of at least fifty counties to nominate a candidate for national or state office. Although the Progressive petitions bore three times the 25,000 signatures required throughout the state, the electoral board had found that individual requirements had been meet in only forty-one counties.

Admitting that an effective state-wide write-in campaign would be a task of unprecedented magnitude, local Progressive leaders felt that their work would be lightened in Cook County. Here the party has its greatest strength, and the voting machines will carry the names of Progressive candidates for country, sanitary district and municipal court offices and for the Legislature and Congress. Democratic leaders hailed the ruling.

Mr. Wallace referred, in his speech at the ball park, to President Truman as "the prisoner of the decayed Democratic party machine and of the bankers and militarists he substituted for the New Dealers in Washington." Wed.

In this midwest metropolis, which Mr. Wallace chose in December as the setting for his announcement that he would seek the Presidency on a third-party ticket, he denounced what he called a bipartisan warlike foreign policy and a bipartisan domestic policy of breaking unions and making it asier for big corporations to increase their profits at the expense of higher costs of living for the American people. 9-15-48

"The banking firm of Mr. Truman's (Secretary of Defense) Jim Forrestal placed many loans to rebuild the war industry of German's Ruhr after World War I," Mr. Wallace declared. "The law firm of Mr. Dewey's John Foster Dulles has served many a reactionary and fascist foreign interest. This is not the choice you want—the choice of which bankers are to build a new war center in Germany.

"I say that our democracy is undermined by those who seek to restore to power the enemies of democracy we fought in World War II that it is undermined by those who even today are putting Nazis back into office in Germany. I am determined to fight against the rebirth of a monopolist and militarist Germany."

The speech made a strong bid for the support of houstwives and trade unionists, Mr. Wallace asserting: The Times

"You can blame Truman for pork chops at a dollar a pound, but voting for Dewey won't cut them to 50 cents." New York, N.Y.

He then declared that "the corporation directors who contribute to Dewey and those who contributed to Truman" had "combined to write the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act." Wed. 9-15-48

"We don't want Taft-Hartley enforced by the Republican party which openly supported the Taft-Hartley measure," he continued, "nor by a Democratic party which voted 60 per cent in the House of Representatives to enact it over a phony veto. We don't want strikes broken by a Republican President or by the Democratic President who has broken so many that workers call him "Injunction Harry."

Mr. Connor Defended

To the Editor of The News:

I would like to answer Mr. Carl Statum, whose letter appeared in The Birmingham News on Sept. 6, in regards to Henry Wallace's visit to our city.

I happened to be present when Mr. Wallace made his brief appearance at the Jefferson County Courthouse on Sept. 1. I was there in person, instead of being in Huntsville or some other place and reading about what happened here. I saw with my own eyes, and heard with my own ears, the things which others only read about. The News

I do not believe in Henry Wallace or anything he stands for, but I sincerely believe that, according to the constitution of our country, Mr. Wallace had a right to express his opinion, the same as Mr. Statum expressed his in his letter to The News. I am now taking advantage of my right to publicly disagree with him in regards to our city commissioner, Eugene (Bull) Connor. Thur. 9-9-48

I personally heard Mr. Connor warn the audience over a loudspeaker that Mr. Wallace had the right to speak in our city. He asked the people gathered there to give Mr. Wallace that right, and to refrain from starting any violence of any kind; the penalty for any such disorder being a trip to jail. Mr. Connor kept his word by having the offenders put in jail. I saw them being loaded into the patrol wagon. B'ham Ala

Mr. Wallace had already stated that he would not speak to a segregated audience. Our segregation laws were enforced that day, just as they have been for generations. It was Mr. Wallace's own fault that he did not speak.

I think Mr. Connor and our law enforcement officers did a good, clean job of maintaining law and order at the Wallace gathering. The same way they did when Sen. Taylor and his group came here and attempted to violate our old, established laws.

I have never voted for Bull Connor, but he has shown that he believes in our Southern way of life. Anything that Bull runs for in the future, be it for city commissioner or governor of Alabama, he has may support. Thousands of people whom I know personally, take the same stand.

A. D. DRIVER.

Rotten Eggs Pelt Wallace In 2 North Carolina Cities

Courier Journal

Barrage Puts A Quick Stop To Speeches

Louisville, Ky.

34 a(1)

From Wire Dispatches.

Winston-Salem, N. C., Aug. 30. —Rotten eggs and ripe tomatoes splashed on Henry Wallace in two North Carolina towns today.

The bareheaded Progressive Party presidential nominee was pelted at Burlington and Greensboro. Tues-8-31-48

Police at Burlington said they did not know who tossed the missiles from a throng of 2,500 on the Main Street. After two attempts to complete his address Wallace stepped into an automobile and drove to Greensboro. Two tomatoes and an egg struck the former Vice-President at Burlington.

Boos, Catcalls Greet Him.

The barrage at Greensboro was heavier when he tried to speak at the Guilford County Courthouse. When a few missiles splashed near him he smiled. But he turned angrily upon his audience when others struck him about the head and body.

"I don't mind being hit by eggs and tomatoes," he cried, "but they would be more useful being fed to children."

Other political stories are on Page 6.

Wallace, his white shirt splotched with yellow and red, continued amid boos and catcalls: "The faces I have seen distorted by hatred are of people for whom I have in my heart profound compassion, because most of them have not had enough to eat."

Laughter and more booing again interrupted him there.

Voices from the audience broke in frequently with yells such as "Rave on, Joe," "There are white people out here," and "Back to Moscow."

Governor Expresses Regret.

Wallace, who started his three-day campaign trip into North Carolina before an egg-tossing crowd at Durham last night, wound up his second day with an appearance here at Southside Baseball Park. A scheduled mid-afternoon speaking engagement outside a plant of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company here was canceled. Members of the Wallace party, which traveled in 15 automobiles, said delays encountered en route had forced the cancellation.

A few eggs and tomatoes fell harmlessly near him during his stop at High Point. No arrests were made.

The eggings came shortly after Governor R. Gregg Cherry had expressed regret that Wallace was booed and his audience egged at Durham. Tues-8-31-48

"A man ought to have the right to talk," the Governor said.

The day was one of upsets for the Progressive Party nominee.

Couldn't Identify Throwers.

Shortly after he had breakfasted on fried chicken and grits at the home of a Durham Negro, Wallace set out for Chapel Hill. On Durham's outskirts his car failed to meet the motorcade bearing his party, so he went to Chapel Hill alone and addressed a small group before the Post Office.

Only part of the group had caught up by the time he reached Burlington.

Wallace had started only his first sentence: "I'd like to take this opportunity—" when eggs and tomatoes began falling about him. Then some struck their mark.

"They were thrown from the back of the crowd, coming in from every angle, so we couldn't see who did the throwing," said Burlington Police Capt. A. H. Garner.

"I'm sorry he wasn't given a chance to speak," said the police officer. Then he added: "The crowd apparently felt differently."

Shirt Thoroughly Splattered.

Only a few in the crowd were Negroes, Garner said.

The egg and tomatoes that struck the nominee at Burlington landed on his arm and shoulder.

There was no estimate of the number that actually hit him at Greensboro, but his shirt was thoroughly spattered. Even before the motorcade had reached Greensboro, police removed quantities of eggs, fruit, and tomatoes from some of the waiting audience. Tues-8-31-48

When Wallace attempted to speak at Greensboro on federal aid to provide hospitals and doctors for the South, there were shouts of "communism."

"Anyone who wants to call that a Bolshevik plot is welcome to do so," Wallace shouted back at them. "I say it is a Christian thought."

Wallace charged that "some Southern congressmen are stooges for great corporations." He did not name them.

"I want to see the South pull together for just one thing," Wallace tried again, but yells from the crowd again stopped him.

Wallace's east-west swing into North Carolina will end tomorrow with appearances scheduled at Charlotte and Asheville.

Wallace was reported to be determined to continue his campaign tour of the South despite today's incidents and the near riot and noisy heckling which greeted him last night at a meeting in Durham.

America Speaks:

The Courier Journal Fri 7-23-48, Louisville Ky

Young Voters Are Twice As Strong for Wallace As Those Over 50; West Coast Is 1-10 for Him

34 a(1)

Big-City Backers Have 3-1 Edge Over Small Towns

Courier Journal

By GEORGE GALLUP,

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion.

Princeton, N. J., July 22.—As the political spotlight turns on the first national convention of the Wallace third party, these are the main features about the rank-and-file supporters of Henry A. Wallace: Fri 7-23-48

1. He is proportionately twice as strong among young voters as he is among those over 50 years old. Out of every 100 voters under 30 years old, 8 today say they would vote for Wallace, compared with 4 out of each 100 over 50 years of age.

Wallace vote by age:

21-29 years	8%
30-49 years	7
50 and over	4

2. Relatively three times as many people in the Pacific Coast and Middle Atlantic states support Wallace as in the Solid South. One out of every 10 voters in the Pacific Coast states want him as President.

Wallace vote by sections:

New England	4%
Middle Atlantic	9
Central	5
South	3
West	4
Far West	10

Louisville Ky.

3. Wallace's strength among manual workers is relatively double his support among the nation's farmers, and union members are even a little more inclined to vote for him than unorganized labor.

Wallace vote by occupation:

Professional and Business	6%
White collar	6
Farmers	4
Manual workers	8
Union members	9

4. Voters supporting the third party are relatively three times as numerous in the large cities as in small communities. While every eighth voter in cities over 500,000 population is a Wallace supporter, in the small towns the third-party votes get down to one in 25.

Wallace vote by city size:

Under 10,000	4%
10,000 to 100,000	6
100,000 to 500,000	6
Over 500,000	12

5. But the group where the New Party makes it most powerful and effective appeal are the independent voters, who were so largely responsible for President Roosevelt's successes at the polls. About one in every seven independent voters today says he will support the third-party candidate. 7-23-48

6. Veterans of World War II also give Wallace above-average support, one in 11 of these men today naming him as their choice for President.

Louisville Ky.

The above analysis of the Wallace following is based on the institute's most recent "presidential trial heat" conducted prior to the major party conventions. The survey pitted Wallace against Truman and Dewey, Wallace receiving 6 per cent of the national vote at that time.

While, as shown by an institute poll earlier this week, most Americans believe the third party is run by Communists, it is significant to learn the reasons given by the 6 per cent of voters for preferring Wallace as President.

Experiment Tried

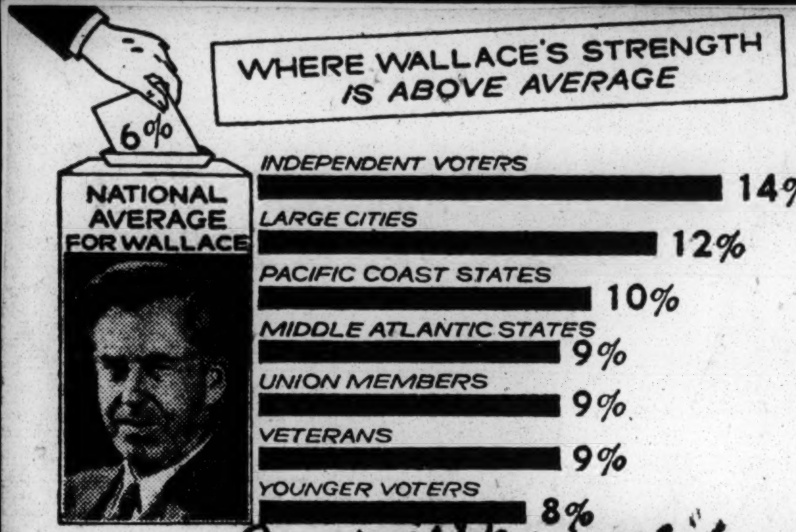
Courier Journal

To uncover these reasons institute interviewers from coast to coast tried an unusual experiment in public-opinion polling. First they asked a national cross-section of representative voters whether they had talked to anyone who planned to vote for Wallace. Fourteen per cent replied they had, and they were then asked: "What is the main reason they give for supporting Wallace?" 7-23-48

In terms of frequency of mention, these are the chief arguments of Wallace voters:

Louisville Ky.

1. Wallace is for the "common man."
2. He is for peace and the prevention of war.
3. Because the nation today needs another party to oppose the major parties.
4. Wallace is fair and not a politician.
5. He will follow Franklin D. Roosevelt's doctrines.
6. He has a good foreign policy.



Courier Journal

Wallace Keeps On, Despite Dixiecrats

34a(1)

Although Henry A. Wallace, Progressive candidate for the Presidency, was not allowed to speak on these steps of the Capitol in Little Rock, Ark., he is getting his point over, anyway. For more pictures of how Mr. Wallace made his courageous trip through Dixiecrat Land, see the AFRO Magazine, this issue.

Wallace Predicts Democratic South

Says Prejudice Will Fail to Enslave People

ADDRESSES 50,000

Blames Northern Firms for Bigotry of Dixie

34a(1)

NEW YORK—The prediction that progressive Southerners ultimately will triumph and that the South will be freed from the shackles in which it has been held by huge corporation in the North was made here last Saturday night by Henry Wallace.

Speaking to 50,000 persons at a rally at Yankee Stadium, which had been postponed one day by rain, Mr. Wallace, Progressive Party candidate for President, who had made a recent tour through the South addressing only unsegregated audiences, charged that it was the large corporations, mills, plantations and newspapers that incited violence in the South.

"They don't personally engage in lynching either free speech or human beings, just as they don't personally engage in fighting the wars from which they profit," he said, adding, "but they inflame the passion of others."

Hatred Breeds Only Misery

Wallace, who on several of his stops was greeted by barrages of thrown eggs and vegetables during, his recently completed tour of Dixie, declared that when the men and women of the South learn how prejudice has profited the few and brought only misery for themselves and their neighbors, the numbers of those who do the dirty work for their exploiters will dwindle.

It was repotted that more than 6,5000 persons paid totaw of $78,000 for tickets to the Wallace rallay, a record for paid attedance at any political meeting. Paul Robeson, noted singer and actor, was among those who shared the platform with Mr. Wallace.

Saw Hope for Future

Continuing to tell of his experiences on his Southern trip, Mr. Wallace stated that fascism was "no longer a second-hand experience with me," asserting:

"I have seen the ugly reality of how hate and prejudice can warp good men and women, turn Christian gentlemen into raving beasts and turn good wives and mothers into Jezabels; but I also saw the kind of courage that promises a new day for the south.

"I saw men and women, white and colored, who have been leading the fight against hate and prejudice and intolerance in the South; I saw them standing up and fighting for the very foudation of our American way of life, standing up to all kinds of intimidation."

Pointing to the disfranchisement of colored persons in the South, the speaker said that in the 1946 ellection, the vote cast to elect 14 representatives in Louisiana and Mississippi was less than the number of votes cast in the 26th District in the Bronx.

He urged his opponents of both major parties to pledge that if elected they would enforce the section of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, which calls for a reduction of the number of Represetatives in any State when any group of qualified citizens is barred from voting.

As We See It

Wallace's Progress On Negro Question

By Abner W. Berry

34a(1)

THERE ARE two persons I know who have been thinking out loud and on typewriters about Henry Wallace's position on the Negro question in 1936. Lester Granger, the non-political Urban League secretary, was the first to muse on Wallace's past in a ning the development of his thinking to where it is now.

"I had been a friend of George Washington Carver," he stated, "but I thought it best to follow the Tuskegee approach—let things ride and hope that somehow they'd straighten themselves out." Mrs. Durr and Perry, he said, convinced him during a meeting in the South that an anti-polltax law was needed, a conviction which he took with him into the 1944 convention.

"I said then to them (Mrs. Durr and Perry), 'Why do we not have a federal law making it compulsory for everyone to vote?' but Perry objected to that." Wallace said that he still thinks such a law is desirable.

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AFTER WORLD WAR II, Wallace said, he had read a lot of Latin American literature in the original Spanish. What he found there, he said, convinced him that the color question is one of the main issues of our times.

"I found in that literature a type of racial hatred born of distrust of America," he said. He interpreted this to mean that the descendants of Africans and Indians in Latin America resented being pushed around by Anglo-Saxons. That, he said, spelled danger to the security of the United States.

"And when we began to preach democracy to the world when we really meant to give advantage to a small group of monopolists—" he declared earnestly, the smile on his face giving way to a harder expression, "then I knew we were in mortal danger.

"I want to see our country become really strong by practicing what it preaches."

Somewhere in the course of his remarks (my notes do not reveal the exact spot) he turned to Mrs. Wilson and said: "I understand that you have a large number of Negroes in your district and maybe what I have to say here would interest them."

He said he wanted to explain why he did the things he did because some persons had criticized him for taking the anti-segregation campaign into the South. "It would have no meaning," he answered his critics, "if I were to campaign against segregation in Harlem. You've got to fight Jimcrow at its source—in the South."

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HE CLOSED his informal speech with a prophecy:

"If the Anglo-Saxon race does not get right soon concerning the color question, the Anglo-Saxon race is going to lose its position in world affairs."

And he added a strong footnote to the prophecy:

"We (Anglo-Saxons) are on probation before the bar of history."

Now there may be much for Walter White and Lester Granger—and others—to disagree with in Wallace's program. But I don't believe that anyone in possession of full sanity and principle could accuse Wallace of grabbing the Negro issue as a vote-getting device.

Wallace says himself that he was a Booker T. Washington man in 1932. But the 1944 Wallace is fighting for the right to harvest freedom's harvest. And he's fiercely honest about it.

If only his critics would match him on that score and stick to the issues!

TO BE HONORED GUEST

Argus St. Louis Mo.

6-18-48

34a(1)

Mrs. Henry Wallace, wife of the third party candidate for President, who will be honored by the women of St. Louis at a luncheon to be held at the Kingsway Hotel on Saturday, June 19 under the auspices of the Women's Division of the Progressive Party.

Wallace Defends 3d Party Race Against Liberals in Congress

PM New York, N.Y.

Wed. 5-26-48

By John K. Weiss

Staff Correspondent

COOS BAY, Ore., May 25—Judging from the questions tossed at Henry Wallace by labor and student audiences during his junket through Oregon, Washington and California, the third party's attitude toward Democratic Reps. Helen Gahagan Douglas and Chet Holifield in California is regarded as the key issue in the Wallace campaign out here.

Insofar as the Presidential race itself is concerned, there is comparatively little feeling in any of the three far western states that Wallace's candidacy will hurt President Truman, because Truman is considered a hopeless cause in any case.

Liberal Support

On the other hand, Mrs. Douglas and Holifield both have widespread liberal and progressive support here, apart from any party loyalties. There is great eagerness to hear from Wallace himself the reason third party candidates are in the race against them. Wed.

Monday, at Willamette University, and again yesterday at a Portland, Ore. labor meeting, the first question asked the third party candidate was about the Douglas district in California. 5-26-48

Wallace's Answer

Wallace's reply, nearly identical both times, was:

"Mrs. Douglas has one of the outstanding progressive voting records in the U. S. Congress. We are very anxious to elect a liberal Congress this year, particularly to get rid of all Congressmen who voted for the Taft-Hartley Law.

"We urged Mrs. Douglas and Holifield to file in our primary but they refused. On the other hand they both filed in the Republican primary which seems an odd thing for them to have done since they are certainly much closer to our program than they are to the Republican's.

Election Law

"Because of the California election laws it was important for us to have a candidate so that some reactionary Republican could not come in and steal our nomination.

"So we have to fill our slate, and in Mrs. Douglas' district we are running a fellow named Moore (Sidney Moore), who incidentally is a Negro. Wed. 5-26-48

"Whether we fight for Moore or not depends on how the situation works out. If Helen Gahagan Douglas becomes a war-monger, we'll do everything we can to put Moore across. You know some of the liberals get much more hysterical than any right-winger you ever saw. Wed. 5-26-48

Personal Situation

PM

"We have convictions and we mean business. Often it causes difficult personal situations, but we are going down the line." New York,

Wallace explained this last sentence briefly by saying that Mrs. Douglas was one of his closest friends in Congress and that he was deeply hurt that she had declined to cross-file in the third party primary in California. N.Y.

This explanation, incidentally, has been sharply disputed by some of the pro-Wallace forces in California who are still at odds with the decision to run candidates against Mrs. Douglas and Holifield. PM

Not the Fact

They argue that the third party's contention it must enter a full slate to prevent the nomination from being "stolen" is not borne out by the facts. Independent candidates have not been entered in every district and race in California.

New York, N.Y.

This in turn is answered by third party officials who say candidates have been entered in every district where the local party officials felt it advisable. Wed. 5-26-48

They maintain that the Republicans would not bother to "steal" the nomination in a district where third party strength was weak or non-existent.

Wallace Sees Truman About-Face on Bias

PM

New York, N.Y.

By John K. Weiss

Staff Correspondent

PORTLAND, Ore. May 24—In a major campaign speech transcribed for rebroadcast through the entire Far West, Henry A. Wallace, third party candidate, tonight strongly implied that President Truman has about-faced on his entire civil rights program because of opposition from the southern Democrats. Tues. 5-25-48

Wallace reminded Truman that he had failed to make good on a three-month-old promise to wipe out discrimination in the Federal government by executive order.

"If the President's (civil rights) message was more than an attempt to woo votes with lip service," Wallace said, "he will issue that executive order—a good, strong effective order and he will issue it without further needless delay.

"Which is it, Mr. Truman—which is it, lip service or human service?"

Answers ADA

Wallace's address was understood to have been prompted in part by a recent blast against alleged Jim Crow conditions within the Commerce Dept. when he was Secretary of Commerce. This criticism had been raised by the Americans for Democratic Action.

The former Democratic Vice President and cabinet officer took tacit recognition of the ADA charge when he said: Tues.

"I think back to my own days in Washington when I saw, and when I said I knew, that we had a major responsibility to extend and protect civil rights. I made a lot of speeches on the subject. I took some effective—and some very ineffective—actions to help the cause of civil rights." 5-25-48

A Wallace Budget

Wallace contended that the $5,000,000,000 being spent in furtherance of the Truman Doctrine in Greece and China would have developed not only the power of the West, but of the Missouri Valley and other areas.

The third party candidate also reviewed his program for spending the $3,000,000,000 dollars which he said he would save by junking the proposals for Universal Military Training. PM

That sum, he promised, could:

¶ Build a modern schoolhouse, library, and modern hospital in every county in the U. S.

¶ Provide nurses, full-time health services, and 10 new school houses in every county in the nation.

¶ Provide facilities and guidance for recreation, build and maintain tuition-free junior colleges in every county. New York, N.Y.

¶ Provide educational facilities for at least 3,000,000 young people a year who are now receiving no education at all. Tues. 5-25-48

¶ Build a trade and technical school in every congressional district in the country.

More Public Power

Wallace renewed his demands for a vastly increased public power program after charging that "economic royalists of private power stand in mobilized opposition to public power." Tues.

"The rivers belong to the people," he said. "And the rivers of sweat that harnes sthe power from the rivers have already paid the people back. Bonneville, because it represents public power, sells that power at the cheapest wholesale rates in the world—and it still makes a profit—and yet we have hardly tapped the power potential of the West." 5-25-48

The Wrong Way

Tues. 4-20-48

The New York Herald Tribune

The Advertiser

There is a cherished tradition in American universities that as long as a faculty member maintains the standards of the classroom, his activities and the opinions he expresses outside of it are his own business. The action of Evansville College, in Indiana, in asking the resignation of Dr. George Parker, a member of its teaching staff, after he had presided at a Wallace rally seems a clear violation of this tradition. Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. Wallace maintains that there is a nation-wide attempt to terrorize his supporters into silence. This theory might be largely discounted as the product of a persecution complex. Mr. Wallace was given valuable propaganda ammunition, however, by the rowdy behavior of his opponents at last Tuesday's rally where Dr. Parker presided. Now further ammunition is provided by the ill-advised action of the president of Evansville College aimed at Dr. Parker himself. Whether the target be the Wallace candidacy or his Communist supporters, surely this is the wrong way to go about defending the American freedoms which the success of these gentlemen would jeopardize so gravely.

Tues. 4-20-48

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11 Wallace Petition Signers Request Pool To Delete Their Names

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Thurs. 5-27-48

Eleven Alabamians have requested the secretary of state to take their names off recent Wallace-for president petitions.

One, who claimed to be a member of the CIO Political Action Committee, said he had not signed any such petition although his name was among those listed.

Secretary of State Sibyl Pool's office said most of the letters indicated the signers were either misinformed or did not understand the purpose of the petitions.

They were circulated in support of 11 candidates for presidential elector in the November general election. The would be electors are pledged to Henry Wallace. 5-27-48

Such petitions must be signed by at least 300 qualified voters. The names on Wallace ptitions are now being checked by probate judges in the various counties.

The secretary of state said approximately 280 of the signers have been confirmed as voters with several large counties yet to be heard from. Thurs.

Washington Calling

Marx-Lenin Saboteurs I n Wallace Camp

By MARQUIS CHILDS

342(1)

NEW YORK.

THE issue of freedom versus security is at the root of the present-day dilemma. Nowhere is it better illustrated than in the campaign of Henry A. Wallace to be president. The Advertiser

In the busy Wallace headquarters here, every resource of modern communication is employed to promote Wallace and his doctrines. He demands and gets the facilities of national radio networks. His own paper, The Citizen, is a skillful propaganda sheet. Montgomery, Ala

Yet there are among Wallace's most ardent backers those who would change the system under which we live and, in the last resort, they would use force and violence to change it. They subscribe to the doctrines of Marx and Lenin, who held that the capitalist system was inevitably doomed but that its passing might have to be hastened by sabotage and finally by an armed uprising. Sat.

Some of these backers would accept a dictatorship of the left in order to avoid the evils of a dictatorship of the right. Paul Robeson, one of the Wallace co-chairmen, has said as much. 4-24-48

This is not true, of course, of Wallace himself. He is a deeply religious man, with a passionate, mystical Christianity superimposed on his Scotch Presbyterian background. Nor is it true of most of those who will vote for him in November.

C. B. Baldwin, Wallace's campaign manager, says the estimate of a 10,000,000 vote for Wallace is conservative. If Wallace should get the same percentage as the late Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., who ran on a third-party ticket in 1924, his vote would be 12,000,000 according to Baldwin, who has more grass-roots political knowledge than the other aides around Wallace headquarters.

BALDWIN bases his prediction on a large total vote, perhaps as high as 60,000,000. The interest stirred by Wallace, Baldwin says confidently, will bring a big turnout. Furthermore, he believes the advance polls will not express Wallace's true strength, since many timid voters will wait until the secrecy of the polling booth before they express their real convictions. 4-24-48

In my opinion the 10,000,000 figure for Wallace is quite possible. Particularly if the major contest is between President Truman and an ultra-conservative such as Speaker Joseph Martin, the protest vote is likely to be large. Analysis outside the Wallace camp have predicted 1,000,000 votes for the third party in New York.

Naturally, as in the management of any political campaign, the effort is to create a bandwagon psychology. Nor are the Wallace managers averse to having their champion wear the crown of martyrdom. The picture of a peoples' hero persecuted by monopoly wealth and a monopoly press has an appeal to all who feel themselves picked on or frustrated.

Yet the real challenge is the one which the Wallaceites rarely speak of. It comes from the non-Communist left.

The most able and effective leader of the non-Communist left is Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers, who narrowly escaped assassination in his home in Detroit. Reuther licked the once-dominant pro-Communist faction in the UAW and licked them in a tough fight by Democratic means. He has since been engaged in cleaning up the mess they left behind. The Advertiser

Reuther has made the most forthright attacks on Wallace. On the west coast recently, he called Wallace "an agent of Stalin." There was serious thought in Wallace headquarters of bringing suit against Reuther for libel or slander.

Montgomery, Ala.

WHILE the attempted assassination of Reuther may have had nothing to do with politics—and everyone must hope that this can be established—yet the background of the hatred between the two factions of the labor-left cannot be ignored. Certainly it is in the minds of those around Reuther who fought with him against the pro-Communist faction.

This is a symptom—a warning symptom. It is not hard to recall some unhappy historical parallels. In Germany, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Communists waged ruthless war on the socialists. Street violence was common. This was at the time that Hitler was consolidating his forces for the Nazi dictatorship. Sat. 4-24-48

Abuse of freedom will bring an end to freedom. It will bring an end to freedom not merely for those who believed it was expedient to exploit freedom in any way they saw fit for the purpose of their new heaven. It will bring an end to freedom for all, including those who believed in it most passionately.

There are no easy answers. But the historical parallels should sober all who have any reason left.

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WALLACE OFFERS WELFARE PROGRAM

The Times

Denounces Heavy Spending for Military, 'Penny-Pinching' on Social Security System

34a New York N.Y.

By LUCY FREEMAN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., April 21—Henry A. Wallace, Third-party Presidential candidate, outlined in a speech here today his plans to improve the social welfare program of the United States. Thurs.

Mr. Wallace also renewed his criticism of the foreign policy of the United States, declaring that we had bought votes in the Italian election, but had not bought Italian friendship. 4-22-48

In his welfare program, Mr. Wallace proposed social security coverage for every persons, a minimum benefit structure for the social security system of not less than $35 a week, a comprehensive health insurance program to cover every one, family allowance for each child under 18 years and maternity insurance designed to reimburse working mothers for time lost from jobs.

Mr. Wallace addressed a meeting sponsored by the Joint Committee of Trade Unions in Social Work, an associate group of the National Conference of Social Work, which is holding its seventy-fifth anniversary meeting. Officials made it clear that the conference itself was an annual meeting that serves as a forum, not an action group, and was not sponsoring Mr. Wallace's appearance.

He spoke in a room off the main auditorium in which 1,000 persons sat and hundreds more stood along the side and in the rear. As he entered he was greeted with cheers and whistles.

Assails "Old Parties"

The Times

He criticized "the old parties" for rejecting "every demand for a program to guarantee the American people against want on the grounds that military measures and war preparations come first."

"The men who pinch pennies when we talk of social security, health, education, public works and projects for the general welfare engage in mad spending sprees to meet the demands of the military and their big-business allies," he said. "When it's a question of social welfare they don't want to spend a penny." Thurs.

He called the Democratic Party's old-age pension bill "a feeble attempt to win election-year support" and said the Republican Party had no social security program at all. 4-22-48

"Our new party is dedicated to fighting for adequate benefits, benefits sfficient to insure a decent American standard of living," Mr. Wallace asserted. "Upon the basis of a minimum wage of $1 per hour, a sound minimum benefit structure for the social security system would be not less than $35 per week." New York N.Y.

He described the goal of his plan for comprehensive health insurance covering every family in the nation as "health, plus; health abounding; joy in living for all of us." It included cash disability benefits during sickness, which he said involved the extension of the principle of workmen's compensation to the entire field of disability. The Times

Scores Bias in Medicine

New York N.Y.

Mr. Wallace called also for elimination of what he termed "the shameful practices of discrimination and segregation and quotas not only in medical schools but in the practice of medicine." Thurs.

Such a comprehensive social insurance system would re-orient the scope of social work, he declared, adding: "It would eliminate social work as relief, and at the same time liberate social work from its present restrictions and permit it to be even more constructive."

Mr. Wallace declared he was "startled" to learn that the average case worker was earning only half the minimum budget required by a family of four to live "at a healthful and decent standard of living," and was "alarmed" to hear that the turnover in social work personnel was higher than ever.

In discussing the Italian election and the situation in Bogotá, Mr. Wallace charged that the United States "is promoting fascism both here and abroad." 4-22-48

Sen. Taylor Decries U. S. Russ Policy

The Birmingham Age-Herald

Birmingham, Ala.

UNIVERSITY, Ala., May 1—Sen. Glenn Taylor, Idaho, running mate of Henry Wallace, in an address here Saturday, said "the heroes of Stalingrad became the villains of the Kremlin."

"I do not think Russia wants war," he said. "She has plenty of people, territory and resources. I do not believe Russia is in shape for war. If the United States was equally devastated, we would be destroyed from Kansas City east. I do not believe the Russians want to control the world. If Russia had done some of the things we have done I believe we would already be at war."

He pointed out that we have given so many guns to Turkey they cried for food instead. In Iran we, or the Standard Oil Company, have gotten all the oil, he added. Sun 5-1-48

* * *

He asked what the American policy would be if the Russians were in a similar position—if the Russians were in Mexico or Bermuda.

"Nobody gets rich out of war in Russia," he asserted. "More money is spent on education in that country than in any nation in the world. I believe the Russians are convinced they are going to be attacked. I do not believe Russia wants A-bomb inspectors in their country because they don't want them to see what they don't have."

* * *

HE SAID OUR business men are going to exploit the world. The United States is spending money like a drunken sailor. Everything points toward another war.

"A showdown with Russia means the end of the world. As long as we pursue this get-tough policy it looks like war to me. Wallace's election will show the United States doesn't want war. We are a divided country, but the situation is not hopeless at all to my way of thinking."

If war comes it will be largely the fault of the newspapers, he said as he rapped the press for "misinforming" the people. Sun

"Communism is not a threat to democracy as long as we keep democracy, but we are fast losing our freedoms," he continued.

Sen. Taylor declared: "Segregation is inconceivable to me. I am against it North or South. I believe, in truth, all men are brothers. Never have we had more need for men in Washington who would vote for their convictions and never has their been so few such men."

Taylor was introduced by Dr York Willbern, political science professor, who said—in introducing him—he was a cousin to the speaker. 5-1-48

Miss. Helped Wallace Defy State Law

Afro American

Sat. 4-18-48

JACKSON, Miss.— Henry Wallace should have been jailed here. Instead he was given the biggest State police escort of his entire tour to assist him in breaking the State laws. Baltimore, Md.

According to a law enacted in 1942, Wallace could have been fined $500 or imprisonment of six months, or both. Here is the law.

"No. 2339. Races—social equality, marriages between—advocacy of punished.

"Any persons, firm or corporation who shall be guilty of printing, publishing or circulating printed, typewritten or written matter urging or presenting for public acceptance or general information, arguments of suggestions in a favor of social equality or of intermarriage between whites and negroes, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to a fine not exceeding $500 or imprisionment not exceeding six months or both fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court."

(Editor's Note: The Mississippi law violates the amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech and freedom of the press.)

WESTBROOK PEGLER

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

The Egg-Throwers Showed Restraint

Tue. 8-7-48

NEW YORK—The restraint shown by the people of the Southern tier under the deliberate goading of Henry Wallace is a reproach to the manners of the rabble of the cities up North. The Southern people, contrary to the slanders of a small element of envious inferiors in the City of New York, are, day by day, the politest that we have. Their superficial manners are pretty and almost fearsome as they mask an alacrity to fight for cause, and their patience is seen to be majestic under dire provocation.

The conduct of these maligned but superior citizens in the presence of the drooling mountebank who howled for war but cowered in Washington while sapling boys from the high school campus were mangled overseas, was an honor to their civilization. In a comparable situation in the Bronx, the intruder would have been beaten to death but for the strong intervention of the New York police. And they would have saved him only to suffer the bigotry of some Pilate who would have stretched an ear to the mob outside and packed him off to prison for inciting riot.

Tue. 8-7-48

The fact that Wallace is a candidate for President should not be a shield. If a man shall run for President as an advocate of some vileness abhorrent to the moral and religious sense of a given community, the importance of the office will intensify the opposition.

8-7-48 Tue.

In his Southern campaign, Bubblehead has ignored the issue of treason through Communism and advocated outrageous violations of the constitutional rights of the State and their citizens and of local sensibilities and custom.

If Wallace had been sincere it was strange that he never thought to go South and live in the homes of Negroes until election time. Similarly, Eleanor the Great revealed no use for them except as cooks and porters until she started a career as a political parasite on the ancient party of the Southern States. Her husband sold lots at Warm Springs containing the conventional African exclusion clause.

For ulterior reasons, principally treason or a milder form of treason amounting to a lingering, disappointed faith in Russia and in Roosevelt, Wallace commands a minor following in a few Eastern cities and, of course, in Hollywood. The Southern people, of purer citizenship and incomparably finer loyalty, might have been understood, though not so readily pardoned, had some angry gang tumbled the cops aside and lynched him.

Constitution

The worst they did, however, was to throw a few eggs and tomatoes and even this harmless protest was the expression of only a few exuberant Crackers arbitrarily classified as trash.

The custom of throwing eggs and garden truck at persons who appeal for public favor has dwindled in the years since the Cherry Sisters coyly strung a net from the proscenium, but it was standard practice not so long ago, and never harmful. No record exists of the death of any Hamlet or candidate from stoning with eggs, cabbage or tomatoes. They were eloquent but harmless. This was sound, native American custom.

Tue. 8-7-48

The pop bottle, on the other hand, is a deadly missile notorious in the major league cities, all of which lie in the Northeast quarter of the country. There were episodes in St. Louis, Detroit and Brooklyn, the last-named the stronghold of the Wallace adherence, so dangerous that the baseball industry was obliged to issue paper cups, retaining the bottles in custody. Indeed, I recall an evening at Madison Square Garden when a large knife was thrown from some gallery and grazed the ear of Mrs. Charles Francis Coe.

8-7-48

The rude note which is made by the pursing of the lips and a violent exhalation is a cultural and political refinement known the world around as the Bronx Cheer.

For a comparison let it be agreed that the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, a "nationalist" and, on information and belief, a candidate, like Wallace, for President of the United States, were to venture similarly into the centers of the strongest emotional opposition.

Parson Smith is an orator of enormous gas and effrontery and, like Wallace, he delights to stir them up. He is said to be a Jew-baiter. His distrust of colored people seems almost as wild and he is a frantic enemy of Communism.

In measuring the civilization and manners of the courteous people of the South toward Henry Wallace, fairness requires consent to the appearance of Mr. Smith in The Bronx, Brooklyn and Atlantic City and in all the Negro ghettoes of the North.

Atlanta, Ga.

His arguments and assertions would be no more unreasonable or untruthful than Bubblehead's have been.

Constitution

Yet if he did try to emulate Wallace here the steady, highly civilized Northern people would riot and might burn down most of a couple of big cities. Not to put a pretty look upon it, Smith would be lynched for trying to exercise his constitutional right to speak his mind.

But of course, Parson Smith would not be allowed to speak his pieces in such neighborhoods. Unlike the civilized Southern citizen, the most violent and insulting critics of Southern culture cannot take it and simply won't.

Wallace Wins Place On Missouri Ballot

The Commercial Appeal

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., Sept. 10.—(AP)—Henry Wallace's Progressive Party apparently won a major victory Friday by getting on the general election ballot in President Truman's home state.

After weeks of legal tussling, the Progressives got a ruling from the Missouri secretary of state that their 52,000-name nominating petition was valid.

Sat. 9-11-48

Secretary of State Edgar Nelson's opinion nullified the vehement arguments by a group of Democrats that the names on the petition were fradulent.

Memphis, Tenn.

Delegates Walk Out On Wallace At Ohio Elk Meet

CINCINNATI, Ohio—Nearly 2,000 Elk delegates who filled about half of the sweltering north auditorium of Music Hall turned out Tuesday night to hear Henry Wallace's bitter speech on "repression scarcity and war."

At the end of his 35-minute harangue, there were less than 1,000 in the hall. Most of the delegates received his talk very coldly. Only three times did they interrupt him by ripples of applause.

Wallace Uses Radio to Avoid New Violence

Herald Tribune, New York, N.Y.

Fri. 9-3-48

Crowds at Three Mississippi and Louisiana Towns Are the Friendliest Yet

By John Chabot Smith

A Staff Correspondent

SHREVEPORT, La., Sept. 2.—Henry A. Wallace avoided the possibility of violent demonstrations r racial conflicts today by using he radio to carry his message to he people of Mississippi and ouisiana. He made only three ublic appearances in small towns as he raced through the two states in a motor convoy traveling more than a mile a minute.

Between Jackson, Miss., and Shreveport, La., he stopped to ad-ress quiet, orderly and generally riendly crowds at Vicksburg, iss., and Monroe and Ruston, a. A few hundred listened at each stop.

Palmer Weber, southern states director of the Progressive party, said Mr. Wallace was unable to speak at Jackson because he was denied permission to use the steps of the state capitol, and could not speak at Shreveport because the mayor said he could not promise there would be no violence. His three audiences of the day, however, were the friendliest yet encountered in the South, and at Ruston he received considerable applause. Several people came up to shake his hand and ask for his autograph.

9-3-48

No Violence Expected

Meanwhile, in Shreveport, Po-ice Chief E. G. Huckabay told old local newspaper men he was onfident there would be no hos-ile demonstrations against Mr. Vallace. It is the duty of my epartment to give Mr. Wallace he opportunity to say what he as to say," Chief Huckabay said.

At neither of the Louisiana tops did the party make the most f the favorable situation. The ot chosen for the Monroe talk as in front of a school next door the St. Francis Sanitarium, in ospital quiet zone where loud-akers could not be used. So of the audience could not Mr. Wallace.

f a dozen boys in the audi-ad noisemakers of the type usly known as "the bird," raspberry," or the Bronx ." This sudden change from gg-boo-rebel-yell routine of states was a surprise and the e crowd laughed.

Fri.

ere were one or two interjec-s from hecklers, and somebody uted "louder." Mr. Wallace ologized for not having his und truck in operation, and a voice in the crowd said something about cutting out the "birds."

One Tomato Hit Car

Mr. Wallace said: "Yes, you can help me a bit if you would." After that he was heard almost without interruption.

One tomato hit the top of Mr. Wallace's car after he got back into it. Several in the crowd exclaimed in disappointment that the good-humored atmosphere of the occasion had been spoiled. "A lot of people are curious to hear Mr. Wallace here in Louisiana,," one Monroe resident remarked.

At Ruston a tape-recording crew from a Shreveport radio station was on hand to record the proceedings. But Mr. Wallace's soundtruck was set up in the wrong place. The radio equipment could not catch what he was saying, and an announcer had to fill in with his own description.

The radio crew asked to interview Mr. Wallace. The request was refused on the grounds that there was no time and Mr. Wallace was going to make a speech from the same station later in the evening.

Many Applaud

Hardly an unkind word was said by the Ruston audience, and many of the 300 listeners applauded. Mr. Wallace watered down his one-time attacks on the "Truman Doctrine" to a mere statement that the South could make better use of the money now going to Greece and Turkey. Yesterday he said "Greek and Turkish dictators"; the day before it was "Fascists in Greece and Turkey"; a few weeks ago his speeches were full of attacks on "Fascism" and the "Truman Doctrine."

Herald Tribune

Mr. Wallace reached Jackson at 5:30 a. m. in his special railroad car, and drove twenty-seven miles for a 6:30 breakfast at the Southern Christian Institute, a Negro junior college at Edwards, Miss. During breakfast, J. Lewis Henderson, Progressive party state chairman, presided over a state convention to nominate nine Presidential electors, some Negro and some white.

New York, N.Y.

At 7:30 Mr. Wallace and his convoy raced back to the state capital in Jackson, arriving thirty minutes later to hand the electors' names to secretary of state Heber Ladner. Then back to the Southern Christian Institute to make a state-wide radio broadcast at 9:15, and on to Vicksburg at the same high speed, with an escort of seven police cars and twenty-one state highway patrolmen. There was one heckler in Vicksburg audience. He was silenced by three words from Police Chief L. C. Hicks: "Shut up, buddy."

Fri. 9-3-48

Pleads for Peace

Mr. Wallace's radio talks on the Mississippi and Louisiana networks repeated essentially what he has told his open-air audiences.

He spoke of his desire for world peace, a higher standard of living and a wider measure of human freedom. He urged Southerners, both black and white, to work together for their common benefit, and explained why he believes the South should have its own industries, owned in the South, and should accept Federal aid to benefit its industry, agriculture, education and public health.

From Shreveport, where Mr Wallace rested in a Negro home, he was to fly to Little Rock, Ark. Tomorrow he will drive to Memphis, Tenn., with several stops for speeches on the way. 9-3-48

Glen Taylor Target of Eggs

IDAHO FALLS, Idaho, Sept. 2 (AP).—Senator Glen Taylor reported today peaches and eggs were tossed at him during a campaign appearance in his home state. The Progressive party Vice-Presidential nominee wound up his Idaho campaign with addresses in Rexburg and Idaho Falls last night.

Senator Taylor and John Derr, of Clark Fork, Progressive party nominee for the Senate, said eggs and peaches were thrown at them when they appeared at a street meeting in Rexburg. Mr. Derr said none of the missiles struck the two speakers, who continued their addresses. Fri. 9-3-48

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

Wallace Is Getting What He Wanted

The Constitution
Fri 9-3-48
Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON—There is no reason to believe that Mr. Henry Wallace, the third-party presidential candidate, is any too unhappy about the rough treatment he has received on his egg-spattered itinerary through the South. After all, it was just the sort of treatment he had a right to expect, minus, perhaps, a few of the missiles hurled at him which found their mark. And even as to the latter, from the way he refused to brush off the goo and continued to speak at one city in North Carolina, with particles of a broken egg shell dangling above his ear, it must be evident that he preferred to wear the stuff as a badge of honor—or something.

Mr. Wallace, in undertaking his Southern tour, deliberately set out to flaunt the laws, the customs and the traditions of the South as regards the issue of race segregation. It was deliberately done for the purpose of provoking incidents which would make headlines in other sections of the country.

The more ripe tomatoes and eggs that are thrown at him, the more attention his tour will get in the national press. If he succeeds in stopping a few specimens of the shoddy fruit, he stands to be made more of a martyr in his role of defender of certain minority groups.

Already his followers in the East are making a hero of him because of the discomfiture he has been subjected to on the Southern tour. Plans have been announced for holding a great Wallace demonstration in New York after he returns, at which it is hoped to see some 100,000 people turn out. Such a demonstration would not have been possible without the indignities suffered by the third-party candidate on the vegetable circuit. This, of course, is what he was aiming at from the start.

Fri 9-3-48

To make sure that he would run afoul of the customs and traditions of the area, he took along with him a Negro girl as secretary.

Now Mr. Wallace, of course, is no stranger in the South. During his long term of Government service as Vice President and Cabinet officer he made many trips to the Southern States. Never before on any of these trips has he seen it necessary to flaunt the customs of the area. Always he was accorded a respectful hearing.

Atlanta Ga.

It must be obvious, therefore, that the present trappings of his Southern trip were designed primarily for political effect. He is out to exploit the racial issue for all that it is worth to him in population centers outside of the South.

He did not undertake the trip with any thought of local gain, except perhaps in corralling a large Southern Negro vote to give him a more impressive national total. He was thinking entirely of the reaction he might be able to produce elsewhere.

Considered in this light, it is all the more deplorable that the hoodlums and tomato flingers along the route sought to make life miserable for Mr. Wallace. Assuming that to have been their purpose, they hardly succeeded at all. On the contrary, they have probably made him quite happy over the affair. He has acquired a wealth of publicity over the punishment taken and he is being made a hero for his experience.

That is precisely what Mr. Wallace wanted all the while. At the cost of stopping a few eggs and some vegetables, along with being shouted down by vociferous boos and catcalls, he has gained a notoriety for his campaign that is hardly its due.

New York Post

Indignity Increases Wallace's Dignity

Perry

Odious comparisons sometimes help to repair manners. I have before me two dispatches, one from Berlin, Germany, one from Durham, N. C. The Berlin wire tells how the City Council's second attempt in a week to meet and get on with its business was broken up by Communists. "Russian-controlled German police of the Soviet sector made no effort to quell the demonstrations." This was very evil.

Thur 9-2-48

The Durham wire tells how an attempt by Henry Wallace to make a campaign speech in a Federal armory was broken up by a handful of riotous hecklers while national guardsmen and the police stood by. "The police did not try to stop the disturbance."

Expensive Vote-Wise

New York, N.Y.

One report echoes the other. Of course the Durham marplots were not "Communists." Nor by any stretch of the fancy could it be supposed that the lackadaisical police in the second instance were from some sector of Durham, N. C., that is "Russian-controlled." The really quaint part is that the Durham hooligans were shouting at Wallace, "why don't you go back to Russia?"

People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw eggs.

In a day or so, I am going on vacation. First, I have a sympathetic opinion or two about Henry Wallace I want to set down. I still find Wallace's refusal to start every day shadow-boxing red herrings admirable — and solidly "American."

His rebellion against this vogue probably is expensive to him vote-wise — however sustaining to his self-respect. Wallace is a little d democrat of the primitive faith and believes in freedom of political thought and expression for others as well as for himself. He makes no exception, even when it is conventional, and would be expedient, to do so. Some call this naive; I call it honesty and like it.

It is a kindred piece of Wallace little-d democracy that he believes every citizen including himself has a right to stand for public office. When he protests to the noisemakers in a North Carolina crowd, "I am a candidate for President. I want to speak to you," he is depending upon some tenet of our political system he has always taken for granted. I take it for granted, too. Wallace may be foolhardy, but he is not presumptuous.

It may be foolhardy of Wallace to come into the South denouncing segregation and insisting upon the right of free assembly. For that he is pelted with eggs and tomatoes. But I must have more respect for a man who denounces segregation to its face than for another who tells it merely into a microphone. And I think Wallace's campaign has gained in dignity by the indignities it has met with in the field.

Thur 9-2-48

Neither Shelter Nor Martyrdom

Wallace, and those who have planned his southern tour, can indeed be ribbed for an indiscretion. Instead of speaking in the armories and public squares, where custom is brittle, the Progressive candidate could have picked other places where, even in the deepest South, there is no question of segregation — the banks, and the offices of the tax collectors. These are the truly neutral grounds, where only the color of money is recognized.

But I say it only for the rib. The Progressive candidate is seeking neither shelter— nor martyrdom, as far as I can tell. He is running for President—and trying to prove, to himself and to all, no doubt, that speech still is free, that men still are reasonable, and that fairness still is more than just a tradition, in America.

WALLACE'S STATEMENT

Daily Worker

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., July 21.—Following is the text of a statement by Henry A. Wallace denouncing the indictment against leaders of the Communist Party:

I have been asked for a statement on the indictment of the leaders of the Communist party. Although the information about the indictments is limited, there are certain obvious conclusions an American who believes in civil liberties must reach:

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1. We Americans have far more to fear from these actions which are intended to suppress political freedom than from the teachings of ideas with which we are in disagreement.

I understand that the Grand Jury which returned the indictments has been engaged in its investigation for more than a year. It is significant to me that after this prolonged investigation the indictments make no charge of the commission of acts of force and violence. They are limited to a charge that these men teach such a doctrine. This is not a new allegation. J. Edgar Hoover has made it before, yet I recall that Hoover, quite rightly, opposed the very objective the indictments seek to accomplish—the objective of outlawing the Communist party.

New York, N.Y.

2. It is interesting and highly significant that these Red scares over the past two or three years have been timed to silence opposition to new turns in the bi-party get-tough foreign policy. Millions of Americans have indicated their displeasure at the refusal of the bi-partisans to enter into real negotiations with the Russians, looking to a peaceful settlement of existing differences.

The indictments are, I feel, an attempt to promote new fears. They are another in a series of diversions created for Americans who are complaining about mounting inflation, the stupid bungling in Berlin and other problems. Both the administration and the bi-partisans in Congress make allegations to make headlines, make headlines to make fear, and make fear to stay in power.

Thurs. 7-22-48

The important thing for democratic Americans is to recognize this practice and defend with all their energy the rights of others to speak freely, no matter how much they may disagree with the points of view of those they defend.

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3. While I favor strong action against any individual who commits violence, it has been my observation that violence in the United States, as indeed in other countries, has been generally committed by the very people who would suppress the free speech of Communists and other groups with whom they disagree. When we look at non-Communist countries with millions of Communist voters, we are shocked that there are politicians in our rich, powerful democracy who feel so insecure that they are led to suppress the political freedom of a relative handful of American Communists.

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4. Defense of the civil rights of Communists is the first line in the defense of the liberties of a democratic people. The history of Germany, Italy, Japan and Franco Spain should teach us that the suppression of the Communists is but the first step in an assault on the democratic rights of labor, national, racial and political minorities, and all those who oppose the policies of the government in power.

•

5. I am confident that the courts will eventually find unconstitutional the Smith Act under which the indictments are handed down to the extent that it makes unlawful the advocacy of any doctrine by peaceful means, unaccompanied by a clear and present danger to established government. I think that such an application of the Smith Act clearly violates the First Amendment and infringes the American right of free speech.

Meanwhile, the bi-partisans will play up the indictments and hearings and trials to promote fear. The present situation makes it essential for the administration to create fear through a continued series of crises.

Thurs. 7-22-48

We can expect further Red scares and attacks on other minority groups with charges that their views are hostile to the government. I, personally, have great hostility for many present practices of the administration and the old parties. I fully expect continued attempts to attack the New Pary with all manner of false and inflammatory allegations. The New Party will continue to carry on the fight in defense of the Constitutional liberties of all the American people.

Wallace Candidacy Unwise, Says Powell

Chicago Ill.

Chicago Defender Sat 1-10-48

NEW YORK -- The candidacy of Henry A. Wallace is "extremely unwise" at this time, Cong. Adam Clayton Powell said Sunday in his first public address since his illness.

We might have forced the Republicans to run a great American like Gen. Eisenhower if Wallace had not entered the race, he told his Peoples' Committee at Golden Gate hall.

The Harlem preacher and legislator said he is willing to support Eisenhower 100 per-cent.

He said he does not think the time for a third party is now, adding that he will be all out for one if the Republican and Democratic parties do not change in 1948.

Powell, who suffered a heart attack last May, said he feels Wallace will withdraw if Eisenhower enters the presidential campaign.

WALLACE ASSAILS ARREST OF TAYLOR IN ALABAMA

KANSAS CITY, Mo., May 2.—Henry Wallace today assailed the arrest of Glen Taylor for "opposing undemocratic and criminal practices of racial discrimination and segregation."

In a wire to Sen. Taylor, Wallace declared that the Associated Press reported "that you have met with violence in carrying out the new party policy" against segregation.

"This dramatizes the hypocrisy," said Wallace's wire, "of spending billions for arms in the name of defending freedom abroad, while freedom is trampled on here at home. I hope that when you get back to Washington you will raise the question with your Senate colleague, Lister Hill of Alabama, who so ardently supports the arms appropriation, draft, and other military measures."

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Wallace Purrs, And the Kremlin Cat---

Atlanta, Ga.

Sat. 4-24-48

Some publishers are very kind to me, sending me occasional books. I have just received Henry Wallace's new book, and a slender one it is, "Toward World Peace."

I sat down and read it, since it is thin in pages, and I want to write about it honestly. I was one of those who, when Henry Wallace was first come to politics, liked him for his freshness and his blunt honesty of expression.

I knew it was not he who "plowed under the little pigs," as his enemies said, that decision being made by the full agricultural committee, which never had the integrity to come forward and speak in defense of Wallace. I knew, too, that he was not a failure, but a successful businessman whose experiments in hybrid corn alone brought him in a sum of about $25,000 each year. When he was talking about corn and fields and soil conservation, things he knew something about, he was good. Maybe he was something of a dreamer, but so is every man who works with the soil and who knows skies and horizons. I want to be honest and admit all this.

Change But Wallace, the agricultural pioneer, who was to do his country a great service in developing hybrid corn and in experiments with pig breeding, became something else. He became a politician. And since he does not know much about politics, he has become a bad politician. That is, by itself, harmful enough. But he has become something else. He has become a tool in the hands of those who use him for something else.

All of us have an ego. All of us like back-patting and we purr when our fur is stroked.

Sat. 4-24-48

But Wallace, obviously, has come to like only to have his fur stroked and he lives always within reach of the eager hands which constantly are outstretched to keep their man purring—because, you see, he purrs their language.

Blind Wallace has become so enamored of his own importance and his vision is so blinded by what is a surprising vanity and consuming ambition, in which hatred of Harry Truman is the driving force, that he is revealed by this little tract of his as little short of a foolish man.

I note that an admirer, with a fellow-traveler reputation, has written a review which says that the sayings of Wallace in this book remind him of the phrases and letters of Paine and of Jefferson. Well, in a sense, they do, and they patently are efforts to take the thoughts of the two and put them into the words and the letters of Wallace.

The Constitution

As long as Wallace is rewriting Paine and parroting the phrases of Jefferson, he does very well.

But when he gets on his own he is not too good.

History In a lofty manner, as if to escape it all, he writes that he leaves to history the judgment of those who consider a totalitarian Russia as they did a totalitarian Germany.

Wallace himself, not so long ago, was saying:

"Communism and Fascism are strikingly similar'. . . like war, they begin and end with physical force, and their final outcome is likely to be as futile and devastating."

Atlanta, Ga.

But now, as the Communists stroke his fur, he purrs out good things about the Soviet course and finds excuses and justifications for it. Now, as he is fed on the lotus of Communism, he purrs the party line of the Communist Party.

His speeches contain not only Paine and Jefferson, but more of Stalin and of the editorials of the Daily Worker.

He wishes that this country would join with Russia in saving the peoples of the world.

Russia has violated every major pledge made at Yalta. Yet, Wallace says:

Sat. 4-24-48

"Russia has been criticized for the part she has taken in the Balkan States and particularly for refusing to permit Western observation and supervision of the elections in those countries. I have not joined in that criticism, for the simple reason that I know if the shoe were on the other foot . . . we would act as Russia has, if not more drastically. . . . Russia simply will not permit us to run the politics of that area no matter what was said at Yalta."

That this is false, he must know.

Here, in the amazing statement above, he excuses Russia for violating her pledged word when this country and Great Britain had followed it to the letter—until Russia deviated from it. Sat

His program for peace is to capitulate to Russia—to turn over world affairs to her. He no longer, then, can be interested in freedom of the individual, because freedom for the individual exists in no country where Russia governs. 4-24-48

His prgram is very remindful of that of a Georgia legislator. He stands for peace, for lower taxes, for more and better pensions, and for more and more Federal aids for everyone.

Neville Chamberlain was as sincere as Wallace. Chamberlain wanted to give Hitler all he wanted, as Wallace wants to appease Russia. He did it in the name of "peace," as does Wallace.

Wallace purrs and the Kremlin cat grins.

Former Afro-American Newsman Wallace Assistant Campaign Mgr

Memphis Tenn.

Memphis, Tenn.

George B. Murphy, former editor and publicist and until this week national commander of the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, has taken a leave of absence from that organization to accept appointment as assistant campaign manager of the National Wallace for President Committee, it was announced last night (Monday) by C. B. Baldwin, campaign manager for Henry Wallace.

Fri. 4-16-48

Murphy's appointment follows the election of Mrs. Estelle Massey Osborne, chairman of the educational committee of the National Council of Negro Women, as secretary of the New York State Wallace for President Committee. Mrs. Osborne, a faculty member of New York University, is also an officer of the Association of Colored Graduate Nurses.

Murphy served as national public relations director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and before entering the armed services was Washington editor of the Afro-American for several years.

Baldwin said that he would be responsible "for coordinating the activities of the growing Wallace campaign as it affects the Negro people in the varied fields of labor, youth, women's organizations, and cultural and other groups."

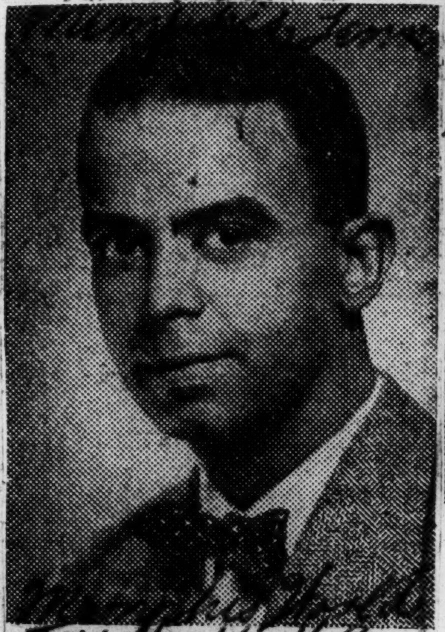
In accepting the appointment Murphy said that he was "anxious to get to work quickly in the campaign.

"The Negro people have been waiting a long time for a leader, especially in this critical period, who stands for peace, freedom and the complete abolition of Jim Crow. Henry Wallace is the only presidential candidate whose deeds in this respect match his words.

Fri. 4-16-48

"The new party offers the Negro people an opportunity which they welcome in their march toward full citizenship. There can be no misunderstanding of Henry Wallace's clear and unequivocal stand for democracy, freedom and peace. Memphis World

Murphy is a nephew of Carl Murphy of Baltimore, publisher of the Afro-American, and was prominent among 50 Negro leaders who urged Wallace to run for president in a special Christmas greeting last year. Memphis Tenn.



Memphis World

Fri. 4-16-48

GEORGE C. MURPHY, JR.

Wallace Says Democrats GOP Joined

The Record Columbia S.C.

NEW YORK, June 24—(AP)—Henry A. Wallace said today the Republican party's new platform signals "The formal end of the now outmoded division between the Republican and Democratic parties."

It marks, he said in a statement, "the start of a new era in which there will be only the new people's party and the old Republican-Democratic party of the monopolies with its war and depression program." 6-24-48

The third party presidential candidate said the Republicans, in their platform adopted at Philadelphia, stated they would "invite the minority party to join us under the next Republican administration in stopping partisan politics . . ."

"They thus affirmed," Wallace said, "what I have been saying for months—that the old parties are in effect one."

Wallace sharply criticized the GOP platform and charged the Republicans had "ignored their 1944 pledges" for support of the United Nations, social welfare legislation and civil rights lows.

Last night, Wallace released the text of a letter in which he said his new party would support "progressive candidates" for Congress, regardless of party differences in the presidential race. 6-24-48

The letter was addressed to G. J. O'Donnell, president of the Trades and Labor Assembly in St. Paul, Minn., who had wired Wallace asking him to help unite the liberal movement in Minnesota behind the Senatorial candidacy of St. Paul Mayor Hubert Humphrey.

GEORGE B. MURPHY, JR.

. . . Murphy kin becomes Wallace assistant campaign manager. (see story)

Murphy kin takes Wallace campaign management post

Los Angeles Tribune

Sat. 4-17-48

NEW YORK — George B. Murphy, until this week national commander of the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, has taken a leave of absence to act as assistant campaign manager of the National Wallace for President Committee, it was announced last night by C. B. Baldwin, Wallace's campaign manager. 4-17-48

Murphy's appointment followed acceptance by Mrs. Estelle Massey Osborne, as secretary of the New York State Wallace for President Committee. Mrs. Osborne, a faculty member of New York university, is also an officer of the Association of Colored Graduate Nurses.

Murphy served as national public relations director of the NAACP and before entering the army was Washington editor of the Afro-American. He is a nephew of Carl Murphy, of Baltimore publisher of the Afro-American.

Baldwin said that he would be responsible "for coordinating the activities of the Wallace campaign as it affects the Negro people in the varied fields of labor, youth women's organizations, and cultural and other groups."

Wallace Aide Klan Victim

The Courier

7-10-48

MACON, Ga.—The Ku Klux Klan burned an eight-foot cross in the front yard of the home of Larkin Marshall, candidate for U. S. Senate on the Wallace ticket, last week. Marshall's home is on Miller Field Road. The burning took place shortly before midnight.

The senatorial candidate and his wife were at home at the time of the burning, but were not aroused. A next door neighbor, Will Ford, called them. When Marshall went out in the yard, the cross was on fire from one end to the other. The persons who fired the cross had fled and left no clue as to their identity except the cross itself.

Pittsburgh Pa.

A controversy over Marshall's running on the Wallace party ticket while being head of the Bibb County Citizens Democratic Club has raged since the convention here several weeks ago.

Sat 7-10-48

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11 WALLACE MEN GET BALLOT SPOT

Times-Picayune

(The Associated Press)

Montgomery, Ala., May 31.—Eleven presidential elector candidates pledged to Henry Wallace, appeared today to have won a place on the ballot in Alabama.

Petitions seeking to put the Wallace candidates on the ticket in the November general election are all in order and apparently meet the requirements of law, the secretary of state's office said.

The candidates are independents and were required to have the signatures of at least 300 qualified voters on each petition. The secretary of state's office said probate judges had checked the names and found at least 427 voters, more than enough.

WALLACE REPLIES TO BOOM FOR 'IKE'

Democrats Think General Is Reactionary, He Says

Times-Picayune

(The Associated Press)

Katonah, N. Y., July 4.—Henry A. Wallace said here that Democrats booming Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower for the presidency "have reason to believe that Ike is reactionary." New Orleans

Wallace offered Eisenhower "a membership card in the New Party" if he would come out against segregation in the Army, the Taft-Hartley law and universal military training.

Wallace made his remarks at a rally held on the lawn of the estate of a friend and neighbor, Dr. Samuel Rosen, in northern Westchester county, a Republican stronghold.

"It is interesting to note that the Eisenhower boom is coming from the South—Georgia and Alabama—and from Ed Flynn (Bronx Democratic leader)," the third party presidential candidate said.

"They have reason to believe that Ike is reactionary because of his testimony on the draft and UMT and because he upheld segregation and the Baruch proposals for a wage freeze.

'Record Looks Bad'

"I'm not sure Ike knew what he was doing but the record sure looks bad.

"I'd like to hear him say he's against segregation, against Taft-Hartley, against UMT and the no-group Air Force. Then we'd give him a membership card in the New Party and a chance to add genuine political service to his country to his record as a general." Mon. 7-5-48

He told the gathering that "no matter who the Democrats may nominate, I want to make it clear right now that I shall not retire from the race."

While he had said previously he was in the race to stay, this was Wallace's first pronouncement on the subject since the new Eisenhower boom began.

"This has never been a personal matter with me nor has it been a political matter," he added. "It is a crusade for peace.

"We're not going to give up because of any deal. We believe our stand has had a definite influence in the fight for peace."

Dewey 'Real Enemy'

He continued:

"I am told that the Communists were in favor of a third party. Maybe I was unconsciously following the Communist line. The Communists favor peace with Russia. I favor peace with Russia. Of course a lot of Methodists and Quakers feel the same way. Maybe we all are part of a Red plot."

Turning to the Republicans, Wallace identified Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the GOP presidential nominee, as the "real enemy" of the New Party in the 1948 campaign."

He said he originally believed that he would get more votes from Democrats than from any other source but that now he expected to get a lot of Republican support, too.

Wallace reiterated his argument that the Republican and Demo-

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34a(1) 1948 Presidential (Wallace)

34a(1)

PROTESTS MOBBING OF WALLACE SUPPORTERS

April 29, 1948

Press Service of The NAACP

New York, N.Y.

NEW YORK, April 29.--Investigation of alleged intimidation of Wallace supporters in Logan County, West Virginia was urged today by Walter White, NAACP secretary, in a wire to Attorney General Tom Clark.

Charges of "intimidation, bribery and coercion" by law enforcement officers against Negro supporters of Henry A. Wallace were forwarded to the Association by the Rev. Clive Knowles, state director of the West Virginia Wallace for President Committee. Thurs. 4-29-48

"Our Negro circulators of petitions in the southern area have been threatened by armed law enforcement officers," the Rev. Mr. Knowles said in his wire. "Also offered bribes to 'beat up' other circulators. Petition signers have been intimidated into removing names from petitions."

In his wire to the Attorney General, Mr. White cited the non-partisan position of the NAACP but added that "mob violence used against any person because of his political beliefs is a violation of law and negation of the democratic process. May we therefore urge investigation by your department of these charges and appropriate legal action if they are found to be accurate." Thurs. 4-29-48

Expects 95% of Georgia's Negro Vote to Go to Wallace

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

By Mary Southard

MACON, Ga., April 6.—Macon is one of the oldest Black Belt towns in central Georgia. It is the county seat of Bibb County, stronghold of the big Bibb textile mill chain which has spearheaded mill owner resistance to the organization of Georgia textile workers. Wed.

But Macon is also a stronghold of the democratic movement of the Negro people of Georgia. The leader of this movement is L. Marshall, co-chairman of the Georgia Wallace for President Committee and president of the Macon Progressive Democratic Club. 4-7-48

Mr. Marshall, who I interviewed in his editorial office, is a man of many enterprises. He owns a clothing store, edits the **Macon World**, which after two years has a circulation of 7,000, and is a director of a Negro real estate development in Macon, Marshall Homes.

In the editorial office in back of his store, I told Marshall about the case of the Ingram family.

Marshall, who grew up in Americus, said: "I know every by-path and pig-trail, and it's a hostile town."

He recalled the Angelo Herndon case, which Benjamin J. Davis took to the Supreme Court and won, fighting for the rights of Negroes to serve on juries.

He digressed a moment to speak of Ben Davis' father, who was one of the most courageous men he had ever known. Daily Worker

"There was one man you couldn't budge," he said, smiling. "They fired into his house, they did everything you could think of, but he just didn't scare, and he kept on fighting."

He felt that a fund to help the Ingram family should be started immediately. Gov. Thompson is desperately looking for votes, he noted, and a lot of pressure on Thompson from Negro and liberal white citizens would go far to help Mrs. Ingram. New York, N.Y.

GEORGIA'S ONLY HOPE

Mr. Marshall's warmest enthusiasm was for Wallace and the building of a third party in Georgia.

"In the Governor's race the only hope for Georgia," he said, "is a strong third party candidate, and such a candidate could win with the support of the Negro and liberal white vote here." 4-7-48

He minced no words in attacking certain Georgia Negro leaders who are now trying to get Negro voters to support Thompson.

"I decided to beard the lion in his den," he recounted.

"I went to Atlanta to see Col. A. T. Walden (leading NAACP lawyer) and C. A. Scott (publisher of the **Atlanta Daily World**, and **Scott Syndicate News**), and I asked them point blank what hope Negroes could have in a man who had joined six southern Governors against a civil rights bill, and that I thought anyone who could do such a thing was either a knave of a fool."

"I am sure," he went on, "that 95 percent of the Negro voters will vote for Wallace and Wallace candidates in Georgia. They may not speak up like I do. As for me, I have only one time to die, and I'm going to keep on speaking up for what I think is right."

180,000 NEGRO VOTERS

He estimated that there are now about 180,000 registered Negro voters in Georgia. There were some 125,000 in 1946, and thousands have registered since then.

The Progressive Democratic Club of Macon is holding meetings every night now in a campaign to register Negro voters. They already have over 14,000 to their credit in Bibb County, and their goal is 24,000 Negro voters out of a total county population of 100,000.

"It will be hard going and no picnic to get Wallace and the People's Party on the ballot," he said, "but we will get him on." The law requires 55,000 signatures to a petition to get Wallace on the Georgia ballot in November.

I asked Marshall about the outbreaks of KKK parades and terror in Georgia.

SUBVERSIVE Daily Worker

"The Klan is a subversive organization, which incites to riot," he said. "It should be suppressed. We have a pledge from our sheriff here to permit no Klan parades in Macon. As for Thompson, he's on the fence. He wrote the white primary bill, doesn't deny it, and yet he's busy day and night soliciting the Negro vote. New York, N.Y.

"I agree with Don West that he ought to send state troopers to protect the polls on voting day, if he means business at all. All this agitation against the civil righas bill has kindled the KKK to action again. Wed.

"I feel that it's the job of the federal government to protect the polls at the general election in November. Maybe they will claim they can't interfere in the primaries, but they can insure the right of Negro voters at the polls in November. And I know that such a measure will be necessary." 4-7-48

The founding convention for the Georgia People's Party will be held in Macon in early May. Mr. Marshall will be there os one of the founders and leaders of the people's movement in Georgia.

Clark Foreman Named Treasurer for Wallace

Louisville, Ky.
The Courier-Journal
Thurs. 4-22-48

New York, April 21. (AP)—Clark Foreman, of Washington today was named treasurer of the national Wallace for President Committee. Foreman is president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and formerly was director of the power division of the Department of the Interior. 4-22-48

GALLUP POLL

The Constitution Atlanta Ga.

Wallaceites Don't Follow Line

Tues. 5-4-48

PRINCETON, N. J.—The followers of Henry A. Wallace are not a group with homogeneous ideas on public issues. Although it might be expected that the supporters of a new disciple in politics would be of like mind, many of the people who say they plan to vote for Wallace do not agree with the views he has expressed on leading subjects.

They might best be described as a "conglomeration of protesters," who support Wallace more because they are against other parties than because they are drawn to his particular ideas and pronouncements. For example:

Although Wallace has made a big point of opposing the European Recovery Plan, polls among the Wallace supporters find that approximately one-half of them favor the ERP, while about one-fourth oppose it and the rest express no opinion. While it is true that ERP has less support from Wallace followers than from Democrats or Republicans, there is certainly no clear agreement among Wallaceites about backing up Wallace's own position.

The following table gives a comparison of the vote on ERP by people who favor President Truman, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey or Wallace for president.

	Truman	Dewey	Wallace
Approve ...	62%	55%	47%
Disapprove	12	22	28
No opinion	26	23	25

Polls also find that a majority of Wallace followers agree with the general American public in thinking Russia would start a war to get what she wants, although Wallace has tended to belittle the so-called Russian menace.

Wheras Wallace has often decried the large sums of money being spent today for the army and navy, a majority of Wallace followers polled by the Institute say they favor increasing the size of the air force, and as many favor increasing the navy as oppose it. Only with respect to the size of the army is the weight of opinion among Wallace followers in favor of his position against a large army.

In short, the big fact is that while the majority of Truman followers support his position on the Marshall Plan, Russia, and the armed forces, the men and women who plan to vote for Wallace do not show a similar degree of agreement with their leaders on such issues. The main thing which the members of Wallace's "Gideon's Army" have in common is being against all other candidates.

Nationally the Wallace vote today runs between six and eight percent in polls by the Institute. Translating this national percentage into votes depends, however, on whether the Wallace party can get on the official election ballot in all states, which is not likely.

If the voting turnout in November is at the same rate as it was before the war, the total vote would be approximately 58,000,000. The Wallace vote based on polls at the present time would theoretically run to between 3,500,000 and 4,600,000—if the party were able to get a place on the ballot in all 48 states.

The Wallace percentage today lags far behind the record of the elder Robert LaFollette and his Progressive Party in 1924, which polled 16½ percent in the election, and the Bull Moose Party in 1912, which polled 28 percent. It compares roughly with the vote polled by Eugene Debs on the Socialist ticket in 1912, six percent. The trend of third party sentiment is shown in an accompanying chart.

Tues. 5-4-48

Wallace's real threat to the Democratic party lies in his ability to cut into the Democratic vote in key states. In New York, for example, Wallace polls some 15 percent and that is enough to rob the Democrats of their lead in the state and put New York over into the Republican column. The situation in Pennsylvania is similar. Atlanta, Ga.

A Few Reasons Why We Are Opposing Wallace

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Tues 4-13-48

(Our opposition to Mr. Wallace's candidacy is based on the following points:)

(1) On the basis of the record, a Third party can't win in 1948. This is a crucial year and the Negro can not waste his vote on a wild goose chase. This year, above all, we must seek unity and make every vote count.

34a(1)

(2) Mr. Wallace deserted the party that has done more to relieve our condition in the South during the past fifteen years than all previous administrations since the time of Lincoln up to 1933.

(3) We believe his action is motivated primarily by his desire to enhance his own personal prestige and powers plus a desire for revenge against President Truman. He could have helped us and his country more by remaining in the Democratic party and fighting for a liberal program than withdrawing and possibly contributing to the return of reactionary control of the national government.

(4) We sincerely feel Mr. Wallace's foreign policy stand of appeasement will bring us to war rather than peace—a thing the masses of people everywhere desire. Chamberlain appeased Hitler and we had to fight. Appeasement of Stalin will also inevitably lead us to to war. Daily World

(5) Mr. Wallace has no power with which to actually help the Negro. The name Wallace is too closely linked with Russia and communism of which we are opposed. His name is a liability and a hindrance to Negro advancement in the South. We have enough problems now and don't desire any dead weight on our hands. Atlanta, Ga.

(6) We are opposed to any Third Party movement which might tend to divide our people and thereby reduce our voting strength beyond the two traditional major parties—Democratic and Republican. Only after we are convinced that there is no hope for our people within either of these two parties will we consider any Third party. Tues.

(7) Integration into one of the major two parties that now have power is the sensible courses for our people to pursue. 4-13-48

(8) We feel the influence of the Wallace Third party movement may have the effect of contributing to a victory for the Talmadge forces in the primary election in September. We hope that the Talmadge forces will be defeated in the primary and then we will not be confronted with the question of what to do in the general election this November. But we should not be required to cross that bridge until we get to it.

Wallace Hailed by Leader of NAACP

Free Press

Detroit, Mich.

Foreign nations question the sincerity of the United States when it preaches freedom and equal rights for all men and then denies democratic rights to millions of Americans in their own country, Magistrate Joseph A. Rainey, of Philadelphia, said Sunday. He spoke to supporters of Henry A. Wallace for president at the Olivet Baptist Church, 554 Winder. 4-19-48 Mon.

* * *

SPEAKING UNDER auspices of the Progressive Party, of Michigan, the president of the Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, compared Wallace to "another great liberal," Thomas Jefferson.

Meanwhile, Michigan women supporting Wallace for president will inaugurate their campagin with a luncheon Saturday at the Hotel Book-Cadillac. The luncheon will be in honor of Mrs. Wallace. Mon.

The chief speaker at the affair will be Mr. Elinor Gimbel, chairman of the national Women for Wallace Committee. 4-19-48

Mrs. Annabelle McLay, of Birmingham, sister of the candidate, is the chairman of the Michigan committee, and Mrs. Kathleen Hendrie, also of Birmingham, is in charge of luncheon arrangements.

Wallace Wins Place In Eight States

The News-Age-Herald

NEW YORK, June 5—(AP)—Henry A. Wallace has won a place on the ballot in eight states and has failed to qualify in only one so far, his campaign manager said Saturday.

C. B. Baldwin, director of Third Party forces, said Alabama and Utah were the latest states in which Wallace had been certified on the ballot.

34a(1)

The independent presidential candidate previously had qualified in California, New Jersey, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York and Cook County, Ill.

In addition, Baldwin said sufficient signatures have been filed to put Wallace before the voters in Maryland, West Virginia and Oklahoma. Birmingham, Ala.

A court fight over formal certification is on in Oklahoma.

The 11 states have 211 electoral votes out of the total of 531.

Florida is the only state in which the new party has failed to meet the qualifying deadline, Baldwin said. Sun.

This is the one state in which the Wallace strategists had no hopes of getting on the ballot from the start. 6-6-48

His chances also are dubious in Ohio, where the secretary of state yesterday ruled that Wallace could not have a place on the ballot. But this decision is being appealed to the courts.

Wallace Hits 'Tin Gods' as Men's Judges

The Post

Washington D.C.

Henry A. Wallace said last night that the "controlling elements" of the Republican and Democratic parties "are the greatest enemies of a free America."

34a(1)

Wallace spoke at a $6.50-a-plate dinner at the Statler Hotel, sponsored by the Washington Committee for Wallace. 6-26-48 Sun.

In a prepared address, he said the "most paralyzing weapon" of these controlling elements is the word "subversive."

"Anybody who wants to change anything today can be labeled subversive with impunity by the false tin gods who have assumed for themselves the right to sit in judgment on the thoughts of America's citizens," he said.

Topsy—Turvy Morality

He described as a "topsy-turvy morality" one in which:

1. Representative John Rankin (D., Miss.) is a "member of a committee investigating the loyalty of decent citizens."

2. William C. Bullitt, former United States Ambassador to Russia, and George Earle, one-time Governor of Pennsylvania, "can demand that we drop atom bombs on Russia with no fear of an FBI investigation." The Post

"Like the Nazi leader who boasted that re reached for his gun when he heard the word 'culture,' our American gualeiters are whipped into frenzies by ideas of peace, equality and brotherhood," Wallace said. Sun.

The third-party candidate found that Washington has changed since the "vigorous, progressive days of the New Deal." 6-26-48

"Things have retrogressed so far that if you stick a pin into a map of Washington, you can hardly avoid stabbing a military man or an alumnus—a loyal, devoted alumnus—of Wall Street."

Charges Double Talk

Wallace said it was "a safe bet that Mr. Truman will be right 50 per cent of the time ni what he says." Washington D.C.

"He has spoke on both sides of just about everything," he added.

"We can now say of President Truman's civil rights message that the views in the message 'are not necessarily those of the sponsor.' We can go no further. We can say positively that they are not the views of Mr. Truman. Sun.

"While his civil rights message stated that the Secretary of the Army had been instructed to get rid of segregation in the armed forces, Mr. Truman did nothing when Mr. Royall (Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall) said that if he had to carry out such orders he would resign from the Cabinet." 6-26-48

In his attack on Congress Wallace said:

"The Eightieth Congress was the Congress that ignored the needs of the people. It was the Congress of puppets who pranced and danced for the plaudits and profits of the National Association of Manufacturers, the real estate associations, the power lobbies, the monopolistic railroads."

Wallace Group Clears $10,000 Above Expenses First Months

Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, June 16—(NANA) — The Wallace-for-President Committee cleared about $10,000 during the first two months of its operations, above total expenditures of $55,417, a detailed report to the clerk of the House of Representatives states. 6-16-48

The report was submitted by C. B. Baldwin, Wallace's campaign manager. It revealed that 40 New York residents were among the heaviest contributors, with individual gifts as high as $5,000.

The total in the initial report of all contributions—exclusive of other money-raising ventures, including admission paid for the privilege of listening to Wallace—is $65,647. Since this report was filed, however, the Wallace committee has moved into high gear, with an ever rising flow of funds from faithful followers filling the coffers.

Wed. 6-16-48

EXPENDITURES for the committee were running at about $55,000 for each two-month period. These also have risen, as later reports filed with the clerk of the House will reveal. Salaries paid by the Wallace-for-President Committee were not less than $200 a month. Baldwin's totaled approximately twice this figure.

A coincidental touch involving a subcommittee report, issued last Friday by the Thomas committee on un-American activities on Communist activities in Miami, linked the Wallace campaign expense report in a manner likely to give ammunition to critics attacking Wallace. 6-16-48

Theresa Cantor, according to the report made public by Rep. Richard Vail (R., Ill.) is listed as the organizer of a Miami meeting on Feb. 18 for the purpose of raising funds to fight deportation proceedings against alien radicals. Well-known Florida Communists attended. A total of $2,000 was raised.

* * *

ON FEB. 18, according to Baldwin's report, Miss Cantor was paid $500 by the Wallace-for-President Committee for expenses for a Florida meeting.

The Vail report revealed testimony by witnesses, including Florida police officials, who termed Miss Cantor a Communist.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the executive board of the Communist Party, spoke at the meeting.

One expenditure listed a payment of $91.42 to Wallace for travel expenses. Telephone and telegraph tolls to the Southern Conference of Human Welfare headquarters in Washington totaled $10.50. This organization has been cited by the Thomas committee as a Communist-front group.

Policemen Swoop Down, Raid Interracial Meeting

The Afro American

Fifteen Haled Into Court After Janitor Objects to Presence of Colored Student

Sat. 7-10-48
Baltimore

CHICAGO—(ANP) — Presence of a colored student at a Wallace-for-President meeting held at the home of a white University of Chicago student caused the false arrest of 15 party members, they revealed this week.

The members, meeting at the home of Mrs. Lola Davis, were arrested on complaint of the building janitor, Conrad Valentine. They were taken down to the Hyde Park police station and charged with disorderly conduct.

Charges were dismissed the following day by Judge Joseph Druker in Boys Court.

Plan to File Suit

The Afro-American

A five man committee of lawyers from the Civil Rights congress and the Progressive party met July 1 to discuss the filing of suit against the janitor and the building's manager, McKey and Poague, Inc. Baltimore, Md.

Miss Avada Lacefield of Ardmore, Okla., was the colored student at the meeting. Neighbors describe her as quiet and orderly. Members of the group said they knew of Valentine's prejudiced attitude because of an incident in December. Then he objected to the presence of colored guests at a Christmas party in the building.

Label Them 'Communists'

Hyde Park district police also have a reputation for harassing interracial gatherings in this area. When they arrested the group, Capt. Matt Murphy branded the youths as a "branch of Communists." Sat. 7-10-48

The students were drinking iced coffee when police made their entry. A search of the house for evidence of "communism" revealed nothing to the police. They didn ot even find any liquor in the apartment. Miss Lacefield said that the janitor saw her enter, and made two trips to the apartment after she arrived. 7-10-48

Arrest Of Magistrate Joseph Rainey In Phila. Draws Protest From Wallace Group

New York Age
New York, N.Y.
7-24-48

By CONRAD CLARK

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—C. B. Baldwin, of New York, campaign manager of the National Wallace for President Committee, on Saturday sent a telegram to Director of Public Safety, J. P. Malone, protesting the arrest of Magistrate Joseph Rainey of this city on the night before.

The wire, in demanding that "you instruct your police to conduct themselves in a legal manner and to desist from any attacks upon our party or the citizens of Philadelphia", further added that, "we will not tolerate either racial or political discrimination against members of our organization."

New York Age

Rainey was arrested for disorderly conduct and for resisting arrest on Friday night by the police of the 4th Ward Police Station.

The incident first began with the arrest of a John Jenkins, who was driving a "Merry Go Round" sound truck in the area of the 24th Ward (4th Congressional District) where Rainey is seeking election to Congress on the Wallace ticket.

New York, N.Y.

Sponsored by the Philadelphia Progressive group, the truck was advertising the coming Shibe Park Rally, which will be held on Saturday, as a part of the Party's convention.

Police stopped the truck and asked Jenkins for his permit to operate the vehicle. He showed a standard form given him for the purpose, but officers said that it was not a proper permit and took him to the Police Station in the 24th Ward.

7-24-48

Notified by Reba Glassman, who was also in the truck, Rainey accompanied by a photographer then went to the station and asked Police Sergeant Youngblood, who was in charge, if Jenkins was there, but the officer refused to give any information to the Magistrate.

It was Rainey's intention to ask for Jenkins' release in his custody, a customary procedure and privilege on the part of any Philadelphia Magistrate.

Later Youngblood did say Jenkins was at the station but that he had not been arrested, but was only brought to the station to be told that "the equipment was too loud."

New York, N.Y.

On protesting that it was not necessary to take the man in custody to tell him that, Youngblood then is said to have told the magistrate, "you're getting too fresh; get out of here, or I'll throw you out".

Rainey refused to leave without obtaining the information he wanted as to the whereabouts of Jenkins, and said the officer began to push him and called two other officers to assist.

On Rainey's continued protest to leave, he was then arrested on the two charges.

On Saturday the case was heard before Magistrate Hobson Reynolds, Negro Republican candidate for State Senator in the same Congressional District of Rainey.

New York, N.Y.

Louis S. McCabe and Harvey Schmidt represented Rainey, and more than 250 persons attended the hearing. Youngblood charged that Rainey had tried to push him. 7-24-48

Testifying in favor of the magistrate, who weighs about 150 pounds in contrast to the officer who weighs more than 200 lbs. were Mrs. Rainey, his wife; Jack Irvin, the photographer who took pictures of the "pushing", and Mrs. Goldie Watson, the campaign manager of Rainey.

WALLACE'S RIGHT TO BE HEARD

The [illegible]

Whether Henry Wallace's non-segregation tour through the South will be helpful to interracial relations there, whether it will help break down the barriers of prejudice that stand between the man of color and that equality of opportunity that is a basic American principle is, we believe, beside the point. The real point is that under our political system Mr. Wallace is entitled to a hearing, and this regardless of whether he is discussing his own befuddled brand of economics (as this newspaper regards it) or expressing his unquestionably sincere zeal for better human relations. Some misguided hoodlums have been attempting to deny him this right. President Truman speaks for all good Americans when, as he was quoted yesterday, he described these outrages as "a highly un-American business."

Wed 9-1-48

The first three days of Mr. Wallace's tour through the South saw less violence than had been feared. Yet yesterday showed the same ugly pattern as the two preceding days. And one rotten egg thrown at a candidate for the Presidency of the United States is one too many, whether it is thrown in the South or in the North. That is not the way men settle political differences in the United States. We settle such matters in free discussion and then in decision at the ballot box on election day.

New York, N.Y.

The decent people of the South are as ashamed of the exhibitions some of its citizens have given as are all decent Americans, we are sure. We should like to see them insist that their officials and their police give Mr. Wallace whatever protection is necessary to allow him to continue his tour peacefully. To alllow the North Carolina exhibitions to continue, and to increase in intensity, will be to surrender to the Ku Klux Klan mentality that happily has been on the wane there the last few years. Mr. Wallace's tour offers an opportunity to the South to repudiate it in the best way it could be repudiated, by efficiently seeing to it that it isn't allowed to operate.

Wed 9-1-48

Two Negro Colleges Here Favor Wallace Over Truman

34a(1) The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Sun 4-25-48

Henry Wallace is a two-to-one choice for President over President Truman, his nearest rival, according to results of a poll conducted at Morehouse College and Atlanta University.

Of more than 300 students participating, 56.3 percent favored Wallace, while Truman received 23.0 percent of the votes cast; Dewey 12.6 percent; Stassen 2.4 percent; Vandenberg .9 percent; Jim Folsom, Joseph Martin, Eisenhower, A. Phillips Randolph and Earl Warren .3 percent each, leaving 3.3 percent undecided.

The poll, conducted by the student committee of the Wallace for President Committee, showed the following additional results:

The Constitution

Some 70.3 percent said they would support A. Phillip Randolph, President of the Sleeping Car Porters Union, in his effort to end segregation in the Armed Forces by refusing to serve in the Army until segregation is abolished; 23.6 percent said they would not support him and 6.1 percent were undecided.

Atlanta, Ga.

The Southern Governors' plan for regional education met serious defeat, 91.3 percent voting against it and only 4.3 percent for it.

Sun

Students voted 57.1 percent against Universal Military Training and favored aid to Europe through the United Nations rather than the Marshall Plan by a vote of 47.8 percent for UN, 27.1 percent for the Marshall Plan, 6.8 percent undecided and 18.3 percent no answer. 4-25-48

Wallace Appeals For Negro Vote.

34a(1)

The Columbia Record

Tues 8-24-48

Columbia, S.C.

CINCINNATI, O., Aug. 24—(UP) —Henry Wallace, Progressive party presidential candidate, appealed today to the 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States to vote for him and "turn the Jim Crow bigots out."

In a speech prepared for delivery to the Negro Elks convention Wallace compared his new party to "the abolitionists of earlier years."

"Jim Crow has passed a sentence of death against 15,000,000 Americans, and that is why we must say that they are fighting for their very lives," Wallace said. "You here, and 15,000,000 outside this hall, to whom you are related by history, have much to be in motion about."

Wallace said President Truman and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York, "are only more sophisticated versions of their more articulate brother, the candidate of the Dixiecrat party."

He charged President Truman with having "presided over the gradual liquidation of civil rights for the citizens of the United States, 145,000,000 of them."

Mob Violence At Evanston's Wallace Meeting

The Columbia Record

Mon. 4-12-48

Columbia, S.C.

In his recent speeches and pronouncements Henry Wallace, third party candidate, has not distinguished himself for his judicial temperament. He hasn't even distinguished himself for his insight or adherence to facts. He has been deliberately provocative, not hesitating to resort to half-truths or less, appearing more often to champion the interests of the Soviet Union than of the United States.

It isn't strange, therefore, that he should arouse indignation and even hatred.

But, under the American system, Henry Wallace is entitled to have his say even when he is wrong. He is entitled to express his views without molestation.

And the resort to violence in the attempt to break up a Wallace meeting at Evanston, Ind., the other night is a violation of American principles, more important than Wallace or his opponents. Among the basic liberties guaranteed every American citizen are those of freedom of speech and of assembly. It is all very well to disagree with Wal- The members of the Evanston mob v

within their rights in this. More they were right, from The Record's point of view. But there was no need for them to express their disapproval of Wallace's policies by storming the barricaded auditorium in which Wallace was speaking and attempting to deny him and those who wanted to hear him their constitutional liberties. They have a way of expressing their disapproval. It is at the ballot box in November.

Mon.

"Over there in that auditorium," one of the demonstrators gathered outside the Evanston auditorium told the mob, "is a group of people who would destroy your freedom." Yet he, himself, was participating in the destruction of the freedoms of all the people by attempting to deprive Wallace and his followers of their freedoms.

The Record

The psychology of the Evanston mob was the psychology of every lynching mob—the desire to take the law into their own hands and by violence accomplish their purposes. And the Evanston incident occurred, like every real lynching occurs, only through the failure of the law enforcement officers at the scene to be prepared to do what was necessary to retain control and to uphold law and order. It represents a police failure and it reflects upon Evanston and the state of Indiana. 4-12-48

Columbia, S.C.

Cultured Nashville Gives Henry Wallace Splendid Reception

The Nashville Globe

34a(1)

Candidates Speech, Based On Bible And Constitution, Well Taken By Large Crowd

Fri 9-10-48

Nashville, Tenn.

Race Prejudice is the "Achilles Heel" of the United States, former Vice Pres. Henry Agard Wallace told a crowd of some 3,000 who greeted him here on Saturday of last week, when he reached Nashville on his Southern tour in the interest of his candidacy for the presidency on the Progressive Ticket.

The candidate received the most heart-warming reception in Nashville of any place he had visited and at the end of his brief, but eloquent speech, from the steps of the War Memorial Building, Mr. Wallace appeared reluctant to leave the city and his large crowd of listeners appeared reluctant to sete him leave.

Mr. Wallace had made such a speech as will make an impression on any intelligent audience as the one that had assembled to hear him in Nashville. Apparently his crowd was made up in a large measure of church people, people from labor organizations and from our educational institutions. Some 500 or more of his hearers were colored. It might not be accurate to say that all or any large percentage of those who heard Mr. Wallace speach will vote for him. But his hearers very generally were out to go on record in silent protest against the hoodlum receptions that the candidate has received in other parts of the South. They were anxious for him to see Nashville as she really is—a city of culture and a city of people able to appreciate a man who says he bases his views on fundamental principles of true Americanism.

34a(1)

Mr. Wallace used the teachings of the Bible, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as the basis of his address. When it had ended there was little disposition to call the candidate a "dangerous Communist" which is the picture the reactionary press has painted of him.

Sat 9-10-48

No fault could be found with anything Mr. Wallace said. And when he told of how he had done as Christ had done when not received by people in the places he visited—that is, shook the dust of those cities off his feet, and that the candidate's action had been approved by a Baptist preacher in one Southern town, it had a sobering effect on any who had come to jeer or engage in cowardly attacks on the speaker with eggs and tomatoes.

Fri 9-10-48

There was one newspaper account of an egg being thrown, but much suspicion attaches to that episode, despite the picture of a nenwspaper photographer who apparently had been spattered by a thrown egg. Persons who were quite close to Mr. Wallace never saw any egg throwing. There was no commotion such as one would expect from such an incident. But admittedly a sensational story about Candidate Wallace with pictures of him or any spectator being hit by an egg is something that will sell newspapers.

Mr. Wallace in his reference to race prejuudice being the "Achilles Heel" of the United States—iis most vulnerable spot—stated that the South Americans distrust this nation's claims of being a democracy, largely because of the way its colored citizens are discriminated against. The speaker's intentions were to show thoughtful people how weak our defense of this country can be if South of the Border millions of the nation's neighbors can be convinced by foreign governments that the United States practices race discrimination while it preaches Christianity and democracy.

34a(1)

Mr. Wallace called upon the South to abide by the teachings of the Bible and the Constitution, including all of its amenndments. It was the kind of speech that made people think rather than cheer, without doing any thinking, which is the usual strategy candidates employ to win supporters.

The "biggest hand" Mr. Wallace got was when he paid tribute to Mr. Jennings Perry, former editor of the Nashville TENNESSEAN, now a columnist on the New York STAR, who made a lasting name for himself by his brilliant fight to secure repeal of the poll tax.

Fri 9-10-48

In taking note of the attacks on him for showing friendship for Russia, and thereby getting charged with being a Communist, Mr. Wallace first stated that he was opposed to any Americans who held allegiance to Moscow. He said also that he was opposed to those Americans who held allegiance to London and Rome. He stated that he has been flaying those Americans who show an allegiance to London at the same time he flays those who hold allegiance to Moscow, but the daily papers in every place refuse to print what he says about London.

Mr. Wallace was introduced by Jordan Stokes III, colorful leader of Progressive elements of this city. There was no attempt made to segregate the persons who attended the speaking, as had been done in Birmingham, which city Mr. Wallace passed up making a speech when the authorities tried to rope off the people along racial lines.

Even in Memphis, Mr. Wallace was able to speak to an unsegregated audience and in Knoxville he spoke to an unsegregated crowd in a large colored church of Knoxville.

Trumanites and Dixicrats are the chief enemies of Mr. Wallace's candidacy in the South. Republicans are not disturbed because they feel he merely is dividing the Democrats and providing a "haymaking" opportunity for the Republicans. As a result of the Wallace candidacy, according to a broadcast made last Sunday night by Walter Winchell, Mr. Truman, in the opinion of the Democratic high command, will not carry over two states north of the Mason and Dixon Line.

21,000 Pack Chicago Hall To Hear Henry Wallace

Daily Worker

By Ruby Cooper New York, N.Y. Mon. 4-12-48

CHICAGO, April 11.—This city outdid itself in its reception for Henry Wallace Saturday night when more than 21,000 persons packed the giant Chicago Stadium to capacity with another estimated 4,000 turned away. Rocking the huge stadium with thunderous applause throughout the rally, the vast throng gave the new party's presidential candidate and his running-mate, Sen. Glen Taylor, a dramatic demonstration of the powerful existing support for the third party in this second largest city of the nation. 4-12-48

Akin to the oviation given Franklin D. Roosevelt in the same hall in 1944, the rally surpassed in size, applause and financial contributions any ever addressed by Wallace throughout the country, including Madison Square Garden in New York, a spokesman for Wallace said after.

FIRST TIME TOGETHER

It was the first public rally at which the two candidates heading the new party ticket appeared together.

Wallace looked around the Stadium and asked: "I want to know if you feel as good as I do having Senator Glen Taylor running with me?" Daily Worker

From the huge audience there came back a rolling road: "Yes."

"We have made great progress in the fight for peace since our historic meeting here at the Chicago Stadium less than a year ago," Wallace went on. New York, N.Y.

"A year ago we were unorganized. We were many hearts separately dedicated to work for peace. Our voices were barely heard. 4-12-48

"But tonight we are strong. We have organizations which can speak the language politicians understand—the language of votes," he said, as resounding cheers echoed through the Stadium.

TUGWELL PRECEDES THEM

Preceding Wallace and Taylor on the platform had been Rexford G. Tugwell, former adviser to Franklin D. Roosevelt; Rebecca Styles Taylor, nationally prominent Negro women's club leader; Albert Fitzgerald, international president of CIO United Electrical Workers, and Paul Robeson.

"We have a program of our own and we have inspired leaders," Tugwell told the rally. "There are millions of us—enough to stand alone. Enough, maybe, to win an election. Enough anyway to establish a movement which will grow until it wins." 4-12-48

Mrs. Taylor said: "Negro women of America are no longer like helpless birds beating their wings against an iron cage. They are free citizens who will exercise without fear, without compromise their rights at the polls; they will [illegible] their ballots to stop the bullets that are being fashioned for the wanton slaughter of our fellow men. They will vote for the champion of the common man, Henry Wallace." 4-12-48

FITZGERALD GETS OVATION

Introduction of Fitzgerald drew an ovation from the crowd, including a real cross-section of trade union members in the city. "I can already report to you that many millions of rank and file workers of CIO, AFL and Railroad labor are already mobilizing to support labor's candidates in 1948, to support Wallace and Taylor," the UE president said.

"As chairman of the National Labor Committee for Wallace I am confident that by November, 1948, labor will come forth to support Henry Wallace for President just as they came forward time after time to elect Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Alluding to efforts of CIO leaders to have the Democratic Party nominate a candidate other than Truman, Fitzgerald said "it is not enough to talk of lifting the face of the candidate so long as the driving forces of the Democratic Party remains the big city bosses and Southern reactionaries.

Daily Worker

"And no war hero, however distinguished, of no Supreme Court justice, can expect the support of Labor so long as this unholy alliance controls the Democratic Party and so long as the Truman Program of war, strike-breaking, compulsory military training, double-talk on Negro rights, and attacks on political freedom continue."

ROBESON SINGS

An especially heavy ovation greeted Paul Robeson, who introduced to the Mid-West the new party's campaign song. The Battle Hymn of the People's Party, in which the entire audience joined in singing. New York, N.Y.

Presentation of the vice-presidential candidate, Sen. Taylor then set off a demonstration of cheering and prolonged applause. Mon.

Wallace was introduced by Dr. Maude Slye, famous cancer scientist, who was presented by Studs Terkel, prominent radio disc jockey, with the words: "As France has its Madame Curie, so America has its Maude Slye." 4-12-48

In his denunciation of the war hysteria promoted by the bi-partisan coalition, Wallace said "I have been asked many times to join in the highly emotional attacks on Communists, attacks which provoke violence and lead to the suppression of civil liberties. Mon.

"I will not join a chorus that has no purpose but the suppression of civil rights," he declared firmly. "I do not fear the Communists or the ideas of Communism, if we keep and extend our democratic system." 4-12-48

An estimated $35,000 was contributed to the Wallace campaign to an appeal for funds from William Gailmor, New York radio commentator. More than half the audience rose and waved dollar bills when Gailmor asked the rally to dramatically show its support for Wallace and the new party.

WALLACE IN RACE TO STAY, HE SAYS

Times

He Replies to Prediction He Would Quit Before Election —Hails Rail Labor Plan

New York, N.Y.

COEUR D'ALENE, Idaho, May 26 (AP)—Henry A. Wallace said today that he would remain in the 1948 presidential race until the last votes were counted in November. He replied to a Chicago address by Arthur Krock, chief Washington correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, who said he believed the former Vice President would abandon the race before November. Thu. 5-27-48

Mr. Wallace also handed reporters prepared statements on the demands of railway labor leaders for government ownership of railroads and settlement of the General Motors labor dispute. He said the action of the Railway Labor Executives Association was "highly significant" in that it "looks toward possible public ownership." 5-27-48

"The statement has significance for every citizen interested in stopping the course toward fascism on which we are headed by the bi-partisans," he added. Times

The third-party candidate predicted that the General Motors settlement might establish a pattern to be followed in other plants and industry. He voiced the hope that this pattern could be "forced on Big Steel, the key industry which has been adamant in its refusal to meet the workers' demands."

WALLACE PLEADS FOR RIGHTS BILL

The Times-Picayune

34a(1)

Calls on Senate to Pass Anti-Lynch Measure

New Orleans, La. Mon. 5-24-48

(The Associated Press)

New York, May 23.—Henry A. Wallace called on the Senate today to pass an anti-lynching bill and other civil rights legislation before recessing the present session of Congress.

The third-party presidential candidate, in a letter sent to Senate Leaders Vandenberg, R., Mich., and Barkley, D., Ky., said:

"I must protest with all the force at my command the failure of the Senate judiciary committee, reported in the press last week, to vote out the anti-lynch bill. . . . I respectfully urge, on behalf of the members of our new party that the Senate reconsider the decision of the judiciary committee and move for passage of the anti-lynch bill and other civil rights legislation before recessing the Congress."

He mentioned specifically the pending anti-poll tax act and the fair employment practices bill.

Wallace added: The Times-Picayune

"I am confident that determined action of the leadership of both parties will defeat a filibuster. And such action on the part of both parties will serve notice that the rights of Negroes shall not continue to be the subject of partisan politics." New Orleans, La.

The former vice-president said he believed no legislation "could be of greater importance to the protection of millions of Negro citizens in a period of growing attacks on their Democratic rights." Mon. 5-24-48

The letter was made public here by the National Wallace for President Committee.

1,000 AT COLUMBIA HEAR HOWARD FAST

The Times

34a(1)

Students at Wallace Meeting Call on Congress to Defeat Draft and UMT Bills

New York, N.Y. Sat. 4-17-48

One thousand Columbia University students attended an "Enlist For Peace" rally called yesterday noon by the Columbia chapter of "Students for Wallace." Howard Fast, writer, who was barred from speaking on the campus last December, was the principal speaker. The rally was held in the university's McMillin Academic Theater.

The student audience approved a resolution urging that Congress defeat legislation for a draft and universal military training. Walter Wallace, national co-chairman of Students for Wallace (no relation to Henry A. Wallace), submitted the resolution. One hundred and sixty-three dollars was contributed by the students to support the Wallace Presidential campaign.

Fast Denounces Leaders

Mr. Fast denounced President Truman, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal and John Foster Dulles as "obscene, hideous people who can sign a death warrant that will murder 50,000,000 people without a thought." He said they were "no longer of the same species as you and I." The Times

He attacked American "military participation in the war in Greece" and "American support of the dictator Chiang Kai-shek." He continued: "Truman, Dulles, Forrestal, the du Ponts and the Rockefellers, who have no decency or morality, are turning Americans into a new anti-democratic imperialistic nation that in time will rule the world. New York City

"We have one man who is leading a great national movement. They are terrified of this man because he is honest and an idealist. That man is Henry Wallace. He can't be stopped. He will be swept into office." Sat. 4-17-48

Professor Opposes UMT

Sat. 4-17-48

Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, Professor of Engineering emeritus at Columbia, said universal military training would reduce enrollment in colleges by 60 per cent.

"America's youth will not be free to choose its education," he declared. "UMT would rob our youth of the most important opportunities in their lives." Times

Referring to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's position regarding Negroes in the armed forces, the Rev. Ben Richardson, executive-secretary of the Harlem Committee for Wallace, said: Times

"A man with a mentality like that cannot run an institution like this (Columbia University), much less be president of our nation."

Before the rally, Dorothy Ozeroff, graduate history student at Columbia, pushed Bob Persons, graduate economics student wearing a military uniform and a baby bonnet, around in a baby carriage. A sign on the carriage said, "I won't raise my son to be a soldier."

Other students distributed circulars and appealed for signatures to a petition urging defeat of universal military training. Two students sold copies of "The Daily Worker." New York, N.Y.

Southern State News.
34a(1)
Charleston, W. Va.

Floridians to 'Stick-in' Wallace on Ballot

7-18-48

TAMPA, Fla.—Unable to get on the ballot for the national election in November, the People's Progressive Party of Florida decided at a state-wide conference, held in this city, to vote for Henry Wallace for President by the "stick-in" vote.

Ironically, Tom Watson, state attorney general, the most reactionary office holder in Florida, ruled that the "stick-in" vote is legal.

Five per cent of the registered voters in the state must re-register from the old parties into the People's Progressive Party in order to assure it a place on the ballot in the Democraatic (white) primary, held the first week in May.

When the National Wallace for President Committee met in New York and mapped out strategy many months ago, "Florida was the only state given up as hopeless," so the country's press reported. The Wallace workers in the "Sunshine State," who formed the new party last February, however, didn't give up but, rather, set 35 thousand registered names as their goal.

★

BUT THOUSANDS OF NAMES in the city of Tampa alone, where the cigar workers successfully campaigned for Wallace, as well as elsewhere in the state, were **declared illegal by county registers who ruled that those who registered for the New Party must do so in person at the county court house.** Thus thousands of properly signed blanks, giving addresses of the signers, were thrown out too late to rally these voters to comply with the new and unexpected ruling.

Shortly before last Sunday, the state attorney general made his ruling public, doubtless to favor politicians who eye the illiterate vote which is best obtained by the "stick-in" method of voting. The state representatives of the new party and the heads of various committees as well as active workers from all over Florida, voted unanimously to take advantage of this opportunity to register a huge protest vote from among its members and supporters against a state law which makes it almost impossible for a third party to get on the ballot.

The Florida law further provides that 5% of the votes cast in the general election, on two successive national elections, will place the minority party on the ballot—eight years hence. The alternative is for the new party to register the same five per cent of the number of voters who will vote in the forthcoming May primary—before it is known exactly how many will register in the Democratic (white) primary. Such is the election law in this southern state of white supremacy.

The Southern State

THESE RESTRICTIONS only served to stimulate the large number of self sacrificing members of the People's Progressive Party of Florida and through their officers and leading committees they decided to print thousands of such "stick-in" vote-stickers for distribution to their members, friends and many registered voters in the Democratic party.

Tampa will be broken down into blocks and Wallace campaigners will work block by block, visiting every house to urge use of the "stick-in" vote.

7-18-48

Along with this decision, the conference voted to continue the state-wide petition campaign of signatures urging Secretary Gray to place the new party on the ballot.

John M. Coe, chairman of the new party in Florida, presided and secretary Marjorie Haynes reported that Mr. Coe had just concluded a speaking tour through the North and Central parts of the state. "There is a growth of activity throughout the state," reported Coe.

It must not be left out that at all these mass meetings Negroes sat next to white persons and in most cities it was for the first time in the history of the town. All Wallace meetings are non-segregated. They have been since Wallace came to Tampa and Miami, Fla.

WALLACE COMES HERE UNNOTICED BY CROWDS

The Times
New York

Henry A. Wallace, Progressive party nominee for President, arrived unnoticed by the crowds in Pennsylvania Station at 3:38 P. M. yesterday on a train from Philadelphia.

"The convention has been a success," he told interviewers. "It has indicated to us that we will roll, roll and keep rolling along."

Mr. Wallace, who was accompanied by Mrs. Elinor Gimbel, head of the women's division of the new party, continued: Tues

"The crowd of young people at the convention has given the new party hope that even though we lose in 1948 they will be with us in years to come."

24a(1)

Mr. Wallace was interviewed as he walked rapidly to the taxi stand on Thirty-first Street where he took a cab for Grand Central Terminal. He said he was going to his home in South Salem, N. Y., where he planned to work in his garden and "pull weeds." 7-27-48

The candidate appeared tired but forced a smile as he was interviewed. He wore a light blue summerweight suit, a Panama hat, white shirt, red tie and black shoes. He carried a brown valise.

Negroes in Ohio Town Sign Up for Wallace

By Elmer O. Fehlhaber

RAVENNA, O., April 25.—This semi-industrial town of 12,000 persons, about 40 miles southeast of Cleveland, was selected by my wife and myself to test a statement we had heard made by William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party, at a rally in Cleveland.

Both of us had been circulating petitions in Portage County, where Ravenna is located. We had seen all kinds of people, farmers, students from Hiram College and Kent University, industrial workers and others.

34a(1) Pers.

We had found that because of the barrage of propaganda by the press and the radio against Henry Wallace that collecting signatures sometimes was slow, that it was necessary to spend consideable time in explaining the details of the new party program.

New York, N.Y.

We recalled the words of Foster that "the Negro people constitute the most progressive section of the population" and we decided that Ravenna would be a good place to test this contention.

PICK NEGRO AREA

Not knowing too much about Ravenna, we were uncertain just where to go but with the aid of a friendly postman we were directed to a neighborhood where he informed us about 500 Negroes resided.

Despite his careful directions, we had difficulty in locating the settlement. We went out Route 14, the main highway to Cleveland, and nearly missed the turnoff. It was a dirt road and we found that in this unincorporated comunity, which lies just outside Ravenna, there is not a single paved street.

Mon. 4-26-48

And we found that there is a reason why the Negroes were pushed into this spot where they are denied municipal government.

NO RUNNING WATER

The residents call the place "Township" for they are under the jurisdiction of that governmental body. And the white officials of the township, although people have been living in the area since 1926, still refuse to spend the necessary funds to provide running water.

"Township" is a collection of ramshackle structures, most of which were obviously constructed by the inhabitants. They are neat and behind practically every home is a garden that is being prepared for spring planting.

FIRST STOP

Daily Worker

We made our first stop by a group of men who were digging a ditch by the side of a road.

Some had heard of Wallace, others hadn't. I passed out literature and then one man, who had heard Wallace speak over the radio from the new party conference in Chicago, took over.

He signed himself and urged the others to sign.

"We need a man like Wallace," he said.

New York, N.Y.

FDR WON'T DIE

He scanned a picture of Roosevelt on a piece of literature.

"That man," he said, "will never die."

4-26-48

We split up then, my wife heading for one group of houses while

It was from these two men that I learned that the Negro people have been hit hard by unemployment in Ravenna. Many of them had been employed at the arsenal whose war time production jumped the population of the town by thousands. The arsenal has only a small crew now.

New York, N.Y.

I asked if any Negroes were employed in the large plant of the Cleveland Worsted Mills in Ravenna. This plant is under contract with the United Textile Workers, CIO.

Daily Worker

"Not a one," was the answer.

I forced myself to end my interesting conversation and go on to other homes. The reception was unvarying. Those who knew of Wallace signed without hesitation. Those who were unfamiliar read over the literature and then signed.

Incidentally, the old myth, about women not signing without their husband's permission was thoroughly shattered. And in a number of instances, the women folk were more aggressive from a point of political action.

Mon. 4-26-48

I turned in another direction. I approached a man coming out of a house.

He shut me off rather coldly when I offered the petition with an explanation. I did not press him but gave him some literature.

I had taken only about a dozen steps when he called out: "Hey, wait a minute."

As I returned there was a broad grin on his face. He reached for his petition.

Mon.

"I didn't understand you," he explained. "Of course I'll sign for Henry Wallace."

EX-COAL MINERS

At the next step I found two former coal miners working in a garden. One of them was from Belmont county in the Ohio valley and we soon found that we had mutual acquaintances in the coal fields.

4-26-48

They signed the petition and we went on to discuss the victory of the coal miners in the pension fight.

"They beat that man Truman," the Belmont county miner said.

Hampton Prof. Helps Head Wallace Group

RICHMOND, Va.—(ANP)—Dr. L. F. Palmer, professor of education at Hampton institute, was elected vice chairman of the Virginia Wallace-for-President committee at a meeting here May 9. Five other Negroes were elected as officers and committee members.

5-21-48

Meeting in the hall of the American Veterans committee, the 100 or more Wallace supporters mapped plans for a state party convention June 26-27 and named an executive board to direct Mr. Wallace's campaign.

Mrs. Virginia Foster Durr, of Alexandria, Va., was elected state chairman of the Virginia Wallace-for-President committee. She is the wife of Federal Communications commissioner Clifford L. Durr.

George Elwood, who has established offices here, is executive secretary of the Virginia Wallace-for-President committee. He reported after the meeting that the Mosque might be the place of the June convention. Elwood also said that the group is anxious to get the support of Negro voters since it is firm in its opposition to all types of racial discrimination, segregation, inequalities, and restrictions.

5-21-48

GALLUP POLL The Constitution

Where Is Wallace's Strength?

Atlanta, Ga.

By GEORGE GALLUP,
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion.

PRINCETON, N. J.—As the political spotlight turns on the first national convention of the Wallace Third Party, these are the main features about the rank-and-file supporters of Henry A. Wallace:

1. He is proportionately twice as strong among young voters as he is among those over 50 years old. Out of every 100 voters under 30 years, eight today say they would vote for Wallace, compared with four out of each 100 over 50 years of age. Fri. 7-23-48

WALLACE VOTE BY AGE

21-29 years	8%
30-49 years	7
50 and over	4

34a(1)

2. Relatively three times as many people in the Pacific Coast and Middle Atlantic States support Wallace as in the Solid South. One out of every 10 voters in the Pacific Coast States wants him as president.

WALLACE VOTE BY SECTIONS

New England	4%
Middle Atlantic	9
Central	5
South	3
West	4
Far West	10

7-23-48

3. Wallace's strength among manual workers is relatively double his support among the nation's farmers, and union members are even a little more inclined to vote for him than unorganized labor.

WALLACE VOTE BY OCCUPATION

Prof. and Bus.	6%
White Collar	6
Farmers	4
Manual Workers	8
Union Members	9

4. Voters supporting the Third Pary are relatively three times as numerous in the large cities as in small communities. While every eighth voter in cities over 500,000 population is a Wallace supporter, in the small towns the Third Party vote gets down to one in 25.

WALLACE VOTE BY CITY SIZE

Under 10,000	4%
10,000 to 100,000	6
100,000 to 500,000	6
Over 500,000	12

5. But the group where the new party makes its most powerful and effective appeal is the independent voters, who were so largely responsible for President Roosevelt's successes at the polls. About one in every seven independent voters today says he will support the Third Party candidate.

6. Veterans of World War II also give Wallace above average support, one in 11 of these men today naming him as their choice for president.

Taylor Sees 200,000 Georgia Wallace Votes

34a(1) Constitution

Sat 5-8-48

Vice Presidential Candidate Glen Taylor predicted here Friday that he and Henry Wallace would poll 200,000 votes in Georgia in the presidential election this November.

The Idaho Senator said support from a third of the State's electorate was due to an awakening in the South of Negroes and "so-called poor whites" who do not want to go back to conditions existing before the war.

Taylor, keynote speaker at the Georgia Wallace-for-President Committee's founding convention in Macon today, arrived here Friday with his wife and six-year-old son, John Paul, from Washington.

People who want peace instead of billions spent for a "suicidal and idiotic war" also will support the Wallace ticket, Taylor affirmed. Constitution

"I'm not an appeaser or 'peace at any price' man," he said. "I'd vote for universal military training and the draft if I were convinced Russia was a threat to world peace."

Taylor said he was brought up in Texas to believe in segregation. He said he now believed the Southern "fetish" against Negroes, propagated by men who wish to divide and conquer, would subside with a little forbearance by both whites and Negroes if segregation were eliminated by law. Sat 5-8-48

Regarding the Macon convention, Taylor said he would refuse to speak if any city authorities insisted on a segregated audience. Don West, Vice President of the Georgia Wallace-for-President Committee, said. Macon officials had agreed to an unsegregated private meeting.

Wallace Arrives In Little Rock Without Incident

News Birmingham, Ala. 34a(1)

Candidate Target Of Eggs, Tomatoes In Louisiana Cities

Fri-3-12-48

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Sept. 3 — Henry Wallace arrived by plane in Little Rock early today virtually unnoticed and without incident.

The Progressive Party presidential candidate flew here from Shreveport, La., arriving at 12:38 a.m.

The former vice president and a party of 21 stepped from the plane into waiting automobiles and were whisked to the union station where he boarded his private railroad coach.

THERE WAS NO reception for Wallace as he brought his presidential campaign to Arkansas just after leaving Shreveport.

As he left a Shreveport radio station for the airport an estimated half-dozen eggs splashed about Wallace's car. 3-19-48

Wallace was refused four places sought for a speech before choosing to talk to his Arkansas followers by radio this morning.

The Progressive Party candidate, safely in the plane at Shreveport before eggs struck it brought with him to Little Rock conflicting memories of his tour of yesterday through Mississippi and Louisiana.

IN LOUISIANA, TOMATOES were hurled in Monroe and his car was spattered with eggs in Shreveport. 3-19-48

The egg-throwing came after he had completed a talk at a Shreveport radio station.

As he emerged, half a dozen eggs splattered his car. They were hurled by unidentified persons in a crowd of several hundred who gathered at the station. Wallace was not struck.

Shortly before that Wallace's campaign manager said in New York that "powers in Southern political life" have organized the disturbances which have punctuated Wallace's Southern tour.

C. B. BALDWIN said in a statement, "it is clear now that these outbreaks were not spontaneous but organized and encouraged by the powers in Southern political life."

In the radio address here Wallace said he is hated by some for his "idea of human freedom" because "it means equality for Negroes."

Asking "who gains from making race prejudice a flaming sword," Wallace asserted:

"The answer does not lie in the South. There is a long chain that links unknown hoodlums in a North Carolina or Alabama mill town with men in cutaway and finely tailored business suits—men who are found in the great financial centers of New York and Boston—men who make a dollar and cents profit by setting race against race in the far away South."

Before coming to Louisiana Wallace breakfasted at a Mississippi junior college for Negroes, attended the state convention of his party, accompanied party officials to the capitol to start procedure for putting Wallace electors on the Mississippi ballot and made a radio address—all before 9:30 a.m.

He spoke at Vicksburg to an unsegregated audience and then crossed the Mississippi River into Louisiana.

News

Wallace Opens Tennessee Drive In Speech Tonight

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 3—(AP)—Progressive Party Presidential Candidate Henry A. Wallace will open his Tennessee campaign here tonight with a speech at Bellevue Park. Birmingham

The Progressive Party committee here said the park meeting would be unsegregated in accordance with Wallace's policy. The former vice president will be introduced by Clark Foreman of Washington, national treasurer of the party. Ala-Fri 9-3-48

Wallace has been promised full police protection while in Memphis.

Wallace Carries On After Hectic Carolina Scenes

The News 34a(1)

Birmingham, Ala.

Writ May Be Sought Against Segregation At Meeting Here

Henry Wallace, only two days away from his scheduled visit to Alabama, today moved farther into North Carolina, a state which greeted him yesterday with a mixture of eggs, boos and cheers.

Wallace ended his first day south of the Mason-Dixon line at the home of a wealthy Negro at Durham, N. C., a few hours after his oratory was interrupted by egg hurling, pickets and catcalls.

Mon. 8-30-48

* * *

AT BIRMINGHAM, where Wallace is scheduled to speak on the courthouse steps at 4:30 p.m. Wednesday, leaders of the Progressive Party of Alabama said they were studying the possibility of obtaining a court injunction to prevent Public Safety Commissioner Eugene Connor from enforcing city segregation laws when Wallace talks.

J. P. Mooney, campaign director for the Progressive Party, criticized the County Commission's action in issuing a permit for Wallace to speak here subject to compliance with city and state segregation laws.

Mooney charged the commission's action was "dictated by Police Commissioner Connor."

"Never before in the history of Birmingham," Mooney said, "have the police required that open-air political meetings be segregated."

W. D. Kendrick, County Commission president, replied that the commission issued the permit "on our own hook, on our own responsibility. . . . Mr. Connor doesn't tell the County Commission what to do."

COUNTY COMMISSIONER Earl Bruner issued this statement:

"As a county commissioner, I voted to permit the Progressive Party to hold a meeting on the courthouse steps. I did this simply to permit them the right of peaceable assembly, provided they comply strictly with all ordinances and laws. This they will be required to do. 8-30-48

"It makes little difference to me whether or not Henry Wallace makes a political speech in Birmingham. My considered opinion is that we would be better off if he continued his rabble-rousing elsewhere." Mon.

Another development in Wallace's coming visit was the disclosure that officials of the City Park and Recreation Board have denied use of city parks for the Wallace meeting. 34a(1)

King Sparks, Jr., park board superintendent, said a delegation from the Progressive Party asked him for permission to use McLendon Park. He said this permission was denied because a baseball game is scheduled for Wednesday afternoon there on the spot where the party wanted to hold its meeting. The News

He told the delegation there were three other reasons why the meeting could not be held at other city parks. Birmingham

1. The city's parks are dedicated or deeded as white parks or Negro parks, and therefore mixed meetings of the races would violate those deeds. Ala.

2. City ordinances prohibit "the co-mingling of the races."

3. The park board has a rule that city parks may not be used for religious or political meetings.

* * *

WALLACE IS SCHEDULED to appear in the following Alabama cities Wednesday: Decatur, Huntsville, Guntersville, Gadsden, Birmingham, Fairfield, Bessemer and Tuscaloosa. Mon.

* * *

Wallace addressed the North Carolina convention of the Progressive Party yesterday to climax a day of whirlwind activity which included speeches earlier at Norfolk and Richmond, Va.

* * *

OBVIOUSLY PLEASED with his reception in Virginia, the former vice president declared upon arrival in Durham, N. C.: 8-30-48

"If what I saw in Virginia today, and what I see here is any criterion of what we'll get further on, then I'll be satisfied." Mon.

Inhospitality flared for the first time shortly before Wallace reached the downtown armory where the Progressive convention was held. A group of men mostly veterans, police said, marched into the meeting carrying critical banners.

"Send Wallace to Russia"—"Wallace is a Mockery of Southern Conventions"—"Wallace, the Hitler of Today," the banners read.

A chair hit one of the banner carriers as the crowd, estimated at 1,300 whites and Negroes, sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

The presidential aspirant was barely into his speech when boos and firecrackers interrupted.

He proposed a $4,000,000,000 federal aid program for the South and as he attempted to continue his message, eggs were thrown into the audience from the side doors of the building.

The crowd rose to its feet and Wallace pleaded:

"Please sit down! Please sit down!"

At another juncture when interrupted, Wallace told the audience:

"WHAT YOU ARE DOING here tonight will be published all over the world. I hope newsmen will not play up the violent demonstration in view of the more important things that have taken place here today."

Continuing his address the Iowan said the South's basic problem is that it's people "receive only a tithe of the fruits of their labor." The South has proved that it is capable of producing as well as other parts of the country, he added.

"I propose that the federal government advance a $1,000,000,000 a year for four years to aid Southern industry and agriculture. And this should be in addition to federal aid for schools, hospitals, homes, health and social security."

He proposed that half the money be used for industry to build Southern owned and controlled factories paying high wages and the other half be extended to agriculture "to help the honest and industrious farmer establish a sound and solvent agriculture."

He asserted that billions of dollars are taken from the South annually by corporations owned by non-residents. "We Progressives propose only that the federal government, through taxation, return to the people of the South a part of the stolen fruits of their toil and sweat." The News

WALLACE SAID HE welcomes support from all those who "believe in peace." Birmingham

"I advocate some of the things that Communists advocate. But I also advocate some of the things that the Methodists advocate. I don't care whether it is the Communists who believe in peace, or whether it is the Methodists who believe in peace—I want the support of all the men of good will who believe in peace. Ala.

"Men of ill will who owe allegiance to some foreign capital whether it be London, or Rome, or Moscow—I don't want their support." Mon.

* * *

EARLIER IN THE DAY Wallace opened his Southern swing with talks at Norfolk and then Richmond, Va.

At Norfolk he ripped into both Democrats and Republicans, accusing their policy-makers of using the "language of peace and the language of brotherhood for the purpose of deceiving.

"We are closer to war, closer to chaos, further from peace than we were two years ago."

Moving swiftly to Richmond, Wallace took up the cudgels against the States' Rights Democrats.

"The Dixiecrats are an invention to divert the people of the South from the real problems to false ones, from high prices to hot words, and from the great issue of war and peace to the rantings of demogugues. 8-30-48

"The men who have held the South in bondage . . , are frightened. They must retain their poll tax barriers to political freedom. They must retain their wage differentials and the flow of their dividentials and the flow of their dividends out from the South. They must wield the club of segregation to defend their profits.

"So, they conjure up the Dixiecrats and they prepare a diversionary circus."

Wallace Treated Wrongly

News

To the Editor of The News:

Today (Sept. 2) as I read your paper I was disappointed in the behavior of the people of our city. I was disappointed in our city commissioners, especially Mr. Bull Connor.

I think it's time for a change to be made in our city. I am a native of Birmingham and I'm proud of it, but I don't think the people of Birmingham are getting a chance to hear this political question on both sides.

I happened to be in Huntsville yesterday and was fortunate enough to hear Mr. Wallace speak. The people in Huntsville were very respectful toward Mr. Wallace. He wasn't denied the privilege of speaking. His talk interested me much, and his ideas are fine. I'm not for communism in any way. I'm for right and whoever it hurts doesn't make any difference to me. Right is right, and because a few political leaders in Birmingham failed to do their job, the people of Birmingham were denied a right. 8-6-48

I'm sure Mr. Wallace did not feel free to speak. There is a law against violence, and not a law against free public speech, yet the city commissioner, Mr. Connor, stood by and with the police let a group of men demonstrate mob violence.

Why weren't the guilty ones put in jail where they belong? Because, in my opinion, the big political machine in Birmingham is against Mr. Wallace and didn't care what happened to him. Birmingham, Ala

I'm not a member of the Progressive Party. I was born a Democrat and I'll die a Democrat. But as long as our City Commission is infested with men like Bull Connor we will get one side of politics, just as we have in the past. Wake up, people of Birmingham, don't let Mr. nobody deny you the right you deserve. You should have heard him (Mr. Wallace) speak. I'm not for him but if it had been anyone, whoever it might be, whatever he might say, right or wrong, you will never know. Mr. Wallace should have been shown more respect.

CARL STATUM.

1118 Fourth Terrace, West.

What Kind of Logic Is Johnson Using, Anyhow?

Star. New York N.Y.

Deutsch

It is hard to assess accurately at this point, the results of Henry Wallace's dramatic tour through the South in terms of permanent impact on that region's "peculiar institutions." I, for one, feel that it represents one of the most important contributions to racial democracy ever made in the course of a presidential campaign.

Infinitely more important than the egg-throwing incidents is the fact that Wallace, bravely penetrating into the deepest recesses of racial prejudice, has demonstrated that even there it is possible for relatively large numbers of white and Negro citizens to gather together in peaceful assemblage on a non-segregated basis. The wonder is not that Wallace's daring deed evoked some violent reaction, but that it did not evoke more. In many key communities of the South, Wallace has torn wide open the fabric of discrimination; it remains for genuine democrats to extend the breach.

It was inevitable that Wallace would be angrily denounced as a trouble-maker, disturbing the peace of places where idyllic racial harmony had reigned before. The same cry was raised when William Lloyd Garrison and his fellow-abolitionists dared condemn slavery on its home grounds; it was repeated, in another context, when the pioneer labor organizers invaded the unorganized sweatshops of the South. Wed. 9-22-48

The highest realm of unreality and unfairness is reached, however, by those pro-Truman Southern liberals who now try to pin on Henry Wallace the blame for the election of Earl Long and Herman Talmadge as governors of Louisiana and Georgia, respectively. What kind of logic do they use when they imply that the Wallace tour was directly responsible for the Long and Talmadge victories, while maintaining complete silence on the President's noble but provocative Civil Rights message? Wed. 9-22-48

I happen to think that the Truman stand on civil rights was magnificently courageous — one of the truly first-rate accomplishments of the Truman regime — even if it did madden Southern reactionaries to the point of sabotaging their own party and disturb some Southern liberals who had neatly accommodated themselves, in varying degrees, to the undemocratic pattern of racial discrimination.

It took a civil war to emancipate the American slaves; the task of obtaining full civil rights for their descendants will not be achieved without friction. Some Americans may be willing, even eager, to pass on this task to posterity; others among us, Truman and Wallace with the rest, feel the job belongs to our generation.

One Southern liberal, Gerald W. Johnson, writing in the *Star* recently, asked, plaintively, "What was Wallace doing in Greensboro, N. C., anyway?" Which reminds one of Zero Mostel's isolationist Senator, who wound up his tirade against American participation in World War II with the crack: "What the hell was Pearl Harbor doing in the middle of the Pacific, anyway?" Wed. 9-22-48

The same news commentator compared Wallace's invasion of Greensboro and points south with Sir Oswald Mosley, "with all London to choose from, staging his parades in the Jewish quarter." The unfortunate analogy would better have been presented as a contrast, not as a comparison, as any unprejudiced citizen could see. True, Wallace might have made his impassioned appeals for racial justice in Harlem without disturbing the equanimity of the Southland. So, too, Jesus would have been less disruptive of the *status quo* had He kept His messages confined to His twelve, instead of invading the temples to drive out the money-changers. Star. N.Y. N.Y.

And I might add, as a postscript, the conviction that Henry Wallace approaches more closely the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount than either of his two major opponents in the presidential campaign.

Wallace Party Not On Oklahoma Ballot

The Post

Oklahoma City, June 12 (AP).—Henry A. Wallace's Progressive Party was denied a place on Oklahoma's July 6 primary ballot by the State Supreme Court.

The court ruled that the Progressives did not constitute a political party under Oklahoma election statutes.

In New York meanwhile the national Wallace for President Committee invited "ordinary Americans" to help the third party write its platform at its convention next month.

Washington, D.C.

Rexford G. Tugwell, provisional chairman of the platform committee, announced that hundreds of organizations had been asked to send representatives to preconvention committee sessions.

Sun.

The sessions, which will be open to the public, are scheduled for July 21 and 22 at Convention Hall in Philadelphia. The convention to nominate Henry A. Wallace for President will open in the hall July 23.

6-13-48

Wallace Is Urged To Drop 'Mad Course'

Brainerd, Minn., June 12 (AP).—Byron Allen, Detroit Lakes, keynoter of the State Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party convention, today urged Henry Wallace to "abandon his mad course" and withdraw as a third party candidate for the presidency.

Allen, DFL candidate for Governor in 1944, is a long-time personal friend of Wallace.

6-13-48

"While there is still time," Allen said at the party's convention, "I call on Henry Wallace to abandon the mad course which can only lead to his own destruction and the destruction of the admintration of President Truman and the defeat of people like Paul Douglas of Illinois, Helen Gahagen Douglas of California and Hubert H. Humphrey; all of whom died in the ditch with him in 1944."

WESTBROOK PEGLER

Atlanta, Ga.

Wallace's Love For the 'Common Man'

The Constitution

NEW YORK—Wherever Bubblehead Wallace went in his sordid masquerade as a friend of the common man, the town reporters wrote frisky descriptions of the tailboard clowning of William S. Gailmor, the thief who wheedled the money out of the crowds. The fact that this gaping Mortimer Snerd, who was Vice President of the United States for four years, selected a notorious thief to handle the loot for him and his party, is a reliable measure of his mental balance. The citizens may never learn what vastly greater lunacies he committed when he was not only Vice President but Chairman of the Board of Economic Warfare by Roosevelt's appointment. In that position, armed with special powers and protected by an iron curtain of "security," he had a billion to squander and the power to ship to the household gods of his spiritual home the secret yeast that makes the atom bomb go boom and all the plans and formulae that other agents of the Government couldn't keep out of his hands.

Fri.

He once told me that there was nothing he would not do to help Russia, and on that basis we may take it that whatever Wallace had access to, Stalin has now. Agents of Congress have found evidence of Henry's generosity to Russia, but they have learned also that he had the mumbling cunning of a town but' and managed to conceal fact in well-designed confusion. We may never know all that he did or what happened to the money.

7-2-48

The false character of a compassionate and utterly generous Mahatma, with insinuations of divinity that has been painted on Wallace by a few dreary Washington God-seekers of the corps of press club pundits, is an alarming reproach to the publishers who let such fools run wild.

It is an affront to intelligence to ask us to believe that Wallace did not know he had a thief for a tub-thumper at his rallies. But we can grant that Gailmor either muscled into the troupe to do the best he could for himself or that the Communists put him there knowing his indifference to the inhibitions of honesty and his incapacity for shame. In either case, the Communists, having unshakable suspicions of one another in all fiduciary matters, undoubtedly watched him during the count-up and frisked him for forgotten jack.

Henry Love, in the San Diego Union, gave an excellent description of Gailmor's work on tour with Wallace.

"Evangelistic methods were used by William Gailmor, Wallace's New York fund-raising specialist," Mr. Love wrote. "The total of collections was not announced immediately. At the climax of his talk, Gailmor asked the audience to take out $1 bills.

" 'Don't give them to the ushers,' he said 'We want a demonstration here tonight. Stand up and wave the bills. We want a pictures of the people giving in mass support. Wave the bills! Now, ushers, get those!' "

For another phase of Henry Wallace's feeling for the so-called common man, I lead you to a tenement on East Forty-ninth Street, New York, and up four flights to a smelly, crowded, two-room flat where a white-haired man lies on an iron bed. He raises the covers over his head to smother his cough. He is a T. B., a veteran of World War I, who hasn't been out of the house in years. His name is Jim Minnerley. His wife is careworn, tired and dressed in frayed, old, cheap stuff. She is just in fron her work as a hotel chambermaid where she gets $25 a week, and is stewing up something for their dinner. Mrs. Minnerley brought Jim back from the veterans' hospital a skeleton weighing about 80 pounds. She had the luck to find this little cell in poverty row and took it because at the fourth floor the sun comes in from the west in the afternoons until it drops below the high buildings close by. From her pay and tips she crowded Jim with milk and two fresh raw eggs a day until his weight went back up to past 100.

When Henry Wallace was sneaking around the Roerich cult on Riverside Drive, Mrs. Minnerley invested $1,000 in a bond on the 26-story lamasery promoted and erected by Henry's rich friend, Louis L. Horch.

The Constitution

Horch and the brethren in the cult solemnly announced that they were giving this booby-trap to the people of the United States. It happens, however, and they very well knew, that there is no such legal person as "the people of the United States," so without embarrassment Horch went to court and grabbed back the skyscraper for himself. He is still Henry Wallace's Friend, confidant and partisan. He was planted in a key position in the Department of Commerce by Wallace with power to either let or hinder the shipment of anything whatsoever to Soviet Russia. He says he is poor but he still owns the skyscraper and has a Summer place at New Canaan, Conn. Horch still lives in the lamasery on the Drive while Jim and Mrs. Minnerley exist in the East Side walkup.

Mrs. Minnerley has given me her $1,000 bond a banknote job in the yellow tint of our old gold notes. It isn't worth a damn.

I profess none of the knack of Wallace's trained thief in stimulating the humane juices.

Atlanta, Ga.

But I would be glad to accept and deliver to these victims any contributions that might be sent to me at King Features Syndicate, 235 East Forty-Fifth St., New York 17, N. Y. Dollar bills, fives, tens, checks money orders or change will be acceptable. I promise to see that the forgotten man, and his wife, of the great lamasery deal, get every cent of the money.

When the kitty reaches $1,000 we will formally deliver the phony bond to Bubblehead with the compliments of the common man.

WALLACE CHARGES SHAM ON 'RIGHTS'

New York, N.Y.

Says Truman Does Not Believe in Platform—Dewey Choice Aids Him, He Avers

By LEWIS WOOD

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 25—Henry A. Wallace, Presidential candidate of the New party, charged tonight that President Truman did not actually believe in the platform of civil rights which the Chief Executive outlined recently in a message.

The former Cabinet officer spoke at a dinner of 500 of his followers in the Hotel Statler. Sharing the program were Canada Lee, the Negro actor, and William Gailmor, the radio commentator, who has accompanied Mr. Wallace on his campaign travels. Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, dean of medicine at Howard University, was chairman.

Mr. Wallace devoted his message to the civil-rights issue and predictions of the effect of victory for his party would have in the South.

Earlier in the day, at a press conference shortly after his arrival in Washington, he hailed Governor Dewey's nomination as "a major service to the New party."

Gibes at Dulles as Adviser

He issued a statement expressing gratification that the Republicans had given him as an opponent "a wholehearted supporter of bi-partisanship." He noted also that Mr. Dewey's principal adviser on foreign affairs was John Foster Dulles, "one of the architects of the present policy of cold war."

The Times

However, Mr. Wallace said, "it isn't the men but the policies of the dominant forces in the old parties which is of importance; they are both supporting the cold war." Consequently, the Republican convention had no more significance than "a race between horses from the same stable," he asserted.

New York, N.Y.

The erstwhile Vice President came here by airplane and, according to his aides, spent most of the day in private conferences.

Sat.

In his speech, Mr. Wallace lost no time in criticizing Mr. Truman, from whose Cabinet he was ejected in September, 1946, after a Madison Square Garden address on foreign policy.

6-26-48

At the outset he remarked that John E. Rankin, the Mississippian, after spending thirty minutes at the White House last week, "exhaled confidence" that there would be unity in the Democratic party on civil rights.

"If we ever had any hesitancy before, Mr. Rankin has dispelled our doubts," Mr. Wallace said. "We can now say of President Truman's civil rights message that the views in the message 'are not necessarily those of the sponsor.' We can go further. We can say quite positively that they are not the views of Mr. Truman."

Lauds Thaddeus Stevens

Mr. Truman's statement in the West that the recently ended Eightieth Congress was the worst in history except that led by Thaddeus Stevens came in for condemnation by Mr. Wallace.

Extolling Thaddeus Stevens, Mr. Wallace said that the post-Civil War Congress, "far from being the worst in our history, probably was the best Republican-controlled Congress we ever had."

He went on to denounce the Eightieth Congress as made up of "puppets who pranced and danced for the plaudits and profits of the NAM (National Association of Manufacturers), the real estate associations, power lobbies and monopolistic railroads." It was, he recalled, the author of the Taft-Hartley Law "to suffocate labor unions."

Sat. 6-26-48

The Republicans as a party, he asserted, "have paid better lip service" to civil rights than the Democrats; but "even so, the Republican plan is weaker this year than it was four years ago." Here he read from a newspaper story that Republicans at Philadelphia ignored Negro delegates, preferring to deal with white Southerners who head the official slates.

"The Republicans," he added, "remember the name of Abraham Lincoln, but they wilfully forget the principles of Abraham Lincoln.

"When the New Party convenes

in Philadelphia," he promised, "it will give no quarter to Jim Crow—to prejudice—to intolerance—to bigotry. The New Party, when it comes to power, may be forced to compromise with other political forces on technicalities involved in one or another piece of legislation. But on the fundamental proposition of full rights for all citizens we shall not compromise."

Sees "Common Folks" Injured

The Times

Republicans and Democrats long ago agreed to end partisan politics at the Mason-Dixon Line, Mr. Wallace charged. He said that for years the Southern Democratic Congressional bloc, "tied by threads of gold to Northern capital," has voted with Republican leadership against the interests of the "common folks." New York, N.Y.

In large measure democracy in the South is a "fraud," according to Mr. Wallace. He drew a dismal picture of a Southern "sick economy nursed by sick politicians." He deplored the absence of the vote in the District of Columbia, where, he said, with a one-third Negro population, home rule "would strike a powerful blow at Jim Crow and all its ugly ways." 6-26-48

Wallace Says Truman FEPC Move 'Gesture'

The Record

(34a(1))

Columbia, S.C.

NEW YORK, July 28—(AP)—Henry A. Wallace says President Truman's executive orders aimed at eliminating discrimination in the armed forces and calling for a Fair Employment Practices system for federal employes are only "gestures."

The anti-discrimination order is "an empty gesture" and the employment order "another obvious political gesture." The New Party presidential candidate said in a statement yesterday. wed.

"Mr. Truman's nightmares over the rapid growth of the progressive party." Wallace said, "have forced him to face the issue of discrimination, but once again he has made only an empty gesture. He has wrtiten into executive order the language of the south...He fails utterly to attack the heart of the matter—segregation." 7-28-48

Commenting on the President's order concerning a fair employment practices system, Wallace said: The Record

"His belated effort to establish an FEPC in government service, issued on the eve of his politically created special session, is another obvious political gesture—and a milquetoast one at that."

Wallace said he was repeating his challenge to Mr. Truman and GOP presidential candidate Thomas E. Dewey "to debate with me—and to debate with me in the south before non-segregated audiences." Columbia S.C.

Wallace said he had sent telegrams to all radio and television networks and independent stations demanding "equal time to reply" to President Truman's address.

There was no immediate comment from network officials here.

Wallace Praised

Constitution

WARSAW, July 25—(AP)—Poland's controlled press carried news of Henry A. Wallace's political party on its front pages today and hailed Wallace as the champion of progress opposing "reactionaries Truman and Dewey." Atlanta, Ga

Sun 7-25-48

Wallace's Candidacy Raises Big Question

Journal Guide

Sat 1-10-48

(34a(1))

By LOUIS LAUTIER
FOR NNPA NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The effects of the announcement last Monday night of Henry Wallace that he is an independent candidate for President in 1948 are hard to assess at this time.

Long an exponent of fairplay for colored people in this country, his candidacy will have a sentimental appeal to colored voters, but whether he can attract enough of their votes in pivotal states to influence the next Presidential election remains to be seen.

Wallace's chances appear to be best in New York, California, and Illinois. If he causes any serious defection of colored voters from the Democratic ticket in those three states, it will be well-nigh impossible for President Truman to be reelected.

The colored vote, however, is at peresnt fluid. Its trend back to the Republican party, as shown by the 1946 Congressional elections, has been retarded by Mr. Truman. The report of the President's Civil Rights Committee has made colored voters "Stop, Look and Listen."

REPORT MAY CHECK TREND

If Mr. Truman himself takes any steps to implement that report, the movement of colored voters back to the Republican Party may be altogether stopped.

On the other hand, Republicans in Congress may be expected to make a determined bid for the colored voter. On the agenda for action in the next Congress are such long-sought measures as anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, the bill against discrimination in employment, and a resolution to amend the Senate cloture rules to stop filibustering.

If the Republican controlled Congress passed the Ives bill against discrimination in employment and the anti-lynching bill in the face of a filibuster by southern Democrats, they will have an arguable case with the colored voter.

A talking point in their favor is the fact that they refused a seat in the 80th Congress to the late Theodore G. Bilbo. On the other hand, Representative John E. Rankin, of Mississippi, is a liability to the Democratic party insofar as the colored vote is concerned.

RANKIN SOUNDS OFF

Commenting on Wallace's announcement, the race-baiting Mississippian said:

"Henry Wallace's fulmination will have little or no effect on President Truman's chance for reelection.

'Wallace's quixotic appeal to the Communist element of racial minorities sounded as silly as did the report of the so-called Civil Rights Committee on segregation, Governor Dewey's speech on the so-called FEPC, or Senator Taft's persecution of the late Senator Bilbo. They were all trying to play up to these radical racial groups, many of whom follow the Moscow line."

One of the admitted difficulties facing the Wallace candidacy is getting his name and that of his running mate on the ballot in the various states. Because of the procedure to be followed of — nomination by party convention or primary or petition signed by thousands of voters—make it impossible in some states for the third party candidates to go on the ballot.

SOME HEADWAY MADE

In Illinois, however, where 25,000 signatures distributed over fifty counties are required, some headway has already been made. The Progressive party has already qualified in Cook county by polling more than 5 per cent of the entire vote in the judiciary election of Nov. 4.

In that election, against a coalition ticket of fifteen Democracts and six Republicans for twenty-one judicial posts, Professor Homer Carey of the Northwestern University Law School polled 313,630 votes, coming within 11,000 votes of upsetting the combined major party organizations.

In the same election, Earl Dickerson ran next to Prof. Carey, polling 216,750 votes. Sidney A. Jones was behind Dickerson with 182,357 votes, and Richard E. Westbrook placed seventh among the coalition candidates, with 158,685 votes.

The surprising strength shown by Dickerson, Jones and Westbrook may be partially explained by the fact that no colored candidate had been placed on the coalition ticket, and voters in the heavily populated colored wards voted the Progressive ticket.

In announcing his candidacy last Monday night on a platform of "peace and abundance" for all, Mr. Wallace, recounting his activities, reminded colored voters that:

REMINDS VOTERS

"In speeches in the North and in the South at non segregated meetings I have stated the simple truth that segregation and discrimination of any kind or character have no place in America."

Later in enumerating in his speech the things for which he was fighting, Mr. Wallace declared "We are fighting to end racial discrimination."

Mr. Wallace's announcement of his candidacy followed by one day an address prepared for delivery at the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity convention in Tulsa, Okla.

The snow storm in New York City delayed Mr. Wallace's departure. He arrived in Chicago behind schedule and was forced to change his plans. Instead of proceeding to Tulsa, he telegraphed his speech, and Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, read it to the Alpha convention.

END TO DISCRIMINATION

In his Tulsa speech, Mr. Wallace called for an end to discrimination. Declaring that colored and white Americans alike, have been "too tolerant to intolerance."" Mr Wallace urged "a day-to-day offensive to demand complete justice" for colored people.

fig's oS

"The abolition of Jim Crow must have top place on the agenda of a program for national defense.," Wallace declared. "Until it is abolished the words 'democracy' and 'freedom' and 'justice' used so glibly to support our foreign policy will ring hollow throughout the world."

Referring to the role of the Roosevelt New Deal in improving the living conditions of the colored people, Wallace added, "I make these points only to emphasize that whatever we white, unprejudiced, democratic Americans have done; whatever the New Deal did, has been far less than enough. . . . Today we must be as stubborn in our devotion to principle as the abolitionists of a century ago. The times demand i.. The defense of our country demands it."

Following the pattern of his recent declarations that 1948 is a year to "come out fighting," Wallace spelled out in the speech a complete offensive "to end Jim Crow in America wherever it exists—North or South."

SET PRECEDENT

In his recent tour of the South, Wallace set a precedent by speaking only before unsegregated audiences. This was the first time a major political figure in America was able to successfully challenge Jim Crow barriers erected in the South by such hate groups as the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians.

The Wallace civil rights program, expected to be a major element in the presidential campaign, was launched at the Alpha convention in a five-point platform, calling for a federal anti-lynch law, an end to poll taxes, the right to vote for every colorer American, equal and unsegregated education, and a permanent FEPC.

Wallace challenged both parties on their failures to keep campaign promises for portions of this legislative program.

Wallace concluded his speech by pointing out that a colored child born today has a life expectancy of 10 years less than that of a white child born a few miles away because of unequal health facilities. The newly-declared presidential candidate, promised:

"I say those 10 years—those 10 extra years for millions of Americans are what we are fighting for. I say that those who stand in the way of the health, education, housing, and social security programs which would erase that gap commit murder. I say that those who perpetuate Jim Crow are criminals. I pledge you that I shall fight this with everything I have."

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Wallace)

Wallace's False Claims

The Record
Columbia, S.C.

"The horrors of peace."

That is what Henry Wallace is—a horror of peace. Democracies, as someone, somewhere, profoundly once (or twice) has said, don't make war. It is the promise at last of true peace on earth. But in the meantime, being a democracy in a world that includes Russia and the split atom means utter exposure to people like Mr. Wallace when they come with suicidally false claims of a copyright on peace. Because he claims such a copyright, and plies it with drama and abandon, Henry Wallace is winning a much larger popular support than most people believed he would. This column predicted as much, as loudly as it could, when the Wallace third party was announced. Tues. 3-2-48

It is a pitiful comment on the way we hate war and need to be saved from it that so many of us will flock to a man who comes talking peace when there is no peace in him, when what he really means to his country is a threat not only of war but of defeat at war by another country devoted without stop or scruple to war in every dimension—class war, ideological war, international war, cold war, hot war.

The only defense against the menace of Henry Wallace as a peace-horror 3-2-48 is to use this public hate of war as he is using it, to talk peace as loudly and dramatically as he does, and to do so in terms that show him up for the dreamy, deadly charlatan he is. Secretary Marshall, Senator Vandenberg, President Truman and others who are so deeply and responsibly engaged in the practical, detailed, torturesome problem of peace, may think they have no time to go before the country with loud generalizations, and that it is not necessary. But it is tremendously necessary, and they should find the time. Tues. 3-2-48

Of all the books about Roosevelt the most readable, and perhaps revealing, is Jim Farley's, it seems to me. Some of the others have been written from the inside looking out and some from the outside looking in, but Jim's is written with benefit of both observation points. No one was ever quite so much "inside" as he was, and, by that token, so perceiving of what he saw later when he was "outside." With enough time and history between him and both situations now for genuine objectivity, he has written a book which probably paints the political Roosevelt more faithfully than anyone else has or ever will. There is a Roosevelt he leaves out, but others will be doing that one for all time to come. 3-2-48

Few things in his relations with Roosevelt ever hurt him so much as the indifferent letter he had from the President after Pearl Harbor, when he offered his services. He prints the letter in his book, but I had seen it before. He showed it to me once during the war, at the Tutwiler hotel in Birmingham. It was dog-eared and worn from being carried around in his pocket, and the tears were streaming from his eyes. "My dear Jim," Roosevelt had written in reply. "Thanks ever so much for your nice note. I knew I could count on you. As ever yours —F. D. R." The Record

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For penetrating comment on the political status, I nominate the following from Editor Santford Martin in The Winston-Salem Journal: "The real issues have to do with

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Rabun on Wallace

The Constitution Wed. 1-14-48

Editor Constitution: Even the most casual observer of the news must realize that there is a concerted and obvious attempt on the part of many labor, business and political figures to discredit Mr. Henry Wallace as an Independent candidate for the presidency of the United States. Every newspaper carries some new tirade against him. Atlanta, Ga.

If Mr. Wallace is as innocuous as some pretend, why all the hubbub and fuss? Big dogs seem to have the kind of animal sense which causes them to ignore small dogs. What are the "big dogs" so agitated about in the case of Mr. Wallace? Wed. 1-14-48

Could it be that Mr. Wallace actually has a platform of the people, even if extreme left-wingers pledge him their support, and the "big dogs" of the Democratic and Republican Parties have none? Christianity and democracy are beginning to actively insist, in some men's souls, for the consideration of the real welfare and peace of the masses of earth's people, at home and abroad.

1 have not talked with Mr. Wallace, except in a common language of mutual understanding which spans all time and distance, but I am convinced that he is not running "against" Democrat or Republican, Truman or (?). Mr. Wallace is running "for" the presidency of the United States, to preserve government "of the people, for the people, by the people."

No cause is lost until its adherents admit defeat and quit. The cause of humanity is true religion's real mission. Though Mr. Wallace be repudiated as long as he lives, by some people, and though he fight a losing battle from the start, he is to be congratulated upon some of his enemies and understood among some of his "supposed" friends. Many Americans will be proud that one who is not afraid of the current has launched out into the stream, even if throwing himself away, breasting the tide of popular thought and opinion in attempting the rescue of humanity from destruction. The Constitution

REV. JOSEPH A. RABUN.
Valdosta. Atlanta, Ga.

Wallace Urges Royall Be Fired For Segregation

PM New York, N.Y.
Mon. 2-16-48

Henry A. Wallace, third party candidate for President, yesterday called for the resignation of Secretary of the Army Kenneth Royall and the ouster of Defense Secretary James Forrestal and Commerce Secretary Averell Harriman.

Speaking at a rally of the Harlem Wallace for President Committee, at the Golden Gate Auditorium, Lenox Ave. and 140th St., Wallace charged that Royall "reaffirmed the basic policy of segregation" less than a week after President Truman told Congress he had given instructions to end discrimination in the armed forces.

"If Mr. Truman's administrative policy is the same as his vote-seeking policy," he added, "we have the right to expect his immediate demand for the resignation of Mr. Kenneth Royall as Secretary of the Army."

Expects Little From Message to Congress

Wallace said he found little to be hoped for as a result of the President's recent message to Congress. PM Mon. 2-16-48

"There is little reason to expect action," he said. "I know—yes, I have first hand knowledge—that a cabinet officer does not differ publicly with the dominant policy of the Administration and remain in office." New York, N.Y.

He urged the dismissal of Forrestal and Harriman as a demonstration of the President's "sincere devotion to the United Nations decision on Palestine, and as evidence that he means what he says when he speaks of civil liberties.

(Harriman succeeded Wallace as Secretary of Commerce after Wallace resigned the post at the request of President Truman on Sept. 20, 1946. The last of the original Roosevelt cabinet, Wallace was ousted when he came into disfavor with the Administration over a Madison Square Garden speech criticizing our foreign policy.)

Third of Congress Backs Jim Crow

PM New York, N.Y.

Wallace criticized the House Un-American Activities Committee as a "major fortress of Jim Crow," and charged the committee attacks the liberals, progressives and Communists because they have demanded "equal justice under law."

Declaring that at least a third of the members of Congress are "avowed supporters of Jim Crow," Wallace said: "I say those who perpetuate Jim Crow are criminals."

"Southern Governors and Senators," he added, "have no more reason to fear action on Mr. Truman's civil rights message than we have to expect it. Mon.

"They are angry that the President has even paid lip service to fundamental democratic principles." 2-16-48

Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP), who also spoke, urged that 10 Negroes be nominated for Congressman from various sections of the country. Mon. 2-16-48

More than 6000 persons, including heavyweight champion Joe Louis, were in the hall.

At an earlier meeting Wallace spoke on behalf of Leo Isacson, ALP candidate for Congress in the special elections tomorrow in the 24th C. D., in the East Bronx, at the Hunts Point Palace, 163rd St. and Southern Blvd. PM

He declared that Mayor O'Dwyer's appeal for him to return to the Democratic Party was made because "the Democratic high command in Washington is scared to death," and indictaed he had no intention of withdrawing from the race for the White House.

Wallace attacked the Truman doctrine, declaring it is at the heart of the Administration's contribution to "the unnecessary, shameful mass murder in Palestine." New York, N.Y.

"The Democratic politicians," he said, "are torn between their need to appease the oil trusts and their desire to retain a portion of what they call 'the Jewish vote.'"

Frequent cries of "Wallace for President," arose from the audience of 3500. An additional 5000 persons heard his remarks over loud speakers in the street.

Other speakers included Marcantonio, Councilman Michael J. Quill and singer Paul Robeson.

Jersey League Backs Wallace

34a(1) The Worker
New York, N.Y.

NEWARK, N. J.—Meeting here a few hours before Henry A. Wallace declared himself an independent candidate for President, the executive officers of th New Jersey Independent Citizens League unanimously pledged its full support for the former vice-president's "magnificent fight for peace and prosperity." Sun. 1-4-48

At the same time the ICL executive committee announced its plan to circulate petitons throughout the state to put Wallace's name on the New Jersey ballot.

Among those present were chairman James Imbrie, executive committee chairman Joel Gross, vice-chairman Edward Yeomans, who is eastern division secretary of the National Farmers and Don Guiness and Morton Stavis, co-chairmen of the ICL political action committee. Sun

Before hearing Wallace's broadcast, the officers mapped plans for the state ICL convention, which will be held Saturday, Jan. 10, at the YWCA in Newark. 1-4-48

Book Unionists to Work for Wallace

Daily Worker

Sixty members of Book and Magazine Guild, Local 18, CIO, employed at Consumers Union yesterday pledged to rally support for Henry A. Wallace in his campaign for election to the preidency in 1948. New York

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Wallace Asks to Hear from People

New York, N.Y.
Mon. 1-5-48
PM

y A. Wallace today invited ordinary people" across the y to write to him regarding al, State and local issues they el need national attention.

The invitation, his office said was in reply to more than 1000 persons who have sent him telegrams and letters since he announced his 3d party candidacy for the Presidency. Mon. 1-5-48

"I feel that big business is more than taken care of," Wallace said, "but I am particularly anxious to hear what ordinary people themselves feel are the issues affecting them in their locality, and their recommendations for action on a national scale to improve conditions."

Messages can reach him at 40 E. 49th St., N. Y. C.

A telegram sent to Wallace by the shop committee said: N.Y.

"Applaud your coming forward as an independent presidential candidate in 1948. Your stirring speech recalled a militancy and democratic thinking long absent from the American scene." 1-5-48

DuBOIS BACKS WALLACE, 'ONLY MAN' FOR NEGROES

(34a(1)) Daily Worker
New York, N.Y. Fri. 1-2-48

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, distinguished scholar, journalist and Negro leader came out for the third party candidacy of Henry A. Wallace in the latest issue of the Chicago Defender.

Written before Wallace announced his candidacy, DuBois in his column The Winds of Time asks his readers to back Wallace's candidacy.

Fri. 1-2-48

"We Americans of Negro descent," he wrote, "do not want to be put in the embarrassing position of having to choose between fools and demagogues, or giving up our right to vote in 1948."

The full text of the column appears below.

I wonder how many of my friends and readers will join me in a New Years Message to Henry Wallace, asking him to run for President on a third party ticket in the next Presidential election? Tell him that we are asking this for selfish reasons, because we Americans of Negro descent do not want to be put in the embarrassing position of having to choose between fools and demagogues, or giving up our right to vote in 1947. Daily Worker

CANDIDATES Fri. 1-2-48

There is not before us a single candidate for whom a Negro can vote with self respect. There is no dependence to put upon President Truman; what he says today has nothing to do with what he said yesterday, or what he may say tomorrow. He is simply devoid of that understanding of public affairs which gives him any right to speak or act for a great nation. If we turn from him to the other candidates, what do we see? New York, N.Y.

There is Robert Taft of Ohio, who is following in the footsteps of his father and trying to appease the South. He is willing to give the South money for education to let them spend five times as much on whites as on Negroes. He wants an FEPC without teeth.

There is Dewey of New York, a complete opportunist politician, saying just as little as possible about anything that is of moment to the American people, so as to get into the Presidency without commitments and without revealing his lack of knowledge of the great questions fronting the country. 34a(1)

There is a small and voluble politician from Minnesota, Stassen, who is trying to capitalize upon the provincialism of the Middle West by every possible caper, and thus stem the world tide of Socialism which is overflowing the world and is a part of our own organization of industry. Fri. 1-2-48

ONE MAN, ONE WORLD

In this great crisis of the history of the world, there stands forth in America one man, and one man alone, who is worthy of leadership and of support and that is Henry Wallace. Suppose we admit without argument that the chances for Mr. Wallace to carry the country in the next election are about nil, and that, not because the country does not want him, but chiefly because of the "rotten burrough" system which we have in the South, by which the will of the people cannot be expressed in any national election; a situation in which this great country, as leader of democratic methods of government, cannot and will not govern itself in a democratic way. Fri. 1-2-48

Nevertheless, we can protest even if our protests put a reactionary Republican in the White House or a Southern-supported Democrat. At least we can let the country and the nations know that there are people in the United States who are not stupid, who are not to be bought with graft or fooled with lies. It would be infinitely better for us to throw our votes away upon a great man who stands for real democracy than to shame ourselves, our people, or our country by voting for the impossible group of candidates who are trying to jostle and yell themselves into the Presidency.

DuBOIS
Backs Wallace

Youth in Review

Daily Worker

Students Organize for Wallace

New York, N.Y.

By Lou Diskin

WHEN THAT gallant Gideon's army starts to gather behind Henry Wallace in the days ahead, it will find the advanced echelons well occupied by thousands of young people. Thurs.

Henry Wallace is number one on young America's hit parade.

Last June, when Wallace addressed a huge youth lobby in the shadow of the Capitol Dome, he was greeted with the chant "We Want Wallace For President." That was no passing burst of youthful exuberance. 1-1-48

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TAKE THE college campuses as example.

"Students for Wallace" committees were organized and are known to exist at about 40 colleges throughout the country. Young Democrat and Young Republican clubs exist on only 5 percent of the campuses. The Wallace committees are no fly-by-night affairs. Thurs. 1-1-48

Many of them have been in existence for as long as six months.

At the University of Michigan a corps of hep students have built up a ward and precinct-type organization that would make any old time political boss drool with envy. They have based their organization on the dormitories and co-op houses with delegated committees representing the various colleges that make up the university. In January, the Michigan boys and girls will play host to a mid-west Students for Wallace conference which aims to extend this kind of carefully organized movement throughout the region. Daily Worker

Even more impressive is the record of the University of California. Everything grows big in California. Wallace for President movements are no exception. Last Spring the former vice-president spoke to 20,000 California students on the U. of C. campus. Immediately after, various school organizations set up a Wallace Committee. A couple of weeks later thousands of "Wallace in '48" buttons sprouted on sweaters and coat lapels alongside fraternity and sorority pins. The Committee has already established "get-out-the-vote" brigades and issued an impressive educational brochure that has had nationwide circulation.

It wasn't so long ago that 6,000 students stood in a cold penetrating drizzle to hear Wallace speak. Now the Harvard Students For Wallace Committee expects to welcome over 300 delegates from 30 New England Colleges in February. 34a(1)

So it goes right across the country. In New York City 45 college leaders conferred with Wallace and urged him to run. They represented such diverse groups as YPCA, the NAACP, AVC and the National Student Association. Thurs. 1-1-48

At the University of Texas students are planning special collegiate caravans to tour the state this summer. When Wallace spoke at several colleges in up-state New York, recently, every single meeting broke all records for size. New York, N.Y.

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WHAT IS particularly impressive is the way this movement is cutting across previously established partisan lines on the campus. For example, at the University of North Carolina, a dues paying Wallace club of 100 includes members of SDA, the collegiate offshoot of ADA.

All this has happened before Wallace declared himself a candidate. 34a(1)

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TO ANYONE familiar with the temper of young America, these developments come as no surprise. Henry Wallace, speaking out against UMT, for peace, for greater educational opportunity and academic freedom, is just the kind of voice the country's youth have been straining to hear. His vigorous call to action on youth issues is not the only basis for his special appeal. Henry Wallace carries forward the magnificent heritage of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Daily Worker

One facet of Roosevelt's greatness was his ability to articulate the most deep rooted aspirations of young people in a manner that gave them the courage and determination to fight against imposing obstacles. In the crusade of Henry Wallace, American youth has found the same kind of inspiration, the same dynamic leadership which opens up vistas of hope and positive accomplishment where Trumans and Tafts offer despair and destruction.

It is as though Roosevelt is speaking once again when Henry Wallace declares, "Don't let yourself be stampeded. Believe in the potentials of a free America. Fight for that potential. Show your elders the way." New York, N.Y.

The challenge will not go unheeded. Thurs. 1-1-48

The Wallace Campaign

(34a(1))
The Record
Columbia, S.C.

When Henry Wallace announced himself as a third-party candidate he did not announce on any New Deal platform. He had nothing particular to say, for example, about labor. He did, of course, include in his announcement speech a paragraph or so, aimed at the Negroes. Tues. 1-13-48

Most of the speech, however, was an attack upon the bi-partisan foreign policy, calculated to appeal to three groups—the pro-Communists, the pacifists and the isolationists.

Those who have been assuming that Wallace's candidacy will draw almost entirely from the Democratic party will have to sit down and do a little more calculating. If Wallace sticks to his idea of a platform as contained in his announcement speech it may be that he will draw more votes from the Republicans than from the Democrats.

Take the Negroes. There were indications that the majority of the Negroes in the crucial states, once weaned away from the Republicans by Roosevelt, were back in the Republican fold in the last Congressional elections. If they now vote for Wallace—and what was the purpose of that picture showing him shaking hands with Paul Robeson, if not to attract Negro support?—it will be at the expense of the Republicans rather than the Democrats. The Record

And what of the pacifists and the isolationists? Most of them seem to be in the Republican camp also. If Wallace attracts any large number of them, he must attract them from the Republican party. Columbia, S.C.

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (Wallace)

World of Labor

By George Morris

Daily Worker

How They Build for Wallace in Baltimore

New York, N.Y. Thurs. 2-5-48

VISITING Baltimore, I found many people there already doing door-bell ringing for Wallace and a good response rolling up in union ranks. Maryland's first milestone on the road towards next November will be reached on Feb. 15 with the mass Founding Convention for a new political party in the state.

This is planned to be a real people's convention with delegates coming from every organization, farm area, shop, block committee, apartment project "or wherever people come together and are concerned about the future welfare of their country."

The sponsoring Maryland For Wallace Committee consists of many prominent progressive leaders in the state. The next objective, following formation of the party, will be a petition campaign to place its ticket on the ballot by April 3. What struck me in discussions with Wallace campaigners was the way the campaign is digging into the neighborhoods of Baltimore and among unionists. Others could learn from the initiative shown in Baltimore.

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WALLACE WORKERS are systematically canvassing the neighborhoods block-by-block. They have one question: **"Would you like to serve on a committee in this block to work for Wallace?"** Thurs 2-5-48

"Thats' all we ask them now," one of the campaign leaders told me last Sunday night. "We don't take time now to talk or argue. We want everybody who is already for Wallace to start working. Give the people in the neighborhoods an organization and initiative and the campaign will roll fast."

He said the reports of canvassers that had already come in for that Sunday **showed more than 400 people signed up to serve on block committees.** New York, N.Y. He added that on an average about 30 percent of the people asked agreed to serve on the committees.

No one in Baltimore expects the response to continue at this high rate, but the results so far indicate the potential strength that is being aroused in that semi-southern city. The Negro communities show the best response. Daily Worker

One Wallace campaigner, owner of a store in a Negro community, employs a Negro cashier. She asked 97 customers if they want to serve on a committee. Ninety-five agreed. She is now forming them into committees within a two-block area.

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THE SAME SIMPLE, but nevertheless most effective method, is getting under way among unionists. Walter McManamon, international representative of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and secretary-treasurer of the labor division of the Wallace committee, said his group expects to bring 200 union and shop delegates to the convention.

They are not waiting until the slow machinery in many locals gets moving on resolutions and other official forms of expression. This is welcomed where early action is possible. Daily Worker

But the main emphasis is on formation of Wallace groups in the plants, or through unofficial steps in the locals, with as many leaders and shop stewards involved as are ready to go. New York, N.Y.

The big majority of top-level leaders in Maryland's AFL and CIO are not yet showing any inclination for Wallace. Many of them, like those of the steel union, are very hostile. But a considerable number of local officers and shop stewards are defying top leaders and joining the Wallace committee.

Serving on McManamon's committee are some of the most influential rank and file leaders—the kind who have the ear and trust of the membership. Included are leaders of shipbuilding, steel, textile and others under right wing top leadership.

From a practical standpoint, they told me, local membership meetings of most unions are hardly a barometer of rank and file sentiment. One of the Bethlehem Steel locals with 8,000 members gets about 50 or 60 to a membership meeting—not even all its shop stewards. Thurs. 2-5-48

The Wallace labor division is putting its emphasis on building up committees in the departments and in the blocks of steelworkers' homes. That's where the work really counts most. Some of the slow-minded leaders will think faster when they see how the members are going.

Baltimore's experience is interesting precisely because progressive-led unions are relatively weaker there. They have made up their minds that the **Wallace base is far wider there than might be shown by a check of paid union officers in the city, and they are out to prove it.**

335,000 Sign For Wallace in California

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y. Wed 2-4-48

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 3 (UP).—The Independent Progressive Party spearheading the Henry Wallace-for-President drive in California, announced today it has secured nearly four-fifths of the signatures necessary to win a place on the 1948 state ballot.

Chairman Hugh Bryson said the party has secured 335,000 signatures and expects to obtain another 90,000 before the Feb. 26 deadline. A total of 270,000 registered voters must sign a petition to get on the ballot, and the party explained it intends to secure enough signatures to cover any losses due to disqualification. Wed 2-4-48

Jennings Perry

PM

Blind Alley

New York, N.Y.

Mr. Henry Wallace has made it clear again that he is no Communist, that if the CPers vote for him for President it will be in support of a "Wallace platform," not a Communist platform. Last month, in his *New Republic* column he made the same thing clear, even bothering to point out that "I have never met Stalin nor have I ever been in European Russia." I don't know how many other occasions he has taken to make it clear. By now, however, it should be clear to Mr. Wallace himself that it is no use, that he is wasting his breath, for which he has better uses. Tues. 2-3-48

Perry

I make this observation as one who appreciates Mr. Wallace very much, who would like to see him get a fair hearing in the press and in the political forums. He will not get such a hearing, though he goes to wash his hands of Moscow three times a day on the public square. All he will get from these mean ablutions is the charge that he doth protest too much.

The press and the public know Henry Wallace is no Communist. Those who are for him and those who are against him know it. Those who are for him would much rather for him to hew to "peace and prosperity" than interrupt his hewing to throw sticks at the barking dogs; and those who are against him are going to keep right on calling "Communist" at him no matter what he says. PM

He can't get away from the charge, but his enemies hope that he can't get away from the disclaimers. As long as he can be kept saying: "Of course, I'm no Communist," he can be kept in a field of debate that is like a quagmire—bottomless and endless. It is not, properly, a field of debate at all, but a trap; and a man who allows himself to be lured into it or prodded into it delights only those who wish him ill—who planned it that way. Tues. 2-3-48

There is only one inspiring reply an American can make to the Red-smear attack, it is: "Nuts!" There is only one aim in that kind of attack, it is to decoy a debater out of the path of reason into the blind alley of inarguable prejudice. It is a strategem of avoidance of debate.

Mr. Wallace has spent enough time around Washington to know that no poll-taxer ever argues the right to vote, but only the utterly unrelated question of "miscegenation." If the ruse works, if the champion of a free suffrage, however sincere, follows, however disdainfully, upon the false grounds, the poll-taxer has him; prejudice takes over, and sense goes by the board. It is the same device, employed to the same purpose, when baiters drive honest liberals, who have minds to speak, upon the seamless treadmill of whether they are or are not "Reds." New York, N.Y.

Mr. Wallace ought not to permit himself to be goaded. He has said enough on the head. He should have said "nuts" at the beginning, and gotten right along with his work. If the Commies want to come along and shout hooray, where will they come from—save from the Democratic Party or the Republican Party—or wherever it is they have been throwing their right to vote around in the past? PM

An American (and particularly, I'd think, a cornfield American like Henry Wallace) does not have to apologize for saying what he thinks, or doing what he does, politically—even if it's running for President. Tues.

He doesn't have to beg pardon and deny he's a minion of Moscow every time, or any time, he sneezes. That's beneath him—a whale of a way beneath him. And, as I have said above, completely futile. 2-3-48

The Red-baiters ask nothing better than to get their man denying. It puts him out of countenance, and ties up his attack. But it will not state their campaign on him, though he swears upon a stack of Bibles that "of course" e's not what they have known right well from the beginning that he isn't.

Negro Newspaper Backs Candidacy Of Wallace

34a(1)

Sun. 1-18-48

The Worker New York, N.Y.

The **Macon World,** influential Georgia Negro newspaper endorsed the third party candidacy of Henry A. Wallace on Jan. 3. "Every Negro in America," it declared, "should march down to the polls and cast their ballot for Henry Wallace." The **World** predicted that "millions of Negroes throughout America will rally to his standard. They will not forget that he would have been President of the United States today if he had not taken their side in the great national convention that nominated Truman Vice President.

"His pledge of peace and prosperity will get a respectful hearing in 1948 in a war weary world. His traducers who condemn him for his outspoken criticism of his own country's brand of democracy will indulge to their heart's content in calling him a Communist, but name calling will not change the issue."

★

THE WORLD declared that "Negroes believe in our system of government . . . but those same Negroes believe that they should enjoy to the fullest every right guaranteed by the Constitution and they will be satisfied with nothing less."

The Worker

The editorial went on to quote the "Freedom Pledge." "I am an American, a free American, free to speak without fear, free to worship God in my own way, free to stand for what I think right, free to oppose what I believe wrong, free to choose those that govern my country . . ."

New York, N.Y.

"It is this brand of Democracy that Henry A. Wallace stands for," declared the **World.** "If this brand of Democracy as outlined in the freedom pledge obtains, then we need no change, but if not we do. Ask ourselves the questions and make our own decision." Sun. 1-18-48

Walter Winchell

The Record Columbia, S.C.

The Henry Wallace forces have paid $27,000 for 10 months' rental on an entire bldg. near Park Ave and 39th. It'll be campaign headquarters of the P.C.A. Wallace will move there when he exits from New Republic's offices March 1... He tells 3rd Party Left-tenants that Senator Glenn Taylor of Idaho will definitely accept the No. 2 spot on his ticket...His 3rd party will run ten Negro congressional candidates, including two in New York City—with Johannes Steel opposing Cong Sol Bloom (81) in Manhattan's 20th Dis't....He also claims that a private poll reveals that he may land on the ballot in 42 States...And that his toughest "problem" is Ohio. The Record Sumter, S.C.

~~WALLACE RACE OPPOSED~~

United Hatters Board Urges Him to Withdraw Candidacy

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Jan. 28—The twenty-four man executive board of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, AFL, today called upon Henry Wallace, "in the interest of liberalism," to withdraw his candidacy for President "so there will be no division of "progressive forces in 1948."

34a(1) 1-29-48

A resolution adopted by the board at its semi-annual meeting said that, for the first time in American labor history, the entire trade union movement was mobilizing its forces for political action and added: The Times

"The decision that will be made in 1948 will affect the direction of history. Therefore, it is essential that all genuine liberal forces work together with labor to overcome the reaction that threatens from the extreme right and the advancing tide of totalitarian aggression that threatens from the extreme left." New York, N.Y.

The union leaders said that in this situation they strongly opposed attempts now being made to weaken the ranks of labor and liberal forces by running a third ticket in the 1948 Presidential race.

The executive board issued a call for the next biennial convention of the union to be held in New York starting May 16. Thurs. 1-29-48

Wallace Says He Doesn't Think Commies Out To Sabotage U.S.

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Tues. 2-3-48

BY JAMES E. WALTERS

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Feb. 3—(AP)—Henry A. Wallace says he doesn't believe American Communists seek to use force to overthrow the United States government. 34a(1)

He also challenges President Truman, "and other candidates for public office," to refuse support of groups advocating restrictions of civil rights or control of the nation by violence.

Wallace repeatedly emphasized these points Sunday in opening his third-party presidential campaign in Ohio.

A standing crowd of 2,500 heard the talk and reportedly contributed $26,000 in sums ranging from nickels and dimes to $5,000.

* * *

"THE MOST frequent charge made against American communism is that they advocate the violent overthrow of the government of the United States," Wallace said. "I have not seen evidence to substantiate the charge." The News

Wallace asserted he was not a "Communist or Socialist or Marxist of any description." He said he could find nothing criminal about persons advocating social and economic ideas differing from his own.

Wallace challenged President Truman and other candidates to pledge: Birmingham, Ala.

"I shall not knowingly accept the support of any individual or group advocating the limitation of Democratic action for any other individual or group; nor the support of any individual or group which would restrict the civil liberties of others for reasons of race, color or creed; nor the support of any individual or group advocating the violent overthrow of the government of the United States."

Tues. 2-3-48

The News

WALLACE INDICATED he would seek court action to get on the Ohio ballot. New Ohio election laws have raised several barriers against other than Democratic or Republican presidential candidates. 34a(1) Tues. 2-3-48

Meanwhile, Oregon Democrats halted plans to place Wallace's name on the state's presidential preference ballot in the Democratic primary. Birmingham, Ala.

Wallace Strategy Board Includes Benson, Baldwin, Tugwell, Robeson

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Thurs. 1-29-48

Jo Davidson Also to Serve

By ROBERT L. RIGGS

The Courier-Journal Washington Bureau.

Washington, Jan. 28.—A board of strategy for Henry A. Wallace's presidential campaign was announced today by his New York heaquarters. 34a(1)

The members cover a left-wing range which runs all, the way from a practical politician with experience in third-party activity through former brain trusters of the New Deal era clear up to admirers of Soviet Russia's way of life.

Head man of the campaign, or at least front man, will be Elmer A. Benson, a graduate of Minnesota's farmer-labor party which, until the death of former Governor Floyd B. Olson, was an effective third party in that state. A former Governor and former United States senator, Benson will have the title of chairman of the National Wallace for President Committee.

Baldwin to Be Real Head.

The Courier-Journal

The actual operating head of the campaign will be C. B. Baldwin, who was one of the staunch New Deal lieutenants in the later days of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Baldwin, who trained with the late Sidney Hillman's Political Action Committee, will have the title of campaign chairman. He is at present executive vice-president of the Progressive Citizens of America, spearhead of the Wallace movement.

Serving with Benson as cochairmen of the national committee will be Rexford Guy Tugwell, one of the first members of the Roosevelt brain trust; Jo Davidson, the sculptor, and Paul Robeson, actor and singer. The committee's treasurer will be Angus Cameron, editor in chief of the book-publishing firm of Little, Brown & Company.

Louisville, Ky.

May Attract Negroes.

Thurs. 1-29-48

So far as the vote-getting power of the three cochairmen is concerned, only Robeson is likely to have much appeal. A militant fighter for economic and social rights of the Negro, he may attract members of his race to the Wallace candidacy.

Tugwell and Davidson, however, serve chiefly to provide an appeal to intellectuals. Now a professor of political science at the University of Chicago, Tugwell, as undersecretary of agriculture when Wallace was Secretary, was the chief target of anti-New Deal Democrats and Republicans during the Roosevelt Administration. He became so vulnerable that Roosevelt eased him out in 1941 by appointing him Governor of Puerto Rico.

Openly Admires Russia.

Thurs. 1-29-48

Robeson is openly an admirer of Russia, although when reporters covering the recent P.C.A. meeting in Chicago asked him if he were a Communist, he replied, "It's none of your business." His feeling stems largely from his bitterness against the status to which a Negro of his education and artistic achievements is relegated in this country.

He puts it on the simple basis that the fact that he is a Negro does not keep him from getting a hotel room in Russia, as it does in this country and as it does in some European countries since the wartime influx of Americans. He identifies racial discrimination with fascism, regards Russia as the world's champion against fascism and Wallace as the American champion in the fight against fascism in this country.

Tried to Pin Him Down.

Thurs. 1-29-48

When reporters at the Chicago meeting tried to pin him down on the difference between a Fascist dictatorship and the current dictatorships in Russia and Yugoslavia, he replied that he would rather have a good dictatorship than a bad one. "I wish," he said, "that the dictatorship of the North over the South had lasted long enough for my race really to become free." Louisville, Ky.

Baldwin, the campaign's chief architect, is a native of Virginia who looks 10 years younger than his age of 45. He owned and managed an electric-appliance store before he became a Wallace assistant in the Department of Agriculture in 1933. 1-29-48

Wallace reception in Negro dentist's home after reported ban

The Tribune
Sat. 4-24-48
Los Angeles Calif.

Indianapolis hotels reportedly barred presidential candidate Henry A. Wallace and his sidekick, Paul Robeson, a Negro dentist opened his home to them for a reception, the National Wallace for President Committee reported this week.

The tea added $2,000 to the Wallace campaign fund.

The Wallace Campaign Committee charged that reservations for the singer and the candidate were made 10 days in advance at the Warren hotel. "A week before the scheduled appearance of the pair the hotel reported it had no record of the reservation," the committee said.

A canvass of Indianapolis major hotels and "several smaller ones" found that no rooms were available to the two leftist politicoes, the campaign committee charged. It was then that Dr. Theodore W. Cable, the Negro dentist, offered his home.

The committee did not say whether or not Wallace stayed in the dentist's home.

Police Raid Mixed Dance Of Wallace Supporters

Wash. Post
Mon 10-11-48

Seven Men Face Charges of Selling Whisky Illegally, Operating Lottery

Wash. D.C.

A police raiding party of 35 men broke up a dance, sponsored by supporters of Henry Wallace early yesterday and arrested seven men, either for illegal sale of whisky or operating a lottery.

The dance, sponsored by the United Negro Allied Veterans of America, a pro-Wallace group, was at Laborers' Hall, 525 New Jersey ave. nw.

When the police party, led by Capt. Howard V. Covell of the First Precinct, entered the hall the orchestra quickly struck up the National Anthem, a strategem that briefly halted the officers in their tracks.

But when the last strains of "The Star-Spangled Banner" had faded, police went to work.

Dance Attended by 350

Police said about 350 persons were at the dance, half of them white, half of them Negro.

Arrested were Winston Carl Edwards, 30, of 2914 Sherman ave. nw.; Sidney Goldreich, 25, of 3812 Florence dr., Alexandria; Walter Ernest White, 23, of 1313 49th st. ne.; Shirley Windfield, 23, of 2327 Virginia ave. nw.; Edmund Stephan Majchrzyk, 24, of 516 2d st. nw.; Bernard C. Campbell, 29, of 1007 15th st. se., and Frank E. Trusclair, 27, 2911 Sherman ave. nw.

Police identified Edwards as national chairman of the United Negro Allied Veterans of America and Goldreich as acting chairman of the Veterans for Wallace organization.

Each was charged with keeping and selling whisky without a license and operating a lottery and released in $2000 bond. They will be arraigned today before United States Commissioner Cyril Lawrence.

Names of All Taken

White, Windfield and Campbell were charged with illegal possession and sale of whisky and freed in $1500 bond each. Bond for Majchrzyk and Trusclair who were charged with operating a lottery was $500 each.

Mon 10-11-48

Police took down the names of everyone present. About a dozen persons at the dance refused to divulge their names, so they were loaded into patrol wagons and taken to police headquarters.

At headquarters, they finally revealed their names, were booked for investigation and released. Several of this group told reporters they were members of Henry Wallace' Progressive Party.

Captain Covell said afterwards that he wanted it made clear that politics had nothing to do with the raid, that it was made because information was received that whisky was being sold illegally at the dance.

"We raided the Gold Key Club and other clubs where they sold whisky without a license," said Captain Covell, "and there was nothing political about those raids."

Party Official Protests

However, the Progressive Party of the District felt differently about the raid. The party's chairman for the District, Clark Foreman, called upon President Truman "to show his advocacy of civil rights by taking immediate measures to correct this new wave of intimidation on the part of the District police."

Foreman said this was the second time in 10 days that local police broke up "parties composed of white people and Negroes, apparently on the theory that any such party is subversive." He declared the "real reason" for the raid was police "disapproval of the political views which they attributed to those at the party."

Capt. Covell said the raid was organized after he received information that whisky was being sold without a license at the dance. He said he first verified the information by sending detectives to the hall.

Warrant Is Obtained

After that a warrant was obtained from United States Commissioner Lawrence naming Edwards and Goldreich.

L. A. Central Ave. Greets Wallace

The Black Dispatch
Okla City Okla
Sat 5-29-48

LOS ANGELES — (ANP) — Presidential Candidate Henry A. Wallace accompanied by a number of his supporters made a special tour of Central avenue, main thoroughfare of the east side Negro business and residential district last week.

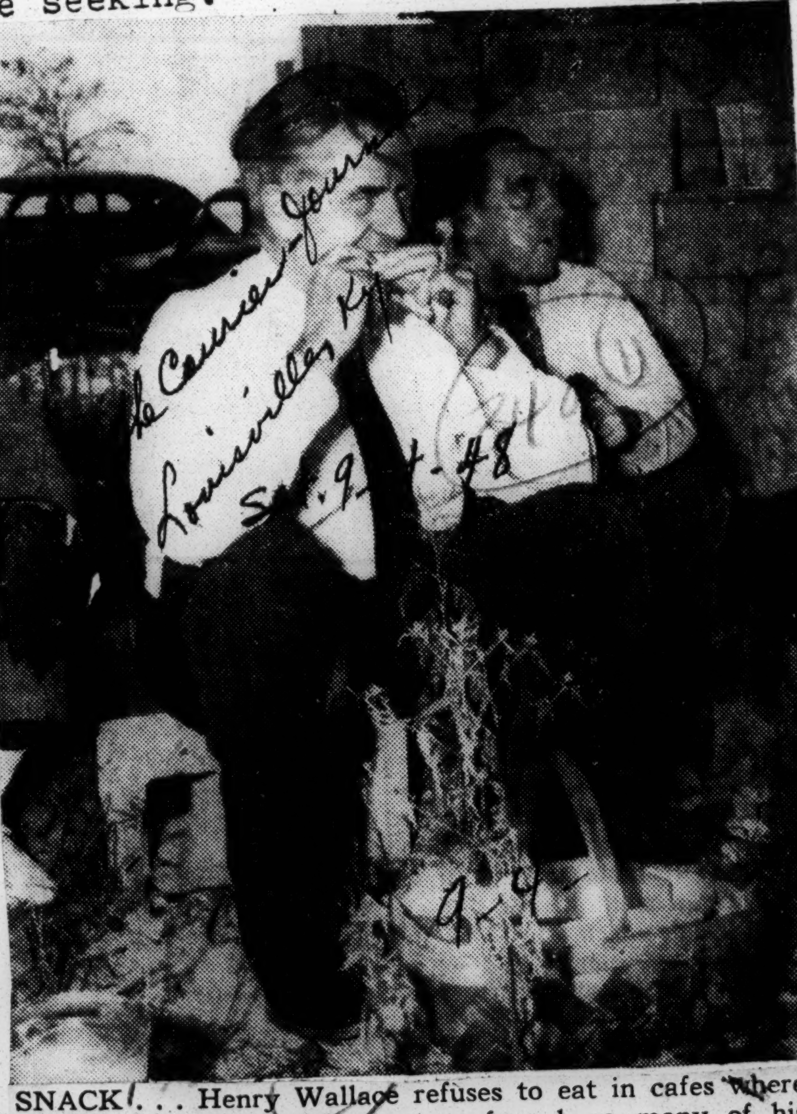
Riding with him in the parade of 12 automobiles were Sidney Moore, pro-Wallace candidate for congress; Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, recently appointed co-chairman of the national Women for Wallace committee; Augustus Hawkins, local assemblyman, and others.

Wallace stood up and waved at the crowds all the way in the 50 block drive. Banners screaming "Votes for Wallace," "We want equal rights," "Down with jim-crow" and like messages hung from the sides of the autos.

The cavalcade was preceded an hour earlier by a truck with a public address system announcing that the Presidential candidate would appear.

Other Los Angeles activities included a press conference at the Ambassador hotel and a short speech before 200 at a luncheon at Elks temple. Wallace also held a conference with labor leaders at the Alexandria hotel and attended another banquet.

Mrs. Bass, in speaking of her support of the third party candidate, said"I feel that Henry Wallace and he, alone c n inspire that faith in the American people which will lift us out of the depression of racial bigotry into which we seem to be seeking."



The Courier-Journal
Louisville Ky
Sat. 9-4-48
9-4

SNACK . . . Henry Wallace refuses to eat in cafes where Southern segregation laws are enforced, so many of his meals are eaten from baskets. Here he has lunch at a stop outside Birmingham. With him is Clark Foreman, national treasurer of the Progressive Party.

Mr. Wallace Again Fails To Note

We have editorially condemned the egging of Henry Wallace in certain sections of the South, even though Henry asked for it, and sought it.

We also have called attention to the fact that candidates in other sections get heckled and abused. The late Wendell Willkie got pelted with fruit and abuse in the East and Middle West. It is not a sectional product, but national.

There was, however, one interesting item coming out of the egging. Henry Wallace spoke of the egging as totalitarian in character. In a very minor sense it was.

But, in the name of common honesty, why doesn't Henry Wallace speak out against all the violence and restriction of civil liberties and free speech in the Soviet Union, which he admires so much. Why does he not mention the fact that we have no political concentration camps, and his accepted Soviet Union does. We have freedom of speech and freedom to form opposition parties. Russia does not. At the worst, ours get egged. Theirs get shot if they so much as get reported for speaking of opposition.

Henry Wallace has been revealed as being dishonest intellectually and politically. That is why his campaign is losing what force it had.

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123 Negro Leaders Back Wallace's Fight on Bias

Daily Worker

Thur 10-21-48

New York N.Y.

34a(1)

In recognition of Henry Wallace's insistence on speaking only to non-segregated audiences in his recent tour of the South, 123 Negro leaders in 23 states issued a statement this week declaring they align themselves with Henry Wallace in his fight against discrimination.

Signers of the statement included leaders in the fields of education, religion, business, journalism, labor, fraternal organizations and women's organizations. It was drawn up by Charles P. Howard, of Des Moines, Ia., life-long Republican leader who has endorsed Wallace, and is now a member of the Progressive Party's national committee.

Wallace, the statement declared, "has come to grips, as few men have since Lincoln, with the fundamental cancer that is destroying the American heritage of freedom."

"The organized mob violence of the South will conquer the nation, or democracy will prevail equally everywhere. It must be one or the other. It cannot be both. We the undersigned, of differing political views, believeing these truths must be universally accepted, align ourselves beside Henry Wallace in this issue."

SIGNERS

Among those signing the statement were:

Alabama—Birmingham — Bishop S. L. Greene, 9th Episcopal District, A.M.E. Church.

Arkansas—Little Rock—Bishop J. H. Clayborn, 13th Episcopal District, A.M.E. Church, and L. C. Bates, Publisher, **State Press.**

Pine Bluff—J. H. Robinson, Sr., Editor, **The Negro Spokesman.**

California—Los Angeles — C. E. McKindley, president, Los Angeles Negro Business League.

Connecticut — Stamford — Rev. I. Logan Kearse.

Georgia—Macon—Frank J. Hutchings, Macon Negro Business League, and Larkin Marshall, editor, **Macon World.**

Atlanta—Bishop W. A. Fountain, 12th Episcopal District, A.M.E. Church.

Thur 10-21-48

Augusta—Emma C. W. Grya, president, Association of Deans of Women in Negro Girls' Schools.

Florida—Tampa—Mrs. M. E. Potter, manager, **Tampa Bulletin.**

Jacksonville—Dorchen L. Taylor, Sr., **The Florida Tattler.**

Illinois—Chicago—William Moody, Most Worshipful St. James Grand Lodge, A. F. & A. Masons, Jurisdiction of Illinois; Rev. C. A. Kirkendoll, General Board of Religious Education; Earl B. Dickerson; Samuel Parks, Jr., United Packinghouse Workers, CIO.

Indiana—Indianapolis — Bishop O. V. Hall, Church of the Living God, and William B. Ransom.

Iowa—Des Moines—Jessye Bell-Davis, Iowa State Sunday School, and B.T.U. Convention.

Louisiana—Shreveport — M. L. Collins, editor - publisher, **The Shreveport Sun.**

New Orleans—C. C. Dejoie, Sr., **Louisiana Weekly,** and Raymond H. Tillman, member, international executive board, TWU.

Maryland—Baltimore—Dr. Alexander J. Walker, Dept. of Education, Morgan State College.

Massachusetts—Boston — William Harrison, associate editor, **Boston Chronicle.**

Michigan—Detroit—Rev. Charles A. Hill, pastor, Hartford Ave. Baptist Church.

New Jersey—Newark—Alfred E. Graham, editor, **New Jersey Herald News.**

New Mexico—Las Cruces—O. L. Payne, Las Cruces Civic and Literary Society.

North Carolina—Durham—L. E. Austin, editor, **The Carolina Times.**

New York—Charles A. Collins, vice-president, Local 6, Hotel and Club Employes, AFL; Dr. Arnold Donawa, North Harlem Dental Association; Mrs. Alma Vessells John, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses; Canada Lee; Ewart Guinier, international vice-president, United Public Workres, CIO; Guy R. Brewer; Capt. Hugh Mulzac; Dr. W. A. Hunton, secretary, Council on African Affairs.

Ohio—Wilberforce—Bishop R. C. Ransom, A.M.E. Church.

Oklahoma — Cushing — Joe S. Johnson, Cushing Chamber of Commerce.

Oklahoma City — E. W. Perry, Oklahoma Missionary Baptist State Convention.

Muskogee—Elder A. A. Banks, executive secretary, National Baptist Evangelical Board.

Oklahoma City—Roscoe Dunjee, editor, **Oklahoma Black Dispatch.**

Pennsylvania — Philadelphia—Eustace Gay, editor, **Philadelphia Tribune,** and Magistrate Joseph H Rainey.

Pittsburgh — Rev. C. R. King; Samuel Scott, president, Pittsburgh Business and Professional Association.

Texas—Greenville — M. S. Durham, Negro Chamber of Commerce

San Antonio—W. R. Bryant, Negro Chamber of Commerce.

Huntesville—J. H. Owens, Negro Chamber of Commerce.

Dallas—Rev. Stacy Adams.

Galveston — John H. Clouser Knights of St. Peter Claver.

Virginia—Charlottesville — Mrs Otelia L. Jackson, Order of Eastern Star, Masonic Grand Chapter of Va.

Thur 10-21-48

Richmond — Robert D. Pawley, Virginia Branch of National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers.

South Hill—Rev. G. W. Taylor, Reformed Zion Union Apostolic Church of America.

Petersburg—Luther P. Jackson, Professor of History, Virginia State College.

Hampton Institute: Lorenzo C. White, Negro Organization Society of Virginia, Inc.

Roanoke—S. H. Clark, Association of Colored Raliway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen, Inc.

District of Columbia—James Ross, president, National Baptist Deacons Convention; Dr. Edward C. Mazique; Thomas Richardson, vice-president, United Public Workers CIO, and Belford Lawson, president Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity.

Norfolk Police Acted Wisely

Journal Guide

34a(1)

(An Editorial)

THE experiences of HENRY WALLACE during his southern tour, after he left Norfolk, emphasize by contrast the public calmness and good judgment on the part of officials and citizens here (and in Richmond) in their reception of the Progressive Party candidate.

Sat 9-11-48

For many days it was not certain that either Norfolk or Richmond would permit the WALLACE meetings to be held unless the segregation required by law for public meetings was observed. The WALLACE backers insisted that the meetings would be unsegregated, and WALLACE refused to address any but unsegregated gatherings.

Norfolk Va

Rather than run head-on into the laws and customs prevalent in the South, the Progressive Party officials designated the meeting here as a private one, with admission by invitation only. Ultimately, Richmond and then Norfolk police authorities announced that they would accept the private meeting claim and make no efforts to enforce segregated seating in the audiences.

That was a wise decision. As we pointed out in an editorial in our issue of August 21, the "Communists could desire nothing better than to have Norfolk's police department put on a strong-arm act at their 'by special invitation' meeting here . . . Strong arm tactics never do these movements an harm."

Now that the authorities have been intelligent enough to avoid making a martyr of WALLACE, as some less enlightened communities further South are doing, we repeat the plea made in our earlier-mentioned editorial that the city do something "to close up the gambling joints, policy dens, prostitution houses, 'club' saloons, illegally operated night clubs, and other rackets which consume the earnings of their patrons and fill the cities with thievery, banditry, mayhem, and murder."

Sat 9-11-48

They have earned the gratitude of the enlightened citizenry of Norfolk, and they can earn an even greater measure of public thanks by proceeding with more success with such a cleanup program.

POLITICS:

The Egg and Wallace

Newsweek

Henry Wallace picked the hottest week of the year to invade the South. And wherever he went, temperatures rose still higher:

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▶ In Durham, N. C., on Sunday, Aug. 29, his presence set off a free-for-all between Dixiecrat pickets and his own followers. Two of his followers were knocked cold, and one, a University of North Carolina student, was stabbed. Wallace declared: "Nothing can intimidate me."

▶ Next day in Burlington, N. C., he found a crowd of about 700 waiting in a downtown section. No sooner had he started talking, than eggs started flying. One broke on his arm and ran down his rolled-up shirt sleeve. Demonstrators shouted: "Why don't you go back to Russia?" Wallace angrily shook his finger in the faces of several and said in a quavering voice: "Are you in the United States?" But he left without making an attempt to deliver his speech.

▶ He was egged again at his next stop, Greensboro, N. C. This time, however, he braved the barrage and kept talking.

'Jim Crow' Keeps Profits High, Wallace Tells Negro Elks

Courier-Journal

Louisville Ky

Cincinnati, Aug. 24 (AP)—A 5-hour parade of some 30,000 persons today climaxed the appearance here of Henry A. Wallace at the national convention of the Negro Elks.

Shortly after the Progressive Party presidential candidate had spoken at Music Hall, branding "Jim Crow" as the "offspring of profit-mad tycoons wedded to the proposition of divide and rule," lodge members along with numerous bands and drum corps began forming a line of march.

Wallace told the convention that Jim Crow keeps profits high and wages low.

Wed 8-25-48

"What a comment it is upon the status quo," he declared, "when the spokesmen for 15,000,000 Americans had to come to the United Nations to charge that their homeland, the land of Lincoln and Roosevelt, denied them an abundant life, a peaceful life, a free and equal life."

In a renewal of his attacks on President Truman and Governor Thomas E. Dewey, the Progressive Party nominee asserted that Truman and his party "have presided over the gradual liquidation of civil rights for the citizens of the United States, 145,000,000 of them.

"Mr. Truman's silence has been the eulogy over the graves of Negroes, some in the uniform of the United States Army, lynched in the South under his administration."

Wed-8-25-48

He added that Dewey "has had a number of lynchings in the state over which he presides. . . . These go on unchecked in the State of New York."

Approximately 2,000 persons were in the hall when Wallace began his 35-minute speech. The speech was received coldly and only three times did the listeners' interrupt with light ripples of applause. About 1,00 persons remained in the hall until the end of the speech, and applause lasted less than a minute.

48,000 Cheering Listeners Laud Wallace Rally

The News

After Egg-Tomato Tour, Says He Tasted 'Fascism' In South

Sat 9-11-48

NEW YORK, Sept. 11—(AP)—Henry A. Wallace, back from his hectic Southern tour, got a booming reception last night from a crowd of 48,000 at Yankee Stadium.

Sponsors called the rally the biggest paid-admission political meeting in the history of the United States.

Wallace, interrupted frequently by long and thunderous applause, told the throng that he had tasted the ugly realities of fascism" during his tour of the South.

But he said the important thing about the tour, during which he was pelted with eggs and tomatoes at some stops, was not the "ugly spewings of hate and prejudice."

"The significance of our Southern trip," he said, "lies in the two dozen completely unsegregated, peaceful meetings which we were able to hold."

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY presidential candidate was given a roaring six-minute ovation as he stepped to the speaker's stand. Amid the cheering, clouds of confetti, thrown into the air, floated down from the stands.

Wallace, smiling broadly, stood waving to the crowd.

At the outset Wallace departed from his text to declare he condoned "neither the German stoning nor the Russian shooting" that has marked rioting in Berlin this week.

Sat 9-11-48

He urged that America be the "peacemaker, not the warmonger" in Europe, and said "the quicker we make peace" with Germany and Russia, "the better for all of us."

The former vice president said his party is made up of "those who stand against the course which leads to war."

He said "It does not matter if they call us red or black, if they lie about us or egg us or stone us. We will not join the Republican-Democratic poker match which governs out of the backroom—from the bottom of the deck."

WALLACE SAID that during his Southern tour he had tasted Fascism "neither so fully nor so bitterly as millions of others. But I have tasted it. And in tasting it I have reinforced my solemn resolution to fight it wherever it appears so long as I live."

He called upon the two major party presidential candidates — President Truman and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey — to join him in a pledge that whoever is elected will enforce the 14th amendment. "That section of our constitution calls for the reduction of the number of congressmen for each state where the right to vote is abridged," Wallace said.

At one point, he paused in his address to call Paul Robeson, Negro singer and national co-chairman of the Progressive Party, to his side.

"There is no reason," Wallace said, "why Paul can't stay at the same hotel as I."

The "Yankee Doodle" rally marked the opening of Wallace's New York State campaign. The meeting was originally scheduled Thursday night, but was postponed because of a rainstorm.

BEFORE WALLACE'S ADDRESS, a group of musicians entertained the crowd. One song took a dig at President Truman's civil rights program and his piano playing. The lyrics said: "He plays on the white keys but not the black keys; he's afraid of offending the South."

Another song, referring to Dewey's presidential aspirations, said, "He'll be awfully crowded with Wallace in there."

A rally official said 60,000 rally tickets were sold Thursday — for from 60 cents to $3.60 each and more were sold yesterday. Total sales amounted to approximately $72,000, he said.

Another estimated $50,000 was raised during a fund-collecting period that preceded Wallace's address in addition to "bill-a-head" contributions gathered by ushers from the audience.

Sponsors had predicted an attendance of 70,000. By turnstile count, 45,000 paying customers went through the gate before the meeting began, and sponsors estimated 3,000 were admitted later.

Police estimated the crowd at 50,000.

WALLACE NAME ON EIGHT BALLOTS

Times-Picayune

New Orleans

(The Associated Press)

New York, June 5.—Henry A. Wallace has won a place on the ballot in eight states and has failed to qualify in only one so far, his campaign manager said today.

Sun. 6-6-48

C. B. Baldwin, director of third party forces, said Alabama and Utah were the latest states in which Wallace had been certified on the ballot.

The independent presidential candidate previously had qualified in California, New Jersey, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York and Cook county, Illinois.

In addition, Baldwin said sufficient signatures have been filed to put Wallace before the voters in Maryland, West Virginia and Oklahoma.

A court fight over formal certification is on in Oklahoma.

The 11 states have 211 electoral votes out of the total of 531.

Florida is the only state in which the new party has failed to meet the qualifying deadline, Baldwin said.

This is the one state in which the Wallace strategists had no hopes of getting on the ballot from the start.

6-6-48

His chances also are dubious in Ohio, where the secretary of state yesterday ruled that Wallace could not have a place on the ballot. But this decision is being appealed to the courts.

Wallace Gets a Welcome After 2 More Eggings

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky

Asheville Gives Him a Peaceful Reception; Truman Call Barrages 'Highly Un-American'

Wed 9-1-48

From Wire Dispatches.

Henry A. Wallace weathered two more assaults of eggs and tomatoes in North Carolina yesterday, but received a peaceful reception in the mountain resort city of Asheville, N. C.

The Progressive Party presidential candidate was egged in Charlotte and Hickory for the fourth and fifth times in two days of speechmaking in North Carolina. But the conduct of those gathered to hear him in front of the Buncombe County Courthouse at Asheville was in sharp contrast. Less than a dozen half-hearted boos came from the crowd of about 1,500.

He's Hanged In Effigy.

He thanked the audience for its "cordial reception" and said elsewhere in the state his appearances were disturbed "by a few irresponsible persons."

Then he attended a reception given by Dr. Karl Schaffle, a physician, at his home in an exclusive residential section. Whites and Negroes mingled freely.

Several blocks away, Wallace was hanged in effigy.

The largest crowd of the trip turned out in Charlotte in front of the Courthouse. The crowd numbered about 2,500 persons.

It was a good-natured crowd and the hecklers almost drowned out Wallace's words, but the police had it in complete control. Just before Wallace finished, however, a barrage of eggs and tomatoes came hurling through the air, striking some of Wallace's group and also a number of spectators. One of those hit was Mary Price, Progressive Party nominee for Governor.

Wed 9-1-48

3 Men Are Arrested.

As he finished his talk in Charlotte, Wallace pointed to a monument near by that was erected in memory of the men who framed the historically famous Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in 1775, a colonial move to throw off British control.

"Try to remember the Mecklenburg declaration," Wallace shouted, "and try to keep that kind of democracy in your minds."

The monument bears an inscription from the declaration which reads, "When protection is withdrawn allegiance ceases."

Three men were arrested at Charlotte by some of the 80 policemen on hand to maintain order. Charged with disorderly conduct, they posted $100 bond for appearance at a hearing today. Three also were arrested Monday at Greensboro in the egging there.

The party then drove to Hickory, a small manufacturing town in the middle of the state, where about 500 persons assembled in the main street to greet the Wallace group.

Quits Talk Abruptly.

There was a great burst of booing and heckling when Wallace first walked to the loudspeaker set up on the sidewalk. He asked for a chance to talk and suddenly the crowd became very quiet.

Wallace then declared, "I'm going to make a statement that you probably won't like." He remarked that when he had been Secretary of Commerce he had "set up a department to help Negro businessmen because Negroes should have the same business opportunities as whites."

The crowd broke out into jeers of "nigger lover" and "Communist" and then began to hurl rotten eggs and tomatoes.

Wallace and a score of people close to him were splattered. The barrage was so heavy that Wallace quit his talk bruptly and paraphrased a passage from Scripture for his tormentors.

"As Jesus Christ told his disciples, when you enter a town that will not hear you willingly, then shake the dust of that town from your feet and go elsewhere," Wallace said before turning on his heels and entering his automobile, parked a few feet away.

At Washington, President Truman sent word to newsmen that he considers egg-and-vegetable showers are "highly un-American" and a violation of "the American concept of fair play."

Blames Progressives.

The Chief Executive added: "Mr. Wallace is entitled to say his piece the same as any other American."

In Winston-Salem, N. C., where Wallace was jeered Monday night, Police Chief John M. Gold said much of the jeering and egg-throwing was inspired by the Progressives. Some of the hecklers, he said, have been identified as members of the Communist Party.

Wed 9-1-48

Gold said a leader of the Progressives in Winston-Salem was pointed out as one of the crowd "who got the heckling off to a good start."

When told of Gold's views, Wallace broke into a big laugh, and commented: "I wish I knew who they are."

Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, blamed the egging of Wallace on an "irresponsible hoodlum Ku Klux element."

Promises of protection, along with warnings that racial segregation will be enforced, went out to Wallace as he headed toward Alabama in his tour of the South.

One Alabama Mayor, Herbert Meighan of Gadsden, wired Wallace meanwhile that "Your presence is not desired here." Wallace is scheduled to speak in Gadsden at 1:30 p.m. today.

Assurances of protection against physical harm came from Gadsden's Police Chief Gay Boman, Birmingham's Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull' Connor, and from Governor James E. Folsom.

The latter said he didn't believe anyone will hurt Wallace, but he ordered special protective measures at the request of Alabama Progressive Party leaders. A State Highway Patrol escort has been arranged for the presidential candidate and his party.

Denied Steps of Capitol

Wed 9-1-48

The State of Mississippi will provide a Highway Patrol escort for Wallace, but will not let him speak from the steps of the Capitol at Jackson.

Governor Fielding L. Wright disclosed that the Capitol Commission, of which he is chairman, refused a request that the Progressive Party presidential candidate be allowed to speak in front of the Capitol.

Wallace is scheduled to reach Jackson tomorrow.

Wright, vice-presidential nominee of the States' Rights Democrats, appealed to Mississippians to extend to Wallace the "courtesies that would be shown any visitor within our borders."

Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, presidential nominee of the States' Righters yesterday pleaded that Wallace be given a hearing in the South. Governor Gregg Cherry of North Carolina previously had denounced those responsible for Wallace's treatment in his state. North Carolina's Republican state chairman, Sim A. De Lapp, called the violence "unpardonable."

Wallaceites Told City To Enforce Segregation Law

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Third Candidate Heads Into Dixie; Chief Gives Warning

Sat 8-28-48

If and when Henry Wallace speaks within the Birmingham city limits Wednesday, he will speak to a segregated audience—if he speaks at all.

That much was made clear Saturday by Police Chief C. Floyd Eddins, who asserted it was his duty "to see that the segregation laws are enforced and that's what I'm going to do."

* * *

THE CHIEF SAID he didn't know what specific plans had been made for the scheduled visit here of the Progressive Party's presidential aspirant.

But he insisted that the segregation laws of the city would be enforced regardless of whether the proposed meeting was held indoors or outdoors.

Meanwhile, county commissioners were expected to make a decision today on whether to issue a permit for Wallace to address a meeting on Courthouse steps here at 4 p.m. Wednesday.

Request for the permit was signed by J. P. Mooney, Route 3, Bessemer, as president of the Alabama Progressive Party, and Robert Travis, Jr., 613 North 13th Street, Bessemer, as party secretary.

The request stated that the meeting would be "mixed—white and colored."

* * *

TRAVIS SAID final arrangements have not yet been made, but the tentative itinerary calls for Wallace's presidential entourage to make stops at Huntsville at 9:30 a.m. Wednesday, at Gadsden shortly after noon, at Birmingham at 4 p.m. and at Tuscaloosa after the Birmingham meeting.

Travis said Wallace's group then would proceed to Jackson, Miss., where the group planned to spend the night.

Possibility of a hotel incident here was dismissed when the Wallace program planners decided not to spend the night in Birmingham.

Such an incident occurred, however, at Durham, N. C., where Wallace's reservations to stay at a white hotel there Sunday were canceled.

Wallace party supporters announced he will stay at the home of a Negro in Durham.

* * *

THE ANNOUNCEMENT came from Miss Mary Price, North Carolina chairman of the Progressive Party at Durham. Wallace's secretary, Mrs. Viola Scott, a Negro, will stay at the home of another Negro, she said, and three white members of the Wallace group will stay at a Durham Negro hotel.

Frank Grantham, manager of the Washington Duke Hotel at Durham, said he had informed Miss Price the hotel could take reservations only for white guests and further that Negroes were not permitted to visit the rooms of white persons.

Wallace is scheduled to arrive in Durham late Sunday on a Southern swing in his campaign for the presidency.

The News

The Associated Press said Wallace has protested to Gov. William Preston Lane, of Maryland, that all major Baltimore hotels have denied facilities to the Progressive Party for a dinner next month.

In a telegram to the governor Friday, the Progressive Party presidential candidate said that the hotel facilities were refused because of an "admitted policy of racial discrimination."

"Several hundred Baltimore citizens were refused reservations for the alleged reason that Baltimore hotels do not permit attendance of Negroes at political functions," Wallace said.

He urged the governor to use his office to "urge Baltimore hotels to end their un-American practice of discrimination."

The dinner is scheduled for Sept. 12.

Birmingham Ala.

IN A LETTER to County Commission President W. D. Kendrick, Alabama Progressive Party President Mooney stated, "It is our opinion that any attempt to curb, interfere with or prevent such a meeting is only an attempt to deny freedom of speech and freedom of assembly to the people of Jefferson County.

Sat

"Many citizens remember that this same space (the courthouse steps) has been used heretofore for many similar meetings.

"In order that there be no misunderstanding as to our request, we desire that the citizens of Jefferson County and vicinity have the opportunity to hear Henry Wallace on the day of Sept. 1, if they so desire."

8-28-48

In Baltimore, officials of two hotels said they had turned down the Progressive Party request for use of their banquet halls because their facilities already had been booked for the date sought.

Most others denied they had refused a Progressive Party request for reservations.

WALLACE BACKERS FORM JERSEY PARTY

Independent Progressives Hear Taylor Attack the Major Parties on Peace Issue

New York Times

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NEWARK, N. J., June 5—The Independent Progressive party, supporting Henry A. Wallace's Third party candidacy for President, was founded today at a convention in the Armory at which Senator Glen H. Taylor of Idaho, Mr. Wallace's running mate, charged Republican and Democratic parties "with joining in a conspiracy to deprive American people of their civil rights in order to stop the forces for peace."

In an afternoon address Senator Taylor said that Third party candidates and leaders were "being dismissed from their jobs in many places" and called upon the 1,228 delegates from eighteen of the state's twenty-one counties "to meet this organized persecution and intimidation with courage."

At a press conference later he predicted 20,000,000 votes for Mr. Wallace if 60,000,000 ballots were cast—"just enough to win."

In reply to a question he said: "I never was a Comunist and never will be; neither is Henry Wallace. But I wouldn't answer that question if it were asked by a Congressional committee."

Among the resolutions adopted was one characterizing the Mundt-Nixon bill as "a thought control measure, fashioned after Fascist regimes of Germany, Italy and Japan." Another called upon Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll to remove John Borg, publisher of The Bergen Record, as a member of the Port of New York Authority for permitting publication in his newspaper of an editorial "containing thinly veiled anti-Semitism in connection wih the establishment of the State of Israel."

Sun

James Imbrie, Wallace candidate for United States Senator from New Jersey, and Mrs. Katherine Van Orden, candidate from the Twelfth Congressional Distrist, also spoke. Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch of the civil and industrial engineering department of Columbia University, was chairman.

6-6-48

3d Party Certified in 8 States

Certification of the Third party in Alabama and Utah has brought to a total of eight the number of states in which the new party, which is supporting Henry A. Wallace for President and Senator Glen H. Taylor for Vice President, is now assured of a place on the ballot, C. B. Baldwin, campaign manager of the National Wallace for President Committee, announced yesterday.

In addition, Mr. Baldwin said, the Wallace organization has completed requirements for putting the Wallace-Taylor ticket on the ballot in three other states and is awaiting official certification. These eleven states have 211 electoral votes and a population of approximately 53,000,000.

Mr. Baldwin said that the new party is now officially on the ballot in Alabama, California, New Jersey, New York, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Utah and in Cook County, Illinois. In New York, Mr. Wallace and Senator Taylor will run as the candidates of the American Labor party.

6-6-48

The three states in which sufficient signatures have been filed to put the Wallace-Taylor ticket on the ballot are Maryland, Oklahoma and West Virginia. A court fight over formal certification is under way in Oklahoma.

Of the states where the deadline for putting the new party candidates on the ballot has passed, the Wallace organization failed only in Florida. In Ohio, where the Secretary of State on Friday barred the new party from the ballot, an appeal has been taken to the State Supreme Court.

6-6-48

WALLACE WANTS ALABAMA STONING

The Advertiser

We read in the capitalist press that Henry Wallace was going to open his campaign in Alabama. Suspecting that this was just some capitalist mischievousness, we consulted the communist press. And it was confirmed in the communist newspaper, The New York Daily Worker—Wallace's chief press support—that "Old Bubblehead" was, sure enough, going to open his campaign in Guntersville, Ala.

Sun 8-22-48

The Daily Worker announced:

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.—Henry A. Wallace will open his campaign in Alabama on Sept. 1 with a series of non-segregated meetings. He will center his attention on textile workers and Negro and white steel workers, coal and ore miners.

Guntersville, Ala.

Progressive Party leaders here are busy planning for Wallace's one day tour of open air meetings throughout the state. Wallace will arrive by train in Guntersville, Ala., one of the Alabama cities touched by the TVA project. Following a speech here he will continue his state tour by motor caravan.

The caravan, escorted by the Alabama State Highway Patrol, will drive first to Huntsville, where Wallace will address and picket with textile workers who have been out on strike for almost five months. The caravan will then go to Gadsden . . . By noon Wallace and the caravan will enter Birmingham . . . He will address steel workers and coal miners in this southern heart of J. P. Morgan's steel empire . . .

In addition to Alabama, Wallace will campaign in six other southern states. The Atlanta Constitution is doubtless correct in guessing that Wallace is coming South first in the hope that there will be incidences which he can capitalize elsewhere in the nation.

Wallace knows that he cannot hope to win strength in the South. Yet he will open his campaign in Alabama, where the state's vote has already been awarded to Thurmond, and he makes a point that he will defy Jim Crow law and custom. Obviously this wacky and vicious man hopes to be stoned.

Sun 8-[illegible]-48

Be it remembered that Birmingham City Commissioner "Bull" Connor [illegible] sucker for Wallace's running mate, Senator Glen Taylor. Bull did just what Taylor desired—took him to the clink for violating the city's segregation statute. That gave Taylor a martyr's scars in the East, where ignorant people believe anything said of the South so long as it is derogatory.

Of course, the act advanced Bull's political stock. But we hope that this time, Bull will not be outsmarted by a dimwit. Nothing could please Wallace more than to be arrested in Birmingham on a Jim Crow violation. Let it be recognized aforetime that Wallace is coming to Alabama to be stoned.

Wallace Is Ignored In His Invasion Of Texas

The Columbia Record
Wed. 9-29-48
Columbia S.C.

Henry Wallace invaded Texas Monday to begin a three-day stumping tour of the Lone Star state.

He was still hammering away at the race issue, calling for the enactment of federal laws prohibiting segregation and racial discrimination, still insisting that at all meetings at which he appeared there should be no segregation.

The laws of Texas require that the white and Negro races be segregated at public gatherings, but the Dallas authorities wisely choose to ignore any violation of the statute by the Progressives. The only public meeting scheduled for Dallas was a party rally in an old dance hall, called the Yacht club, outside the city limits.

34a(1)

And this, of course, defeats the Wallace purpose. He cannot make any votes out of being ignored.

It is the policy that should have been followed by North Carolina and the other Southern states, which wasted good eggs, tomatoes and peaches on the Wallace party on the occasion of his first Southern invasion a month ago. In contrast to his stormy reception then, his appearance in Texas was quiet and unnoticed.

Trying to recapture some of the old frenzy, Wallace recalled the disturbances that marked his other visit to the South. He said that violence occurred "where Northern money was invested" and after saying that Texas was dominated by "huge oil interests" described the Southern reactionary as "a Southerner controlled by Northern money—a Republican who has put on false whiskers," evidently ignoring the fact that his description could also be applied to himself as a former Republican, now wearing at least two sets of false wiskers.

Wed 9-29-48

But the South had learned its lesson and ignored the insult. It isn't playing into Wallace's hands any more. It has arrived at a system of simply ignoring him, which is the severest punishment that can be meted out to a politician.

Wallace's campaign, not only in the South, but everywhere, is slowing down. The Communist hand behind the Progressive party is becoming more and more apparent and other voters are falling away from him. Even in the Northwest where he claimed his strongest support outside of New York and California Wallace is on the downgrade.

Wallace Cancels Reservation When Hotel Bars Negro

34a(1)
Black Dispatch
Sat 9-4-48

LOUISVILLE — (ANP) — Henry A. Wallace, Progressive party presidential candidate, cancelled hotel reservations here last week because the management refused to register a Negro traveling with him.

Oklahoma City Okla.

Herbert H. Monsky, attorney and state chairman of the progressive party, said on Aug. 23 that he had sent the following letter to the hotel management.

" . . . I have been instructed to advise you that if you are not prepared to register Mr. Wallace and all members of his party, without regard to race, color or creed, these reservations should be canceled.

"This letter is to confirm my telephone conversation with an assistant manager who, when I explained the situation, informed me that it would be necessary to cancel these reservations and that he was doing so."

Wallace arrived in Louisville by plane Tuesday, August 24, for a party rally. Members of his party were housed in private homes rather than accept rooms in segregated hotels without accommodations for Negro members of the group.

Wallace Replies To 'Prodigal Son'. Aubrey Williams

34a(1)

CHICAGO—(AP)—Henry Wallace, replying to the urging of his old friend Aubrey Williams to repudiate the Progressive Party, said Sunday the Progressives later will welcome such "tired liberals" as "prodigal sons."

"Tell us when you get your belly filled with husks, Aubrey, and we shall go out and kill the fatted calf," Wallace said.

Williams, the former National Youth Administrator, Saturday published an editorial in his ~~farm~~ publication at Montgomery, saying the Communists are "using" Wallace to weaken and defeat the efforts of the U. S. to reach an understanding with Russia.

He said Wallace should repudiate the whole thing and "come on back home."

Wallace said in his reply:

"The Progressive Party has done and will do more to provoke real understanding in the world tha nany single political force. The get tough policy is demonstrating its complete failure every day. Without any appeasement whatsoever, without any sacrifice of any American public interest, it is possible to have peace with Russia."

Wallace Seeks Presidency

The Informer Light House

CHICAGO, Ill. - Henry A Wallace Monday declared himself an independent candidate for president of the United States.

Sat 1-4-48

His bolt from the two major parties and formation of a new progressive party followed the day after Wallace made a fighting "declaration of independence" for American Negroes in an address prepared for the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity national convention in Tulsa, Oklahoma. A blizzard that blanketed the east coast prevented Wallace from attending the convention but his speech was read before the cheering audience by Dr Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

34a(1)

In the Monday night nationwide broadcast over the Mutual network announcing his candidacy, Wallace called on farmers and workers, whites and Negroes, small businessmen and professional people to join him in the fight "against war, privilege and discrimination."

New Party Need Declared

"When the old parties rot, the people have a right to be heard through a new party," he declared. "They asserted that right when the Democratic Party was founded under Jefferson. They won it again when the Republican Party was organized in Lincoln's day. The people must again have an opportunity to speak out with their votes in 1948."

The Lighthouse

Wallace's call for an end to discrimination made in his candidacy speech was presented as a full-bodied program for equal rights for the Negro people in his Tulsa address. Declaring that Negro and white Americans alike have been "too tolerant of intolerance," Wallace called for "a day-to-day offensive to demand complete justice' for the Negro people.

"The abolition of Jim Crow must have top place on the agenda of a program for national defence," Wallace declared. "Until it is abolished the words 'democracy' and freedom and justice' used so gilbly to support our foreign policy will ring hollow throughout the world."

Referring to the role of the Roosevelt New Deal in improving the living conditions of the Negro people,, Wallace added, "I make these points only to emphasize that whatever we white, unprejudiced, democratic Americans have done whatever the New Deal did, has been far less than enough ...Today we must be as stubborn in our devotion to principle as the abolitionists of a century ago. The times demand it. The defense of our country demands it."

Fights Jim Crow

Following the pattern of his recent declarations that 1948 is a year to 'come out fighting," Wallace spelled out in the speech a complete offensive "to end Jim Crow in American wherever it exists North or South."

In his recent tour of the South, Wallace set history-making precedent speaking only before unsegregated audiences. This was the first time a major political figure in America was able to successfully challenge Jim Crow barriers erected in the south by hate groups as the Ku Klux Klan.

The Wallace civil rights program, expected to be a major element in the presidential campaign, was launched at the Alpha convention in a five point platform, calling for a federal anti-lynch law, and end to poll taxes, the right to vote for every Negro American, equal an unsegregated education, and a permanent FEPC.

Wallace challenged both parties on their failure to keep campaign promises for portions of this legislative program.

Makes Pledge

Wallace concluded his speech by pointing out that a Negro child born today has a life expectancy of ten years less than that of a white child born a few miles away because of unequal health facilities. In a moving pledge to the Negro people, the newly-declared presidential candidate, promised:

"I say those ten years--those ten extra years for millions of Americans are what we are fighting for. I say that those who stand in the way of the health, education, housing and social security programs which would erase that gap commit murder. I say that those who perpetuate Jim Crow are criminals. I pledge you that I shall fight this with everything I have."

Temporary offices for Wallace were set up at 40 E. 49th street in New York.

NAILS

In a drive to force the gray market out of business, the nation's nailmakers have decided to more care fully police distribution and to increase production. Nail production in the next 90 days will be concentrated on "60" standardized types and sizes of nails most commonly used in home construction." At present, the steel industry is producing "over 125 different kinds of nails."

MISSISSIPPI, LOUISIANA GREET WALLACE TOUR WITH QUIET 'WELCOME'

34a(1)

States Bend Over Backwards To Assure Courtesy For Candidate

Fri 9-3-48

VISITS ARKANSAS TODAY

Progressive Party Head Plans To Reach Memphis This Afternoon For Address In Bellevue Park Tonight

By The United Press

MONROE, La., Sept. 2.—Mississippi and Louisiana, where patriotism means States' Rights and white supremacy, bent over backward Thursday to see that Henry A. Wallace got "courteous" treatment.

Wherever the Progressive Party presidential candidate went in the two states, he was escorted by details of watchful state troopers.

Wallace was weary after three turbulent days of Southern travel during which he had been the target several times of rotten eggs and ripe tomatoes.

Not A New Idea

It was not the first time a campaigning presidential candidate had gotten egged at political gatherings. During the 1940 presidential campaign, the late Wendell Willkie running on the Republican ticket against Franklin D. Roosevelt, was also splattered with raw eggs and nan occasional tomato.

In Alabama, Wallace had refused to speak to audiences that were segregated.

Thursday he was escorted through Mississippi by seven carloads of state police, and the Louisiana patrol picked him up at the state line.

Things went smoothly until he got to Monroe where another barrage of old vegetables threatened. A couple of tomatoes spattered against his red Ford automobile as he stepped inside to resume the trip.

A burly state trooper turned in the direction of the crowd and growled:

"No more of that."

Wallace spoke on a downtown Monroe street corner. He praised the South's resources and humanity.

Crowd Is Displeased

But the crowd did not like it when he said, "there's no reason in the world why the South cannot rise to the level of the North."

Jeers and catcalls interrupted his brief speech.

"Let the man talk," several persons pleaded.

Fri 9-3-48

Wallace's day started this morning with breakfast at Southern Christian Institute, a negro junior college, at Edwards, Miss.

The gathering turned into a Mississippi Progressive Party meeting to plan ways of getting presidential elector candidates on the November ballot.

Wallace went to the State Capitol with the Mississippians to present the list of candidates to Secretary of State Heber Ladner, who took them under advisement.

Wallace Shuns Louisville Hotel Barring Negro

Tues 8-31-48

LOUISVILLE — (AP) — Hotel reservations here for Henry A. Wallace, Progressive Party presidential candidate, were canceled because, party officials said, the management refused to register a Negro traveling with Wallace.

Wallace will arrive here Tuesday for a rally.

Members of his party will be housed in private homes as a result of the inability of the local party committee to get rooms in nonsegregated hotels.

WALLACE CITES HIS RECORD OF AID TO NEGRO FARMERS

The Worker

Special to the Daily Worker

New York New York

Sun 10-3-48

DALLAS, Tex. — Henry Wallace defended his position on the Negro question here today, mentioning Walter White by name as one who had criticized him without a substance or a shadow of truth.

Wallace said it was not true he had neglected Negro sharecroppers when he was Secretary of Agriculture. He pointed out that through the Farm Security Administration he had aided them. He said he had visited Negro sharecroppers personally to ascertain their needs.

"As presiding officer of the Senate," he added, "I tried to line up Republican Senators to support anti-polltax legislation when it came over from the House."

The former vice-president said he was not successful in these efforts on the polltax, but that he did learn the logjam against civil rights legislation in the Senate was bipartisan.

Sun 10-3-48

He admitted that he had not been as concerned about the Negro question as he is now. His experiences in World War II, he said, speeded his development along that line.

"Walter White, who is playing around with Truman, and some others have criticized me, but there is no substance of a shadow of truth in what's being said."

President Says
Candidate Due Fair
Play

Birmingham News

Considers Treatment
In North Carolina
Is Un-American

3490(1)

Birmingham, Ala

By The Associated Press

Tues 8-31-48

President Truman Asked "Fair Play", today for Henry A. Wallace, Progressive Party Presidental candidate who has been pelted with eggs, booed and harrassed on a North Carolina speaking tour.

Through Press Secretary Charles Ross, Mr. Truman sent word to reporters that he considers the tr treatment given Wallace

"A highly un-American business." He said Wallace is entitled to say his piece."

THE WHITE HOUSE also announced that Mr. Truman will make a campaign speech Sept. 18 near Dexter, Iowa, and from there will tour on West. Details of the trip, other than the engagement at Dexter, are incomplete.

The national plowing match will be held at Dexter Sept. 18. So Mr. Truman's address likely will be the major "farm speech" of his election campaign. His campaign will officially open with a "labor speech" at Detroit on Labor Day.

Wallace went, ahead with his Southern campaign, meanwhile picking up more support in the North from the American Labor Party.

Tues 8-31-48

In New York, a state convention of the American Labor Party nominated Wallace and his running mate, Sen. Glen H. Taylor, as its candidates.

Elsewhere on the political front: The head of the CIO United Electrical Workers, who is backing Henry A. Wallace, said there will be no split in the labor organization over the issue of endorsing President Truman.

* * *

ALBERT J. FITZGERALD, president of the 600,000-member United Electrical Workers, told that to reporters when he went into a meeting of the CO executive board at Washington. Nobody is going to bolt the CIO, he said.

The executive board faced its toughest campaign puzzler in eight years in trying to endorse Truman without sacrificing important left-wing unions.

Louisiana Democrats, in a primary election watched by congressional investigators, chose senatorial and House candidates. The administration of Gov. Earl K. Long was a hot campaign issue.

Russell Long, the governor's nephed and 29-year-old son of the late Sen. Huey P. Long, bid for the Senate seat left vacant by the death of Sen. John Overton. Young Long, as a state legislator, helped draft his uncle's controversial state program of higher taxes, bigger old age benefits and similar measures.

Negroes Blast Use of 'Uncle Tom' Pickets

Sun Worker - Sun 9-26-48

By Sylvia Hall

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The entire Negro community of Birmingham is still up in arms about the nine Negroes who picketed the Wallace meeting with Dixiecrat-worded slogans. The slogans, contrary to the true militancy and asspirants of the Negro people, are being refuted by letters to the editor in local daily papers, the local Negro newspaper, and by a resolution of the Birmingham NAACP.

The resolution, signed by the President and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the local NAACP and approved by the branch membership, declares:

"As a means of expressing the feelings of the massess of Negroes toward the recent incident of the nine Negro men picketing the proposed Henry A. Wallace Progressive Party political rally scheduled for Sept. 1, on the steps of the County Courthouse

"Resolved, That it be made known publicly by means of newspapers and other publications that we deplore the actions of such groups and consider it a treacherous stab at the Negro's fight for first-class citizenship.

"Resolved, That we do not condone such action, but rather condemn and denounce any such actions on the part of any group or groups participating in such.

"Resolved, That it be made known that the wording of the placards carried by these nine men does not express the sentiments of the majority of thinking southern Negro citizens, if any.

Sun 9-26-48

"Resolved, That it be made known that we are non-partisan, and that the same actions would be taken on any group picketing with banners carrying such statements at any political rally, regardless of party."

★

THE VICIOUS REMARKS on the placards were exposed in a column of the **Birmingham World** by Emory Jackson, editor of this local Negro newspaper.

In answer to the sign, which read, in part, "We live in harmony in the South," Mr. Jackson pointed out that "within 126 days in the Birmingham area, nine Negro citizens were killed by police." He went on to add, "For the first time in the history of the Birmingham outdoor meetings on Sept. 1 were jimcrowed."

One sign boasted Parker High School, largest Negro high school in the world. Mr. Jackson states that Parker High School is the largest "unaccredited" high school in the world. "It has no gym, an inadequate library, no athletic field, a meager and restricted curriculum. Parker High School is a big high school simply because Negro citizens of Birmingham are denied enough high schools," he added.

Mr. Jackson also answered the red-baiting placard which read, "The Negro has accomplished more in the South in the past 100 years than Russia has in the past 1,000 years." His reply: "It is foolish to seek to compare the progress of a racial group of one country with another country. Russia has risen to a first-rate power since World War I, but the Negro is still a long way from a first-class citizen in the South after more than 80 years since the Civil War."

Sun 9-26-48

★

A LETTER to the editor, appearing in one of the local dailies, spoke out against the Negro pickets. After refuting many of the slogans, the letter said, "The whole concoction seems to have been inspired through some other source and demonstrated by the nine Judases."

Cornelius Maiden, local AFL organizer, believes that the men were "forced to do it." Knowing the situation in the Hodcarriers local union, in which all nine men claim membership, Mr. Maiden declared that the local's white business manager has "dictatorial power over those Negroes."

No Eggs for Wallace At Dalton Speaking

The Constitution

Sun 10-17-48

Atlanta, Ga.

DALTON—(UP)—Henry A. Wallace came South again yesterday, charging that the kind of violence he experienced on a previous trip is "an evil that can cost this nation its very life."

But Wallace got a peaceful reception in this North Georgia Mountain town, in contrast to his last trip South when he was pelted by critics with ripe eggs and squashy tomatoes in North Carolina.

The Progressive Party candi-candidate for President charged that his party workers had been subjected to "terrorism" in their drive to get on the ballot in Georgia.

Recently a number of Wallace-ites claimed they were chased out of Augusta and Columbus when they showed up to get signatures on a petition then necessary to make Wallace eligible for the November election ballot. Since, the Legislature removed the requirement that new parties had to have a petition from five percent of the population, Wallace is on the Georgia ballot.

Wallace drove here from Chattanooga, Tenn., and addressed a quiet crowd of about 800 attending a 12-state meeting of the Church of God. It was a non-segregated audience, but only a few Negroes showed up.

WE'VE MOVED, TOO

The Advertiser

Sun 9-26-48

Montgomery, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, ALA., Sept. 23.—(AP)—Aubrey Williams called on Henry Wallace today to "repudiate" the Progressive Party and "come on back home."

Henry Wallace return to the Democratic Party? Probably the average Alabamian reading that finds himself muttering: "We don't want that traitorous bubblehead back in our party."

But that is an incomplete thought. It is no matter to Alabamians if Wallace returns to the Democratic Party. That is forgetting that the majority of Alabamians have left the National Democratic Party the same as Wallace. We are no more members of the National Democratic Party than Wallace. He left it to join up with a third party, the Progressive Party. Most Alabamians left to join up with the fourth party, the States' Rights Party.

Wallace Carries Anti-Segregation Crusade South; Defies Violence, Jim Crow Meetings and Accommodations

The Black Dispatch

Okla. City Okla.

Sat 9-11-48

ABOARD THE HENRY A. WALLACE SPECIAL TRAIN MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Raising on his banners the dramatic cry, "Segregation is sin!" Henry A. Wallace, Progressive party candidate for president, braved open hostility and violence as he carried his campaign into the deep South last week.

Traveling by airplane, special railroad car and motorcade, the former vice president established a historic precedent in a whirlwind tour of major cities and small towns of seven states. In Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Tennessee, again and again Mr. Wallace announced his program for the industrial and agricultural development of the South, for doubling the Southern income "for black and white alike."

He called for "a new political awakening and full, free voting everywhere in the South."

Explaining that the Progressive party is the only party whose candidates practice what they preach, Mr. Wallace refused to speak at segregated meetings at Gadsden, Birmingham and Bessemer, Ala. He also rejected reservations at hotels which refused accommodations to the Negro members of his party. Traveling in his official family were Edith Roberts, secretary, and Louis Burnham, party coordinator for the Southern states.

Sat 9-11-48

In Durham and Winston-Salem, N. C., Mr. Wallace was the house guest of prominent Negro businessmen. George W. Logan, theatre owner, restauranteur, was his host in Durham, and Carl Russell, leading mortician of Winston-Salem, provided the hospitality of his spacious home in Camel City.

Beginning with addresses before audiences totaling more than three thousand Negro and white Virginians in Richmond, Norfolk and Suffolk, the Progressive party standard bearer moved on to North Carolina where he encountered the first evidence of "white supremacy" violence. A group of young white hoodlums, parading as war veterans, picketed the Durham armory where Mr. Wallace addressed the closing session of the nominating convention of the Tar Heel Progressives. The Durham police offered no protection to the meeting and permitted the disrupters to enter the armory brandishing their picket signs and yelling provocative insults. The audience of 1,500, half of whom were Negroes, remained calm and sang their party songs. After the pickets were thrown out of the hall by a group of pro-Wallace students from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, they returned, singled out Danny Harris, one of the Chapel Hill students, and cut him severely on the wrist and back.

The pattern of violence continued in Burlington, Charlotte and Hickory, N. C., where eggs, tomatoes, ice cream cones and assorted missles were used instead of knives and fists. On several occasions, Mr. Wallace was pelted by eggs, but he smiled good-naturedly, reaffirmed that his program is one of friendship for and among the Southern people, Negro and white, and expressed his regrets that the eggs could not have feen used "to feed hungry children."

Negroes turned out in large numbers at all points of the tour. In many instances they mingled freely in the crowds. In some instances, obviously reacting to the vicious intimidation with which the Dixiecrats had reacted to the Wallace tour, they stood at the edge of the court house audiences. In all cases, they listened intently and applauded with vigor the frequent references to the Progressive Party platform on equal rights.

At Durham, Mr. Wallace was introduced by Louis Austin, militant editor of the Carolina Times, and Progressive candidate for the state legislature. Prayer was offered by Rev. W. T. Brown, young minister of Maxton, N. C., candidate for the U. S. Senate.

Among those who greeted the former cabinet member at Little Rock, Arkansas, was John Johnson, Negro elector of the party. Other Negro electors and party officers were among the welcoming delegates at Jackson, Mississippi and Memphis, Tennessee.

Sat 9-11-48

High points of the tour was an unsegregated meeting of 5,000 at Memphis' Bellevue park on Friday. Scattered boos of 'teen-age hecklers failed to drown out the vigorous applause as Wallace reiterated his call for a world of peace, security and abundance, and called for the total elimination of Jim-Crow in American life.

An elderly Negro in the audience proclaimed "This has never happened in Memphis before." And Clark Foreman, national treasurer of the Progressive Party, in closing the meeting, said: "This is a new day for Memphis and the South. One year ago, the Freedom Train could not come to Memphis. But today the Freedom Man has Come!"

Sat. 9-11-48

With the applause of the interracial audience ringing in its ears, Mr. Wallace and his party moved on for appearances at Nashville and Knoxville which would conclude the Southern tour.

NAACP CONDEMNS "NINE OLD MEN" WHO PICKETED WALLACE MEETING

Daily World Wed

Birmingham, Ala.-- 9-15-48

In a blistering resolution released for publication last 34a(1) Saturday, Sept. 4, the Birmingham Branch of the NAACP condemned and denounced "the nine Negro men" picketing the Henry A. Wallace unfilled speaking appearance at the Birmingham Courthouse, Wednesday, Sept. 1. Atlanta, Ga

The men, descrived by the daily press as a "civic group" and "former Tuskegee students" carried placards presenting information claiming that the Wallace program hasset the Negro back 50 years and "Down with the FEPC", and other material. The NAACP's resolution said further "We deplore the actions of such groups and consider them a treacherous stab at the Negro's fight for first-class citizenship." 34a(1)

BACKGROUND CHECKED

Newspapers report checking into the background of the "nine Negro men" have been unable to find whether any of them ever attended Tuskegee Institute. Equally, reporters have not been able to check where the placard-bearing "nine men" are identified with any organized civic group.

The pickets gave their names as Major Kitt, 2701 4th Ave., South; Albert Tucker, 1004 7th Ave, North; George Odum, 316 27th St; Red Coney, 513 8th Ave., S.W.; Robert Batie, 412-A 3rd Ave., N.; Percy Poole, 1514 6th Ave., W. and Burton Lee, 329 Beater St.; Jessie James Coper, 3515 First Alley, No; Joe Griffin, 136 First Ave., N.

ALL IDENTIFIED

Daily World

They all said they were members of Local 559 of the American Federation of Labor. Tucker was identified as vice-president of the local and as a steward and Sunday School teacher of the St. John A.M.E. Church. The "nine men" all of them appearing to be elderly men, told the white reporters that they represented merely civic-spirited Negroes. Atlanta, Ga 34a(1)

Cornelius Maiden, former organizer for the American Federation of Labor's national office, who is now with the Cooper International of the AFL said that through his work in connection with his local he believed that "the men were forced to do it." He added that "they are members of a common laborer's union" and that "those fellows really didn't know what they were doing." He described them as "men who could scarcly write their names." He added that a man he identified as William J. O'Neal, white business manager, had dictorial power over those Negroes."

TELEGRAM SENT

Wed. 9-15-48

The day before Wallace was scheduled to speak, Sept. 1, the Birmingham Branch of the NAACP sent the following telegram to County Commission President W.K. Kendricks and Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor:

"We protest the denial of free political expression and free and peaceful assembly to Henry Wallace by your insisting upon conditions for his speaking appearance Wednesday in Birmingham, never before required in outdoor gathering of its kind.

The NAACP condemns compulsory segregation laws and will seek by legal and moral ways to rid America of its curse and disgrace. Segregation is the symbol and essence of second-class citizenship".

The text of the NAACP's resolution said:

As a means of expressing the feelings of the masses of Negroes toward the recent incident of the nine Negro men picketing the proposed Henry A. Wallace Progressive Party political rally scheduled for Sept. 1, on the steps of the County Courthouse.

Resolved, That it be made known publicly by means of newspapers and other publications that we deplore the actions of such group and consider it a treacherous stab at the Negro's fight for first-class citizenship. Daily World

Resolved, That we do not condone such actions, but rather condemn and denounce any such actions on the part of any group or groups participating in such. Atlanta, Ga.

Resolved, That it be made known that the wording of the placards carried by these nine men does not express the sentiments of the majority of thinking southern Negro citizens, if any. Wed 9-15-48

Resolved, That it be made known that we are non-partisan, and the same actions would be taken on any group picketing with banners carrying such statements at any political rally, regardless of party.

The Birmingham Branch of NAACP
D. S. Stephens, President
J. Greene, Chairman Executive Committee

Text of Wallace's Speech at Yankee Stadium

The Times

Following is the text of the speech prepared for delivery by Henry A. Wallace, Progressive party candidate for President at the rally in the Yankee Stadium last night:

Just two years ago I spoke to many thousands of you who are here tonight.

I said then as I say tonight that peace is the basic issue of the 1948 election campaign.

I say now that the first job of national defense; the most important job in maintaining the peace is the job of conquering hate here at home, the job of protecting the civil rights of all Americans.

This is a great American meeting.

34a(1)

It is a meeting in the best American tradition—a meeting of men and women of all races, all creeds.

Sat 9-11-48

Last week—in smaller gatherings—we proved that such meetings can be held in the much-maligned Southern states. We proved that such meetings—meetings of all the people—can be held wherever men respect the Constitution of the United States; and wherever they respect the Christian principles of brotherhood on which so much of our modern civilization has been built.

The news reported from the South last week was news of eggs and tomatoes. It was news of violence and threats of violence.

And there were eggs. And there were tomatoes. And there was violence and there were threats of violence.

Yes, and there were the ugly spewings of hate and prejudice; and the sad sight of men and women and children whose faces were contorted with hate.

Significance of Trip South

But the significance of our trip south was not the dramatic proof that there are seeds of violence and fascism and deep prejudice in the Southern states. The significance was not in proving what is known.

No. The significance of our Southern trip lies in the two dozen completely unsegregated, peaceful meetings which we were able to hold.

The significance lies in those meetings in Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Tennessee which were held—even as this meeting tonight—in the best American tradition.

We held such meetings by insisting on our American rights to freely assemble and freely speak.

And if there is one message above all other messages which I bring you as a result of that Southern trip, it is this: Fear is a product of inactivity and the greatest remedy for fear is to stand up and fight for your rights.

In the course of private and public life I have traveled many places. I have experienced many fields. I have had a wide variety of emotional experiences. But I have never had such deeply moving experiences as those of the first week of September, 1948, when I traveled South to campaign for peace.

I had seen the victims of mass prejudice in a DP camp.

I had seen and felt—as any decent human being must feel—for the Jewish orphans interned in Italy.

I had visited foreign lands—Latin America, China and many parts of Europe, and had my heart go out to victims of oppression.

I have deplored and felt that I truly understood the plight of workers who have faced picket line violence.

Says He Found Fascism

I had been South before—many times—and I thought I understood the plight of our Negro citizens.

But I discovered last week that my understanding was only the limited understanding; the sympathetic feeling of a friend for a man who is afflicted.

To me fascism is no longer a second-hand experience—a motion picture, a photograph or the deeply moving words of a great writer.

It is no longer a mere definition of an economic and political system in which freedom is stifled by private power; in which prejudices are bred and nourished; in which man is set against man for the profit of powerful and greedy forces.

No, fascism has become an ugly reality—a reality which I have tasted.

Sat 9-11-48

I have tasted it neither so fully nor so bitterly as millions of others. But I have tasted it.

And in tasting it I have reinforced my solemn resolution to fight it wherever and whenever it appears so long as I live.

Last week—when I had a chance to live—to live very briefly and relatively mildly—the kind of life which millions of Americans live every waking hour, last week I learned what prejudice and hatred can mean. I learned to know the face of violence, although I was spared the full force of violence. I saw the ugly reality of how hate and prejudice can warp good men and women; turn Christian gentlemen into raving beasts; turn good mothers and wives into Jezebels.

I didn't like that part of what I saw. I didn't like to see men and women fall victims to the catchwords of prejudice and the slogans of hate, even as the poor people of Germany were victimized by the catchwords and slogans of Hitler and Streicher.

34a(1)

Saw Hate Mongers in Action

I saw how a few hate mongers carefully placed in a crowd of decent folks can set off a dangerous spark.

I saw a young college student—a Progressive party worker—who was severely cut across his chest and arms by the agents of hate.

Times

I was a passenger in the car of a prominent business man in a Southern city as he raced down dark streets and alleys to elude all who might be following us, so that he could take me, unknown to anyone else, to his home for dinner.

He was a courageous man. The precautions he took were necessary. His business in that Southern town would have been ruined, if it were known that a candidate for the Presidency, a former Vice President, was having dinner at his home.

I saw an irate landlord rouse a quiet neighborhood where I had gone quietly to rest and work on a radio speech at the apartment of a young couple.

I saw how fear is bred and perpetuated and capitalized—and I didn't like it.

Met Courage That Brings Hope

But I also saw the kind of courage; the kind of real, deep human fighting spirit which promises a new day for the South and for the world.

I saw men and women, white and Negro, who have been leading the fight against hate and prejudice and intolerance in the South.

I saw them standing up and fighting for the very foundations of our American way of life—standing up to all kinds of intimidation. And from them radiates a contagious spirit; the same kind of spirit of resistance which stopped the armies of Adolf Hitler in half a dozen European countries.

Sat 9-11-48

I heard Clark Foreman say so truthfully that "Down here, to believe in the Constitution means you are automatically called a Communist"; and I heard a young college student, a veteran, add: "It's like General Carlson said, 'To be called a Red here is a badge of honor.'"

I am confident that their spirit—the spirit of the progressive Southerners—will triumph in the South. I am hopeful that our trip helped build their forces; helped rally new strength; helped along the movement which will free the South. Rich in resources—proud and courageous, the South must be—and will be—freed from the shackles in which it has been held by huge corporations with headquarters only four miles south of here—not in Virginia, not in Tennessee, but in Wall Street.

'Steel Keeps People Divided'

The free South and the feudal South live side by side in the State of Alabama. In one day we received courteous receptions and held free meetings in the best American tradition in Decatur and Huntsville and Gunthersville in the great TVA area; and on the same day we could not hold meetings in Gadsden and Birmingham and Bessemer, cities which are dominated by Northern-owned steel corporations. We did not hold meetings because the police insisted on dividing Americans by the color of their skins. We did not hold meetings because the constitutional right to freely assemble and speak was denied by the police authorities of those company towns.

Here—in Alabama—in a single day, we saw the economic basis of hate and segregation.

In the steel towns it is profitable to keep labor divided.

North against South, race against race, farmer against worker—the profits of the men who own the South are multiplied by keeping the people divided.

But their days are numbered.

The good people of the South have learned their scriptures. They know the fundamental Christian doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. They know that "God hath made of one blood all the nations to dwell upon the face of the earth." They know that we are all members, one of another. Just as surely as men everywhere, they want the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth; and they are not going to be stopped any longer by those who spew hate.

It is the owners of the mines and mills, the great plantations, and newspapers who incite violence.

'Owners Don't Fight, But Inflame'

They don't personally engage in lynching either free speech or human beings, just as they don't personally engage in fighting the wars from which they profit.

But they inflame the passions of others. They have had others do their dirty work. But the ranks of new recruits for their dirty work are narrowing as more and more men and women of the South see how they have been victimized by prejudice—as they see how it has profited the few, and brought misery for themselves and their neighbors.

And the workers and farmers and independent business men of the South are turning from the false leadership of those who have been styled "Southern liberals"—they are turning from those who have preached the tolerance of intolerance, tolerance of segregation; tolerance of murderous Jim Crow. They are learning that such men are only slightly to the left of Hitler and Rankin.

They are learning that no man can believe in both segregation and democracy.

In a radio interview the editor of an Arkansas paper asked me about FEPC. He wanted to know if I would interfere with the right of men to choose their own associates. And I replied that I considered that a most important right. I replied that it was precisely my devotion to that right that leads me to fight segregation—segregation which deprives both white and Negro from freely choosing their own associates.

I told this same man; this same champion of segregation that while I knew we couldn't legislate love, we most certainly could and will legislate against the acts of hate.

Calls for Pledge to Cut Congress

Throughout the South we spoke for the full protection of all citizens under the Constitution of the United States. Tonight, I want to call upon the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties to pledge with me that whosoever shall be elected, he will enforce the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment no less than the other provisions of the Constitution. That section of our Constitution calls for the reduction of the number of Congressmen for each state where the right to vote is abridged.

In 1946 the votes cast to elect fourteen Congressmen from Louisiana and Mississippi were less than the votes cast in the Twenty-fifth Congressional District here in New York.

John Rankin and thirteen others, all together, received less votes than are cast here in the Twenty-fifth District.

That is not only unfair to the people of New York's Twenty-fifth District; it is grossly unfair to the people of the Southern states whose freedom has been limited by the failure of the Congress to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment.

If every Congressional candidate, if each of the Presidential candidates will take a pledge to secure constitutional reapportionment on the basis of the next census, I predict that we shall see an end to the many hindrances to free suffrage in the South.

We pledge ourselves to enforce this constitutional right.

"Proud of Our Enemies"

In pledging to live by the Constitution, we have earned enemies. And we are proud of our enemies.

The men who stand for Jim Crow.

The men who stand for Taft-Hartley.

The men who support fascists in Greece and China.

The men who prefer an atmosphere of war, because they profit by it.

Sat 9-11-48

The men who hated Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal and who now find their unity in hatred for the Progressive party.

These men, Republicans and Democrats, bound together by hate, are using every mechanism which bipartisan fear can suggest to defeat congressional candidates who stand for peace.

The Democrats, the Republicans, and the self-styled Liberals have joined hands to support single candidates against the candidates of the Progressive party; against candidates of the American Labor party.

They have joined hands in their bipartisan wrath against two men with the best liberal and labor voting records in the Congress of the United States.

They have honored—these corrupt and dangerous men—they have honored two real servants of the people, Vito Marcantonio and Leo Isacson. They have honored Leo Isacson with a single opponent. They have honored Vito Marcantonio with a joint campaign of vituperation and hate.

They are afraid of our strength. They saw what the people could do last February when they sent Leo Isacson to the Congress.

They have seen, time and again, the devotion of Vito Marcantonio's constituents to that dynamic champion of progressive principles. They have reason for their fear—and though they have combined their resources and efforts, we shall lick them on election day and return Vito Marcantonio and Leo Isacson to the Congress.

Scores Bipartisans' New Allies

It is with great sadness that I note that the bipartisans have some new allies; fearful men who call themselves liberals and leaders of labor; men who cry out against Wall Street running the country and then ask workers to give dollar bills to keep President Truman and his Wall Street gang in Washington.

I say such action, such double talk, such duplicity is shameful, immoral, and corrupt.

These illiberal liberals; these labor leaders who fight monopoly with words, but whose actions support the candidates of monopoly, these men make possible the Truman double talk. They make it possible for Truman to condemn Taft-Hartley while using it to destroy unions and the Wagner Act; to call for civil rights, while maintaining segregation in the Armed Forces and conducting loyalty purges; to call for price controls after killing them; to call for peace, while preparing for war.

Times

The surest proof that we of the Progressive party are not impractical in our politics is in the alliances of hate which have been formed against us.

Some of the liberals, some of the Pied Pipers of labor will tell us that they have compromised because Roosevelt compromised; but they slander a great man when they draw that comparison.

Roosevelt, by the deftest political maneuvering in all history, made many a political deal, but always advancing the cause of the common man.

Progressives Held Not for Sale

The men who are bargaining with corruption today hope for no gains, no advancements. They are bargaining to minimize losses. They are fearful men. They are men who might well heed the lesson that the only cure for fear is to stand up and fight for right.

The bipartisans have learned that the Progressives are not for sale. They have found out—through their leading agent in New York City, Mayor O'Dwyer, that the party in which Fiorello LaGuardia was proud to enroll himself is not for sale.

Bill O'Dwyer found it out when he tried with his fanciest offers to get John Rogge to quit the race for the surrogate's bench. Bill O'Dwyer heard Vito Marcantonio say "no." He heard John Rogge say "no." And he knows that John Rogge will conduct the kind of dynamic, fighting campaign against corruption which he himself should have fought against Tammany.

O'Dwyer, who has Trumanized his local administration by serving the same interests as the Republicans, by pitting police against strikers, by fighting inflation with increased subway fares, by invoking local loyalty orders; Bill O'Dwyer has found that Progressives know double-talk when they hear it.

As President Truman has demonstrated that he could not fill the shoes of Roosevelt; so Mayor O'Dwyer has shown that he cannot fill the shoes of LaGuardia.

Name Calling Discounted

Yes, our "no sale" sign has earned us many names. But it does not matter if they call us red or black, if they lie about us or egg us or stone us. We will not join the Republican-Democratic poker match which governs out of the backroom—from the bottom of the deck.

The shop-worn, the discredited, the cheap political tricksters have joined with those who all their lives have practiced black reaction. They have set up one camp, though there are many banners.

Sat 9-11-48

And what are they joined against? What are we that they should forget old feuds to fight against us?

We are those who stand against the course which leads to war.

We are those who would take from the hands of monopoly the power to say who shall starve and who shall feast.

We are those who protest a policy toward minority groups that is administered by a policeman's nightstick. We are those who feel attacked whenever the color of man's skin or the color of his political beliefs is the official excuse for brutality, whether in Mississippi or in Harlem, whether at home or abroad.

We must go now into every building of this city, into every suburban home, onto every street corner. We must tell the people who we are. We will stand up and take the jeers of hirelings.

We must work—we will work, so that on Nov. 2, Americans can clearly choose.

The South Sets

The Constitution
Atlanta Ga

The meanderings of Bubblehead Wallace in good purpose, deplorable as it may [illegible] to Henry, monwealths are more polite [illegible]dient to

The campaign of disparagement of these States has been growing in volume for 15 years and is the work of two agencies, the Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, a sinecure for a few overprivileged elegants, and the Communist Party. Both of these have contrived to make use of outlets which were less likely to be suspected of special motives. The advancement outfit made a connection with the ever-susceptible New York Herald Tribune whereby the AACP President, one Walter White, a Negro so pallid as to walk in peril in Harlem after midnight, should publish its propaganda in the Sunday section in the guise of impartial observations.

The H-T, its ethics gone numb, ran White's early pieces with no line to identify him as press agent for a touchy cause. It was a snide deception of a piece with the publication of essays against the American Legion by Charles G. Bolte, the founding father of the American Veterans' Committee, with no line to warn the reader that this too was pleading by an interested party. On being exposed, the H-T quietly complied with the rule of good faith in journalism. And, in due course, the AVC's Communists debauched this wet-eyed society of campus ideologians, vindicating the suspicions of all honest observers.

Mon 9-20-48

Henry Wallace made himself as offensive to the white population of the South and to most of those Negroes who prefer progress in peace to solution in blood, sweat and tears. His decision to live only in the homes of prominent Negroes was a patronizing affectation by a slobbering mountebank who hadn't even learned the tricks of the journeyman demagog. He never promoted Negroes in the Department of Agriculture or Commerce when he was Secretary and it never occurred to him to sleep in a colored man's bed and spill salt in his home until he went traipsing in election year under a banner which impugned the Negroes' patriotism.

Through all this, Bubblehead was treated with the good contempt of men of both races who were in a moral position to despise him. He was egged slightly but never stoned and of the tomatoes thrown none ever hit him, a warning, perhaps, of the decline of the South as the source of major league ball players.

But a few years ago, in New York, when Fritz Kuhn and the Nazi Bund held a rejoicing in Madison Square Garden, it took all the spare cops in town to keep some 50,000 level-headed, patient New York exponents of tolerance and forbearance from throwing the edifice at him, brick by brick. Kuhn was anti-American, anti-Semitic, dishonest and unpopular. Wallace is, if not anti-American then, anyway, more friendly to the enemy than to his own country. He is anti-white, a notorious liar and no more beloved in Alabama than Kuhn was in the Bronx.

In the Southern States, Wallace generally was let to speak his maundering piece. People called him a few names and hit him with a few eggs which caused no injury. The cops were few by contrast with the mighty cordons which were necessary to protect Kuhn that night. Obviously the Southern people could be trusted to restrain themselves.

In New York, Madame Kirsten Flagstad came to sing nonpolitical songs and was placarded long in advance by frantic incitations to assault or even homicide composed by illiterates on the foundation of motivated gossip against her late husband, and published in daily papers. No modern Southern paper would consider printing such brutal counsel. Mr. Flagstag was said to have been a Norwegian Nazi

In the New York district which sends Vito Marcantonio to Congress to follow the party line, an electioneer named Scottoriggio was kicked to death in daylight for all around to see, because he was opposing Marcantonio. This was a lynching as brutal and unmistakable as any in Southern history. Marcantonio, of course, and he an old office protege and political disciple of LaGuardia, was the political beneficiary of the murder done in a district where he usually knows all.

Mon 9-20-48

In New York it was that the Furriers' Union, run by the Communists, which for years terrorized both the furriers and the employers by the consent of Democratic city administrations. The Ku Klux Klan never was more brutal or stronger in the modern South.

In New York, the Council of the CIO openly announced the compulsory draft of all its members at the instant order of Communist bosses for picket duty, which means riot and insurrection. No such private army ever before had been ordered into being anywhere in American history.

The most dramatic mob pictures in the newspaper files are a series of three shots of a rioter killing a citizen with a ball bat in Minneapolis. The rioters were proteges of Floyd Olsen, the Governor, a Roosevelt New Dealer. The first picture shows the goon with the bat taking his swing. The second shows the impact. The third is the follow-through as the citizen falls dead before a thousand witnesses, including police, and the goon follows through.

No arrests.

This is particularly pertinent in view of the fact that it was the Mayor of Minneapolis who insisted on the adoption of a drastic anti-lynching program in the Democratic National Convention this year. As a closing point, St. Paul was so lawless that even a so highly immunized New Dealer as Homer Cummings, when he was Attorney-General, refused to let the FBI trade information with the St. Paul cops, remarking that something was rotten there.

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Wallace)

Eisenhower No Bar to War Drive: Wallace

34a(1) Presi

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y. Wed. 4-7-48

By Ruby Cooper

EVANSVILLE, Ind., April 6.—Democratic nomination of General Dwight D. Eisenhower will not stop Henry Wallace's campaign for the Presidency on the Third Party ticket, the former vice-president made clear today at a press conference here.

Opening his three-day swing through Indiana, which will conclude on Saturday with an appearance at a national Third Party conference in Chicago, Wallace said of Eisenhower:

"It is not a question of personalities—it is a question of what the party stands for."

Wallace's remark was an inferential slap at the General, who has refused to make any break with the bi-partisan policies of the Democratic and Republican Parties, which Wallace has called "war and depression policies. Wallace also declared there was no chance the Democratic Party would reverse its war policies regardless of which candidate it nominated.

At a mass rally tonight at the Coliseum here, Wallace called for public ownership of the military aircraft industry of the nation. The aircraft industry, he declared, "is helping foment the present war hysteria" and in the interests of peace "we must remove the drive for profits which leads private interests to urge more armaments and war-like actions." 4-7-48.

Evansville played a major role in the war in production of Thunderbolt fighter planes.

VISITS PICKETS

Wallace's address here capped a crowded day of activities that included an early press conference, visits to the picket-lines of striking electrical and packing house workers, and meetings with student, professional and labor groups.

His visit to the tent serving as strike headquarters for the 2600 Seeger Manufacturing Co. workers, members of the CIO United Electrical Workers Union, brought strikers swarming from the picket line to greet him. Daily Worker

Shortly after, he strode over to the nearby strike headquarters of the 500 Swift & Co. packinghouse workers to assure them of his support. New York, N.Y.

INTIMIDATION

An effort to intimidate workers, including Negroes, in this former Ku Klux Klan stronghold from attending tonight's meeting was seen in an announcement that a parade of veterans would also be held tonight to protest Wallace's appearance. Wed. 4-7-48

The parade is being organized by a group styling itself "The Spirit of Kilroy," claiming a membership of 400 veterans from among workers at the Briggs auto plant, a CIO-UAW shop.

Investigation reveals the group as sponsored by the right-wing Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and organized some months back to secure Reuther-pledged delegates to the last UAW convention. Its leader and spokesman, Arthur Robinson, was formerly a close co-worker of Homer Martin, one-time UAW president who was ousted from the union as a company stoolpigeon. Daily Worker

The move for the parade follows days of rampant hysteria against Wallace supporters in the UAW-organized Briggs, Chrysler and International Harvester plants. Sellers of tickets for the Wallace meeting had been threatened with violence and discharge from their jobs. Workers were told by the ACTU-Reuther clique that spotters would be stationed at the Coliseum doors.

Despite this, advance sales of tickets were large, and the parade was announced as a last minute move to cut down attendance. Wed

Alluding to this campaign of intimidation, Wallace told a press conference here he would receive a much greater vote than sample polls indicate because "many people have become hesitant to say how they will vote." New York N.Y.

Magistrate Rainey Supports Wallace

Daily Worker

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey this week announced his support of Henry A. Wallace for president and his candidacy for Congress from the Fourth Congressional District of Pennsylvania. Magistrate Rainey is now serving his second six-year-term as a magistrate and was formerly boxing commissioner of the state. Wed. Atlanta, Ga. 3-10-48

RALPH McGILL

'What Makes Wallace Run?'

34a(1) Presi

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

"The loquacious, neighborly Henry Wallace had turned silent. Old friends who called to ask him about his plans were startled at the change in him; the warm, blue-gray eyes had turned cool and silent, and an impenetrable wall seemed to rise around him when visitors stated their concern over the course he seemed about to take. . . ."

This paragraph is an early one in what I consider to be one of the most skillful, but cleanly, honestly done political articles of the year entitled, "What Makes Wallace Run?" It appears in the March Harper's, and I recommend it earnestly.

All who knew Henry Wallace in the old days knew that something had happened to him. He always had a genius for self-delusion. But, the man who is before us today is a puzzling one. Hale strips him naked. Tues. 3-16-48

Editor

When Wallace became editor of the New Republic there was an upsurge in the circulation of that magazine from about 40,000 to 100,000.

But there it stopped. (The hopes were for 400,000.)

An old friend whom I had talked long hours with in China, whom I had visited in New York after his return while he was writing one of the better books on China, turned down a job at a great financial sacrifice to go with Wallace on the New Republic.

I got an excited call or so from him and once rushed an article to him. Therefore, I was puzzled three months later to hear from him that he was quitting—the New Republic was a confusing place, Wallace was the chief cause of the confusion . . . there was something gone wrong with Wallace . . . and he would tell me all about it some day when we met.

William H. Hale

Now comes William Harlan Hale, who also was one of the editors of the New Republic, with his article, "What Makes Wallace Run?"

It was Hale who resigned when Wallace determined to be a candidate and still contribute to the magazine. Hale felt it was unethical and committed the magazine, which, of course, it did.

But now, without malice, without anger or any meanness at all, he has so stripped Henry Wallace of integrity and intellectual honesty that I do not see how the man can fail to suffer, save in the eyes of the Communists whose willing captive he seems to be.

Ghosts

Apparently the New Republic circulation didn't go on up to the estimated 400,000 because Wallace didn't have it.

But, even more than that, Hale reveals that Wallace drained himself dry of any real ideas in a few weeks and that frequently, thereafter, the Wallace articles were ghost-written under his name.

Writes Hale:

"Then, after he had been at the job only a few weeks, the flow of his positive ideas began to dry up. Many of the Wallace editorials of the early months of 1947 dealt simply with abstractions ('We must develop a new science of the general welfare') or with pot-shot polemics ('We are clutching a large empty paper bag containing a secret—i. e., the atom bomb—that is no secret.') Even these were sometimes written by ghosts. The editor began to absent himself from editorial conferences and took no part in the magazine's daily work. His mind seemed elsewhere. Political cronies who had opposed his switch to editing appeared more *frequently at his door. He took again to making speeches.*"

It will surprise many to read from one who saw the man revealing all the pettiness of a spoiled child. He was bitter about Roosevelt and especially about Harry Truman. His vanity, his liking for cheers, his willingness to hear only what was pleasing to him, are all shown by the man's own acts. It is not the wise, patient man we thought we knew.

The Communist infiltration continued until—as Hale says in a great line: "Wallace was seeing more and more of fewer and fewer persons."

Commies

The nation's well-known fellow travelers surround Wallace with their silken threads as a cocoon is bound, until:

"In March, 1947, before these influences had closed in on him, Wallace was still able to write an editorial in which he stated that the fundamental reason why most Americans hesitated to risk an all-out effort for peace with Russia was that they 'are convinced that both the Communists and the Soviet Government are intent on dominating Europe and eventually the world.' Not that Wallace shared this conviction, but he felt it worth while to state its existence—implying that it was up to the Soviets to act in such a way as to dispel it.

"But within a few months his attitude had changed. When in late Spring his editors presented him a draft of an editorial that in specific terms spelled out those widespread American suspicions of Soviet policy which the Kremlin might do well to answer or remove, Wallace pocketed it. Some weeks later his answer came back: he would not, he said, write anything critical of Soviet policies.

"Why not? was the immediate question. Because he didn't *see how by himself he could* affect Soviet policies, was the reply. But he could affect American *policies. Criticism* must stay at home. Tues-3-16-48

"This was just where his new friends wanted it to stay. He must paint America's political rulers an unrelieved black, thereby letting the opponents of those rulers stand out in white. And that didn't mean only the domestic opponents, such as Wallace himself; it meant the foreign ones, too."

In all of this the Wallace the nation knew, or thought it knew, has been swallowed up. The man of good will is gone, the bringer of promises, the independent—all these are gone. He had "turned into a voice of frustration, had fallen into the shadow of forces which he either did not comprehend or could not control."

The nation fears it is the latter.

And the nation knows who does control those who "Make Wallace Run."

Many things were envisioned for Henry Wallace, but never the role of a puppet.

JOSEPH AND STEWART ALSOP 34a(1) Pres.

The Constitution

Is Wallace the New Deal's Sole Heir?

Atlanta, Ga. Tues. 3-23-48

WASHINGTON—The pattern is always the same, whether in the United States or in Europe. First there is no more than a little gentle footy-footy between a non-Communist liberal or Left-Winger and the Communist. Then, he suddenly finds himself their political and intellectual prisoner. The liberal is then compelled to turn and rend the non-Communist Left and liberal movement of which he was once a part. And finally, he is forced into the kind of petty political and intellectual dishonesty which is the stock in trade of his Communist captors.

Henry A. Wallace has now completed this process. Very few of his followers are Communists. They are rather perfectly sincere and honest people, who have joined the Wallace movement in a desperate search for peace. Certainly few of them understand the remarkable extent to which the shaggy Wallace, with his simple eminently American appearance, has become the captive of a group which clearly serves a foreign interest.

Yet this can be very simply illustrated by the story (which will no doubt be denied) of certain meetings in New York City. Almost every week, and usually on Wednesday evenings, a small and select group gathers in a house in downtown New York. The political coloration of this group may be judged by the fact that the host is none other than Mr. Frederick V. Field. Mr. Field is a known Communist, a former contributing editor and principal angel of the now defunct Communist magazine, "The New Masses." The purpose of the meetings is to do "research" for, and to plan the general tenor and content of, the frequent speeches of Henry A. Wallace. Tues. 3-23-48

The actual writing of the Wallace speeches is a task usually performed by Wallace's clever and literate chief ghost, Mr. Lew Frank, who is understood to be a non-Communist in the same sense that Wallace himself is a non-Communist. Mr. Wallace thus provides the voice. Mr. Frank provides the words. But the select company to which Mr. Field plays host provides the ideas.

This should surprise no one who has followed Mr. Wallace's speeches and noted their increasingly startling resemblance to the editorials in the New York "Daily Worker." What is surprising is the extent to which he is allowing himself to be used to slaughter the whole Left and liberal movement of which Franklin Roosevelt was once the leader and of which Wallace himself was once a part.

Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas and Rep. Chester Hollifield, of California, are two of the dwindling band of Roosevelt New Dealers and Left-Wing liberals in the House. Both have devoted their political lives to the Left and liberal movement. On the fifteenth of this month both received telegrams from the Wallace movement in California. The telegrams pre-emptorially ordered them to appear in person before the satraps of the Wallace party in California, "not later" than four days from that date. They were told to have answers ready on a series of questions on foreign policy and other matters.

The telegram to Mrs. Douglas pointed out that 30,000 Wallace signatures had been secured in her district. In the last election, Mrs. Douglas' margin of victory had been in the neighborhood of 5,000 votes. There was no need to spell out the threat. The Constitution

Emergence of a Wallace candidate would spell certain defeat for Mrs. Douglas, and by splitting the liberal vote, insure the election of a Republican. And the telegrams specifically queried the two Representatives on their attitude toward ERP, which it is the announced objective of the Communists, and thus of the Wallace movement, to wreck. Mrs. Douglas courageously replied reaffirming her support for ERP. So did Mr. Hollifield. Atlanta, Ga

Mrs. Douglas and Mr. Hollifield were clearly marked for the slaughter when the telegram was sent, although there is reported to be some sentiment in national Wallace headquarters that to kill off a pair with so unblemished a liberal voting record would be too crude. The decision may thus be reversed. If it is not, Reps. Douglas and Hollifield will doubtless soon undergo the same campaign of political assassination which Mr. Paul Douglas, of Chicago, has already been subjected. Tues. 3-23-48

Mr. Douglas, an able liberal and New Dealer, and Democratic candidate for Senator in Illinois, has been ticketed for defeat by the Wallace forces because he has supported ERP. The result will almost certainly be the election of the "Chicago Tribune's" fair-haired boy, Sen. Curley Brooks. Mr. Douglas has been publicly described by Wallace propagandists as an advocate of immediate war against Russia, and a friend of the Taft-Hartley Act. Both charges are, of course, lies.

What is surprising is that Wallace, while proclaiming himself the sole inheritor of the New Deal, can lend himself to this sort of political murder of the old New Dealers.

The Worker

Majority of Negro Students Favor Wallace

New York, N.Y.

Sun 34a(1) 3-7-48

By Mary Southard

BIRMINGHAM.—If the 1948 election were held now and Southern Negro college students held the deciding vote, Henry Wallace would be the next president of the United States by a substantial majority. This fact came out in a poll of youth opinion conducted among Negro college students by the Southern Negro Youth Congress during January.

Almost 4,000 students of 11 colleges in seven southern states gave Wallace an absolute majority of 58 percent in a field of six candidates. New York's Gov. Thomas Dewey ran a poor second with 16 percent of the votes cast, and President Truman trailed Dewey by three percentage points.

Gen. Dwight Eisenhower got nine percent of the vote, and Harold Stassen and Robert A. Taft one and three percent, respectively.

☆

ONE HUNDRED AND TWELVE Negro institutions of higher learning in the country were invited to take part in the poll. Twenty colleges responded with orders for some 12,000 ballots. Results reported here are based on a sampling in 11 colleges which have reported findings to date.

235 votes cast.

The leading question in the poll and the results obtained in the schools listed are as follows:

"If you were voting today for President for which of the following men would you cast your vote?"

Candidate	Number of votes	Percentage of votes
Wallace	2,233	58%
[illegible]wey	607	16%
[illegible]man	506	13%
Eisenhower ..	341	9%
Stassen	96	3%
Taft	43	1%
Total	3,826	100%

A considerable number of students who did not vote for Wallace in the poll nevertheless consider his candidacy advantageous to the Negro people. 3-7-48

IN REPLY to a further question—"Do you think the candidacy of Henry Wallace will help or hurt the Negro's democratic aims in the 1948 elections?"—2,916 or 79 percent of those polled answered that it would help; 713 or 20 percent felt it would hurt, while one percent or 53 students were undecided. 3-7-48

The strength of the Roosevelt tradition among the Negro people was reflected in replies to the question: "If Franklin D. Roosevelt were running this year on a third party ticket would you vote for him?" Nearly 3,000 or 89 percent of the students said they would vote for him on a third party ticket.

The small vote for Truman in the poll indicated a considerable lack of faith in President's professed devotion to the cause of civil liberty. The Worker

The poll revealed no important differences in the votes of veteran and non-veterans, or between men and women students. New York, N.Y.

This poll was conducted as monthly project by the SNYC. I February student sentiment o Universal Military Training wa tested, and in March the subje will be segregation in higher education in the South.

Will Run Wallace On Third Ticket In Michigan

Daily Worker New York N.Y.
Thurs. 1-1-48 Pres. 34a(1)

By William Allan

DETROIT, Dec. 31.—Henry Wallace's name will be on the Michigan ballot in 1948 on a third party ticket, it was decided by 150 leaders of labor and civic groups meeting here last night. Daily Worker

A state convention to organize a third party will be called in the state capitol, Lansing, in mid-February and a campaign launched to obtain the needed signatures.

It requires 9,600 signatures in at least 10 counties with a minimum of 100 in each of 10 counties with no more than 35 percent coming from one county. Deadline for presentation of signatures is May 3d. N.Y.

Elected secretary of the Wallace-for President group was Allan Saylor of the UAW-CIO. A steering committee was established, representatives were present also from a number of outstate cities, including Flint and Ann Arbor. 1-1-48

Saylor reported that several hundred telegrams had been sent from Detroit to Wallace the day following his announcement, congratulating him and pledging support.

SEES MICHIGAN CARRIED

The call for the third party convention is now being circulated throughout the state with the objective of obtaining several hundred signatures on it. Thurs

Congressman George Sadowski (Dem) from this city's first congressional district, when asked for a comment on Wallace's chances, said he wouldn't be surprised if Wallace carried Michigan. 1-1-48

Wallace's sister, Mrs. Angus D. Mclay of Birmingham, Mich., said: "His decision to run took courage and I'm glad Henry has it. He knows fighting challenge on discrimination, segregation and Jimcrow." 34a(1)

The Michigan Citizens Committee of Professionals, Middle Class and White Collar Workers said: "The Wallace candidacy is being greeted with hope and unbounded enthusiasm in our state because the people now have a choice between progress and reaction." Daily Worker

Sixteen leaders of Ford Local 600, UAW, wired Wallace: **"We admire your courage and we're for you."** They were: James Couser, financial secretary, Bill Johnson, recording secretary, Percy Llewellyn, former executive board member; William Cooper, president Motor Building; Ed. Lock, president Plastic Building; Virgil Lacey, president Tool and Die Building; Tom Yeager, president Miscellaneous Building; George Popp, president Jobbing Foundry; Jack Poole, president Machine Shop Foundry; Joe Hogan, president Axle Building; Bill McKie, trustee; Art Speed, trustee, Joe Crenshaw, assistant education director; Carl Smith and Stanley Raniszinski, plant review committee; William Adams, compensation director; John Gallo, recreational director. 1-1-48

By RUBY COOPER
Daily Worker

MILWAUKEE, Dec. 31.—A jam-packed audience of over 5,000 last night cheered Henry Wallace at his first public rally as an independent candidate for President at the Municipal Auditorium here.

At the unprecedented, record-breaking political rally, hundreds of persons had to be turned away when the auditorium doors were closed after Fire Department restrictions were lifted to permit an estimated 500 individuals standing room only. Thurs. 1-1-48

Awed political observers here expressed amazement at the turnout, based on paid admissions ranging individually from 50 cents to $2, and quickly contrasted it with a recent rally for Republican aspirant Harold Stassen in the same hall, when slightly under 4,000 attended by free admission.

Sponsored by the Wisconsin citizens for Wallace Committee, the meeting was hailed by its chairman Charles Whitlow, nationally famous, park planning authority, as **"the beginning of the revival of the great progressive movement of Wisconsin."** New York, N.Y.

GETS THUNDEROUS OVATION

Greeted with a thunderous ovation, Wallace alluded to the great progressive traditions of Wisconsin, birthplace of the Republican Party in 1854 and the LaFollette third party in 1924.

Recalling these great political stirrings of the people, Wallace told the huge audience that "I am convinced the time has come again for an independent candidacy," as the auditorium rocked with applause. Daily Worker

Presenting his Wallace Plan for peace as opposed to the Marshall Plan and sharpily hitting the two old parties, Wallace's speech was continuously interrupted throughout with outbursts of applause.

Significance of the unprecedented attendance was further highlighted by the news boycott of the meeting by the Milwaukee press up to the day it was held when stories of Wallace's announcement as a candidate were carried and incidental mention of the rally was made following Wallace's declaration of candidacy in Chicago the night before. New York, N.Y.

Sponsors of the rally disclosed ticket sales boomed and a deluge of

the abuse he will have to take but I'm sure he will stand by his convictions." New York, N.Y.

Sam Sage, secretary of the Wayne County CIO Council, with 325,000 dues-paying members said: **"The CIO's opposition to a third party will not prevent many within the CIO from trying to change that policy."** Daily Worker

Coleman Young director of organization for the CIO Council and leading Negro trade unionist said: **"This is a great day for the common man in America and the Negro people will never forget Wallace's**

requests arrived for places at a luncheon, persons from all parts of Wisconsin trekked to the rally after Wallace's historic announcement, it was reported. Among these were three farmers from the northern tip of the state who flew down in their own plane, in order to hear Wallace. Thurs.

Appearing along with Wallace at the rally was Paul Robeson, who was also accorded a tremendous ovation and called back by the audience time and again for encores. 1-1-48

A specially heavy burst of applause greeted Robeson's dedication of the song **Joe Hill** to the workers of Allis-Chalmers here, who conducted a nearly one year-long strike.

In response to an appeal by William S. Gailmor, radio commentator, the audience contributed over $4,000 toward a campaign fund for Wallace and other independent candidates in Wisconsin.

Jersey Citizens Group Endorses Wallace

Daily Worker

The executive officers of the New Jersey Independent Citizens League yesterday pledged its unanimous support for Wallace's "magnificent fight for peace and prosperity" and announced plans to circulate petitions to place Wallace's name on the state ballot.

The officers also announced that the state ICL convention will be held Saturday, Jan. 10, in Newark.

A regular New York Port membership meeting of the CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards voted unanimously to back Wallace. A telegram signed by 150 members was dispatched to the former vice president extending "our heartiest congratulations on your decision to run as an independent candidate for President of the U. S."

A group of 84 Maryland labor officials and shop stewards signed a joint statement hailing Wallace as the "spokesman for the Common Man" and pledged to support his candidacy. The labor leaders declared: "America needs a man of the calibre of Franklin Roosevelt. You embody the spirit of FDR's domestic and foreign policy."

The statement was released by Walter McManamon, international representative of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and Irv Dvorin, port agent of the Marine Cooks and Stewards.

Leon Strauss, executive secretary of the CIO Furriers New York Joint Board, wired his congratulations to Wallace and pledged full backing. Nathan Solomon, president of CIO Retail and Wholesale Local 830, on behalf of all the officers of his local, also wired support. New York, N.Y.

Michael J. Quill, president of the CIO Transport Workers, issued a denial of press stories which said he had endorsed Wallace. Quill said there would be no statement until the question has first been discussed by the union's members and officials. Thurs. 1-1-48

Jennings Perry
Thurs. 1-1-48
34a(1) Pres.

Foot Forward

PM New York N.Y.

I think it must be observed that this Wallace-against-the-field business has gotten off rather handsomely. Wallace himself has "lit running," an earnest invigorating to a political atmosphere gone flaccid with stalemates and stalling. His prompt Milwaukee address, resurrecting the most popular concept of the United Nations, already quickened the scene. Thurs. 1-1-48

Perry

This is not to say without reservation that President Truman's own renewed pledge to the UN, in his New Year's statement, is not entirely his own: The President recognized the people's hope in the world peace organization many times before. The coincidence is worth noting, nevertheless, and seems a happy one.

The simple fact that the magic of the word *peace* is thus acknowledged and bowed to, and that in this connection prominent men courting the public favor bespeak, chorally the "implementation" of the UN, is charming. At other times, no such unanimity of faith in the UN has been apparent. So I say the New Year, an election year, starts well.

Faith in Collective Security

It is Mr. Wallace's proper part, of course, to go beyond the mere desirability of harnessing the UN more firmly to the peace problem—to propose ways in which the coupling actually may be accomplished. Presidents—and Popes—can speak loftily of purposes, but a man in the role of challenger must be precise; he must analyze situations and offer remedies.

Mr. Wallace's view of the world situation at the end of 1947, after a year in which the unilateral Truman Doctrine has been dominant in our foreign policy, is that our relations with Russia have not improved but have worsened, and that the spots around the globe where trouble may break out have multiplied. This is a view that can be checked at every window. The opening prospect, as

Mr. Wallace sees it, is equally
dreary, since the Marshall Plan "as
applied" is characterized by the
same one-sidedness, the same aim
of division, the same cold belli-
cosity. Thurs. 1-1-48

It would be better, it would
make sense, Mr. Wallace believes,
for us to approach the ineptness
of this approach to world recon-
struction, short of war; for us to
back up, while there is time, and

positively re-invest our faith in
common effort and collective se-
curity; he suggests that we turn
over the Marshall Plan to the UN,
and by so doing at once rescue
that enterprise from the suspicions
cast upon it by what we are do-
ing in Greece and grace the UN
with that implementation for
peace which all, as the New Year
begins, wish it might have.

Wallace's Remedy

Wallace's proposed Remedy
Makes Sense

would make the Marshall Plan a world plan, supported by all nations according to their abilities and good will and addressed to the recovery of all peoples according—not to their politics—but to their needs and deserts; it would provide nothing for supplying guns to anyone. It would furnish the UN with the administrative chore it has lacked, infuse its shadow with substance, and make good humanity's war-bred resolve to live and help live. . . . What is wrong with all that?

Louisville Ky.

The answer is, nothing. It is a very reasonable plan for getting down to cases in the development of the UN to keep the peace. It is admirably laid on the table for comparison with other plans—and no-plans—in an election year. It has competitive value and, one may surmise, inspirational value.

Thurs. 1-1-48

It does, obviously, presuppose the relegation of the Truman Doctrine. That is an obstacle. But that is an obstacle only as big as false pride, as durable as reluctance to admit error. It should yield to the popular preference for peace, rallied and applied. Indeed, it has budged.

Wallace Meeting Has Dark Moments

The News

34a(1)

BATON ROUGE, La., March 13—(AP)—The lights went out here Friday night during a Wallace-for-President meeting on the Louisiana State University campus, and a student leader of the meeting said the control switch had been pulled.

During a 15-minute search for the fuse box, the state chairman of the Louisiana Wallace-for-President Committee, Dr. Mitchell Franklin, read his speech by the light of a flashlight passed up from the audience. Birmingham Ala.

Clarence P. Gilmore, of Baton Rouge, student Wallace Committee chairman, said the main switch had been pulled in the geology auditorium where the meeting was held. He said posters announcing the meeting had previously been torn down. Sat 3-13-48

Dr. Franklin, a member of the Tulane University law faculty, said the revolt of Southern Democrats against the national party "is not aimed so much against President Truman, as it is designed to intimidate or divert the drift of the Southern people to Wallace."

Large Negro, Labor Wallace Vote Seen

34a(1) Daily Worker

New York, N.Y., Mon 1-12-48

Special to the Daily Worker

CHICAGO, Jan. 11.—A large Negro and labor vote for Henry A. Wallace was seen here by Edwin A. Lahey, Chicago Daily News columnist. **"My guess," said Lahey, "is that the Negroes of the United States will 'throw their vote away' on Henry Wallace as surely as they cast it effectively for Franklin D. Roosevelt during his lifetime. Democratic or Republican bagmen who try to buy the influence of the few Negro newspaper editors who 'can be had' will simply be wasting their money.**

"I go out on this limb because Wallace's feeling about racial discrimination amounts to religious fanaticism, and I believe that most of our colored citizens respond warmly and instinctively to his fervor."

Meanwhile, endorsements for Wallace continued to mount here, Local 194, Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers, representing 4,000 workers, this week unanimously endorsed Wallace at a General membership meeting. The Joint Board of the Chicago Fur & Leather Workers Union similarly voted unanimously to support Wallace. Mon

In a statement by Herbert March, Sam Parks and Samuel Curray, the three top officers of the United Packinghouse Workers District Council, support for Wallace was pledged and the State CIO Board's stand denounced. 1-12-48

In the Chicago UE News this week, Ernest DeMaio, district director of the United Electrical Workers, second largest CIO union in the state, hailed Wallace's candidacy.

HIT ILLINOIS CIO STAND

The Illinois CIO's Executive Board stand against Henry Wallace is a "contradiction" to the appeal of Phillip Murray to all CIO affiliates to hold up political endorsements, declared Morris Yanoff, midwest director, United Office & Professional Workers. Daily Worker

District 3, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

Van Camp pointed out that Council President Russell Staley and Council Recording Secretary Edward Martinez, representing local 82 of the IUMM & SW, did not act in behalf of the union membership when they voted to denounce Wallace. New York, N.Y.

"When a petition calling on Wallace to run for President was circulated here three weeks ago," Van Camp said, "every single member of Local 82, 800 in all, signed his name."

He added that hundreds of members of the CIO Steel Workers and Packinghouse Workers Union signed the Wallace petition. Mon. 1-12-48

The editorial Board of the **German American,** independent German language newspaper, announced yesterday it will support Wallace.

TRUMAN 'EVASION' SEEN BY WALLACE

President's 'Communist' Talk an 'Appeal to Prejudice,' Rival Says in Reply

N.Y. Times

N.Y.

34a(1)

Henry A. Wallace, third-party candidate for President, declared last night that in branding those who supported his fight for peace as "Communists" President Truman "appealed to prejudice because he could not answer us with reason." Sat. 3-20-48

This was the former Vice President's answer to the President's assertion at the dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick Wednesday evening that he did not want and would not accept "the political support of Henry Wallace and his Communists." Mr. Wallace spoke from radio station WOR over the network of the Mutual Broadcasting System.

Mr. Wallace declared in his second radio speech on two consecutive nights that President Truman was trying to give the impression that it was only the Communists who disapproved of his policies of supporting fascists, kings and reactionaries around the world and his plans to draft our young men and militarize the country.

"But millions of Americans, who stand firmly opposed to his policies, know that they are not Communists and they will not be frightened into accepting militarism because someone calls them 'Communists,'" Mr. Wallace said.

Mr. Wallace also attacked the proposal of Warren Austin, United States, chief American delegate to the United Nations, for a temporary United Nations trusteeship for Palestine instead of partition.

"Today the United States shocked the world by abandoning her support of the United Nations decision to partition Palestine," he said.

Cites Affirmation of Faith

The former Vice President said that in a hundred speeches in the last year he had affirmed his faith in this country and its institutions and stated his convictions that we are being led to slaughter by men who put profit and property above human needs. He added that he was both a business man and a farmer and liked to make a reasonable profit from developments he had made in agricultural science, but was opposed to monopolies and cartels which profit at the expense of the general welfare.

"In this past year," he continued, "I have challenged Mr. Truman and his bipartisan supporters to show a single American principle or a single American public interest which would have to be sacrificed to make peace with Russia."

Saying that Hitler had made good use of the red-baiting weapon but made his first attack on the Western democracies, Mr. Wallace charged that the Administration was following the same course today with American democracy and not Russia as the intended first victim of its attack. He declared that this policy would not work because the cry of "Red" and "Communist" would not cause housewives to forget the grocery bill, or fool veterans in need of housing or fool trade union members by a charge that every strike for decent working conditions and living wage is "Communist-inspired." Sat. 3-20-48

Six Proposals Summarized

At the end of his speech, Mr. Wallace summarized six proposals which could contribute to establishment of a durable peace.

First—Call of the Truman Doctrine which was the declaration of the "cold war" and substitute policies of genuine economic aid through the United Nations.

Second—Get international control of the Middle Eastern oil and the other great reservoir of raw materials which private firms have exploited.

Third—Repair our share of the damage done to the United Nations, and our responsibility is great, even though the Administration would like to shift all the blame to others.

Fourth—On the home front we have to fight against the restrictions on civil liberties and make our democracy really work.

Fifth—We must stop the trend toward militarism of America which is so profitable to a few entrenched interests and so dangerous to the freedom of all.

"Last and certainly not least," he asserted, "we must look the situation over carefully and calmly find out just what major differences we have with the Russians. Having cleaned up our own delinquencies in matters of civil liberties and interference in the political affairs of Greece, Turkey, France, Italy, Latin America and many other places, we can talk with the Russians about the ways to expand freedom everywhere."

Mr. Wallace then challenged Mr. Truman and all other aspirants for the Presidency to join him in the following pledge: Sat 3-20-48

"I shall not knowingly accept the support of any individual or group advocating the limitation of democratic action for any other individual or group, nor the suport of any indivdual or group which would restrict the civil liberties of others for reasons of race, color or creed, nor the suport of any individual or group advocating the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States."

Mr. Wallace added that candidates who accept the support of the "race supremacy fiends," and of those who would limit the democratic actions of trade unions, who would restrict free speech and who support intimidation and the campaign of hate and fear, "can't join in this pledge."

"Those of us who believe in democracy pledged it with pride," he said.

Backs Wallace, Alabaman Is Fired

34a(1)

New York N.Y.

Daily Worker

Phenix City, Ala.

Editor, Daily Worker:

Thurs. 3-11-48

I most sincerely regret that I shall be unable to renew my subscription to the Daily Worker. The simple explanation is that I have been discharged from my job and have been unable to find other employment. My unemployment compensation is insufficient even for minimum food requirements.

Just before I was discharged, a member of the management came to me and asked: "What do you think of Henry Wallace?"

I replied: "I am going to vote for him if I live till election day."

The fellow looked at me fiercely and said: "Do you realize that you may son be put into a concentration camp or shot before a firing squad?"

34a(1)

I answered: "Yes, but I'm willing to live or die for the things that I know to be right and just."

I was discharged two weeks later and have not found employment since. When warm weather cuts down my gas and light bill, if I can save enough from my unemployment compensation, I shall at least subscribe to The Worker. Without these papers, I shall feel that my only trusted line of communication will have been cut. May God bless you and your papers in the good work you are continue in your endeavor until justice among all men has been doing, and may you be able to achieved. Thurs. 3-11-48 J. S.

Daily Worker New York N.Y.

Wallace Seeks to Aid Negroes

Henry A. Wallace made public yesterday two telegrams he had sent to members of the United States Senate. The first, sent to Senator Wayne Morse, protested as "outrageous" a proposal pending before the Senate Labor Committee for a separate hospital for Negro veterans in Virginia. In the second telegram, to Senator Homer Ferguson, he asked for passage of the Wagner-Morse-Case anti-lynching bill. Tues. 2-3-48

New York N.Y.

34a(1) 1948

Presidential (Henry A. Wallace)

West Side Poll Shows Majority for Wallace

Mon. 1-5-48 34a(1) Pres., Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

A straw poll of nearly 9,000 persons on Manhattan's West Side showed that more than half would vote for Henry A. Wallace on a third party ticket in 1948, it was disclosed yesterday. Five chapters of the Progressive Citizens of America conducted the poll Saturday afternoon between the area of 59th and 116th streets on Broadway.

Of the 8,911 persons polled, the results were:

5,092 for Wallace

2,231 against Wallace

888 undecided Daily Worker

The voters were given a ballot which read: Would you vote for Wallace on a third party ticket in 1948? Three boxes on the ballot called for a yes, no or undecided check. Mon. 1-5-48

NO UNDUE INFLUENCE

The polltakers were extremely careful not to influence the decision and the 150 persons involved in the canvass noted that the greatest enthusiasm for Wallace came from Negroes, young people and workers. Many of those who indicated they were against Wallace were vociferous in their opposition and told Wallace and the poll-takers to "go back to Russia." Mon. 1-5-48

Many of the citizens polled asked the question whether Wallace's entry into the race might not result in the election of Sen. Robert Taft.

Wallace also received an absolute majority in another poll taken by Estelle M. Sternberger, WLIB commentator. She asked her listeners for their presidential preferences and found that Wallace was tops with 640 votes, Truman with 143, Stassen with 105, Eisenhower with 72, Taft with 38, Warren with 23, Pepper with 12, MacArthur with 12 and 143 were undecided.

CONSIDERS CANDIDACY

On the vice presidential side, Democratic Sen. Glen Taylor in a exclusive interview in the current issue of Union Voice said he would "consider" running on a third party ticket. The trade union paper is the organ of seven CIO locals in the city. Daily Worker

Interviewed by Irving Baldinger, Taylor declared that while he had not yet discussed the matter of runing with Wallace, he added, "of course I would consider it." Taylor has already been quoted in the press as being "honored" because Wallace considered him a "marvelous" choice.

New York, N.Y. Mon. 1-5-48

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Harlem Democrat, joined the band of Wallace attackers by calling his candidacy "unwise." If Wallace hadn't announced his candidacy, the Republicans would have been forced to run Eisenhower, Powell claimed.

ROME, N. Y., Jan. 4. — All-out "energetic and active support" to the independent candidacy of Henry A. Wallace was unanimously voted yesterday by the membership of CIO United Electrical Workers Local 331, one of the largest labor organization in this part of the stated.

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Mon. 1-5-48

The local, which consists of the 2,500 workers at the General Cables Co., declared that its members, "consisting of Republicans, Democrats and independent voters," pledged its "wholehearted endorsement for the third party ticket for peace and security."

In another action, the local pledged its support to the Remington-Rand workers in nearby Ilion and urged Gov. Dewey to call upon James Rand to honor his contract with the UE. The local pointed out that Rand's policy would lead to industrial unrest.

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 4.—Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has hailed what he said would be the return of the Roosevelt touch and inspiration to American politics as result of Henry Wallace's decision to lead a party of opposition to the Republican-Democratic bipartisan setup in 1948.

34a(1) Pres. Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Mon. 1-5-48

"Win, lose or draw, Wallace will bring to the 1948 elections the Roosevelt touch and the Roosevelt inspiration, something that the leaders of the present major parties never had and the last thing they ever wanted regardless of how much the American people desired it," said Bridges' statement. Mon. 1-5-48

34a(1)

ROBESON BACKS WALLACE: Henry A. Wallace is shown with the famed singer and leader of the Negro people, Paul Robeson, at rally in Milwaukee, the day after Wallace announced he would run for President on a third party ticket.

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Jan. 5, 1948 1-5-48 Mon.

WALLACE PROPOSES CAMPAIGN PROMISE

He Asks Candidates Bar Help of Un-American Groups, But Would Accept Communist Aid

The Times New York, N.Y. Mon. 2-2-48 34a(1)

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Feb. 1 (UP)—Henry A. Wallace, third-party Presidential candidate, called today upon President Truman and other political candidates to take a pledge repudiating the support of any un-American group or individual.

Mr. Wallace told about 2,000 supporters at a "Wallace-for-President" state-wide organization rally that he would accept the support of American Communists, however, because he saw "nothing criminal" in the advocacy of different economic and social ideas.

"The most frequent charge made against the American Communists is that they advocate the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States," the former Vice President said. "I have not seen evidence to substantiate the charge, and I do find a Supreme Court decision that this conclusion is unwarranted. The Times

"Any Communists who support the independent ticket will be supporting our program, not the Communist program. I am not a Communist or Socialist or Marxist of any description, but I find nothing criminal in the advocacy of different economic and social ideas, however much I may differ with them." New York, N.Y.

The Proposed Pledge

Mon.

The pledge proposed by Mr. Wallace was as follows: 2-2-48

"I shall not knowingly accept the support of any individual or group advocating the limitation of democratic action for any other individual or group; nor the support of any individual or group which would restrict the civil liberties of others for reasons of race, color or creed; nor the support of any individual or group advocating the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States."

Three groups of candidates could not take the pledge, Mr. Wallace said. He said they were candidates who supported the Taft-Hartley Law; those who believed in "white supremacy," and those who would limit the free flow of ideas in this country.

At a pre-rally press conference, the third-party leader said "multitudes of Americans" were coerced into remaining silent on political issues. But he expressed confidence they would record their true sentiments at the polls.

"The people are so scared that they won't talk out," Mr. Wallace said. "They are afraid they will lose their jobs if they speak out between now and election time."

Mr. Wallace declared that he would not end his independent candidacy and rejoin the Democratic party ranks unless the Democratic organization became he "party of peace." He added hat he would not run as the vice residential candidate on a ticket eaded by Mr. Truman.

When asked if he had surveyed is strength in the country, Mr. Vallace said the effects of his andidacy would be "qualitative, ot quantitative." He added that o matter what the outcome of his andidacy, it would be of very great value in preventing war.

Change in Congress Predicted

The Times

Mr. Wallace predicted the election of a more progressive Congress this year and said it would not be a Republican Congress because he only knew "two or four progressive Republicans."

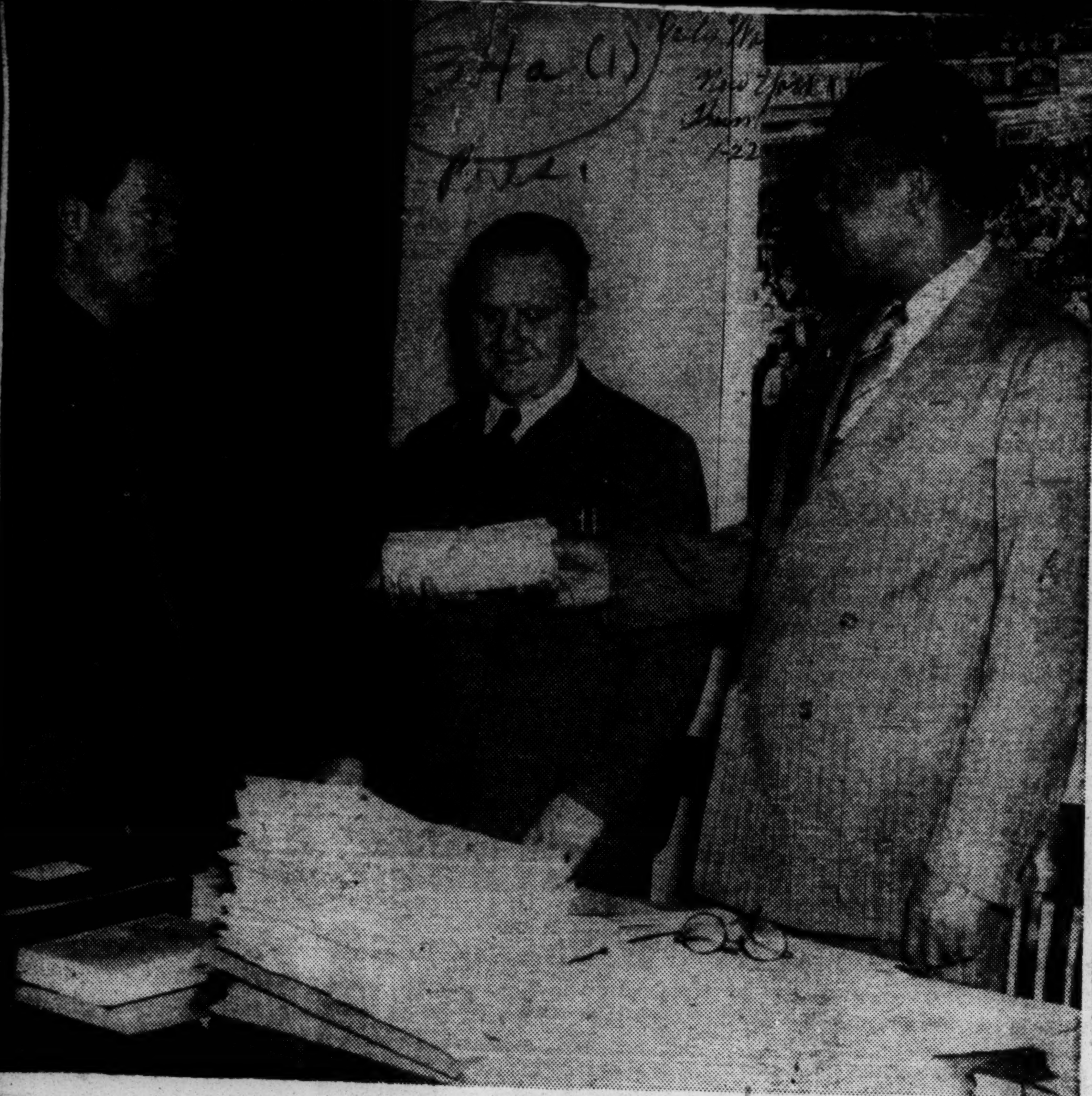
Mr. Wallace said he had faith that the courts of Ohio would allow him to be put on the state's ballot next November as an independent candidate. His supporters said petitions seeking to place him on the ballot would be circulated in about three weeks after establishment of a permanent Ohio campaign committee.

The Iowan said his third party was not designed to defeat Mr. Truman this year and set the scenes for election of himself in 1952. New York, N.Y.

"We are not waiting to capitalize on catastrophe; we are working to avoid it," he told the meeting. 2-2-48

Mr. Wallace suggested that after the November election Mr. Truman meet with Premier Stalin of Russia to work for peace. He said a change of personnel was necessary toward this end because the present administration had carried its policy so far they could not change it.

Mr. Wallace was enthusiastically received at the meeting and a total of $26,000 was pledged to aid his campaign.



SEAMEN SIGN FOR WALLACE: Leo Silverman (left), deck delegate from the S.S. America, flagship of the American merchant marine, hands 200 Wallace endorsements to Ferdinand Smith, CIO National Maritime Union secretary. Looking on is Chester Young, NMU vice president. The America ignatures were collected in two days, with nearly all of the crew of 600 expected to sign. On Smith's desk are another 5,000 endorsements collected in the last ten days. They will be presented to the CIO Executive Board meeting in Washington today. Story on page 7.

Daily Worker Photo by Peter

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Thurs. 1-22

5,000 Seaman Tell CIO: We Want Henry Wallace

34a(1) Daily Worker

Thurs. 1-22-48

By Bernard Burton

New York, N.Y. Thurs.

The CIO Executive Board, which meets in Washington today, will be presented with signatures of more than 5,000 members of the National Maritime Union endorsing the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace.

Ferdinand Smith, secretary of the NMU and a member of the CIO Board, said yesterday he would bring the petitions to Washington and ask "for further support to he third party movement [illegible] by Wallace."

At NMU headquarters, 346 W. 17 St., Smith said that, in addition to the signatures, which were collected in 10 days, the majority of all elected NMU officials in nearly all parts have individually endorsed Wallace. This includes 19 of the 30 members of the National Council, top policy making body of the NMU.

As Smith spoke to reporters a seaman from the S..S America, flagship of the American Merchant Marine, handed him another 200 signatures. He was Leo Silverman, deck delegate, on who said the signatures were collected in two days.

ADDRESSED TO WALLACE

Silverman, still in his sailor's togs, said that a ship's union meeting on the homeward voyage had formally endorsed Wallace, with only one negative vote. There are 600 crew members on the America nearly all of whom, Silverman asserted, will sign the Wallace petition. Daily Worker

The petition, addressed to Wallace, declared that, since the death of President Roosevelt, "the Democratic Party has joined with the Republican Party in support of the Wall Street drive toward reaction and war. We have from our own experience learned the nature of this drive. In 1946 we needed a wage increase: Truman, with Republican support, threatened us with troops." Thurs. 1-22-4

The seamen pledged to back Wallace "for peace and security, for a rededication to the Roosevelt program."

Smith declared that a report on rank and file actions for Wallace will be presented to the National Council meeting in March, witl recommendations for formal action. He pointed out that the last NMU convention adopted a resolution on political action "to the extent of the establishment of a third party."

CITES AUTONOMY

Following the last convention, Smith said, the NMU Council adopted a "more specific" political action resolution, with special commendation for Wallace. He declared the Council action was in line with national CIO convention's political action stand which pointed out that labor could not depend on the major parties.

"Contrary to what any official may have said about the third party," Smith stated, Wallace endorsements do not conflict with CIO policy. Daily Worker

Asked what course the NMU would take if the CIO Board repudiated Wallace, Smith replied, "We will follow the CIO's traditional policy of each international union having its own autonomy and determining its own policy." Thurs.

In a recent telegram to Philip Murray, Smith took issue with the CIO president's stand against any CIO body endorsing presidential candidates. The telegram said that such an act was interference with the autonomous rights of CIO affiliates. New York, N.Y.

Seven NMU port membership meetings have endorsed Wallace, Smith declared. They are New York, Providence, Seattle, San Francisco, San Pedro, and Galveston and Port Arthur in Texas. San Francisco voted $300 to assist in the campaign. Ships which have reported endorsements include the America, Marine Shark, Marine Tiger, Malcolm Stewart, Front Royal, Bunker Hill, South Bend Victory and L. P. Sinclair. 1-22-48

PUBLIC

Let Him Run

34a(1) [illegible]

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Thurs. 1-8-48

Editor Constitution: Personally I would not vote for Wallace, on any ticket, but your columnists, Gladstone Williams has read the crystal ball it seems and he thinks Wallace is seeking the unattainable.

We have read much of the Freedom Train of late and I think his name should go on the ballot as an American citizen. He certainly shouldn't be refused this right. There are people who would vote for Wallace. This is their sacred right as your Freedom Train pledge says. The Constitution

Even though Wallace is defeated, which every one predicts, the people have a right to vote for or against him. Repeal the five per cent law which is outmoded and obsolete if you want democracy to function correctly. To quote Voltaire: "I despise what you say, but will fight to the death for your right to say it." Thurs. 1-8-48

Atlanta, Ga.

MARION JONES,
Station Hospital,
Fort Benning. 1-8-48

Wallace Forces Plan to Run Negroes for Some House Seats

34a(1) The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal.

Washington, March 1.—Henry A. Wallace's third-party forces will bid for a big Negro vote this fall, it was learned today, by running Negro candidates for Congress in favorable districts throughout the nation.

Agreement in principle to this proposal was reached, it is understood, in conferences in which Wallace and C. B. Baldwin, his campaign manager, participated directly. Louisville, Ky.

Selection of the actual districts will be left to the individual state organizations in the movement, but tentative plans call for two condidates in New York City—one in Harlem, the other in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn—two in Chicago, one in Cleveland, another in St. Lou and other single candidacies in Philadelphia, Atlanta, and Los Angeles. The Courier-Journal

There also is reported to be strong sentiment for the nomination of a Negro to stand for the United States Senate in Illinois. There have been Negro members of the House in recent years, but no Negro has held a Senate seat since Reconstruction days. 3-2-48

Carolina Students Form Wallace Club

The News 3-1-48 Birmingham, Ala.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., March 1—(AP)—A group of North Carolina students favoring the election of Henry A. Wallace as president today had formed a statewide organization. 34a(1) Mon. 3-1-48

Meeting here during the weekend, approximately 150 students from both white and Negro colleges dedicated themselves to "a new political organization to meet the needs created by the abandonment of the people by the two major parties in our country." The News.

Bob Lewis, instructor and graduate student in the University of North Carolina, was named president of the North Carolina Students for Wallace Organization. Sylvester Thorpe of St. Augustine College was elected secretary-treasurer.

Even the Elements Turn on Henry

Free Press -

Associated Press Wirephoto

HENRY WALLACE SPEAKS IN RAIN AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.
Eggs, too, fail to stop Progressive candidate

Rioting Lasts 20 Minutes

Afro American

34a(1)

All Efforts to Halt N.C. Speech Fail

9-4-48

TOUR TO GO ON

Hotels Will Not Take Mixed Group

By DOUGLASS HALL
(Special Correspondent)

Baltimore, Md

DURHAM, N.C. — A small group of men carrying picket signs denouncing "Henry Wallace," "Mary Price" and the "Progressive party" created a riot inside the City Armory on Sunday night in an effort to break up the convention and prevent Wallace from speaking.

About 50 persons took part in the "free-for-all" which lasted about 20 minutes. When guardsmen and policemen finally got them quieted down, several persons lay cold upon the floor.

The picket signs were torn to bits, and the "rebels" were pushed out of side doors. One shot was fired by a guardsman in an effort to get order. Others drew pistols as the ruckus seemed to be getting out of hand.

One Stabbed in Back

When a cop pushed one of the picketers out of the hall, the cop was called "a 'd-m' Communist" by the raging intruder. At least one man was stabbed in the back

i the outside of the hall and bled quite a bit upon the street.

About half of the persons at the convention were colored and they seemed to be contented in sitting back and letting the "white folks fight it out among themselves."

While the fighting was going on in the hall, none of the delegates, except those in the immediate rioting vicinity, bothered to get excited about it. The majority continued to sing a Wallace folk song.

Hecklers Throw Eggs

The small hall, which had a seating capacity of about 1500 persons was filled to overflowing. Persons were not permitted in the balcony. Several hundred stood in the rear and about 1000 milled around outside.

34a(1)

All during his speech, Wallace was heckled by about one dozen persons who stood in one corner of the building. About a half dozen more "hecklers" were scattered throughout the hall.

One was stopped in the act of throwing an egg. Others set off firecrackers. That they were young Dixiecrats was evidenced by the fact that they continually shouted, "We want Thurmond" (R. Strom Thurmond, Dixiecrat Presidential candidate).

Wallace, however, remained cool, except for the time that he pointed his finger at the mob and shouted, "I can stand here just as long as you can yell."

A Durham reporter was hit by an egg.

During his speech, made as policemen stood around to keep order, he made his first campaign promise. He told the group that he would give Southern voters a billion dollars a year in the form of a Federal subsidy to Southern industry and farmers if he were elected President.

Not to Call Off Tour

Wallace told the AFRO that he had no idea of calling off his Southern tour. He spent the night in the home of G. W. Logan, owner of a local theatre, when the white Washington Duke Hotel canceled his reservation upon learning that some members of his party were colored.

Lewis Alston, vice-president of the Wallace party in the State, stated that he had very much difficulty in getting accommodations in colored homes for Wallace.

Several Refuse Homes

He stated that among those refusing were George Cox, A. T. Spaulding, officials in the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company. Mrs. Ethel Hubbard, local teacher, stated that she was afraid of losing her job.

After about three hours, Mr. Alston stated he obtained four accommodations at Mr. Logan's home. The rest of the party stayed in colored homes and in the Biltmore Hotel.

Wallace was met at the airport by a mixed group, numbering about 500. Throughout Sunday, white and colored persons ate and carried on general convention business in the "colored" section.

In Norfolk

At noon on Sunday, Wallace spoke to an audience of more than 1000 persons in the Centre Theatre at Norfolk. Although, the crowd gave only light applause, it did give freely to the Progressive Party fund, contributing $1185 at the exhortation of Dr. Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

In his speech, Wallace said:

"We are not getting defense and security, because the men who collect and spend our billions—the Democrats and Republicans who are in power in Washington today—are not interested in either the brotherhood of man or peace on earth.

"I do not charge that they want a hot war—an atomic war—a war of incalculable destruction.

"But I do charge that they don't want peace; that they do want and carefully seek to perpetuate the sense of crisis, the fear, which is so profitable to them; and so costly to the average citizen....

"We are closer to war, closer to chaos, further from peace than we were two years ago. Minor differences have been blown into major incidents. Toughness has bread toughness."

In Suffolk

A little later Wallace spoke to a group of 100 CIO Food, Tobacco and Agriculture Workers at Suffolk. He told them that the labor leaders are leading labor astray by giving their support to Mr. Truman.

In Durham

Speaking in Richmond at the WRVA Theatre to approximately 1300 persons, 70% of them colored, Wallace said:

"Many years ago, Henry Grady wrote that a New South was rising. But the tide of the New South—what I would call the progressive South—has been held back by a wall of privilege resting on the twin pillars of segregation and poll-taxes....

"When I find a Harry Byrd who fought every Roosevelt reform more bitterly than any Republican ever did, whose voting record is worse than any Dixiecrat's, still content to remain within the Democratic Party of Harry Truman, I grow a little suspicious. I smell a little something.

"The Byrd who maintains power through a poll tax could not support a Truman who really acted to abolish the poll tax. The Byrd who profits from the low wages and high profits of segregation could not lend his support to a Truman who would really abolish it."

Principal business of two conventions which preceded the rallies at which Wallace spoke was the nom- candidates for the Senate and House.

... ...ma F. Durr of Alexandria was nominated as a candidate for the U. S. Senate and Jerry O. Gilliam of Norfolk for the House of Representatives.

Eggs Follow Wallace in Talks in N.C.

Free Press

34a(1)

Boos Block Most of

Candidate's Speeches

Detroit Mich

BY EDWIN A. LAHEY
Of Our Washington Bureau

9-1-48

ASHEVILLE, N. C. — Henry A. Wallace said goodby to North Carolina Tuesday night.

He did it with an obvious sense of relief, but with dogged insistence that he still loves his fellow men, including the North Carolinians who have strewn his path with eggs, tomatoes and other splattery missiles.

It was only here in Asheville, where Wallace spoke to several hundred persons gathered in a downtown square, that no missiles were thrown. Wallace thanked the crowed for its good behavior.

The third party presidential candidate and his Southern expe-

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Truman Sorry

WASHINGTON —(U.P.)— President Truman denounced as "un-

American" the hecklers who pelted Henry A. Wallace with eggs in North Carolina.

ditionary force boarded a special Pullman at this mountain resort for a two-day foray into Alabama and Mississippi.

Wed 9-1-48

* * *

THERE THE Dixiecrats, by good report, take an even more violent view of Wallace's racial views than the "enlightened" citizens of North Carolina.

A predominantly white crowd of about 3,000 greeted Wallace with vigorous hostility at the Mecklenberg County Courthouse in Charlotte.

They gave a new turn to North Carolina hospitality by hitting one another with eggs and tomatoes, instead of Wallace and his party.

Not one of the eggs or tomatoes hurled at Wallace struck him. All overshot the target.

A few of the newspaper men and secretaries in the Wallace party were splashed with the flying garbage. But most of it landed on hostile citizens.

* * *

ONE CHARACTER who moved up close to Wallace and distinguished himself for the shrillness of his booing voice, was hit squarely in the kisser with an egg. Right at the peak of a high note.

The Charlotte crowd, like other hostile gatherings in North Carolina, effectively drowned out Wallace with their boos, epithets, and shouts of derision.

This trip is rapdily developing as the tour of lost political speeches, because of the systematized, if not organized, way in which Wallace's voice is blotted out in bedlam once he begins a speech.

Wed 9-1-48

One of the mob at Charlotte tore a breast pin off the dress of Mary Price, Progressive Party candidate for Governor of North Carolina.

34a(1)

* * *

WALLACE HIMSELF had drawn attention to the pin, which was in the form of an American eagle, by pointing out that it "had a left wing and a right wing," and that "both are necessary for the American eagle."

As he faced the bitter crowd on the lawn of the courthouse in Charlotte, Wallace tried to remind them that the ground they stood on had been hallowed by the Scotch-Irish pioneers.

These pioneers had settled Western North Carolina and issued the Mecklenberg declaration, calling for separation of the American Colonies from England even before the Declaration of Independence was signed in Philadelphia on July 1776.

"I come from the same kind of people that settled this land," Wallace shouted above the hecklers, "and I won't be intimidated."

* * *

HIS CHALLENGE increased the volume of hatefulness from the crowd.

Wed 9-1-48

Wallace tried in vain to say that the South desperately needed economic improvement to give its citizens the same standard of living enjoyed by citizens in the North, but the crowd would not hear him.

Pointing to a statue on the Courthouse lawn commemorating the Mecklenberg County Rebels of 1775, Wallace shouted:

"If you won't listen to me on the basis of that declaration—" but he couldn't even finish. His voice was submerged by the din of the resentful crowd.

A flying wedge of policemen walked him back to his automobile. The motorcade left town, while people hurled obscene curses at Wallace, his staff and the reporters following him.

* * *

WALLACE HAD a State Police escort on the automobile trip from Winston Salem to Asheville.

An orange was thrown at the Wallace car as the motorcade passed through Salisbury, N. C. It narrowly missed the candidate, splattering on the car just below his window.

Only one sign greeted Wallace in Salisbury: "To Hell with Henry." A few curious and hostile citizens watched the motorcade wind through the town.

A CROWD that greeted Wallace at Hickory, N. C., was smaller than the other crowds along the way but outshone the others in general ugliness.

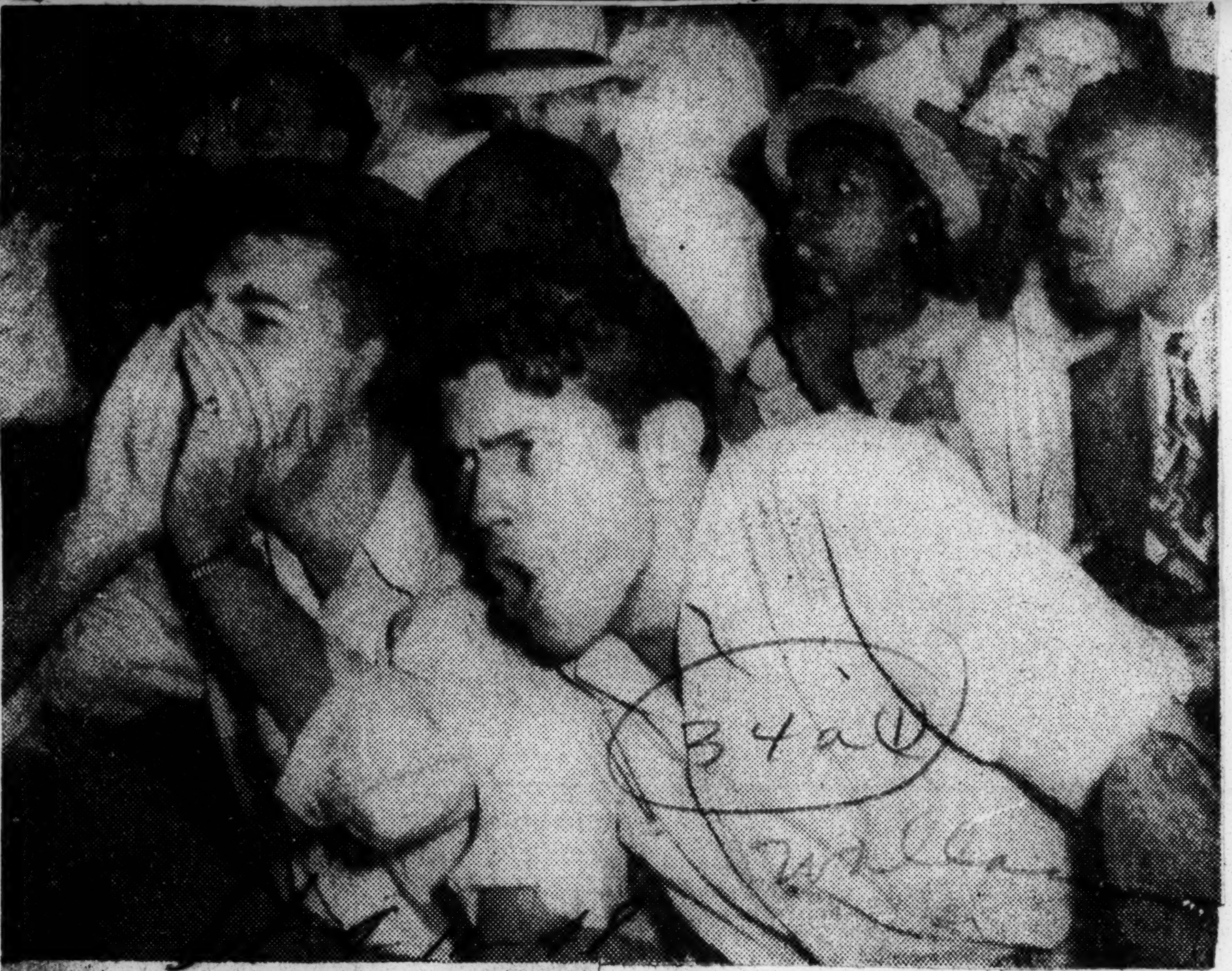
Wed 9-1-48

They screamed "nigger-lover" at Wallace and hurled rotten eggs and tomatoes as the candidate tried to say that Negroes should be permitted to vote.

A policeman protecting Wallace at Hickory was struck in the face with an egg. Some of the missiles splattered the candidate, members of his party and reporters.

As he took leave of the bitter crowd at Hickory, which was notably free of negroes, Wallace said:

"Christ said to his Disciples that, if in any town they won't listen to you, then shake the dust from your feet and go elsewhere."



34a(1)

Wallace

JEERS AND CATCALLS—Negroes seated in this crowd register sympathy and unfeigned respect as peers and catcalls rise from these hecklers who greeted Henry Wallace at the South Side Ball Park meeting in Winston-Salem, N. C. All along the scheduled itinerary route irresponsible lads with little or no concept of any political ideology constituted the rabble and carried anti-Wallace banners. —Rivera Photo.

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2 More N. Pelt Wallace

34a(1)

New York Star

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., Aug. 30 (AP)—Rotten eggs and ripe tomatoes splashed on Henry Wallace in two North Carolina towns today.

The bare-headed Progressive Party presidential nominee was pelted at Burlington and Greensboro.

Tues 8-31-48

Police at Burlington said they did not know who tossed the missiles from a throng of 2500 on the main street. Two tomatoes and one egg struck the former vice-president.

New York, N.Y.

"There was quite a crowd," said Police Captain A. H. Garner. "We had Mr. Wallace surrounded by a group of officers so that he could begin speaking. About that time, eggs and tomatoes began falling. They were thrown from the back of the crowd, coming in from every angle, so we couldn't see who did the throwing."

Wallace tried to speak a second time after the missiles struck. But the continued booing was so intense his words were lost.

Tues 8-31-48

Conflicting Thoughts Appear In Comment On Egg Barrages

Courier Journal
Mon 9-6-48
34a(1)
Louisville Ky
Pres.

EGG pelting of Henry Wallace on his Southern tour drew strong disapproval from most Kentuckiana newspapers which gave the incidents editorial comment, but at least one cheered.

What the editor of THE BEREA CITIZEN wrote was typical: "We who oppose Mr. Wallace's ideas will some day find ourselves on the losing team if the only defense we have for (our ideas) is violence. I wouldn't be surprised at all that if for every egg and tomato thrown at him, Mr. Wallace gained a hundred votes if only out of sympathy."

About this sort of talk, however, THE MADISONVILLE MESSENGER expostulated: "Folderol, tommyrot and eyewash! The tossing of fruits, vegetables, eggs and whatnot is a grand old American custom, a method of venting disapproval which was greatly in vogue when the Founding Fathers set up this great way of life of ours, which has endured this many years in spite of the Henry Wallaces, great and small, the lunatic fringe and the Reds so prevalent now in our fair land."

THE HENDERSON MORNING GLEANER seemed to share THE CITIZEN'S sentiments—with reservations: "There is only one position that an American can take in discussing the egg-throwing . . . to condemn it as incompatible with the land of freedom and free speech. . . . But how that man did ask for what he got—in conduct so reprehensible that many will be constrained to say that they do not approve of egg throwing, but if they are going to throw them we don't know a better target."

Said THE SHELBY NEWS: "It is the duty of true progressives and true Americans to work to keep the Wallace vote low this fall."

THE PARK CITY DAILY NEWS reviewed some of Mr. Wallace's remarks, and added: "It appears that Mr. Wallace is concerned only with the field of thought, and blind to any accompanying action. Perhaps, to many, the democratic principles of Jefferson and Lincoln's anti-slavery stand seemed as radical as Marx's philosophy did to a later generation (a point THE NEWS attributed to Mr. Wallace). But can Mr. Wallace forget that there were no secret police under Jefferson, or that the Lincoln Administration conducted no purge trials and set up no one-party system?"

Mon 9-6-48

THE JEFFERSONVILLE, IND., POST, which has been discussing the local gambling situation, said editorially: "This publication is not fighting gambling. We're fighting a condition. The State laws say gambling is illegal. The City laws say gambling is illegal. What we are fighting is the right which has been extended to a group which enables them to break State and City laws."

THE CORYDON, IND., DEMOCRAT declared that simplification of taxes is one of the objectives of Governor Schricker, campaigning for re-election. THE DEMOCRAT added: "Taxes have become too numerous, too many overlapping tax laws and too many levies where the cost is almost all borne by the consumer. Although some towns and cities are in need of more income to met expenses and to make needed improvements, we are strongly opposed to any State laws which would authorize cities and towns to levy special local taxes."

THE NICHOLAS COUNTY STAR said it is supporting President Truman in spite of his stand on civil rights legislation, adding: "In conducting a bolt of the Democratic Party, the States' Righters are serving no gainful purpose. Along with the lunatic fringe which will vote in some states for Henry Wallace, they can help to elect a Republican President."

THE CORYDON, IND., REPUBLICAN said that the only time the U. S. Senate "ever voted directly on a subject involving civil rights," was on Senator Brooks' proposal to exempt armed force members from poll tax requirements, and "both Senator Truman and Senator Barkley voted 'nay'—opposed the amendment to exempt the boys in uniform from paying poll tax for the privilege of voting."

THE PRINCETON LEADER gently chided Senator Barkley for claiming Democratic credit for high wages and farm product prices but blaming the Republicans for inflation. THE LEADER summed up: "Coming right down to the nub of the case (of inflation), it is not so much the wage increases won by organized labor which make the ruinous spiral of rising prices so damnable. It is the fact that Big Business, when it grants a million-dollar wage increase, tacks on, all too frequently, another two or three millions in increased costs to the consumer, with the wage boost as an excuse."

There was some comment on the Indiana case of three small boys attempting to hang a fourth, reportedly in comic book fashion. Said THE MADISONVILLE MESSENGER: "Nobody can object to a comics industry move to set up a sort of Hays office to police its own product." Said THE MAYFIELD MESSENGER: "It is easy to make the general charge that comic books, or any other medium of entertainment or information, tend to corrupt the minds of their readers. But it is much harder to produce factual evidence to support the charge. In the Indiana incident there appears to be a rare piece of such evidence."

Mon 9-6-48

THE MT. STERLING ADVOCATE was strongly opposing the drys in a local option election set for September 15: "There is no question but that 'dry' communities have a tendency to increase drinking on the highways as people will go after liquor, wherever it is to be obtained, and all too often they do not refrain from drinking until they return home—thus making our highways more dangerous than they have ever been."

Henry Wallace Comes a Cropper In Birmingham

Courier Journal
Fri 9-3-48
34a(1)

By Robert C. Ruark

Louisville Ky

JACKSON, Miss.—A cheap piece of rope, suitable for mooring the dog or hanging out the clothes, gave the state of Alabama a technical knockout over Henry Wallace yesterday. No blood spilled; few eggs splashed.

Henry was feeling fine, if a little tired and dusty when he reached the industrial city of Gadsden yesterday afternoon. He had spoken in Decatur, before a mildly curious, apathetic crowd of a couple of hundred. There were only a few boos to greet him. No overripe fruit, hen or otherwise, flew through the air, although one business opportunist thoughtfully had opened a vegetable stand featuring ripe tomatoes on an adjoining corner.

He wasn't booed, and was even cheered a little in the next town, Huntsville, and only mildly heckled in Guntersville by some young people who seemed to be thoroughly enjoying themselves. And then he went to Gadsden.

Fri 9-3-48

GADSDEN has a segregation ordinance on its books, as has Birmingham. This is to say that the races are legally separated, even if kept apart by a gossamer strand of thread. Gadsden had the area in front of its courthouse roped off. There were signs hanging from the ropes saying "white" and "colored." Some American Legionnaires were quietly picketing the building, with signs accusing Henry of taking his orders from Uncle Joe Stalin. There was a flock of cops.

They were evidently there to protect Henry, because the arrival of his sound-wagon was met with reverberating jeers. This proved disquieting to Henry, whose master of ceremonies swiftly proclaimed a state of constitutional violation—citing the roped area—and police intimidation. This is a fine point of technical identification, mastered only by Mr. Wallace. When he is preceded by a police escort, that is good. When he arrives at a scene where police are stationed beforehand to keep order in a crowd which might get out of hand and chaw him up, that is police intimidation.

So Henry's mouthpiece announced that the golden voice would not be heard, and the caravan proceeded to Birmingham. There, again, segregation had been arranged, and a slew of cops assembled by the courthouse. Police Commissioner Bull Connor had kept his off-going shift on hand, and had called out all the deputy sheriffs on the ledger. Here the first egg of the day sailed through the crisp warm air, and smote a Birmingham Post reporter on the shoulder. The egg was fresh.

Fri 9-3-48

MR. WALLACE'S advance man again announced that a state of constitutional violation existed, that police intimidation was present, and declared with a sob that the "Greatest Living American" once more had been stricken dumb by circumstances beyond his control. Another brief shower of eggs squashed on the steps, and the caravan proceeded to the industrial suburb of Bessemer.

Here Mr. Wallace got nowhere a-tall. A menacing ring of men moved toward his sedan, a red Hudson, and he hurriedly locked the door. The police, stationed there to intimidate the people and prevent the circulation of free speech, kept a solid band between the advancing mob and Henry. Henry went away from there, with his words unsaid.

So it may be said that Birmingham won. Mr. Wallace proved a constitutional point to his own satisfaction, but was effectively [illegible]ed and, while he was unmarred by eggs, he laid three nice round ones in a row.

Wallace Talk Cancellation Draws Eggs

The Advertiser
34a(1)
Pres. Wallace

Chairman J. P. Mooney Gets Egg Shower From Birmingham

South Tour

Law Is Observed

Thur 9-2-48

After Meeting Negroes Appear With Signs

Rebuking Candidate

Montgomery Ala

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.—(AP)—A shower of eggs greeted J. P. Mooney, Progressive Party campaign chairman of Alabama, Wednesday after he announced that Henry Wallace had cancelled his Birmingham speech because of segregation.

Police had stretched a rope on the west side of the Jefferson County courthouse to separate whites and Negroes.

Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor estimated that 3,000 persons had gathered to hear the Progressive Party's candidate for president. Approximately 250 were Negroes, who stood on the North side of the rope.

Mooney took the speaker's platform.

"The Progressive Party of Alabama had hoped to present to you the greatest living American, the man President Roosevelt chose for Secretary of Agriculture and Vice President of our great country," he said.

"However, the Progressive Party will not take part in any gathering that violates the constitution of the United States.

"We believe in free speech and free assembly without police restriction or police intimidation."

No Arrests Made

After he finished, about a dozen eggs sailed from the crowd toward Mooney. None hit him. Police started to arrest a boy, but he said he didn't know he wasn't supposed to throw eggs. He was not arrested.

Commissioner Connor addressed the crowd before Mooney's appearance.

Thur 9-2-48

He asked the crowd to "help me see that he (Wallace) has a respectful and full hearing of whateveh he has to say. Birmingham mus not inpure her good name by being unkind to any visitor within her gates."

He urged the audience to make it "a peaceful, lawful and orderly meeting."

After the meeting nine Negroes appeared at the scene bearing signs critical of Wallace. They told reporters they had intended to picket. They described themselves as civic minded Negroes interested in the national welfare of their race.

Words on the signs included:

"Mr. Wallece, your program has set the Negro back 50 years. We are tired of being made a political football."

"The Negro has accomplished more in the past 100 years than Russia has in the past 1,000 years."

"We, the colored people, want education, not agitation."

"I'd rather live in the South and know where I stand than live elsewhere and have no standing."

Wallace and his party prepared to go to nearby Bessemer, Ala., for a radio address.

Cancels Speech

Earlier, Wallace cancelled a speech at Gadsden, Ala., beucsae police stretched rope on the court house lawn to enforce segregation.

He had spoken in three other Alabama towns today and in each case a few Negroes stood shoulder to shoulder with white listeners. Everywhere his reception was peaceful.

His remarks on racial relations even drew a few scattered cheers at Decatur and only at Guntesville, where the crowd sang "Dixie," was he loudly booed.

Wallace had insisted on nonsegregation audiences as a condition for his appearance. City officials in Gadsden and Birmingham both cited local ordinances requiring regregation at public gatherings.

34 a (1)

The announcements that he would not speak at Gadsden and Birmingham were made by the Pogressive Party chairman for Alabama. The crowds that had gathered booed the announcement.

Thur 9-2-48

Wallace's tip through the state was in marked contrast to his North Carolina visit, where cowds heckled almost continuously and showered him with eggs and tomatoes.

His first stop was at Decatur, Ala., where the famous Scottsboro rape trials were conducted between 1931 and 1936. An estimated 600 persons gathered on the court house lawn.

"I do not come South to preach disunity," Wallace told them, "but to advocate that we all pull together. There is too much hatred in the world and I say it is possible to deveiop Christian cooperation."

Outlines Views

He outlined his views on international relations, concluding, "the cold war can end and we can stop sending hundreds of millions to Greece, Turkey and China to back fascist regimes. Then we could spend billions for more TVA's."

As he ended his talk, Wallace thanked the crowd for its courteous reception. Mingled cheers and boos came back.

His motorcade moved on to Huntsville where he was met with possibly the largest crowd yet to hear him on the Southern tour. Police estimates placed the audience at between 3,000 and 4,000.

Thur 9-2-48

The response from the predominantly white crowd, however, was apathetic. Only weak applause greeted him, but the booing and heckling also was weak.

Wallace laughingly recalled his experience in North Carolina and described it as "those jovial little disturbances." He blamed the egging he got on "reactionaries who are backing the Dixiecrats."

Only at Guntersville, an unscheduled stop, was the response heavy with boos and catcalls. Signs reading "Down With Communism" and "Down With Wallace" were pareded in front of the court house.

Henry Wallace's Southern Campaign Has Been a Sensational Failure

Courier Journal

Mon 9-6-48

34 a (1)

By Robert C. Ruark

Louisville Ky

MEMPHIS.—You know how in the movies when a naive character pulls an awful boner in front of everybody, and how you squirm for him and shift in your seats? That is how you feel about Henry Wallace, when he is face to face with the "common man," the little man that Henry is going to save if it kills 'em both.

Mr. Wallace is dramatic when he is unable to speak because people are plastering him with boos and bric-a-brac, or when his lofty principles forbid him to utter a mumbling word. With his mouth shut, Henry is one of the greatest orators I ever saw, because he can look so tired and soulful and downtrod, like every man's hand is ag'in him and his shoes don't fit.

But when the people are standing there, ripe to listen, Henry gets lost. He looks at the faces, and the faces stare back at him, and it discourages him. He gets no spark from the Negroes he has sworn to emancipate. No communication exists between Henry and the po' whites whom he attempts to patronize. Henry stands up and says looky who's come to save you, and the faces answer impassively: Save who from what?

•

DURING the days I have been trailing Henry on his Southern stump tour, it seems to me his audiences have been composed chiefly of the idly curious, out to see what the critter looks like. A few hundreds come and stand on the sidewalk, shuffle, and wait expectantly for something to happen.

Wallace the extemporaneous orator makes you blush. A humorless man, with all the robust earthiness of a floorwalker in a decorating salon, he strives to establish contact with the audience, and winds up with both feet firmly in mouth.

He has attempted all the cliches of the wool-hat spellbinder, but they are awkward on his lips. He tried a feeble joke. Nobody laughed. I wanted to crawl under the car.

In Alabama, he invoked a dead relative native to that locality to help him reach his audience, but this stab at sympathy died as dead as his old aunt, or whoever she was.

Getting down to fundamentals, he promised a bale of cotton per acre, under the guidance of the Progressive Party. Sunbaked, hard-hewed men just stared and spat. Henry was talking in a region which habitually yields two to three bales per acre.

Mon 9-6-48

HENRY'S theme has been that the South isn't rich enough, and when he tells how he can put a double helping of chitlins in every skillet, he sounds nearly as illogical as old man Townsend. He attempts to flatter, by praising the athletic prowess of a state, and manages to sound like an old maid talking prize fights.

No speech of Wallace's that I have heard has struck even one chord in his audience. He has striven for the homeliness of the red-necked demagogues, and has managed to sound like a Y.M.C.A. counselor lecturing on the evils of sex.

Mon 9-6-48

Henry strides out reasonably smooth on his radio stints, reading ghost-prepared copy in a mealy, come-to-salvation voice. Then he can play savior, then he can play martyr. But face to face with the constituents, he couldn't sell 'em Sears and Roebuck as a social force.

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2 Governors Snub Wallace

34 a (1)

MONROE, La., Sept. 2 (AP)—Henry Wallace swept his southern campaign tour into Louisiana today after filing a slate of his Progressive Party electors with the Mississippi Secretary of State.

Wallace's presidential campaign visit was ignored by Govs. Fielding Wright of Mississippi and Earl K. Long of Louisiana. Mississippi is the birthplace of the States' Rights movement, and Gov. Wright its vice presidential candidate.

State highway patrol escorts, provided at the request of Progressive Party leaders in both states, convoyed Wallace.

He cleared Mississippi without incident. But as Wallace entered his car to leave Monroe after a brief talk, a tomato hurled by an unknown pitcher, struck the top of his car.

Makes Radio Speech

34 a (1)

He addressed a crowd of about 1000.

Fri 9-3-48

His Mississippi tour included breakfast at a Negro junior college near Jackson; filing a slate of electors with Secretary of State Heber Ladner who took their qualification papers under advisement; a radio speech; and a public address on the courthouse lawn at Vicksburg. From Vicksburg he motored to Monroe, then to Shreveport. He flies from Shreveport tonight to Little Rock, Ark., and then moves into Tennessee.

About 50 Negroes were in the crowd of around 300 at Vicksburg to hear Wallace, who speaks only before nonsegregated groups. There was no demonstration, and Mississippi Progressive Party leader J. Lewis Henderson of Bay Saint Louis, who accompanied Wallace, told the crowd "that means a lot."

Fri 9-3-48

Ill. Progressive Stoned

MT. VERNON, Ill., Sept. 2 (UP)—Curtis MacDougall, Progressive Party candidate for U. S. Senator from Illinois said today that he was stoned at a West Frankfurt, Ill., meeting last night and forced to flee.

"I think I was hit 10 times by flying stones," he said.

MacDougall charged that police refused to come to his aid.

MacDougall said he would cancel scheduled speeches at Zeigler, Murphysboro, Herrin, and Pinckneyville unless police promise protection.

Fri 9-3-48

At Chicago, Progressive Party headquarters said Florence Gowgiel, Argo, Ill., member of a Progressives local committee, was struck when she stepped in front of MacDougall.

Wallace Trip is Likened to Bilbo's 'Assist'

In Mississippi a newspaperman likened Wallace's visit to the tirade from the North against the late Senator Theodore Bilbo in the 1946 election campaign. He said that Mississippi was pretty well fed up with Bilbo at the time, and might have retired him had it not been for criticism by writers and radio commentators in New York and Washington. Bilbo capitalized on this "outside" criticism and went on to win.

Sun 9-5-48

Are the big corporations, some of them controlled in Wall Street, responsible for keeping the races apart in the South, as charged by Wallace?

(Tour)

There may be something to that, but almost certainly it is not the whole answer. While the Wallace party was in Little Rock, the Arkansas Gazette published an article by Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat-Times, that weakened this Wallace argument.

Carter, whose comparative liberal views on the race question have caused Mississippi politicians to call him a "nigger lover," had this to say:

"I cannot emphasize one point too strongly. The white South is as united as 30 million people can be in its insistence upon segregation. Federal action cannot change them. It will be tragic for the South, for the Negro and the Nation itself if the Government should enact and attempt to enforce any laws or Supreme Court decision that would open the South's public schools and public bathing places to the Negro. The one saving factor in such an event would be the Southern Negroes' own common sense refusal to implement the law."

Carter wrote that he was well aware of "the contradictions and the individual humiliation and tragedies of segregation," but he was emphatic in saying that to the South's whites it was something that must not be disturbed.

Exclusively Democratic

WALLACE not only tried to disturb it; he boldly assaulted it.

He declined to live or eat in any hotel that would not shelter or serve Miss Edith Roberts, his Negro secretary, or the two Negro newspapermen traveling in his party. In Durham, N. C., and Birmingham, Ala., he slept in the homes of Negroes. In Decatur, Ala., when his railroad car was cut off from a diner, he had his breakfast brought to him in a box rather than eat it in a segregated restaurant in town.

All this got around, of course, and was the chief reason that Southern youngsters began searching for overripe eggs and tomatoes.

Sun 9-6-48

There was more to it than that, however. Wallace had a couple of strikes on himself aside from his views on the race question.

The South has never regarded the Iowan as a hero, although he seems to have a sincere affection for it. It was the South that first turned against him when he was Vice President, and set up a clamor for President Roosevelt to ditch him in 1944.

Then there was the fact that Wallace is backed by the Communist Party and is Moscow's favorite in the 1948 American presidential race.

Southerners may not be any more patriotic than other Americans, but they are certainly more intense about it.

Thus it was that the placards and the yells from the crowds always struck two notes—"Nigger lover" and "Go back to Russia."

34a(1)

Schooling Enough

WALLACE also hurt the Southerners' pride, although he didn't seem to be aware of it. In almost every speech, he talked of raising the South to the economic level of other sections; of getting the region more and better schools, hospitals, and so on.

He was talking that way in Greensboro, N. C., and being bombarded with eggs and tomatoes.

Sun 9-5-48

A heckler, spurning Wallace's talk about better education, cried out: "I don't want to go to no school at all."

Wallace is going back North well satisfied with his campaign tour of the South. He must know that he didn't pick up any votes to speak of, but he feels that he has brought the issues out in the open and put them on a moral plane in a way that President Truman and Governor Dewey wouldn't dare to do.

The situation in the South seems to be something like this: Some people are ashamed that their towns got a bad name as a result of the egg-throwing. They feel that Wallace, however obnoxious his views, should have been given a chance to have his say. Also, they respect him for his courage in standing up to the barrage.

However, Southern whites don't like him any more now than they did before. If anything, they probably like him less.

Carolina Puzzle

ONE riddle remains to be cleared up. How was it that North Carolina, with its reputation of being the most enlightened and progressive State in the South, acted so differently from Mississippi? North Carolinans showered Wallace with eggs, tomatoes and curses, while the Mississippians allowed him to pass through unmolested.

A man in Mississippi, which State has more Negroes than whites, said the answer was this: Mississippi has the situation in hand; that is, the Negroes there "know their place." North Carolina, a pioneer in abolishing the poll tax, does not have the same feeling of security.

"In other words," he said, "North Carolina is afraid and Mississippi isn't."

He might also have explained that North Carolina got Wallace on the first day and didn't anticipate what was going to happen. Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, vice presidential nominee of the States Rights (Dixiecrat) Party, noted the bad reaction to the North Carolina demonstrations and had time to prepare.

Sun 9-5-48

He called on Mississippians to be "hospitable" to Wallace, as they would be to any visitor, and when Wallace arrived he provided him with highway patrol cars and 21 policemen.

WALLACE BOOED DOWN, BUT EGGS MISS THEIR MARK

Daily Tribune

Wed 9-1-48

Pres 34a(1)

Candidate Target Again in Charlotte, N.C.

Chicago Ill.

Charlotte, N.C., Aug. 31 (AP)—Eggs and tomatoes again were tossed at Henry Wallace as he attempted to address a crowd of 2,500 at the Mecklenburg courthouse here today.

None struck Wallace who sought to speak amid continual booing from the throng. Eggs did strike two reporters for the Charlotte News, who stood near trying to hear the words of the former Vice President.

Signs were conspicuous in the crowd. One read "Sell Your Junk in Moscow, Henry."

Police Arrest Three

Thru the din, Wallace shouted: "I believe there are people in Mecklenburg county who still believe in human rights."

Police arrested three men and charged them with disorderly conduct in disturbing the peace at a public gathering by throwing eggs and tomatoes. They were released under $100 bond each for a hearing tomorrow. They were booked as Baxter D. Huntley, 30; Everett L. Cloaninger, 20, and Jack Hefner, 25, all of Charlotte.

Wed 9-1-48

Boos Drown Out Speech

After the missles were tossed, Wallace made a second effort to speak but boos drowned his words. Shortly afterward he stepped into an automobile and was driven away to appear in Hickory and Asheville.

Wallace came here from Winston-Salem this morning. On a day long trip yesterday he had been the target for egg and tomato throwers at Burlington, Greensboro and High Point.

Mother Struck by Tomatoes At Rally for Wallace Here

Wash Post

A Washington mother—member of the Young Progressives here—said she and her son, 5, were struck by tomatoes thrown by "10 or 12" neighborhood youths yesterday as Wallace followers gathered for a new attempt to lead a mixed racial group into the Rosedale Playground,, 17th and Gales sts. ne.

Sun 9-12-48

Lateer, after the scheduled demonstration had been deferred due to an unanticipated fall early Saturday closing of the white play area, four Negro youths were arrested in the neighborhood for playing ball in the street and striking a street lamp. Ninth Precinct police said the incident had no connection with the Young Progressives proposal.

The tomato throwing was reported by Mrs. Chester Kurrier, 26, of 3545 10th st. nw., who stands a little over 5 feet tall. She told reporters she and her son, Michael were walking in the direction of the playground to verify reports it was closed when some young "chaps" started throwing the tomatoes. Mother and son both were struck in the back but neither was hurt, she said.

Angus MacDonald, 35, of 2662 S. Meade st., Arlington, who also participated in the demonstration, said the same group of boys shouted "Nigger lover" as he passed and slung tomatoes at him. One brushed his back.

Sun 9-12-48

William apitman, secretary of the Wallace Committee here, announced he would make a formal complaint to police.

A spokesman for the Young Progressives said a new attempt to enter the playground will be made at 9 a. m. next Saturday. Four previous tries—all on Saturdays—proved fruitless. Yesterday's demonstration had been planned for 1:30 p. m.

WALLACE ASSAILS 'NORTH'S MONOPOLY'

34a(1) Pres.

At Dalton, Ga., He Tells Religious Group That Sectional Differential Must End

Sun 10-17-48

Special to The New York Times.

[illegible], Ga., Oct. 16—Charging that "the huge modern monopoly corporation" was keeping the "South divided against itself," Henry A. Wallace, Presidential candidate of the Progressive party, declared here today in a campaign speech that the "South will never rise out of peonage to the North" until the wage differential between the two sections of the country is wiped out.

Tour

The former Vice President made his second invasion of the South this afternoon to speak before a religious group, the Church of God, Union Assembly.

This time, the Presidential candidate was spared the indignities of over-ripe vegetables and eggs as was the case in his visit to this region about eight weeks ago.

Mr. Wallace interrupted a campaign tour of the Midwest to come here and meet with one of the most enthusiastic groups of his supporters anywhere in the country. He flew from Chicago this morning. At Chattanooga a motorcade of 150 cars escorted the candidate over the thirty-mile route to Dalton. There were no untoward incidents on the trip.

Here to greet him was Larkin Marshall, Negro editor from Macon, Ga., and candidate for the United States Senate from Georgia on Mr. Wallace's ticket, and the Rev. C. T. Pratt, national administrator of the religious order he addressed.

The name of Herman Talmadge, champion of "white supremacy" and Democratic nominee for Governor of Georgia, was frequently brought into the discussion here this afternoon. Clark Foreman, one of the national [redacted] of the Progressive party, was first to refer to Mr. Talmadge. In introducing Mr. Wallace, Mr. Foreman declared that there were forces in Atlanta that would "keep the one-party system for Herman Talmadge."

Mr. Wallace, in denouncing the "modern monopoly corporation," charged that "it backs Herman Talmadge, the man who calls himself the friend of the people, and then openly accepts the support of the Klan, an organization which denies the very essence of all that is fundamental and holy in Christianity."

Sun 10-17-48

Discussing Southern problems, Mr. Wallace declared that "I have, myself, said for many years that the South would, one day, be the most progressive part of our land."

"Those who use hatred and ignorance—weapons more powerful than any atomic bombs—will not forever keep us separated," he continued. "Men of good will—white and black, North and South—East and West—Russian and Anglo-Saxon—will no longer fall for the false doctrine that man's greatest enemy is his fellow-man."

DETROIT, Oct. 16 (AP) — Henry A. Wallace landed here tonight to open a one-day campaign swing through Michigan tomorrow. Fifty to seventy-five persons stood in the drizzling rain to greet him.

Wallace's Raid

34a(1)

The Post

Wed 9-1-48

Wash. D.C.

The police chief of Winston-Salem, N. C., who told hecklers of Henry Wallace that they were doing just what the Communists wanted them to do showed penetrating insight. It must be self-evident that the provocative Mr. Wallace has not carried his campaign to the South with any real hope of collecting any electoral votes there. Quite possibly, then, his motive for invading the domain of the Dixiecrats was to be made a martyr. Some very foolish Southerners in the half dozen Carolina communities he visited during the past couple of days have now done the job for him.

Whatever may have impelled Mr. Wallace to travel south and however offensive to local prejudices his ideas may have been, the treatment he was accorded quite warranted his query, "Am I in America?" There was certainly nothing American about the ugly mob violence that silenced him. Reviled and pelted by missiles of all sorts, he stood his ground, by common account of the correspondents present, with good humor and great physical courage. Certainly it was Mr. Wallace and not the hoodlums attacking him who emerged from the disgraceful encounter with the moral victory.

The effect of all this is to fortify the faith of those who look on Mr. Wallace as a new Messiah, himself perhaps among them, to strengthen his pretended status as the one true defender of civil rights, and to foster his own view of himself as a symbol of persecution. Moreover, it affords the propaganda artists in the Kremlin magnificent material for deriding American institutions and political procedures. Mr. Wallace, allowed to speak, is not much to be feared. Mr. Wallace, silenced by bigotry, can become a rallying point for all the disillusioned and discontented. In the free competition of the marketplace, his ideas can be dealt with by the common sense of the American people.

Wallace Marches Back To Georgia; No Eggs Hurled

34a(1)

DALTON, GA., Oct. 16.—(AP)—Henry Wallace marched into Georgia today with biblical fervor, preaching the brotherhood of whites and Negroes.

Sun 10-17-48

He mainly attacked "the huge, modern monoply corporation," which he said is "an instrument of the devil, blindly driving the world toward war."

[illegible]

He declared that the corporate "instrument of the devil" is backing Herman Talmadge, Georgia's next governor. He said this instrument "owns legislators and governors" and "openly accepts" the support of the Ku Klux Klan.

The Progressive Party presidential candidate flew about 1,000 miles out of his scheduled path to make one speech in Georgia—one final pre-election thrust into the Deep South where he was egged and heckled last month. No eggs were hurled this time.

Wallace Cancels Talks Over Race Segregation

Courier Journal

(34a(1))

Thur 9-2-48

Alabama Barnstorming Ends In Uproar As Crowds Close In On Presidential Candidate

Louisville Ky

By TARLETON COLLIER.
Staff Correspondent, The Courier-Journal.

Birmingham, Sept. 1.—A day of barnstorming through Alabama that started pleasantly enough wound up for Henry Wallace in savage uproar. In the end, three principal engagements to speak were canceled.

Wallace gave as the reason that police had separated whites from Negroes. He had insisted from the start of his campaign that he would speak only to nonsegregated audiences, and he stood on this today. But it was probably just as well. In at least two occasions there is no telling what might have happened.

Driving into the industrial city of Gadsden after three hasty but undisturbed talks elsewhere, the Progressive Party candidate for President found his way blocked by a crowd of several thousands in an ugly mood. The covered front porch of the Courthouse was packed by several hundred young men and boys, shouting and jeering as the Wallace motorcade inched toward the spot set for his speech.

Thur 9-2-48

Crowds Temper That of a Mob.

The roar swelled in volume and the crowd, a veritable mob in temper, pressed about the candidate's car. "Take him out," was the most frequent cry. Faces were pressed against the closed window. "Come on out like a man," shouted a burly man with face contorted.

Wallace sat impassive. He and his party saw, as they pressed to the Courthouse corner at Broad and Court Streets, that a stout rope stretched across the street to separate whites and Negroes. From the sound truck just behind the candidate's car the voice of J. P. Mooney, Alabama campaign director of the Progressives strove vainly for a moment to rise above the bedlam. Then when the din permitted, the message came out in pieces.

"Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party will not participate in any gathering," Mooney said, "that violates the Constitution of the United States. We believe in free speech and free assembly without police restrictions and police intimidation."

Police Prevent Violence.

For a moment it looked as if there would be an attempt to turn the candidate's car over, but police moved in. They were there in force—State patrolmen, City police, and men in civilian clothes with guns at their hips, deputies and bailiffs of the court. With difficulty a way was cleared and the column of automobiles bearing Wallace's retinue, Alabama party members, and newspaper correspondents made its way out of town.

They pressed past a picket with an expertly letter dsign:

"Don't be fooled. Uncle Joe tells Henry what to say."

Thur 9-2-48

Birmingham Speech Canceled.

In a way, Gadsdenites were playing a game of "follow your leader." Their mood might have been congealed by the City's Mayor, Herbert Maighan, who yesterday sent Wallace a telegram saying he was not wanted in Gadsden.

Twice more the scene was repeated. The big meeting of the day, in front of the Courthouse in Birmingham, was called off for the same reason. When the Wallace party arrived there, a double line of ropes, stretched on sawhorses, ran from the entrance of the building across the sidewalk. It was the arrangement by which Eugene Connor, police commissioner, undertook to enforce Birmingham's segregation ordinance. This law says the two races must be separated in gatherings, whether sitting or standing, indoors or out.

Another Egg Barrage.

Wallace's car was not yet on the scene when Mooney and Clark Foreman, treasurer of the Progressive Party, walked from the Courthouse to read a statement similar to that made in Gadsden. Taunts filled the air. A barrage of eggs flew, spattering in the closely packed mass. A little later, when the Wallace automobile came into view, the demonstrators found themselves out of ammunition and contented themselves with pressing against the car, shouting insults.

An hour afterward a meeting in the city park of Bessemer, a community 12 miles from Birmingham, was similarly called off. The crowd melted away after brief shouts, a few passers slapping at the candidate's automobile.

Thur 9-2-48

Praise for T.V.A.

The first three stops in Wallace's swift tour, by companions, were all but uneventful. They started at Decatur, where a crowd of several hundred gathered in the Courthouse yard. The presidential candidate spoke for about 8 minutes, standing in the street beside the sound truck, a portable microphone in his hand.

He spoke mainly of T.V.A., this being in the heart of the valley development, and called it "one of the most inspiring works of man." He repeated constantly the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and courted the ears of Alabamans by reference to the state's famous athletic teams. There was only a passing reference to international affairs and the race question.

Pleads for Less Hatred.

"The Cold War must end if we are to have any reduction in the cost of living," Wallace said. "Instead of spending billions to build up the Fascist regimes of Greece and Turkey, we should use the money to create more T.V.A.'s. I come to plead for less hatred, not only in the United States, but between us and other countries."

There were a few mild and experimental "boos" now and then. They sounded lonely, needing only the encouragement of a lusty shout or two to turn them into overwhelming roars.

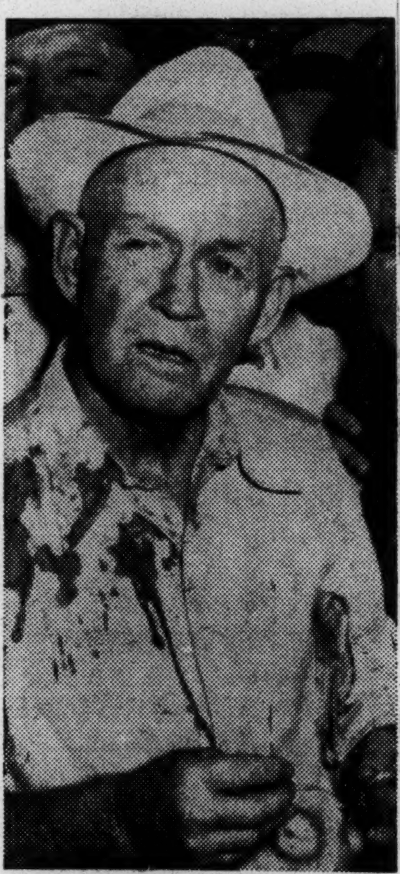
'Down With Wallace.'

In Huntsville, an hour later, he had the quietest audience of the day, before which he repeated his praise of T.V.A. and the Alabama spirit of athletic competition. Some time before noon he ran into his first band of articulate hecklers at Guntersville, but these were mostly young boys bearing a Confederate flag and signs bearing the legends, scrawled with pencil, "Down with Wallace" and "Down with communism."

The candidate finished hastily as the young hecklers, emboldened as he faltered, stepped up their taunts. The Dixiecrats, he said, are backward men. "They're Communists," a boy yelled. Wallace began talking of the "Wall Street gang." "Let's hear about Joe Stalin," the boys demanded.

Talks With Tenant Farmer.

Later, relaxed for a few minutes as the party stopped for a picnic lunch of fried chicken and rolls at a tenant farm, Wallace said he was gratified at his reception in Alabama. After the bitterness and shambles of his North Carolina meetings, he had reason to say so. It was pleasant in a grove of oaks where the party had stopped. Pete Seeger, the troubadour of the Progressive Party, unslung his guitar and led a group in ballad singing. Wallace wandered off to the cornfield and talked with the tenant, R. B. Knott, about his own corn business.



Associated Press Wirephoto.

J. J. Pickens, a spectator at a Wallace gathering in Birmingham, Ala., was splattered by an egg yesterday when an announcement was made that Wallace would not speak there due to "segregation."

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This, however, was the last moment of peace. Soon afterward came the stop at Gadsden. When Wallace arrived in Birmingham, one of his aides read a prepared statement, setting out his view of the afternoon misadventures.

Goes to Mississippi Next.

"When we reached Gadsden and Birmingham," he said, "cities which are dominated by Northern steel trusts, we could not hold meetings because the police insisted on dividing free Americans by the colors of their skins.

"These Northern-owned corporations, Republic Steel and the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, pay no income taxes here. Yet they have political machines that dominate these cities. It is also interesting that one of the most open incitements to violence in the South came from a national radio commentator who is known as a spokesman of the National Association of Manufacturers. (The reference was to Fulton Lewis, one of Wallace's aides said.) People of the South are a grand, courageous, free people. The things which give the South a bad name are not Southern ills but national ills. We must prevent private greed to preserve public welfare."

After a broadcast at 7 o'clock over a state-wide hookup, in which this statement and most of his remarks during the day were repeated, Wallace and his party left for Mississippi. Tomorrow he is scheduled to appear in Jackson and Vicksburg, going then into Louisiana, with stops at Monroe and Shreveport.

Congressman Says Wallace Made Deal In Pennsylvania

Philadelphia, Sept. 1 (AP)—Republican National Chairman Hugh D. Scott, Jr., said today a "deal" had been made in Pennsylvania between Henry A. Wallace's Progressives and the Democratic Party.

Thur 9-2-48

The Pennsylvania congressman told a Rotary Club luncheon the deal was on the congressional election level and pointed to the withdrawal of all but one of the Wallace candidates for Congress.

In addition, Scott said, the Progressives have indorsed Democratic candidates they originally set out to oppose.

Scott linked the deal with the issue of Communism.

The withdrawal of the Progressive candidates, he said, "indicates that the Communists and fellow-travelers have professed themselves entirely satisfied with the record of the Democrats."

"In other words," he declared, "the Communists have come back home again. They're back under the old shelter, and the reasons for that are genuine enough."

Scott blamed the Truman Administration for the alleged presence of Communists on the federal pay roll.

'Housecleaning' Promised.

"Congress," he said, "is powerless to hasten the very leisurely process by which the executive agencies are going about the task of cleaning house."

He promised 'a real housecleaning" if Thomas E. Dewey is elected President.

"Since we are the party of free enterprise, we want every American to be self-sustaining, and our first ambition is to put Mr. Truman back on the road to Independence," Scott said.

Wallace Cleared His Throat

The Advertiser

BIRMINGHAM, Sept. 1.

HENRY WALLACE made three of his better speeches this afternoon in Gadsden, Birmingham and Bessemer. That is to say "Old Bubblehead" didn't speak at all.

34a(1)

Hank didn't speak because the audiences were segregated. City officials had already warned Wallace that audiences would be segregated and even dispatched him copies of the ordinances. He came anyway, but didn't deign to speak. After all, he didn't have to speak to excite the adoration of his hophead followers.

Thur 9-2-48

At Gadsden Hank the Mute let it go by default. There was a crowd, but they had come to scoff and evidently meant to remain to scoff. So Hank gave out with a bleat that he didn't speak because of "police intimidation." That, of course, was a Wallace fabri-

Montgomery Ala

cation.

Taurus the Bull, otherwise Birmingham Police Commissioner Eugene Connor, had apparently been restrained by the counsel of the more reflective. For Connor eschewed his effusive lust to put Hank right where he put Senator Glen Taylor—in Bumminham jail.

In fact, Taurus conducted himself with a sensible restraint that must have felt like a new pair of shoes. He dispatched word to Hank to come ahead and speak on the courthouse steps. but admonished him that the city segregation laws would be enforced. To be certain of clarity, Taurus also sent along copies of the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not even for the Kremlin's American white hope.

WALLACE was due to speak at 4:30 from the courthouse steps. By 4:15 a considerable crowd had filed passed the Jefferson Davis monument in Wilson Park and chafed for the arrival of Hank. The courthouse is new and imposing. We stood on a high point in the park beside the lily ponds, 100 yards from the famous Birmingham courthouse steps from which, Hank had told the nation, he would speak only to an unsegregated audience.

The steps were evenly divided up to the pond between a "reserved white" section and "reserved colored" section. New carpenter's horses had been placed as a segregation wall.

Jour 9-2-48

The whites greatly outnumbered the Negroes. Some 50 of Taurus' blue-shirted constables were posted in the Negro section to prevent any mingling.

Despite Taurus' highly American warnings about jailing egg throwers, there were hearties who had eggs for Wallace. We saw two, maybe three, thrown towards the steps. They were not hurled, they were gently tossed rather like an umpire throwing out a new ball.

Presently two cops were seen to be leading a lanky tow-headed colt off the playing field. They had firm grips on each of his stringy arms. Whether the hobbledehoy had thrown an egg or had crossed the Connor line was not evident.

Jour 9-2-48

Whereupon a Wallace agent said over the microphone:

"We understand Henry Wallace will not make a speech here. Understand he's going to Bessemer . . . He has that right . . ."

WE FOLLOWED at a considerable pace to Bessemer. Proceeding at a considerably greater speed in his cream Ford was Sir Geoffrey Birt, that demon agent of the commonweal who wraps his corpses in The Alabama Journal. Sir Geoffrey apparently got the habit of driving on the left side of the road in his native England and has not seen fit to adapt his procedures to those of the New World. At any rate, Sir Geoffrey was on the left side of the road hard after the communist blighter, and "Gor Blimey" out of my way, sirs.

At Bessemer Hank and his retinue drove up to the park as if to make the speech, but he only cleared his throat and passed on because Negroes are forbidden the run of the park.

As we walked away, we encountered a gent who didn't talk like a steel worker. In fact, he talked easily of historian Arnold Toynbee and his "A Study in History."

"Maybe Wallace is right about this segregation," quoth he, "but he's a rather unpopular fellow to come down here and expect the law to be changed overnight for his benefit."

Jour 9-2-48

He thought a while and added, "Oh well, about the Negro—Toynbee says they may be the coming race of men."

We've only read the one-volume abridgement of Toynbee and let that pass, but our companion has read all five volumes and said:

"Not exactly. He wrote that of the nine races the Negro alone had failed to make his mark as a race. So he may yet do it."

Wallace was headed for Tuscaloosa. We'd had enough listening to him clear his throat and disengaged. But we're quite sure that Sir Geoffrey is hot and grinding upon Wallace's heels—G.C.H.

Wallace's Attack Inflames South

(3440)

BY EDWIN A. LAHEY

Of Our Washington Bureau

Free Press

Detroit, Mich.

Sun 9-5-48

NASHVILLE—Henry Wallace has spent a week in the South without once having set foot in a hotel or a public eating place.

He has spent his nights either on a chartered Pullman or at the homes of friends, Negro and white. He has taken his vittles at these homes, in his Pullman bedroom, or along the roadside, out of picnic baskets.

He has refused to speak at three cities in Alabama—Gadsden, Birmingham, and Bessemer—because local police in each city had separated whites and Negroes.

* * *

THIS NEGATIVE attack upon the segragation laws and customs of the South is not as subtle as it sounds.

It's a taunt, a slap in the face to race-proud southerners.

These people are perhaps as inflamed today as their grandfathers were in the 1850s when, in the face of contstant torment from abolitionists, they abandoned all pretense of finding a solution to the slavery problem and resorted to a bitter aggressiveness which established slavery in the southern mind as a sacred institution.

Most southerners today express a desire to improve the status of the Negro, to provide better education and health facilities, to widen his economic opportunities and lift his standard of living, even to give him full suffrage.

* * *

BUT SEGRAGATION in the South is a sacred institution, as firm a cultural pattern as family life. Thus far, but no farther, the southern liberal declares, adding confidently that the Negroes themselves wish to retain their "equal but separate facilities."

When Henry Wallace comes a-preaching "christianity and democracy" the southerner sees red, literally and figuratively, because the Wallace thesis is as harsh as that propounded by William Lloyd Garrison and the abolitionists a century ago.

That thesis is brief and brutal. It says that southerners who strive to "improve" the status of the Negro in a segragated society are building on crooked foundations, because segragation is based upon the concept that one race is inferior to another.

Sun 9-5-48

IN THEIR VIOLENT reaction to Wallace's trip, the southerners who have pelted him with eggs and tomatoes have denounced him for his Communist friends and sympathies as well as for his views against the segragation laws.

Wallace feels that the anti-Communist and the racial taunts spring from the same southern fear that "foreigners" or "outsiders" are plotting to undermine the South's "peculiar institution" of racial segragation.

Clark Foreman, a Georgian who is treasurer of the Progressive Party, and who has been fighting segregation for 20 years, says that anyone who advocates the enforcement of the civil-rights amendments to the Constitution (the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth) is automatically regarded in the South as Communist.

Sun 9-5-48

THE TENSION between the United States and the Soviet Union has increased the anti-Communist feeling in the South, as it has in the rest of the nation.

Most observers agree, however, that the tremendous hostility to Wallace is based primarily on the racial issue. The South hated Wallace at the 1944 convention of the Democratic Party, when he made a smashing demand that the Democrats enact an aggressive civil-rights program.

The third-party candidate feels pretty good about his junket.

Sun 9-5-48

WALLACE PROBABLY would not go so far as Clark Foreman, who describes this trip as "the greatest blow against slavery since the emancipation proclamation," but he certainly believes that the civil-rights issue has been dramatized to the nation, and that every egg and tomato, every police attempt at segragation, has helped to put his story across in readable fashion.

The Wallace backers profess to believe that they have won some votes in the South, but most political observers in Dixie dismiss this claim as baseless.

The opinion of southern liberals and middle-of-the-road observers is that Wallace has helped the Dixiecrats by inflaming a resentment that had already been deepened by President Truman's civil rights program.

Sun 9-5-48

ONE POLITICAL writer in Jackson asserts that 95 per cent of the Mississippi vote in November will go to Gov. G. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, the Dixiecrat candidate for president.

Southern corporation lawyers representing nothern industrial, utility and tidelands oil interests took over an important part in forming the Dixiecrat party.

Wallace in his southern radio addresses, and in public appearances where he has been permitted to speak, has emphasized the role of "Wall Street" in the south, declaring that northern corporations were exploiting the region, and wanted race pitted against race to protect their own position.

Sun 9-5-48

WHATEVER EFFECT such an argument might have upon workers and small farmers in normal times was certainly lost in the atmosphere of racial tension in which Wallace spoke.

One of the most interesting episodes of the week was the hostility of the crowd that turned out at Gadsden, Ala.

Gadsden, once a dangerous place for any union organizer, has been thoroughly organized in recent years by three right-wing, anti-Communist CIO unions, the steel workers, the textile workers, and the rubber workers.

Sun 9-5-48

DESPITE THE trade-union flavor in Gadsden, the crowd at the Courthouse was apparently more hostile to Wallace and his "Chritianity and democracy" routine than any other crowd encountered in the week.

Wallace did not get out of his car or speak at Gadsden, because the police had roped off the crowds to segregate the Negroes from the whites.

34a(1) 1948 Presidential (Wallace--Southern Tour)

A SOUTHERNER IN WALLACE'S CAMP SIZES UP DIXIE TRIP

By CLARK FOREMAN

Foreman

Thur 9-9-48

The significance of Henry Wallace's trip South will not be fully told even in November. Its real significance is not that a few people in some places threw eggs, but rather that so many people in the South listened attentively to what Henry Wallace had to say.

Even the most hostile Southern newspapers regarded the trip as first-page news. In every one of the seven states which he visited he was able to give his views on the South's welfare to meetings of people freely assembled and unsegregated. Such a political tour has been unthought of in this country by any other candidate for the presidency. But in the future those candidates who seek the vote of the people of that third of our country which is called the South will inevitably be measured against the high standards which Wallace has set.

As a Southerner, I know that Southerners of all political beliefs admire a man of courage. Henry Wallace has demonstrated to everyone that he has the courage of the highest American tradition.

Southerners are supposed to be more religious than the rest of Americans. Hundreds of thousands of Southerners heard Henry Wallace challenge them to live up to their religious beliefs. He was living up to his. I predict that the churches of the South which are already moving in that direction, will support the message which Henry Wallace took to the people of the South. Actually, Wallace gave heart to the millions of Southerners who are deeply concerned about this question. Although many meetings along the route were as peaceful and sympathetic as any candidate could desire, the impression has been given by the press that the Southern people were hostile to Wallace. Partly this was due to the reporters' own deep sense of shock. But I saw enthusiastic crowds greet him in Norfolk and Richmond, Virginia, in some cities in North Carolina, in several cities in Alabama, in Vicksburg, Mississippi, in Louisiana, Arkansas and in Memphis, Nashville and Knoxville, Tennessee. The headlines have not made the egg-throwers typical of the South; the people who listened were the real South.

Artificial Performance

The forces behind young, irrational egg-throwers were apparent from two examples. One was the 14 year old boy who came up to Palmer Weber, Southern co-director of the Progressive Party, with a pop bottle in his hand and said the man over there had offered him five dollars to hit Mr. Weber on the head with it. Mr. Weber asked this boy whether he usually made his spending money picking cotton or carrying a newspaper route. The boy replied, "I don't make any spending money. I don't have any." So Mr. Weber with a gentle admonishment gave the boy a quarter and told him not to let other people get him into trouble.

Thur 9-9-48

I think of the example in Memphis where a very large and obviously sympathetic crowd was listening attentively until some of the photographers assembled a group of young boys and encouraged them to boo while they took their pictures. The artificiality of this performance was apparent to all.

Every time Henry Wallace was cheered—and he was cheered frequently—the young boo-ers jeered. How could anyone take satisfaction from young men booing references to the United States Constitution and the Bible?

The Dixiecrats, or Confederate Republicans as they are more properly called, had young men flying the Confederate flag and trying to disrupt the meetings.

THE BYLINE: Clark Foreman, treasurer of the Progressive Party and president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, accompanied presidential candidate Henry Wallace on his recent tour through the South. Here he presents his version and interpretation of the trip.

A representative of *Time* and *Life* on the tour wore a Dixiecrat button.

Any person in the South who defends the entire Constitution of the United States will be called a "Communist." It was equally clear that the forces which were trying to prevent Henry Wallace from telling his story were not just Southern forces but reactionaries of the North as well. In fact, the worst attempts at disruption were in the mill towns of North Carolina where the majority of the spindles are owned in the North. And it was the steel towns of Alabama, dominated by Northern corporations which do not contribute either income tax or sales tax for the welfare of the state, that refused the people their Constitutional right of free assembly. Henry Wallace, in refusing to speak at Birmingham to the tremendous but segregated crowd, has marked the police commisioner of that city as both un-Christian and un-American. But the police Commissioner is not alone responsible. He was supported for office by the Northern corporation, the Ku Klux Klan and corrupt labor leaders.

Thur 9-9-48

As the direct result of Henry Wallace's trip through the South, millions of Americans who were not aware of the meaning of discrimination in the South have suddenly been jolted. Segregation is no work of fiction, but a brutal fact. The conflict between American democracy and segregation hit home to millions.

Hundreds of thousands of Southerners who are as anxious to be progressive Americans as anyone in the country have been encouraged by Henry Wallace's courage. They have been given heart by Henry Wallace's demonstration that in every Southern state it is possible to have a free unsegregated meeting. They rejoice that even in Memphis where the Freedom Train was not able to stop less than a year ago, Henry Wallace addressed large, free and unsegregated crowds far beyond the seating capacity of the baseball park provided—and there was no violence, no incident that can be said to have "set the South back." They know that Henry Wallace is the Freedom man fighting 20th century slavery in the form of segregation.

The Jim-Crow liberals who have said that the South was not ready for full democracy have been proven wrong in state after state. The only real violence which occurred on the trip was in Durham, North Carolina, where the police authorities refused us the protection which we requested. Yet the Durham *Morning Herald* the day after the speech said editorially that it was the strength of the Progressive Party and the political insecurity of the Democratic machine in that state "that is adding some concern to the life of the state's established leadership."

Thur 9-9-48

Decision in November

Every Southern state, where the political decisions have for decades been made in the Democratic primaries and not in November, this year will decide their political future in November—like the rest of the country.

That means that Negroes as well as white people will participate in the decision to a much larger extent than before. This attack on the "established political leadership" has frightened that leadership. It is giving hope to millions of people who believe with Henry Wallace that the Southern people are entitled to wages and farm income equal to the rest of the people of this country. Those Southerners who in every state invited Henry Wallace to speak to them believe that his visit has greatly strengthened their cause.

Wallace in the South

The Nation
Sat 9-11-48
New York N.Y.

WHAT Henry Wallace tried to say in the South matters very little, most of his words having gone unheard and many of his speeches undelivered. Nevertheless, his journey, marked by violence and intimidation, may well turn out to have been the redeeming feature of an otherwise ill-advised candidacy. It was an act of courage that should not only pay dividends to the Progressive Party in November but contribute materially to the breaking up of antiquated social patterns below the Mason and Dixon Line.

On the purely political level, it is widely assumed that the Wallace strategists, anticipating a rowdy reception, sent their nominee south in order to win votes in the North. There is nothing discreditable in such a maneuver, but as matters worked out, the Southern campaign had effects far transcending this limited purpose. First, the eggs and tomatoes thrown at Mr. Wallace, the boos and catcalls that drowned out his words, and the knifing of one of his aides all served to dramatize the growing struggle of Southern Negroes to attain political rights denied them since Reconstruction days. Second, Wallace's insistence on addressing only unsegregated gatherings broke precedent in communities from Norfolk to Vicksburg, and a taboo violated with such fanfare can never again be quite as potent.

Sat 9-11-48

More than incidentally, this shattering of precedent is bound to affect the two major-party nominees, both of whom have talked of invading the South. With the Wallace pattern established, can Truman afford to address segregated audiences? If not, will the Police Commissioner of Birmingham repeat his famous dictum: "I ain't gonna let no darkies and white folks segregate together in this town"? Wherever he may choose to speak, the Secret Service presumably will see to it that no eggs and vegetables are thrown at the President of the United States. The new pattern will be strengthened still further, and Wallace is entitled to full credit for having forced the issue.

Indirectly, the episode has afforded an insight into Southern behavior that is by no means all on the discouraging side. In the general indignation over the assaults on the Wallace party, it is easy but unwise to overlook the effect on decent Southerners. James Wechsler, the New York *Post's* correspondent, reports that "the tumult wasn't the whole story." The trouble, in almost all instances, came from a small minority, often adolescents, and on all sides reporters heard expressions of regret and humiliation, though little of it reflected support of Mr. Wallace. Editorial opinion in North Carolina papers took the same tone, and both Governor Cherry of that state and Governor Wright of Mississippi deplored the treatment Wallace had received. Especially worth noting was the fact that there was no trouble where police authorities took their duties seriously. Mississippi's reception of the Progressive nominee was cold but correct, with the predictable result that Wallace gained less from his relative freedom in that state than from his virtual suppression in North Carolina. Add to a list as long as history one more proof that the best way to spread a man's influence is to gag him.

Sat 9-11-48

As we go to press, Governor Dewey has yet to follow President Truman's example in condemning the "highly un-American business" of denying to their common opponent the opportunity "to say his piece."

Only Brotherhood Can Save You, South Told

Afro 9-25-48
Baltimore Md.

34a(1)

BIRMINGHAM—Beginning his address with The Lord's Prayer, Henry A. Wallace, Progressive Party candidate for President, told a radio audience here on the first of the month that segregation is a sin and that only through the brotherhood of black and white men can that sin be eradicated.

Excerpts from his speech follow.

"The platform of our new Progressive Party calls for equal rights and equal opportunities for all men. We do this not only because we believe that all men are brothers, but because we believe in the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence.

"Our party therefore, fights against all injustice—against economic and political injustice. We fight against all forms of tyranny over the mind of man. We daily fight for free speech and free assembly. . . free from police or any other intimidation.

Guilty Ones Go Free

"In Greenboro, North Carolina on Monday (Aug. 30) the police arrested a young teen-age lad for throwing eggs and tomatoes at me. When I heard about it, I asked the chief of detectives to release the boy. The boy was wrong. He shouldn't have done what he did.

Afro 9-25-48

"But it is the men who have inflamed his minds who are really responsible for violence. They are never called to pay for their sins.

"I cry out against men who deny the brotherhood of man, because I know what the cost is in human life, and well-being. I know that the infant death-rate, both colored and white, is far greater in Alabama and other Southern States than in the North.

"I know that thousands upon thousands of southern women, both colored and white, die in childbirth every year who could be saved with a real Federal health insurance, infant and maternal care and hospital program.

"And now, I want to ask that President Truman and Governor Dewey join with me in running a Freedom Train through the South, so that all the people of the South may know that we are on their side and not on the side of those who have despoiled their real tradition— the Jefferson tradition that men are more important than dollars.

"Such a Freedom Train will mean much to the sharecroppers and tenants and workers, both white and black. It will mean that we are as much interested in Freedom in the United States as we are in freedom in foreign lands."

Race Law Copy Sent To Wallace

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.— (AP) — Just to make certain Henry Wallace is thoroughly familiar with segregation laws here, Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor has sent him a copy.

Connor mailed the segregation ordinance to the Progressive party's candidate for president, Monday.

34a(1)

Wallace has a permit for an address at 4:30 p.m., Wednesday. The permit stipulates, however, that all city and state laws must be observed.

Wallace has announced that he would speak before mixed audiences only, and his supporters here asked a permit for a mixed meeting.

Connor, in a letter accompanying the copy of the city ordinance, said:

"It is assumed, of course, that whether you agree or disagree with the necessity, wisdom or policy of this local law, you will desire to comply therewith, and I solicit your cooperation to that end.

"You will be, of course, a welcome visitor to Birmingham, and I hope that your visit may be a happy one."

Wallace Speaks

Henry A. Wallace's audiences frequently pay to hear him speak. Admission charges for big Progressive party rallies range from 10 cents to $3.60—and a collection is usually taken.

Sun 9-12-48

Last Friday evening in New York's Yankee Stadium Mr. Wallace held what was probably the most successful rally of his political campaign. About 50,000 persons attended and paid an estimated $78,000 for tickets and about $52,000 in voluntary contributions. The speakers' platform, raised above second base, was floodlit; a band played jazz and Negro spirituals; Paul Robeson sang and a number of Progressive party leaders spoke. When Mr. Wallace mounted the platform at 11:30 P. M. there was a ten-minute ovation from the crowd.

New York N.Y.

Mr. Wallace spoke chiefly about his recent trip through the South in which his demand for racial equality brought him barrages of rotten eggs and tomatoes. He said that press reports which had emphasized the egg-throwing had missed the greater significance of his tour. "The significance," he said, "lies in the two dozen completely unsegregated peaceful meetings which we were able to hold. * * * The good people of the South * * * are learning that no man can believe in both segregation and democracy."

Sun 9-12-48

34a(1)

He said: "Peace is the basic issue of the 1948 election campaign. The most important job in maintaining the peace is the job of conquering hate here at home, the job of protecting the civil rights of all Americans."

Yesterday Mr. Wallace started off on another campaign tour. He spoke in Washington, D. C., last night and will go on to the Middle West this week.

Wallace Talk Offers Race Issue Tussle

Wash. Star

Norfolk, Va., Aug. 19 (AP).—Henry A. Wallace's appearance in Norfolk August 29 promises to bring a showdown on the racial segregation issue between the Progressive Party and law-enforcement officials.

34a(1)

"The law on the Virginia statute books is very plain," City Manager C. A. Harrell said today. He added: "I have no further statement to make at the present time."

"The meeting at which Mr. Wallace will speak will be a private meeting, by invitation only, and as such is not subject' to the State's segregation laws, said Sanford Berlin, Progressive Party chairman in Norfolk.

The meeting, at which the Progressive Party's presidential nominee will launch a speaking tour of several Southern States, will be held in the Center Theater in the municipally owned and operated city auditorium.

Berlin said that "as a matter of principle, the Progressive Party has not segregated one American from another in any of its public or private meetings. We do not intend to change that policy when Mr. Wallace appears here August 29."

"We will comply with the law by making the meeting a private one," Berlin said, "although our attorney here has advised us the State's segregation law is unconstitutional because it violates the section of the Constitution providing for freedom of assembly."

WALLACE APPEALS FOR NEGRO SUPPORT

Wk. 8-25-48

Likening Party to Abolitionists

He Says Administration Lets Civil Rights Die

34a(1)

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Aug. 3[illegible]—"President Truman and his party have presided over the gradual liquidation of civil rights for the citizens of th United States—145,000,000 of them," Henry A. Wallace, Presidential candidate of the Progressive party, told the fiftieth anniversary national convention of the Grand Lodge of Negro Elks here today.

Mr. Wallace asked the nation's Negros to vote for him and to "turn out the jim crow bigots."

Comparing his new party with "the abolitionists of earlier years," Mr. Wallace said that "jim crow has passed a sentence of death against 15,000,000 Americans and that is why we must say they are fighting for their very lives."

Mr. Truman and Governor Dewey, the Democratic and Republican Presidential nominees, "are only more sophisticated versions of their more articulate brother, the candidate of the Dixiecrat party," Mr. Wallace continued. "Mr. Truman's silence has been the eulogy over the graves of Negroes, some in the United States Army uniform, lynched in the South under his Administration. Mr. Dewey has had a number of lynchings in his state. He has carefully and brazenly whitewashed lynching and attacks on citizens of his state.

"The Truman-Dewey-Dulles combine directed the United Nations to reject the appeal from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the U. N. They directed that the United States delegation vote against the petition of South Africans for equality."

Wed 8-31-48

Mr. Wallace described the foreign policy of the United States "as a triple threat to peace that has sent American guns to half dozen powder kegs in the world."

Later, at a luncheon address before the Cincinnati branch of the Progressive party, Mr. Wallace declared that 99½ per cent of his following was not Communist.

"The American press has erected a paper curtain around me," Mr. Wallace added, and he therefore had been compelled to take to the radio.

Henry Wallace Brings Campaign Here Tomorrow

Tues 8-31-48

Speeches Scheduled;

Eddins Says He'll 'Enforce All Laws'

34a(1)

The Henry Wallace campaign trail — already splashed with raw eggs and ripe tomatoes—hits Alabama tomorrow morning.

Wallace is scheduled to arrive in Decatur at 7:05 a.m. tomorrow—by train from Chattanooga, according to Robert Travis, Jr., head of the Alabama Progressive Party.

Travis said Wallace will speak from the courthouse steps at Decatur at 8:15 a.m. tomorrow. The Wallace motorcade, escorted by the State Highway Patrol, then moves on to Huntsville for a speech by Wallace at 9:30 a.m.

Tues 8-31-48

AT 11:15 A.M. WALLACE is scheduled to appear in Guntersville. Travis said Wallace would not stop in Albertville and Boaz on his way to Gadsden.

The Progressive Party's presidential nominee will lunch in Gadsden, then speak on the courthouse steps there at 1:15 p.m.

He is scheduled to speak at the courthouse steps in Birmingham at 4 p.m. tomorrow, and in front of DeBardeleben Park, in Bessemer, at 5:30 p.m. At 7:30 p.m. Wallace will give a 15-minute broadcast over a statewide network originating at WBRC in Birmingham. At 8:30 p.m. his motorcade will head for Jackson, Miss., where Wallace expects to spend the night.

Wallace will motor to Tuscaloosa, then catch a train to Jackson.

Informed of the reception given Wallace—raw eggs and ripe tomatoes — at Burlington and Greensboro, N. C., yesterday, Birmingham Police Chief Floyd Eddins reiterated today that he was going to enforce "all the laws, including the segregation laws," when Wallace arrives here tomorrow.

Sheriff Holt A. McDowell said his deputies would attend the meeting at the courthouse steps tomorrow afternoon to see that "law and order are enforced."

Tues 8-31-48

The sheriff said enforcement of the segregation statutes would be left up to Birmingham police, but that his men would see that the meeting, if any, is orderly.

J. P. Mooney, campaign director for the Alabama Progressive Party, appealed to Gov. James E. Folsom to protect Wallace from "inspired violence or interference when he speaks in Birmingham."

* * *

MOONEY WROTE the governor that "the discourteous attitude being shown toward Wallace by the newspapers and the 'big mules' is not a great deal different from their attitude toward you when you ran for governor."

Mooney also criticized County Commission President W. D. Kendrick for his statement that Wallace's permit to speak from the courthouse steps here would be revoked if the Progressive Party obtained a federal injunction to prevent the city from enforcing its segregation laws when Wallace speaks.

Public Safety Commissioner Eugene Connor has mailed Wallace a copy of the city's segregation laws—in case he didn't know what they are.

Asserting that this is a peaceful community and that he was not anticipating any trouble, Commissioner Connor today warned those planned to attend the Wallace meeting that police would arrest anyone creating a disturbance.

Tues 8-31-48

"WALLACE HAS A perfect right to speak, as long as he abides by the city segregation laws," Connor said. "And we're not going to let anyone disturb his meeting."

Connor said police would arrest anyone throwing eggs, tomatoes, rocks, other missiles, or disturbing the meeting in any manner.

Title 14, Seciton 119 of the Alabama Code was cited by Connor. This provides a fine up to $500 and a jail term of as much as one year for anyone convicted of disturbing any public meeting being held for a lawful purpose.

It was in Birmingham that Wallace's running mate, Sen. Glen Taylor, of Idaho, was jailed for disorderly conduct.

Wallace has announced he will address only mixed audiences, but his permit to speak on the courthouse steps here specifies that all state and city segregation laws must be observed.

County commissioners plan to rope off the area at the west steps of the courthouse so that whites will be separated from Negroes.

Wallace has been denied permits to speak in Birmingham city parks and to hold a mixed gathering in DeBardleeben Park in Bessemer.

AT THE OTHER ALABAMA cities where he is scheduled to maker appearances tomorrow, police officials have announced they intend seeing that segregation laws are enforced.

That means that if Wallace speaks, there must be physical barriers between white and Negro listeners.

Henry Proposes The Wallace Plan For The South

34a(1)

The Columbia Record

Wed 9-1-48

Columbia S.C.

Henry Wallace has been described as a mass of contradictions. And it is an apt description. He is an idealist, a religious mystic, but also something of a scientist and business man, even when he assumes the most unbusinesslike of attitudes. He is the richest of all the candidates making the race for the presidency.

Some of the things he has done have been done in disregard of politics. It is the poorest of politics to associate one's self with the Communists. Wallace has done it.

But he also isn't above the most blatent demogoguery, or at least not above employing the tactics of the professional demogogue.

Consider his proposal advanced at Durham, N. C., of a Marshall plan for the South. He is, of course, opposed to the Marshall plan for Europe, but that is a different matter involving high Soviet policy.

His Wallace plan, it should be called, for the South, involves the idea that the federal government should contribute $1,000,000,000 a year for four years to the South to aid its industry and agriculture. To get this money, which would, of course, upset the plans of Congress for additional tax cuts, he proposes simply to tax the big corporations which each year drain "literally billions of dollars of profits . . . from Southern labor in field and factory." These corporations are owned by wealthy and powerful men, residing in the North, and taxation of these riches would "return to the people of the South a part of the stolen fruit of their toil and sweat."

Now this is almost as good a talking point as the Dixiecratic anti-civil rights platform. The idea of stealing a billion dollars a year for four years—and why stop there if the habit be once established?—from the Yankees will appeal to a superficial sense of justice and right. The North has been taking money from the South for years with its freight rate differential, with its protective tariff, as well as in divers other ways. And it might be simple justice to reverse the process, if for only four years.

This isn't, of course, the remedy the South itself has proposed. The Southern rem[illegible] is to put all sections on a parity, elimin[illegible] any advantage to any section. The So[illegible] has no hopes of getting back the mone[illegible] that has gone. It simply wants to get what it is entitled to and at the same time get the right and the time to work out its own destiny without too much outside assistance, no matter how well intentioned. The Wallace plan therefore will not get very far in the South.

That Wallace descends to demogoguery is, however, significent. It is another revelation of the man's curious mind.

Henry Wallace Should Simply Be Ignored In South

Columbia Record

34a(1)

Henry A. Wallace, the candidate of the Progressives for president, does not expect to win any substantial support in the South for his third party with its Communist overtones.

He may, of course, have some hopes of winning the support of some of the Negroes for his platform goes even beyond the Democratic party platform in promising the Negroes everything the Northerners think they want.

Tues 8-31-48

But he has very little hope here even. The Negro in the South has never fallen for the blandishments of the Communists and most Negroes, like most whites, know that the real race this year, as before, is to be between the Republicans and the Democrats. Those who want to be on the winning side will vote for the Republicans. Those who want to reward Truman and the Democrats for their efforts at doing something for them while the other parties talked will vote Democratic.

Columbia S.C.

Wallace's invasion of the South and his flouting of Southern customs in staying in Negro homes instead of at hotels is not therefore to be taken as a serious campaign effort. If it is being made for any purpose it is to attract attention to Wallace and his campaign by the reaction of Southerners to his denunciation of segregation and his ignoring of it.

The North Carolinians who have been breaking up the Wallace meetings with rotten eggs, tomatoes and catcalls are therefore playing into his hands, giving him ammunition to be used to lampoon the South.

Tues 8-31-48

He shouldn't be allowed to make himself a martyr. He should be permitted to speak, to say whatever he wants to say to any audiences who want to hear him. The great majority of Southerners, white and Negro, should ignore him. Nothing hurts a politician quite so much as being ignored.

Civil Rights Top Plank In Warren Platform

The Constitution, Atlanta, Ga. Mon.

SACRAMENTO, Calif., May 16 (AP)—Gov. Earl Warren gave the nation Sunday his platform as a Republican Presidential candidate—putting civil rights up in front.

In a nationwide radio broadcast (NBC) the Governor, deploring "vote-catching phrases," outlined what he thought should be in the GOP 1948 platform and listed as No. 1: 34a(1) 5-17-48

"A law for all men—a law under which everyone may enjoy the full exercise or rights of American citizenship."

Civil Rights No. 1 Plank of Warren

34a(1)

Free Press

Detroit, Mich.

SACRAMENTO — (AP) — Gov. Earl Warren, of California, gave the nation his platform as a Republican presidential candidate—putting civil rights up in front.

In a nationwide radio broadcast, the Governor, deploring "vote-catching phrases," outlined what he thought should be listed as No. 1 in the Republicans' 1948 platform: Mon.

"A law for all men—a law under which everyone may enjoy the full exercise or rights of American citizenship." 5-17-48

* * *

OTHER PLANKS advocated by Warren:

2—"The opportunity for every family to live in a neighborhood of decent homes, with adequate protection to the breadwinner against involuntary unemployment caused by illness or economic reasons. Free Press

3—"An expanded system of Social Security for those men and women decreed by industry to be unemployable although their span of life has been extended by the progress of medical science. Detroit, Mich.

4—"Rules of conduct for employer and employe which are fair, recognizing the obligations of both to the general public.

5—"A system within the means of each family under which it would preserve its health and insure its wealth-producing capacity." Mon.

6—An educational system which would give "every American child regardless of creed, race or residence * * * the basic education which will enable him to make a living in the field of his choice." 5-17-48

Warren Lists Planks For GOP Platform

The Christian Science Monitor

Boston, Mass.

34a(1)

By the Associated Press

Sacramento, Calif.

Gov. Earl Warren, favorite-son candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, puts civil rights atop his list of platform planks. And the Party, he says, should be "liberal in the finest sense of the word." Tues

Speaking May 16 over a national radio network (NBC), the Governor, who was nominated for his present office by both Democratic and Republican Parties of California suggested these planks:

A "law for all men," so that all may enjoy all the rights of American citizenship; decent housing and job insurance; expanded social security for all those "decreed by industry" to be too old to work; rules of fair conduct for both employer and worker; a system by which every family could afford to "preserve its health," and assurance of a basic education for every child.

Democrats, he said, cannot offer united leadership; they are "torn asunder by sectional, racial, and ideological dissension." But Republicans, he added, must offer "a program worthy of the confidence, not merely the momentary fancy, of the American people," and the GOP leaders must be ready to "sacrifice personal pride and position" to write such a program. 5-18-48

Gov. Warren Is Ablest Candidate

34a(1)

73 Birmingham, Ala.

BY DREW PEARSON

(Editor's Note—As the Republican convention opens in Philadelphia, Drew Pearson concludes his series on GOP Republican candidates by focusing the spotlight on dark-horse Gov. Earl Warren, of California.) Mon 6-21-48

PHILADELPHIA—If Republican leaders want to be sure of winning next November, if they want to carry a sizable portion of the Democratic, pro-labor vote, the man this convention will finally pick will be Gov. Earl Warren, of California.

Of course, when GOP leaders sit down in the smoke-filled rooms, they are notorious for picking the man they want rather than the man the people want. So the modest Mr. Warren, who has done nothing about corralling delegates, may not win their favor.

But history has proved that there is a large bloc of independent voters in this country which switches from one party to the other according to the candidate. Roosevelt was always able to swing this bloc to the Democrats. Warren, on the other hand, is the one Republican who can be sure of swinging them back to the GOP.

He has proved this in California. Asked how he was able to carry every one of California's 58 counties for governor in 1942, Warren replied: "I did it with Democrats." In 1946 he was so popular with both parties that the Democrats as well as the Republicans renominated him. And in the recent California primary Warren got about the same number of votes as Truman, despite the fact that there are 1,000,000 more registered Democrats than Republicans.

Unquestionably, Warren is the one 100 per cent sure-fire GOP candidate guaranteed to beat any Democrat, probably including Eisen-

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WARREN? ARE YOU KIDDING?

Afro American

34a(1)

Mention the name of California's Governor Earl Warren as a potential compromise candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination, and colored voters in Los Angeles will laugh in your face. Sat 4-3-48

According to the Association for Abolition of Second Class Citizenship, Warren, who undeniably has White House ambitions, has done nothing during his 29 years of public service which would recommend him to the colored electorate.

As deputy city attorney, deputy district attorney, district attorney and attorney general he made no appointments of qualified colored persons to office. As governor, he has muffed several opportunities to name a colored judge and has declined to make a statement on FEPC, either on a State or national level. Baltimore, Md.

Further, he has not had a single colored person employed in his office since he took over in 1942, despite repeated requests. Californians, therefore, shudder to think of what might happen should Warren get the nod from the GOP.

If he feels no obligations to respect the rights of colored citizens to be represented in the administration of California's government, they reason that there is little likelihood that he could represent us in Washington.

Earl Warren for President? Are you kiddin'?

34a(1) 1948

Virginia

Negroes File as Candidates

34a(1) The Worker

RICHMOND, Va. — The Negro people are becoming the most vocal political force in many Virginia communities. In several cities Negro candidates have already announced their candidacy for public office. New York, N.Y.

Rev. E. T. Thornton has just entered the race for City Council in the city of Lynchburg. In Charlottesville, Dr. Bernard Albert Coles, a dentist is one of six candidates for City Council for three places.

A hotel manager, William W. Miles, is seeking nomination to the City Council in Portsmouth and an attorney, Raymond L. Valentine has just announced his candidacy for a seat in the City Council in Petersburg. Sun. 2-22-48

Last November the intensified activity of Negro citizens in Richmond was responsible for the election of W. H. C. Murray, a labor man, and the loss of election by only 190 votes of a Negro attorney.

Hill Enters Richmond Council Race

34a(1) Va.

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

RICHMOND — (ANP) — Oliver W. Hill, local attorney, who barely missed being elected to the Virginia House of Delegates last August, announced his candidacy for Richmond's new city council of nine members. Mr. Hill is the third Negro to enter the council race.

Other Negroes in the running of which there is now a field of 11 candidates are Samuel Kelley, radical, who in former years was considered a Communist sympathizer and Lynwood E. Smith. Wed.

Mr. Hill, who has handled a number of school cases in Virginia for the NAACP has planned to try a second time for the House of Delegates of Virginia in 1949, but changed his plans on account of local interest in implementing in Richmond proposals included in President Truman's civil rights program.

NEAR VICTORY 3-24-48

In his bid for the House of Delegates in Democratic primary last August, Mr. Hill won 6,410 votes. The seventh candidate in that race was W. H. C. Murray with 6,500, the candidate with the smallest number of votes who was elected to the House.

Mr. Hill's campaign was well planned and carefully conducted under the general sponsorship of the Richmond Franchise Committee of the Richmond Civic council headed by Dr. W. L. Ransome. Amos C. Clark was employed full time to direct the work of the committee and intensive campaign was conducted to increase the number of Negro qualified voters and to get the vote out on election day.

The record indicates that Negroes fairly freely divided their votes between Mr. Hill and Mr. Murray. Richmond's labor organizations used their influence to help support both candidates as an interracial approach to their political and civic problems.

Negroes Seeking Office in Virginia

34a(1)

RICHMOND, Va. — (ANP) — With Council-manic elections coming up in several, Virginia cities Negroes are evincing more interest in the ballot and several Negro candidates have announced their candidacy for council seats. Others are expected to follow within a week or two.

Post Dispatch

A survey of the political horizon in the state shows that political activity is stirring in Lynchburg, Portsmouth, Norfolk and outlying towns. In these cities and later perhaps in others, the voters will have an opportunity to vote for Negro candidates.

Last week C. V. Wilson, undertaker and prominent Mason, withdrew from the Democratic councilmanic primary in favor of the Rev. E. T. Thornton, pastor of Court Street Baptist church, also a candidate for the city council. Wilson and the minister were the only Negro candidates in the field.

In Portsmouth a Negro hotel manager, William W. Miles, has entered the race for the city council in that city. Here some gerrymandering tactics have been restored to in order to weaken the voting strength of Negroes.

No Negro candidate has been officially named by any Negro group in Norfolk. Dr. S. F. Coppage, prominent dentist and civic leader, C. Arnett Biffins young lawyer, and Victor J. Asho, World War II veteran, have been publicized as possible candidates for the Norfolk City Council in the June primary, but no official action has been taken on either of them.

Two years ago Danville and Charlottesville figured prominently in councilmanic elections because of Negro candidate. No candidates among Negroes have announced in these cities as yet. Yet it is expected thtt some other Virginia cities will have Negro candidates for various ports.

Since 1948 is an election year, more interest in the ballot is anticipated in all sections of Virginia among Negro voters. Each presidential election year stirs Negro citizens more than other years in Virginia.

Fri. 2-21-48

Historically, Negroes are Republicans. Virginia have had a policy of voting only in presidential years. The habit still lingers to a degree. So it is expected that a considerable number of Negroes will vote this year.

The fight in Virginia for equal education opportunities for Negroes, the pressure for more civil liberties and recent reports of committees appointed by President Truman—all have much to do with the new political upsurge among Negroes in the state.

It is probable that Negro candidates will be named in Danville, Roanoke and Charlottesville for state posts in the next election of General Assembly delegates and senators from these cities.

Electing A President

34a(2)

The News

Mon 8-9-48

B'ham, Ala.

The time has come, if it has not long since passed, for clearer understanding of how a president is elected in these United States. Some of the facts in the process seem to be obscured by wishful thinking, especially on the part of some supporters of the "States' Rights" Democrats.

An intriguing idea is held by some Southerners that Thurmond-Wright electors will be able to go to a meeting of electors and there, through the eloquence of a spellbinder, throw the election to some popular hero not a candidate, such as Gen. Eisenhower. But presidents are not chosen that way.

After the election in Alabama, this state's 11 winning candidates for electors will assemble in Montgomery (on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in November) and cast their ballots. These votes will be certified and sent in a sealed envelope by the Alabama secretary of state to the presiding officer of the United States Senate. The electors of Alabama will not meet with the electors of any other state.

Later, according to the 12th amendment to the constitution, the envelopes containing the certified results will be opened by the president of the Senate in the presence of both the Senate and the House of Representatives. The votes will then be counted, and if a presidential candidate has a majority of all electoral votes he will then be declared president by the president of the Senate.

* * *

This will take place Jan. 6 shortly after the new Congress convenes Jan. 3 and before the new president is supposed to assume office Jan. 20.

If no candidate receives a majority of the electoral vote, then the House of Representatives takes over. It is confined in its voting, however, to the top three of the candidates named in the electoral vote. Presumably that would be, in the present instance, Truman, Dewey and Thurmond. The House could not vote on any other candidate except the first three.

Moreover, in its voting, each state casts one vote. Nevada would have just as much influence as New York. Alabama's 11 electoral votes would have exactly the same value as Vermont's three. How any state would vote would be determined by the House delegation from that state. In the present Congress 29 states are represented by Republican majorities. In two others there is a tie. On that basis, the Republicans could easily elect their nominee.

But suppose none of the three top candidates in the electoral college received a majority of all the states in the House. Conceivably a deadlock could develop. There might also be a deadlock in the vote for vice president. In that case it is provided that the incumbent vice president would take over on Jan. 20. There is now, however, no vice president, and presumably, under the new law of succession, the speaker of the House would become president. That, as matters stand now, would make Joe Martin, of Massachusetts, president. Martin would remain president as long as the deadlock continued. Such speculation is farfetched, but it shows some of the ramifications of the situation.

* * *

In regard to the candidates for vice president, should no one receive a majority, then the Senate makes the choice. In that case, each senator has a vote, and a majority of the whole number is necessary to a choice. But the senators must choose between the two (not three) highest candidates. At present, the Republicans hold 51 out of the 96 Senate seats.

It is well to point out, too, that any representatives or senator voting for president or vice president, in case of a failure of the college of electors to return a majority vote for any candidate, acts on his own. He has the same freedom as do electors. He is not bound by the vote in his state. Thus, for example, representatives from Alabama would be free to vote, in the House, for Truman, even though the Thurmond electors won the state election.

Probably we shall hear more about these possibilities as time goes on. Let it be sufficient now to emphasize that the electors can do no more, after the election, than cast ballots in state meetings.

Talmadge Wins Kentucky Praise

The Constitution

Sat 9-11-48

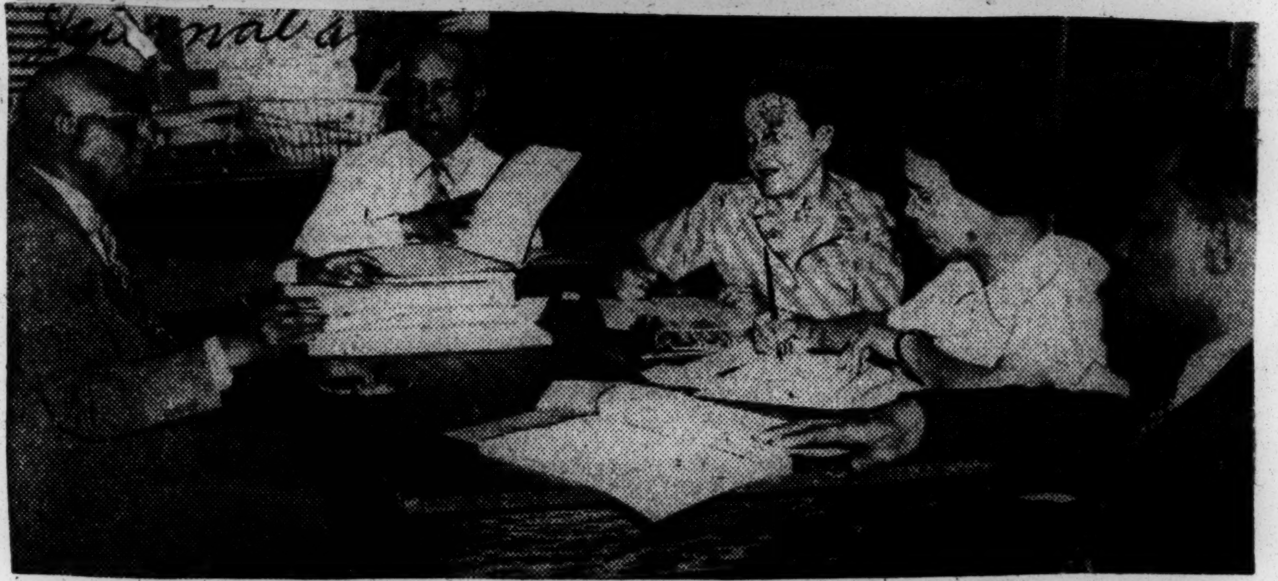
Atlanta, Ga.

34a(2)

FRANKFORT, Ky., Sept. [illegible]—(AP)—Herman Talmadge was congratulated today for his victory in Georgia's gubernatorial primary by Henry G. Fielder, Acting Campaign Chairman for the States' Rights Democratic primary of Kentucky.

"It is gratifying to learn that the good people of Georgia have come forward and supported the States' Rights and the Constitution and have banished from the good State of Georgia the rule of the New Deal-Civil Rights mob," Fielder wrote.

Journal and Guide



← Democracy At Work →

34a(2)

The Journal & Guide

Norfolk, Va.

Democracy was seen at work in the general election held in Roanoke, Va., on June 8, 1948, when Negroes served as election officials in two precincts. Never before in the history of the city, at least in this century, had any of the polls been manned by Negroes. It is the wish of all concerned that the precedent be an incentive for more Negroes to exercise their franchise rights. At the right are those who officiated at the Kimbal Ward fire station No. 2. Left to right: Alfred R. Hunter and Mrs. Julia Horton, clerks; Grant Wilson, Timothy Terrell, and R. W. Clark, judges. The left photo is of the officials at the Melrose Precinct No. 1. Left to right: C. W. Poindexter, Henry C. Johnson, judges; Mrs. Cora Leftwich, Mrs. Florence Scott, clerks; and Robert C. Burrell, judge. (Photos by Clark). Sat. 6-19-48

Race Judge Presides At Texas Precinct

Journal Guide

By ALMITA S. ROBINSON

Sat 11-13-48

Norfolk, Va.

34a(2)

FT. WORTH, Tex.—(ANP)—Fort Worth made political history again on Tuesday when for the first time in the county the interracial element was brought in at Precinct 59 when a Negro, Mrs. W. B. Lacy, and a white man, A. L. Bailey, served as presiding judges during the presidential and senatorial election.

Precinct 59 is predominantly Negro but never before have Negroes had a hand in conducting a precinct election during a presidential election year.

Mr. Bailey is head of the Ft. Worth Building Trades Association. Mrs. Lacy was elected chairman of Precinct 59 in the August primary run-off.

RALPH McGILL

election

The Teachers Helped Beat Dewey

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta Georgia

Since the defeat of Thomas E. Dewey I have been digging into what was wrong with my estimate of it. As one delves into the wreckage of the GOP flying machine one comes upon new evidence which was not fitted into the over-all picture before the election.

One of these was the Dewey statement, never effectively denied, to the effect that the country's teachers were a bothersome lot who didn't deserve much and who were becoming a dangerous pressure group. This was denied for Mr. Dewey, but there seems to be no doubt he did say something which would cause the teachers of the nation to view him very dimly indeed.

A gentleman from the Middle West informs me that the teachers and their families, and the many persons who think the nation's teachers have had a bad deal anyhow, voted solidly for Harry S. Truman.

Sun-11-28-48 34a(2)

Force

That the teachers are not an effective pressure group is obvious. The pressure groups that are effective do well financially. But any state politician will tell you that it is very painful indeed to have the teachers in an aroused and hostile mood.

The nation's teachers were one of the most damaging of the winds which blew down the GOP political house. In fact, they probably belong in fourth place. The farmers were first. Labor came second and the Negro vote was third. The teachers certainly were next as one of the major groups which turned away from Dewey.

That Dewey, in his care not to offend anyone, should have alienated the four best-organized groups in the nation, will remain one of the ironies of our time.

In all the States that Mr. Truman carried he ran second to the State tickets in all save one, his home State of Missouri. The State machines were out to save their own organizations, a perfectly understandable plan. They saved them well, and the teachers voted almost 100 percent for Harry S. Truman and labor got out its members to vote. This plus the normal Democratic vote not affiliated with any bloc, was enough to bring him the unexpected and literally astounding victory in the Middle West farm States. There the farm and teacher votes were especially well organized.

Appointments

Meanwhile, the set-up of the official family remains of speculative interest. If I had to guess at one of them I would predict that Jonathan Daniels, editor and publisher of the Raleigh News and Observer, will at least be offered the position of Secretary of the Navy when and if that position becomes vacant after Jan. 20.

He is the son of the greatly beloved and respected Josephus Daniels, who was Secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson. The appointment, if tendered, would inevitably possess a strong sentimental appeal.

Sun-11-28-48

Josephus Daniels' last real speech was made in Georgia at the time the Warm Springs property was turned over to the State of Georgia to be made into a State park. On that day when platitudes were dripping from the lips of the speakers like drops from the spring shower that fell at the beginning of the program, his voice was raised in courage and strength. It was easily the high point of the day—the only thrill in a long program.

Jonathan Daniels joined President Truman's tour after it got off to a poor start. He generally is credited with being one of those who planned the fighting speeches and some of the phrases which caught the ear of the farmers in the Middle West. He earned a high appointment and he is an able man.

Patronage

There will not likely be any open attack on those two Dixiecrat candidates, Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright, of South Carolina and Mississippi.

They simply will be ignored. Their patronage requests will be put into the wastebasket. In South Carolina Sen. Olin Johnson will get what he wants. One of the factors which caused Strom Thurmond to run, according to South Carolinians in the know, was that he believed he would be able to build a machine strong enough to defeat Johnson in the next Senate race. As National Committeeman from South Carolina he will have less influence with the party than Tom Dewey, a fate he earned. The same will be true in Mississippi.

One of the ironies of the Dixiecrat movement now is that having disfranchised their people to begin with, some of the leaders now are trying to work out a plan to disfranchise them again. In Louisiana there is a strong movement to cast the electoral votes for Harry Truman. It is possible that about half the 40 votes pledged to Thurmond will desert him. If it happens it will be added testimony to the real character of the Dixiecrat movement.

Sun-11-28-48

RALPH McGILL

Election

The Farmer Voted Against 10-Cent Cotton

The Constitution

34a(2)

MACON—In session here is the annual convention of the Georgia Farm Bureau. Its convention, coming so shortly after the Truman victory, focuses attention on the meaning of that victory.

It is best illustrated, perhaps, by the plaintive comments of Minnesota's defeated Republican Representative, Harold Knutson, former chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. Mr. Knutson says he was the victim of a whispering campaign which branded him as an enemy of "rural electrification, old-age assistance, price support for farm commodities, farm co-operatives and aid to Europe."

Wed 11-10-48

In reply, the Democrats say they did not whisper those charges. They shouted them.

This explains, too, why Iowa contributed her votes to Harry Truman—a vote which, next to California's, was the most stunning one of them all.

Atlanta Ga

This was a farm victory even more than it was a labor victory, although, admittedly, the farm and labor vote were the sinews of it. The labor organizations had sought to have someone else nominated and their fight was not so much for Truman as for the defeat of Congressmen and Senators hostile to the labor program.

Meaning

Certain commentators and analysists are trying to say that, after all, the Truman victory was close insofar as his plurality was concerned; that one change in each 19 votes would have elected Dewey, and so on.

This is an error as corrupting of our national thinking as was that which accepted the polls, even while we saw farm discontent with Dewey, labor's hard work and the fact that many Democratic congressional candidates were running strong in normally Republican States—Iowa, for example.

Mandate

The Truman mandate is not to be found in his margin over Dewey. But the mandate is there. It exists in the congressional vote.

Knutson was against the farm program and against TVA and REA.

He got beat.

Brooks, of Illinois; Ball, of Minnesota; Revercomb, of West Virginia; Robertson, of Wyoming; Dworshak, of Idaho—all met defeat because they were identified with opposition to farmers or to farm interests, or because they were closely identified with greedy interests which represented that position.

TVA

Dworshak, for example, led the fight against TVA and the proposed steam plant appropriation. He teamed with Representative Ploeser, of Missouri, who was chairman of the House Committee which refused the steam plant appropriation. Both were defeated.

The inescapable "QUED" of it is that the people want TVA extended and they want more TVAs where the river valleys make such development logical.

Republican National Chairman Hugh Scott, who was re-elected to the House, has said that the inescapable pattern is there—the people voted against reaction and isolationism.

New Deal

The fact is, surprising and unexpected though it be, that this is the first New Deal victory in 12 years. The Roosevelt victories of 1940 and 1944 were won because the people wanted him to direct foreign policy and win the war. In 1946 the Republicans increased their trend of congressional victories to take control.

They gave the people a look and the people voted the Democrats back in a heavy-handed manner. Don't look for the Truman mandate in the electoral vote or in the plurality. It lies in the congressional results.

Wed 11-10-48

The South

It is perfectly true the Southern membership will remain conservative. It will oppose the civil rights bills if they are introduced in radical form.

But it is folly to believe that the Democrats from the South can't read trends. Even the middle-of-the-road members of the Senate and House will support welfare measures such as public housing, federal aid to education, public health and a modification of the Taft-Hartley law, even though they vigorously oppose civil rights measures and outright elimination of the labor law.

There are farmers in the South who voted for Truman because they thought Dewey meant 10-cent cotton and 20-cent tobacco. And the South, as has been said before, has cities of its own.

There is not much comfort in the outlook for those who wanted to stop the social revolution which began in 1932 in this country and has continued, in typical American style, within the framework of our pattern and laws while in other nations it took the pattern of civil war, fallen governments and dictatorships.

And the farmer has been the chief force behind it.

Continuing Polls

Wash Post

I am writing to advise that the reader does not appreciate your continued display of the Gallup Poll.

34a(2)

The so-called "polls" have mishandled every presidential election for the past [illegible] years.

[illegible]

Each time the Democrats trailed badly until the moment before election—then suddenly the day before election Gallup & Co. narrowed the gap down to a respectable horse race. This time they even convinced themselves and forgot to narrow the gap. If the Democrats couldn't win three times in a row but did win, can this be coincidence?

Wash. D.C.

In the short time that I have lived in Washington, I have been personally contacted by *The Washington Post* pollsters twice. In the 30-odd years that I have lived in the United States I have never been contacted by the Gallup Poll. Furthermore, I know of no people who have ever been contacted by this farcical Institute.

The Courier
Sat. 11-20-48
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Courier's Face Should Be Red

To the Editor:

Is your face red, too? Along with the poll-takers, the Dixiecrats, the Wallace followers, and a few million Repubicans, plus a very large number of newspapers and commentators, your face should be very red indeed from the amazing results of the recent election.

Until very recently, I had thought The Courier was very fair in its comment and news stories about President Truman, especially since his amazing stand on civil rights. But recently it became plain for everyone to see that some Republican money must have found its way into Courier hands.

34a(2)

You were not very clever in concealing what now appears to be a fact. Your tune changed too abruptly, and that was after the Republican machinery was well organized, and money collected with which newspaper support was bought. Well, you know by now that a very large majority of the newspapers have been wrong in the last five elections, and it took a little scrappy "show-me" Missourian to lick the pack, and practically single-handed.

He reached the average American by his straight-forward appeal on close-to-the-heart issues. The newspapers did not do that, so why not quit trying to mould public opinion? And especially should Negro newspapers stop trying to deliver the Negro vote.

In my opinion, Mr. Truman is the first President since Lincoln's time to go to bat to try to improve the general status of Negroes in this country. President Lincoln gave the Negro physical fredom, plus a great degree of political freedom. President Truman has picked up where Lincoln left off, and has tackled the job of giving us complete freedom, political, economic and social. From the beginning he never wavered in his fight for civil rights once it was brought before the public. Not even after the Dixie revolt during the Democratic Convention.

Personally, I feel very sorry for Governor Dewey's humiliating defeat. I think he is a very fine, broad-minded man. But his defeat was not of a personal nature. The task of pulling a reactionary, do-nothing party to victory was more than he could do. Whenever the Republican party is purged of its moss-back, take-things-for-granted leaders, and when they show some concern for the common people, they can really compete for our votes. Voters these days do their own thinking and voting. So take my advice and stop insulting intelligent people with your efforts to deliver our votes. We

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ALONG THE HIGHWAY

34a

by Charles H. Ho[illegible]

Sat. 11-13-48

The election of Pre[illegible] Truman brings back to [illegible] the Southern Senators [illegible] sentatives who have bee[illegible] gress so long from lack of [illegible] tive opposition that th[illegible] worn out the seats of the[illegible].

The one-party system in the South has presented the country with Senator Russell for another term. He was unopposed for re-election in Georgia. It was good he was in Georgia because it is inconceivable that any Northern State would make the mistake of electing "Reb" Russell twice.

Baltimore, Md.

And the same goes for those other senators who mirror the intelligence and culture of their States: such as Ellender of Louisiana, and Eastland of Mississippi.

Need Their Help?

There is really no reason, except cold, hard practical politics, why President Truman or the Democrats of the North, the East and the West should recognize the renegade Dixiecrats of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana as Democrats.

34a(2)

But when one realizes that these four States have eight senators and that the margin of Democrats over Republicans in the Senate is only 12, we can expect the real Democrats to make a deal with the Dixiecrats and let them slink back into the party in order to provide a working Democratic majority in the Senate.

If the Republicans and the Lord together had not taken care of the extinguished Senator Bilbo, we should probably get "The Man" by seniority rule as the new "Mayor of Washington."

As it is, the voteless citizens of the District of Columbia will be fed Senator Johnston of South Carolina as chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, with Representative McMillan of South Carolina as chairman of the House Committee on the District.

The prospect of the District citizens getting the vote so long as these gentlemen from South Carolina can prevent it, is absolutely nil.

Reforming Lives

We can depend on the Southerners to grab at every important chairmanship in Congress which has jurisdiction over matters affecting race relations.

The Dixiecrats, having staged their Rebellion of 1948 and gone down to ignominious defeat, are now reforming their lines in order to block any civil rights program through squatting in the Committee Chairmanships in Congress.

Nevertheless, we have hopes. This election has demonstrated that the country is getting tired of the bad manners and ignorance of these unreconstructed rebels.

When one realizes that the Dixiecrats put up as their candidates for President and Vice President the Governors of the States of South Carolina and Mississippi (two States with just about the worst records for illiteracy and social progress) we see just how desperate their situation really is.

The Dixiecrats whooped and hollered that they were the only group which could save the country from destruction, but after Governor Thurmond had belched forth all his worst fire and brimstone the Dixiecrats were able to attract less than 3 per cent of the popular vote. The tail is no longer wagging the dog.

Sat. 11-13-48

Truman Is Honest

President Truman has given his word that he will do his best to carry out the Democratic Party platform. The election campaign showed he cannot be frightened and he does not back down.

He does not indulge in double-talk. He may not always be right, but he is always honest.

This means that the issue of civil rights is going to be brought before the Congress, and the Southern politicians are going to be forced to declare themselves once more before the entire country and the world.

Uneasy Truce in Washington

BY THOMAS SANCTON

The Nation

Washington, November 12

Sat. 11-20-48

New York, N.Y.

34a(2)

LIBERAL and labor groups in Washington are in difficulties at present as a result of their unanticipated successes in the election. As in a military offensive which suddenly overruns an area, they have made a big advance before all the problems of the new terrain have been worked out. Now they find themselves engaged in an intra-party struggle with Northern conservatives and Dixiecrats who hold commanding points of vantage in the party organization.

The problem of the liberal forces is complicated by the fact that President Truman has been traveling or on vacation at Key West most of the time since the election. On a brief visit to Washington he expressed his gratitude to liberal organizations for their aid in getting out the vote, and—what was more to the point—told his Cabinet that he held it obligated to help him and Vice-President Barkley carry out their campaign promises. But in Key West he is surrounded by his inner circle of advisers at a time when decisions which will determine the whole course of his Administration are undoubtedly being made. The results of some of these decisions should be apparent before long, and it will be possible to see then in what order of importance the President rates his obligations.

The tendency of old friends and colleagues in Congress to be very tolerant of differences of principle among them always increases the gap between what people vote for in a national election and what they actually get from the Administration they have installed. At this writing, for instance, Vice-President-to-be Barkley has nominated Scott Lucas of Illinois to succeed him as Senate majority leader, and it would be extremely difficult for the President to turn this nomination down. No Congressional figure on the scene today has served the party more effectively than Barkley. Lucas raised money and gave the President other aid in the campaign, but the fact remains that he is one of the most conservative figures in the party outside the Southern contingent. He voted originally for the Taft-Hartley act—though he voted later to sustain the President's veto—and he favors an alliance with the Franco dictatorship in Spain. Also, he tried to block the liberalizing efforts of the civil-rights proponents on the platform committee at Philadelphia. For these reasons some liberal elements are strongly opposing his appointment as Senate leader and urging the selection of a Senator of more trustworthy liberal outlook, such as McMahon, O'Mahoney, or even possibly Chairman McGrath of the Democratic National Committee. President Truman's decision on this question will give some indication of the relative importance he assigns to getting his program through Congress and paying off more direct and personal political obligations.

Sat. 11-20-48

THE Democratic state machines of four Southern states attempted and almost succeeded in carrying through one of the greatest political betrayals of American history. One might expect the national Democratic Party, therefore, to take the Dixiecrats at their word and reassign their committee seats in Congress. But next January eight Senators and twenty-eight Representatives from the dissident states will come striding back into Congress, with the monumental assurance of their breed, and line up for their seniority assignments, daring the Democratic leaders to mention the little matter of the November 2 double-cross. And they will get by with it. Although they will certainly continue to vote with the most reactionary Republicans whenever the chips are down—as they have done since 1938—the Democratic Party will nevertheless be glad to list them as Democrats since they hold a numerical balance of power in the Senate and can muster somewhat similar strength in the House with the aid of other Southern delegations.

One result of this will be to put Representative John Rankin back at his post as chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee and possibly also as chairman of the

Un-American Affairs Committee, where he can continue to broadcast his special version of Americanism, Christianity, democracy, and race. It is grimly edifying to observe the Northern Republican press giving the Democratic committee columns of free advice on why it should let this Trojan-horse delegation back into the party.

The House Rules Committee will continue to be a reactionary stronghold in the Eighty-first Congress, as it has been since the alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats was formed ten years ago. Eight of the committee's places will go to nominal Democrats and four to Republicans, but since two of the Democrats assured of places are Eugene Cox of Georgia and Howard W. Smith of Virginia, who vote consistently with the Republicans, the division on key legislation will frequently result in the stalemate of a six-to-six tie. This was the case in the Seventy-ninth Congress. Thus the coalition may again be able to delay indefinitely important legislation which must get through this committee on its progress to the floor. Among the bills which the Rules Committee will act on in the Eighty-first Congress will be those repealing the Taft-Hartley act, reenacting the excess-profits tax, granting federal aid to education, and extending social security and health insurance

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In the Negro Press

34a(2) Election

By John Hudson Jones

Daily Worker

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, an all-out Truman backer, is making extravagant predictions, and sweeping claims that "the liberal program of President Truman will be carried out. . . .

For us Mr. Truman's sweeping victory proves beyond question that Negroes shall achieve full citizenship in our democracy . . ." because Truman is "one of the greatest humanitarians who ever sat in the White House."

Tues 11-16-48

New York N.Y.

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THE PITTSBURGH COURIER, a pro-Dewey paper, "still" believes Negroes would have gotten a better deal under the New York Governor. Truman, "and his victorious associates," the **Courier** reminds them "have been placed in a position where they must either do as they promised or stand convicted before the nation and the world as repudiating those promises."

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THE AFRO-AMERICAN figures Truman "adopted the Roosevelt formula of catering to the common people and the special groups which they compose. . . . The people have spoken. It is now up to them to see that the mandate they handed down is carried through to successful completion."

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THE NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE was a Dewey backer, and still thinks he was the best bet. The **Guide** reminds Negroes that the poll taxers are "back in power. . . . The prospect of a Congress, with Texan Sam Rayburn as Speaker of the House, with Kentuckian, Alben Barkley, as vice president and with all of the major committees headed or dominated by Southern Democrats. . . . should give Negro leaders who advocated Mr. Truman's election very little to be happy about."

THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS columnist, Gordon B. Hancock, declares "it was not mere 'politics' Truman was playing in his civil rights stand." Hancock sees Truman as "one of the moral titans of the age."

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THE AMSTERDAM NEWS columnist, Lester B. Granger, a Truman man handkerchief waver, squirts all his venom on "Wallace and the Communists." Granger, the pet and apologist of Defense Secretary Forrestal who refuses to abolish Jimcrow in the Army, spews the usual anti-Communist red-baiting garbage and rejoices in "the poor showing made by Henry Wallace."

THE BLACK DISPATCH believes that "truth received a hearing" because of Wallace's campaign, and is "proud of its relationship to this struggle for a more decent America, under the banner of the Progressive Party. banner of the Progressive Party.

Tues 11-16-48

THE NEW AGE defends Palestine mediator Ralph Bunche because it believes he is not "a tool of imperialist interests . . . we are convinced that his sole desire has been to arrive at a just and peaceful settlement. . . ." of the Palestine dispute.

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THE BOSTON CHRONICLE thinks Truman "gained votes which normally would have gone to Wallace by discussing the principal issues raised by the Progressive Party, such as high prices, housing and labor legislation. . . ."

Democratic Victory Puts Southern Reactionaries Back In Power

Journal Guide

Sat 11-13-48

THE unexpected victory of President HARRY S. TRUMAN over New York's Governor THOMAS E. DEWEY in the presidential election on Tuesday, fortunately for the Negro and other minority groups, leaves in the White House for the next four years a man whose declared stand on human rights is an enlightened and liberal one. On that score, the Negro has nothing to fear in the election of the Democratic nominee.

34a(2)

Norfolk Va.

The position of the JOURNAL AND GUIDE as stated several weeks ago is that, as far as constructive legislation guaranteeing civil and other rights to minority groups is concerned, the chances of passage would have been measurably greater with DEWEY in the White House and a Republican-controlled Congress behind him. A Democratic victory, we pointed out, while giving the Presidency to a man who had spoken out boldly for civil rights, would nullify his good intentions by putting in control of most important congressional committees the senior Democrats. And these are the anti-civil rights, anti-labor, anti-Negro reactionary southerners whose political and social philosophy has been openly preached throughout the campaign by South Carolina's Governor J. STROM THURMOND, the Dixiecrat candidate for President.

34a(2)

It remains to be seen, of course what the 81st Congress, dominated by old-line Democrats, is going to do for the Negro. But the prospect of a Congress, with Texan SAM RAYBURN as Speaker of the House, with Kentuckian ALBEN BARKLEY as Vice President, and with all of the major committees headed or dominated by southern Democrats (because of their seniority) should give Negro leaders who had advocated Mr TRUMAN's election very little to be happy about.

One fact stands out clearly. A candidate for President cannot avoid the vital issues with which the people are concerned during his campaign and expect the voters to do likewise. Assured by his supporters that he had the election "in the bag," and doubtless lulled by the almost unanimous findings of the pollsters that the result would be a Republican landslide, Mr. DEWEY played safe and ran the risk of offending no one during the closing weeks of the campaign. He talked about the safe subjects of unity, love, peace and happiness.

Sat 11-13-48

On the other hand, Mr. TRUMAN cut right to the bone of the issues which the people were vitally concerned with—legislation (or lack of it) passed by the 80th Congress, inflation, cost of living and similar matters. Mr. DEWEY did not answer him forthrightly. He did not defend the legislative record of the Republican 80th Congress with sufficient vigor to convince the people.

In that mistaken judgment, he reaped the same harvest which JOE WALCOTT reaped in his first fight with JOE LOUIS. The New Jersey pugilist had done so well in the first 12 rounds that his supporters advised him to play safe and coast to a 15-round victory. WALCOTT proceeded to do his now famous back-pedaling act for the last three rounds and thereby forfeited the best opportunity he ever will have to become heavyweight champion of the world.

It is a safe supposition that, by taking victory for granted, Mr. DEWEY has likewise forfeited his last chance to be President of the United States.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

The Constitution

The Constitution welcomes letters on either side of any subject. They should not exceed 200 words and must be signed, although names will be withheld on request. We regret none can be returned. Address all letters to Editor Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

Purge Dixiecrats

Election

Editor Constitution: You are quite right in saying that "the Dixiecrat leaders must be purged from the party."

We presume you include Roy Harris, of Augusta, and Robert Elliott, the silent National Committeeman at a time when his party's life in Georgia was at stake.

34a(2)

Roy Harris helped the Dixiecrats organize at Augusta, helped them carry Richmond County. In the Augusta Courier, which he edits, he said in the issue of Oct. : "We are going to register in no uncertain terms a vote of protest against Truman, Dewey, Wallace and those who would attempt to destroy our way of life, our Southern customs, and vote the States' Rights ticket and for Gov. Thurmond and Gov. Wright."

Wed 11-10-48

In the Courier of Oct. 18, Harris said: "Harry Truman is headed for an ignominious defeat at the hands of the people come Nov. 2," and quoted the Crossley and other polls to prove his assertion. He said, "Truman has shown himself to be a cheap little politician instead of a statesman of presidential caliber." In the issue of Nov. 1, Harris said: "Harry Truman is headed back to Missouri, a hated and despised man."

Atlanta, Ga.

Roy Harris is a Democratic Party official, is he not? He bitterly fought the national ticket of his own party and supported the Dixiecrats in an attempt to defeat the national ticket of this party. Should he not be ousted from the Democratic Party along with Thurmond and Wright and other bolters? By the way, if Elliott is ousted from the National Committee why wouldn't Ralph McGill make a logical successor?

J. WM. SMITH.

Atlanta.

Stephens and Jeff Davis were riding bogged down on Whitehall and spattered red mud on the store windows. At the old Kimball House the rate for a room and three meals was $1.50 per day. We were all Democratic then. I am voting Republican now.

G. H. WILLIAMS.

Visitor Here From Dublin, Ga.

Un-American Affairs Committee, where he can continue to broadcast his special version of Americanism, Christianity, democracy, and race. It is grimly edifying to observe the Northern Republican press giving the Democratic committee columns of free advice on why it should let this Trojan-horse delegation back into the party.

The House Rules Committee will continue to be a reactionary stronghold in the Eighty-first Congress, as it has been since the alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats was formed ten years ago. Eight of the committee's places will go to nominal Democrats and four to Republicans, but since two of the Democrats assured of places are Eugene Cox of Georgia and Howard W. Smith of Virginia, who vote consistently with the Republicans, the division on key legislation will frequently result in the stalemate of a six-to-six tie. This was the case in the Seventy-ninth Congress. Thus the coalition may again be able to delay indefinitely important legislation which must get through this committee on its progress to the floor. Among the bills which the Rules Committee will act on in the Eighty-first Congress will be those repealing the Taft-Hartley act, reenacting the excess-profits tax, granting federal aid to education, and extending social security and health insurance

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In the Negro Press

34a (2) Election

By John Hudson Jones

Daily Worker

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, an all-out Truman backer, is making extravagant predictions, and sweeping claims that "the liberal program of President Truman will be carried out. . . .

For us Mr. Truman's sweeping victory proves beyond question that Negroes shall achieve full citizenship in our democracy . . ." because Truman is "one of the greatest humanitarians who ever sat in the White House."

Fri 11-19-48

New York N.Y.

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER, a pro-Dewey paper, "still" believes Negroes would have gotten a better deal under the New York Governor. Truman, "and his victorious associates," the **Courier** reminds them "have been placed in a position where they must either do as they promised or stand convicted before the nation and the world as repudiating those promises."

•

THE AFRO-AMERICAN figures Truman "adopted the Roosevelt formula of catering to the common people and the special groups which they compose. . . . The people have spoken. It is now up to them to see that the mandate they handed down is carried through to successful completion."

•

THE NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE was a Dewey backer, and still thinks he was the best bet. The **Guide** reminds Negroes that the poll taxers are "back in power. . . . The prospect of a Congress, with Texan Sam Rayburn as Speaker of the House, with Kentuckian, Alben Barkley, as vice president and with all of the major committees headed or dominated by Southern Democrats. . . . **should give Negro leaders who advocated Mr. Truman's election very little to be happy about."**

THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS columnist, Gordon B. Hancock, declares "it was not mere 'politics' Truman was playing in his civil rights stand." Hancock sees Truman as "one of the moral titans of the age."

•

THE AMSTERDAM NEWS columnist, Lester B. Granger, a Truman man handkerchief waver, squirts all his venom on "Wallace and the Communists." Granger, the pet and apologist of Defense Secretary Forrestal who refuses to abolish Jimcrow in the Army, spews the usual anti-Communist red-baiting garbage and rejoices in "the poor showing made by Henry Wallace."

THE BLACK DISPATCH believes that "truth received a hearing" because of Wallace's campaign, and is "proud of its relationship to this struggle for a more decent America, under the banner of the Progressive Party. banner of the Progressive Party.

Times 11-16-48

THE NEW AGE defends Palestine mediator Ralph Bunche because it believes he is not "a tool of imperialist interests . . . we are convinced that his sole desire has been to arrive at a just and peaceful settlement. . . ." of the Palestine dispute.

•

THE BOSTON CHRONICLE thinks Truman "gained votes which normally would have gone to Wallace by discussing the principal issues raised by the Progressive Party, such as high prices, housing and labor legislation. . . ."

Democratic Victory Puts Southern Reactionaries Back In Power

Journal Guide

Sat 11-13-48

THE unexpected victory of President HARRY S. TRUMAN over New York's Governor THOMAS E. DEWEY in the presidential election on Tuesday, fortunately for the Negro and other minority groups, leaves in the White House for the next four years a man whose declared stand on human rights is an enlightened and liberal one. On that score, the Negro has nothing to fear in the election of the Democratic nominee.

Norfolk Va.

The position of the JOURNAL AND GUIDE as stated several weeks ago is that, as far as constructive legislation guaranteeing civil and other rights to minority groups is concerned, the chances of passage would have been measurably greater with DEWEY in the White House and a Republican-controlled Congress behind him. A Democratic victory, we pointed out, while giving the Presidency to a man who had spoken out boldly for civil rights, would nullify his good intentions by putting in control of most important congressional committees the senior Democrats. And these are the anti-civil rights, anti-labor, anti-Negro reactionary southerners whose political and social philosophy has been openly preached throughout the campaign by South Carolina's Governor J. STROM THURMOND, the Dixiecrat candidate for President.

34a (2)

It remains to be seen, of course what the 81st Congress, dominated by old-line Democrats, is going to do for the Negro. But the prospect of a Congress, with Texan SAM RAYBURN as Speaker of the House, with Kentuckian ALBEN BARKLEY as Vice President, and with all of the major committees headed or dominated by southern Democrats (because of their seniority) should give Negro leaders who had advocated Mr TRUMAN's election very little to be happy about.

One fact stands out clearly. A candidate for President cannot avoid the vital issues with which the people are concerned during his campaign and expect the voters to do likewise. Assured by his supporters that he had the election "in the bag," and doubtless lulled by the almost unanimous findings of the pollsters that the result would be a Republican landslide, Mr. DEWEY played safe and ran the risk of offending no one during the closing weeks of the campaign. He talked about the safe subjects of unity, love, peace and happiness.

Sat 11-13-48

On the other hand, Mr. TRUMAN cut right to the bone of the issues which the people were vitally concerned with—legislation (or lack of it) passed by the 80th Congress, inflation, cost of living and similar matters. Mr. DEWEY did not answer him forthrightly. He did not defend the legislative record of the Republican 80th Congress with sufficient vigor to convince the people.

In that mistaken judgment, he reaped the same harvest which JOE WALCOTT reaped in his first fight with JOE LOUIS. The New Jersey pugilist had done so well in the first 12 rounds that his supporters advised him to play safe and coast to a 15-round victory. WALCOTT proceeded to do his now famous back-pedaling act for the last three rounds and thereby forfeited the best opportunity he ever will have to become heavyweight champion of the world.

It is a safe supposition that, by taking victory for granted, Mr. DEWEY has likewise forfeited his last chance to be President of the United States.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

The Constitution

The Constitution welcomes letters on either side of any subject. They should not exceed 200 words and must be signed, although names will be withheld on request. We regret none can be returned. Address all letters to Editor Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

Purge Dixiecrats

Editor Constitution: You are quite right in saying that "the Dixiecrat leaders must be purged from the party."

We presume you include Roy Harris, of Augusta, and Robert Elliott, the silent National Committeeman at a time when his party's life in Georgia was at stake.

Roy Harris helped the Dixiecrats organize at Augusta, helped them carry Richmond County.

In the Augusta Courier, which he edits, he said in the issue of Oct. : "We are going to register in no uncertain terms a vote of protest against Truman, Dewey, Wallace and those who would attempt to destroy our way of life, our Southern customs, and vote the States Rights ticket and for Gov. Thurmond and Gov. Wright."

In the Courier of Oct. 18, Harris said: "Harry Truman is headed for an ignominious defeat at the hands of the people come Nov. 2," and quoted the Crossley and other polls to prove his assertion. He said, "Truman has shown himself to be a cheap little politician instead of a statesman of presidential caliber." In the issue of Nov. 1, Harris said: "Harry Truman is headed back to Missouri a hated and despised man."

Roy Harris is a Democratic Party official, is he not? He bitterly fought the national ticket of his own party and supported the Dixiecrats in an attempt to defeat the national ticket of his party. Should he not be ousted from the Democratic Party along with Thurmond and Wright and other bolters? By the way, if Elliott is ousted from the National Committee why wouldn't Ralph McGill make a logical successor?

Atlanta. J. WM. SMITH.

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Visitor Here From Dublin, Ga.

34a(2) 1948

General

George Hails Election As Victory for South

The Constitution

34a(2) Thur 11-4-48

BY M. L. ST. JOHN

Atlanta Ga

As President Truman's victory in Georgia became more and more overwhelming, Sen. George hailed the re-election of the Democratic nominee as a boon to the South, and a Georgia labor leader declared it showed Southern people were more liberal than their Congressmen.

Mr. Truman brushed aside the Dixiecratic threat in the South by picking up more than enough electoral votes over the Nation to win. The Dixiecrats carried South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi to win 28 electoral votes. They were leading in Louisiana, which has 10 votes. The States' Righters placed second in Georgia, and third in most other Southern States which remained loyal to the Democratic Party.

Meanwhile, the revitalized Republicans laid plans for running a State ticket in Georgia in 1950. Henry Wallace's Progressive Party said it would maintain a party organization in this State. Ed Willingham, of Augusta, Georgia head of the States' Rights Party, said the future of this group as a State organization had not been decided.

President Truman turned back the first major effort since 1929 to take Georgia out of the Democratic column. With 1,318 of the 1,736 precincts reported, Truman held a 77,048 majority over the combined total of all his opponents.

Thur 11-4-48

The Democratic nominee had 228,953 votes. States' Righter Strom Thurmond had 80,427, Republican Thomas Dewey, 68,745; Progressive Henry Wallace, 1,723, and Prohibitionist Claude Watson 1,015.

While some business leaders saw the Nation leaning toward a "labor government" because of the part that labor played in the re-election of President Truman, George Googe, Georgia's AFL director and a State-at-large Democratic Presidential Elector, said labor would expect from the next administration "only that to which labor is justly entitled." This includes repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor law and passage of "sound, mutually satisfactory industrial relations legislation."

Thur 11-4-48

Googe said there was no comparison with the labor government in England and the labor movement in America. The English labor movement was socialistic, he pointed out, while the American labor movement was based on the profits system of capitalism.

Sen. George said the Southern Democratic Congressmen could battle the socalled civil-rights program in a Democratic Congress much more effectively than they could in a Republican Congress.

George said Mr. Truman's "magnificent victory" proved that the rank and file of Americans did not wish to change administrations when all people have a job or can get a job. The election of a Democratic President and Democratic Congress, he said, meant the continuation of America's present foreign policy. He added that farmers felt more comfortable under a Democratic administration. George said labor was active in the re-election of Truman.

Sen. George and Rep. Carl Vinson are expected to be returned to chairmanship of two of the most important committees in Congress. George was Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and Vinson was Chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee when the Democrats controlled Congress in the past. Most Georgia Congressmen held important committee assignments.

34a(2)

George expressed the hope that the States' Righters would return to the Democratic Party.

Googe felt that the Dixiecraters had put the South and Southern Congressmen in almost a hopeless position.

Gov.-Nominate Herman Talmadge, who remained silent in the presidential campaign, said the election results were "surprising."

Thur 11-4-48

The Republican Party showed big gains in Fulton, Chatham and Bibb Counties, where its campaign was intensified. Incomplete returns in Fulton showed 14,472 Republican votes, as compared with 6,380 in 1944. Chatham polled 5,972, as compared with 1,001. Bibb had 3,013, as compared with 1,354. State Republican Chairman W. R. Tucker said: "We have only begun to fight for a two-party system in Georgia."

Miss Branson Price, Director of the Wallace campaign, said she wouldn't remain in Georgia, but the Georgia leadership would continue the party organization. She complained that election managers failed to count the "write-in" votes for Larkin Marshall, Macon Negro candidate for the Senate; Jim Barfoot, candidate for Governor, and Floyd Hunter, candidate for Congress in the Fifth District.

committee in Congress—the Committee on Finance—which he was forced to vacate when the Republicans ousted the Democrats from control two years ago.

Sen. Russell, Georgia's junior member, will become the ranking majority member of the newly organized Armed Services Committee, having jurisdiction over military, naval and air service components of national defense.

And at the same time, Sen. Russell again will be awarded the chairmanship of one of the important subcommittees of the influential appropriations committee.

Sen. Russell also is regarded as having a chance for selection as Senate majority leader in the Eighty-First Congress. His principal opponents for the post probably would be Sen. Millard E. Tydings, of Maryland, who ranks him in service, and Sens. Pat McCarran, of Nevada, Joseph C. O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, and Scott W. Lucas, of Illinois, all of whom he ranks.

Thur 11-4-48

Sen. George also will return to his position as the ranking majority member of the Senate Foreign Relations body, the group that aids in the formulation of our foreign policy. He is a former chairman of this committee.

On the House side, Rep. Carl Vinson, of Milledgeville, dean of the Georgia delegation in the lower body, will be named Chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the House.

Rep. John S. Wood, of Canton, will take over chairmanship of the House Un-American Committee, and Reps. Eugene Cox, of Camilla, and Paul Brown, of Elberton, will move up to positions of influence on the Rules and Banking Committees, respectively. Both are the ranking members of their committees, two of the most important in the House organization.

As a result of the organization, Georgia will take over a highly strategic position in the new Congress, with some of the most desirable chairmanships on the slate falling to members of the State delegation. These positions will be made more important by virtue of the fact that the Democrats will exercise a greater control of Congress than has been held by the party since the elections in 1940.

Thur 11-4-48

WHO SAID IT?

The Advertiser
Fri 11-12-48
Montgomery Ala

Editor, The Advertiser:

Who said Truman's still our President? You are wrong! He will occupy the office as he has been, on a stool, and Eleanor will push the button when he is to move.

E. M. [illegible]
New Selma Highway.

34a(2)

TELLS WHY TRUMAN WON, HITS BIGOTRY

New Orleans [illegible]

(The Associated Press)

Tues 12-14-48

Springfield, Mass., Dec. 13.—Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said here President Truman was elected because "he was the first president who had the courage to tackle the problem of segregation head-on."

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He told the national convention of the Student Commission for Educational Democracy that "the existence in this country of racial bigotry is the greatest single source of attack by the world on American shortcomings."

Robbins Burling of Trumansburg, N. Y., a Yale student, was elected president.

South Still Can Stymie Truman

The Constitution

24a(2)

WASHINGTON—The course of events in the coming Congress depends largely on two factors. First, whether President Truman will now make terms with the Southern wing of his party. Second, whether the national economy continues at its present high level of prosperity or comes a depression cropper.

The South still holds the balance of power in both houses, strongly bolstered by eligibility under the seniority rule to most of the important committee chairmanships.

The Southerners certainly are coming back more determined than ever to fight to the last gasp against every measure designed to coerce their section in matters of racial equality.

Tues 11-9-48

If Mr. Truman agrees to sidetrack or soft-pedal his civil rights program, the South may go along with him on other phases of legislation. But, if the President begins by reiterating his civil rights recommendations and presses specific bills to carry them out, he is likely to find himself as completely stymied on domestic legislation as he was in both the Democratic Seventy-Ninth and the Republican Eightieth Congresses.

Atlanta Ga

Take the President's proposal to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. By actual count, 244 members of the House and 50 Senators who voted to override the President's veto of this measure remain on the job. And four new Senators—Smith, of Maine, and Mundt, of South Dakota, Republicans, and Chapman, of Kentucky, and Johnson, of Texas, Democrats—voted to override in the House.

Two hard-boiled Southern conservatives—Sen. George, of Georgia, and Rep. Doughton, of North Carolina—not only will return to chairmanship of the tax-laying committees, but the close partisan division under the new LaFollette-Monroney Act insured conservative majorities in these committees.

Assuming that they are placated on the civil rights issue, Sens. George and Doughton might co-operate in a moderate upward revision of last year's Republican tax schedule. If the President continues to bludgeon the South, on the other hand, all of his tax recommendations are likely to land in the wastebasket.

Rep. Cannon, of Missouri, returns to chairmanship of the House Committee on Appropriations, but of the 15 other returning Democratic members of that committee, eight are from the South.

And in the Senate, Kenneth McKellar, of Tennessee, becomes Appropriations Chairman, probably backed by a conservative majority.

Tues 11-9-48

The economic danger which Mr. Truman faces was sharply indicated by the cataclysmic drop in stock prices last Wednesday on the news of Democratic victory. For some time business analysts have been saying that while big corporations, helped by cost-plus government contracts, were making abnormal profits, many middle-sized and small businesses were in distress due to continually rising costs.

How Mr. Truman will react to the symptoms of business pessimism is not disclosed, but certainly Congress is sensitive to any sign of approaching economic depression.

Altogether, it would seem that Mr. Truman must tread softly if he is to remesh the Democratic Party gears and hang on to the high national well-being that existed on his re-election day.

Here Are Some Answers for Dewey

The Constitution — Sat 11-6-48
Atlanta Ga

34a(2)

NEW YORK—"What happened?" was the first question asked of Tom Dewey when, having recovered from what must have been the greatest shock of his life, he came downstairs to meet the baggy-eyed press boys early Wednesday afternoon. He could find no answer, but it would be interesting to hear from him now that he has had a time to sit down and give the phenomenon—if Mr. Truman's election was a phenomenon—[illegible] of his analytical mind.

He'll get an answer in time, for time is one thing he'll have in abundance when he leaves Albany in 1950.

Dewey doubtless is through with active politics. He needs money. He once quit a $50,000-a-year private law practice to take an $8,000-a-year job under a frankly hostile Democratic D. A. His subsequent jobs in public office have not brought him a tenth of the material rewards he could find in a law office.

This is just a guess, but when he finally does sift out the reasons for his defeat, these will be among them:

1—People don't change Presidents when times are good and there is little or no unemployment;

2—The polls, which Mr. Truman assayed as strictly phony, viewed the situation so rosily that probably more Republicans refrained from voting than did Democrats;

3—He erred in trying to be all things to all men, instead of spitting on his hands and saying something—as he did when he beat the runaway Harold E. Stassen in Oregon's primaries.

4—He is cursed by a certain frigidity of personality that keeps the average soul from warming up to him;

5—Gov. Warren's tepid campaign failed to give off an ounce of the zip and forthrightness expected of the durable Californian at the time of his nomination.

Sat 11-6-48

During the news conference Dewey, in pretty good spirits after a blow which, I believe, would have killed an older man, remarked that another one-half of one percent of the votes, in three or four States, would have changed the picture.

By the same token, Mr. Truman would have won Dewey's own New York State, and its 47 electoral votes, with a scant 50,000 or so more votes. Those votes were taken away from the President by Wallace. In the South, of course, the President would have won the four States Strom Thurmond captured, and their 38 electoral votes.

34a(2)

It was the closest presidential race since 1916 only because of Wallace and Thurmond. If those two had not formed their splinter movements Mr. Truman would have won handily from Mr. Dewey.

One wonders how any other Republican would have done against the Democratic standard bearer who overcame such appalling odds as a split party, lack of campaign funds, widespread ridicule by the press and radio and defections from his own circle.

Stassen? Possibly. He would have picked up more votes among service men, within labor ranks and liberal circles than did Dewey. Beyond Stassen I can see no others who might have made a better showing than the New York Governor. Taft, I believe, would have been badly beaten.

Sat 11-6-48

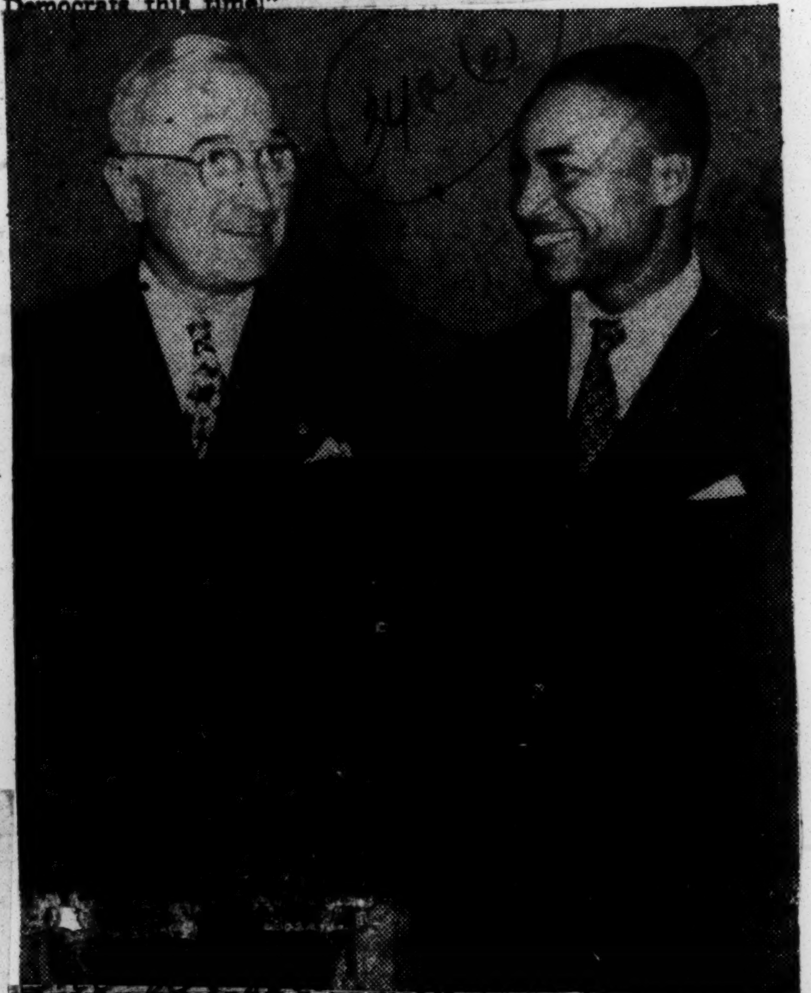
There was a prophetic touch to the bulletin board of Republican headquarters in Washington on the morning of election day. For weeks before that day, a sign had proclaimed the number of days left before the election of the GOP standard bearer. On Monday, therefore, the sign read, "One more day until election." But on election day itself some wag made it read, "1.460 more days until election."

Sat 11-6-48

One of the Hollywood hammos who plugged for Dewey called up Dewey headquarters when the Truman landslide began and said, peevishly, "If Dewey loses I'll have to make pictures in Canada!" Imagine!

Also at Dewey headquarters, a new record for looking to the silver lining was established by one of his workers. When it was all over, except for the removal of the debris, he said:

"Well, we really scared the pants off those Democrats this time!"



34a(2)

PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN and John H. Sengstacke discussing the election campaign during the President's historic visit to Chicago. The President smiles as Sengstacke tells him that he would win and that over 70 percent of the Negro vote throughout the nation would express confidence in him and his Civil Rights Program.—Rhoden photo.

Chicago Def

Labor, Negro And Liberals Vote Factors

St Louis Argus

34a(2)

Will Have Congress More Friendly

St Louis Mo, Fri 11-5-48

In an unprecedented campaign, President Harry S. Truman overcame great odds and swept to victory in his one-man campaign for re-election to the Presidency of the United States. **With his party broken up into Wallacites, Dixiecrats and Democrats, the**

TRUMAN

President who stated the major split over the civil rights program, stumped the pollsters and most of the newspapers of the country in turning the tide of popular vot-

Argus was the only major St. Louis newspaper supporting the candidacy of the President and led the way of the Negro press nationally with the Chicago Defender.

The courageous Truman, who never backed up from his statement on the civil rights made to Congress in a special address last February, went in on the strong vote of the working people and the Negro as well as many liberals of the middle and upper classes.

Fri 11-5-48

In the closest race since Hughes was nosed out by President Wilson in 1916, Truman climbed to victory, which was not established with certainty until late Wednesday, when it was ascertained the President was leading his chief opponent in 27 states with 279 electoral votes, while the Republican candidate Thomas Dewey was ahead in only 17 with 214 electoral votes. A total of 266 votes were needed to win.

34a(2)

The States Right, Dixiecrat candidate Thurmond, claimed victory in four States, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina. Henry Wallace failed to carry a single State, although he got strong support in New York and Pennsylvania where the failure of Truman was laid to Wallace's presence in the race.

The sweep of the Negro vote by the President was general in most of the heavily populated areas of cities where they hold dominant voting power.

In Truman's own home State, where he carried in the entire Democratic slate with him, the power of the people's candidate's pursuasion was seen. Five Negroes, all Democrats, three in St. Louis and one in Kansas City, won seats in the State legislature. This is the largest number to ever be on in the legislature. Last year there were four, three of them Democrats.

Fri 11-5-48

In the local voting, most conclusive evidence of the sweep was shown in the 6th Ward Republican stronghold of Billy Morant and Alderman J. C. Caston. This ward, which was the only one in the city to go Republican in the Roosevelt sweep of 1936 and which had remained Republican for more than 24 years under the renown leadership of the "Big Four" Clark, Harrison, Morant and Walker, gave Truman 6,199 to Dewey's 2,854. This pattern was followed in all of the city's heavy Negro wards.

In the predominately Negro wards of Kansas City, Truman held a three to one lead. In one of these wards, he had 334 to Dewey's 71.

Margaret Wilson, Progressive; and Josiah Thomas, GOP, candidates lost. Mrs. Wilson, however, made one of the strongest races of any of the party's members in her bid for the U. S. Congress.

One of the most significant results of Truman's victory was that the Democrats gained control of both the Senate and the House. He will now be able to take a strong position and direct his policies in the Congress. He will now have more chance to put over the civil rights proposals which the 80th Congress turned down.

34a(2) 1948

General

97 Negroes Sought Important Posts In Nov. 2 Election

The Courier
Sat 11-6-48
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Approximately ninety-seven Negro candidates for high offices, ranging from the U. S. Senate downward, were carried on ballots handed to voters throughout the Nation on Nov. 2. It was the highest number of Negro office-seekers in any single election since Reconstruction Days.

Highlighting the election this year was the presentation of Negro candidates for the U. S. Senate by Henry A. Wallace's Progressive party, marking the first time since Reconstruction Days that Negroes have been on the ballot for that high office. The Progressives also offered several Congressional candidates, as well as seekers of high State posts.

NEW YORK

Headed by incumbent Democratic Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, nineteen New York City aspirants were in the field for the U. S. Congress and the New York State Assembly. Two, in addition to Congressman Powell, sought seats in Congress. They were Harold C. Burton, Republican of the Twenty-second District, and Mrs. Ada B. Jackson of the Tenth District on the ALP ticket. 2

The remaining sixteen were fighting it out for the State Assembly. Candidates in the dense Harlem area include the Rev. Ben Richardson (Twenty-first District), James Malloy (Twenty-third District), both Democrats; Golden Brown (R. Eleventh District); Thomas Dickens, backed by Tammany Hall and Cyril Stevens of the ALP.

Harold Stevens, Democratic incumbent of the Thirteenth District, was opposed by Fred H. Farrar, (R), Albert H. Bland (ALP) and Oscar Buckvar, a Liberal. The contest in the Twelfth District was between Eugene E. Kem (R.), Elijah Crump (D), Lynden Henry (ALP) and Clarence Francis (Liberal). Veteran Hulan Jack, Fourteenth District Democrat, faced Israel Davila (R) and Manual Medina (ALP).

CHICAGO 3

In the Nation's strongest Democratic bailiwick, Chicago, incumbent Congressman William L. Dawson (D) was expected to return from the First Illinois District. Democrats Corneal Davis and Fred Smith seemed sure to retain their seats in the State Senate. Charles J. Jenkins, incumbent Republican State Representative, looked like a certainty for re-election. In the Fifth District, Rep. Charles Skyles (D) was favored for re-election over C. Francis Stratford, his Republican opponent.

Although a hot fight seemed certain for the post of Judge of the Municipal Court, held by Wendell E. Green, Judge Green was favored over his foes, Fred (Duke) Slater (D) and Graham T. Perry and Alva L. Bates, both Republicans.

PHILADELPHIA 4

Philadelphia, third largest city in the Nation, was the scene of intense interest, with ten candidates seeking election to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives and one Negro, Republican Hobson Reynolds, running for the State Senate.

Seven of the Legislature candidates had had previous service and one of them, Dr. Edwin Thompson (R) has served seven terms. Others with previous service include J. Thomas Petigrew (D—Forty-seventh Ward); the Rev. Clarence Smith (R—Forty-seventh Ward); Howard M. Henry (R—Fifty-second Ward); the Rev. D. W. Hoggard in a four-ward combination; Lewis Mintess, eight-year GOP legislator in the Seventh Ward, and city GOP leader William Upshur in the Thirtieth Ward.

Grandson of a U. S. Congressman during Reconstruction Days, Magistrate Joseph Rainey of Philadelphia was making a spirited bid for Congress on the Progressive ticket in the Fourth Congressional District. Magistrate Rainey deserted the Democrats in order to support the Wallace forces and bid for a position once held by his grandfather.

The veteran Mintess was opposed by Mrs. N. Mossell Griffin, Seventh Ward Democrat; Granville E. Jones (D) was bucking Upshur in the Thirtieth Ward and Samuel Wadkins (R) was a newcomer to the field of hopefuls from the Thirty-second Ward.

MICHIGAN 5

In Michigan, two Negroes from strongly Democratic Wayne County, aspired for posts in the Michigan State Senate. They were Robert L. Ward (Third District) and Leroy White (Second District), both Republicans. For State Representative, Edgar Currie (D), a candidate-at-large, was expected to win, since he had the backing of both AFL and CIO labor groups, as well as party support.

Dr. Samuel Milton, another Democrat, was a strong candidate for the post of Wayne County Coroner and was expected to come through to victory. Because of the strongly Democratic vote in the Detroit area, the Republicans were not expected to carry too much weight. All four Wayne County candidates come from Detroit.

PITTSBURGH

Not much of a fight was in prospect in Pittsburgh, where only two Negro candidates were in the field for major offices. Both sought the same post and from the same district.

Pennsylvania's oldest Negro legislator in years of service, Representative Homer A. Brown (D) was opposed by Walter C. Rainey, a Republican, in the First District for the State House of Representatives. Mr. Brown, brother of former Michigan State Senator Joseph Brown, was expected to be returned easily to the seat he has held for thirteen years.

CALIFORNIA

On the West Coast, Assemblyman Augustus Hawkins of Los Angeles, Calif., with the nomination of both Republicans and Democrats, was expected to retain his seat in the State Assembly from the Sixty-second District.

At the same time, the first Negro ever to qualify for election from Northern California, W. Byron Rumford of Oakland and the Seventh District, was making a strong bid for election to the State Assembly under the Democratic banner and carrying the backing of both AFL and CIO labor groups.

California Progressives offered Francis Williams of Los Angeles as a candidate for the State Assembly from the Sixty-seventh District.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY 6

Throughout the Nation keen attention was focused on the voting on Progressive party candidates totaling fifty, and seeking offices ranging downward from the U. S. Senate.

Although the Georgia Board of Elections ruled Macon Editor Larkin Marshall off the ballot for the U. S. Senate, Progressive candidate William T. Brown, a Maxton, N. C., minister, was on the ballot for the U. S. Senate from North Carolina. There were also two Negro Progressive candidates for Congress from that State: Robert Lathan in the Fourth District and Robert E. Davis in the Seventh District.

The Progressives offered fourteen Negro Congressional candidates. In addition to the two North Carolinians, they were: 7

Sidney Moore, Calif. (who withdrew in favor of Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas); Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago, First Illinois District; Willard B. Ransome, Indianapolis, Eleventh Indiana District; Alfred Carroll, Third Kentucky District; Dr. J. E. C. Camper, Baltimore, Fourth Maryland District; Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson, St. Louis, Eleventh Missouri District; Dr. Ulysses Campbell, Eleventh New Jersey District; Mrs. Ada B. Jackson (ALP), Brooklyn, Tenth New York District); Magistrate Rainey, (Pennsylvania); the Rev. Dwight V. Kyle, Memphis, Tenth Tennessee District, and Jerry O. Gilliam, Norfolk, Va., Second Virginia District.

The other thirty-four candidates included the Rev. Stacy Adams of McKinney, Tex., running for Lieutenant-Governor of Texas; Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, wife of the actor, for Secretary of State in Connecticut; Mrs. Pauline Kigh Reed of Chicago, for Secretary of State in Illinois; Mrs. Edna L. Johnson for State Auditor in Indiana, and numerous candidates for State Legislature and other positions. In Chicago, Ullysses S. Keys ran for Judge of the Municipal Court.

Lewis E. Austin, Durham, N. C., editor; the Rev. F. D. Gholston of Harrisburg, Pa., and Robert Henson of Philadelphia ran for the Legislature of North Carolina and Pennsylvania, respectively. 8

All-Negro Town Votes Truman, 2-1

The Courier
34a(2)
Sat 11-13-48
Pittsburgh, Pa.

MOUND BAYOU, Miss. — This all-Negro town threw aside its traditional Republican mantle and voted two to one for President Truman in the Nov. 2 election. It was the first time in history that Democrats have won here.

The Truman-Barkley ticket is said to have received forty votes, and the Dewey-Warren team, twenty.

Election Outlawed Alibis

The Courier
34a(2)
Sat 11-13-48
Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE American people have elected Harry S. Truman and a Congress which is controlled in both houses by the Democratic party, and to that victory the colored citizens seem to have overwhelmingly contributed.

We are still of the opinion that the interests of the American people in general and the colored citizens in particular would have been better served if Thomas E. Dewey had been sent to the White House.

In winning the election, however, Mr. Truman and his victorious associates have been placed in a position where they must either do as they promised or stand convicted before the Nation and the world as repudiating those promises.

In short, the decision of the American electorate on Nov. 2, 1948 eliminated and outlawed any alibis which may be offered in the future for not initiating and passing the legislation which the administration has been backing.

The chief interest of the Negro public for a long time has been the enactment of President Truman's widely trumpeted civil rights program: i. e., an anti-poll tax law, an anti-lynching law and a fair employment practices law, and it was largely because it believed that a triumphant Democratic administration would do so that it threw its votes to the Democrats.

Now that the Democratic party is firmly in control of the Government we should wait and see what it is going to do toward implementing the heralded civil rights legislation.

The Democratic superiority in the House at this writing is overwhelming, they have a twelve-vote superiority in the Senate and they owe nothing to either the Progressives or the Dixiecrats.

If they do not pass the civil rights legislation in the 81st Congress it will not be because they are unable to do so but because *they do not want to do so*, and alibis will be strictly out of order.

There will also be no excuse for not initiating Federal aid to education.

Before the election President Truman issued two executive orders designed to eliminate color discrimination in the civil service and the armed services, and his spokesmen assured us that these orders would be enforced.

With the President writing his own ticket because of his personal triumph, he now can have no excuse for not doing what he indicated a desire to do.

As for racial segregation in the armed forces (which he vowed to eliminate) he has every opportunity to end it immediately, because he enjoys absolute control and cannot blame a Republican-controlled Congress for hampering him.

As a matter of fact President Truman could have issued a simple order to end segregated military and naval units a long time ago because he was then, as now, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

We shall also expect to hear no alibi with regard to the erection of more so-called low-cost housing.

In brief, when a President has a Congress dominated by his own party and no commitments to speak of because he virtually won his election single-handed he has no excuse for not doing what he promised to do.

Sat. 11-13-48

President Truman deserves great credit for taking a strong position on these issues in which colored Americans are most interested (a stronger position than his predecessor ever took), but now that he is firmly seated for the next four years, colored Americans who made possible his victory are looking to him to prove his sincerity.

If he fails to do what he promised to do the blame will rest squarely upon his shoulders and that of his party, and no conceivable alibis will free him from responsibility for such failure.

Who Did Wrong? And Why

Birmingham News!

(From The Fayette County Times, Fayette)

B'ham, Ala.

The Democrats of America have won a great victory by having the people on their side, and not because of assertion, but by being of, for and with the people. What makes the Democratic Party great is that it makes up its own opinions, expresses its thoughts freely, and has conviction behind them.

34a(2)

The recent election was an unusual one and found expression of divergent views by many in high places. And many resented some expressions and fought to show their thoughts in an impressive maner. So much so that a number of states split its Democratic vote into two groups. All have voted, and Americans have said whom they want. Why all this jumping on bandwagons and trying to climb to fame over the mote in thy brother's eye, when there is a beam in your own eye that will ruin you if magnified.

Tues. 12-14-48

Why does not the South accept the verdict of the country, expressed by the mandate of the voters of all the states, and all get behind Mr. Truman and help him write the peace that America and the world needs just now?

Why don't the politicians quit jabbing at each other—the calling of the kettle black? Four states gave Gov. Thurmond their electoral votes, others gave Mr. Truman and Mr. Dewey theirs. Let them vote in the electoral college like they want to or according to their pledge to the people. I'm for the Democratic Party first, last and all the time, and I'm for my state to maintain as much freedom from federal intervention in domestic affairs as possible. I'm not for all Mr. Truman's ideas and expect to fight him on any he might bring up antagonistic to my section and my people. The same was true in Mr. Roosevelt's administration, in President Wilson's, and in those to come.

34a(2)

All the goodness is not wraped up in the Democratic Party, in Mr. Truman, nor in the Dixiecrats, but there is enough goodness in them all for us all, so why doesn't the politicians in all groups shut up? They owe it to their party and their country, but we wonder if they will show sense enough to do that.

This newspaper is expecting for great years of constructive legislation, and on this we expect to elect another great Democrat to lead America. All groups will subordinate themselves if the windjammers and crackbrains will shut up.

The Alabama Press On The Election

The B'ham News!

Astounding Political Victory

B'ham, Ala.

(From The Anniston Star)

34a(2)

The overwhelming success of President Truman at the polls on Tuesday constitutes the most astounding political victory ever achieved in a major contest in the entire history of the United States. It can be attributed to many causes, but the first and foremost of those causes must be admitted to be the faith and fortitude of the country boy from Independence, Mo., who never lost confidence in the good sense of the people of the United States and in his own ability as a campaigner.

When all is said and done, this was a people's victory. They were given the truth, and the truth will make them free of the injustices they have suffered at the hands of the monopoly lobbyists who pulled the strings that made their puppets in Congress jump to their bidding. There is every reason to believe that the next Congress will be less mercenary, however, as the president has been given an undisputd mandate to redress many of the people's wrongs.

But is is in our domestic affairs that the Truman victory will be felt to the greatest advantage of the people. It probably marks the end of the attempt by vested interests to grab tidelands oil, to take over the public grazing lands for selfish purposes, to curtail public power and to wreck, either by direction or indirection, many other of the New Deal advances achieved under Franklin D. Roosevelt. It is to be hoped that it also means the end of government by lobby and of star chamber proceedings by the un-American activities committee.

The president made one of the most extensive campaigns in the history of American politics; he knows what the people want from first-hand contact, and unless we are mistaken, thanks to a sympathetic Congress, he will give an excellent accounting of his stewardship during the next four years. At any rate, he will have the best wishes of all patriotic Americans, including that good sport, Thomas E. Dewey.

* * *

The Chump Defeats The Champ

(From The Lee County Bulletin, Auburn)

Truman, the man who faced rebellion within his own party, the man whom many had come to look upon as a political chump, was not supposed to win the Tuesday election. He faced Dewey, the suave, efficient man with all the political marbles, the champ. But Mr. Truman did win, and quite decisively. . . .

There can be but one explanation. Mr. Truman won on the issues of the campaign—high cost of living, housing, farm price support program, Taft-Hartley act. Consumers liked his stand on the question of inflation. Veterans liked his stand on that issue and on housing. Farmers liked what he had to say about a permanent farm program. Labor liked his stand on Taft-Hartley. None of these groups ever quite knew where Gov. Dewey stood on these issues or any others. They heard him say he was for "unity," but beyond that it was difficult to pin him down. . . .

What will the Truman victory mean to the South?

34a(2)

As for the Dixiecrats, it appears they won't even form so much as the tail of the Democratic donkey. . . . The spurious movement that was to lead the South out of the national Democratic Party has fizzled. No doubt, the few Southern senators and congressmen who were sucked in by the Dixiecrat maneuver will be offered again places of power and trust in the new Democratic Congress if they pledge their loyalty to the party and beg forgiveness. Every effort will be made to restore harmony. But the bolters will not be given a free ticket up front. If they expect to capture important committee assignments, they must expect to repent.

It is highly satisfying to Southerners of good will, and they are in the majority, that the self-seekers in the Dixiecrat leadership failed in their effort to establish our region as one more in step with the anti-progressive philosophy of the Republican big wigs than with the progressive party of Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson and Roosevelt. Their failure to ride into power on the winds of race prejudice and fear was heartening.

34a(2) 1948

Georgia

WINNING CANDIDATES IN HALL GET NEGRO SUPPORT

34a(2) Daily World

GAINESVILLE, Ga. — (SNS) — Candidates generally supported by Negro voters won in every race in the Hall County elections with the exception of the contest for sheriff. Even in the race for three county commissioners two of the three candidates endorsed by Negro voters emerged victorious. Atlanta,

The margin of victory in a close contest for tax collector was provided by Negro voters in the Fair Street polling place where Negro voters numbering more than 372 favored the Incumbent Henry H. Martin. The winner eased into office by a 4431 count over Joe B. Black, who had a total of 4168 votes at the final tally. Ga

Despite the fact that Negro voters polled 343 votes for Sheriff W. A. Crow their votes failed to save him from defeat. The Sheriff lost to Fred Bryan by a margin of 4356 to 3786. Tues. 4-13-48

Indefeat Negroes gave Sheriff Crow 343 votes. 21 votes were cast for Sheriff Bryan and 3 for W. J. Bush, who was snowed under in the balloting. In the tax collector race Fair Street voters gave Incumbent Martin 301 votes, while 71 voters favored losing candidate Joe B. Black.

The Gainesville Daily Times wrote in an editorial: "However, it is our belief that the Negroes of Hall County are neither misled, grossly uninformed, or dishonest—at least no more so than any other group of voters."

The Daily Times continued: "So if there was any "bloc vote" on the part of Hall County Negroes, it stemmed from fear of the unknown and trust of the familiar. Although a heavily-onesided ballot box might arouse suspicion (as it undoubtedly has) it would be unfair and undemocratic to have the ballot reflect any thing than the will of the voters no matter what their creed or color.

The paper insisted: "The Negroes of Hall County received kind and understanding treatment from our outgoing Sheriff. They found their rights respected and their problems dealt with justly. They weren't afraid of the law as the out-going sheriff upheld it. Tues. 4-13-48

Other winners were R. W. Smith county clerk; Frank Woods, Ordinary; Harve Ingram, tax receiver; Rev. H. G. Jarrad, school superintendent and J. B. Vickers, coroner.

The three county commissioners elected were Incumbents A. D. Bagwell, Roy W. Parks and Joe M. Chandler, who defeated Leco L. Rogers, who had Negro support.

Talmadge Rides High, Thompson Concedes Victory

The News Thur 9-9-48 Bhm Ala.

County Unit Vote Margin Of 316 To 86 Held By Herman

34a(2)

ATLANTA, Sept. 9—(AP)—Gov. M. E. Thompson conceded the governorship of Georgia to Herman Talmadge today, ending a struggle for power that began 20 months ago.

He conceded on the basis of unofficial returns in a Democratic primary that gave Talmadge a popular lead of 271,515 to 241,005 and a county unit vote margin of 316 to 86. This was from 1,399 of the state's 1,763 precincts.

Talmadge, meanwhile, was ready for a special legislative session to install him in office early in November, immediately after the general election.

* * *

THOMPSON SAID he would cooperate with the plan if the state's attorney general ruled it was legal.

"The people giveth, the people taketh away," Thompson added. "Blessed be the name of the people."

Staking his campaign on a fight against President Truman's civil rights program, Talmadge led from the beginning of the count in yesterday's primary.

His county unit strength, traditional in Talmadge campaigns, seemed insurmountable. Only 206 units are needed to win under the system, similar to the national electoral college.

* * *

BUT UNLIKE HIS FATHER, Eugene Talmadge, who four times was elected governor of Georgia, young Herman also held the upper hand in popular vote and even carried some of the big city strongholds. Thur 9-9-48

For the 35-year-old Talmadge, a special legislative session and quick inauguration would bring long sought revenge over Thompson, with whom he contested the governorship for 67 days last year.

The first act opened with a death scene in December, 1946. Eugene Talmadge, Herman's acid-tongued father whose magic with rural voters had elected him governor four times, died before his inauguration.

In a dramatic pre-dawn session, the Legislature in January, 1947, elected "Hummon" to sit in his father's chair. Then arose scholarly M. E. Thompson, who abandoned an educator's career to enter politics, to claim the office also by succession from lieutenant-governor.

Herman's forces changed locks in the capitol by night to capture the governor's office. After two months of tumult and confusion because the state had two governors, Talmadge walked out quietly when the Georgia Supreme Court said Thompson should serve as acting governor pending an election to fill the remaining two years of the elder Talmadge's term.

* * *

BUT HE PLEDGED, "I'll be back," and today he shouted: "The victory is ours."

His tidal wave swept over several populous counties his father hardly ever hoped to win. "Old Gene" used to say he never wanted to carry a county that had streetcars in it.

Talmadge said his victory was a warning to the nation on the civil rights issue.

* * *

THOMPSON SAID: "Apparently Herman Talmadge has won."

The count was based on unofficial returns from 157 of the state's 159 counties, and 1,393 of 1,763 precincts.

Three other candidates for governor failed to scratch in the unit vote column and trailed badly in popular votes. They were Hoke O'Kelley, Hoke Willis and the Rev. Joseph A. Rabun, ousted as pastor of the Talmadge's home church in McRae because he denounced white rule. Thur 9-9-48

Incomplete reports also favored three incumbent congressmen—Reps. Cox, of the Second District, Davis of the Fifth and Wheeler of the Eighth.

Other congressmen and U. S. Sen. Richard B. Russell were unopposed.

* * *

EVERETT MILLICAN, veteran of 12 years in the state Senate and Thompson floor leader in the last session, apparently lost his post to former Mayor Roy LeCraw in yesterday's Democratic primary.

With only a few scattered precincts missing, Millican had 20,842 votes to 35,787 for Lecraw for the 52nd District post.

Millican teamed with three of the candidates for Fulton's three House of Representatives seats on a ticket advocating forced annexation by the city of Atlanta of an extensive area on the city's northern outskirts.

Only one of the quartet apparently was sure of nomination. He is Rep. M. M. (Muggsy) Smith.

TASTING VICTORY — Herman Talmadge.

34a(2)

Son Of Former Governor And White Supremacy Champion Holds Edge

In Both Counts

34a(2)

Thompson Is Trailing By 3-To-1 Margin In County Unit Votes

ATLANTA—(AP)—One of Georgia's foremost champions of "white supremacy," Herman Talmadge held a three to one lead over Gov. [illegible] Wednesday night in their race for the governorship. The Advertiser

Early incomplete returns in Wednesday's Democratic primary, marked by scattered efforts to intimidate Negro voters, gave Talmadge 218 indicated unit votes [illegible] for Thompson, a former school teacher. Returns were from 397 of 1,763 precincts. Thur 9-9-48

However, in Georgia, the county unit system, [illegible] electoral college, determines the Democratic nominee for governor (and victory in the primary means election in one-party Georgia). A majority of the county unit votes, or 206, is required. The county votes are alloted on the basis of six to the big counties, four to smaller counties and two to the sparsely populated rural counties. Montgomery Ala

Reports drifted in of cross burnings by the Ku Klux Klan, Negro vote purges and attempts to slow down Negro voting.

Crosses Flame

On the eve of the election, huge crosses, the trade mark of the KKK, flamed in three counties and one Negro reported a band of hooded men left a miniature casket on his doorstep.

The Griffin Daily News reported that 558 Negro registrants had been stricken from the vote list on the eve of the Democratic primary, which is the real election in Georgia.

In populous Richmond County, the Augusta Herald charged polling officials in some places were permitting Negroes to vote at the rate of only three every hour.

A Herald reporter said the officials held up the voting by asking foolish questions and quoted one as saying a line of Negroes before one polling place would still be there when balloting ended at 6 p.m.

One report of cross burning came from Valdosta, the home of Thompson. Klan support is behind Talmadge, an advocate of "white supremacy."

Record Registration

A record registration of 1,194,413 indicated the intensity of the contest. The total included 142,491 Negroes, more than have ever registered to vote in any Southern state. Thur 9-9-48

In 1946 there were 1,077,949 registrants, including 118,387 Negroes. The total doubled previous registrations largely because of the abolition of the poll tax and the enfranchisement of 18-year-olds in Georgia.

The curious struggle for the governorship began in 1946 when Herman's father, Eugene Talmadge, was elected by a county unit vote majority, but died just a few weeks before his inauguration.

34a(2)

In January, 1947, the state legislature "elected" Herman to succeed him and carry on the Talmadge program of white supremacy. Thur 9-9-48

But M. E. Thompson, who had been named lieutenant governor, also claimed the office. He was supported by Gov. Elis Arnall until Talmadge forces seized the executive chambers in a midnight coup.

Finally the Georgia Supreme Court, in a 5-2 decision, ruled for Thompson. Herman vacated the office with a defiant "I'll be back" and Thompson moved in.

The Democratic primary nomination, tantamount to election in Georgia, will fill the governorship for the unexpired four-year term, or until January, 1951.

Campaigns On Record

Thompson, a career educator until his sudden elevation, has campaigned on his record in office: Huge expenditures for highways, teachers' salaries and social services with no increase in taxes.

The additional expenditures were made possible by the highest revenue collections in the state's history.

The 35-year-old Talmadge, 10 years younger than his opponent, has made President Truman's civil rights program the issue. He has stumped for racial segregation and against the FEPC and "bloc" voting by Negroes.

Talmadge has been endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia and has attributed Communist and Progressive Party support to Thompson. Thompson, however alos has said he opposed feder civil rights legislation.

Analyzing The Talmadge Victory

The Constitution

34a(2)

Atlanta Ga.

Sat 9-11-48

Herman Talmadge's victory in the Georgia primary, with former Govs. E. D. Rivers and Ellis Arnall suddenly joined against him, provides an opportunity to theorize on the influence of those two political figures.

In the 1946 race E. D. Rivers, who was instrumental in winning the race for Eugene Talmadge and who was edging into the Talmadge camp until the nominee died, when he went over to M. E. Thompson, carried [illegible] counties. In other counties the Talmadge and Rivers forces worked together in joint effort against J. V. Carmichael. Former Gov. Rivers remained in the race, which was hopelessly lost to him, to carry those counties in which he had real strength, because had he withdrawn, as the anti-Talmadge forces asked, they would have gone to Carmichael. It was this fact which made many of the normally anti-Talmadge votes cool to the Thompson campaign after former Gov. Rivers joined it "to end Talmadgeism." This was, for the anti-Talmadge faction, too much to swallow, remembering 1946.

1946 In the former primary Mr. Rivers carried Dade and Towns, in North Georgia, and the South Georgia counties of Cook, Berrien, Lowndes, Lanier, Atkinson, Clinch, Echols and Brantley.

In the primary just concluded, Thompson also carried Dade and Towns. In South Georgia, however, the Rivers strength of 1946 was badly shot. Of the eight counties Rivers carried that year Thompson carried his home county, Lowndes, but lost Berrien, Atkinson, Cook, Echols and Brantley, five of the eight. He carried Lanier, Mr. Rivers' home county, and Clinch, but in the latter the margin was small.

This would indicate a severe depletion of Mr. Rivers' influence in that region.

Arnall In former Gov. Arnall's section, about Coweta County, we find that Mr. Arnall's home county of Coweta went for Thompson, but not most of the counties about it. Fulton, to the north, went for Thompson, but Marvin Griffin carried it for Lieutenant Governor.

Even normally anti-Talmadge counties, such as Upson, Lamar, Newton and Carroll, went for Talmadge. The conclusion is inescapable that Mr. Arnall's strength also is badly dissipated.

The anti-Talmadge voters in Georgia, and there are thousands of them still in fighting mood, face the fact that the leadership which has opposed the Talmadge faction is, for all practical purposes, presently destroyed. Whether it can rise, Phoenix-like, as the poets have it, from the ashes of this defeat, or whether the new leadership must be found, remains to be seen. There is one apropos fact in connection with this conclusion, namely, that many anti-Talmadge voters refused to accept the leadership behind Thompson. The vote, of less than 700,000 in a registration of over 1,200,000, indicates that more than a half million voters remained away from the polls.

Obviously, much of the independent vote, and many of the anti-Talmadge voters, were not attracted to the Thompson leadership.

Another significant fact is that there was no bloc voting by Negroes in the usual sense of the word.

Bloc Voting Preliminary investigation reveals that over the State there was less than half of the Negro registration which went to the polls. There was little intimidation. The Ku Klux Klan burned a few crosses, in profane desecration of the Christian symbol, and at two polling places delays prevented all the Negro voters from casting their votes. But, by and large, there was no intimidation or interference. In Atlanta, for example, there was not the slightest interference, and yet only about half the Negro registration went to the polls.

Again, the inescapable conclusion is that not even the Negroes felt there was any compelling reason to accept the Thompson leadership.

Meanwhile, the course of the victorious Talmadge administration will be watched nationally, as well as locally. It is a fact, somewhat ironic, that the Talmadge platform promises the Negro more than ever promised before in Georgia, within the framework of separation. If the Talmadge administration should do a vigorous job in behalf of Negro education, health, and welfare—all promised in the Talmadge platform, it is not inconceivable that 1950 would find at least some Negro support of the Talmadge organization.

Talmadge Returns To Power, Fulfilling 'I'll Be Back' Boast

Advertiser Montgomery Ala

34a(2)

Fri. 9-10-48

By C. W. GILMORE

ATLANTA —(AP)— Herman Talmadge returned to power in Georgia Thursday on a "white supremacy" platform and a wave of resentment against the Federal Civil Rights program.

His nomination for governor in Wednesday's Democratic primary was overwhelming and a special session of the legislature seemed assured to inaugurate him early in November.

Gov. M. E. Thompson, his rival since the hectic days of the "dual government" 20 months ago, conceded defeat and agreed to plans for a speedy inaugural immediately after the general election.

Talmadge's popular lead mounted from the start. Unofficial returns from 1,657 out of 1,763 precincts gave him 336,022 to 291,728 for Thompson, and a county unit margin of 322 to 88.

There were more than 142,000 Negroes registered to vote out of the 1,194,000 total and their ballots generally were conceded to Thompson, but it was not enough.

Thompson rolled up a big margin in densley populated Fulton (Atlanta) County, leading Talmadge 41,733 to 25,000 there; but Fulton counted only six unit votes.

Montgomery Ala

Rural Counties In Line

Elsewhere the traditional Talmadge rural counties fell into line and the 36-year-old heir of the "white supremacy" platform even captured some urban counties his father could never carry.

In Georgia it takes 206 county unit votes to nominate a governor. The smallest, farming counties each have two; intermediate counties have four and the eight metropolitan counties have six. The Democratic nomination is equivalent to election.

Thompson conceded defeat Thursday morning, lamenting, "the people giveth, the people taketh away; blessed by the name of the people."

He then offered to appoint Talmadge revenue commissioner until November "in the belief that you will need this valuable experience." Asked if he would accept the post, Talmadge said "No."

Fri. 9-10-48

Thompson agreed to a legislative session immediately after the Nov. 2 general election, if Talmadge's plan for a quick inauguration were legal. The state's attorney general said it is legal.

Three other candidates for the governorship received only scattered popular votes and no units. They are Hoke O'Kelley, Hoke Willis and the Rev. Joseph A. Rabun.

Ironic Revenge

A special legislative session to inaugurate him two months ahead of the usual time will be an ironic revenge for Talmadge. It was the general assembly that "elected" him governor in January, 1947, after the death of his father, Eugene.

Advertiser 9-13-48

The "election" subsequently was declared illegal by the Supreme Court, but only after Talmadge and Thompson both claimed the office for 67 days and had set up rival state governments.

34a(2) Ala

When the court decision came down, Talmadge stalked out of the executive chambers his supporters had seized in a midnight coup and flung a defiant "I'll be back" at the victorious Thompson forces.

Montgomery

Georgia And The Presidency

34a(2)

"Wisdom, justice and moderation"—Georgia state motto.

The Charlotte News

Tues 9-14-48

Charlotte N.C.

The first rocks and rills and templed hills I knew were Georgia ones. It is my native state, and I am allowed to speak of it freely. If young Talmadge there has any sense—and he may have plenty but I don't know yet—he will lean backward from this moment on against the bigots, illiterates, Negro-haters and baiters and exploiters—who will be thinking his nomination calls on them to make a speech. And he will renounce the Klan as forthrightly as Strom Thurmond renounced and denounced Gerald L. K. Smith. The South needs no Klan now. Our colored people are behaving admirably in trying and humiliating circumstances. Our quarrel is with outsiders, and our instrument is the States' Rights organization which will now have Georgia's electors for its growing list.

Herman Talmadge did better than his father. He won a popular as well as a county unit majority. His father had only the county units. The governor-designate should consider well this difference. It is composed of people who want neither a Eugene Talmadge Georgia nor an Ellis Arnall one, who are resolved that Georgia and the South must handle their own peculiar and vital problems but who are resolved, too, that the problems will be handled in ways of light and sense and justice and good will to all men. People who take Georgia's noble state motto—Wisdom, Justice and Moderation—in earnest.

These people who gave Herman his margin over Old Gene are going to vote for Strom Thurmond, the States Rights candidate, for president. Strom Thurmond is as sincerely a foe of darkness, race hate and injustice as he is of federalism gone mad.

The nation, reading of the immense Talmadge victory, is going to say Georgia has fallen into darkness. The nation could be right. But it need not be, and it must not be. For darkness has not won in Georgia unless Herman Talmadge so interprets it, or unless he turns out to be too weak and ill-advised to resist his worst elements. What has won in Georgia is States' Rights. What has been defeated is Ellis Arnall and all the politicians and publicists who have been forgetting Georgia for national offices or audiences.

Even though it may be as hard for Georgia to take cues from Mississippi as for North Carolina to take them from South Carolina, these are topsy-turvy times, and Governor-Designate Talmadge could take a very fine one from Mississippi. Mississippi has got itself a Senator Stennis to replace a Senator Bilbo. Senator Stennis is a States' Rights man, made an outstanding speech at the Birmingham meeting, but he is as different from Bilbo as he is from Ellis Arnall. He stands for that third thing in the South which is really a first thing—States Rights liberalism and enlightenment.

News 9-14-48

I would hate to be the editor of the Atlanta Constitution this morning. With every faith he professes involved in the gubernatorial contest, he stood cautiously on the sidelines, talking his head off and drawing pretty pictures of himself.

Since his national audience was so bitter anti-Talmadge and his Georgia one so pro, Mr. McGill was on a spot. But another man—say, Henry Grady—would have damned the torpedoes in such a crisis for his state. Ralph's picture of himself on election day was neither interesting nor convincing. "I am not by nature non-partisan," he wrote. "I like a political fight as some persons like cake or pie. . . I like throwing punches and rolling with them. . .I have missed that." He missed that in 1947, too, when young Talmadge was first an issue. He missed it, as Ellis Arnall did, in 1945, when neither the publicist nor the politician dared come out forthrightly for state repeal of the poll tax until Old Gene made it safe by, amazingly, doing so himself.

34a(2) 1948 Georgia

Talmadge Rides to Victory On Anti-Civil-Rights Wave

The Courier-Journal

34a(2)

Louisville Ky

From Wire Dispatches.

Atlanta, Sept. 9.—Herman Talmadge returned to power in Georgia today on a "white-supremacy" platform and a wave of resentment against the federal Civil-Rights program.

Acting Governor M. E. Thompson belatedly conceded his thumping victory in yesterday's Democratic gubernatorial primary and offered him an immediate place in the State Government as chief of the important Revenue Department. Fri 9-10-48

The 35-year-old Talmadge replied, no, thanks. He said he was too busy planning to restore Georgia to the Talmadge form of government to serve with the outgoing Administration.

Special Session Planned.

Talmadge wants to call the Legislature into session at the earliest possible moment after the November 2 general election—which will confirm yesterday's result—to authorize his inauguration before the end of the year. Ordinarily, he wouldn't take office until January 1.

Talmadge held that the acting Governor should serve only until the voters elected a new one to fill the term left vacant when his father died in December, 1946.

Thompson said he would call the Legislature into extra session himself if Attorney General Eugene Cook ruled the procedure legal. Cook said there was nothing in the Constitution against it.

Talmadge's popular lead mounted from the start. Unofficial returns from 1,657 out of 1,736 precincts gave him 336,022 to 291,728 for Thompson, and a county-unit margin of 322 to 88.

142,000 Negroes Registered.

There were more than 142,000 Negroes registered to vote out of the 1,194,000 total. Their ballots generally were conceded to Thompson, but it was not enough.

Thompson rolled up a big margin in densely populated Fulton (Atlanta) County, leading Talmadge 41,733 to 25,000 there, but Fulton counted only six unit votes.

Thompson conceded defeat this morning, lamenting, "the people giveth, the people taketh away; blessed be the name of the people." Fri-9-10-48

Seven of Georgia's 10 congressmen and U. S. Senator Richard B. Russell were unopposed for renomination, and three incumbents who were contested all won easy victories.

3 Incumbents Win.

The three are Representative Eugene Cox of the Second District, Representative W. M. Wheeler of the Eighth, and Representative James C. Davis of the Fifth.

34a(2) 1948

Georgia

Half Free and Half Fettered Elections?

(34a(2))

There are two angles to the present special session of the Legislature which are unusual. There is overwhelming sentiment to repeal the State's "five percent law" in so far as candidates for President and Vice-President and their electors are concerned, but not in so far as State and local officers are concerned. And Georgia's Democratic National Committeeman advocated legislation making it easier for Georgians to vote a "split" ticket.

The Constitution

Some solons even go so far as to advocate repeal of the "five percent law" now with the understanding that it will be re-enacted at the January session.

Why would Legislators want to create a "free election" nationally and not "free" it locally? Why would they want to open up the ballot only temporarily and then put the restrictions back on in January?

Wed 9-29-48

The answer is this: Because of President Truman's Civil Rights program, the local Democratic solons are no longer interested in protecting the Democratic Party nationally from competition in Georgia. Since their own names are on the State Democratic ticket, they have a natural desire to protect the State Democratic ticket from competition.

Atlanta Ga

Also they don't want to clutter up the ballot with "innumerable nincompoops running for office just for the heck of it and without any chance of getting over a handful of votes." Once they make it possible for the people to express their opinion between Dixiecrat Candidate Strom Thurmond and Democratic Candidate Truman, some solons will want to re-establish the ballot restriction even to presidential candidates aside from the two major parties.

Voting a "split" ticket is good for the development of a two-party system in Georgia, legislative leaders agreed. Since Republicans do not offer a slate of candidates for State House and local offices (and, indeed, are hindered from doing so by the five percent law), it would be good for Georgians to participate in the Democratic primary—the real election in State and local races—and then go ahead and vote Republican, Progressive or Dixiecrat for national officers in the general election.

Wed 9-29-48

Voting a "split" ticket develops a more in**telligent electorate, House Floor Leader Bob El**liott says. Many agree that it is better for a voter to exercise his judgment on national candidates instead of just voting a straight Democratic ticket for President because he wants to vote for the Democratic candidate for Governor or Representative. Since Elliott is National Democratic Committeeman, however, it was very broadminded on his part to urge the State to make it easier for Democrats to vote for the nominee of an opposing political party.

The Constitution

One of the most successful political, or rather non-political, figures at the State Capitol is quitting before the change of gubernatorial administrations. But it isn't because of a fear of changes in the Governor's office. He's leaving because his health has failed. Willie Johnson, Negro porter, has served under seven Governors. Beginning in 1927, he worked during the administrations of Govs. Walker, Hardeman, Russell, Eugene Talmadge for three terms, Rivers, Arnall and Thompson—and also during the 67 days when Herman Talmadge claimed the Governors' office. "I gave them the best service that I could by the help of the good Lord." Willie says. "Now my health has failed me and for this cause I'll have to check out. I found no fault in either of them. I was once hired on the job and never fired. I met them all on the level and left them on the square."

Wed 9-29-48

Atlanta Ga

I WAS TAKEN ABACK when I saw the front page of Sunday's paper. The headline said: "Handsome, Debonair—Who? Why, it's the Saint—Of Course!" So I read on. "Addicted to dangerous living . . . irresistible to women . . . 6 feet 2 inches tall" . . . I realized this office boast couldn't be a plug for me, however. I'm not that tall. The Saint of which the office boasted is a character in a better comic strip this time.

HE MINCED NO WORDS

Talmadge Victory Boost for Dixiecrats

The Constitution

By HAL BUCK

International News Service Writer

Herman Talmadge's victory in the gubernatorial Democratic primary, besides influencing Georgia's destiny for two years, today may give the States' Rights Democrats a boost in their presidential campaign.

Tues 9-13-48

Talmadge undoubtedly was elected because of the Civil Rights program and the so-called Negro question. He minced no words about his advocacy of white supremacy and virtually promised Georgia voters that he personally would take a hand in the South's battle against enaction of President Truman's program.

Georgia has remained suspiciously silent about its plans since the birth of the States' Rights Party. Chairman James Peters, of the State Democratic Executive Committee, speaking for the State, made it clear that Georgia opposes the Civil Rights legislation. The State voted consistently against President Truman's nomination. But Georgia has not bolted the Democratic Party nor promised its 12 electoral votes to the States' Rights candidates, Govs. J. Strom Thurmond and Fielding L. Wright.

Talmadge repeatedly skirted the issue before his overwhelming election. Even after his victory he refused to say whether he would use his influence to see that Georgia's electroal votes go to the "Dixicrats."

Young Talmadge explained:

That matter must be decided by the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Atlanta Ga

Of course, Talmadge controls the Committee.

It is significant that Dixiecrat leaders have neither beat their drums in Georgia nor commented on the State's silence about its stand.

Some observers feel that the Georgia Democratic Executive Committee may have made some "off the record" promise to Dixiecrat leaders.

In other words, party leaders may have said, in effect, "wait until we see if Talmadge is elected. If he is, then we may be in a position to help you."

Georgia's Presidential electors, under rules of the State Democratic Party, may be appointed by the Executive Committee.

Thus it would seem that, should Talmadge say the word, Georgia's electoral votes could go to the Dixiecrats.

THOMPSON'S MISTAKE?—Acting Gov. Thompson's decisive defeat by Herman Talmadge made many political observers poor prognosticators.

In pre-election predictions, nearly all observers thought Thompson and Talmadge would run a neck-and-neck race, with Talmadge the winner.

But the early spurt taken by Talmadge continued steadily, snowballing into one of Georgia's most surprising political landslides.

Many observers whose predictions were in error are wondering why. Some feel that Thompson would have fared better had he shunned the support of former Governors E. D. Rivers and Ellis Arnall.

Mon 9-13-48

Arnall, though extremely popular throughout the rest of the country, is not too favorably regarded in his home State. Many Georgians — judging from their votes against his gubernatorial choice—resented Arnall's continued allusions to the South's "problems" on his northern lecture tours.

Rivers, although conceded to be a master politician, was soundly beaten in his own gubernatorial race in 1946.

Thompson might have made a better showing if he had stuck to his original role as an independent, unincumbered by political henchmen. Political observers say now that Georgians might have let him finish out his acting term if he had continued to be just an ex-school teacher running on his record.

Dustin off the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

Chicago Defender

Talmadge Brings 'Corn-Likker' Rule Back To Georgia

Sat 9-18-48

GEORGIA, through the election of Herman Talmadge, the demagogue son of a demagogue, tobacco-spitting father, goes back in the ranks of a "corn-likker" government. The county-unit election system dating from Civil War days, which makes a vote in the cracker counties worth as many as ten votes in the more enlighened cities, did the trick for young "Hummon," as the ignorant element refers to him. Even in his sweeping victory, there were over 260,000 Georgians (voters) who didn't want him. We hope their influence will prevent Talmadge and his "get even" crowd from making Georgia a hell for a decent citizen to live in for the next two years. He can only serve that long. He cannot succeed himself.

Chicago Bee

Lucius Harper

Chicago Bee

There is a belief in many corners that President Truman's civil rights program and the FEPC issue did much to help Talmadge win. These may have, in a measure, served to spur the ignorant element to fever heat, but in no wise is the Talmadge rise to the governorship to be credited to these factors. He had victory in his vest-pocket ever since his father died. Georgia has been politically-owned by the Talmadges for almost twenty years. It is just through accident that decency in government has crept in and dethroned this influence for only awhile.

For decades back political clowns have won their way to the statehouse in Atlanta; and from there some have transferred their capers to the national government in Washington. The issue of "white supremacy" is nothing new in Georgia. In fact, it has been the spearhead of every political campaign there since the days of Reconstruction. Talmadge, however, did need that issue to steamwhistle him through. It always works in Georgia when the bigot has enough magic to draw a crowd.

* * *

ANY political campaign for the governorship of Georgia, and many other southern states for that matter, is merely a political-circus. A candidate, to be successful in most cases, has to transform himself into a sort of clown. Tom Watson, the dunce from Thomson, was one of the first to inaugurate the hate-spreading scheme to gain political favor. He won his way into the U. S. Senate by getting Leo Frank, an Atlanta Jewish merchant, lynched. When the Negro was no longer an issue in politics, Watson seized upon hatred for the Catholic church, and polluted Georgians' minds with vicious attacks upon the Pope of Rome through his scurrilous magazine, "The Jeffersonian" which was finally barred from the mails for the filth it printed. Through his doctrine of race hatred, he caused a governor, John M. Slaton, to flee the state because he had commuted Frank's sentence to life imprisonment.

Hoke Smith was just a whit better. He kept aflame the

e, and finally a disastrous riot
ept the city of Atlanta. Then
me Tom Hardwick, a country-
wn lawyer from Sandersville,
carry on where Watson left off.
He became governor then U. S. Senator without contributing the slightest item to racial betterment; in Georgia or in the senate. During this era, however, decency did creep in through the election of Hugh M. Dorsey, who was the unrelenting prosecutor in the Leo Frank case. While Dorsey almost directly rose to power on the anti-Jewish issue, he did not resort to race-hate spreading during his incumbency as governor, nor thereafter. He became a judge and issued a splendid pamphlet

exposing the unfair treatment Negroes received in Georgia.

* * *

SINCE there is no white aristocracy now in Georgia (northern industry invading the state has practically wiped it out), old Gene Talmadge counted the noses of the cracker elements in the backwoods and discovered, through numbers, he was in power. He catered to this ignorance through its own understanding. He shunned an auto and travelled among them in horse and buggy. He put on red suspenders, and fouled his mouth with big wads of tobacco. He would casually flick a fly off his horse's ear with a long, golden squirt of tobacco juice. He would snap his suspenders while talking to emphasize a point, and his uneducated listeners did likewise. He styled himself the "Wild Man from Sugar Creek" and the hillbillies latched onto his words. He made all sorts of silly speeches about hogs "killed soft and hard" and the simpletons swallowed Gene's political technique and sent him to the governor's chair four times.

Old Gene did some good things in the way of tax slashing for the farmers, but he likewise did some awful bad things for the factory hands. He established concentration camps for strikers and called out the National Guards to break Georgia's textile strike in 1934. He became a tool of the Georgia Power Trust by being the "daddy" of the ignorant cracker element. His son, "Hummon," has simply fallen heir to this demagogue's political fortune. He didn't need a "white supremacy" issue to win, nor a civil rights program or FEPC to combat. The name Talmadge was in itself enough to gain victory from the ignorance that Georgia has so long nurtured and more often politically encouraged. Georgia made some racial gains and progress under the liberal governorships of Arnall and Thompson. It slides back into squalor and "corn-likker" government with Herman Talmadge. We hope, however, for only two years.

Another Talmadge Comes to Rule In Georgia

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

34a(2)

Fri 9-10-48

THE events in Georgia are depressing. There will be some persons, of course, to suggest that the selection of HERMAN TALMADGE for Governor there was an operation of democracy, since the extent of his victory shows that this was what the people wanted. But you are forced to look beyond the record of the votes and consider the atmosphere of the campaign and the processes of incitement and intimidation that went along with it. These are anything but democratic.

They include rabble-rousing at its most vicious and intemperate. They include the brazen parade of the Ku Klux Klan, the bold strategems by which the Constitution and the law were flouted and the newly emancipated Negro vote kept from the ballot box. They include the appeals to ignorance and prejudice—the setting up of hate so that hate might be pandered to—which Georgians have known to be the brand of TALMADGE politics for 16 years. They include a State's seal of approval on the unlawful gangster methods by which HERMAN TALMADGE actually seized and for 67 days in early 1947 held the State Government after the death of his father EUGENE, one of the most incendiary of demagogues.

It was all done in the name of white supremacy and to the shouts of "Nigger!" and "Communist!" Thus it was in the frenzied temper of the day, which has given rise in the South to the Dixiecrat movement and its rebellion against a program of laws to protect civil rights. To be sure, it was a clash between rival political organizations, and one was no more disposed to soft-pedal the program than the other. But the TALMADGE forces were the more adept, being the more practised, in making the most of an issue of this sort. It was for them political manna. HERMAN took up where death had forced his father to leave off, and heightened the fury of the Cracker insistence that this must be a white man's country. The TALMADGES have been doing it since the older one became Governor for the first time in 1932.

Fri 9-10-48

EUGENE TALMADGE was elected to a fourth term in 1946. He died before taking office. Before the Georgia Supreme Court could approve an orderly succession, in favor of the elected Lieutenant Governor, M. E. THOMPSON, son HERMAN made an audacious bid for the Governorship on the basis of some 650 write-in votes, cunningly engineered. Supported by a strong-arm squad, whose members moved in with flying fists, HERMAN seized the executive offices in the Capitol and tenancy of the Governor's mansion. After two months the Supreme Court held that he had done this without law or right, and THOMPSON was seated as acting Governor pending the next general election. Now HERMAN is about to come back. His nomination in the Democratic primary means certain election in November for the remainder of the term to which his father was chosen. It will run for two years.

The older TALMADGE was nominated although he received several thousand fewer votes in the 1946 primary than his opponent. He won by virtue of Georgia's "rotten borough" system of primary elections, in which county-unit votes and not popular votes rule. The same system of domination by rural counties, their unit votes overcoming the votes of populous urban counties, worked in HERMAN'S favor Wednesday, although this time he received a majority of popular votes as well.

A dynasty has been revived, as in Louisiana only last week the dynasty established by HUEY LONG was perpetuated in his son. A distemper, making for social heedlessness, irresponsibility and violence, sits upon the Deep South.

Talmadge's Victory

The News

Thur 9-9-48

34a(2)

B'ham Ala.

Herman Talmadge will become the governor of Georgia. He beat Acting Gov. M. E. Thompson in yesterday's Democratic primary. He is moving to have a special legislative session install him in the governor's chair in November.

Will his victory mean a long, dark night for Georgia as some have feared? Or will power and responsibility sober this active young man, as many, no doubt, now are praying? We shall begin to see in November.

We join the good people of Georgia in hoping that Mr. Talmadge can grow, intellectually and spiritually.

Election Highlights

34a(2)

Daily World

By CHAS. W. GREENLEA

Wed 11-3-48

Atlanta Ga.

There were many unusual factors about the election in Georgia.

For the first time in the history Georgia was a "doubtful" state. In every previous election since the Civil War the Empire State of the South could be counted on as "in the bag" for the Democratic candidate—no matter who he might be. In this forty-first election it was conceded that the Republicans as well as the outraged Dixiecrats would make heavy inroads.

Matters even reached such a state in Georgia with the voters and parties boiling, that some observers thought the election may have to be determined by the State Legislature. In case no Presidential Candidate receives a majority of the popular vote in Georgia, the legislature must meet and decide to whom the state's twelve electoral votes will go.

UNUSUAL ELECTION

Georgia's most unusual election was stiffled somewhat by heavy rains over the northern part of the state. Rural counties were so bogged down in mud that only the most enthusiastic voters ventured to the polls.

The States Rights or Dixiecratic candidates for President and Vice-President, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding Wright of Mississippi, who campaigned wholly on an anti-Negro platform, were the chief sufferers from the bad weather, it appeared.

LARGEST BALLOT

The largest ballot in the history of the state faced voters. Everywhere except in Fulton County a huge printed sheet puzzled voters who had to study it at length before finding the desired spots to mark an "X." As a whole, Negroes throughout the state, voted overwhelmingly for Truman and the straight Democratic ticket.

In Atlanta, voting on machines the most complicated arrangement yet did not stem the spirits of Dewey, Truman, and Wallace fans. Despite the rain, Negro voters turned out in relatively large numbers. Several reports of broken machines came to the World office. One irate voter complained that the slides over the write-in candidates would not open so he "couldn't register a protest against Talmadge."

Broken or clogged machines were reported early at precinct 3A, Walker Street School and at 3B, E. R. Carter School. Hasty calls to the courthouse brought mechanics to correct the trouble. Voters were held up for fully forty minutes at Walker Street, it was reported.

Reminiscent of the martyred Isaiah Nixon, Negro who was murdered in South Georgia because he voted in the primary election last summer, comes a story from a Fulton County school teacher. She asked her third grade students whether their parents were going to vote in the Presidential election. Right under the shadows of the state capitol, came the answer from a bright young lad—"My Mama ain't going nowhere and get shot voting."

TWO PARTY SYSTEM

The Republicans are hoping to capitalize on their new following as a basis for establishing an effective party in the state. They have the best wishes of every intelligent citizen in the state. Georgia needs a real two-party system. Dewey attracted the largest vote ever received by a Republican in Georgia. Only four times since the Civil War have Republicans polled more than 50 thousand votes. Hoover, benefiting from an anti-Al Smith movement, even as Dewey took an anti-Truman following, polled 99,369 Georgia votes in 1928. Republican William McKinley in 1896 received 60,107 votes, Wendell Willkie in 1940 received 46,362, and Thomas E. Dewey attracted 56,506 votes in his 1944 effort.

'Hummon' Takes Over As Governor In Georgia

Columbia Record

Young Herman Talmadge, "Hummon" to the wool hat boys of Georgia, has been elected Governor of Georgia, defeating Dr. M. E. Thompson, the lieutenant governor who ousted him from the Governor's office when the legislature elected him to succeed his father who died before he could take office in 1947.

Eugene Talmadge, whose red suspenders and white supremacy platforms endeared him to the rural voters of Georgia, had been elected to his fourth term as Governor, succeeding Ellis Arnall, under Georgia's unique unit vote system, although he failed to get the majority of the popular vote. He died before his inauguration and his son, "Hummon," was named by the legislature to replace him. Thompson, the lieutenant governor, claimed the office also and for 67 days Georgia operated under two governors, with "Hummon" occupying the Governor's office the locks on the doors of which he had changed. Talmadge surrendered when the supreme court of Georgia decided that Thompson was the legal acting governor.

Fri 9-10-48

Columbia, S.C.

"I'll be back," he told Thompson and the voters of Georgia. And back he is, with an assist from Harry Truman, Henry Wallace and all the other advocates of federal force to grant "civil rights" to the Negroes.

Talmadge's one campaign issue was the civil rights issue. And before the election he predicted that the headlines in Georgia after the election would have to be, "Talmadge Wins on Anti-Civil Rights Platform." His victory, Talmadge says, is a warning to the nation on the civil rights issue—exactly how he doesn't explain.

And where the veteran campaigner, Gene Talmadge, his father, squeaked through "Hummon," the son and imitator, won by landslide proportions. "Hummon" was leading with 322 units votes—only 206 are needed for election—to Thompson's 88. And, unlike his father in 1946, he was also leading in the popular vote with 344,582 to 209,551 for Thompson. Fri 9-10-48

For this "Hummon" can thank the Northern do-gooders and the politicians in pursuit of Northern Negro votes. They gave new life to his one issue, increased its vote-getting potency. More than this "Hummon" is being encouraged by his success and by the political origin of the civil rights campaign to pursue his "white supremacy" policies into other fields as well as the field of vote-getting.

It is a long, dark night ahead for Georgia and a difficult time for Georgia's Negroes who will not be the chief sufferers for the agitation that some thought would do them good, if they thought at all.

Georgia Nominates Talmadge

N.Y. Herald Tribune

The victory of Herman Talmadge over Governor M. E. Thompson in the Democratic primary was Georgia's answer to President Truman's civil rights proclamation. The South is not yet ready to accept liberal ideas on race relations from the North. It prefers—or at least a majority of Georgians prefer—an untried, noisy advocate of white supremacy, to a moderate liberal with a good administrative record such as Governor Thompson's.

The present candidate's father, "Old Gene" Talmadge, also used to campaign on white supremacy, but his main political strength was in the backwoods country of the "Wool Hats." By concentrating on the rural counties he was able to win the Governorship by the county unit totals, although his state-wide popular vote fell below that of his opponent.

Fri 9-10-48

Now, after a noisy campaign in which the civil rights program was the center of attack, and fiery crosses burned in the Georgia hills, young Herman Talmadge not only sweeps the backwoods counties, but populous urban areas which formerly responded to a more enlightened political appeal. Not only "Wool Hat" boys but substantial citizens supported his candidacy.

This is, of course, Georgia's own affair. The people have spoken—with a rebel yell. It may be noted, however, that the primary returns which nominated Talmadge in a sense go beyond the state lines. For the first time, they measure the extent of the revolt below the Mason and Dixon Line. Certainly the Dixiecrats will be encouraged to redouble their efforts in behalf of Governor Thurmond. The political revolt of the South is no longer a series of disgruntled echoes from the Philadelphia convention. With Talmadge's sweeping victory it takes on momentum and substance.

New York, N.Y.

Finally, Talmadge's victory gives further proof of the disintegration of Democratic leadership. That leadership was inept when it played blatant politics with its civil rights program. Once having launched the program, it should at least have made a sincere fight for it, instead of dropping it like a hot potato and allowing it to flounder to such ignominious defeat.

No Win For Talmadge

The News

To the Editor of The News:

Referring to your editorial on election of Herman Talmadge as governor of Georgia, I wish to state a personal opinion that this aggressive political figure has won no victory. He has come in on a program of suppressing and keeping suppressed the colored people, and any program based on promises of keeping down the weaker race by a stronger race cannot succeed. 9-10

Poor old Georgia has been set back for a half century, and the loss in actual money to her citizens is staggering, as the new governor has his bluff fixed so he can put force behind any threats of reprisals. Progress does not follow eternal confusion and hatred. A quarter million Georgia voters got whipped, and they are sick at heart, but such is part of the way of life.

Birmingham, Ala.

Before the election strings of automobiles, pickups and trucks loaded with white robed figures would come into small towns with horns blowing, and loudly go through any colored districts where little children and hard working poor Negroes would crouch in fear of the hooded figures.

The South has lost 3,000,000 colored people since 1940, and as a result, thousands of bales of cotton last year, the year before and this year will rot in the field. Everywhere a cry is up for return of labor on farms and in industries.

Gov. Folsom gets knocked right and left for this and that, but he has never been a party to any move that would encourage willful injustices to the Negro or any poor white people. He has never been a party to big meetings to stir up hatred, and to openly defy the laws of the U. S. government.

Fri 9-10-48

There is one thing for which America may be proud, and that is that tyrannical rule is confined by what we call state lines, and that when Talmadge's swashbuckling tirade reaches the borders of Georgia he will be noting a word in the horizon—"Stop."

Montgomery, Ala. D. L. MOORE.

Talmadge's Victory

New York Star

Herman Talmadge's victory in the Georgia Democratic gubernatorial primary is likely to damage President Truman's chances in Georgia and is almost certain to increase the lament that Mr. Truman, by advocating his civil rights program, inflamed the South's white citizens and has done more harm than good. The lament is a little too saccharine to be plausible.

Fri 9-10-48

New York N.Y.

The oligarchies which rule some southern states—frequently through leaders affiliated with northern corporations interested in preserving low southern wage standards—are capitalizing effectively on the apprehensions some southern whites feel about the Negro.

But the impact of Mr. Truman's fight on civil rights and of Supreme Court decisions arising from the Roosevelt-Truman era has been to increase the electorate in the South. In the long run anything which expands Negro voting rights, Negro educational and economic rights, will work profound changes in Dixie's political system. The only places where states' rights defeats seem improbable are the states in which Truman-Barkley electors are not allowed on the ballot.

Fri 9-10-48

Talmadge—Notwithstanding

World

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Herman Talmadge has won an overwhelming endorsement from the white voters of Georgia as their next governor. It is no secret that Negroes opposed his election. Thus, to say that they rejoice in his victory, would be insincere. Notwithstanding that fact, the clear will of the majority, in this case; far too impressive to cause even a doubt, becomes the will of all in a democracy. Atlanta Ga. Fri.

Therefore, as governor of all the people, Negroes are under every civic obligation to him, insofar as he and his forces will permit, to strive earnestly and cooperatively in bringing about a greater Georgia in which all citizens will have an equal opportunity to live and grow and prosper, and in which fairplay and mutual respect will become a rule by which all of us shall live. 9/17 48 Fri.

Happily, the campaign is over. But whether the storm of hate and fears, generated by the campaigners is over, remains to be seen. Mr. Talmadge probably is not strongly opposed to Negro welfare and advancement as his public utterances would indicate. But the mentality of the provincial rural dwellers cannot easily regain calm and sanity.

The false fears against civil rights, FEPC, Negro domination, social equality and widespread circulation of pictures of Negroes and whites fraternizing together, undoubtedly aided Mr. Talmadge in his bid for the governorship. But these alone were not his only aces in the holes. The iniquitous purge movement, which began in May, 1946 and continued almost without serious restraint until the very eve of Wednesday's elections, as well as Klan intimidation, were also factors to be regarded. 9-17-48

Whether we shall have an era of mutual goodwill under the new governor, is difficult to predict. Whether the state will move forward under him will be determined by his own attitude as well as those he chooses to surround his administration. One thing is certain, white Georgians cannot advance and prosper if they determine to waste their energies trying to hold Negro Georgians in a ditch. White Georgians cannot grow and maintain physical health as long as Negro Georgians are diseased, poverty-stricken and ignorant. We must all rise together or we must all sink together. Fri.

Sentiment In Georgia

The News
Fri 9-10-48
Birmingham, Ala
24C(2)

Herman Talmadge, in his victorious campaign for the governorship in Georgia, concentrated on denunciation of the Truman civil rights program. He attributed Communist and Progressive Party support to his opponent, the incumbent, Gov. M. E. Thompson. Thompson himself avowed opposition to the Truman proposals and is not himself to be considered a radical. But it was Talmadge who exploited most effectively the opposition, resentment and fear revolving around the dominant civil rights issue.

Young Herman has taken up where his father left off, yielding only to death before he could assume office after his fourth and last election. White supremacy was Herman's theme. He, too, was the champion of the rural folk. His was a highly divisive appeal to prejudice and ignorance. Only 35, his qualifications for the governorship are in many respects questionable. But he capitalized intensively on old, familiar themes. His opponent failed to develop the strength and appeal needed to stop him.

So Herman goes in—with an overwhelming victory in county unit votes under Georgia's odd and deplorable system of gubernatorial nomination, but with a relatively narrow margin in popular votes.

Fri 9-10-48

It cannot be said that the expressed sentiment of Georgia voters is also overwhelmingly behind Talmadge. Thompson polled about 47 per cent of the popular vote. His support showed a widespread rejection of Talmadge's candidacy and the kind of things, the extremes and dangers, his attitude represents.

But, on the other hand, Talmadge's victory does attest the continuing strength of the sort of campaigning his father made notorious, the extent of fear in that state respecting federal intervention in the racial situation and radical activities and proposals.

Of course, the Talmadge distortion of issues finds much material in these latter issues. Much of the fear revolving around them is extreme and ill-informed. But nevertheless its reality is unmistakably evident. And, obviously, there are many sound reasons for vigilance in these connections. Mr. Truman's proposals were poorly conceived. Communist activity is properly a concern of our people.

Fri 9-10-48

The outcome of this election presents new evidence of the perils inherent in unsound, ill-timed proposals in the field of racial relations; of the danger of trying to impose programs not in line with dominant popular sentiment; of the extremes of apprehension and the lack of discrimination which such matters can arouse.

There is, obviously, a great body of Georgians who are continuing to strive for wise realism, for constructive action, for a balanced approach to their contemporary problems. Their struggle will continue. It still may be hoped that its influence will be strongly felt.

Talmadgeism Takes Over in Georgia

Times Dispatch
Fri 9-10-48
Richmond Va
34A(2)

ONE of the most violently bitter and incredibly abusive campaigns for public office in the history of the South ended Wednesday with the overwhelming nomination of HERMAN TALMADGE to the governorship of Georgia. There is reason to regret the result, although the nomination of TALMADGE'S opponent, GOVERNOR M. E. THOMPSON, would have given no grounds for cheers. The Atlanta *Journal* said on the eve of the primary, "No matter what the outcome, Georgia faces a melancholy future governmentally."

Virginians, accustomed as they are to orderly and well-mannered campaigns for public office, have no conception of the lengths to which politicians in Georgia go to gain an advantage. For instance, a recent campaign publication of the TALMADGE forces carried the headline in large red letters: "RIVERS-ARNALL-THOMPSON Running Georgia Like Gangsters." In rebuttal to such allegations, THOMPSON said there is no telling what would have happened to the State if it had fallen into the hands of HERMAN TALMADGE, ROY HARRIS, "and the rest of the TALMADGE goons, thugs and drunks."

Fri 9-10-48

It was widely estimated in Georgia that TALMADGE and THOMPSON spent a total of $1 million in the campaign, about equally divided between them. Much of the money was used to buy votes.

Just as Louisiana turned the other day to RUSSELL LONG, a "dead ringer" for his father, the late HUEY LONG, and sent him to the United States Senate, so Georgia has now turned to "HUMMON" TALMADGE, who wears the same mop of hair over his eye and snaps the same red suspenders that helped to make his father, "GENE," notorious. It is to be feared that the LONG and TALMADGE dynasties have fastened their claws on Louisiana and Georgia, respectively, for an indefinite period. Both RUSSELL LONG and HERMAN TALMADGE are young men, in their early or middle thirties, and both seem to be ruthless and determined politicians. Dislodging either will be a major task.

Some observers may be puzzled by the fact that GOVERNOR THOMPSON aroused so little enthusiasm among well-disposed Georgians. The fact is that many simply considered him the lesser of two evils. Partly because he is not a person of much force, and partly because he allied himself with former GOVERNOR E. D. RIVERS, he generated support of a largely negative sort. His ally, "ED" RIVERS, a former officer of the Ku Klux Klan, was charged with engaging in shady deals while Governor with IMPERIAL WIZARD HIRAM WESLEY EVANS, of the Klan, and also with selling pardons.

Former GOVERNOR ELLIS ARNALL backed THOMPSON, his former secretary, which was natural; but many were dismayed to find him snuggled into the same political bed with RIVERS. The outcome seems to have washed up ARNALL politically.

Fri 9-10-48

What does the future hold for Georgia? In the words of CALVIN KYTLE, member of the Emory University School of Journalism faculty, "the night may be a long one." Writing in the September *Harper's*, KYTLE says many Georgians "foresee an uninterrupted succession of TALMADGE administrations—based on a political machine more efficient than HERMAN'S father ever dreamed of and maintained by ruthless suppression of all dissent within the party." He quotes a "prominent Georgia liberal" as saying: "From the day HERMAN'S elected, you'll probably see more and more floggings and more and more cross-burnings. His election will act like a signal on people of Klan mentality. They'll consider themselves free to commit all manner of atrocities. . . ."

Surely a dismal outlook. One can only hope that the picture is exaggerated, while fearing that it isn't.

Talmadge Succeeds Thompson

The Courier
Sat 10-2-48
Pittsburgh Pa
34A(2)

THE OVERWHELMING victory of the Herman Talmadge machine over that of Governor M. E. Thompson of Georgia in the recent primaries has been regarded generally as a bad sign indicating a probable worsening of race relations in the Empire State of the South.

Talmadge campaigned on a strictly white supremacy platform and devoted his speeches to denouncing the civil rights program of President Truman.

Of course this was a strictly phoney issue because the views of Governor Thompson were no different from those of Herman Talmadge, but it had an appeal to widespread elements in Georgia aroused by any challenge to local culture patterns.

We do not share the apprehension which many of our contemporaries profess about probable terror and strife in Georgia because Mr. Talmadge is to sit in the Governor's chair.

The Negroes of Georgia have lived under Tom Watson, Eugene Talmadge and others of their ilk, and not only survived but prospered, as evidenced by the fact that there are more Negroes in Georgia today than ever before in history.

They have seen the Ku Klux Klan rise and fall, wax and wane.

They have seen their literacy rate go up and their death rate go down.

They have seen lynching decline almost to nothing, and home and business ownership increase.

They have seen NAACP branches multiply ten-fold and they have seen 142,491 Negroes registered to vote in a Democratic primary.

Sat 10-2-48

They are more confident, more self-assured, less panicky and more capable of looking out for their interests than ever before, and they have more friends on the other side of the color line.

So we don't think any sleep needs to be lost over the victory of Herman Talmadge, but it might be advisable to dispassionately analyze the reason for that victory.

34a(2) 1948

Minnesota

Unions and Co-ops

(34a(2)) Election

MINNEAPOLIS (NR correspondent)

New Republic

Nov. 11-15-48

MINNESOTANS cleaned house. The people were tired of the congressional activities of their "big" names—Republican Senator Joseph Ball and Representative Harold Knutson. Both had disregarded the requests of the large farm and labor groups in the state, and had made an anti-reciprocal-trade, anti-labor, anti-European-aid record.

New Rep 11-15-48

Minneapolis Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey rolled Ball out of the Senate by better than 100,000 votes. Harold Knutson, the 80th Congress champion tax reducer, lost his House seat to a Democratic-Farmer-Labor newcomer, Fred Marshall. The Republicans also lost two other Representatives—Edward Devitt was defeated by Eugene J. McCarthy, a young college sociology instructor, and George MacKinnon lost to Roy Wier, an AFL union official.

34a(2)

The D-F-L decisively won, in a state that, before Roosevelt, had been traditionally Republican, because of labor's fine get-out-the-vote job. While Knutson, confident of his own victory, was campaigning for Ball, labor blanketed the district with pictures of Marshall in overalls. Humphrey, the first Democrat to go to the Senate from Minnesota, covered every square foot of the state.

The campaign issues were clear-cut and close to Minnesotans. President Truman hammered away at the Republicans' views on farm-price supports and rural electrification. Humphrey hit again and again at Ball's stand on corporative taxation on co-ops. In a state with as many co-ops as Minnesota, that was good politics. And there were GOP blunders. Harold Stassen's speech accusing the government of using supports to keep up prices and his general attack on the Department of Agriculture buttressed some of the Democratic claims of Republican unconcern for the farmer.

Nov 11-15-48

[From Late Editions of Yesterday's Times.]

RANKIN WINS EASILY IN MISSISSIPPI VOTE

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 24 (UP)—Representative John E. Rankin, outspoken advocate of white supremacy and states' rights, won a fifteenth term with surprising ease tonight as both of his opponents in the Democratic primary conceded defeat. Nomination by the Democratic party in Mississippi is tantamount to election.

34a(2)

Returns from 193 of the 224 precincts in the First Congressional District gave Rankin a majority of 13,646 votes against 5,334 for Circuit Judge Raymond Jarvis and 4,248 for Claude Clayton.

Three other members of Congress, Thomas G. Abernethy, Fourth District, John B. Williams, Seventh District, and William Colmer, Sixth District, were leading their opponents.

Thur. 8-26-48

COLUMBIA, S. C., Aug. 24 (AP)—South Carolina Democrats today nominated James B. Hare, a 30-year-old lawyer of Saluda, to represent them from the Third Congressional District.

Mr. Hare, the son of a former United States Representative, defeated John C. Taylor of Anderson in a run-off primary. Unofficial returns from 327 of the district's 329 precincts gave Hare 38,440 votes and Taylor, 20,419. Mr. Taylor is a former Member of Congress.

A Red Hot Issue Saves John Rankin

The Courier-Journal
Thur. 8-26-48
34a(2)

IT LOOKS as if his enemies were too quick to count John Rankin out. His big victory over two solid citizens who sought his seat in Congress confounded those political prophets who had said that this time, sure enough, old John was through.

At this distance from the First Mississippi District, the explanation seems fairly plain. John Rankin had a campaign issue hot off the griddle and he used it to make the constituents forget his dreary performance last year, when he ran a discredited last in the race to succeed Theodore G. Bilbo in the Senate. It was, you might have guessed, Communism.

Thur. 8-26-48

For all that the names of Parnell Thomas, Mundt and Nixon bob up as the inquisitors in reports of Un-American Affairs Committee hearings, Mississippians know the committee as John Rankin's committee. And just now it is riding high, burning up the track, producing a fresh sensation and a juicier smear every day. We can just hear old John telling the boys back home that it will never do to change horses in the middle of the stream that flows from Moscow. We can hear him putting the question: With Rankin out, who is going to save the civilization of T.V.A. and white supremacy? The answer was a clear majority and a 15th term in Washington.

Election Of Negro To New York Assembly From Brooklyn Assured

World: Atlanta, Ga. Wed.

All Majority Candidates In Withdrawal

7-28-48

BROOKLYN — (NNPA) — The election of a colored person to the New York State Assembly from the 17th Assembly District appeared certain last Thursday when all white candidates withdrew from the race, leaving three colored candidates to battle for the post.

The winner will be the first colored person ever elected to office to Brooklyn.

Wed. 7-28-48

The Democratic party in the 17th Assembly District designated Bertram L. Baker as candidate for the State Assembly. Baker, who has the endorsement of the American Labor Party, replaced Assemblyman John Walsh, the original Democratic designee, who declined because of "the pressure of business."

The other candidates are Mrs. Maude B. Richardson, Republican, and Mrs. Clarissa Bostic, Liberal party candidate. Political observers believe that the race will be between Mrs. Richardson and Baker and that Mrs. Bostic may withdraw.

BACKS BAKER

The race was narrowed down when Thomas R. Jones, well known colored labor attorney, declined the ALP nomination to throw his entire support behind Baker's campaign, and Larry Foster, Brooklyn tavern owner who was a candidate for the Republican nomination, announced that he had withdrawn and would support Mrs. Richardson.

Although the Democrats would not admit that pressure compelled the nomination of Baker, it is significant that he was not designated until after a picket line had been thrown around the 17th Assembly District Democratic headquarters, demanding that the Democrats endorse a colored candidate for the Assembly. The pickets were led by supporters of Henry A. Wallace.

Mrs. Richardson, often referred to as Brooklyn's "First Lady" is a strong vote getter in this traditionally Democratic borough. She lost a previous assembly race by seventeen votes. She was an alternate delegate to the recent Republican national convention. The mother of four children, she has been active in community affairs for more than twenty years.

Baker, a public accountant, is a former deputy collector of internal revenue and was the ALP-Democratic candidate in 1945 for the City Council. He is married, 50-years old and has two children. Chairman of the executive board of the United Action Democratic Association of Kings County, he is the recognized spokesman for his party on matters affecting colored people in his district. He also is the president of the New York State Tennis Association and executive secretary of the American Tennis Association.

Mrs. Bostic is well known in Brooklyn political circles.

In the 5th Assembly District, Alfred Duckett, a free lance newspaperman, has entered the race as an ALP candidate against Mrs. Maude Springer, a colored woman who has been designated by the Liberal party.

Trumanites Win Every Election In New York City

Daily World

Atlanta

Sat. 11-13-48

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Negro Democrats won every election in New York City last Tuesday. Headed by Rep. Adam Powell, they swept four members into the state legislature, completely obliterating the Republican vote.

Powell won over Republican district leader Harold C. Burton 63,000 to 14,000 by better than four to one; in the assembly fights, in the 11th district Colden Brown lost to Thomas Dickens, Democrat, Brown polling 6,815 votes to Dickens' 16,000 and 3,343 for Cyril Stephens on the American Labor party ticket; in the 12th district, unknown Elijah Crump won with 26,793 votes to 9,305 for his Republican opponent, Eugene Kemp, and 6,065 for Lyndon Henry, ALP, and 4,827 for Clarence Francis of the Liberal party; in the 13th district, Harold A. Stevens polled 20,238 votes to defeat his Republican opponent, Fred Farrar Jr., who had 8,283 votes, and in the 14th district, Hulan E. Jack was given 10,133 votes to win over his Republican opponent, Israel Davis, who had 2,571 votes.

11-13-48

Running for the state senate, the Rev. Ben Richardson on the ALP ticket had 12,719 votes to Democrat Harold Panken's 55,874.

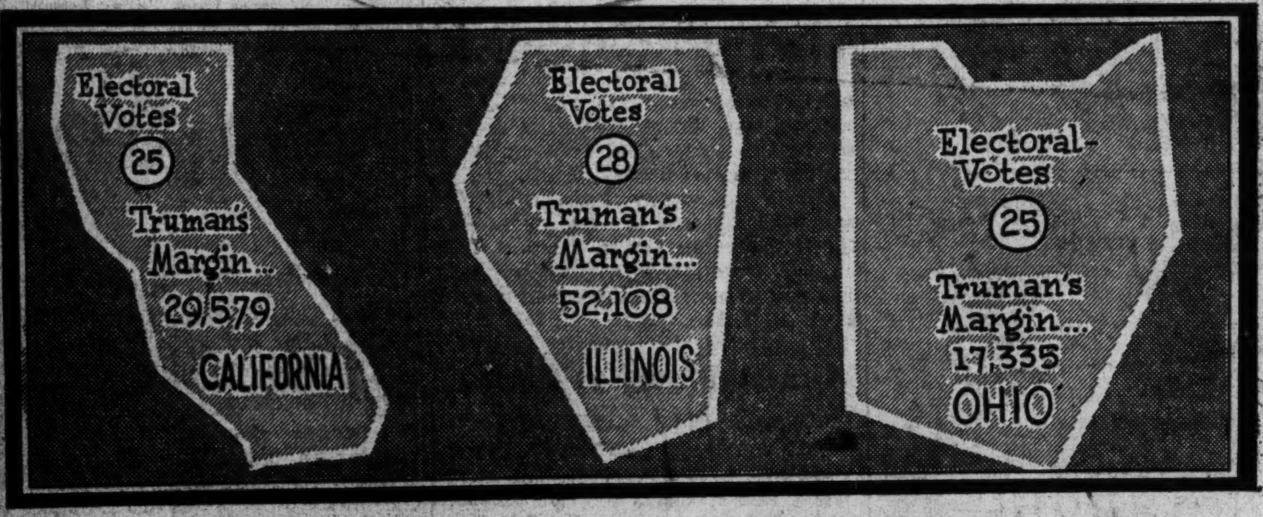
Harlem stuck with Truman all the way. Figures follow:

	Truman	Dewey	Wallace
11th D.	19,373	4,620	3,484
12th D.	34,052	9,613	6,676
13th D.	24,089	9,055	5,492
14th D.	13,172	2,632	6,251
16th D.	17,957	7,756	7,000
	108,643	34,076	28,903

Thus New York continued to send more Negroes to its state legislature than any other state and turned out a total of 171,622 votes in a year when registrations did not hit the peak.

Race Ballots in Illinois, California and Ohio Put Truman in Win Column

34a(2)



Negro votes in these three key States proved the key to the re-election of President Truman

EDITOR'S NOTE: John Clark, The Pittsburgh Courier's political analyst and writer of this story, is one of the few men who predicted that Ohio and Illinois, two of the most important States in the Nation in the Electoral College, would go to President Harry S. Truman. In the following story he points out clearly the fact that the Negro vote was a decisive factor in swinging the election into the Democratic column. He also called the turn on six Democratic nominees for the U. S. Senate.

The Courier - Sat 11-13-48
Pittsburgh Pa.

By JOHN L. CLARK, Political Analyst, Pittsburgh Courier.

The Negro vote in three key States swang the Democrats into the victory column on Tuesday, Nov. 2. These three States were:

1. Illinois, with twenty-eight votes; 2. Ohio, with twenty-five electoral votes, and 3. California, with twenty-five electoral votes.

A shift of only 51,000 Negro votes in these three States would have reduced President Truman's winning margin of 99,022 popular votes to less than one-half of that number. Governor Dewey naturally would have gained in the shift. If that had happened the President would have finished the race with seventy-eight less than his present 304 electoral votes for a losing to [redacted] of 226. Governor Dewey's 189 total in the Elect [redacted] College implemented by the se ht electoral votes thus gained, would have produ a winning total of 267 . . . e than the needed majority.

Here are the total v Truman majority, the Negro vote and the Neg tage for Truman in the three States mentioned

CALIFORNIA	
uman Vote	1,875,345
ewey Vote	1,845,766
tal Vote	3,731,111
man Margin	29,579
ro Vote	100,000
man Vote (est.)	70,000
wey Vote (est.)	30,000
Truman Margin	40,000
ILLINOIS	
Truman Vote	1,980,872
Dewey Vote	1,928,764
Total Vote	3,909,636
Truman Margin	52,108
Negro Vote	119,512
(3 Chicago wards on South Side)	
Truman	85,262
Dewey	34,250
Truman Margin	51,012
OHIO	
Truman Vote	1,459,896
Dewey Vote	1,442,561
Total Vote	2,902,457
Truman Margin	17,335
Negro Vote	200,000
Truman	130,000
Dewey	70,000
Truman Margin	60,000

These unexpected figures were revealed in a political survey conducted by the Los Angeles, Chicago and Cleveland offices of The Pittsburgh Courier.

Figures used in State compilations are based on the latest unofficial election returns.

While it has long been recognized that the Negro holds the balancing vote in many States, it has also been charged that the race seldom exercised that advantage.

DECISIVE ROLE

The results reported above prove without a doubt that in the recent election, Negroes joined with organized labor and the women of the Nation to make their ballots count decisively in these three States.

The Negro vote played decisive roles also in West Virginia, according to a report received from I. J. K. Wells, editor of Color magazine, but it was in California, Ohio and Illinois that the margin was so very pronounced. In these three States, where the total Negro vote was 419,000, their votes swept Mr. Truman into office.

The political preference of the Negro before the election was just as baffling as that of other races. An expressionless silence, which started early in the year and lasted until the polls closed, left the impression that Negroes, like all other voters interviewed by samplers of opinion, "were ready for a change." That was not the case. Much of the story, however, did not leak out until after the results were announced last Wednesday.

From this writer's viewpoint it seems to have been a case of not liking Governor Dewey less, but liking President Truman more. As reasons were unfolded gradually it was learned that a few Negroes who belonged to the trade union movement were opposed to the Taft-Hartley Law.

But most of them forgot about that issue. The issue was complicated, too hard to understand and as they viewed it, the law had not made working conditions any worse for them.

But they were determined to back up Mr. Truman's position on civil rights. They weren't too sure about his sincerity when he appointed his Civil Rights Commission.

They still had doubts when he urged that the report of this commission be enacted into law. They still thought he might have been a Missouri hypocrite at the Philadelphia Convention when Mayor Humphries of Minneapolis, Minn., demanded a "spelled-out" plank on civil rights in the Democratic platform.

HE CONVINCED 'EM

They became convinced, however, that he was no run-of-mind Democrat when he refused to back down after Mississippi and Alabama walked out of the convention. The clincher came in the unusual move Mr. Truman made in calling Congress into a Special Session to find out if the Republicans meant what they said in their June platform. Civil rights legislation, public housing, and price control were included in his message to the law-makers of the Nation at that time.

What the special Congress did NOT DO about civil rights moved the Negro voters closer to Mr. Truman. When the President refused to bow to the wishes of Negro-hating States like South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana, and set out to campaign with these States against him, no amount of persuasion could convince the Negro that President Truman was not the greatest champion of minority rights to come along since Abraham Lincoln.

Negroes waved no flags. Negroes took no part in loyalty parades. Negroes (aside from the professional politicians) did no talking in public. But they surprised election officials all over the country by going to the polls early on election day and voting for the man whom they thought would serve their best interests.

BASIC ISSUES

The conduct of the Republican Eightieth Congress and Dixiecrat party made Mr. Truman the standout candidate for Negroes on equal rights. But other issues in his campaign were also appealing. The present cost of butter, hams, steaks and other foodstuffs; Federal low-cost housing for families unable to pay higher rents than those charged in slum areas; Federal program for more school teachers and assistants to those seeking education; increased social security payments and assistant to the agent—these issues reached into the lives of Negroes of all walks of life and, particularly those with low incomes. As election day neared these issues, with Mr. Truman's position on civil rights always in the forefront, sealed the determination of Negroes to vote Democratic.

The interest of the Negro voter was never higher. According to reports his voting was never more concentrated.

From Chicago, Joseph D. Bibb thus reports: "Despite predictions of Chicago Republican bosses in the heavy voting colored communities, the ballot cast for President Truman and the Democratic party assumed landslide proportions.

"In the famous old Second Ward, from whence came ex-Congressmen Oscar DePriest, Arthur W. Mitchell and the present incumbent William L. Dawson, Truman received 30,718; Dewey, 12,295 and Wallace, 133.

"In the Third Ward, (95 per cent Negro) Truman, 26,841; Dewey, 11,457, and Wallace, 13.

"In the new Twentieth Ward (98 per cent colored) Truman, 26,703; Dewey, 10,498 and Wallace, 284.

"The same pattern and percentage prevailed in the Fourth and Fifth Wards where many colored voters live. In scattered districts on the far South Side, the near North Side and the West Side, the colored electorate plumped for the Democratic ticket religiously."

TELLS THE STORY

Negro voters should do well to remember that Mr. Truman's margin in the entire State of Illinois was 52,108. Mr. Truman's margin in three colored Chicago districts was 51,012. That, we think, tells the story of Illinois.

Albert J. Dunmore, representing the Ohio office, gives this information: "The seven large urban centers of Ohio, including Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Toledo, Akron, Youngstown and Dayton voted better than three-to-one for Mr. Truman in the Negro districts. In Cleveland, where the Negro vote went heavily for Mr. Dewey in the 1944 election, the vote went three-to-one this year for Mr. Truman.

Out of some 200,000 Negro votes cast throughout the State, more than 130,000 went in the Democratic column. A complete breakdown will not be available for another week. For this reason, The Courier had to depend on estimates arrived at through careful checks with both Republican and Democratic leaders and available precinct returns used as an average.

CLEVELAND DEMOCRATIC

In Cleveland, out of an estimated 45,000 Negro votes, 32,000 were cast for the Democratic candidate. Most important of the trend in Ohio was the heavy Truman vote in Cincinnati, home baliwick of Senator Robert A. Taft. This vote came largely from the Negro wards. It has been conservatively estimated that some 15,000 out of a possible 25,000 Negro vote total in Cincinnati went for Truman. Precincts in the teaming Sixteenth Ward, heart of Cincinnati's West Side, turned in results like this:

Truman	207
Dewey	64
Truman	257
Dewey	62

In Columbus, the State capital, 12,000 out of the 18,000 votes went to Truman.

In Akron, in the Twenty-sixth Ward alone where most Negroes live, the vote was: Truman, 7,091;

Dewey, 2,380, and Wallace, 358.

In the Canton-Alliance-Massilon area the count was Truman, 9,000; Dewey, 3,000.

A report form Atty. Maynard Dickerson, Mahoning County, Youngstown reads as follows: "The total registered vote is 99,782;. 10 per cent of this vote is Negro. Out of sixteen precincts heavily populated by Negroes in Youngstown, 88 per cent of the popular vote went for President Truman, which made Mahoning County the strongest Democratic county north of the Mason-Dixon line and east of the Mississippi River."

Hill's California report is incomplete. But he points out that "Byron Rumford became the first Negro Assemblyman from Berkeley, polling 28,494 votes to 13, 594 for his Republican opponent, Edgar S. Hurley. Throughout the State, it was noted that the Republican party lost ground among colored voters. In and around the San Francisco-Oakland area, where the bulk of colored voters residing in Northern California live, it was noted that these voters abandoned the GOP, remained true to the Democrats and sprinkled a few votes to the Wallace-powered IIP."

WINNING MARGINS

The following figures show the winning margins, Negro and electoral votes, in the three States where a shift of the Negro vote could have changed results of the entire election:

Truman's Margin		Negro Vote	Shift Needed to Change Results	Elect. Votes
Calif.	29,579	100,000	15,000	25
Illinois	52,108	150,000	27,000	28
Ohio	17,335	130,000	9,000	25
Totals	99,022	385,000	51,000	78

Dawson Schedules National Truman Civil Rights Day

Black Dispatch

Sat 9-18-48

34 a 11

Wants Church Congregations To Rally

Oklahoma City Okla.

NEW YORK—Congressman William L. Dawson, chairman of the National Citizens Committee for the re-election of President Truman, this week called upon churchgoers throughout the nation to rededicate themselves to the achievement of true democracy for all Americans.

The Congressman appealed to ministers of all faiths to set aside one Sunday during the period September 12-26 as National Truman Civil Rights Day. He urged them to impress upon their congregations the individual responsibility of every person for supporting the President's Civil Rights Program which he termed "the essence of democracy and the key to world peace.

Sat 9-18-48

"Freedom, peace and security are within our reach at this time," Congressman Dawson said. He reminded, however, that historically, freedom has been bought with sacrifice—often with blood, sweat and tears. He urged church congregations to rally financially behind the National Citizens Committee in their efforts to re-elect Mr. Truman whom he said has demonstrated the highest degree of statesmanship in pressing for a new birth of freedom in America.

"Truman has won the support of all Americans who are true believers in the brotherhood of man," Dawson said. "In his determined stand for civil rights, he has shown a courage and deep conviction unmatched by any of his predecessors in the White House. We must match his deeds with our dollars. We must reelect this true disciple of American democracy."

Congressman Dawson paid high tribute to the ministers of the nation for their labors on the civil rights battle line. He said: "Many have toiled in the heat of day, often unheralded and seldom appreciated to establish the true brotherhood of man throughout the length and breadth of our country. I know that each minister has been greatly strengthened in his efforts through the knowledge that they have had behind them a strong ally in President Truman.'

Sat 9-18-48

Reports coming into the National Citizens Committee headquarters at the Biltmore hotel indicate that numerous communities are moving full speed ahead on their Truman Civil Rights Day plans.

The Kentucky Citizens Committee, headed by Frank Stanley, publisher of the **Louisville Defender**, will hold a mammoth rally in the Louisville City Auditorium on September 26th. Mrs. Hortense Young, executive secretary of the committee, was in New York this week for a conference with Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., whom they hope to secure as the main speaker for the occasion. Congressman Dawson has also agreed to address the meeting.

The Brooklyn Citizens Committee, headed by Father John Coleman, has completed plans for its Civil Rights Day to be held on September 12th at the Boys' High school. Brooklyn labor leaders this week teamed in to make the rally a resounding success. Odell Clark, Hexton Harden, and Charles Owens are actively supporting the committee's plans.

From Cleveland, Ohio, come reports that Attorney Jean Murrell Capers is having a huge rally on September 26th. Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, executive director of the National Citizens Committee, will be a guest speaker. Attorney Raymond Pace Alexander of Philadelphia will be principal speaker for the big civil rights rally in Roanoke, Virginia on September 12th, Dr. Harry T. Penn, chairman of the Virginia Citizens Committee, has informed national headquarters.

Sat 9-1948

"These encouraging reports are an indication that American citizens have stopped murmuring about civil rights and are pitching in financially, politically, and spiritually to make it a vital reality in our national life and throughout the world," Congressman Dawson said.

Re-Elect Truman Units Active In 79 Cities, 30 States, Dawson Reports

Chicago Def

NEW YORK—Strong nationwide support by Negroes of the candidacy of President Truman was divulged this week by Chicago's Congressman William L. Dawson in a progress report on the National Citizens Committee for the Reelection of President Truman of which he is chairman.

Branch committees of the organization, formed after the close of the Democratic National Convention in Philadephia, have been estabished in 17 states, and sponsors of the organization represent 79 cities in 30 states, he said.

Sat 10-2-48

In addition 21 outstanding Negro publications have been pledged to back the Truman campaign.

One of the most heartening factors of the drive to raise $1,000,000 to finance the campaign, Congressman Dawson, pointed out in his report is the enthusiasm of the little man in this campaign as indicated by a large number of small contributions.

Dawson's report declared in part:

Sat 10-2-48

"Negro Democrats in South Carolina and Arkansas have already forwarded thousand dollar contributions each to the National Committee. They are continuing to raise funds. Texas, Georgia and Virginia have state-wide organizations rallying Negro voters for President Truman and raising campaign funds for his re-election. A number of understanding Negro Americans in this country have made history by contributing a thousand dollars each for the re-election of Mr. Truman.

"Contributions from thousands of "little people" in America have been heartwarming. In some instances these contributions have been nothing more than strong moral support, but these are as significant as financial contributions. The other day a letter came to us from Mrs. H. Peat, 403 East Easton st., Tulsa, Okla. She wrote: "I am 73 years old. I have no money to give, but I am for Mr. Truman for President. and tell all the colored papers to publishthat he must be our President. Heis the only man for it."

Sat 10-2-48

Mississippi's $10,000 for Truman

The Courier

34 a 11

OUR esteemed contemporary, the Jackson (Miss.) Advocate, announces that the Mississippi Division of the National Citizens Committee for the Re-election of President Truman has accepted the task of raising $10,000 from the one million Negroes of Mississippi to keep President Truman in the White House.

Sat 9-11-48

This committee has suggested that every Negro in the State give up the price of a good dinner to make sure that the party of Rankin, et al., remains in power in Washington, D. C.

"What," says the editor, "is the price of a good dinner at the table of liberty?" And he adds, "It is a time of great challenge to every thinking Negro, and every responsible Negro leader in every community in the State."

Pittsburgh Pa.

It is certainly the right of every Negro in Mississippi to give up the price of a good dinner and contribute it to the coffers of the Democratic party or to any other party.

With campaign funds as low as they are, it is unquestionable that $10,000 from Mississippi Negroes would be welcome to the Democratic party at this crucial time with the handwriting appearing faintly on the wall.

Senators Stennis and Eastland and Congressmen Rankin, Whitten, Whittington, Abernathy, Winstead, Colmer and Williams will probably be so glad to get that $10,000 from Mississippi Negroes that they will use their influence and votes to have all civil rights legislation promptly enacted!

As to dining "at the table of liberty," there may be a little difficuty because of the "separate but equal" provision in the Mississippi constitution.

Of course we have never heard of this table of liberty in Mississippi but of necessity it would have to be a jim-crow table, and it is difficult to see how Negro and white Democrats could dine at the same time unless it is planned to build a partition down the center with white Democrats feasting on one side and colored Democrats feasting on the other side.

Possibly the problem might be solved by having the diners eat in colored and white shifts, and in the usual order.

Here, indeed, is "a great challenge to every thinking Negro" in Mississippi and, we might add, to the thinking white folks as well, because the problem of seating all of these Mississippi Democrats of both races at the same time at any table, liberty or otherwise, will be no less difficult than squaring the circle or melting the Greenland ice cap.

34 a 11

Nevertheless there is no doubt in our minds that the problem will be solved in some manner best known to the collectors of the $10,000 because the editor insists that "the price of liberty . . . must be paid for in cash money."

Sat 9-11-48

We know there are some carping individuals who might suggest that the $10,000 be used by Mississippi Negroes for some homely and practical purpose like establishing a health clinic or a portable first aid station against the time when the white Mississippi Democrats resume their usual pastime, but such advice will be rejected with indignation.

After all, if the reforms presumably instituted by Mr. Truman in Mississippi, Missouri and elsewhere in the Smith and Wesson Zone are to be continued, the Negro Democrats should be willing to pay for them, even if they do have to dine at "the table of liberty" after Rankin and Eastland have finished!

Dawson Schedules National Truman Civil Rights Day

Black Dispatch
Sat 9-18-48
34a(1)

Wants Church Congregations To Rally

Oklahoma City
Okla

NEW YORK — Congressman William L. Dawson, chairman of the National Citizens Committee for the re-election of President Truman, this week called upon church-goers throughout the nation to rededicate themselves to the achievement of true democracy for all Americans.

The Congressman appealed to ministers of all faiths to set aside one Sunday during the period September 12-26 as National Truman Civil Rights Day. He urged them to impress upon their congregations the individual responsibility of every person for supporting the President's Civil Rights Program which he termed "the essence of democracy and the key to world peace.

Sat 9-18-48

"Freedom, peace and security are within our reach at this time," Congressman Dawson said. He reminded, however, that historically, freedom has been bought with sacrifice—often with blood, sweat and tears. He urged church congregations to rally financially behind the National Citizens Committee in their efforts to re-elect Mr. Truman whom he said has demonstrated the highest degree of statesmanship in pressing for a new birth of freedom in America.

"Truman has won the support of all Americans who are true believers in the brotherhood of man," Dawson said. "In his determined stand for civil rights, he has shown a courage and deep conviction unmatched by any of his predecessors in the White House. We must match his deeds with our dollars. We must reelect this true disciple of American democracy."

Congressman Dawson paid high tribute to the ministers of the nation for their labors on the civil rights battle line. He said: "Many have toiled in the heat of day, often unheralded and seldom appreciated to establish the true brotherhood of man throughout the length and breadth of our country. I know that each minister has been greatly strengthened in his efforts through the knowledge that they have had behind them a strong ally in President Truman.'

Sat 9-18-48

Reports coming into the National Citizens Committee headquarters at the Biltmore hotel indicate that numerous communities are moving full speed ahead on their Truman Civil Rights Day plans.

The Kentucky Citizens Committee, headed by Frank Stanley, publisher of the **Louisville Defender**, will hold a mammoth rally in the Louisville City Auditorium on September 26th. Mrs. Hortense Young, executive secretary of the committee, was in New York this week for a conference with Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., whom they hope to secure as the main speaker for the occasion. Congressman Dawson has also agreed to address the meeting.

The Brooklyn Citizens Committee, headed by Father John Coleman, has completed plans for its Civil Rights Day to be held on September 12th at the Boys' High school. Brooklyn labor leaders this week teamed in to make the rally a resounding success. Odell Clark, Hexton Harden, and Charles Owens are actively supporting the committee's plans.

From Cleveland, Ohio, come reports that Attorney Jean Murrell Capers is having a huge rally on September 26th. Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, executive director of the National Citizens Committee, will be a guest speaker. Attorney Raymond Pace Alexander of Philadelphia will be principal speaker for the big civil rights rally in Roanoke, Virginia on September 12th, Dr. Harry T. Penn, chairman of the Virginia Citizens Committee, has informed national headquarters.

Sat 9-18-1948

"These encouraging reports are an indication that American citizens have stopped murmuring about civil rights and are pitching in financially, politically, and spiritually to make it a vital reality in our national life and throughout the world," Congressman Dawson said.

Dewey, 2,380, and Wallace, 358.

In the Canton-Alliance-Massilon area the count was Truman, 9,000; Dewey, 3,000.

A report form Atty. Maynard Dickerson, Mahoning County, Youngstown reads as follows: "The total registered vote is 99,782;. 10 per cent of this vote is Negro. Out of sixteen precincts heavily populated by Negroes in Youngstown, 88 per cent of the popular vote went for President Truman, which made Mahoning County the strongest Democratic county north of the Mason-Dixon line and east of the Mississippi River."

Hill's California report is incomplete. But he points out that "Byron Rumford became the first Negro Assemblyman from Berkeley, polling 28,494 votes to 13, 594 for his Republican opponent, Edgar S. Hurley. Throughout the State, it was noted that the Republican party lost ground among colored voters. In and around the San Francisco-Oakland area, where the bulk of colored voters residing in Northern California live, it was noted that these voters abandoned the GOP, remained true to the Democrats and sprinkled a few votes to the Wallace-powered IIP."

WINNING MARGINS

The following figures show the winning margins, Negro and electoral votes, in the three States where a shift of the Negro vote could have changed results of the entire election:

	Truman's Margin	Negro Vote	Shift Needed to Change Results	Elect. Votes
Calif.	29,579	100,000	15,000	25
Illinois	52,108	150,000	27,000	28
Ohio	17,335	130,000	9,000	25
Totals	99,022	385,000	51,000	78

Mississippi's $10,000 for Truman

Sat 10-2-48
34a(1)

OUR esteemed contemporary, the Jackson (Miss.) Advocate, announces that the Mississippi Division of the National Citizens Committee for the Re-election of President Truman has accepted the task of raising $10,000 from the one million Negroes of Mississippi to keep President Truman in the White House.

This committee has suggested that every Negro in the State give up the price of a good dinner to make sure that the party of Rankin, et al., remains in power in Washington, D. C.

"What," says the editor, "is the price of a good dinner at the table of liberty?" And he adds, "It is a time of great challenge to every thinking Negro, and every responsible Negro leader in every community in the State."

It is certainly the right of every Negro in Mississippi to give up the price of a good dinner and contribute it to the coffers of the Democratic party or to any other party. With campaign funds as low as they are, it is unquestionable that $10,000 from Mississippi Negroes would be welcome to the Democratic party at this crucial time with the handwriting appearing faintly on the wall.

Senators Stennis and Eastland and Congressmen Rankin, Whitten, Whittington, Abernathy, Winstead, Colmer and Williams will probably be so glad to get that $10,000 from Mississippi Negroes that they will use their influence and votes to have all civil rights legislation promptly enacted!

As to dining "at the table of liberty," there may be a little difficuty because of the "separate but equal" provision in the Mississippi constitution.

Of course we have never heard of this table of liberty in Mississippi but of necessity it would have to be a jim-crow table, and it is difficult to see how Negro and white Democrats could dine at the same time unless it is planned to build a partition down the center with white Democrats feasting on one side and colored Democrats feasting on the other side.

Possibly the problem might be solved by having the diners eat in colored and white shifts, and in the usual order.

Here, indeed, is "a great challenge to every thinking Negro" in Mississippi and, we might add, to the thinking white folks as well, because the problem of seating all of these Mississippi Democrats of both races at the same time at any table, liberty or otherwise, will be no less *difficult than* squaring the circle or melting the Greenland ice cap.

Nevertheless there is no doubt in our minds that the problem will be solved in some manner best known to the collectors of the $10,000 because the editor insists that "the price of liberty" must be paid for in cash money.

We know there are some carping individuals who might suggest that the $10,000 be used by Mississippi Negroes for some homely and practical purpose like establishing a health clinic or a portable first aid station against the time when the white Mississippi Democrats resume their usual pastime, but such advice will be rejected with indignation.

After all, if the reforms presumably instituted by Mr. Truman in Mississippi, Missouri and elsewhere in the Smith and Wesson Zone are to be continued, the Negro Democrats should be willing to pay for them, even if they do have to dine at "the table of liberty" after Rankin and Eastland have finished!

Re-Elect Truman Units Active In 79 Cities, 30 States, Dawson Reports

Chicago Def
Sat 10-2-48

NEW YORK—Strong nationwide support by Negroes of the candidacy of President Truman was divulged this week by Chicago's Congressman William L. Dawson in a progress report on the National Citizens Committee for the Reelection of President Truman of which he is chairman.

Branch committees of the organization, formed after the close of the Democratic National Convention in Philadephia, have been estabished in 17 states, and sponsors of the organization represent 79 cities in 30 states, he said.

In addition 21 outstanding Negro publications have been pledged to back the Truman campaign.

One of the most heartening factors of the drive to raise $1,000,000 to finance the campaign, Congressman Dawson, pointed out in his report is the enthusiasm of the little man in this campaign as indicated by a large number of small contributions.

Dawson's report declared in part:

"Negro Democrats in South Carolina and Arkansas have already forwarded thousand dollar contributions each to the National Committee. They are continuing to raise funds. Texas, Georgia and Virginia have state-wide organizations rallying Negro voters for President Truman and raising campaign funds for his re-election. A number of understanding Negro Americans in this country have made history by contributing a thousand dollars each fo the re-election of Mr. Truman.

"Contributions from thousands of "little people" in America have been heartwarming. In some instances these contributions have been nothing more than strong moral support, but these are as significant as financial contributions.

The other day a letter came to us from Mrs. H. Peat, 403 East Easton st., Tulsa, Okla. She wrote: "I am 73 years old. I have no money to give, but I am for Mr. Truman for President. and tell all the colored papers to publish that he must be our President. He is the only man for it.""

NEGRO AND WHITE JUDGES PRESIDE IN FORT WORTH PRECINCT

BY ALMITA S. ROBINSON

34a (2)

FT. WORTH, Tex.__(ANP)--Fort Worth made political history again on Tuesday when for the first time in the county the interracial element was brought in at Precinct 59 when a Negro, Mrs. W. B. Lacy, and a white man, A. L. Bailey, served as presiding judges during the presidential and senatorial election.

Associated Negro Press
Chicago, Ill

Precinct 59 is predominantly Negro but never before have Negroes had a hand in conducting a precinct election during a presidential election year.

Wed-11-10-48

Mr. Bailey is head of the Ft. Worth Building Trades association. Mrs. Lacy was elected chairman of Precinct 59 in the August primary run-off.

Negro Voters Back Truman As 5,000,000 Go To The Polls

The Defender

Chicago, Ill

WASHINGTON — The vote of approximately 5-million Negroes who went to the polls on November 2 was one of the decisive factors in winning the political upset scored by President Truman last Tuesday.

Seasoned Negro politicians estimate the Negro vote for Truman to be between 80 and 85 per cent, much of it concentrated in those states which decided the election—Illinois, Ohio, California and Massachusetts.

The Negro vote in such southern states as Arkansas, Georgia, Texas, and North Carolina helped the President pile up the thumping majorities which placed those states in his column. Although the President lost the state of South Carolina, a larger portion of the 30,498 votes diverted from Dixiecrat Presidential candidate Gov. Strom Thurmond was that of Negroes, informed sources inside the states assert. Some 700,000 southern Negroes were qualified to vote in this year's election. This represents an increase of 600 per cent over 1942. This figure is expected to increase to 2,000,000 by 1952.

In Massachusetts, Dr. Silas Taylor, veteran political leader told the Defender that 82 percent of the Negroes in that state cast their vote for President Truman. Mr. Truman carried Massachusetts by 200,864 popular votes winning her 16 electorial votes.

In New York City's four predominantly Negro districts, the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th gave the President total of 96,686, or approximately 70 per cent of their total vote cast. In each of these districts, Gov. Dewey, Republican Presidential candidate lost by a greater margin than in 1944.

Negroes in Philadelphia gave Mr. Truman a popular vote of 76,166, thereby substantially contributing to his vote majority in this GOP stronghold which he carried by the slim margin of 6,040 votes.

Chicago's predominantly Negro 2nd and 3rd wards lined up strongly behind President Truman and the entire state and National Democratic ticket sweeping the windy city again into Democratic control.

Negro voters in California, many who are immigrants from the South who have benefitted under the New Deal program, also supported President Truman strongly. The fact that the Negro vote is a concentrated vote, due to enforced patterns of segregated living in most urban communities, makes it a potent political factor in strategic states

Sat 11-13-48

Contrary to pre-election claims by certain Progressive Party spokesmen, Henry A. Wallace, the party's Presidential candidate polled a negligible vote among Negroes in Nothern urban communities and practically none at all in the South.

Of the total 1,065,672 votes which the Progressives polled nationally, 507,449, or almost 50 per cent were polled in New York. Of this total, 21,903, or approximately 4 per cent of this vote was Negro. In Philadelphia where Wallace got his third largest support of 20,480

TRUMAN FORGIVING, M'GRATH REPORTS

The Times

34a(2)

Will Forget Minor Defections, Not 'Mortal Sins,' He Says in Key West—GOP Aid Welcomed

New York, N.Y.

By ANTHONY LEVIERO

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

KEY WEST, Fla., Nov. 11—Senator, J. Howard McGrath, chairman of the Democratic national committee, said this evening that the Democrats would welcome cooperation from Republican Liberals in Congress and expressed the belief that President Truman would be lenient with minor offenders among the party's unfaithful.

The Rhode Island Senator joined the Chief Executive this afternoon for a week-end rest at the winter White House on the naval base where Mr. Truman is resting.

The President spent a quiet Armistice Day. Thirty years ago today, as captain of Battery D, 129th Field Artillery, he fired his last shells at the Germans fifteen minutes before the 11 o'clock armistice. Today one of his main activities was to act the host at a swimming party for about fifty members of the press at which note-books and cameras were barred.

Mr. McGrath said he had no specific problems to discuss with the President, that he had merely been invited down for a holiday. He said, however, that he was ready to discuss anything that the President might bring up.

Fri 11-12-48

Senator Silent on Cabinet

The Senator declined to be drawn into a discussion of possible Cabinet changes. Asked if he favored replacement of certain Cabinet members, he stopped the discussion with "no comment."

The brief interview with the Senator then turned in a general way to what might happen to those who deserted Mr. Truman or were merely lukewarm, including Cabinet officers, during the election campaign. After saying that the President was not vindictive, Mr. McGrath added:

"The President isn't geared that way. He can't help but forgive. I'm sure the President will forgive venial sins."

Thu 11-12-48

But he indicated that "mortal" sins would not be forgiven.

Discussion brought out that Mr. McGrath distinguished between venial sins, which he defined as "misdemeanors," and "mortal" political sins. That the party would reward the faithful Mr. McGrath was made equally clear.

"We don't intend to forget our friends," he remarked.

"And what goes with that is that you don't intend to forget your enemies," interjected a reporter.

"That completes the quotation," agreed Senator McGrath.

Meanwhile it was learned that some high party men are after the political scalps of Charles Sawyer, Secretary of Commerce, and Julius A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior. How Mr. Truman feels about this is not known, however. Oscar Chapman, Under-Secretary of the Interior, is mentioned as a possible successor to Mr. Krug.

Prominent in speculation on possible Administration changes was the degree of service given by political figures.

Mr. Sawyer was involved in a party split in his home state of Ohio. As a partisan of Ray Miller, boss of the regular Democratic machine, he was on the losing side.

Mr. Miller was defeated in the primaries for the gubernatorial candidacy of Frank J. Lausche, a Democrat who ran as an independent and won the Governorship on election day. It was also said that some party chieftains were not satisfied with Mr. Sawyer's attitude during the campaign.

Varying reports about Mr. Krug's services in the campaign were being heard. On the other hand Mr. Chapman was one of the chief strategists of the Democrat campaign. Wherever the Presidential train traveled. Mr. Chapman was a few days ahead making arrangements for a favorable reception.

"The assistance of progressive Republicans will be very welcome," was Mr. McGrath's comment on the proffer of such cooperation that was made last week-end by Senator George D. Aiken, of Vermont.

Senator Aiken sent a letter to President Truman in which he said he specifically pledged votes for widening of social Security, development of natural resources, Federal aid to education, and a long-range farm-support program. This letter has not yet reached the winter White House, said Eben Ayres, assistant press officer.

"Not worried" About Deficit

Mr. McGrath said he favored the idea of Mrs. India Edwards, head of the women's Division of the Democcratic National Committee, that women should get greater representation in public office, nut he added that it was "too early to be specific He was asked about the condition of the committee's treasury.

"We have some deficit, which I'M not worrying about," he replied with a smile. He also remarked that before victory came he had been "worried gray"bout campaign funds.

Mr. McGrath came down here with William Boyle, one of his committee aides, who is credited with giving great service during the campaign. Senator McGrath, Vice President-Elect Alben W. Barkley and Leslie L. Biffle, staff director of the senate minority policy committee, will fly to Havana tomorrow for a visit with President Carlos Prio Socarras of Cuba.

Maj. Gen. Harry H. Vaughn, Army aide to the President, represented the Chief Executive today at American Legion Armistic Day ceremonies in town. He said it was Mr. Truman's "fervent daily prayer" that the youths of this and succeeding generations would be forever spared the horrors of war. He also said that th the President has dedicated his life to "Peace for this nation and the world."

A Lot Of People Have Lot To Say About Truman's Victory

The Defender 34a(4)

Sat 11-13-48

Chicago Ill

NEW YORK — Some just said me too, some waited until Wednesday to make their first prediction that President Truman would win the election; some expressed varying surprise, and other frankly admitted that they had been wrong.

At any rate, everyone had something to say about the amazing Truman victory in last week's election—a victory that left the Chief Executive indebted to no political fixers, and free to push through his civil rights, anti poll tax, and anti-lynch programs.

Comments Follow:

Walter White from New York: "Your triumph is a mandate... to carry out the program you outlined so clearly...including housing, labor legislation, civil liberties and inflation control...."

Rev. Clayton D. Russell, Los Angeles: "It is evident that the hand of Righteousness has acted."

Byron Rumford, California: "I'm happy that the country made a wise choice."

August F. Hawkins, California "...a clear mandate from the people for the extension of the civil rights and social security programs."

Dr. H. Claude Hudson, California: "This complete victory gives us an unhampered opportunity to do a thorough job."

Rep. A. Clayton Powell, New York: "I will introduce legislation to force all individuals, groups and companies...taking polls to be licensed and...supervised by a federal agency.

"I will re-introduce all of my civil rights legislation which became the Truman Civil Rights Program."

J. Raymond Jones, New York: "His principles of fair play and his integrity are but the reflection of the ultimate decency of the American people themselves. Harlem [illegible]urally returned a sub[illegible] majority for the one man [illegible] has unswervingly

champ[illegible] the cause of civil rights."

Mon 11-13-48

Willard S. Townsend, Chicago: "The election of Harry S. Truman ....comes as no surprise to the officers and members of the United Transport & Service Employees, CIO."

The Winner And Still Champion

Sat 11-13-48

Chicago Ill

From the backwoods hamlet to the big city square the "common people" of America joined hands last Tuesday and staged a demonstration of faith in the democratic system which has no parallel in our history.

Black men, white men, farmers, workers, women and men from every corner of our great land rallied to support their champion in a vote crusade that stunned the master-minds from Wall street to the Kremlin.

Chicago Defender

34a(2)

Harry S. Truman had angered the white supremacists of Dixie, the bosses of monopoly capital, the 'pinks' of Stalin. He was opposed by the vast combines of American propaganda, the powerful newspapers and the great radio chains and the great horde of commentators, poll takers, and all the false prophets who kneel at the altar of organized greed. No candidate for the presidency of the United States ever faced a greater combination of hostile power.

In the face of such opposition Harry Truman never wavered once. He discussed every issue from civil rights to foreign policy and he took his stand without qualification or compromise. He denounced the evils which beset our society and challenged the views of his adversary at every whistle-stop and railroad junction that he possibly could.

Branding the 80th Congress the "worst" in American history, he said the people would never go wrong if they understood the issues. He took it upon himself to make them understand. He discussed high prices, low-cost housing, federal aid to education and civil rights in plain language and dared his opponent to let the people know where he stood.

The vote crusade which Mr. Truman inspired has given America a new Congress that is committed to liberalism and civil rights. This latter issue was supposed to be the kiss of death and Governor Dewey was afraid even to mention the word. Mr. Truman knew that the majority of the American people are ashamed of race prejudice, of racial discrimination and Jim Crow. He knew that Americans at heart believe in equality of opportunity, in freedom and equal justice.

Sat 11-13-48

For us Mr. Truman's sweeping victory proves beyond question that Negroes shall achieve full citizenship in our democracy and that civil rights represent the bedrock upon which our republic rests. The President won our support and the overwhelming majority of the votes of the Negro citizenry. We therefore take special pride in hailing Harry S. Truman, the winner and still champion.

Voice Of The People

Is This Democracy?

The News

To the Editor:

I sometimes wonder if we have democracy or theocracy. ~~The 1948~~ election has set me to thinking.

Tues 11-9-48

I have just graduated from high school. While there, my teachers always said that the people had the right to vote for whom they pleased. But in this recent election, Truman's name wasn't allowed on the ballot in Alabama. Was this democratic?

My age didn't allow me to vote in this election; if I could have I wouldn't have voted for Truman. But, if any person in Alabama wanted to vote for Truman, that was their privilege. As I will help elect the next president, I would like to know whether a few persons can tell me who I can or can't vote for.

WALLACE HAYES, JR.

1422 North 17th Street.

* * *

Mrs. Thomas Loyal

To the Editor: 34a(2)

The presidential election is over in America. Regardless of our personal feelings about the outcome, let us bless our government and the leaders and let us extend our blessing to all nations and their leaders.

The overwhelming victory America has given to the Democrats is a real challenge to loyal Democrats. May we accept this as a challenge and may our leaders in Congress be unified in thought, purpose and understanding.

B'ham Ala

I have always fought for Dixie, and I shall continue to do so within the confines of the Democratic Party.

I shall fill my place on the Democratic National Committee the next four years to the best of my ability, and as the Southern representative of the executive committee of the Democratic National Committee I shall do my best to help Alabama outlive the terrible publicity we gained internationally by not being able to cast a free vote for the President of the United States. Unfortunately, Alabama voters were political prisoners in this general election. I presume the small vote cast is certain proof that the majority of Alabamians feel as I do about the fact that the nominee of the Democratic National Convention was not on Alabama's ballot.

May we together, in a bipartisan way, pray for and decree a permanent peace, uniting all the nations of the earth in a league of justice and righteousness, in which the life, liberty and love of God shall be paramount. If we do this we have nothing to fear about the future of the world.

MRS. LENNARD THOMAS.

All Pretty Tough

To the Editor:

Tues 11-9-48

Looks as though Little Ole Harry has his personal housing problem pretty well solved for the next four years. And I thought he was fixing up that balcony for somebody else.

Mr. Truman did a good thing for the country when he showed that a president can be elected without the electoral votes of either New York or Pennsylvania. The boys from those two states never seemed to think so.

But while proving this our No. 1 man from Missouri also showed that a president can likewise be elected as a Democrat without all the Solid South. This doesn't make us folks around here any too happy.

Before you wear anything home you'd better try it on for size. Our Dixiecrat High Hat came down over our ears and made us look kind o' small. The idea of throwing the election into the House was too long a shot. It didn't work. The Dixie group was small enough in the Democrat convention and when it got out in the open sea it was smaller still.

It's all pretty tough.

Yet there is one bright and sunshiny corner for us Southerners to snug up in. The election gives us a Democrat Congress with Southerners as chairmen of over half the powerful committees there. The opposite is true with Republicans organizing the Congress. Nearly all committee heads are Northerners. It is in these committees that such legislation as the Dixiecrats have been frightened about are bottled up.

Just goes to show how short-sighted the South is when it takes action calculated to give aid and comfort to the Republicans. Any time we cannot get our dirty linen laundered and ironed out in party convention we had better hold on and wait for four more years.

LUTHER PATRICK.

Have A Drumstick

The News

Sun 11-7-48

THERE IS ONLY one question on which professional politicians, poll-takers, political reporters and other wiseacres and prognosticators can any longer speak with much authority. That is how they want their crow cooked. These particular reporters prefer their crow fricasseed.

With this preface, it is interesting to speculate on the triumphant reelection of President Harry S. Truman in the face of the universal belief that he was a beaten man before the balloting started. An explanation is at least strongly suggested by the vote for the four presidential candidates, plus the votes for candidates for Congress. The people of the United States are considerably further to the left than had been supposed. The facts to support this conclusion can be summarized very easily.

* * *

B'ham; Ala

The Reasons

FIRST, ANYONE WHO PAID MUCH ATTENTION to what Truman said, must have been astonished to observe that his campaign speeches were consistently more aggressive and more radical than any Franklin Delano Roosevelt ever uttered. At his hottest and angriest, Roosevelt never laid into big business as Truman did. Nor did Roosevelt ever promise specific reforms, well beyond any currently popular with other politicians, as Truman did.

Second, the record of the Eightieth Congress was beyond doubt Truman's greatest strength. In the farm states, he could and did point to such phenomena as the Republican senators and representatives undercutting the Rural Electrification Administration at the behest of the power lobby. In the great urban areas, he could and did point to the Taft-Hartley act. His huge audiences did not seem to listen very carefully at the time. But these points of Truman's meant pork chops to the farmers and workers; the farmers and workers evidently went home and thought about it and decided that a vote for Truman would be the best safeguard of their interests.

Third, the Republican conservatism of the great Midwestern farming area, which has been an accepted fact in all recent American political calculation, is a fact no longer. Truman had to carry several states in this area in order to counter-balance his loss of New York and the Dixiecrat territory. He carried them handily. No one can any longer talk with pompous certainty about "isolationist, stand-pat Iowa." The voters in these states were not going to the polls in the mood of the sheriff-chasing mortgage-burning farmers of the '30s. A good many of them could, if they chose, have flown in to cast their ballots in their private airplanes. Yet they voted for the Democrats just the same.

* * *

They Know What They Want

THERE MAY BE SOMETHING to the argument that the prevailing prosperity was a great help to the Ins and an obstacle to the Outs. But it is outrageously patronizing to assume that the electorate did not understand the issue involved in this election.

Furthermore, there is ample proof that the voters knew exactly what they wanted. Without exception, the senatorial candidates of true Eightieth Congress flavor—the brassy Brooks of Illinois, Ball of Minnesota, Wilson of Iowa, Robertson of Wyoming and the Neanderthal Revercomb of West Virginia—ran badly behind Gov. Thomas E. Dewey. In these states Dewey was undoubtedly preferred, as being relatively modern-minded. On the other hand Dewey tralied the more progressive Cooper of Kentucky, who was unfortunately beaten by a small margin, and Saltonstall of Massachusetts, who won. All these returns, together with the ridiculously small vote for the pathetic Henry A. Wallace, make a perfectly clear picture of the voters' political viewpoint.

Only one or two of the Republican isolationist-reactionaries sensed the voters' viewpoint before the balloting. One such was the great tax-cutter, Harold Knutson of Minnesota, who listened to the wind in the grass roots of his supposedly rock-ribbed isolationist Republican district, and loudly announced his last-minute conversion to the Marshall plan a few days before Nov. 2. Those who could not grasp what the voters wanted before Nov. 2, must at least be able to do so now. The brand of domestic policy peddled by the National Association of Manufacturers, and the brand of foreign policy offered by Colonel Robert R. McCormick, may now be officially considered to have about as much political appeal as red-hot vegetarianism.

* * *

What Next?

Sun 11-7-48

THIS IS THE ANSWER, of course, to those blind extremists in the Republican Party who are now muttering the whole business was the fault of Thomas E. Dewey and his "high level" campaign. Governor Dewey could only have come to hard grips with President Truman by talking like Brooks, Revercomb & Co. In that case, the figures say that he would have been far worse beaten than he was. Dewey took the best line he could have taken, to escape the onus of the Eightieth Congress record. The Eightieth Congress record, which was Truman's central campaign issue, was a handicap Dewey could not overcome.

As to what will now ensue, these reporters, feeling somewhat replete after one heavy meal of crow, are not prepared to make forecasts. President Truman returns to the White House owing no individual anything except grudges. He owes much to the American people collectively. But the labor leaders did not want him, the political leaders tried to get rid of him, the Democratic contributors almost unanimously dried up on him, and the press patronized and discounted him. Even within his own administration, there are those whose support he must regard as having been strikingly lukewarm. The question is whether he will not proceed to pay off the unfaithfuls, or will concentrate on the vast responsibility he has courageously won again.—©

It Can't Be True--
--But It Is

The Constitution

34a(2)

Thurs 11-4-48

It was about 3 o'clock in the morning of July 15, in the steaming, anger-torn Convention Hall where the Democrats were assembled.

An effort to produce a platform satisfactory to the South had been defeated in the afternoon by the left-wing groups in the Party. Early in the evening a portion of the Alabama delegation and all the Mississippi group had answered the problem with the primitive and unsatisfactory argument of simply walking out of the hall, leaving the problem to those willing to grapple with it.

By 3 o'clock in the morning, the Democratic Convention had reached the nomination of its leaders, President Harry S. Truman and Sen. Alben Barkley. A mixture of sullenness and hopeful cheering greeted them, as the weary newsmen sent off leads describing them as the nominees of compromise, hopelessness, strife and futility.

Atlanta Ga

Into the bright lights stepped Harry S. Truman. He had said of himself that he was not a great or unusually able man. None thought so of him that night. Mere hours before the political machines in the great cities had sought to block him. The left-wing element had repudiated him, taking him only when, and only because, there was no other choice.

He began to read his statement of acceptance in a flat, uninspiring voice.

"We are going to win," he said, sawing the air with his right hand, "because we are right and they, the Republicans, are wrong."

Today Harry S. Truman and Alben Barkley have won.

An incredulous, astonished and uncomprehending nation cannot quite take in the fact of it. It could not happen. Yet it did happen. Dewey was sure to win. Every poll showed him far ahead. The Atlanta Constitution, while supporting the Democratic ticket, felt, with almost every other newspaper, that Dewey would win but that the popular vote would be close. We had sensed the feeling of the farmers in the South and in the Middle West that the Republican Party was out to destroy the laws of parity and the legislation of price support. We knew the West was disturbed about the GOP effort to balk development of rivers and irrigation. But we never wove this into any interpretation of a great ground swell for Harry S. Truman.

The victory is his. He and Alben Barkley fought for this as no other candidates have fought in the history of our politics. The events of 1916 between Wilson and Hughes were near-miraculous. The events of 1948 were, and are, a political miracle.

It is not difficult to analyze.

The people did not like the Eightieth Congress. The people did not believe it had tried to solve the problems of people who do not, for all the pious promising, have housing. It had not tried to do anything about inflation. It had not tried to do anything to remove the atmosphere of greed and selfishness which were the clothing of that Congress.

The explanation of the Truman victory—which was greater in its aspects than any Roosevelt victory save the one of 1936 —is the same one which won for Roosevelt. The coalition of the farmers and of labor. There were other, lesser elements. But the farmer-labor coalition was its sinews and its bones.

We are happy Georgia gave to the Party its vote. The Republican Party showed a vitality which, had it not been for the Dixiecrats, would have been more effective—as it was in Florida, in Virginia, in Tennessee and other Southern States. The Republicans made a fine showing in the South—when measured against the national yardstick.

It is good, too, that Mr. Truman won to go with the smashing Party victory in the House and Senate. We welcome back to power our old friends, Sens. Russell and George, and our Congressmen. The

full responsibility may now be placed where it belongs.

Thurs 11-4-48

We are the most pleased because of the magnificent vitality which the two-party system showed. The Dixiecrats were impotent and futile in their folly and lack of wisdom in appraising the true problems of the South. The Wallace debacle and collapse was very gratifying. That befuddled man, led to the mountaintop and showed the promised land by the Communists, is revealed in all his naked dishonesty of mind. It was not many months ago he was saying how harmful and futile were third parties. That he should have proved it with his own maddening course is perhaps the truest measure of his mind.

We feel that our democratic institutions have revealed their strength and their stability. God seems always to have been with this nation. We trust that He will continue so, and that our people may bind up their political wounds and say, with our great men of the past, "This is my country, which I love and revere and which I will serve to the best of my ability."

Out From The Shadows

act, labor—and many Americans in other groups—felt that in some respects it had gone too far. What would the Republicans do if they achieved full power? What assurance was there that they would do as well as the Democrats? That was the broad question that evidently troubled numerous voters, whose answer was a turndown of the GOP.

Many feared that tendencies of Republican reaction, already apparent, would go much farther under total victory—and the result might lead toward economic decline and growing international peril.

Mr. Dewey did not have the personal appeal and strength to reassure and overcome such feelings. There was too much division within, and uncertainty about, his party for it to capitalize victoriously on the great chance it faced.

* * *

But whatever accounts for the result, it is our country—and the peace of the world—which should be the first concern of us all.

Gov. Dewey and Gov. Warren, magnanimous in defeat in the traditional American spirit, have expressed their congratulations and good wishes to the president. That should be the spirit of all Americans. It is events, dangers and realities, irrespective of parties and persons, that largely make the issues confronting the nation. The needs for fundamental unity, which the Republicans admirably stressed so emphatically, remain urgent. We Americans will need all our combined strength, wisdom, fidelity. United endeavor to supreme objectives commands us all.

Thur 11-4-48

That does not mean, of course, that we must forego sincere expression of differing convictions about methods and programs. It does mean that we should seek the light and leading which come from such discussion in a broad-minded spirit and with our highest devotion to the common good.

This newspaper believes that such a spirit and devotion will be dominant and that in the strength and guidance which they provide our nation can press on with confidence, even in this troubled age, toward better and happier times for itself and all the world.

The News

Thur 11-4-48

34N(2)

Bham Age

The nation is still trying to take in the meanings and implications of President Truman's astonishing victory and the powerful resurgence of the Democratic Party. Mr. Truman himself steadfastly proclaimed confidence that he would win. But surely there were relatively few Americans who had any such expectation. The results of the election were so surprising as to be shocking to the capacities of analysis of even the most seasoned observers. It was much as if something had happened that simply could not happen. How account for such a reality as that?

Here were the Democrats who had been in executive power for 16 years fraught with many problems and developments making for uncertainty, doubt, divided sentiment and much criticism. Their leader had been subjected to severe and widespread attack. He had made serious errors and shown decided shortcomings. Besides, there was intense division in the party, with one wing going to the Thurmond-Wright ticket, others following Henry Wallace. How could the Republicans fail in such an opportunity. They couldn't—so it seemed. Many of the millions who voted for Mr. Truman doubtless felt that way themselves. But they did. Why?

* * *

Well, remember, first of all, that there is a substantial record of Democratic achievement. There is a tremendous mass feeling that the Democratic Party is closer to the people and their problems. There was the obvious fact that Mr. Truman had sought valiantly to serve the nation as best he knew how. In many ways he had shown his courage, his devotion. So far the country is still at peace. It is still enjoying an unprecedented economic prosperity. The president and the Democratic Party—not without persuasive reasons—presented themselves as the faithful guardians of both.

On the other hand, the Republican 80th Congress had raised doubts on the question of foreign policy—particularly aid to other nations. It had done little about the pressing problems of housing and inflation. Sound as are important parts of the Taft-Hartley

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Alabama Press

The Election! (The Election!)

(From The Montgomery Advertiser)

The News

Mon 11-8-48

. . . THE ADVERTISER IS DISTURBED that Harry Truman will guide the destinies of America in the coming four years. We believe that he is dangerous through his incompetence, so profusely exampled. But for all of that, we have all the time been calling Truman a gamecock and conceding—nay, proclaiming—his gallantry. And that is about all we can talk about today.

Bham Age

34N(2)

Harry Truman will take office for the new term in January as perhaps the most debt-free president in American history. He doesn't owe anybody anything.

Last Summer at the Philadelphia convention the party leaders sought by all means to dump Truman because he obviously could not win. They tried to blast Truman out with the magical Eisenhower.

The fat cats of the party were stingy with their campaign contributions. . . . So there were times when Truman didn't have the price of a needed radio broadcast.

His cabinet officers had as deep an infection of Potomac fever as anybody else in Washington, but why waste their wind on a mortally stricken candidacy? They lay down on Truman and barely went through the campaign motions.

Henry Wallace split off from the party, reviled Truman and—according to the polls—deprived Truman of victory margins in pivotal states.

Parts of the Solid South—as a crowning blow—split off from the party, and the nettle of it was that the desertion could not in this case be attributed to religious prejudice. . . .

What of Alabama, the South and the civil disturbance program?

Truman will now contend that he holds a mandate from the American people to enact these measures.

But there is no reason to despair. We will, as we always have, depend on the only powers that can finally obstruct these enactments—Sen. Hill, Sen. Sparkman and the congressmen.

In their resistance, the congressmen will be served in an unheralded fashion by the Dixiecrat movement. The movement occasioned a debate that impressed many thoughtful and powerful elements.

Truman has no reason to be grateful to the revolting states. That especially applies to Alabama, where Truman's dispirited followers backed down from qualifying a slate of electors. . . .

Mon 11-8-48

Alabama has been twice scandalized in the eyes of her sister states in the past two years. The first national Alabama scandal was James E. Folsom. The next one (as the nation sees it) is a ballot on which Truman's name did not appear.

Only in a spirit of restraint and of calm can we repair this damage. It is now time for the raucous hotspurs to subside. . . .

Wright Congratulates Truman But Reaffirms States' Rights

34N(2)

Commercial Appeal

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

Fri 11-5-48

Memphis Tenn

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 4.—Governor Wright, States' Rights candidate for vice president, Thursday wired President Truman his congratulations and pledged full co-operation "within the framework of the Constitution in your efforts to preserve world peace and find peace and happiness for our peole at home."

The Governor, however, informed the President that the States' Rights "fight to preserve the principle of local self-government" will be continued.

"Along with all the people of the Nation, I admire the courageous and untiring campaign waged by you so victoriously," the Governor's telegram stated.

Fight Will Continue

"Our fight for tates' Rights was a fight to preserve the principle of local self-government, and we shall continue to fight in defense of this fundamental precept of the Constitution whenever the need may arise," the message stated.

In a statement, Governor Wright said the people of Mississippi, "with typical courage and devotion to the cause of constitutional government, have once again expressed their determination to preserve our ideals and freedoms." Mississippi gave the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights electors a 10 to one vote, for which the Governor said: "I am deeply grateful."

Co-operation Pledged

"Our freeway of life can only be preserved through the efforts of interested citizens fulfilling the responsibilities of Government under the Constitution," he said. "Mississippians will always perform abligations as citizens in order that we may continue to enjoy our privileges as citizens of this the world's last great citadel of freedom.

Fri 11-5-48

"Now that the election is over, I know that all Mississippians will give full co-operation in working together with their fellow Americans for a continuation of our way of life in keeping with the spirit of the Constitution—guardian of our freedoms."

THOMAS L. STOKES

'Trying To Steal the Election'

34a(2)

The Courier Journal

WASHINGTON—It is becoming clear already in "interpretations" of the recent election by spokesmen of big interests who are trying to discount the Truman triumph that the campaign already is under way to nullify the victory of the people. What the people said was plenty plain. They want more social and economic protection along the lines that Harry S. Truman promised in his campaign which they ratified. They don't want any more sleight-of-hand and hidden ball plays such as those in the Eightieth Congress to check such changes. Harry Truman told them all about those and the election showed they had caught on.

Yet those who would steal this election, after the fact, are relying again upon Congress and the same sort of legislative legerdemain. Their hope lies in using an old familiar blockade—that coalition between hard-shelled Republicans and mossback Southern Democrats that was organized 10 years ago after the 1938 election and has stopped every proposed social and economic welfare measure since.

It could happen if the people are not alert and if President Truman fails to organize his victory in Congress.

But the President can get most of his program, and without too much compromise, if he constantly calls upon the great public support manifest for him in the election, keeps the people informed of what goes on in Congress, as he did so effectively in his campaign analyses of the Eightieth Congress, and uses his political skill to organize the progressive forces in Congress and the nation.

For the election was a victory for progressivism and an analysis of election results shows that this can be translated into Congress through changes there that the voters made, so that the President can have a workable majority, despite the coalition, in both branches on most of his program. There was a considerable and healthy infusion of progressivism in new members who ran on the Truman program. These came, for the most part, from areas conducive to progressivism, many from big urban centers in the East and Middle West which reflect the influence of labor, others from the West where there is basic progressivism and particularly on conservation issues such as reclamation and public power.

Wed 11-10-48

Properly organized and directed, they will be in a position to batter away at such barriers as may be raised by conservative Southern Democrats who again will occupy some important committee chairmanships, though not quite as many as formerly.

An example of the problem of President Truman and progressives is the House Rules Committee where the ball has been hidden so often before, most recently in the Eightieth Congress when the long-range housing bill was tucked away so that the House never got a chance to vote on it. Democrats will have eight places on that Committee in the Eighty-first Congress, with four for Republicans. There are five Democratic vacancies. If the clear mandate of the election is not represented there by progressive appointments and if conservatives are given a preponderance—there are already two Southern Democrats on the Committee—then much of the election victory will be stolen right there, no matter how the people voted.

It took nine months, for example, to get the Wage-Hour Bill out of that Committee back in 1938, though Democrats had an overwhelming majority in the House itself. That was, incidentally, the last New Deal reform. In the subsequent election that year, Republicans boosted their strength from 80 to 169 in the House and the famous coalition was organized with Southern Democrats to squelch every such bill.

That illustrates the potential danger in the next Congress in which Republicans still will have 172 members, Democrats 262 and American Labor Party one. But, of the hundred Democrats from the South, it appears that fewer will go along with Republicans consistently than 10 years ago. Also there are a number of Republicans, both in House and Senate, who will not become parties to the coalition.

Wed 11-10-48

A quick appraisal as of this time indicates that President Truman should be successful on housing, health, education and minimum wage increase bills to which the Republican platform also gave indorsement. He will have difficulty with revision of the Taft-Hartley Act and inflation controls, though he should get something in each of those fields. As for civil rights, he now has a majority in both branches through Republican support, though the same filibuster problem exists in the Senate as before unless the rules are changed to outlaw filibustering.

That Amazing Election Monopolizes Comment In Kentuckiana Press

Courier Journal

Mon 11-8-48

34a(2)

Louisville Ky

THE astonishing upset which elected Harry Truman and Alben Barkley almost monopolized comment by Kentuckiana newspaper editors last week.

Jess G. Anderson, writing in THE MAYFIELD MESSENGER, declared: "Everybody was fooled but the people. They were confounded, too, and puzzled, but they did not concede before the election. They went out and voted in huge numbers. . . . The people had read where the election was all over, but they didn't believe it."

Said THE PADUCAH PRESS, in Senator Barkley's home town: "So many stories have been written on Paducah's favorite son since our last edition that if we devoted every column of our paper to Mr. Barkley, leaving out the ads, we still couldn't get one tenth of everything in, so we've hit the high spots. We're all proud of the well-deserved honors bestowed on the senator and we predict that he will be the outstanding Vice-President in United States history. Can we say more?"

Said THE PADUCAH SUN-DEMOCRAT, in a wrong-guessing editorial written just before the votes were in: "The senator's friends—and his political foes—must agree he has set another example in the 'how you played the game' tradition. He gave it all he had and will continue to give, in the service of country and party."

THE GLASGOW TIMES jubilantly printed "three items written Monday when the clouds were dark and before the Democratic skies opened and the deluge of Democratic votes descended on a startled and unprepared people." Said one of three: "Democrats have little to be thankful for this Thanksgiving. After eating turkey for 16 years it is going to be hard to stomach a meal of crow."

GRINNED THE SCOTT COUNTY (IND.) JOURNAL: "It looks like Mr. Truman might be able to take over the job of Dr. Gallup in case he decides he wants another job. He seems to have confounded all the experts by the accuracy of his prediction."

Said THE MADISONVILLE MESSENGER: "As tabulation of America's vote in yesterday's election neared an end today, the nation was talking, not particularly about the great Dr. Gallup and his monumental inaccuracy in forecasting a Dewey landslide, but about the amazing race which President Truman, the man from Missouri who refused to be counted out, ran against the well-oiled and smoothly-operating Dewey machine."

Said THE CYNTHIANA LOG CABIN: "There probably has never been a national election when public and private opinion so generally agreed on what was considered a certain Republican victory. . . . The highlight of the election in Kentucky was the remarkable race by John Sherman Cooper, Republican nominee for United States senator. . . . Probably 60,000 Democrats scratched their ticket and voted for popular Senator Cooper."

Said THE HODGENVILLE HERALD-NEWS: "The three-year era which was marked by the belief of many that President Truman was a political accident and could not stand on his own feet has ended. The President's smashing win over the Republican candidate, States' Rights opposition splitting the South and Wallaceites costing him the electoral vote of the State of New York, is simply amazing. . . . (Truman) has increased in stature both at home and abroad."

Said THE HENDERSON MORNING GLEANER: "It was wholly a personal victory. Truman was deserted by all the Democratic wheel-horses but his stablemate—the other horse in the entry—Alben Barkley. Barkley could not well have done otherwise than support Truman, but as someone noted, about half of Mr. Truman's cabinet members were in Washington playing golf when he needed them most."

Mon 11-8-48

THE MURRAY DEMOCRAT described the plight of passengers at Cadiz last Sunday when a bus waited until someone succeeded in buying a country ham for Senator Barkley. "From the buoyant appearance of Mr. Barkley in Murray Monday morning," continued THE DEMOCRAT, "apparently he had a big slab of the ham for breakfast." But THE DEMOCRAT, expressing itself just before the election, was afraid "there will be plenty of us who will be absent (from the polls) because of the feeling of futility of the Democrats upon this occasion."

THE LANCASTER CENTRAL RECORD said: "This is Mr. Truman's shining hour. It was he and he alone that sold himself in this campaign. It could be called a single-handed victory in a way, as he had to put himself across when practically everyone, including Democrats and Republicans, didn't think he could do it. . . . The people . . . have said that they were satisfied with Mr. Truman and the policies that he represents. It will be up to the Congress, now Democratic, to fall in line and carry them out."

THE SHELBY NEWS' editorial, apparently written before the votes were in, was headed: "Good, regardless of who's elected." It struck an uneasy tone, however: "The election is over and changes are in order and inevitable. Farm prosperity seems at its height. There is no road open to farm prices but the road down. The turn may be far ahead but inflation cannot last forever."

THE CORYDON (IND.) DEMOCRAT, like many other weeklies, was handicapped because it publishes on Wednesday, and editorial copy must be prepared in advance. However it did say this: "When the presidential campaign was started there likely were some people in some parts of the world who hoped that it would reveal a serious disunity and confusion among the people of America. These hopes did not materialize. As this is written—before the election and just as final appeals for votes are made across the land—it is evident that those anti-American hopes were not realized."

Truman Proves He's an Expert

Free 34-a(2) Press
Sun 11-7-48

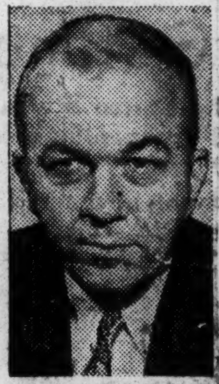
BY THOMAS L. STOKES

WASHINGTON—Harry S. Truman knows the folks who vote.

He demonstrated very satisfactorily, as far as this reporter is concerned, that he knows more about the psychology of the people of his country than the paid-by-the-hour psychologists, the "experts" who were so very sure he couldn't possibly win, including this blushing exhibit, and the professional pollsters who think they can chart what people think.

And, with his perception of human nature, he did the trick all by himself, with no outside help. He alone, apparently, had the magnificent obsession that he could win.

His victory was not only a tribute to his own sound sense and a sure political intuition, his courage, his faith in himself and in the people, his dogged persistence in a gruelling campaign, but it was also a tribute to the sound sense of the American people. They demonstrated again that, given the chance, they are nearly always able to distinguish for themselves between the real and the artificial, the honest and the phoney, with that rare discernment that has made our democracy the living, vital thing that it still remains in a world of confusion and considerable sham.



Stokes

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THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY had little money. In many states the organization was weak and handicapped by dissension. Many candidates on the Democratic ticket would not even mention Mr. Truman's name for fear it would endanger their hold on their own jobs.

One of the most interesting things about the election, and somewhat ironical also, was that the President brought in many of these "summer-time Democrats" to Congress on his coattails. That little joke he must indeed enjoy, along with his joke on the "experts."

It was a modern Pied Piper performance. The President set out over the country piping his story. Nobody seemed to pay too much attention. Then come Election Day, somehow or other they got in line, a great multitude of them, and walked in and voted for him.

* * *

HIS ELECTION is regarded as virtually a miracle. This all-wise town is filled with little groups here and there asking: "What happened?" It is a miracle, in a way, and yet when you follow the trail back carefully the simple plan evolves, and you wonder why nobody saw it.

There are enough plain people in all walks of life in this country to elect a President, and this embraces two groups highly organized—industrial workers and farmers.

To arouse people politically an issue is necessary. The Republican Party, when it captured control of Congress in 1946, handed one to Truman on a silver platter, as the astute now realize too late. Big interests caught the people napping after the ordeal of war and were able, by well-financed propaganda, to elect a Congress that immediately proceeded to do their bidding. They were too greedy.

Sun 11-7-48

PRESIDENT TRUMAN went out and told the folks about it in plain language they could understand. He leaned heavily on the first rule of effective propaganda which is to tell the story over and over.

He emerges as a kind of Andrew Jackson character, a plain man of the people against those who would exploit them.

And he owes nobody anything, not the big interests which spent so much money and planned so carefully to get him out of the way; not the Dixiecrats who were left out in the cold with their prejudices by his victory; not a lot of "summer-time Democrats" who refused to lift a hand for him; not the labor leaders who a few months ago were trying to dump him but rallied about him for self-preservation.

OHIO POLL DECIDES

It Clinches for President in Race Called Miracle of Electioneering

N.Y. Times

NO RECORD BALLOT IS SEEN

N.Y.-N.Y.

After Victory, Truman Tells Brother That 'I Just Want to Deserve the Honor'

Thurs 11-4-48

34-a(2)

By ARTHUR KROCK

The State of Ohio, "mother of Republican Presidents," furnished the electoral bloc early yesterday forenoon which assured to President Harry S. Truman a four-year term in his own right as Chief Executive of the United States. Until this late accounting of votes cast in Tuesday's general election put Ohio firmly in Mr. Truman's column, after it had fluctuated throughout the night, he was certain of but 254 electoral votes, which were twelve less than the 266 required.

The historic role played by Ohio was only one of the dramatic and extraordinary phases of the election of 1948 in which the President, opposed by the extreme right and left wings of the Democratic party, and almost unanimously assigned to defeat by forecasters in professional politics, in the press in the radio business and in the "institutes" that sample public opinion, won a minimum of 304 electoral votes, as against 189 acquired by his Republican opponent, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York; carried a Democratic majority in Congress along with him after the Republicans had held this for two years; and gained victory through a multi-sectional combination of states that did not include New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and four of the Southern states in normal Democratic territory.

Thurs 11-4-48

Miracle of Electioneering Seen

In the political history of the United States this achievement by Mr. Truman will be set down as a miracle of electioneering for which there are few if any parallels. His victory made him the undisputed national leader of the Democratic party which, though bitterly divided for the past few years, has acknowledged none since the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom Mr. Truman succeeded from the office of Vice President.

When it was assured that he would have Ohio's electors and hence the majority he needed, and Governor Dewey had wired his congratulations and publicly conceded defeat, the President dedicated his official future to world peace and domestic prosperity and said to his brother, J. Vivian Truman, simply: "I just want to deserve the honor."

No Record Vote Indicated

In the result, unexpected by nearly everyone who qualified as a judge of elections except the President himself, there were these other attendant circumstances:

1. The popular vote, expected to reach 51,000,000 or 52,000,000 and thus break the record poll of about 49,548,000 in the Presidential contest of 1940, will probably be far short of the 1940 total.

2. It is possible that Mr. Truman's plurality over Mr. Dewey will not exceed 2,000,000 and may be less than that, which is smaller than the electoral division of 304 to 189 would ordinarily indicate. But this can be partly attributed to the fact that two splinter Democratic tickets were in the field—the States' Rights Democrats headed by Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and the Progressives headed by Henry A. Wallace, which will poll almost 2,000,000 votes more than probably would have gone in large measure to the national Democratic ticket in normal circumstances.

THE NINETEENTH MAN

New York Times

At a late hour last night, with not much more than a handful of election districts still missing, the popular vote of the four principal candidates for President stood as follows:

Fri 11-5-48

34-a(2)

Truman	22,590,000
Dewey	20,733,000
Wallace	1,060,000
Thurmond	910,000

These figures warrant three significant observations:

New York N.Y.

(1) The total popular vote cast for President is apparently going to be in the neighborhood of 45,000,000. This is not even half of the Census Bureau's estimate of the 95,000,000 men and women of adult age eligible to vote. It represents, despite the subsequent increase in population, less than the total vote that was cast four years ago. It is considerably smaller than the total vote that was cast eight years ago. While the campaign was in progress, the response of the voters to the business of electing a President was widely described as apathetic, and the accuracy of this description is demonstrated, regrettably, by these all but final figures.

(2) Mr. Truman will win the election by a plurality of about 2,000,000, so far as the popular vote is concerned, and with a total of 304 votes in the Electoral College. This popular plurality of 2,000,000 compares with 3,600,000 for Roosevelt in 1944; with 4,900,000 for Roosevelt in 1940; with 11,100,000 for Roosevelt in 1936; with 7,100,000 for Roosevelt in 1932; with 6,400,000 for Hoover in 1928; with 7,400,000 for Coolidge in 1924, and with 7,000,000 for Harding in 1920. The Truman Electoral College vote of 304 compares with 432, 449, 523 and 472 for Roosevelt in the years from 1932 to 1944; with 444 for Hoover in 1928; with 382 for Coolidge in 1924 and with 404 for Harding in 1920. In short, we have to go all the way back to Woodrow Wilson in 1916 to find either as small a popular plurality for the winner or as low a total in the Electoral College as were registered this year. Tuesday's result looks like a dramatic and stunning Democratic victory only because of the wildness of the pre-election forecasts and the fact that so few observers, aside from Mr. Truman himself, gave Mr. Truman any chance at all to win. Actually this was the closest Presidential election, and the narrowest victory, in the political history of the United States in thirty-two years.

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(3) A shift of one voter in every nineteen from Mr. Truman to Mr. Dewey would have given Mr. Dewey a popular majority. It is to the preference of this one-man-in-nineteen that Mr. Truman owes his margin of victory. This is a fact that should be taken into consideration by those who interpret the result of the election as a smashing endorsement of Mr. Truman's whole legislative program, as outlined in the campaign.

Liberal Ideas Have Taken Deep Root

The Courier-Journal
Louisville Ky
Thur. 11-4-48
34a(2)

THE United States is a liberal country. The United States is a Democratic country, as long as the party sticks to liberal principles. Those are conclusions that emerge from the welter of confusion and astonishment that began when the ballot boxes were opened on Tuesday.

All of us had underestimated the lasting change that **Franklin D. Roosevelt** wrought in the thinking of the American people. His personal magnetism was so great that many observers believed the mass of voters supported him rather than his program, which meant that the program would lose the acclaim of the public under a less glamorous leader. Tuesday's vote showed us that **Roosevelt** fixed liberal ideas deeper than we knew in the American consciousness. Like the trees he planted in the shelter belts, they have taken root and flourished, resisting wind and drought. The people want the progressive measures **Roosevelt** first made them believe in. They will continue to vote for a party that vigorously supports those measures.

Truman

All of us underestimated **Harry Truman** as well. His courage and determination literally snatched victory from the jaws of defeat. When it looked last spring as if he was certain to lose, he just began fighting harder for his liberal principles, many of which he had supported more vigorously than **Roosevelt**. He was elected on his own merits, with conspicuous help from almost no important political figures except **Alben W. Barkley** and, in the late stages of the campaign, **Harold Ickes**.

Thur. 11-4-48

Now he goes into a new era with a Democratic majority in both houses of Congress. For the first time he has a full chance to show what he can do, not as the accidental heir of a popular President, but as a President in his own right. He has a mandate to pursue certain progressive lines which he laid out for all the voters to see when he was a candidate. We can expect specific action from the 81st Congress in these fields already charted by **Truman**: housing; inflation control; raising of the minimum wage; broadening the benefits of social security; increase in Federal conservation activities to include a Missouri Valley Authority and similar projects; development of public power with Government control of the transmission lines from power dams; restoration of tidelands oil reserves to the Federal Government; protection of public grazing lands from efforts to turn them over to private cattle ranchers; continued price supports for farm products; Federal aid to education, and removal of restrictive provisions from the displaced persons bill.

In foreign affairs he will steer straight ahead along the course he has charted. The non-Communist world will welcome his re-election as a token of American determination to stay in the fight for Western civilization.

He is committed to the repeal of the **Taft-Hartley** Act. This newspaper believes that both the President and the Democratic majority in Congress, while disposing of a measure which has become a mania and a shibboleth with labor, will see the necessity for writing many of its sound provisions back into a new labor law. A labor bill under another name can be made to smell sweeter to the unions. We fervently hope that labor leadership will be wise enough to take a constructive part in building a new statute to replace the one they have been so determined to destroy.

On civil rights, we hope President **Truman** will proceed to cut his program into three parts. It should never have been thrown into one lump in the first place. He could get through the new Congress an anti-lynching and an anti-poll tax bill, forcing if necessary a change in the cloture rule to stop filibusters. We do not believe the new Congress will pass a Federal fair employment practices measure, or that it should, but at least the issue should be debated separately.

Thur. 11-4-48

Truman told the country what he meant to do if elected. The voters knew what to expect, and they returned him to office. **Thomas E. Dewey**, confident of victory, was unwilling to disclose what course his administration would take on many important issues. His may be the last campaign in the old Republican style of sitting tight and saying as little as possible. The electorate showed a fine new determination to scratch ballots, to vote for men and issues, and to ignore party labels. That is the historic victory of November 2, 1948.

Remove Jim-Crow Toilet Signs At Site Of Truman Inaugural

34a(2)
Chicago Defender
Chicago Ill
Sat 12-4-48

WASHINGTON — Jim Crow took a beating on Capitol Hill when David Lynn, capitol architect, ordered the immediate removal of "colored"-"white" signs from two separate entrances to temporary toilet facilities erected on Capitol grounds to accommodate workmen who are building the stands for President Truman's inauguration.

Sat 12-4-48

Lynn, who is in charge of designing and approving plans for the 1949 inaugural construction, disclaimed any responsibility for the existence of the Negro-white toilets and demanded their removal as soon as the matter was brought to his attention. "It's against the policy of the Administration, and would be embarrassing to the President" he told the **Defender.**

A check of some of the Negro workmen employed on the job by Skinker-Garrett, a private construction company under contract to the Government to build the Capitol inaugural stands, revealed that many of them had cold shouldered the Jim Crow toilets. Instead, they had availed themselves of non-segregated facilities in the Capitol building where they reported they had encountered no difficulty. In fact they stated the Capitol guards had shown them every courtesy in directing them to such facilities.

Sat 12-4-48

An Affectionate Farewell to Harry

The Constitution
34a(2)

WASHINGTON—The ballots haven't been counted at this writing, but there seems to be no further need for holding up an affectionate farewell to Harry Truman, who will go down in history as the President that nobody hated.

Even his political enemies couldn't help liking him personally; few other Presidents could say as much. We're going to miss lil' ole Harry with the infectious grin, the meticulously folded handkerchief in the breast pocket of the snappily tailored coat, and the penchant for embarrassing the politicians by blurting out what he thought.

He's had his picture taken, I guess, in more trick hats than Cal Coolidge. And even though he acted angry, as when he threatened to draft the striking railroad men into the Army, he didn't really mean it.

Wed 11-3-48

Whether he was a good President or a bad one isn't for me to say. But I do know that for many a year to come prints of the celebrated photo showing Lauren Bacall perched on top of our Harry's piano will bring fond smiles to the beholders.

Atlanta Ga

I happened to be in the National Press Club that incredible afternoon when Mr. T. sat down to thrum out the "Missouri Waltz." The sultry lady from Hollywood assumed a leggy pose on the lid of the battered piano. The sticklers for protocol were bitter about this one, but I doubt if anybody in the room enjoyed Miss Bacall's big moment as much as did the gentleman from Independence, Mo.

The main reason everybody liked him, I think, is this: He was a normal guy. He was scared when he was thrust into the most responsible job in the world; I heard him say so at his first press conference and I'm sure he meant it. He had his worries, goodness knows, but he soon began to enjoy life at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

He got a bang from the weird gifts sent by admiring citizens; he took it big when he went riding in his yacht with the two pianos. He enjoyed his private flying machine, his railroad car with the bullet-proof window panes, and his house full of crystal chandeliers and servants in uniform. He wasn't used to all this and it gave him a lift; the average fellow like me, for instance, enjoyed it all, too, second-hand.

The President never let down his friends; unfortunately this wasn't always vice-versa. Many a critic claimed that this loyalty was one of his greatest weaknesses; perhaps it was, but you can't dislike a fellow who forgives and turns the other cheek.

All this sounds like I'm writing his obituary. I don't mean it that way. He'll be in the White House for another couple of months and I only hope that on sunny afternoons he rocks on his new back porch. He'll get to wander around the house now in an old bath robe, if he wants. That's one beauty about being an outgoing President. He can let the formal social season go hang and not stifle himself in a white pique vest, serving pale punch to stuffed shirts in large masses. He likes small parties, with his pals around, and I hope he gets to play a little penny ante with them.

Wed 11-3-48

He is one of the few Presidents to leave the White House in robust good health. He doesn't look as old as he is, nor does he act it. There has been many a joke (and even the Truman jokes all have been in good humor) about him going back to the haberdashery business. But oddly enough there has been not one hint in any quarter about what he intends to do in January.

One thing's certain. He'll have to go out and earn his living. Perhaps he'll be chairman of an insurance company; he's certain to take some such dignified job. He'll enjoy that, too. And I have no doubt that after a hiatus of nearly four years it'll be his pleasure to dry the dishes again for his beloved Bess.

Afro-American
Baltimore Md.
Sat 12-4-48

Labor, Farm, Colored Vote Called Prime Factors in President Truman's Election

Cabinet Post Reward Not Expected, Although Competent Lawyers Are Available for Job

By LOIUS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The prime factors in the election of President Truman, insofar as bloc votes go, were the labor, farm and colored votes.

None of these blocs alone would have been sufficient to elect Mr. Truman. But without anyone of them he would not have been elected.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey might not have been elected, but he would have, at least, received enough electoral votes to have kept. Mr. Truman from getting a majority and the election of a President would have been thrown into the House of Representatives.

There the Dixiecrats would have been in a position to use their strength for bargaining purposes.

In the make-up President Truman's Cabinet, which was under consideration at Key West, where the President vacationed, both labor and the farm interests will have representation. But insofar as is known, no Cabinet representation will be given to colored Democrats.

Lewis Served Under Taft

As a matter of fact, no colored person has ever held a Cabinet post, and not since the administration of the late William Howard Taft has a colored man been in the "Little Cabinet." The last and only colored man to hold such a position was William H. Lewis, Boston lawyer, who served as an Assistant Attorney General during the administration of President Taft.

There are nine Cabinet positions —Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Defense, Attorney General, Postmaster General, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce, and Secretary of Labor.

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If Mr. Truman is unwilling to elevate a colored person to a Cabinet post, it appears that equity would dictate that one or more be elevated to a "Little Cabinet" post.

Lawyers Qualified

The argument that there are no qualified colored persons for such posts will not hold water. Since the days when Lewis was an Assistant Attorney General, the colored lawyer has grown in stature and has proved his ability in the courts.

Sat-12-4-48

A number of them, have had judicial experience. Gov. William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands, has had both judicial and administrative experience. Two now are members of the Federal judiciary —Judge Irvin C. Molilson of the U.S. Customs Court and Judge Herman E. Moore of the U.S. District Court for the Virgin Islands.

A number of them, like Charles H. Houston, who is engaged in the private practice of law, and Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP, have matched their intellectual powers and legal ability with some of the best white lawyers in the country and have carried off the honors.

Bunche Good Prospect

In other fields there are also colored men of unquestioned ability. For instance, Ralph J. Bunche, United Nations Mediator for Palestine, has proved his skill in international diplomacy in a difficut situation. The State Department has two Under Secretaries and six Assistant Secretaries.

Certainly Mr. Bunche can fill one of these eight positions creditably and, at the same time, help the United States to square in the eyes of the world its practices with its professions.

References here to specific persons and positions are not to be interpreted as excluding other persons and other positions. There are today a large number of colored persons, who, by, character, education and experience, are well qualified to fill any position in the gift of their countrv.

Who Elected President Truman ?

The Cleveland Herald
Cleveland Ohio

Ever since the election, some of the more prominent labor leaders have been claiming that the unions elected Mr. Truman. According to them, the biggest single issue in the election was the Taft-Hartley Act. Fri. 11-26-48

That claim will take a good deal of proving to anyone who has made even a cursory examination of the final returns.

34 a (2)

Governor Dewey ran strongly in the industrial states, where the labor vote is proportionately largest—and he carried most of them. The President, on the other hand, did extremely well in the agricultural regions where organized labor amounts to a small minority of the population.

Arizona provides the most interesting example: Mr. Truman carried that state easily. Yet, at the same time the voters of the state approved a measure outlawing the closed union shop. That certainly does not look as if the people of Arizona want labor to hold the whip hand over the government or the people.

Mr. Truman does not owe his remarkable success to any group or any class. He wasn't elected by labor or capital or agriculture or any segment of the people. He was re-elected by the American people—and he is the President of ALL the people. He does not even owe allegiance to the Democratic leaders—most of them having deserted him when they thought his cause was lost—and he won in spite of these defections. Fri. 11-26-48

President Truman, therefore, has a chance to go down in history as one of the great Presidents—as a man who, when the world was torn between slavery and freedom, stood staunchly for the liberties of mankind—refusing to admit allegiance to special interests of any kind.

The whole civilized world is hoping that Mr. Truman may measure up to the enormous responsibilities that have fallen upon him. He has a chance now to rise above group prejudice or group selfishness.

Voice Of The People

The Man From Missouri

[illegible]

To the Editor:

The man from Missouri headed a committee investigating government appropriations. The man from Missouri, chosen by his friend for a running mate, said when informed of his friend's death, "I never wanted the job but with God's help, I will do my best."

Mon 11-8-48

The man from Missouri, facing up to world reality, said, "We cannot have peace when Europe starves"—the Marshall plan and ERP. "Greece and Turkey must be assisted against the Commie menace with every means at our disposal"—the Truman Doctrine.

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The man from Missouri took off rationing and price controls at the people's request. The man from Missouri told a Republican Congress, "Heavy taxes must be levied now with 60,000,000 jobs and production at a high level."

Bham Ala

The man from Missouri did his own campaigning, telling the people what they received from a do-nothing Congress. This man defied caution when he said, "Civil rights are for all the people without regard to race, creed or color." This man inaugurated the first national safety council for the armed forces.

The man from Missouri said, "I am for the people. The people are for me in spite of poll-takers, prognosticators, newspapers and radio commentators."

The man from Missouri broke traditions, upset applecarts and came out the winner. Why?

Americans love a fighter, a truth-teller even when the truth hurts, a four square individual who evades not the issue, saying, "What must be done, we must do and what we spend must be paid for."

Best wishes for Harry S. Truman, the man from Missouri, our president in his own right for the next four years. W. G. KITTS.

1216 Woodland Avenue.

* * *

Flabbergasted!

To the Editor:

I'm all groggy and goggle-eyed; my lower jaw has dropped down! Dr. Gallup will have to learn to sell apples, and Hans V. Kaltenborn to read psalms. What can we do now with so few "infallible" people left in the world? Where are the prophets? Who can tell us what is going to happen? Harry Truman, the "little man," seems to have performed a political feat surpassing anything ever pulled by the great F. D. R.

Let us remember that the election records of Roosevelt were due to things outside himself, like depression and war. Likewise, outside of President Truman lay the effect of the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law, which, I believe, slid Fred Hartley down the chute into the ashcan, blew Sen. Taft's own state into the Democratic column, and was the largest factor in the greater national result, which has flabbergasted everybody—except Harry S. Truman! W. C. SKAGGS.

Bessemer, Ala.

Do We Have Democracy?

To the Editor:

Since when has a law been passed denying citizens of Alabama the right to vote for whom they please, as was done during the recent election, when Truman's name was left off the ballot and you were told that if you added his name to the bottom of the ballot that your vote wouldn't eount?

Isn't some one forgetting everything that our forefathers fought and died for, when they start telling you whom to vote for or else? It is stated in the Constitution of the United States that the majority rules and some have the idea that the majority of the people of Alabama didn't want Truman. If that is the case, how was it determined? I can't recall the issue being voted on. Can you?

Mon 11-8-48

We are all brought up to be good citizens and one of our duties is to vote, because by doing so we make this a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. But if we are told we can't vote for whom we want, and if we do then it won't do any good, then may I ask what is the point of wasting our time voting? Maybe this isn't a government of the people any more and is now ruled by the politicians, capitalists, etc. We complain because other countries aren't democratic, and yet we ourselves don't know what is means. (MISS) MARJORIE BURGER.

Ceremonies Will Be Fully Integrated, Says Houston

Afro American

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Even Grand Ball Will Be Open to All, Says Committee Member; Observers Skeptical

Baltimore Maryland

Sat-12-25-48

WASHINGTON

The proponents of segregation in the nation's capital will have to go into hiding on Jan. 20, if the plans of President Truman's inaugural committee materialize.

For the first time since the administration of William Howard Taft, when Jim Crow is said to have first reared its ugly head in the District, the foes of segregation have gained a foothold, and plan a completely integrated program on a city-wide basis.

According to W. L. Houston, vice-chairman of the general inaugural planning committee, all of the inauguration day events, including the parade and the ball to be held at the National Guard Armory, will be open to all citizens, regardless of "race, creed or color."

Hard Fight, Houston Says

Mr. Houston admitted to the AFRO that he has considerable trouble in keeping the program on an integrated basis in all phases.

Much of the trouble, however, has not come from the white members of the committee, but from racial groups, who seek to promote their own interests, Houston said.

Although Mr. Houston would not comment upon it, there is a general feeling around the inaugural committee headquarters that the minority group residents of Washington haven't "warmed up" to the inauguration day festivities as much as the rest of the community.

Sat-12-25-48

Procrastination Charged

It is felt in some quarters that, if and when, colored citizens get interested in obtaining tickets for the Inauguration Day parade, the tickets will be sold out and there will be charges of discrimination and the like hurled.

Tickets are on sale for the gala two-and-a-half-hour parade, which will move from the Capitol along Constitution and Pennsylvania Aves., to the White House, at the inaugural headquarters, old Tariff Building, 700 block of E St., N.W.

The highest ($10) and the lowest ($2) tickets have already been sold, but there are still plenty of seats remaining in the middle price range.

Members of the official inaugural ball committee include Judges James A. Cobb and Armond W. Scott, Mrs. Olivette D. Brown, Mrs. Blanche W. Nelson and Dr. William G. [illegible]

Sat-12-25-48

Mrs. Campbell C. Johnson is a member of the office volunteers committee and Mrs. Ulysses Houston is on the housing committee.

Mr. Houston is chairman of the committee on national participation, which includes as members, Rufus G. Byars, J. H. B. Evans, Capt. C. E. Gibson, Robert H. Har- [redacted] Mitchell, Hubert [redacted] Penn and Mrs. [redacted] has been residing in Washington since 1890 and has seen segregation increase to the point where it is now termed as a "blot on our nation," hopes that the Inaugural Day ceremonies will usher in an era which will find this "blot" erased.

Sat-12-25-48

A Victory For The People

34a(2)

Atlanta Daily World

Thur 11-4-48

Atlanta, Ga

The unexpected and startling victory of president Harry S. Truman over Governor Thomas E. Dewey for the presidency of the United States, the highest elective honor that can be bestowed upon any man, is a victory for the masses of people of this nation and, perhaps, the world. President Truman made a vigorous, almost one-man, campaign and won the people by forthrightly tackling the issues of high-cost of living, housing, labor and other questions that are close to the every-day lives of the people.

But, more important to Negro Americans than any of these above questions was that of the issue of human and civil rights. The president courageously met this question with a bold declaration to the Congress of the United States on February 2, 1948, asking for the enactment of laws to strengthen and equalize the citizenship rights of the minority racial and religious groups of our great nation. It was then that President Truman won this paper's unequivocal support. And, we believe the great majority of Negroes of this nation as a whole stuck with the President because of his stand on Civil Rights.

Yes, we admit that at times after the revolt by certain members of his party in the South and in the face of all the predictions by the various polls we thought President Truman was a lost cause. But we decided, win or lose, we were going to stand by a man who was fighting so courageously and so sincerely for a program that we believe will be for the benefit of a majority of all the people.

President Truman has won a victory over the 80th congress, the Wallaceites and the States Righters. He is unquestionably the most popular and the most powerful man in our nation.

We salute and congratulate President Harry S. Truman and pledge our loyal support to him in unifying our nation and continuing his liberal and progressive leadership in behalf of all Americans, irrespective of race or religion.

Mr. Truman's Victory Can Be Attributed To Four Factors

Courier Journal
Fri 11-5-48
Louisville, Ky.

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal

(64a(2))

NEW YORK—The elements of President Truman's remarkable victory, it is generally agreed, were these:

1. The ideas of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal and Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom.

2. The faith of President Truman in these ideas and his courage in basing his campaign on them.

3. The political tactics of Clark Clifford which won the admiration of the electorate, if not of Mr. Truman's other associates in Washington; and

4. The organization of a labor movement, which acquired strength from the Middle and the Right by shedding the support of the ideological Left.

There are many observers who believe there were other important and even decisive factors—the arid personality of Governor Dewey; the attempt of the New York Governor to sit on the fence while keeping both ears to the ground, etc. But these four considerations, combined with the nation's unparalleled economic prosperity, are generally credited with having won for Mr. Truman the most dramatic electoral victory since Wilson defeated Hughes in 1916.

Mr. Truman has probably never been so impressed with the strength of the New Deal philosophy among the electorate as he is today. Last week, despite his great show of confidence and his defiance of all his detractors, he was scarcely as confident in private as he was in public.

When his campaign train rolled into Chicago a week ago last Monday morning, he discussed his chances in moderate and even disparaging terms.

"It's worth a fight anyway," he said to one of his Illinois colleagues; and that was about the measure of his faith.

New Deal to the Last

Nevertheless, such as it was, his faith was greater than that of almost any other member of his official party with the possible exception of his handsome young secretary and political tactician, Clark Clifford.

"Peace, prices, and places to live" was the main burden of his argument. Everywhere he went, he emphasized in homespun terms, the issues popularized by his predecessor: controls for "the interest"; more housing; more social security; equality and even privilege for labor; benefits for the farmers; conservation of the natural resources of the nation; medical security; and equality for all citizens before the law.

Many times in the 44 months since the death of Franklin Roosevelt, Mr. Truman had been a dubious and even wavering supporter of many of the New Deal measures of the past, but in identifying himself in the end with these issues, he gained a response which was greater than anybody on his campaign train imagined.

Almost alone among the White House advisers, Clark Clifford supported and added to this strategy. He described the President's campaign problem in these terms:

Fri 11-5-48

When the Democratic Convention met in Philadelphia last July, he recalled, the President was abandoned by all except his most intimate supporters. The liberal wing of the party had left him; the States' Rights Democrats of the South were in rebellion; the Democratic Party's organization, accustomed to winning without much labor, was dispirited and even hopeless.

Boldness On the 20-Yard Line

"At that time," Mr. Clifford observed, "we were on our own 20-yard line. We had to be bold. If we had kept on plugging away in moderate terms, we might have reached midfield when the gun went off. So we had to throw long passes—anything to stir up labor, and to get the mass votes of the great cities of the Middle West, New England and the East.

This strategy—particularly the use of blunt instruments to win the racial and religious groups of the cities—met considerable opposition within the President's family. The Chicago speech—comparing Mr. Dewey and the Republicans with the totalitarian movement of Italy, Germany and Japan—was much more violent in its original draft than when it was finally delivered, but even then it did not win the support of all Mr. Truman's colleagues.

Nevertheless, the tactic worked better than its contrivers dreamed, and while these efforts at the end of the campaign are not likely to remain as a model of morality, they apparently achieved the objective of persuading the electorate that something important was afoot.

Labor did "get out the vote," as the President had pleaded with it to do. It did respond to the campaign to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and defeat the return to power of a party which was pictured as a symbol of reaction.

What the effect of this campaign will be remains in serious doubt. By his tactics, Mr. Truman has opened up some old party wounds, but by his own stubborn courage he has at the same time won the admiration and even the allegiance not only of many members of his own party but of many of the most powerful members of the opposition party.

Men like Senator Arthur Vandenberg, for example, whose support Mr. Truman will need to implement the foreign and domestic programs he has outlined are full of admiration for his accomplishment if not for his tactics, and at least for a time, he is expected to win their votes when the 81st Congress convenes early in the new year.

Morally, If Not Legally, Bound

The Constitution

As expected, the State Senate yesterday passed without a dissenting vote, Sen. Everett Millican's bill opening Georgia's General Election ballot to any presidential candidate.

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The bill was amended, also as expected, to delete the sections requiring party authorities to certify that candidates for electors are pledged to vote for the party nominees and making it mandatory that the electors cast their votes as pledged.

Atlanta, Ga.

This latter provision was of doubtful legality, inasmuch as electors are Federal officers and, under the Constitution, afforded wide freedom of action.

Even so, it is customary for candidates for posts as electors to state, in advance, their intentions and to cast their votes in the electoral college for the candidate receiving the largest number of popular votes in the General Election.

Unless the Democrats follow this procedure in Georgia, there is every likelihood of the Republicans carrying the State, since a great many persons would rightfully refuse to vote for a slate of pig-in-the-poke electors. Moreover, those Democrats who wanted to take no chances on helping Thurmond and those Dixiecrats who felt the same way about Truman would naturally vote for Dewey.

The main thing is that Georgians will be given an opportunity to vote for anyone they wish—Truman, Dewey, Thurmond or Wallace. As the bill now stands, they will not have the assurance that the State's electors will be bound—legally, at any rate—to support the candidate receiving the largest popular vote, but they will know that no slate of electors would be politically foolhardy enough to flaunt the will of the people thus plainly expressed in an election where every candidate was on the ballot.

Samplings Taken in Four Heavily-Populated Cities

Afro American
Sat 11-13-48

Those Who Picked Democrats Told Why Majority Would Vote for Him

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

As most of the nation's political poll-takers and predicters are busy figuring up their unemployment compensation, the AFRO-AMERICAN observes that its own poll gave first inkling that the Republican landslide might not develop.

In a pre-election summary of results from four heavily-populated East Coast areas, the AFRO poll predicted "the most evenly split vote . . . since the late President Roosevelt took office."

The AFRO poll showed Mr. Truman receiving a plurality of colored votes in each of Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Northern New Jersey.

Opinions Balanced

The polls showed, also, that colored voters were not basing their choices entirely on "colored" issues. This indicated that their opinions somewhat approximated that of the rest of the population, and that the GOP landslide might not come.

Of Baltimore's registered voters, 51.6% chose Truman, 33.9% voted for Dewey and 11.3 picked Wallace.

This gave Mr. Truman 12% fewer backers than Mr. Roosevelt had in 1944 when he barely won the State. The AFRO analysis showed, therefore, that the race for Maryland would be even closer, with Dewey possibly winning.

Actual results showed Mr. Truman carrying Baltimore with a margin of 25,000 votes fewer than Roosevelt had in 1944. Dewey won the State in the predicted close race.

52% Prefer Truman

In Washington, 52% preferred Truman, 27.9% wanted Dewey and 16.2% chose Wallace. No check on these figures can be made, since most Washingtonians could not vote.

Except for the Wallace vote, which evidently is high, those figures approximate the actual vote in adjoining areas.

In Philadelphia, the AFRO poll found Truman losing 20,000 former Roosevelt backers. It also found that the loss of votes in Philadelphia would likely cost the President Pennsylvania.

Actually, Truman carried Philadelphia by 7,500 where Roosevelt had carried it by 150,000 in 1944. Dewey won the state.

In New Jersey, the AFRO saw a split colored vote which would rule out their chances of serving as the balance of power. The results gave Truman 43.8%, Dewey 28.4% and Wallace 22%.

This was a clear Truman margin of colored votes, but less than Roosevelt's 1944 majority. In a race that was close, and shifting Republican, in 1944, the poll indicated that the GOP would win New Jersey.

Colored voters rallied behind Truman stronger than indicated, many deserting Wallace. Not enough switched to prevent Dewey from winning the State, however.

Sat 11-13-48

For all areas combined, the AFRO poll gave Truman 47%, Dewey 33%, Wallace 12% with 8 per cent undecided.

This Truman margin was less than Roosevelt had in 1944. A comparative analysis indicated Dewey improvement over 1944.

This Dewey gain proved not enough, however. The colored vote was decisive, still, in many areas. The result showed that they were thinking similarly to the rest of the voting public. The landslide never came.

HUNTING AN ALIBI?

It's Just Like Truman Said It Would Be

The Constitution

NEW YORK—(AP)—It was precisely as President Truman predicted:

The faces of the poll-takers were red, the morning after election.

The President said the polls, which proved statistically he was beaten before the ballots were cast were wrong. "Sleeping polls," he called them.

And wrong they were.

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Not since 1936 when the Literary Digest poll picked Alf Landon over Franklin D. Roosevelt (final official result: Roosevelt won 46 States to two) have the polls taken such a whipping.

Thur 11-4-48

Dr. George Gallup, Director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, who had predicted a Tom Dewey victory in the presidential race, was one of the few pollsters up for early comment. He said:

"This is the kind of a close election that happens once in a generation, and is a nightmare to poll-takers.

"Everyone is asking 'What happened?' Why did all the polls underestimate Truman's strength? The answer to this question will likely be found in an analysis of voting statistics when they are all available.

Atlanta Ga.

"Here are the pertinent questions to which we are seeking the answer:

"1. Which voters stayed home? Only 47,000,000 voters went to the polls Tuesday. Another 47,000,000 stayed home. Was it the Republicans, or the independent voters who failed to show up at the polls?

"2. What about the undecided vote? As late as the final week of the campaign some 3,000,000 voters had not yet made up their minds. Since many of these voters who were undecided had voted the Democratic ticket in earlier elections, many of them must have decided to cast their vote for Truman during the last few days of the campaign.

"3. Did the Wallace strength early in the campaign return to Truman? Unquestionably the sharp decline in the Wallace vote was a great help in many pivotal States. Wallace insured the Dewey victory in New York. On the other hand, the absence of the Wallace ticket on the ballot in Illinois undoubtedly made the difference there between victory and defeat.

"4. How much help did the national ticket get from local and State candidates? Early returns show many local candidates leading the vote in a number of close States.

"All polls must analyze these problems and work toward their solution to make certain that the same errors do not occur in future election surveys."

Sen. J. Howard McGrath, Democratic National Chairman, had urged Gallup and Archibald Crossley, Director of the Crossley poll, to "properly adjust" their figures to conform with percentage errors shown in the past two presidential elections.

Such an action, he had contended, would show an advantage for Mr. Truman instead of Dewey.

In its final tabulations, the Gallup Poll said Dewey would receive 49.5 percent of the vote and Mr. Truman 44.5 percent.

The Crossley Poll predicted that Dewey would get 49.9 percent, while the President would receive 44.8 percent.

In late August, Elmo Roper, Director of the Fortune Magazine Poll, predicted the New York Governor would receive 52.2 percent of the vote, while Mr. Truman would receive 37.1. Roper stood on these figures to the end of the campaign.

Thur 11-4-48

In the newspaper field, four New York City newspapers supporting Dewey predicted he would receive from 330 to 345 electoral votes.

The Times gave the Republican ticket 345 probable electoral votes from 29 States. President Truman was expected to receive a probable 105 from 11 States.

The Herald Tribune said almost all political experts believed Dewey would get at least 330 to 350 of the 531 electoral college votes. The Sun said the GOP ticket would win the popular vote in at least 32 States.

The Journal-American predicted Dewey would win a minimum of 27 States with 337 electors. It said his popular vote would exceed President Truman's by more than 3,000,000.

The Atlanta Constitution, supporting Mr. Truman editorially, predicted that Dewey would win, as did the Philadelphia Inquirer, which backed the New York Governor.

Other papers which supported Dewey included:

Chicago Tribune, Boston Herald, Fort Lauderdale, Fla., Daily News, New York Daily News, Des Moines Register.

NEW YORK—(AP)—The Literary Digest turned over in its grave—and laughed.

At least, its last editor found himself grinning over the hang-over now afflicting the public opinion polls. All picked Gov. Dewey to beat President Truman. It was the Digest in 1936, which quietly folded its tent and went out of business after picking Landon to beat Roosevelt.

"I get a very good chuckle out of this—nothing malicious, mind you," said graying Wilfred Funk. "We were told by contemporary pollsters that we had been unscientific. I'm afraid they made the same mistakes. I'm afraid the word 'science' isn't going to be used with a poll for a long time."

The Alabama Press On Truman And The Election

What think other Alabamians today on such matters as President Truman's victory, the future of the States' Rights movement? Here are some answers as gleaned from other Alabama newspapers:

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* * *

Truman The 'Miracle Man'

The News

(From The Tuscaloosa News)

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S amazing showing in the presidential election has the poll-takers and other forecasters hanging on the ropes. . .

Sun 11-7-48

This political miracle knocks out several conceptions. One was that the scientifically operated polls could be depended upon to forecast political races. Another was that it is a foolish waste of time in these days to carry a campaign personally to the people. . . .

Truman himself is an ordinary man, hard-working, sincere and conscientious. His people have not taken too much to heart his frequent inclination toward action that place the stamp of "machine politician" on our chief executive.

B'ham Ala

In so far as Alabama is concerned, the situation here still is in a terrific muddle. Theoretically, Alabama voted for Thurmond by going Democratic. Actually, no one knows how this state would have gone if the people had been given the chance to express themselves clearly between Truman and Thurmond.

We hope someone will give him (Mr. Truman) better advice on his civil rights legislation. Alabama and the South will not abide by any such laws, regardless of who may sit in the White House. Efforts at enforcement will inevitably bring discord and blood will be let unnecessarily.

We need a formula that will breed greater confidence, trust, respect and peaceful relationship between various American groups. Anything that will do otherwise, regardless of by whom sponsored, will never be accepted here in the South.

* * *

The Political Tides

(From The Alabama Journal, Montgomery)

FOR MONTHS TO COME there will be groping efforts by thousands of people to explain the amazing outcome of yesterday's election contests. We have had no election in recent years in which all the forecasts were so completely upset, when the prophets were so entirely wrong; when something so unsuspected was operating in the minds of the voters.

Sun 11-7-48

This much can be said in the beginning: The outcome of the voting was a vindication of those who have felt that the American people have become too dependent upon their central government. The tide of Washington patronage has become such a flood as to be almost irresistible. Federal favors and promises to groups and individuals sway the political views of millions of people. . . .

Only time can show whether all these promises and appeals can be reconciled with the tax laws and the nation's sources of revenue. But it cannot go on indefinitely.

Today we feel that the States' Rights campaign was a campaign for pure Americanism, for a return to the constitution, for disregard of selfish greed, in the interest of the nation as a whole.

Another factor in yesterday's voting that was all-powerful was the longing for world peace, and the support given to every promise that seemed to offer further assurance of peace and of every effort, no matter how unprecedented, to guard against the horrors of another war which would bring greater horrors than mankind has ever known.

* * *

Democratic Landslide

(From The Talladega Daily Home)

. . . THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY has pulled one of history's greatest political upsets.

The party has swept to control of both houses of Congress, is throwing its weight around in gubernatorial contests all over the Union and in general is demonstrating that national elections are decided at the ballot box—and not by public opinion polls. . . .

What happened?

The national Democratic Party, of course, was helped along by the fact that the South remained a part of the organization so far as congressional races were concerned. There was no revolt on congressmen or senators and the Democrats in those races received their traditional Solid South majorities.

Alabama, for instance, gave as big a vote to John Sparkman for the Senate as it did to the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights ticket. The state's political revolt was directed at Truman and Dewey and the civil rights program they had expounded.

Sun 11-7-48

Some of the factors clearly are apparent. One of them was Republican overconfidence, which resulted in a namby-pamby, milk-and-water campaign which didn't impress on GOP partisans the importance of getting to the polls. . . .

Another obvious factor was a tremendous resurgence of organized labor, which did very little talking and a lot of efficient, house-to-house campaigning, spending sums of money which probably will come under inquiry later on.

Still another weight in the Democratic side of the scales was inflation and Truman's successful—and none-too-truthful—effort to pin the blame on the current Republican Congress.

The vote could not correctly be construed as an endorsement for Truman. Senators, representatives and governors were not riding the Truman coat tail to victory. On the other hand, popular candidates in many states pulled the head of the ticket along with them.

At the moment no one can be sure of the impact of the Southern States' Rights movement upon Truman's hopes for election. . . . He found it politically expedient to endorse principles which four states of the Southeast could not endure.

The fight of the States' Righters has not been in vain—win, lose or draw for Truman.

All parties concerned in national politics have been put on record that there are limits to what Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana will endure in the way of being kicked around.

34a(2)

This region definitely will receive greater consideration in the years to come—regardless of whether it decides to remain solidly Democratic, or to continue exercising its newfound independence. . .

* * *

Astounding Victory

Sun 11-7-48

WE SUSPECT MOST of the people of the United States feel today just about as President Truman did on April 12, 1945, when he was notified that President Roosevelt had died suddenly at Warm Springs, Ga. Said Mr. Truman to the reporters who rushed to him: "I don't know if any of you fellows ever had a load of hay, or a bull fall on him."

The news of Mr. Roosevelt's death knocked the breath out of him, just as did a load of hay, or a bull, falling on him when he was a farm boy back in Missouri.

Well, the breath has been knocked out of the American people by the totally unexpected election of Mr. Truman. . . .

The victory of Mr. Truman would have been surprising, even if he had had a united party behind him. The Democrats had been in power 16 years; there seemed a national trend of public opinion toward a change.

The after-effects of this election are bound to be widespread on both parties.

Mr. Truman, by reason of his single-handed victory, becomes the almost absolute master of the Democratic Party.

The South will continue to have major control of Congress, because of committee chairmanships, but Southern party leaders no longer will be able to dictate policy or control jobs. The White House is going to have the whip hand, and make no mistake, the "little" Missouri man will know how to use it. . . .

We still entertain the belief that Mr. Truman is shy of the ability needed to guide this nation in the four tempestuous years that lie ahead. He is going to have an almost entirely new band of advisers, for he is sure to drop a large proportion of the present cabinet. . . .

There is one advantage, however — there will be a Democratic Congress working with a Democratic president. That means more harmony and team work than we have had the past two years.

The Nation's Press On Truman

By The Associated Press

American newspapers, a majority of which had opposed President Truman editorially in his battle to remain in the White House, generally viewed his election both as a surprise and a major personal victory.

Pr 11-5-48 24a(2)

Sample post-election comment:

THE NEW YORK TIMES—"His victory is a personal triumph, accomplished in the face of apparently heavy odds and despite the fact that both the left wing and the right wing of his own party deserted him."

LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL — "All of us underestimated Harry Truman. . . . His courage and determination literally snatched victory from the jaws of defeat. . . . He was elected on his own merits."

B'ham Ala

OMAHA WORLD-HERALD—"We said he was not a big enough man for the job. Unhappily we still believe it. . . . That 'scrappy little guy' is today the most important, the most powerful man in all this world. May he gain in wisdom, in vision, in prudent, cautious self-control in keeping with the trust reposed in him."

MIAMI HERALD—"Harry S. Truman has achieved what may well be the greatest personal triumph in our political history. . . . His was a poverty-stricken campaign. There were no lush coffers to dip into. He was cut off the air by one radio network because he did not finish within the allotted time. As he stands triumphant today, Truman can look the so-called big wigs of his party in the eye and laugh at them. He owes nothing to anybody but the American people."

* * *

DENVER POST—"The amazing comeback of President Truman may finally be traced to the over-confident campaign waged by Dewey and the Republicans. This goes, in part, to a basic human factor—people just don't like boastful complacence of the sort the Republican candidate exhibited throughout his campaign."

KANSAS CITY STAR—"The president has received this vote of confidence at a time when he faces problems of greatest difficulty at home and abroad. The situation is up to him in the fullest degree because both houses of Congress will be with him."

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH—"It will be a long time, we venture, before another candidate for president makes the mistake of running on the assumption that he is already elected. This election clearly is a victory for the progressive principles and policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt."

BALTIMORE EVENING SUN—"The biggest political upset of this generation. . . . His congressional support may prove more nominal than real. Many congressmen are hostile to Mr. Truman, but he will be in a better position to deal with them than in the past."

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE—"He has dumbfounded all the experts. The pollsters were wrong. The 'wise money' was wrong. The Democrats themselves did not dare to expect it. Harry Truman was the only man who really believed that he could be reelected. And he was right. . . . This newspaper, which strongly supported the candidacy of Gov. Dewey, hopes that the president's leadership will be such that the country can be united behind him."

Tri 11-5-48

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NEW YORK DAILY NEWS—"His election was perhaps the most sensational upset in American political history. We feel more than a little admiration for the way Mr. Truman fought out from behind the eight ball and through a witches' den of polls and dopesters, and not only won his own battle, but also carried husky Senate and House Democratic majorities with him."

LOS ANGELES TIMES—"Deeply disappointed as are all Republicans at this result, they accept it with good grace. When the American people have spoken, Americans bow to the popular will. . . . With the Truman victory, prospects for tax reduction went out the window."

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER—"Public interest, now that the election is over, will be much less in why Truman won, and Dewey lost, and much more in the measures and policies that will be adopted by the Truman government next year. . . . It is fair to presume that he will recommend repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, and in the interest of lower living costs, will recommend the reimposition of a variety of controls—price ceilings and probably rationing."

OREGON JOURNAL—"It was proof that the majority believe in the things the 'little man from Missouri' fought for without ceasing — housing for the homeless, prices within reason, equality of civil rights, educational opportunity, fair labor laws and social security."

LOS ANGELES MIRROR—"The American people relected President Truman because they want somebody to do something about their living problems. . . . The Republicans had their chance in Congress and failed. . . . Dewey failed horribly as a campaigner. . . . One thing all the wise men overlooked—Americans love an underdog."

BOSTON GLOBE — "Nowhere on earth today outside the limits of the United States would it be possible to duplicate this performance or to obtain fuller and freer expression of the popular will with regard to government."

* * *

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL—"The New Deal, which some people thought dead as a dinosaur, moves on. The seed that Franklin Roosevelt sowed bears a new crop."

PORTLAND OREGONIAN — "Unpleasant as the conclusion may be to most conservatives, the decision was in favor of government intervention in many fields. . . . We are moving in the direction Roosevelt carried us — the direction of Western European democracy."

SEATTLE TIMES—"Harry S. Truman, president of the United States, president in his own right—president by dint of his own might—his will to fight. . . . Consciousness of that personal strength may well give him the self-confidence that will make him one of the nation's best presidents in the eyes of history."

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ATLANTA CONSTITUTION—"The explanation of the Truman victory . . . is the same which won for Roosevelt, the coalition of farmers and labor."

HARTFORD TIMES—"Mr. Truman has a right to be proud. He should also be humble. The country is pretty evenly divided. The result is no carte blanche for reckless behavior. Rather, it places on Mr. Truman a great obligation to do his level best to deserve the tribute."

BUFFALO COURIER-EXPRESS — "Americans who voted for Harry S. Truman and Americans who voted against him must join in saluting him today. He was the man who couldn't win—but he won."

NEW ORLEANS TIMES-PICAYUNE—"Many observers of the campaign scene criticized the Truman style of battle as unbecoming and unworthy. Evidently, however, it got results and his jubilant followers probably consider that 'the end justifies the means.'"

* * *

CHICAGO TRIBUNE—"For the third time, a Republican convention fell under vicious influences and nominated a 'me-too' candidate who conducted a 'me-too' campaign. For the third time, the strategy failed. . . . After this experience, we may hope, the Republicans have learned their lesson. If the same forces control the next Republican convention, the party is finished and the millions of patriotic men and women who have looked to it for leadership will have to look elsewhere. . . . Mr. Truman is entitled to congratulations for having made a valiant fight against what were thought to be overwhelming odds. May his administration justify the confidence the people have expressed in him."

NEW YORK STAR—"Mr. Truman trusted the American people farther than the political experts, farther than the poll takers, farther than most of the nation's newspapers . . ., farther than all but four dailies in this state, and all but one—The New York Star—in this city. . . . We pledge him our continued support of the Rooseveltian brand of democracy he so ably took to the people."

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES—"It was the American people who won Tuesday's election. The American people refused to be taken for granted. . . . One historic by-product of the election is that the Democratic Party has become, genuinely and we hope for all time, the party of undiluted American liberalism. . . .

Tri 11-3-48

ARKANSAS GAZETTE — "In turning away from the angry men who spoke in the name of states' rights, the South has offered Mr. Truman grounds for reasonable compromise in the complex area of federal civil rights legislation; we do not believe that offer will be rejected."

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS—"It's (the election's) consequences are certain to be far-reaching, extending perhaps even to a realignment of parties by 1952, with the Democrats the party of middle-road conservatism, and the Republicans and a labor party . . . exerting a strong pull at either end."

NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN—"There is no doubt the Taft-Hartley law took many votes from the Republican candidate. It is certain that the record of the 80th Congress also drove many into the Democratic fold. But more than issues, we believe, was Gov. Dewey's refusal to recognize their existence. . . . Dewey found himself out of tune with democracy."

ROCHESTER TIMES-UNION—"It is difficult to analyze Mr. Truman's victory. There will be no end of explanations — the real explanation is the one locked in the hearts of the millions who cast the votes. But why analyze at all? Why alibi? The decision is the people's decision which will be and must be accepted in good spirit and good faith without reservation."

'Pleasantly Surprised'

To the Editor: 24a(2)

The News
News 11-12-48
B'ham Ala

We are all so pleasantly surprised with Mr. Truman's election; surprised because "God works in mysterious ways His miracles to perform," and pleasantly surprised because the election seems to shut out the possibility of another depression and proclaims loudly that Wallace, with his third party, has no place in the hearts of Americans.

It is pleasant, too, because it showed up the Dixiecrats as not Democrats; for when any man turns against the man and platform nominated and adopted at the national convention by a majority of Democrats, that man has ceased to be a Democrat. If any Dixiecrat thinks he is still a Democrat, let him announce and run for a state office at any time during the next quarter century. The lesson he will learn will be both heart-breaking and expensive.

For the enlightenment of these good Southern gentlemen, we recommend an editorial reprinted in The Birmingham News Nov. 4, from the pen of Jonathan Daniels (son of Josephus Daniels).

24a(2)

The News
News 11-12-48
B'ham Ala

To the above mentioned reading we wish to supply the thought that:

1. States' rights is a party issue and will be settled within the party, that is the national party, and a true Democrat will be happy with the settlement so made, else he is undemocratic.

2. The greatest threat to our Southern security is a Republican depression; the second greatest is communism; for with the first upon us we could do nothing about the second.

In passing, it is our belief that Mr. Sparkman is the biggest Democrat in Alabama today.

JOHN B. KELTON.

Oneonta, Ala.

34a(2) 1948

Presidential

THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRUMAN VICTORY

The Afro American

Sat 11-13-48

34a

(AN EDITORIAL)

Baltimore Md

The smashing victory of Harry S. Truman over Governor Thomas E. Dewey for the Presidency in last week's election has already been entered in the record books as one of the most startling upsets in the political history of this nation.

It was a stirring tribute to the personal magnetism of the man whom the pollsters, pundits and newspapers—this one among them—did not give even an outside chance to retain occupancy of the White House. In addition, it was a graphic demonstration that the voters, contrary to popular belief, have a mind of their own.

34a(2)

Definite indication of this was revealed in the AFRO's exclusive pre-election poll, taken in Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia and Newark, N.J., which showed that 47 per cent of the people interviewed said that they would vote for President Truman while only 33 per cent favored Dewey.

President Truman's triumph, which climaxed a campaign in which he addressed himself positively and vigorously to the important issues of the day, while his opponent sidestepped them, can be viewed as a victory of confidence over smug over-confidence.

Sat 11-13-48

In other words, Governor Dewey contributed largely to his own defeat by a negative rather than a positive campaign—a fact now freely admitted by those who advised him.

Using the tactics of a successful showman, President Truman, discarding the stereotyped manuscripts provided by his ghost writers, ad-libbed some punch lines of his own to capture the imagination of all segments of the great body politic.

In simple language which cut to the heart of vital issues, he adopted the Roosevelt formula of catering to the common people and the special groups which they compose. Realizing that all minorities are sections of the party, he appealed to labor, the farmer, the colored vote and to Jews and Catholics.

He hammered away at the Taft-Hartley Labor Law, at civil rights, at Communism, at housing and runaway prices and at the Palestine issue. He literally promised the moon while Dewey made no promises other than those made by his party in 1944.

34a(2)

And as the Truman campaign caught fire, it helped Democratic nominees for Federal and State office throughout the land. The Democratic sweep not only gives that party control of both houses of Congress but also control of 30 of the 48 State governorships.

Before the election, the GOP was cocksure not only of putting Dewey into the White House, but of continuing control of the House of Representatives and possibly of the Senate. It lost all of them.

In retrospect, then, it can be said that President Truman's victory was due to:

1. His courageous personal fight despite the advice of his friends;
2. Governor Dewey's unwillingness to "mix it up" by his failure to discuss controversial issues;
3. The dismal record of the Republican-controlled 80th Congress, and
4. Too much reliance, by the Republicans, on opinion polls.

Sat 11-13-48

Yet, although President Truman polled more votes (23,667,727) than his three nearest rivals combined, the total vote in the election (approx. 47 million) fell far short of expectations. There is far too much political apathy throughout the nation and efforts will have to be redoubled to get more qualified voters to exercise their right of franchise.

The election further showed up as erroneous the estimated 4 million votes to be cast for Henry Wallace and demonstrated conclusively that the threat of Communist strength in elections has been greatly exaggerated.

Again, it showed that the civil rights issue, on which it was predicted the President would lose thousands of votes, actually won votes for him. The Dixiecrats notwithstanding, there are many Southern whites who are willing to go along with the program because they can see in it some benefits for themselves.

With a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress in power after January, what can we expect?

Certainly, the Taft-Hartley Labor Law will be amended but not repealed as some believe. Social legislation—housing, health, broadened social security coverage, and stand-by price controls will be pressed for as will civil rights legislation. The Marshall Plan will be continued.

The Democrats, with 263 members of the House of Representatives to 171 for the Republicans, will probably be able to pass much of the President's program but in the Senate, where the advantage is 54 to 42, there is the likelihood that some of the House-approved measures will find tough sledding.

But despite the efforts of certain Dixiecrats who remain in office, we expect to see a new alignment which will bring together Northern Republicans and the more liberal Democrats just elected to office. In this combination lies our greatest strength.

In the true American tradition we believe and hope that now that the election is over, winners and losers alike will join hands in a united effort to carry out a program of greatest benefit to the greatest number.

The people have spoken. It is now up to them to see that the mandate they have handed down is carried through to successful completion.

What Spoils From the Victors?

Pittsburgh Courier

THE analysis of Negro voting in the last Presidential election made by John L. Clark, the political expert of The Pittsburgh Courier, reveals that had the great majority of Negroes voted for Dewey instead of Truman, the Democrats would have lost instead of won in California, Illinois and Ohio, and therefore the election.

Sat 11-13-48

In many industrial centers where Democratic Congressmen and Senators won, they would have lost without the votes of Negroes.

It is not unfair to say, therefore, that the votes of loyal Negro adherents to the Democratic party decided the election and sealed Dewey's doom.

34a(2)

Why did the majority of Negroes vote for the Democrats instead of the Republicans?

Pittsburgh, Pa

We believe they did so because of Mr. Truman's specific promises to do something to better their social and economic position in the Nation rather than his performances which were practically nil.

There simply was no comparison between what Mr. Truman did for Negroes and what Mr. Dewey did for them, considering the records of both.

Since the Negroes voted for President Truman on the basis of his promises rather than his performances, they should now expect some reward for their loyalty to the Democratic standard bearer.

The political spoils are supposed to belong to the victor: i.e., Mr. Truman in this instance, and the Negroes who supported him should be deeply interested in what part of the spoils will be given to them.

One of the first rewards the Negroes should get is complete abolition of segregation because of color in the armed services of the country, with complete representation in all units of the defense forces.

This can be accomplished by the simple issuance of an order by the President who is Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and does not require any Congressional action whatever.

The President does not have to wait until January to do this because he is already in charge of the armed forces.

Another reward it is high time that Negroes received is another Federal judgeship or even two, and here again there is no reason why some of the many distinguished Negro lawyers who went down the line for Mr. Truman when the future looked dark and dreary, should not be appointed as soon as possible.

Considering the number of Federal judgeships and Federal attorneyships in this country, the Negro has practically no representation whatever.

It will be difficult to make Negroes understand why they are being slighted if there are not more appointments to the diplomatic service, hitherto the haven of scions of the rich and well-connected, and one to which only a small handful of Negroes have been named in the past forty years.

A half century ago, when there were very few Negroes qualified to serve their country abroad, there were nevertheless a large number of consuls and vice-consuls, along with some ministers, mostly appointed by Republican administrations.

Today there are not more than a half dozen Negroes in the diplomatic service of the United States although there are a hundred times more qualified colored men and women available.

34a(2)

Certainly with such new colored nations as India, Pakistan, Malaya, Burma and Ceylon, as well as Ethiopia, Egypt and the several Near Eastern countries, there are plenty of available berths to which Negroes of education and training can be appointed.

Admittedly it will not be easy to pass the promised FEPC, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax laws over the Southern opposition in Congress (with the announced unity drive to bring the Dixiecrats back into the fold already in full swing) but the Negroes who helped elect Mr. Truman have a right to expect more consideration from him than the Dixiecrats get when the 81st Congress opens for business.

Negroes also helped to elect Mr. Truman in the expectation that once in the White House in his own right, he would throw all of his influence behind enaction of Federal aid to education, drastic price control, expanded public housing and repeal of the Taft-Hartley law.

This should be their reward and we hope they will get it, although we seriously doubt it because we have always been a little dubious about campaign promises made in the midst of desperate conflict.

Right here, we think, is the time for a warning to the Republicans: If they hope to win the Negro vote in the future they must recognize to greater degree than in the recent campaign the importance and influence it wields in this country.

As to Negro voters, they must recognize the potential power they possess in all elections and qualify to vote in much larger numbers than they ever have in the past.

It can be safely stated that only about half of the Negroes outside the South qualified to vote and voted, and only a very small proportion of those who could have qualified to vote in the Southern States did so, else they would have overwhelmed the Dixiecrats.

Sat 11-27-48

There are twice as many eligible Negro voters in the Southern States as there are colored men, women and children outside the South, and the areas in which they cannot qualify to vote are shrinking every year.

If we expect to be a real power in politics and have the full respect of political bosses and our white neighbors, we must fully utilize the opportunities we have to exercise the rights of citizenship.

Popular Vote Gets Backing From South

Columbia Record

Sat 8-21-48

Columbia S.C

Johnston Favors New Proposal

34a(2)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 21—(AP)—Southern Democratic support appeared today for a move by Senator Lodge (R-Mass) to put presidential elections on a popular vote basis.

Senators Sparkman (D-Ala) and Olin D. Johnston (D-SC) told a reporter in separate interviews they will back in the next session of Congress a proposal to change the present system by which a state's entire electoral college vote is cast for the candidate who tops the popular ballot test.

Amendment Proposed

Lodge offered in the last session and intends to revive a proposed constitutional amendment under which each candidate would share in the electoral vote on the percentage of his election day total.

Thus an aspirant who lost out by only a few popular votes to his presidential opponent would get nearly half of the state's support in the electoral college, instead of none at all.

Sparkman said he thinks Southern Democrats generally will support the proposal because it would "go a long way toward doing away with minority rule in this country."

"There are some minorities in Northern states who get just about anything they want out of the political parties because the parties fear they may have the balance of power in a state with a lot of electoral votes," the Alabama senator said.

Would Have "Good Effect"

He added that he believed a change such as suggested by Lodge "would have a good effect in the South."

"It would encourage both parties to campaign in the South, because if the Republicans could cut into he electoral vote there—which they can't do now—the Democrats would be campaigning to keep them from it."

Johnston pointed out that the South long has felt that its influence in the Democratic party has not been in proportion to the electoral college support it has furnished.

Sat 8-21-48

Other Dixie lawmakers have said they think President Truman would not have pushed his civil rights program with any of the vigor he displayed if the proposed new electoral system had been in effect.

Lodge seems likely also to get strong Republican support for his revision proposal. As chairman of the party's platform drafting committee he succeeded in getting approval in that document of a proposal for a revision "which will more exactly reflect the popular vote."

But any such change must run the gauntlet of two-thirds approval by both houses of Congress and approval by three-fourths of the state legislatures.

'Common Touch' Won for Truman

34a (2)

Afro American

Dewey's Aloofness Costly, Hall Asserts

Sat 11-13-48

By DOUGLASS HALL

Baltimore Md

NEW YORK—Why is Harry Truman not our ex-President?

Having traveled with Gov. Thomas E. Dewey for the past month it might seem a bit odd for me to discuss his defeat by President Truman, but I think I am qualified for this task.

I was one of the newsmen who shadowed Truman all over the country. True, I seldom caught up with him, but we always seem to arrive in town, less than 24 hours after a Truman visit.

Called Coincidental

Dewey's aides maintained until the last that this was coincidental. Maybe, that's true. Nevertheless, we were in the Hollywood Bowl before they finished taking down the Democratic Party posters.

People were still singing "I'm Just Wild About Harry" when we arrived in San Francisco. It was the same practically all over the country.

Caught Voters Reaction

The point is this. I always caught the voters reaction to Truman on the rebound and I admit that it caused quite a bit of concern.

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Now don't get me wrong. I am willing to eat my crow. I associated with "experts" so much and so long until I got the feeling that Dewey would win.

I think that I deserve only a small helping, and no seconds. I was never a full-fledged backslider.

Sat 11-13-48

But when we reached a town where Truman had been (practically all we visited) and after I looked at the crowd and listened to them talk, I felt that the Dewey "apple-cart" would surely be shaken up a bit, if not overturned.

Truman Was the Reason

There were several other reporters who felt the same way. Often, Lem Graves of the Pittsburgh Courier and I would sit and feel deeply concerned about the apathy of colored persons toward Dewey, only a few of whom turned out to his meetings.

We went into the colored communities in an effort to find the real reason behind their indifference to Dewey. Without exception, it was Truman.

Now they did not dislike Dewey. They felt that he was "the white folks' man." They had heard his speeches over the radio and he had never used the word "Negro" or "Colored."

Discounted Dewey's Claim

Sure, he had put through civil rights in New York, but they did not think much of that. Their reaction to Dewey's touted record on this score was voiced thus:

"A man is not due too much credit for putting through a civil rights bill in New York, where he has half a million colored persons housed in one hole."

"What would he do about civil rights in the South, North, East and West? All the other candidates took a stand on civil rights, then why should we vote for a man who has not seen fit to recognize it by sharing his views with us?"

People Felt Strongly

I have never seen colored persons so closely lined up behind a Presidential candidate.

Not only did they feel that way when they talked about it, but they felt strongly enough to go to the polls and mark their ballot "Truman."

Sat 11-13-48

I think that, perhaps, more colored persons voted in this election than in any other in history—not so much against Dewey but for Truman.

Acted at Polls

It was 5:30 a.m., and the fog was still hanging overhead near a voting booth in Harlem. Yet, there were several hundred persons in line, waiting for the polls to open.

Now a fellow can't go around the polls in New York and ask a person how he is voting. They have policemen there. Then, too, he should not do it anyway. Who a person votes for is his own secret.

That is why I am proud that one did not have to ask these voters which way their votes were going. They yelled and sang and talked "good things" about Truman. There was little doubt where they stood.

Harlem Sold on President

I arrived in Harlem shortly after Truman had paraded there by motorcade from the Bronx and was greeted by 65,000 persons.

I was in Brooklyn and felt the power of his visit. He did something to the people. He seemed to have left them with a feeling that they "belonged."

I visited the Democratic headquarters in New York where almost everyone felt that Truman didn't have a chance to win.

The Big Pay-off

But practically every secretary in the place was carefully guarding her right hand, shaken by Truman, and was singing praises for the "Boss."

A clerk in the Roosevelt Hotel, where the Republican headquarters were, told me:

"I am going to vote for Truman. I will tell you why. He is for colored people. He has pledged himself to aid them.

Sat 11-13-48

"Now I am not any better than colored people. I figure that if he helps them he will help me."

During his campaign tour Dewey called an engineer a "lunatic" because he backed the Governor's train slowly into a crowd gathered at the rear of the train to hear him.

I believe that every voter in the country with the social and economic status of that engineer took the matter as a personal insult.

Many newsmen stated at the time that Dewey lost a million votes. I say that it cost him the Presidency. One of his aides toll me he wished that Dewey had just cursed and let it go at that.

In almost every crowd that we visited afterwards I heard someone say, "Oh, what the hell, we are just a bunch of lunatics!"

I think that Truman is not our ex-President because he never lost faith in the people.

He never took it for granted that the voters were mindreaders, that they could look through his vest and see what he was thinking on important world and domestic issues.

I think that Truman is not our ex-President because he proved that he was a good fighter.

Maybe not a smart one at times, but always a sincere one; maybe not always a crafty one and often leaving an opening for jovial plugs, but surely not a quitter.

I think that Truman is not our ex-President because he was not afraid or ashamed to stoop to the level of the little man in the street, shake his hand, kiss the baby, comfort the aged, pose and freely converse with colored persons.

The payoff for these American characteristics is the Presidency of the United States.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Third Add--
Biggest News Story

Sat 11-6-48

34a(2)

Presidential

Atlanta Ga

Biggest news story continues to be the Truman election. As the Wall Street Journal aptly said in its first editorial comment:

"Barring those few who were in early adulthood at the time of Abraham Lincoln's election, we think that no man now living has witnessed a bigger news event than the election of President Truman on Tuesday . . ."

The big question remains "How?"

The air is filled with the second-guessers—the ones who always appear when the decision is in, to say they knew it, or believed it, all along.

But, the real truth is that no one did expect it, unless it was Harry S. Truman. No Democrat, looking at his Party split three ways and lacking the money to pay the bills for radio time, could expect victory. The Convention itself, discordant and unwilling to accept Harry S. Truman until, finally, there was no one else to take, did not inspire the Party which remained loyal to the ticket. His own campaign managers—with whom I talked early Tuesday night, expected at best a close finish.

Strategy In many States—Georgia among them—it was not possible to fight in the name of Truman, but only in the name of the Party. The issues were distorted. Local leaders were properly unwilling to destroy themselves and could speak only of the Party. Millions in the South believed Harry S. Truman had committed himself to ending segregation, when the most he had said was that he was pledged to end the inequities existing under segregation. It got no one anywhere explaining that. I know because I tried it. So, the fight had to be made in the name of the Party and the Party System. As such most of the Southern leaders did well. Truman could not have won without the South.

The vote was small—and Republicans always before have benefited by a small vote.

The inescapable fact remains that those who did not vote in this election were the Republicans. The Democrats went to the polls, minus, of course, many who were lured off by the Dixiecrats and others who voted Republican.

The "why?" of it remains of paramount interest.

Dewey Yesterday I talked by telephone with a man high in national political circles.

"Dewey," he said, "managed to turn many of the high State organization Republicans against him. There were wounds made at the Convention. But they would have healed had not Dewey taken what, to many of them, was a high-handed position in which they were ignored. Now, I have talked with one of the former Party chiefs who said that the only solace many Republicans were getting out of it was that Dewey was at last finished."

It does seem to be true that the Republicans were so split by petty jealousies they couldn't get together in many of the key States. The fact which becomes clearer and clearer is that in many States, normally Republican, there was not much work done for the Dewey ticket.

It is ironic that the Democrats, split three ways, were able to unite behind Truman, the man most of them had opposed at the Convention, in a more effective fashion than were the Republicans who had so much to gain.

The South For the South the picture is an interesting one. In the first place the Republican organizations in the South did a better job than those in other sections of the country.

Despite a small vote and the presence of the Dixiecrats, who gave many Democrats an opportunity to bolt their Party without going Republican, as honesty should have directed, the Republican vote was generally larger over the South than in 1944 when Dewey was the candidate. That the second-party movement should have had so severe a setback will not stop the Republicans from going ahead with second-party plans.

Sat 11-6-48

Purge The Dixiecrat leaders must be purged from the Party and should be. Any talk of welcoming the leaders, Thurmond and Wright, and their leader-associates, back into the Party should be discouraged, and will be. These men, for their own ambitions, sought to destroy the Party and to take them back on any official basis would be to compound folly.

Those who voted Dixiecrat, of course, exercised their rights to vote as they please and they are welcome back to the Party if they choose to come. The situation of a voter is considerably different from that of a Party leader, holding a Party office, as did Thurmond and Wright, who use the power of those offices to destroy the Party in their States. Also many of the voters were deceived by the false front used by the Dixiecrats.

That the national administration will also get rid of some cabinet members, a few ambassadors, and others who deserted, is assured.

The Party will be shaken down and the Republican Party will, at the same time, have to make up its mind if it will again try to stand on the old issues that long ago disappeared and no longer have meaning.

GEORGIA EDITORS

The Constitution

On Mr. Truman's Triumph

Sun 11-7-48

34a(2)

Atlanta Ga

(North Georgia Tribune)

Harry Truman was elected President of the United States last Tuesday in a campaign that few besides himself thought he could win. Pollsters, news analysts and columnists kept sitting far out on a limb predicting a Republican victory long after the voting polls closed until the voters finally sawed them off to flounder in their own "babble" and loss of prestige. The voters not only elected Truman, they also gave him a Democratic majority in both Houses of Congress with whom they hope he will be able to work out a permanent peace and maintain a stable economy for our nation. Georgia is to be congratulated for repudiating the Dixiecrats, and Henry Wallace and the million voters who supported his communistic ideals found little solace to continue as a party in the United States.

(Columbus Ledger)

Maybe there were millions who—regardless of other considerations—just like to see in the White House a greying, little bespectacled man who plays the piano, and makes mistakes and confounds the politicians with an occasional ill-timed but frank remark, and takes a walk in the mornings, and builds balconies on which he can sit and rock, and who talks just like they do on Main Street and who looks that way, too, in a blue business suit and a neatly-folded handkerchief peeping from his pocket as if his wife had just patted it into place.

But whatever the reasons, the majority of the American public wanted Mr. Truman to remain the Executive and his Party the Legislative more than they wanted a change in his office, or a continuance of Republican control in Congress.

(Savannah Morning News)

It can be reasonably assumed on a basis of the results—against all the polls, commentators, soothsayers, and yes, against many editorial writers—that this country slowly but surely is drifting in the same extreme leftwing direction that has marked national politics since the end of the war in Great Britain.

The majority of the voters of the land have spoken for extreme liberalism in the United States and that the trend possesses the color of socialism cannot be denied. But if that is the way the people want it, they are the ones who will suffer if it proves an economic and social boomerang—which God forbid!

(Brooks Smith in Marietta Journal)

. . . As everyone knew, this election was merely to be a formality, as required by the Constitution, to elect Mr. Dewey and the fact that Mr. Truman was in the race was just a necessary evil and expense to the taxpayers. The only trouble was that Mr. Truman refused to accept the fate assigned to him and went out and made a whale of a campaign in the states that counted.

. . . The Republicans must be wondering if they will ever win, if they couldn't win this time, and if they are feeling ill, no one can blame them. Indeed, one of the Marietta GOP leaders, Brother Bayard Cole, called the first thing Wednesday and announced, "I'm sick."

Sun 11-7-48

(Augusta Chronicle)

It must be remembered . . . that the vote was so tantalizingly close, in the categories of both the popular and electoral vote, that President Truman's photo finish victory cannot by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as a clear-cut mandate from the people to carry out, in toto, the program which he has advocated in his campaign speeches.

(Covington News)

. . . The only disturbing element to us in the election is that Henry Wallace secured 2,000 votes in Georgia. We did not know there were that many of his ilk in our State. We hope some "Pied Piper" will come along and entice them to other pastures.

(Louisville News and Farmer)

. . . The State of Georgia remains safely Democratic. So many untoward things have happened in Georgia that is doubly pleasing to know that the rank and file of the people in Georgia can still see the forest in spite of a few trees, can still see the importance of standing by a philosophy of government rather than venting their spleen against an individual who does not see eye to eye with them.

(DeKalb New Era)

One of the most unusual and most far-reaching elections in the history of our nation has just taken place. Its results are a distinct further trend in a direction we started in 1932. Where it will end, only the future can tell. It is a part of a world-wide movement, a part of a trend in world-wide thinking. We are in the midst of a world mental revolution. There are forces that would hurl us at a faster pace. There are forces that would hold us back. The former lead to Communism, the latter to retrogression. It is imperative for the life of our nation, for the stability of our government and for the happiness of our people that we ponder seriously where we are headed.

(Albany Herald)

. . . Events have now proved that psychologically Mr. Truman was right and Mr. Dewey was wrong. The American people have a great fondness for the underdog, particularly one who refuses to believe that he is whipped. In many respect, Mr. Truman was a wild-swinging candidate, but especially in the last week of his campaign, he gained a wide respect for his "give 'em hell" tactics.

Sun 11-7-48

(Brunswick News)

. . . The great rank and file of the people have once again demonstrated their common sense in evaluating the work of a Republican-controlled Congress which the President himself dubbed as history's worst. And it is equally clear that millions of voters are not yet ready to surrender without a fight their hard-won advantages gained through a liberal Democratic Party.

Mr. Truman's personal battle and the resurgence of his party is nothing short of inspirational to plain people the world over. Again, let it be noted, democracy works!

(Macon News)

. . . Real reason, of course, for the smashing Democratic victory is that the present administration has been a thoroughly good, democratic one. . . . He has been open and aboveboard with the American people; he has favored labor over monopoly, man over money. He has made a lot of mistakes but they have been honest errors. He has carried his fight to the people, not to Wall Street. Organized farmers as well as organized labor went down the line for him because he talks their language.

Thurmond Is Given Big Lead Over Dewey In Alabama

The News

34a(2)

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Wed. 11-3-48

Bham Ala

Hopes of Alabama States' Rights Democrats that Strom Thurmond would have a voice in deciding the presidency were blasted today as Gov. Thomas E. Dewey conceded the election to President Truman.

Returns from nearly one-half of the state's boxes already had given the Democratic elector ticket pledged to Gov. Thurmond, the Dixiecrat standard-bearer, a huge lead of more than four to one.

With President Truman not having been represented on the Alabama ballot, the Democratic split over the president's "civil rights" program had given the state's 11 electoral votes to the South Carolina governor.

But Gov. James E. Folsom announced he would file court proceedings during the day in Federal Court in an attempt to force the Democratic electors to vote for Truman. The electors have said they cannot be forced to do this.

* * *

BEFORE DEWEY conceded the election to Truman, Horace Wilkinson, one of the electors and States' Rights' campaigner, had predicted Thurmond would become the next president or have a big voice in naming him. He was basing his prediction on reports indicating neither the president nor Dewey would receive a majority of the electoral votes, thus giving States' Righters balance of power in the electoral college.

M-A 11-3-48

TRUMAN "VICTORY"

PHENIX CITY, Ala., Nov. 3—(AP)—It wasn't official, but President Truman scored one election victory in Alabama.

His name was on an unofficial straw ballot along with Gov. J. Strom Thurmond's in Phenix City, and Mayor Homer Cobb said the president won by a margin of almost 10 to 1—834 votes to 88.

Cobb had the ballots circulated along with the regular voting lists in yesterday's election to test sentiment for Mr. Truman. The president wasn't on the official ballot because Alabama's Democratic presidential electors were pledged to the States' Rights candidate.

The returns came from all 11 voting places in Phenix City, the mayor said.

The Thurmond States' Rights ticket carried four states — Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana—having a total of 38 electoral votes.

Returns from 1,199 of the state's 2,408 boxes showed:

States' Rights Democrats	105,367
Republicans	22,666
Progressive (Wallace)	1,067
Prohibition	587

These tabulations showed the Dewey-Warren ticket trailing far behind in Alabama where the Republicans had hoped to poll their largest vote since the 1928 Hoover-Smith race. But apparently they had done no better than approximate the 44,500-vote total received by the Dewey-Bricker ticket four years ago.

* * *

INCLUDED IN TABULATED returns were votes cast in GOP strongholds of Winston, DeKalb, Chilton and a few other counties.

Returns from 1,116 boxes had given Sen. John Sparkman an overwhelming lead over his Republican opponent, Paul G. Parsons, Birmingham attorney. The count:

Sparkman	106,009
Parsons	17,456

As pointed out during the campaign, Truman's fate in Alabama voting was decided in the May 4 primary when the Democratic elector nominees were chosen on anti-Truman pledges.

Unless court action diverts the electoral votes to Truman, this election will mark the first time since 1872 that the regular Democratic nominee has failed to receive them.

Democrats also swept all the congressional races — four seats were contested—by usual lopsided majorities.

And in Jefferson County, as was expected, Democratic nominees overwhelmed GOP opponents for various county offices.

* * *

IN CONGRESSIONAL RACES, Ninth (Jefferson) District, Rep. Laurie Battle was shown by returns from 195 of 258 boxes to have a lopsided lead over his Republican adversary, Hiram Dodd, Birmingham lawyer. They had:

Battle	28,550
Dodd	4,441

In the Eighth, reports from 75 of 252 boxes gave Rep. Bob Jones, Scottsboro, 6,954 to 805 for Harry J. Frahn, Sheffield.

In the Sixth, returns from 80 of 212 boxes, showed Rep.-Nominate Ed deGraffenreid, Tuscaloosa, receiving 6,947 and Republican W. P. (Bill) Ivey, Columbiana, 1,180.

In the Fourth, veteran Rep. Sam Hobbs, Selma, far out-distanced his GOP opponent, B. Hogan Stewart, Sylacauga, by 6,590 to 650.

* * *

IN JEFFERSON COUNTY, Democratic nominees had huge leads over Republican challengers. Reports from 228 of the county's 258 boxes showed:

For County Commission president:

W. D. Kendrick	24,064
Hugh McCary	3,574

Circuit Court judge No. 3:

Judge Alta King	23,947
W. L. Longshore	3,655

Tax collector:

J. W. (Bill) Hamilton	23,953
Kendall G. Springfield	3,482

Tax assessor:

L. A. Whetstone	23,631
Orrie W. Irwin	3,951

County treasurer:

Joe L. Kirby	24,122
James B. Foster	3,806

With yesterday's voting having set the state for a court fight over who is entitled to Alabama's 11 electoral votes, William Primm, Jr., executive assistant to Democratic National Chairman Howard McGrath, was taking a shot at Dixiecrat leaders in this state.

Primm, who formerly lived at Montgomery, said:

"I am sorry the people of my own state did not have the opportunity to vote for President Truman. Certain leaders in Alabama, who are now in control of the Democratic Party machinery there, are directly responsible for depriving the people of my state of a free ballot.

"I do not think these people will remain in control of the party very long. Alabama is the only state in the union which did not have a chance to vote for the regular Democratic nominee."

Amazing Victory 'His Own'

Constitution

34R (2)

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Anur 11-4-48

Scrappy, underrated Harry Truman captured the Presidential election yesterday in one of the biggest upsets in America's political history.

And in the hour of his greatest triumph, the Democratic Party gave him a solid, comfortable majority in both Senate and House.

It was a triumph which the little man from Missouri, standing almost alone against the flood-tide of pre-election forecasts, had predicted with unswerving confidence.

Down to defeat went Thomas E. Dewey, trying for a comeback along the road to the White House which invincible Franklin D. Roosevelt blocked four years ago.

Down with him went Republican candidates in key Congressional races and gubernatorial contests.

They went down fighting, in the toughest Presidential battle since Woodrow Wilson squeezed out Charles Evans Hughes in 1916. Dewey conceded defeat at 11:15 a. m., EST, Wednesday.

And at the moment of decision by tens of millions of American voters, victor and vanquished alike cried out their hopes for peace in a troubled world.

For himself, Mr. Truman pledged anew that he would give all his efforts "to the cause of peace in the world and the prosperity and happiness of our people."

As Dewey lost, he called out to all Americans to "unite" behind the man who beat him and behind "every effort to keep our nation strong and free and establish peace in the world."

In those words of the President and the man who wanted to be President there was new notice that America's foreign policy will remain bipartisan, that it will remain one of unwavering firmness toward Russia.

In fact, there were suggestions that the first big diplomatic move by a Chief Executive bolstered by a resounding vote of confidence in his program will be in the direction of a military alliance with Western Europe.

And at home, Mr. Truman had an evident indorsement of his intention to carry forward and expand a New Deal which he has embraced in its entirety.

All through his campaign, as he trudged up and down and across the country, the President promised that a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President would give the people:

Price controls, housing, more social security, a higher minimum wage, repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor law, benefits for farmers, development of the West, medical insurance, strenghtened civil rights.

Anur 11-4-48

Shake-ups unquestionably are in store in the Republican party leadership. Twice defeated for the presidency on which he had set his heart for 10 years, Dewey said he wouldn't try again. He indicated he might get out of politics.

The popular vote lagged behind the record total of more than 50,000,000 that had been expected. And there wasn't much chance it would climb to a new mark.

Early last night reports from 87 percent of the polling places, 117,872 out of 135,858, put the total at 43,296,211. It was split this way:

Truman 21,593,356, Dewey 19,877,162, Thurmond 826,846, Progressive Candidate Henry A. Wallace, 998,847.

The electoral vote remained unchanged. It had gone up and down during the afternoon as Califoria and its 25 votes leaned first to Truman, then to Dewey, then tilted back again.

But with Ohio's 25 votes finally in the bag for the Democrats, California couldn't change the election outcome by landing at last in the GOP column.

Anur 11-4-48

There were changes, of course, as the count came in belatedly from outlying polling places. But Republican hopes were gone.

At Truman headquarters in the Muehlebach Hotel penthouse in Kansas City, there were cheers and back slapping and hand pumping. Friends, newspapermen, Secret Service agents and White House aides poured out congratulations to the happy, grinning man who had won four more years in the White House in his own right.

The political dopesters still were in a daze trying to figure out how it all happened. Adjectives like "stunning," "amazing," "astounding" were on every tongue.

The grit and never-give-up spirit of the man who inherited the White House from Roosevelt couldn't be discounted. And Mr. Truman could say "I told you so." He had told the poll-takers they would be red-faced today. They were.

Even the cards had been stacked against him.

Presidential candidates aren't supposed to win without the big electoral votes of New York and Pennsylvania. Truman did.

And he did it with his own party split, without the Solid South, without any bulging money bags to finance the campaign, without the big total vote that is supposed to favor the Democrats.

Progressive Party Candidate Henry A. Wallace, fired from the Truman cabinet, got even in part in New York, Connectcut and Maryland. The votes Wallace collected there would have been enough to swing those States to the Democrats.

But the President won without those too.

He raided Republican strongholds in the farm belt, where wheat and corn prices have been sagging. He wrenched States like Iowa and Wisconsin away from the Republican banner.

He ran strong in the border States, including his own Missouri. And he held onto most of the South in the face of attempts of rebelling States Righters under Thurmond to snatch it from him.

Thurmond captured only Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Mr. Truman came out of the campaign and the election with new stature and prestige. He was good enough to win on his own. He had answered with his victory the talk that he just wasn't big enough for the job.

He had heard that talk and it must have hurt. He mentioned it time and again as he stumped the country, telling the people he wanted them to see him and listen to him and judge for themselves whether the talk was right.

He told the people he was on a great "crusade" for them, that the real issue was their interests against the special interests. He told them he was fighting on the right side and he would win.

He hit at Dewey as a "shadow" who was trailing him around the country saying "me, too" to Democratic promises to the people. But he insisted there was one place Dewey wouldn't follow — across the White House doorstep.

Always he lit into what he tagged the "awful," the "idiot," the "second worst" Eightieth Congress. He said it tried to "cut the throats" of the farmer and the laboring man. He slugged hard at the Taft-Hartley law.

And in the end, the farmers and the workers helped sew up his victory.

One phrase Mr. Truman stressed in his campaign may have offered some key to the results. He kept repeating that what the people really were interested in was "peace, prices and places to live."

That underscored an old political doctrine—it's hard to toss out any administration when times are good, even if there is some inflation.

Sen. Taft, Republican, Ohio, put it into these words in Washington: "It is almost impossible to put an administration out of office at the very peak of a prosperity boom."

The Tru

34a(2)

The Examiner

Thur 11-4-48

Los Angeles Calif

THE reelection of President Truman and the return of Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress sufficient to give him authority as well as responsibility in national affairs, is a great personal victory for Mr. Truman.

It unquestionably gives him new and impressive stature in his own country, and throughout the world.

While it is by no means an overwhelming victory, both the popular and the electoral vote reflecting a fairly even division among the people, it is a conclusive public demonstration of the national preference for him in the face of the existing alternatives.

If this is a surprising and even an astonishing turn of events, it is only because so much of the guessing about the election was so very wrong—and with the exception of Mr. Truman himself, this applies to most of his own followers, **INCLUDING THE TOP FIGURES OF HIS ADMINISTRATION WHO HAD GIVEN MERELY LIP SERVICE TO HIS CANDIDACY AND IN SOME CASES VERY LITTLE OF THAT.**

Perhaps as much as any presidential candidate in American political history, Mr. Truman made his campaign virtually alone and won it almost entirely on his own—and in consequence the many red faces in the country are not being worn exclusively by his opponents but quite as conspicuously by those who were only in his camp for LACK OF ANY OTHER PLACE TO GO.

There are a variety of explanations of Mr. Truman's victory in these circumstances, but the primary explanation is that the presidential candidate offered by the Republican Party in opposition to Mr. Truman failed to inspire enthusiasm among the people and accordingly bid unsuccessfully for their confidence.

It was the failure of the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia last summer to recognize this disposition of the American people that set the stage for the Truman victory.

While the majority of the people of the United States were in a mood for change in the national administration at that time, the Republican nominating convention failed to sense that the dominant aspiration was **NOT FOR MERE CHANGE IN ITSELF BUT FOR NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF TRULY EXCEPTIONAL CHARACTER**—of the high caliber, for instance, of any number of eminent and outstanding Americans, but especially of such a distinguished and inspiring an American as General Douglas MacArthur.

Instead of measuring up to the real expectations of the American people and to its own opportunities, the Republican convention selected a once beaten and very badly beaten presidential candidate who never had widespread popularity in the country and proved to be incapable of winning the confidence of enough of the people to accomplish his election.

It was beside the point that Mr. Dewey was an able and competent administrator of public affairs.

The prevailing factor was that the American people did not want Mr. Dewey as President, and had rejected him on the occasion of his first candidacy, and rejected him again **WHEN GIVEN NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE TO THE REELECTION OF MR. TRUMAN.**

Now Mr. Truman is President of the United States, not by the accident of being caretaker for another President's unfinished term, but in his own right.

Thur 11-4-48

He has his own team now, and he is head man on the team.

He has shown himself to be a man of great political courage and resourcefulness.

He is more obligated now than ever before to demonstrate equally high qualities of statesmanship, for he now must justify and vindicate the judgment of the American people who have not only honored him personally but have entrusted the national interests and safety to him at a most critical and precarious time.

Suggesting A Way To G

34a(2)

The Columbia Record

Thur 8-26-48

Columbia S.C.

The best way to get a secret ballot which would allow the South Carolina voters a free choice in the general election would be to have the General Assembly of South Carolina enact an Australian ballot law for the general election, as Governor J. Strom Thurmond has suggested.

But Governor J. Strom Thurmond, who once suggested that the state Democratic convention be reconvened, has refused to act in the field where his own authority lies. He declines to issue the call for the special session of the legislature, which could have enacted laws to give the state a real secret ballot.

Maxie C. Collins, executive secretary of the South Carolina Federated Forces and a member of the so-called citizens Democratic group, makes the suggestion that the several parties participating in the primary cooperate in printing one ballot containing the names of all party nominees for Congress and electors.

"Inasmuch," Mr. Collins explains, "as Governor Thurmond has failed to call a special session of the legislature to enact a secret ballot law for general elections and inasmuch as it appears particularly important that the citizens of South Carolina have the opportunity to vote in secret at the general election, November 2, without the coercion or pressure of having to reveal for whom they vote, a prominent Democrat (not Dixiecrat) of South Carolina has made . . . the suggestion that all parties be invited to cooperate in printing a secret ballot for the presidential electors and members of Congress.

"It is possible to do this without violation of any present law, but all parties will have to contribute toward the cost of printing the ballots . . ."

And Mr. Collins' proposal has great merit, if it can be done under the South Carolina general election law. It would give the voters of South Carolina the secret ballot to which they are entitled. If it be legal every party in the state should accept Mr. Collins' invitation to join with him in printing a joint ballot. The Democratic party is already on record as favoring the secret ballot.

But there may be some doubts of the validity of this procedure and it is, of course, something less than a real Australian ballot which allows for the voting of a split ticket.

South Carolina's general election law describes the ballots:

"Which ballots shall be of plain white paper and of such width and length as to contain the names of the officer or officers . . . to be voted for . . . clear and even cut, without ornament, designation, mutilation, symbol or mark of any kind whatsoever, except the name or names of the person or persons voted for and the office to which such person or persons are intended to be chosen . . ."

Thur 8-26-48

Whether the scratching of the names of those persons not voted for would constitute mutilation of the ballot within the meaning of this section The Record doesn't pretend to know. Whether Mr. Collins' idea that the ballot might be perforated would be legal, it cannot say, although a perforated ballot appears to be something less than "clear and even cut." But the attorney general of South Carolina could be called upon for an opinion.

The suggestion should not be allowed to die without further study. It should not be cavalierly dismissed as Senator W. P. Baskin dismisses it. The voters of South Carolina are big enough to be trusted to know their own minds and to vote them.

A New Deal Sweep

The News

BY ERNEST K. LINDLEY

Thur 11-4-48

34a(2)

Charlotte

I WAS AS WRONG as the rest in predicting the outcome of the presidential election, but I can't say I am unhappy about it.

It may be that the poll-takers and the political writers, editors, and politicians (including most of Mr. Truman's chief political lieutenants when they weren't talking for publication) who said Dewey would win made an important contribution to President Truman's victory. They may have lulled a good many Republicans into staying away from the voting booths.

The total vote appears to have been light. The Democratic high command was praying for a heavy vote. Their theory was that there were millions of old Roosevelt voters who, although not enthusiastic about Truman, would choose him in preference to Dewey if they could be got to the voting booths. Most of the top Republican politicos made the same calculation. They thought a light vote would favor Dewey. It was a bit too light, at least on the Republican side. Overconfidence, built up with the help of the unanimously wrong poll-takers and political writers, may have had a lot to do with that.

The intensive efforts of organized labor were, of course, largely responsible for Truman's victory. Even so, Truman did not get as big a percentage of the vote in many of the industrial centers as Roosevelt did in 1940 or 1944. The biggest surprise in the voting pattern was the strength Truman showed in the rural areas. The farmers, who started drifting back to the Republican Party as early as 1936, moved in the other direction last Tuesday. The fall in grain and livestock prices in the few weeks before the election may have had something to do with that.

The farmers knew, too, that, although Dewey declared himself in favor of farm price supports and although the Aiken-Hope bill was passed by the 80th Congress, it was Truman and the Democrats who had forced Congress to pass long-term farm legislation. Moreover, Dewey, although he is a gentleman-farmer, did not look like the kind of man who understands farm problems.

* * *

New Deal Lives On

TRUMAN'S PLUCK undoubtedly enhanced the natural appeal of his friendly personality. His victory is being hailed as a one-man feat. And certainly he will now go down in history as a master campaigner. But another man was at least as important in his achievement: Franklin D. Roosevelt. In this campaign, Truman identified himself completely with the Roosevelt New Deal. He took as his target, not Dewey who has embraced much of the New Deal, but the Republican old guard, which so largely dominated the 80th Congress. There are millions of voters who distrust the Republican Party, especially perhaps when they remember the Hoover depression, but who were not too enthusiastic about Truman. Truman played on that longstanding distrust.

Truman was right when he said that his victory was not personal but a victory for the Democratic Party. He might have said for the record made by the Democratic Party under Wilson and Roosevelt, as contrasted with that of the Republican Party following the First World War and the Republican leadership of the 80th Congress. The country turned to the Democratic Party—or, rather, to the Rooseveltian New Deal tradition.

In one sense, Truman rode back into office on the coat-tails of the New Deal. In state after state he trailed the Democratic candidates for Congress, the Senate, and governor. But the Democratic tide was strong enough to carry him to victory, also, and the way he drew and drove home the primary issues of the campaign was, of course, one of the main reasons why the Democratic tide was so strong.

Mon 11-8-48

Licked By The Record

DEWEY RAN AHEAD of his party in nearly every state. He was dragged down by the Republican record. The right wing of the GOP has received perhaps its death blow. A few of the more progressive Republicans were run over, also, along with Dewey. But the repudiation of the GOP right-wing extended even to Rep. Harold Knutson, reactionary chairman of the ways and means committee, after 32 consecutive years in the House. His great contribution to the record of the 80th Congress was the tax-cut. Tax-cuts are supposed to be sure-fire recipes for political success.

In the Senate, the isolationist wing has been almost obliterated, perhaps largely because it was right-wing also on domestic questions. Of the 10 senators in the Senate class of 1942 who voted against the Marshall plan, only Wherry survived this election.

The last person I talked with in New York after the election suggested that the Democratic victory was "a memorial to Roosevelt," and the same phrase came from the first person I talked with on arriving in Washington four hours later. It is not inappropriate.—©

Chicago Tribune Story On Election Tells Of 'Victory' For Dewey

34a(1)

Fri 11-5-48

CHICAGO, Nov. 5—(AP)—The Chicago Tribune, in an election story yesterday, said early returns Tuesday had indicated Thomas E. Dewey had defeated President Truman.

B'ham, Ala

The Tribune, which supported Dewey, claimed his victory in several editions election night.

One replate edition which came out about 10 p.m. Tuesday carried the main headline: "Dewey Defeats Truman." A smaller headline read: "Puts GOP Back in White House," and a third stated: "Sizable Electoral Margin Seen."

* * *

THE FIRST PARAGRAPH of the news story said: "Dewey and Warren won a sweeping victory in the presidential election yesterday."

The story, written by Arthur Sears Henning, continued, "The early returns showed the Republican ticket leading Truman and Barkley pretty consistently in Northern and Western states" and that "indications were that the complete returns would disclose that Dewey won the presidency by an overwhelming majority of the electoral votes."

The headlines did not make a flat victory claim in later editions, but the opening paragraph of the general election story in The Tribune's last edition Wednesday said: "Dewey and Warren won the presidential election yesterday."

Fri 11-5-48

Henning, in his election story yesterday morning, said, "In the early returns Dewey appeared to have won. Mr. Truman himself thought so. He went to bed thinking himself defeated, just as Charles Evans Hughes went to bed in 1916 thinking he had been elected."

NO THIRD TERM AS PRESIDENT, TRUMAN HINTS

Hailed by Crowds on Trip to Capital; Won't Crow Over Foes

34a(2)

Fri 11-5-48

Los Angeles, Calif.

By Robert G. Nixon
Staff Correspondent International News Service

ABOARD TRUMAN VICTORY SPECIAL, Nov. 4.—President Truman will retire from office after his next four-year term. He will not run for a second full term.

That was learned on the highest authority tonight as the victorious President traveled across the country to Washington.

The President was magnanimous and humble in victory today as he traveled across the country toward a triumphant return to the White House.

The jubilant Chief Executive made it plain in platform talks in his native Missouri that he was not going to crow over his defeated Republican foes.

His train trip back to Washington began to resemble a victory march across the heart of the nation.

Crowds gathered to hail their underdog hero-winner at each point where the train stopped.

THRONGS GATHER—

Ten thousand pressed around the train when it stopped in St. Louis. Other enthusiastic throngs cheered the President in Sedalia and Jefferson City.

Huge crowds greeted the President in other Missouri cities and at Indiana points.

Other crowds stood along the railway at small towns through which the train passed.

Mrs. Truman and daughter Margaret also received victory tokens from the crowds.

Mr. Truman appealed to the crowds that cheered him so wildly for help in continuing prosperity at home and gaining world peace.

Fri 11-5-48

He told them:

"You have given me a terrible responsibility. I hope you will stand behind me."

BIGGEST JOB——

He told the St. Louis crowd to "continue praying for the welfare of this great country." He added:

"I want you to stand by me now. I've got the biggest job in the world."

The President appeared strong and refreshed. His campaign over, he kept on campaigning, or at least making speeches, in the same informal way that captured crowds during his successful barnstorming.

Staunch Thurmond Elector Holds Truman Vote to 303

N.Y. Times

34a(2)

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8—President Truman is assured of 303 votes in the Electoral College although he carried twenty-eight states that will cast a total of 304 electoral votes.

New York N.Y.

A recapitulation today showed that one Tennessee elector, chosen on the Truman-Barkley slate, remained pledged to vote for the Thurmond-Wright States Rights ticket.

There had been one other successful electoral candidate so pledged, but he announced after the election that he would vote for President Truman. If he carries out that intention the Thurmond electoral vote will be thirty-nine.

Thus the President is assured at this point of eleven of Tennessee's twelve electoral votes.

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8—Returns from 135,460 voting places out of 141,046 in the nation showed the vote for President as follows today:

Truman	23,671,479
Dewey	21,544,105
Wallace	1,116,390
Thurmond	1,006,363
Total	47,338,337

Part Played by the South

N.Y. Times

34a(2)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

I hope you will not take this as presumptuous. I certainly do not mean it to be. I am disturbed, however, by the tenor of some of the current comment which generally takes the position that President Truman won without the South. It is very important from the viewpoint of those of us who supported the Democratic party and who successfully and earnestly fought the fraudulent and hypocritical Dixiecrat movement that the rest of the nation understand the revolt in the South was confined to four states.

Tue 11-9-48

It is also my opinion that, had the people in those states been given a free opportunity to vote without fear and intimidation, these also would have gone Democratic. As you know, Alabama did not even allow a Truman vote, and in the other states, despite apparent ability to vote for Mr. Truman, intimidation and other means were used to prevent a free ballot.

New York N.Y.

From our viewpoint, it is important and would be enormously helpful if it could be pointed out that Mr. Truman could not have won without Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina and other Southern states which voted for him. I again ask your pardon for addressing this to you, but I have been disturbed last night and today by the general lumping of the whole South in comments that Mr. Truman won without the South.

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Truman Constant On Civil Rights

BY DREW PEARSON

Tues 11-9-48

B'ham Ala

34a(2)

WASHINGTON.—Only a few White House insiders knew it at the time, but President Truman could have avoided the split with the South on the civil-rights issue. However, he decided that the question was too important for any compromise.

In a White House conversation, Morris Ernst, a member of the civil rights committee, urged Truman not to send the committee's report to Congress, but rather to the governors and mayors of the different states. Ernst pointed out that Southern leaders had always contended that this was a state, not a federal, problem; therefore a bitter fight could be avoided by handling the report that way.

Truman's reply was brief and to the point.

"I would not be doing my duty as president," he said.

Ernst, who had been a close friend and adviser of Franklin Roosevelt, then asked Truman why he had such a passion for civil rights—even more so than Roosevelt.

"When I was young," replied the president, "I saw fiery crosses burned on the hills above Independence and 3,000 hooded men parading. I get worried about a return of that sort of thing. We cannot let it happen again."

34w(2)

How States Voted

FINAL TABULATION
By The Associated Press

The Press

Sun 11-7-48

B'ham Ala.

	State Voting Units	Units Reporting	POPULAR VOTE Dewey	Truman	ELECT. VOTE Dewey	Truman
Alabama	2,408	1,772	26,713	....	(a)	(a)
Arizona	438	364	[illegible]	59,101	...	4
Arkansas	2,217	1,672	[illegible]	121,351	...	9
California	[illegible]	16,753	1,844,422	1,876,934	...	25
Colorado	1,704	1,655	226,456	245,788	...	6
Connecticut	169	169	438,226	422,228	8	...
Delaware	261	261	69,633	67,921	3	...
Florida	1,523	1,396	180,837	262,419	...	8
Georgia	1,736	1,436	69,992	235,407	...	12
Idaho	834	775	99,502	105,395	...	4
Illinois	9,231	9,231	1,949,834	1,987,754	...	28
Indiana	4,056	4,056	817,385	806,001	13	...
Iowa	2,474	2,474	488,933	523,502	...	10
Kansas	2,772	2,708	411,430	337,804	8	...
Kentucky	4,066	4,066	341,540	464,868	...	11
Louisiana	1,884	1,586	63,647	113,736	(a)	(a)
Maine	622	618	149,577	111,153	5	...
Maryland	1,347	1,347	293,929	285,834	8	...
Massachusetts	1,879	1,879	901,013	1,160,198	...	16
Michigan	4,202	4,171	1,022,007	972,616	19	...
Minnesota	3,738	3,438	457,021	640,887	...	11
Mississippi	1,725	1,000	3,661	11,208	(a)	(a)
Missouri	4,635	4,558	638,556	895,402	...	15
Montana	1,142	1,033	91,741	113,398	...	4
Nebraska	2,024	2,024	258,663	219,776	6	...
Nevada	301	301	29,102	30,568	...	3
New Hampshire	298	298	121,299	107,995	4	...
New Jersey	3,707	3,707	973,629	894,791	16	...
New Mexico	884	870	80,044	102,539	...	4
New York	9,959	9,959	2,837,848	2,782,555	47	...
North Carolina	1,959	1,714	220,693	427,584	...	14
North Dakota	2,272	1,565	89,121	72,819	4	...
Ohio	9,710	9,710	1,443,025	1,461,476	...	25
Oklahoma	3,701	3,701	268,817	452,782	...	10
Oregon	1,858	1,390	165,310	147,263	6	...
Pennsylvania	8 292	8,292	1,901,160	1,751,186	35	...
Rhode Island	266	266	134,892	188,619	...	4
South Carolina	1,296	1,033	5,337	31,245	(a)	(a)
South Dakota	1,942	1,744	114,972	105,226	4	...
Tennessee	2,300	2,259	191,396	254,964	...	12
Texas	254	253	213,962	578,085	...	23
Utah	901	894	124,349	149,046	...	4
Vermont	246	246	76,066	45,594	3	...
Virginia	1,755	1,755	172,649	200,868	...	11
Washington	3,457	3,374	351,089	443,666	...	8
West Virginia	2,785	2,745	308,473	424,633	...	8
Wisconsin	3,143	3,113	584,854	644,452	...	12
Wyoming	680	648	45,656	49,947	...	3
Total	135,855	130,309	21,383,772	23,388,584	189	304

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, States' Rights, had the following: Alabama, 132,073; Arkansas, 34,987; Florida, 84,208; Georgia, 81,730; Kentucky, 9,700; Louisiana, 176,827; Maryland, 8,483; Mississippi, 109,133; North Carolina, 63,224; North Dakota, 111; South Carolina, 93,143; Tennessee, 72,192; Texas, 76,233; Virginia, 42,426.

Total Thurmond popular vote, 978,470.

(a) Indicated Thurmond electoral vote, 38.

Henry A. Wallace, Progressive, polled the following: Alabama, 1,177; Arizona, 1,477; Arkansas, 645; California, 184,714; Colorado, 4,938; Connecticut, 13,370; Delaware, 286; Florida, 11,480; Georgia, 1,726; Idaho, 4,123; Indiana, 1,566; Iowa, 10,777; Kansas, 3,685; Kentucky, 1,364; Louisiana, 2,414; Maine, 1,887; Maryland, 9,392; Massachusetts, 38,926; Michigan, 39,837; Minnesota, 35,923; Mississippi, 213; Missouri, 3,369; Montana, 6,582; Nevada, 1,464; New Hampshire, 1,970; New Jersey 39,077; New Mexico, 782; New York, 508,542; North Carolina, 3,609; North Dakota, 4,874; Ohio, 35,374; Oregon, 8,562; Pennsylvania, 54,603; Rhode Island, 2,587; South Carolina, 180; South Dakota, 2,311; Tennessee, 1,544; Texas, 2,680; Utah, 2,442; Vermont, 1,237; Virginia, 1,901; Washington, 27,003; West Virginia. 2.663; Wisconsin, 25,199; Wyoming, 550.

Total Wallace popular vote, 1,109,025.
Indicated Wallace electoral vote, 0.
Grand total popular vote, 46.859.851.

Election 34a(2)

RALPH McGILL

My Crow And My Meat

The Constitution

Thur 11-4-48

Atlanta, Ga.

My dish of crow wasn't too bad. A little gamey, maybe. The crows are thinner this year. But still, not too bad. If you use a good sauce you hardly notice the strong taste.

Also, I didn't have too much crow to eat. I thought Dewey would win. I did not believe Harry S. Truman could win. I want to be honest about that. There will be a horde of liars who knew all along that Truman would win. But I didn't think he could.

But from the very start the Dixiecrats were my meat. I saw through them from the start, with their leaders selected at Birmingham and Houston, and the boys in the hotel rooms pulling the wires. I had a feeling from the start I could lick the Dixiecrats because they were, insofar as their political principles were concerned, a fraud and a hypocritical affront to the South. That they fooled a lot of good, sincere people, who joined them, made me all the more determined to defeat them.

In Alabama they shamefully, and with all the arrogance of a Nazi gauletier, refused to let the people who wanted to vote for Truman have that opportunity. In South Carolina, where there is no secret ballot, they let everyone know the watchful eye of the State organization would be on anyone who voted for Truman. In Louisiana they made it difficult by requiring a complicated split-ticket vote.

I love the Missisippians and I forgive them. They are elemental about things. They don't try to solve things by reason or logic. They just walk out.

But from the start I felt the Dixiecrats were my dish. I believed I could reveal them for the political frauds they were and, more important, I was sure I could prove to the satisfaction of a great many persons that the Dixiecrats were the enemies of States' rights and of the South's future. They were a selfish lot of self-servers—not South-servers.

You cannot defend a dishonest position. This the Dixiecrats now have learned. Strom Thurmond couldn't tell the South he was bleeding at Seven Pines, when all along the people in his own State—as the Anderson Independent said—knew it was all part of a plan to set up a State machine to beat Olin Johnston for the Senate.

The South is made up of good people in great majority. We are going to defend the principle of segregation, but we are going to be just to the Negro. We will do it because we want to do so.

The Dixiecrats were trying to make of the States' right principle an anti-Negro party, and just as surely as the Wallace Communists were trying to be the pro-Negro party. The Negroes saw through the hypocrisy and fraud of the Wallace party just as the people of the South and the nation saw through the cynical, intellectual dishonesty of the Dixiecrats.

So I had conditioned myself. I lashed myself to the two-party mast, and I conditioned myself to the belief Dewey would win. I had rationalized it. My campaign was in behalf of the two-party system and against the Dixiecrats. As I said, a lot of fine people were in the Dixiecrat camp. They believed in their principles and I honor them. I resented the fact that good people were being used by the Dixiecrats.

When the people of the South—who were free to cast a free ballot in a free country—smashed the Dixiecrat movement, that was my victory.

Now, to have the Democratic Party restored to power with a Democratic House and Senate—well, that's a very satisfactory development.

But I was astonished, surprised and incredulous.

Truman We have got a fine friend of the South in our Vice President. Alben Barkley is a grand man. Sam Rayburn will be back from Texas as Speaker of the House. Our own Sens. George and Russell will head important committees. There will be other Southerners—Alabama's Sparkman and Hill among them—to stand up for what is right about the South. (The Dixiecrats were trying to get us to stand up for what was wrong in the South.)

Thur 11-4-48

I believe they will work out a solution to the problems of the party which will please every thoughtful person of good will.

I imagine the Georgia Democratic Committee is happy it wasn't lured off by the sirens from the captive Dixiecrat States.

I am sure Georgia is proud of her smashing majority for the Democratic Party. It wasn't for Truman. I know that. It was for the Party—and for the true South.

It is amazing—really it is. Just a few days ago we were all wondering about the future of the Democratic Party. Many were saying its factions were so split the Party would be out of power for years.

And now—here we are back in power with a majority in the House and Senate.

Harry Truman and Alben Barkley did it. They had faith in the people.

DAVID SNELL

Dewey Shocked, Dazed at Defeat

The Constitution

NEW YORK—Gov. Dewey, hit with the sledgehammer of President Truman's astonishing upset, last night was the most thoroughly defeated man in the history of American politics.

34a(2)

It was evident everywhere in Republican circles here that the party is shocked and dazed. Dewey, who sat through the long night to hear what his senses at first would not let him believe, was left almost nothing to say.

Where a few hours ago, he had been full of plans and busy at work on the speech he was to deliver in acceptance of the nation's highest office, last night he faced only a dismal return to Albany.

No Plans What would he do then? His aides said that the Governor has made no plans. Would he return to Sea Island, Ga., where he rested after his defeat in 1944? The Governor did not know. It all added up to this: Dewey was totally unprepared emotionally, physically and psychologically for what has happened.

Thur 11-4-48

The Republican candidate collapsed in his bed in his Roosevelt Hotel suite at 8:30 o'clock yesterday morning, perhaps still hoping that a miracle would save him. He slept fitfully and awoke two hours later to learn that there had been a miracle—one worked by his rival.

At 1 p. m.—less than two hours after he had conceded defeat—Dewey went to the mezzanine, to the same hotel room where four years ago he conceded defeat to Franklin D. Roosevelt. Reporters were waiting quietly. The reporters were relieved to see that, at least outwardly, Dewey was taking the stunning defeat like a champion and that he was in good humor. But those who looked closely could see a man who was tired and lost.

Asked for his opinion of the future of political polls, the Governor laughed softly and said:

"Well, I don't like to comment on somebody else's misfortune."

Atlanta Ga.

Mrs. Dewey How was Mrs. Dewey taking the defeat?

"She's been through this before," he said, leaning back in his chair. "We've won and lost before—all in good fun."

He then repeated his message of concession and called again for unity. He thanked the press representatives who accompanied him on tour and expressed gratitude to the millions who worked in his behalf.

"I have had only a couple of hours of sleep and I have not had any chance to form an opinion," Dewey said. "The job now is to support the Administration and to make every effort to secure peace."

Asked if he would consider running a third time, he smiled and said no. The reporters sensed that he knew that his chance was gone forever, that he would never again be asked.

"I'm going back to Albany to get some sleep," he added. "I'm several weeks behind on sleep. I'll take a vacation—at least a weekend—on my farm at Pawling. I have no immediate plans beyond today."

As he turned to go, the reporters felt that they were witnessing the passing from the American political scene of Thomas E. Dewey.

Losers Not all the sadness in New York was in Republican circles. Also in mourning were those who lost election bets at odds of 15 to 1 or greater.

In professional gambling circles, it was learned, bets on the election were left pretty much alone. One bookmaker, contacted by this reporter, said:

"Where did they get this 15-to-1 stuff? People called me and said they wanted Truman on those odds. I wouldn't fool with them."

But there were plenty of bets by amateurs. Anthony Marzulli, who runs a sandwich and coffee shop in the Sun Building, gesticulated wildly with a carving knife as he told this reporter that he had cleaned up on a $50 bet at the odds quoted above.

"You can tell the Georgia people that," he shouted. "Tell 'em Tony won $750."

They're telling it around Democratic headquarters that a smooth-looking chap stepped into a hotel in Albany two weeks ago and offered to cover all bets at 10 to 1. Several chaps, who had not heard about the 15-to-1 bets, took him on. He put up $10,600 to cover their $1,060, and made this statement:

"I don't know of any other place where I could invest my money and realize 10 percent interest in only two weeks."

Few Republicans were as unhappy as that man.

Praise At Democratic headquarters, party leaders were heaping praise on President Truman, who slugged his way through an uphill campaign, carrying the loads of the parties of Henry A. Wallace and J. Strom Thurmond.

One Democrat, who asked that his name not be used, predicted that Thurmond and the Dixiecrats would come crawling to Mr. Truman. And he had kind words to say about Ellis Arnall and other Southern politicians who remained loyal to the Democratic Party.

RALPH McGILL

Wears a Spiritual Hair Shirt

The Constitution

Tues 11-9-48

Atlanta, Ga.

I put on a spiritual hair shirt; poured the ashes of humility over my head, and went out into the desert to reflect.

It wasn't enough merely honestly to admit guessing wrong on the election. Too many persons were wrong. The campaign managers for both candidates were wrong. So were the managers for the Dixiecrats and the Wallace campaign.

The writers of confidential letters (such as Kiplinger) for which businessmen pay good prices to get "inside" information, were all in error.

Time Magazine and Life were emphatically off balance. All national publications followed along.

The nation's newspapers were, in the majority, as strong in their error as the aforementioned magazines.

The radio commentators were as wrong as pundits can be.

And, finally, the polls were the worst of all.

As a newspaperman I was distressed that the newspapers should be so wrong and it is about this I have done a lot of soul-searching. And I think I have an answer.

Evidence I find, in going back over the files, that all along my associates and I kept saying that Georgia would go for Truman. That was, of course, relatively easy, but there was a doubt.

Also, in my articles, including one in the Saturday Evening Post published May 22, I wrote that early that the Dixiecrats would get no more than four States at best and that at least half the Southern States, and probably two-thirds, would give their votes to Harry Truman. It also was indicated that Dewey's best chance was in Florida and Virginia.

All that came out in a very satisfactory manner. The Dixiecrats who, at the time of the writing in May, were talking of taking all the Southern States, had to resort to harshly undemocratic methods to carry even four States. Truman did get two-thirds of the Southern States and Dewey's best Southern showing was in Florida and Virginia.

Regional So, it is most satisfactory that in our State and region our readers did receive an accurate estimate on the election.

But, the national picture is sadly different. It is this which makes me so furious with myself and which has my cup of regret running over. All I can say about it is I believe I learned a lesson.

Checking back through the files, I find that on five occasions I wrote that Truman was doing well in calling attention to the Eightieth Congress because it was helping to make closer races in the States where the worst members of that Congress were again before the people. In two articles I called attention to the fact that even in Iowa, a State heavily Republican, the Democratic Senator was likely to win. On a trip to Minnesota I came back with the information that while the Democrats there thought it would be close as between Dewey and Truman, they believed they could beat Republican Senator Joe Ball.

There was ample evidence the popular vote would be close. There was evidence—which I commented on more than once—the farmers were restive about Dewey.

So, one is left with the question as to why no one—no newspaper and no campaign manager, magazine, radio commentator or columnist—added all these factors up into a chance for Truman?

Why did we keep saying that senatorial and congressional races would be close, with likely Democratic gains, but supinely accepted the fact Dewey still would carry them?

Tues 11-9-48

Polls My only answer is that through recent years we had allowed the subtle influence of the polls to take over and do our thinking for us in regions other than our own.

The polls had been so right that the nation had ceased to dispute them. The polls were, even as President Truman said, "sleeping polls." The Republicans now are sick about them, saying the "sleeping polls" kept some 3,000,000 Republican votes at home. All of us ought to be sick about them.

Dr. Gallup and all the others conducting polls had become somewhat smug and patronizing. Dr. Gallup had even professed to be bored about the business of predicting elections, since it was so sure a thing, and in a public address regretted there were not really difficult problems to poll.

All I can say is, if I were a newspaperman in Iowa or the Middle West, I would feel worse than I do. They didn't even know their own States or their region. But, I have learned this one lesson. I will never again take sleeping polls. I think they are a dangerous factor in our national life.

34a(2)

Let 'Em Eat Turkey—HST

Wash Post

WESTERN UNION

Sun 11-7-48

LDC122 PD=THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

127P NOV 6 1948=

THE WASHINGTON POST=

WASHDC=

Wash D.C.

I RECEIVED ON THE TRAIN YOUR VERY HANDSOME INVITATION TO ME TO ATTEND A "CROW BANQUET." I KNOW THAT WE COULD ALL HAVE A GOOD TIME TOGETHER, BUT I FEEL I MUST DECLINE. AS I SAID EN ROUTE TO WASHINGTON, I HAVE NO DESIRE TO CROW OVER ANYBODY OR TO SEE ANYBODY EATING CROW, FIGURATIVELY OR OTHERWISE. WE SHOULD ALL GET TOGETHER NOW AND MAKE A COUNTRY IN WHICH EVERYBODY CAN EAT TURKEY WHENEVER HE PLEASES.

¶ INCIDENTALLY, I WANT TO SAY THAT DESPITE WHAT YOUR COMMENTATORS AND POLLS SAID, YOUR NEWS COVERAGE OF MY CAMPAIGN WAS FAIR AND COMPREHENSIVE.

¶ AGAIN, MANY THANKS AND REGARDS.

SINCERELY YOURS, "H S T."

HARRY S TRUMAN.

Sun 11-7-48

PRESIDENT'S REPLY—Mr. Truman wires The Washington Post that he has "no desire to crow over anybody . . ." The Washington Post invited the President to eat turkey at a crow banquet, for editorial writers, political reporters and editors, along with pollsters, radio commentators and columnists, who made inaccurate forecasts of the election results

34a(2) 1948 Third Party

Mr. Wallace Failed To Inspire Confidence

Journal & Guide

Ed. 11-13-48

Norfolk, Va.

THE NEGRO voters throughout the country are to be commended for not allowing themselves to be stampeded into supporting HENRY A. WALLACE'S Communist-controlled third party in spite of the bait dangled before them by the left-wing advocates.

The vast majority of the members of the race who are of sufficient age and intelligence to vote are acutely sensitive of the inequitable citizenship they suffer in this country, but with sound judgment they saw no hope for betterment in the WALLACE movement.

Mr. WALLACE boldly espoused the principles nearest and dearest to the hearts of civilly and economically handicapped minorities, but they failed to see in him any consecrated Moses ordained to deliver them out of the wilderness.

That gentleman's do-nothing record about Negro citizenship while a member of the late President ROOSEVELT'S cabinet could not inspire the confidence that he had suddenly received benediction as a sincere apostle of civil rights.

Although more outspoken and demonstrative in his advocacy of the civil rights doctrine during the campaign than either of the presidential candidates of the two major parties, Mr. WALLACE only dramatized what both of them had already advocated, and in some notable respects, had supported by their action.

Of the three parties accepting and espousing principles dearest to him, the Negro voter wisely chose to cast his lot with the Democrats and Republicans, rather than to align himself with the persuasive but pathetically hopeless Progressive Party, born out of the peeve and disappointment of an ex-cabinet officer and nurtured by the bed-fellows of Josef Stalin.

Fortunately, the election results make it unmistakably clear that Communism among the American Negro, especially in the South, up to the present, is inconsequential. To him the Red ideology is innocuous and without significant appeal, even when it comes disguised as a healing agent for the civic and economic ills to which he is peculiarly subjected.

Ed 11-13-48

In his bid for the vote of the minority groups Mr. WALLACE conducted a unique and audacious campaign, playing heavily upon their many disadvantages. But beyond doubt his well-known attitude toward Russia was distasteful to the average American, and caused many of them to refuse to vote under his banner.

We think they are to be commended.

34a(3) 1948

California

The all-important Tuesday Primary

Los Angeles Tribune Calif.

AN EDITORIAL

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34a(3) Sat. 5-29-48

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And what is required of a Negro candidate for this role of congressman-at-large?

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First, he should be a man worthy of representing a race that is so spectacularly spotlighted on the national scene. He should be intelligent, educated, and of high principles.

Secondly, he should be aware of the most pressing needs of the race which are mainly civil rights and economic opportunity.

Thirdly, he should be independent of, and undependent on, the overgrown octopi which hamper action in their convulsive efforts to perpetuate themselves, which is to say, he should be above blind party loyalty and selfish group interests, and should be not only capable of, but accustomed to, making up his own mind and acting according to his conscience.

In light of these requirements, how shall we evaluate the candidates offering themselves to the voters on Tuesday? Our examination fortunately may be limited to only four out of the 21 as those who will receive any consideration from the Negro voters.

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Next to be considered is Wallace Braden, the standard-bearer of the Republican party. Braden has nothing to recommend him according to the slide rule we have used here. He is neither a Negro nor a resident of the 14th district; moreover, he is the antithesis of the ideal we have outlined as most desirable for this office.

He knows nothing of the needs of the race, beyond the meagre fruit of his boning up for this campaign on such cliches as: the anti-lynching bill, the anti-poll tax bill, FEPC, which he doesn't even practice in his own capacity as general manager of the rich County Employees association. Even as a white man, there is little likelihood that Braden would be of any real service to the country, committed as he is to never-ending stewardship to the political machine and its perpetuation in power and influence.

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15, which includes one other Negro, James T. Allen, a carpenter, Independent Progressive.

Mrs. Echo Stanton Robinson, clubwoman and housewife of 777 1-2 E. 46th st., is a candidate for the Republican national convention, favoring Earl Warren, and the Rev. Clayton D. Russell is a candidate for the Democratic national convention, favoring President Truman.

RUMFORD WINS DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION AFTER RECOUNT

California Voice

Fri. 6-18-48

Official count of ballots cast at the June Primary election in the 17th Assembly District, revealed that Wm. Byron Rumford won the Democratic nomination over his closest opporent, Edgar S. Hurley. In the semi-official accounting of the ballots the results denoted that Hurley had won both the Republican and Democratic nod, but at the insistence of Mr. Rumford, that a closer tally be made, the official count finally reveaeld that Rumford had won the Democratic nomination by a total of 7274 to 7008. Hurley is checking abstracts of the precinct returns and has indicated that he will file a recount suit if not satisfied.

574(3)

6-18-48

When contacted by this paper for a statement Mr. Rumford said: "At this point it appears that I have won the Democratic nomination for the office of Assemblyman from the 7th District. I wish to thank the general public for their untiring support in this campaign. It expresses in a large way the intention of us in the Bay Area to advance politically and otherwise."

As the result of the outcome in the primaries Mr. Rumford and Mr. Hurley will now have to meet in the general election in November for a run-off.

Sparkman Wins In Alabama

The C I O News

34a(3) Mon. 5-10-48

TWO Alabama Congressmen with consistent anti-labor records won't return to Congress in 1949 as a result of last week's Democratic primaries.

Both opposed by CIO unions in their districts, Reps. Carter Manasco and Peter Jarman lost their seats to Carl Elliot and Edward deGraffenried respectively. Nomination in the Alabama Democratic primary is equivalent to election.

Manasco, one of the leading opponents of a higher minimum wage in 1946, had been in the House for seven years. Jarman has held his office for the past 10 years.

Washington, D.C.

CIO enjoyed another Alabama victory in the election of PAC-endorsed Sen. John Sparkman as Democratic senatorial nominee. Sparkman was first named to the Senate in a special election in 1946 to fill the vacancy created by the death of Sen. John Bankhead.

His popularity with the voters was underscored this year by the fact that he swamped Philip J. Hamm, Gov. James Folsom's candidate. Folsom, in previous tests, had proved himself a top-notch vote-getter.

Whether or not the state's delegates to the Democratic convention would walk out if the Presidents' civil rights plank is adopted was the issue around which the battle for delegates' seat raged. Opposition to Pres. Truman on the basis of his civil rights program was unanimous among the candidates. (In 1860 Alabama led a walkout by southern states at the Democratic convention, which then nominated Abraham Lincoln.)

Mon. 5-10-48

At this writing the would-be bolters appeared to have won a majority of the 23 seats.

As Other States See Us

"In Lister Hill and John Sparkman, Alabama has distinguished senatorial representation.

5-9-48

But, all in all, there is no higher recommendation of the man than the fact that he was vigorously opposed in the late campaign by Gov. Folsom, and no pleasanter symptom of improving times than his overwhelming victory.

Montgomery Ala

Good News From Alabama

5-9-48

The Atlanta Constitution

IN ALABAMA Sen. Lister Hill has led in the balloting for delegate-at-large to the National Democratic Convention.

Sen. John Sparkman, up for nomination, was overwhelmingly nominated.

This is encouraging to those who like good men in Congress. Both are good men. Both were endangered by the Folsom forces and by the old anti-Roosevelt crowd which had previously opposed both Sparkman and Hill.

5-9-48

On the day the votes were being counted Gov. Folsom, who faces a paternity suit, was married to a young lady in the Alabama Highway Department. In wishing the young couple well, we trust the Governor noted the bride was a member of the rifle team at Ensley High School.

Montgomery Advertiser

Alabama's Reaction

Sun. 5-9-48

The Arkansas Gazette

THE Alabama Democratic primary had a special significance because it was the first in the South in which the voters have had a chance for direct expression on the proposed Truman renomination.

There can be no doubt, if there ever was any, that Alabama Democrats disapprove of Mr. Truman's civil rights program. They endorsed the most extreme proposal yet offered to insure his defeat when they elected a slate of electors pledged to vote against him or any other Democratic candidate who supports the legislation he has proposed. . . .

34a(3)

The voters gave their heaviest vote in the delegate race to Senator Lister Hill, who is an acknowledged New Dealer. Senator Hill is opposed to the renomination of Mr. Truman, but he is as firmly opposed to splitting the Democratic party.

An the voters also overwhelmingly renominated Senator John Sparkman, another New Dealer whose announced opposition to President Truman's renomination came so late that most observers saw it as a move for political self-preservation. Senator Sparkman, like former Gov. Sparks, who also received a heavy vote as delegate, campaigned against the proposed rebellion, insisting that differences over the Truman program should be ironed out within the party. . . .

The Alabama primary had at least one positive result. It showed that Governor Folsom, whose uninhibited campaigning was supposed to have given him a stranglehold on Alabama politics, has lost a good deal of ground in the two years since he took office. He made an unexpectedly poor showing in his own race for delegate and, even more significantly, his personally-sponsored candidate for the Senate was swamped by Senator Sparkman. Whatever may have happened to Harry Truman's candidacy in Alabama, it may safely be concluded that Big Jim's "favorite son" boom was buried there.

5-9-48

Sparkman Wins In Alabama

Montgomery Advertiser

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

WHILE only time will tell how much of an anti-Truman vote was cast in the Alabama primary, one reaction of the state's votes could not be clearer. The people of Alaabam are in no mood to build up Gov. James E. Folsom, whose chief distinction is that he cannot resist kissing every pretty girl within the reach of his long arms.

Gov. Folsom supported a candidate in the senatorial primary in the hope of unseating Alabama's progressive Senator, John J. Sparkman. Sparkman is so far ahead of the Folsom entry that there can be little doubt as to the outcome. This is doubly good. It is a rebuke to Folsom and an indorsement for Sparkman, which the latter deserves.

5-9-48

Sparkman entered the Senate only a year and a half ago to succeed the late Senator John H. Bankhead. Yet in that short time Sparkman has impressed himself very favorably with his colleagues and the country. This is not to say his record is perfect. He is on the wrong side of the civil rights issue. But the representation of the South in the Senate on many questions is better for John J. Sparkman.

Alabama Vote Recalls 1860

Montgomery Advertise

The Louisville Courier-Journal

DEMOCRATIC PARTY leaders were watching the Alabama primary election intently for a measure of the Southern Revolt. They saw plenty. They saw the party split, with Alabama hellbent to vote against Harry S. Truman where the vote counts, in the electoral college, even if he is nominated. It is 1860 all over again, with only slight variations.

Sun. 5-9-48

The probable results will be a re-shuffling and realignment of parties and policies. The Alabama vote could portend the end of political solidity in the South Many a rank-and-file voter, offended by the electoral college trick, which foreordains action no matter how the people vote next November, will be marking their ballots, perhaps for the first time, under the symbols of other parties. Negroes, newly enfranchised in the Old South, will hardly be voting to support the States' Rights, white-supremacy opponents of legislation for civil rights.

5-9-48

And so the temporary victors may have their pride and their vengeance for their pains as did their forebears who 88 years ago left Stephen A. Douglas, flocked to John C. Breckenridge on the States' Rights issue and assured the election of Abraham Lincoln. There can be no reconciliation on terms such as the Deep Southern State organizations would dictate today. The times and the world have gone beyond that.

However, if Alabamians were positive as being against Truman, a study of their vote shows a bit of uncertainty in other aspects. It is always like this, as if a sense of guilt were prodding, when people rush impulsively under the lash of prejudice. The incomplete vote shows that several moderate leaders, who have been counselling against a bolt of the Democratic convention in Philadelphia if the South isn't given what it demands, are running well in the front as delegates.

These include Senator Lister Hill and former Governor Sparks. Senator John Sparkman, who is in this group of stick-with-the-party advocates, seems to have beaten the man whom Governor Folsom, recently grown dizzy with power, trotted out against him. And Big Jim himself seems faring poorly in the race for a place as delegate to the national convention. He probably will squeeze in when the votes from down the creek are counted, but not as the leader. If the Folsom bubble is pricked, and demagogery, administrative ineptness and personal misbehavior are rebuked, the day is not completely lost in Alabama.

5-9-48

Alabama Primary Results

Montgomery Advertise

The Memphis Commercial Appeal

OUTSTANDING in the results of Tuesday's primaries is the fact that the Democrats of Alabama are sufficiently aroused against President Truman and his so-called civil rights program to bolt the convention if need be. Second to that is the evidence that Gov. James (Big Jim) Folsom's bid for leadership has found no widespread favor. . .

5-9-48

It seems assured that a big majority of Alabama delegates to the Democratic convention will be strictly anti-Truman. It looks as though Alabama's electors will also be against the President and the national leadership with which he has associated himself. Governor Folsom himself was running far behind as this was written, and apparently would not even be a delegate to the convention, much less Alabama's "favorite son" candidate for the nomination.

If the trend continues as it has begun, Alabama is to be congratulated on all counts. . . .

Alabama Shows Way

Montgomery Advertis

J. G. HAYDEN

In The Atlanta Constitution

WASHINGTON — As affecting the ultimate selection of the next President of the United States, the most decisive event so far is the seemingly sure nomination in Alabama's Democratic primary, Tuesday, of 11 presidential electors solidly pledged against President Truman. By this action Mr. Truman is excluded from the regular Democratic column on the Alabama ballot and this almost certainly means that he will lose the electoral vote of that state.

Sun. 5-9-48

And because there has been more resistance to the anti-Truman movement in Alabaam than in most other Southern states, its popularly voted determination to bolt is taken to indicate that at least five other states—South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas and Virginia — will go the same way. Altogether, these states cast 60 electoral votes. . . .

While only the six states above named are enlisted so far in the anti-Truman drive, its effects are expected to extend farther. Texas probably will join the movement fully, and Louisiana and Florida may do so. Many politicians from Tennesse and Virginia are predicting that, whether or not these states list the Southern anti-Truman candidates on their ballots, they are likely to go Republican on account of the party split.

5-9-48

In 1944. Gov. Thomas E. Dewey polled 39 per cent of the votes in Tennessee and 38 per cent in Virginia. Entry of Henry Wallace already has divided the Democratic presidential vote in these states.

A Sparkman Landslide

Montgomery Advertiser

The Chattanooga Times

SEN. JOHN J. Sparkman looms as Alabama's strong man because of his smashing victory in Tuesday's Democratic primary. Gov. James E. Folsom suffered a defeat in several directions. . . .

The repudiation of Gov. Folsom's candidates for committeeman and for the United States Senate, as well as the apparent rebuff to Mr. Folsom, himself, is definitely an endorsement of the Truman foreign policy All three of these gentlemen campaigned against the Marshall Plan and against "dumping our money abroad."

Sun. 5-9-48

On the question of American cooperation with the rest of the world, the South is not provincial and the Alabama result proves it, if any proof were needed

Sen. Sparkman's victory will be applauded in all of the states which make up the Tennessee Valley region. . . .

In the recognition of the character and ability of John Sparkman, as well as in the setbacks given "Kissing Jim" Folsom, Alabama seems to have had a good day on Tuesday. 5–9–48

John Sparkman's Victory

Montgomery Advertiser

The Atlanta Journal

JOHN SPARKMAN'S smashing victory in his race for renomination to the United States Senate, was a highly encouraging development in Tuesday's primaries. The Alabamian is a true liberal in the American tradition, and a bold, untiring worker. As The Montgomery Advertiser said of him in an inspired phrase, "he is not likely to get out of breath going forward or backward." Sun. 5–9–48

34a(3) 1948 Congressional (Georgia)

House Voids Mrs. Mankin's Fight

WASHINGTON, April 27 (UP)—Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin today failed in her effort to unseat James C. Davis as Representative from Georgia's Fifth District. The House adopted, by voice vote, and without debate, a resolution to dismission the contest. Mrs. Mankin, who formerly represented the district, was defeated by Mr. Davis in the 1946 Democratic primary. She polled the largest popular vote but lost under Georgia's county unit system. Dismissal was recommended by the House Administration Committee. Wed 4-28-48

34a(3) 1948

D.C.

Truman Wins in Democratic Primary Here

The Post

Washington, D.C.

An extremely light vote marked yesterday's Democratic Primary election here. Although tally had not yet been completed at 10 p. m., indications were that President Truman had won by a large majority. 6-24-48 Tues.

Since Mr. Truman was the only announced candidate, his was the only name to appear on the ballot.

Some write-in votes were recorded for Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhowerh but it appeared the general's total did not nearly approximate that of the President's.

The polling places, which had opened at 2 p. m. closed at 8. The ballots were being counted at Pythian Temple, 1012 9th st. nw.

34a(3) 1948

llinois Election Officials rrested On False Returns

34a(3) Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL. (NNPA)—Three East St. Louis precinct election officials were arrested last Wednesday and two others were ordered arrested as tabulations were being completed in the Illinois primary elections of April 13. Two of the three men arrested were colored.

Fve "John Doe" felony warrants charging the precinct election officials with making, signing and delvering false returns of the election were issued by Justice of the Peace F. Kirby on complaint of St. Clair County Judge C. C. Dreman, who is in charge of the East St. Louis Board of Election Commissions.

The clerk of the election board named five precinct officials, all colored, but the three persons arrested included a white man.

The election apparently resulted in the defeat of loading machine candidates as aroused independent voters went to the polls determined to smash machine control of St. Clair County politics.

Sat. 4-24-48

Irregularities Reported

Deputy sheriffs made the arrest after Howard Roberts, independent candidate for the Republican nominated for Representative in the General Assembly from the Forty-ninth District reported that he had discovered serious irregularities when he visited the polling place for Precinct 12, a predeminantaly colored precinct.

Roberts said tally sheets showed 300 Republican votes, although onyl 250 ballots were turned in to the election commissioners. He also reported that when he inquired about the method of tabulating the vote one official hurried outside with some tabulation sheets and burned them.

Daily World

The charge against the officials, on conviction, carries a penalty of five to ten years in prison and a fine up to $1,000.

Atlanta, Ga.

Followng the report of the alleged irregularites in Precinct 12 or in Brooklyn, a colored community north of East St. Louis, Russell H. Glassen, independent candidate for nominaton for Congress, telegraphed J. Edgar Hoover chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the United States Attorney, William W. Hart of Benton, Illinois, charging fraud and requesting on investigation.

Sat. 4-24-48

In the fight for control of the East Side Levee and Sanitary District, the important patronage agency in St. Clair and Madison Counties, the machine a apparently nominated its candidateson both the Republcan and Democratic tickets, with one possible exception. The exception was Clifford Needly, a colored Republcan, who was among the five leading candidates for nomination to the Levee District on hs ticket. He was running fourth.

Dawson Wins Primary Race

Afro American

34a(3)

Simmons Choice for GOP Delegate

Sat. 4-24-48

Baltimore Md.

CHICAGO—(NNPA)—Rep. William L. Dawson (Dem., Ill.), was renominated in the April 13 primary as Congressman from the first district, winning easily over Richard Harewood.

34a(3)

William E. King defeated Edgar G. Brown for the Republican nomination and will oppose Dawson in the November election.

Simmons Tops Delegates

Roscoe Conkling Simmons, orator, led the Republican delegate race in the first district's big field.

He received 14,087 votes, and Val Washington, Commerce Commissioner and Republican national committee representative, received 5,929 votes with seven precincts missing.

Mr. Washington, will be the district's second delegate.

Ill. Election Officials Arrested in Vote Count

Afro American

Sat. 4-24-48

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill. (NNPA)—Three precinct election officials here were arrested last Wednesday and two others ordered arrested as tabulations were being completed in the Illinois primary elections of April 13. They were charged with making, signing and delivering false returns of the election.

34a(3)

The arrests were made after Howard Roberts, independent candidate for the Republican nomination for Representative in the General Assembly from the 49th District reported that he had discovered irregularities at Precinct 12, a predominantly colored precinct.

Baltimore Md.

Roberts said ta lly sheets showed 300 Republican votes, although only 250 ballots were turned in to the election commissioners. He also reported that when he in-

Illinois

quired about the method of tabulating the vote one official hurried outside with some tabulation sheets and burned them.

Duke Slater 2nd Negro On City Judge Ballot

Chi Defender 34a(3) Ill.

Sat 1-17-48

Atty. Fred W. "Duke" Slater, former All-American grid star at the University of Iowa, was chosen last week to run in the April primaries for Municipal Court judge on the Democratic ticket, increasing Chicago's chances of having two Negroes on the local bench for the first time.

Chicago Defender

The selections of Slater and incumbent Municipal Judge Wendell E. Green to run with 10 other candidates were announced from the Cook County Democratic headquarters following a slate-making session in the Morrison hotel. Slater was given the alternatives of seeking the bench or the county sanitary district trusteeship. He chose the former.

Sat 1-17-48

The former Collier magazine all-time All-American tackle began his political career in 1935, when he was appointed assistant corporation counsel. In 1940 he was named to the Illinois Commerce Commission by Gov. Henry Horner, a post held until 1941.

Sat 1-17-48

34a(3) 1948

New York

Assemblymen Prince And Andrews Denied Party Endorsements, To Seek Nominations In Primaries

The New York Age

New York, N.Y.

7-24-48

34a(3)

Harlem Democratic voters will have 2 interesting primary fights to settle this year when the incumbent Assemblyman, William Prince, in the 11th A. D., and William T. Andrews, in the 12th A. D., will fight for renomination as insurgents after being denied regular club endorsements.

34a(3)

New York Age

In the 11th A. D., Attorney Tom Dickens received the regular organization designation over Assemblyman Prince, while in the 12th A. D., Assemblyman Andrews, veteran legislator, was denied support of the 12th A. D. South club headed by Joe Ford, Adam Powell's right sand man, who designated Elijah Crump, a party wheelhorse, as the candidate. Assemblyman Andrews, however, was designated as the candidate by Cecil Carter, leader of the northern end of the district, so that the primary fight will really be a contest of strength between the two leaders.

7-24-48

In previous years, Assemblyman Andrews has often had to go into primary fights to get the designation and each time was successful. Whether he can repeat his performance this year remains to be seen, however, for this marks the first time that he will go against the candidate proposed by the Adam Powell followers.

34a(3) 1948 South Carolina

South Carolina's New [redacted]

Down in South Carolina [redacted] are voting in today's Democratic primary election. It is the first such state-wide performance since the days of reconstruction, and is certainly an event of magnitude in that state. The event is naturally to be saluted, and it would be pleasant on this occasion to congratulate South Carolina for a remarkable recognition of human rights. But, as it happens, the credit belongs to one man, Judge J. Waties Waring, of the United States District Court, a native Charlestonian who has repeatedly cut through the elaborate evasions by which the South Carolina Democrats tried to preserve an all-white sanctity.

Herald Tribune

New York, N.Y.

34a(3)

South Carolina, to recall, erected a hocus-pocus theory that the Democratic party was a private political country club inhabited only by the whites. Restriction of the party's primary was a personal affair, by no means an assault on the electorate. If the Negroes wanted to vote, there was always the postscript affair called the general election. (The Republican vote in 1944 was 4.8 per cent, rather higher than usual.) Such sham failed quickly in the courts, but the local Democrats were not yet ready to give in. Rules adopted last May provided that the party exact from all participants in the primary election a signed oath of eternal loyalty to the Democratic party and of full subscription to "social and educational separation of races" and "the principles of states' rights," plus this assertion: "I am opposed to the Federal so-called F. E. P. C. law." As a result, the enrollment books were closed to Negroes. (A few upland counties, to their credit, declined to follow the state committee's rules.) This undistinguished piece of defiance was quickly halted last month by the same Judge Waring who had suggested on a previous occasion that it was time for South Carolina to "rejoin the Union." Under stinging rebuke, the Democratic enrollment books were forthwith opened to all, black or white. Judge Waring, a Southerner of Southerners, speaking to his own people in the sternest terms, is the man responsible. Trib. 8-10-48

In today's primary, Judge Waring is an issue. The 35,000 enrolled Negroes out of a state total exceeding 800,000 have an ironic choice among five candidates for the United States Senate, all occupied in denouncing Judge Waring. The resentment is to be understood, and we hope it will pass in time. Far more interesting is the long-run challenge presented to both races in South Carolina—whether they can develop within the same political organization for the greater common good, or the two-party (or even three-party) system is at last stirring in the South. 8-10-48

34a(3)

Draft Bill Faces New Hurdle As Civil Rights Rider Looms

New York Times

34R

Langer Proposes Hitching Racial Program to Defense Measure—Gurney Hits Use of Security as a 'Vehicle'

Tr. 5-27-48

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 26—The Administration program for drafting men 19 through 25 years of age for a stop-gap strengthening of the armed forces ran into new trouble today.

Notice was served by Senator William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota, that he would force to a voting showdown a proposal that virtually the complete civil rights program of President Truman be incorporated in the draft.

He indicated that he would offer for recorded tests when the draft bill reached the floor, amendments designed to accomplish these objectives: 5-27-48

Eliminate entirely all traces of racial segregation in the drafting of men and in their assignment to military units.

Give the long-contested anti-lynching legislation a foothold in law by applying its principles to those involved in the draft. The general anti-lynching bill has been stymied for weeks in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Allow no "Jim Crow" transportation of draftees in interstate commerce. The President recommended an ending of "Jim Crow" travel. The Republican-controlled Congress has not given this issue even committee consideration.

Bar from Government contracts all manufacturers who might produce supplies, uniforms and equipment for draftees unless they adhered to the principles of complete nondiscrimination as to race, creed and national origin in employment of persons who produced the goods. 5-27-48

The Langer proposals caused great concern to sponsors and backers of the draft program, which had been encountering change and reverses and delays for weeks. This new move, it was conceded widely, came at a time when the proposed revival of selective service for prompt filling of gaps in military personnel was apparently losing strength in Congress.

34R

Senator Chan Gurney of South Dakota, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said:

"It is my firm conviction that this manpwoer bill is so necessary for the well-being of the United States that those on both sides of the civil rights question should withdraw any amendments that in any way would tend to delay quick passage. 6-27-48

"A defense measure is no vehicle for use in fighting out the civil rights question. Congressional operation concerning the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps and the Air Force must be on an unencumbered plane for the best interests of the national security."

In his statement, Senator Gurney struck also at an amendment already introduced by Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia, which would write into the draft law a provision to the effect that any man drafted would have the legal right to demand that he be assigned to a military unit composed wholly of members of his own race.

After Senator Langer had announced his intention to propose a "civil rights" draft enactment, Senator Russell said:

"Such amendments will provide a test of the good faith of those in Congress who profess support of a draft deemed to be required to build the strength of our armed forces to a security basis. They also will provoke strong and prolonged resistance.

"I don't think any such provisions will be in any draft bill as finally w[illegible].

In some quarters the question was raised as to whether Senator Langer was a supporter or a foe of the proposed stop-gap draft.

Mr. Langer was asked: "What is your position on the proposed draft?" Tr. 6-27-48

"I'm against it," he said.

"Would you be for it," Mr. Langer was asked, "if your proposed amendments were adopted?"

"I am against the draft bill in its present shape," he replied. "If my amendments are adopted, I might be for it."

On the other side of the Capitol, the House Rules Committee made no further moves toward getting the draft issue to the floor. It held hearings, but on other bills.

THE DRAFT ON ITS MERITS

The announced intention of Senator Langer of North Dakota—an avowed opponent of the draft—to fight the battle of civil rights in the Senate over the body of the Selective Service Bill is an improper use of parliamentary procedure to cloud the issue on a vital question of national security. It is of a piece with Senator Russell's implied threat to filibuster the bill to death unless the present practice of racial segregation in the armed forces is frozen into law.

34R

This effort to confuse the debate on Selective Service with the issue of civil rights is a poor service to either cause. The two are largely separate problems. Racial bigotry cannot be eradicated by legislation alone. But this country's national security can be and must be provided for by Congressional action, and that is the purpose of the Selective Service bill. In fact, civil rights depend on our maintenance of a democratic Republic. A rider on the Selective Service bill that caused defeat of the latter, and thus endangered the security of the United States, would be a poor way of protecting those rights for which the two Senators profess so much concern.

The situation on the House side at Washington is only slightly less disturbing than that in the Senate. There Representative Allen of Illinois—also an avowed opponent of Selective Service—has been leading the Rules Committee in a planned campaign of obstruction that has kept the draft measure bottled up for several weeks, and the end not yet in sight. Mr. Allen was quoted yesterday as being ready to lay aside consideration of it at any time "for more important matters." What is more important at this moment than guaranteeing to the United States the strong armed forces it needs in today's troubled world?

There has been far too much delay already, both in the Executive department and in Congress, on the vital problem of manpower for our armed services. The world is waiting on our decision, waiting to see whether this country intends to maintain its strength or to permit its defenses and its power to keep the peace to become so meager that its words will carry no authority in world councils. An Air Force is not enough. Unless it has the backing of a strong Army and Navy it would be helpless to defend this country against attack or to prevent such an attack materializing because of threat of quick and sustained retaliation. Experience has shown that the Army and the Navy cannot obtain the physically able and mentally able men it needs by the volunteer method alone. Selective Service is the right answer.

The responsibility for seeing that Selective Service is brought to the floor of both Houses of Congress and debated there on its merits must be accepted by the Republican leadership in Congress. The Republicans cannot have their political cake and eat it too. They cannot hold a majority in Congress and act like a minority at the same time. Lack of manpower in the armed services is an issue that must be faced now. Let us have an end to obstruction, delay and confusion.

34B

Senate Opens Court-Martial Seats to GI's

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

South's Segregation Plan And U.M.T. Amendment Are Defeated In Voice Votes

Thurs 6-10-48

By the Associated Press.

Washington, June 9.—The Senate, laboring to reach a vote on a bill drafting men 19 through 25, today approved an amendment liberalizing the court-martial system o Army and Air Force.

It rejected amendments to:

1. Set up a system whereby draftees would be segregated by races if they desired it.
2. Establish a universal-military-training system.
3. A proposal by Senator Capehart (R., Ind.) to delay the draft 90 days and then make it effective only if the President proclaimed that volunteer methods had failed.
4. An amendment by Senator Morse (R., Ore.) that would have slashed to 18 months the two-year period a draftee must serve if inducted. Morse's proposal was defeated by a voice vote.

The Courier-Journal

The Capehart plan was defeated by a vote of 57 to 24. Senator Taft (R., Ohio) and acting majority leader Wherry of Nebraska favored it. Senator Tydings (D., Md.) opposed it, saying Congress should set the draft date. Senator Myers (D., Pa.) agreed, saying senators should have the 'intestinal fortitude" to ask for a draft.

GI's Would Sit On Courts.

Among other things, the court-martial amendment would let enlisted men sit on the courts. It also aims to make such courts independent of a commanding officer's influence.

The segregation amendment, offered by Southerners, lost on a voice vote after heated debate.

Universal military training, which has been sought in vain by the Administration, is different from the draft. Under the draft, men are inducted into the armed forces. U.M.T. is a separated system of training for youths. They would not be in the armed forces, but the idea would be to give them fundamental training so they would be at least partly prepared if the need arose.

Louisville, Ky.

Proposed By Malone.

Today's U. M. T. amendment was offered by Senator Malone (R., Nev.). It would have required youths of 19 to serve six months in a training corps.

Senator Gurney (R., S. D.), chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, said it was an excellent idea but "at this late hour" there wasn't much chance of dovetailing it properly into the draft bill.

Thurs, 6-10-48

Senator Baldwin (R., Conn.) said the amendment, defeated by a voice vote, would not pass the House anyway. The House Armed Services Committee approved a separate U.M.T. bill last summer, but it has been bottled up in the Rules Committee. The draft bill pending in the House does not mention U.M.T.

Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) opposed the plan.

"You can't build up an Army by training a great mass of young men to be good squirrel hunters," he said.

The amendment to overhaul the court-martial system was introduced by Senator Kem (R., Mo.) and was approved 44 to 39. Kem said the change was needed because military justice has been criticized bitterly.

And, he added, "If Congress has time to pass legislation to take young men from their homes, it certainly has time to see that they get a square deal."

The Kem amendment would make certain punishments less severe, would permit enlisted men to sit as members of a court-martial, permit the accused to have counsel at pretrial investigations, and establish a separate Judge Advocate General Corps.

He said the Army has "no serious objection" to the changes except for the provision setting up a separate Judge Advocate General Corps. But Kem said this was "the nub of the plan" to overcome "dangers of command influence."

Gurney opposed the plan. He said the Navy should be included, and the Senate should wait until an over-all study has been made and a uniform code adopted for all services.

The Courier-Journal

Killed By Voice Vote.

A voice vote killed the proposal by Senators Russell (D., Ga.) and Maybank (D., S. C.) to allow enlisted men to serve in separate white or Negro units if they wished.

The action was a setback for Southern senators in their long fight on the civil-rights issue. Earlier this week, however, they won a round when the Senate batted down or sidetracked amendments they opposed.

Although the debate was bitter, no senator demanded a roll call. The amendment was rejected by a chorus of "noes."

Senate rejection of the segregation proposal today followed hours of debate during which Democratic Senators Ellender (La.), McClellan (Ark.) and Eastland (Miss.) spoke in its support.

'Parents Want It.'

Louisville, Ky.

"The mothers and fathers of white boys back home want this amendment adopted," McClellan shouted. "This is not war. There is no emergency that demands there be mixed units in the services."

Thurs. 6-10-48

Senator Pepper (D., Fla.) opposed the amendment, saying segregation or non-segregation should not be up to Congress but to the "wisdom and discretion of the armed services."

He said he was "not in favor of social equalization by legislation." He added that the Government has no right to say "who can visit your home, eat at your table, sleep in your bed, or marry your daughter."

Senate's Draft

The News

[illegible]

Shapers Burning Midnight Oil

Birmingham, Ala.

Wed. 6-9-48

Third P.M. Session Coming; Segregation Issue Due For Vote

34B

WASHINGTON, June 9 — (AP) — Weary senators embroiled in a dew draft-civil rights fight today faced their third straight night session in a drive to speed the measure to an uncertain House fate.

Called together once more an hour earlier than usual, they arranged to vote 90 minutes later on an amendment sponsored by Sen. Russell (D., Ga.) and Maybank (D., S. C.) which would let enlisted men serve in segregated units upon request.

In its second overtime session last night, the Senate adopted an amendment to limit the selective service law to two years instead of five as originally proposed.

Earlier it approved a provision to permit 25,000 aliens to serve in American armed forces here and abroad. At the end of five years the foreigners would qualify for U. S. citizenship.

Once the issue of separate white and Negro units is decided by the morning ballot, Sen. Gurney (R., S. D.), floor manager of the bill, said he is confident the measure can be cleared swiftly to the House.

* * *

THERE, HOWEVER, Chairman Leo E. Allen (R., Ill.) told reporters "there is a very good chance" his rules committee will vote against putting a draft bill up for prompt House debate.

The News

The Republican leadership has been pressing for enactment of the draft measure before the GOP National Convention 12 days off.

But Allen said only four committee members now favor sending the bill to the House floor, with four others—including himself—opposed, and the positions of the remaining four not yet known.

A rules committee turn-down on the measure would mean it would have to be pried out by a petition signed by 218 House members—a device that could be used only if Congress comes back to work after the party conventions.

Speaker Martin (R., Mass.), admitting the possibility of a rules committee log jam on the measure, said House GOP leaders still expect to pass it before Congress goes home for good this Summer.

* * *

THE SLOW PROGRESS on the draft bill on both sides of the Capitol increased talk of Congress' possible return to work after the Republican Convention which opens June 21.

Birmingham, Ala.

Senate leaders said that if work can't be finished June 19, they want to come back after the GOP meeting and try to pass several pending bills.

Wed. 6-9-48

Last night Russell and Maybank held forth at length on their plan to "guarantee to any individual citizen brought into the services the right to serve in a military unit composed of members of his own race."

Russell said opposition to his "fundamentally fair and American proposal" results from election year attempts by both Republicans and Democrats to capture the Negro vote.

The News

Yesterday's decision to allow 25,000 aliens to serve in the American Army was by a 43 to 33 vote. Sen. Lodge (R., Mass.) sponsored the amendment.

Later the chamber voted 47 to 33 to limit the draft revival to only two years.

Langer Drive To Add Rights Bill To Draft Gets New Opposition

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Sat. 6-5-48

BY EDWIN B. HAAKINSON

WASHINGTON, June 5—(AP)—An odd combination of Republicans and Southern and Northern Democrats formed today to fight Sen. Langer's drive to tack the controversial civil rights program onto the draft bill.

34B

Langer, who held the Senate floor more than three hours yesterday with a desk-thumping speech, said: "I've just begun to fight and I'll have plenty to say about each of my amendments." The North Dakota Republican added: "This is no filibuster."

* * *

CHAIRMAN GURNEY (R., S. D.), of the Armed Services committee which worked out the draft measure, plans to ask the Senate "to table" the Langer amendments when it resumes debate Monday.

"I have no desire to cut off actual debate," Gurney said, "but this is a major defense measure and time is short."

The News

Pending as the Senate quit for the week-end was the first of seven amendments Langer has introduced. It would prohibit segregation or discrimination in the armed forces because of race, color or religion. A violation could bring five years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

SEN. RUSSELL (D., Ga.), spokesman for a group of Southern senators who have broken with President Truman over the civil rights issue, predicted support for the Gurney move.

Sat.

"I think an overwhelming majority of Southern Democrats will vote to table the Langer amendments," Russell said.

6-5-48

A final vote on the Senate measure to draft men 19 through 25 years of age is expected early next week. The House has not yet acted on its draft bill.

Action in Senate

The Times

34B

Last Tuesday the Senate Armed Forces Committee, by a vote of 7-2, approved a bill providing for registration of men 18 through 25 and virtually the same draft plan as the House bill—but merging with the draft a military training program for 161,000 youths of 18 each year.

[illegible] N.Y.

There arose in the Senate committee a dispute which threatened new delays. The dispute came over an amendment by Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat, of Georgia, proposing that every new draftee and present enlisted man be given the right to request service in a unit of members "of his own race." The intent of the amendment was to write into law an official policy of segregation in the armed services. The amendment was defeated.

Sun. 5-16-48

34B

On Wednesday the amendment was introduced for debate. Immediately there arose the prospect of a filibuster. On the House side there were indications that a similar amendment would be introduced when the House manpower bill came up for debate.

Sun. 5-16-48

If the threatened filibuster can be headed off both Houses are expected to pass their respective bills this week and send them to conference.

BOTH PARTIES

Odd Combination Hits Civil Rights Tactics

The Record Columbia, S.C.

Sat. 6-5-48

WASHINGTON, June 5—(AP)—An odd combination of Republicans and Southern and Northern Democrats formed today to fight Senator Langer's drive to tack the controversial civil rights program onto the draft bill.

Langer, who held the senate floor more than three hours yesterday with a desk-thumping speech, said, "I've just begun to fight and I'll have plenty to say about each of my amendments." The North Dakota Republican added: "This is no filibuster."

Chairman Gurney (R-SD) of the armed services committee which worked out the draft measure plans to ask the senate "to table" the Langer amendments when it resumes debate Monday.

'Defense Measure'

"I have no desire to cut off actual debate," Gurney said, "but this is a major defense measure and time is short." The Record

Pending as the senate quit for the weekend was the first of seven amendments Langer has introduced. It would prohibit segregation or discrimination in the armed forces because of race, color or religion. A violation could bring five years in prison and a $10,000 fine. Columbia, S.C.

Senator Russell (D-Ga), spokesman for a group of Southern senators who have broken with President Truman over the civil rights issue, predicted support for the Gurney move. Sat.

"I think an overwhelming majority of Southern Democrats will vote to table the Langer amendments," Russell said. 6-5-48

McGrath Agrees

And Senator McGrath (D-RI), chairman of the Democratic national committee and a supporter of the Truman program, said he will go along.

McGrath told reporters a national defense measure is no matter on which to fight out the civil rights battle.

However, Russell and other Southerners plan to offer an amendment that would put a reverse twist on the racial issue. Their proposal would make it illegal to assign any man in the armed services to a unit or quarters except with "his own race" if he so requests. Sat.

This, like Langer's amendments, probably faces a motion to table.

A final vote on the senate measure to draft men 19 through 25 years of age is expected early next week. The house has not yet acted on its own draft bill, but chairman Leo E. Allen (R-Ill) of the rules committee has said he will schedule it after the senate acts. 6-5-48

Three Anti-Bias Riders To Draft Bill Rejected

PM

New York, N.Y.

WASHINGTON, June 7 (AP) — The Senate today voted decisively against three draft bill amendments outlawing race segregation in the armed forces. Tues.

The roll-call vote was 67-to-7 to reject the anti-segregation and civil rights amendments to the 19-through-25 draft legislation.

Indications were that the Senate would take final action on the draft bill this week. The House is waiting for the Senate to act before taking up a draft bill of its own.

Treated as 'Must'

6-8-48

With the anti-segregation amendment out of the way, many Senators talked of likewise shelving a proposal by Sen. Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.) to require the armed forces to maintain all-white and all-negro units.

But support appeared growing for another amendment. This one sponsored by Sen. Homer Capehart (R., Ind.), would put the draft on a standby basis. The President would get the power to order drafting of men only if the armed forces couldn't fill their needs with volunteers. The draft wouldn't start until 90 days after the Presidential order.

Among Seven Riders

Republican leaders of Congress are treating the draft proposals as "must" legislation — slated definitely for passage before June 19, the probable adjournment date.

The amendments put aside by the Senate today were among seven offered by Sen. William Langer (R., N. D.) to require the armed forces to put into practice President Truman's civil rights proposals. Tues.

Many supporters of the civil rights program, however, were among those voting to shelve the Langer amendment. They took the position that the President's proposals should be considered by themselves—not as "riders" to the draft bill. 6-8-48

The Draft Law's Passage Nothing Should Prevent

The Record

Republican leaders in both House and Senate have listed the stop-gap draft bill as one of the must measures to be passed before the session ends for the two conventions.

Neither the House nor the Senate bill makes any provision for universal military training, as asked by the armed services, but both merely provide for the immediate problem facing the country, the problem of providing the men to keep the armed services up to required peace-time levels. Columbia, S.C.

The Congress has been voting money for the armed services with a lavish hand. Somehow no congressman objects to voting money; it is other people's money. But voting to send men—and it takes men as well as money to make an army, navy an air force—is another question. Men can vote, if not today then tomorrow and every member of Congress is interested in votes. It is a short-sighted policy. Fri. 6-4-48

"This nation is foolishly gambling with the future safety and well being of its people and of its way of living," Chairman Gurney, South Dakota Republican, who heads the armed services committee, told the Senate. "We have no armed forces in being which are capable of protecting those things which we as a nation hold to be sacred, nor which are strong enough to uphold the dignity and position of the United States on the distant ramparts which we must watch if we are to continue as a free nation."

And there is truth in what Senator Gurney said. The logic of it ought to have led the House and the Senate long ago to write into law the necessary extension of the draft. The Record

Now the measure is likely to encounter further delay. In particular the Senate bill seems destined to become embroiled in the civil rights fight. Senator Langer, Indiana Republican, who is opposed to any draft, proposes to offer seven amendments to the bill, designed to incorporate in it the whole of the President's so-called civil rights program. Senators Russell of Georgia and Maybank of South Carolina, on the other hand, want to add an amendment which would provide that no person might be drafted to serve except with his own race.

Senators Russell and Maybank do have the excuse that they are afraid that the President will abolish segregation in the armed services. But they also have the assurances of the secretaries of defense and of the army that nothing like this is being planned. Columbia, S.C.

Both the Langer amendment and the Russell-Maybank amendment should be rejected and without too much debate. Neither has any place in the bill, the purpose of which is to provide men for the armed services, not to solve social questions. Fri. 6-4-48

Nothing should be allowed to impede the enactment of the bill. And no Southern Senator should do anything to put any impediments in its way. For the South knows first hand what it is to be a conquered land.

Army to Select Draftees Without Regard to Color

The Afro American

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The Army will abandon the practice it followed under the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 and, under the new draft law, will not requisition them on the basis of color, Army Secretary Kenneth E. Royall disclosed at a press conference last Monday morning.

July 17 -48

The discriminating practice of requisitioning men for induction began when Selective Service first became effective in 1940. At that time, the drafting of colored men was deferred because the Army had facilities for white men only.

When facilities became available, Selective Service issued its calls for inductees also on the basis of color. This strict pattern of segregation followed right up to the Battle of the Bulge when colored rifle companies were attached to of color, fought shoulder to shoulder. The Afro American

Filibusters

Pledged to Amend Rules

The decision of the Senate Re publicans to capitulate to the five day Southern filibuster wa reached in a closed conference i which there was an undetermine degree of disagreement. The cor clusion was that it was impossibl to break down the Southerners a this session.

It was accompanied by an offi cial pledge that the party woul come back to the new Congress i January or to any special sessio and set out at once to amend th Senate rules so that other filibus ters on all the civil rights bill could be broken.

Thur 8-5-48

To lay the anti-poll-tax bill asid the Republican leaders had to "ad journ" the Senate late today rathe than simply recess it. A struggl for political advantage at onc broke out.

The Administration Democrats led by Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, forced a roll-call o this test so that they could under line in the record that an adjourn ment meant the loss of the poll-tax repealer for this session.

Adjournment, and thus the death of the bill, was ordered by a vote of 69 to 16. Standing with Mr Barkley in opposition was every Democratic "regular," including Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, the party's national chairman, and Senator Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, its whip.

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, the Republican leader on domestic affairs, marshaled his party without defection to uphold the policy of adjournment.

Thur 8-5-48

All voting Southerners, who were quietly jubilant at their victory, went along en bloc with Mr. Taft's side. Twenty-four Democrats, all but a handful from the South or border states, joined forty-five Republicans.

Mr. Barkley's attempt to put upon the Republicans the ultimate responsibility for the failure of the poll-tax repealer was resisted across the aisle.

Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, the acting Republican floor leader, who made the adjournment motion, declared that it had proved impossible to silence the Southerners in the present state of the Senate rules.

"At least we have shown to the American people why it is necessary to change the Senate rules," he said.

He asserted that the public knew as soon as the filibuster had started that "at a twelve or fifteen-day session" it would be "physically impossible" to break it.

To some criticism that the Republican leaders had not forced the Southerners into extended night sessions, Mr. Wherry replied:

"Night sessions would simply be hypocrisy. They wouldn't accomplish anything. Let's be honest about it."

Thur 8-5-48

Pepper Blames Vandenberg

Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, the only one of the twenty-two Southern Democrats who had favored the poll-tax repealer, issued a statement accusing the Republicans of having deliberately brought about the immobilization of the Senate by "throwing the poll-tax bill in at the start."

"They put in a monkey wrench to keep the Senate from doing anything on the rest of the President's program," he said.

Mr. Pepper stressed that it was "the Republican President of the Senate," Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, who had overruled on a parliamentary point the one direct Republican effort to apply closure.

He asserted that he had offered to the Republicans a plan to end the filibuster and had been "informed" that at the Republican conference this morning Senator Vandenberg had "bitterly opposed" it.

When the Republican credit and housing bills reach the floor, Senator Pepper and his associates are planning to offer as amendments items in the President's requested programs in these fields with the intention "at least to give the President some sort of a hearing and draw the issue plainly before the country."

The New York Times

Barkley Is Pessimistic

Senator Barkley recalled that he had long urged that the Senate rules on closure by sharpened. He promised his cooperation to the Republicans in their avowed intention to accomplish thiis, but reminded them that an amendment to that effect had been pending in the Senate "for seventeen months without action."

The break in th epoll tax struggle brought this sesssion to the beginning of the end, and the political weather was suddenly heavier here.

After a visit to the White House with other Democratic leaders Senator Barkley told reporters that the President was "anxious" about his programs.

"From what the Republican leaders are saying," Senator Barkley added, "I couldn't offer the country much encouragement."

This was before the Senate Republican conference had ended. When it broke up its chairman, Senator Eugene D. Millikin of Colorado, said:

"It was decided that under the present state of the rules it would be futile to go ahead with the anti-poll tax bill. The only way a filibuster can be broken under these circumstances is by wearing out everybody engaged in it. That would run for weeks and weeks.

"The fundamental approach in these civil rights matters is to put first things first—to amend the rules so that closure may be available at every stage of Senate procedure.

Thur 8-5-48

"We will make that the first order of business in the next session of Congress—in January or after the elections if there should be a Congress then. We will get at it and we will stay with it until we get the rules amended.

"We will go on with this matter to the exclusion of everything else until we get those rules changed.

Attitude Toward Bills

"It was decided also that before leaving we will consider housing and inflation legislation. Inflation legislation will not include price control, but may include some credit control.

"There was discussion about changing the DP (displaced persons) bill but no votes were taken and no decisions were reached. There was opinion that considerable hearing might be involved in such a change. There is no certainty that we will get around to it.

New York N.Y.

"The concensus was that we would try to adjourn Saturday night if that can be done in an orderly fashion—if not, as early as is possible next week in an orderly fashion."

Senator Millikin made it clear that adjournment on Saturday was essentially a wistful hope and said that if he "had to bet, the odds would be on next week and not this week."

The conference rejected a Southern "compromise," proposing that attempts at poll tax repeal by summary act of Congress be abandoned in favor of a Constitutional amendment to be submitted to the states.

Mr. Millikin declared that for the present session the Republicans felt committed to the direct repealer; he would not speculate about what their position on this point would be in the next session.

Senators Millard Tydings and Herbert O'Conor, Maryland Democrats introduced a proposal for a Constitutional amendment. Mr. Tydings said:

"If the Republicans really want to eliminate the poll tax, here's their chance. Let them put up or shut up."

FOR BAR TO FILIBUSTERS

Times

Ten Republican Senators Are Named to Frame Bill

WASHINGTON, Aug. 5 (UP)—Ten Senate Republicans were appointed today to draw up a measure designed to abolish filibusters. Senator Eugene D. Millikin of Colorado, chairman of the Senate Republican Conference, acted in the face of Southern Senators' warnings that ending filibusters would strike at "the very fabric" of American democracy.

Fri 8-6-48

He named Senator C. Wayland Brooks of Illinois as chairman. The others are Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, B. B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, William F. Knowland of California, Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. of Massachusetts, William E. Jenner of Indiana, John W. Bricker of Ohio, Irving M. Ives of New York, Homer Ferguson of Michigan and Leverett Salstonstall of Massachusetts.

New York N.Y.

34b 1948 General

Anti-Bias In Education Due for Legislative OK

(34b) PM New York, N. Y. Jan. 1-18-48

PM New York, N.Y.

New Bill Seeks To Eliminate Opposition

Jan. 1-18-48

By Tom O'Connor

The current Legislature is virtually certain to pass some kind of a law forbidding racial or religious discrimination in education, with the sponsorship of the Young Commission and the blessing of Governor Dewey. 1-18-48

A preview of the probable provisions of the new law—which will differ substantially from last year's unsuccessful Austin-Mahoney bill—was offered with publication by the New York Committee for Equality in Education of a proposed Fair Educational Practices Law. PM New York, N.Y.

The Committee for Equality in Education, a broad interdenominational group headed by Dr. Alvin Johnson, President Emeritus of the New School for Social Research, and Dr. Harold Taylor, President of Sarah Lawrence College, has been working closely with members of the Young Commission and legislative leaders of both parties, and believes that its model bill embodies the thinking of the Commission on the subject, at the same time eliminating certain parts of the Austin-Mahoney bill which were objected to by Catholic groups and some educators.

Given Power To Act

1-18-48 New York, N.Y.

The bill now to be offered would establish in the Department of Education a Fair Educational Practices Division, headed by an Associate Commissioner of Education. He would be empowered to act either on complaint of an aggrieved person, or upon his own initiative, against any school, college or university believed guilty of an unfair educational practice.

Such unfair practices are defined denying a student [illegible] because of race, religion, color or national origin; limiting admissions through a quota system based on race, religion, color or national origin, asking applicants to state their race, etc. (except that denominational schools may ask religion), or penalizing an applicant or employe for participating in proceedings under the Act.

Persuasion First

PM

The Fair Education Practices Division (FEPD) would be required to proceed first by conciliation and persuasion. New York, N.Y.

If such methods were unsuccessful, a complaint would be issued and a hearing held before a hearing officer or committee appointed by the State Board of Regents. The hearing officer would file his recommendations with the Regents, who would then have power to issue a cease and desist order. 1-18-48

The respondent could appeal to the State Supreme Court, or the Regents could go into that court for an enforcement order if necessary. Thus the final weapon of enforcement would be contempt of court proceedings against the officers of the educational institution.

Important Changes

There are these significant differences from the Austin-Mahoney bill of last year: PM

Enforcement is placed in the hands of an Associate Commissioner of Education, responsible ultimately to the Regents, who in turn are elected by the Legislature for 12 year terms, instead of in the hands of a three-man Commission to be appointed by the Governor. This is calculated to allay educators' fears of "political interference" with education; conversely, it makes the FEPD less directly subject to speedy correction through political channels if it does a poor job.

¶ Certain "legislative findings" in the old bill have been eliminated, most importantly the statement that education is a public function. Catholic groups argued that it is a parental function. Framers of the new bill considered the whole debate superfluous. They also left out a statement that education is a civil right, believing that point adequately covered by other existing law. New York, N.Y.

¶ The old bill exempted all religious or denominational institutions entirely. The new bill is stronger in that it permits such institutions to give preference to co-religionists, but forbids discrimination among remaining applicants of other religions after preference has been exercised. Jan. 1-18-48

¶ The old bill forbade discrimination in the selection of faculty members and other employes. The new bill does not.

¶ The old bill would have forbidden discrimination against students already enrolled, in the matter of awards, living quarters, etc. The new bill does not.

Plan to Weaken Bill Opposed

¶ The old bill could have been interpreted as denying tax exemption to institutions which discriminated. The new bill does not mention tax exemption. Its framers believe the contempt of court penalty is much the strongest weapon for enforcement.

¶ The old bill was long and windy. The new one is short and terse. PM New York, N.Y.

There remains in some quarters a desire to weaken the bill by forbidding the Associate Commissioner in charge of the Division to act except upon complaint of an aggrieved party, which is the rule with the State Commission Against Discrimination. Jan. 1-18-48

Any such effort will be vigorously fought by the Committee for Equality in Education and its allies. They point out that a person denied admission to a medical school because of his religion, for example, will be unwilling to sacrifice his chances of a medical education by complaining to the FEPD and becoming known as a "troublemaker," unacceptable in any school. PM New York

The effective date of the proposed bill would be Sept. 1. 1948.

FIGHT FOR RIGHTS URGED ON STATES

34b

Hardy, Local Lawyer, Opposes Anti-South Bills in Talk to Mississippi Legislature

New York, N.Y.

Special to The New York Times.

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 19—In a speech to a joint session of the State Legislature, Judge Lamar Hardy, a member of the New York Bar and native Mississippian, upheld today the doctrine of state rights, and denounced the anti-South bills now shaping up in Congress. Feb. 2-20-48

"It is time to apply the brakes to unbridled Federal control," he asserted. "As citizens of an indestructible union made up of indestructible states, I say to Mississippi and all other states who want to retain their sovereign rights, stand up and be counted. I have no doubt where Mississippi will be found on the roll call. I am proud of my native state's fight for her rights as a sovereign state."

FEPC Bill Attacked

"The most recent attempt on the part of the Federal Government to take rights that lawfully belong to the several states," he said, "is the abominable bill 'to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.' This bill, as you know, was recently voted out by a Senate committee by a vote of seven to five and sent to the Senate for its consideration."

Judge Hardy vigorously approved the course taken by Mississippi in resisting Congressional proposals for a FEPC, as well as for anti-segregation, anti-poll tax and anti-lynching laws.

The people of Mississippi have a deep and abiding faith in the basic law under which they and their fellow Americans live and prosper," he said. "They revere the letter and the spirit of the American Constitution which guarantees their rights as free citizens of the United States."

Sovereignty Threat Seen

However, he asserted that although the last fifty years "have seen great changes in the economic complexion" of Mississippi, "the same years have witnessed an unprecedented challenge to its sovereignty."

"This is not only true of Mississippi," he added, "but it is true of every one of our states. The attempt to diminish the importance of the state in our scheme of things constitutes a direct threat to our democratic system."

Judge Hardy referred to Gov. Fielding L. Wright's leadership of the Southern democratic "rebellion" against President Truman's civil rights program. He said that he knew that under Mr. Wright, Mississippi would take care of the problems confronting it.

Bill To Build Dixie 'Harvards' Is Introduced By Alabamian

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Wed. 2-25-4

By A. F. MAHAN, JR.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24—(AP)—A bill to let Southern States pool their money to build Harvards and Yales in Dixie was offered Congress Tuesday. (34b)

It was introduced by Rep Hobbs (D), Alabama. Senator Holland (D), Florida, said he would offer a similar bill in the Senate.

Separately, Southern States can not finance "the best in educatiton," Governor Millard Caldwell, of Florida, told the Governors Conference.

"By combining resources, we can provide the best in everything." The Advertiser

The plan includes some regional universities for whites, and some for Negroes.

Dixie spokesmen said this would fill all requirements of a Supreme Court decision requiring equal educational facilities for all races. Montgomery, Ala.

How many schools will be built, and where, will be worked out after Congress authorizes the plan. Wed 2-25-48

Sen. Holland (D), Florida, said he will offer the Senate bill as soon as senators from the 15 affected states can sign it as sponsors. Twelve have volunteered.

Rep. Peterson (D), Florida, said Southern representatives plan joint sponsorship in the House.

Governor Caldwell, education chairman of the Southern Governors' Conference, presented the plan to approximately 50 Dixie congressmen.

He asked anyone with objections to voice them. None responded and he told congressmen it was presumed the plan had their unanimous approval.

The legislation would let 15 states get together and form regional colleges. Its passage is necessary, under the constitution, before any may take action, Caldwell said. The Advertiser

All compacts must be approved by the legislatures of the affected states, the plan says. Montgomery, Ala.

The program would let the Southern States take over Meharry Medical College for Negroes at Nashville, Tenn., which may close June 30 because of dwindling finances. Wed. 2-25-4

Dixie spokesmen said Negroes wishing to enter white medical schools could be offered enrollment at Meharry.

Governor Caldwell and Governor James McCord, of Tennessee, said, however, this merely was incidental to the "overall plan of bringing the finest in education to the South."

Caldwell said the South now has "no top-flight" graduate school in medicine or dentistry, and no "great school" of mining or petroleum engineering.

Under the governor's plan the University of Alabama's medical school at Birmingham would be a "regional university" and students sent there from states having no medical schools of their own. They would help finance it.

Besides Caldwell and McCord, other governors at the meeting were: Beauford Jester, Texas; Strom Thurmond, S. C.; and R. Gregg Cherry, North Carolina.

Bill Fought as Aid to Negro Vote

[illegible]

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 23 (AP)—A bill requiring that the State Constitution be taught in public schools was contested hotly in the Mississippi Legislature today, opponents of the measure declaring that it might make it easier for Negroes to vote. Another measure introduced in the House would allow Democrats to bolt the party in national elections, and a third bill would create a Negro law school. Sat. 1-24-48 Times

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House OKs Bias, Shuns Record Vote

PM

(342)

New York, N.Y.

By Associated Press

WASHINGTON

A top-heavy House vote has defeated a proposal to withhold Federal funds from States discriminating against Negroes. Tues.

But the members averted a record vote on the controversial anti-discrimination amendment, which goes well beyond President Truman's civil rights program.

The test was on an amendment to the $1,017,851,000 appropriation bill financing the Labor Dept. the Federal Security Agency and several other agencies for the fiscal year 1949. 3-9-48

The amendment was offered by Rep. Vito Marcantonio (Am. Lab. N. Y.). It was defeated by a standing vote of 119 to 40. Then the House by voice vote passed the bill without change and sent it to the Senate.

'Call Upon Honest Men'

The parliamentary situation made it impossible for Marcantonio to obtain a roll-call vote on his amendment. The New Yorker pleaded in vain with his colleagues to permit a record count.

"I call upon honest men to stand up for the convictions they express," he said.

Marcantonio noted the heavy attendance of southern Democrats and the small number of Republicans. And he asked:

"Where are the Truman Democrats this afternoon?"

Bill Would Ban D.C. School Bias

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

Senator Glen Taylor (D-Idaho) has introduced a bill in the Senate to prohibit racial segregation in Washington, D.C., schools. 341

The bill, a companion measure to one (HR 6488) introduced by Rep. Arthur G. Klein (D-N.Y.) would direct the District of Columbia Board of Education to permit no segregation of persons in the public schools because of race, color, creed, national origin, or ancestry. Wed. 5-26-48

Taylor said the recent action of Dr. William Jansen, New York Superintendent of Schools, in cancelling a trip to Washington by 51 New York schoolboys, pointed un the problem anew.

The Senators and Jim Crow

PM New York, N.Y.

The draft bill is going through in this session of Congress, and it is now clear that Jim Crow will be doing business at his old stand in the armed services. The Senate voted down six of the seven Langer civil-rights amendments with cynical dispatch and by an overwhelming count. This is some kind of proof that the thermostat is running low in the American passion for democracy, just when the passions for a war crusade against communism are running so high.

(342) 9am

Here were the Langer proposals:

¶ That there be no racial segregation in the armed forces, in the assignment to military units and barracks—that is, that separate Jim Crow Negro units and barracks be outlawed. Thurs.

¶ That there be no racial discrimination when troops travel from one state to another. 6-10-48

¶ That no soldier need train or serve in Jim Crow states.

¶ That the federal government protect its armed forces against being Jim Crowed in restaurants and recreation places.

¶ That the anti-lynching provisions embodied in the Civil Rights report of the President's Committee be applied to the armed forces.

¶ That all war contractors be bound by non-discrimination rules in employment.

¶ These are, of course, sweeping guarantees of civil rights. No one expected that all of them would be adopted. It was even doubtful whether any of them would be adopted. But they were smothered under a consistently large vote that gauged the Senate's dedication to freedom. PM New York, N.Y.

The victory scored over the future Negro-inductees and volunteers was, let it be noted, a bi-partisan victory. Neither party can lay claim to it alone. The Southern Democrats were never really worried, the Northern and Western Democrats had entered a "gentlemen's agreement" ("general agreement" was what it was called on the floor of the Senate) with the Republicans to smother all the amendments, and the Republican high command did the strategic work involved in killing them. The credit for the victory and the dishonor attached to it must extend to both parties and all sections. Thurs 6-10-48

The "gentlemen's agreement" might never have been disclosed, had it not been that one of the parties to the gentlemen's agreement double crossed the other on the last of the seven amendments. This was the amendment to suspend the poll tax as it applies to the armed forces during the life of the draft. The same kind of provision had been adopted in the 1944 election law, and the Southerners had resigned themselves to it. This time, Senator Taft, speaking for the Republican high command, pushed it through by the narrowest of margins. The Democrats were outraged. Because of the gentlemen's agreement, said Senator Lucas, they had "submerged their rival convictions"; and now the Republicans had outwitted them and would get the credit for the one amendment that did go through. PM

I think Senator Lucas might have reserved his sense of outrage. The double cross by the Republicans on the poll tax amendment was a minor one compared to the larger double cross on the Negroes and the nation by both parties—the double cross embodied in the "gentlemen's agreement" itself. The fact that Senator Taft, by applying pressure, was able to squeeze the poll tax amendment through shows what the Republican leadership could have done with the other amendments, if it had the will. It preferred not to: partly, no doubt, in order to place the Draft Act itself out of jeopardy; partly also in order to have the whole civil rights issue available in the presidential campaign, to split the Democrats. New York, N.Y.

There has been a vast editorial clamor raised against the Republicans who are knifing the trade agreements, and an even vaster clamor against the Republicans who have cut down the ERP budget for European aid. I agree on both scores that the Republican leadership has shown blindness. What troubles me, however, is that the same newspapers have not spoken so clearly on issues like this one of civil rights in the draft, or of the racist Senate bill against the DP's. Thurs

If it be said that the trade agreements and the ERP funds go to the heart of our relations with Western Europe, and therefore of the Russian question, I agree. But the DP issue and the issue of Jim Crow in the armed forces go to the heart of our own democracy. I know the argument which is advanced for keeping civil rights questions out of the Draft Act—that freedom for minorities must come as the result of a slow educational process. But here was a chance to start the process—to start it in the area over which the federal government has the greatest control, the armed forces; and to start it among the men whom we may be asking to lay down their lives under the banners of freedom. We have muffed the chance. 6-10-48 —MAX LERNER

Stalling On Negro Rights

Daily Worker

SOME THINGS have to go in a hurry, and some things can wait indefinitely.

(342) 9am

Congress has rushed the democracy-killing Mundt Bill through the House; but the bills desperately needed by the 14,000,000 Negro Americans are bottled up.

The latest scandal is the refusal of the Senate Judiciary Committee to bring the anti-lynch bill to the floor of the Senate for a vote. This is the Committee which is considering the Mundt Bill for which the Negro-baiter, Rankin, is a leading spokesman.

As Henry Wallace pointed out, there are still two other bills bottled up in the Senate—the anti-poll tax and anti-discrimination bills, both aimed at the Jimcrow-lynch system. New York, N.Y.

The bi-partisan coalition of Democrats and Republicans is working smoothly against the Negro people, and hence against the Democratic welfare of the entire country. Tues. 5-25-48

The two old parties are simply part and parcel of the Jimcrow "white supremacy" tyranny, despite what all their apologists among the Negro people may say.

The refusal of the Senate Judiciary Committee to pass the anti-lynch bill on to the Senate gives special importance to the anti-lynch delegation which is going to Washington June 2 to press for civil rights legislation. This delegation will leave Penn Station at 7 a.m., (DST). Information can be obtained by calling SAcramento 2-8807 in New York City. Persons who are sick and tired of the way the Congress is protecting the lynchers by stalling on anti-lynch legislation should make it their business to join the June 2 delegation. 5-25-48

Negro Rights?—Senate Says No

(34b) Daily Worker

Gen

ONLY seven U. S. Senators voted to abolish Jimcrow in the country's armed services.

Sixty-seven Senators—Republican and Democrat—voted to keep Jimcrow, the system which degrades the Negro people to "second class citizenship" on the basis of the Nazi-like theory of "white supremacy."

These are the same Senators, no doubt, who rise to "view with alarm" mythical menaces of "Soviet aggression." They are, no doubt, the same Senators who quickly and easily vote billion after billion for jet bombers, atom bombs, warships, and all the rest of the "pork barrel' pickings disguised as "defense."

Wed. 6-9-48

The vote for a Jimcrow army smashes the absurd pretensions of "democracy" which the Marshall Planners are so fond of using as a disguise for their empire schemes. Fourteen million Negro Americans tell the world the true story of this Marshall Plan "democracy."

The vote upholding the vile Jimcrow system in the Army followed the refusal of any military leader to condemn it. Neither Eisenhower nor Marshall would urge an Army free of Jimcrow. Truman condemned Jimcrow in words, but his words were belied by the actions of Secretary of Defense Forrestal and Army Secretary Royall, both of whom insisted on segregation in the good old lynch style.

The fight against Jimcrow did not start yesterday, and it will not end today. The Mundt Bill conspiracy to imprison all Americans who fight Jimcrow on the ground that such a fight is a "Communist conspiracy," will not succeed.

The 14,000,000 Negro Americans and their army of allies in the labor and progressive movement will hit the line harder than ever. Jimcrow will get no rest.

Scholarship Bill Slated Next Year

(34b)

Montgomery Advertiser

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12—(AP)—A national scholarship program for college and university students will be introduced in the 81st Congress, the National Education Association said today.

Dr. Ralph McDonald, executive secretary of the NEA department on higher education, said in a statement the bill would have bi-partisan sponsorship.

Mon. 12-13-48

Department officials estimated the program would require a minimum appropriation of $100,000,000 for the first year. This, they said, would "open college doors to 200,000 to 250,000 students. The scholarships would be awarded on the basis of ability. Only the highest one-fourth or one-third of high school graduates would be eligible."

Montgomery Ala

As a basis for the legislation, Dr. McDonald said the department will urge:

1. No federal control of either the institution or the student.
2. A stipend of at least $400 to $500 annually.
3. Freedom for the student to select his own school and course of study.
4. Safeguards against any discrimination in scholarship awards because of race, creed, sex, or other "social circumstance."

(34b)

Six Weeks Delay Seen In Rights Consideration

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

(34b) Wed. 3-3-48

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—Proponents of the Ives bill to outlaw race and religious discrimination in employment beat the gun and got the measure on the Senate calendar last Thursday ahead of other civil rights proposals.

This was accomplished by Senator Irving M. Ives, Republican, of New York, author of the bill, reporting the measure without a written report. The written report will be filed within a day or two.

The purpose of this maneuver was to get the Ives bill on the Senate calendar ahead of either the antilynching bill or the anti-poll tax bill. Its proponents want it called up for Senate consideration and fight made for its passage before either anti-lynching or anti-poll tax is considered.

As matters now stand, the FEPC bill is the only civil rights measure ready for Senate consideration. But whether it or one of the other two measures will be called up first depends upon the decision of the forty-one Republican Senators.

Wed. 3-3-48 Daily World

SIX WEEKS DELAY

After a meeting of the Republican Policy Committee last Thursday, Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, is chairman, said none of the civil rights proposals would be brought up for possibly six weeks.

The Senate Republican program calls for debate on the European, recovery program, the tax reduction bill, aid to China, additional aid to Greece and Turkey, and Federal aid to education ahead of any civil rights proposal.

Atlanta, Ga.

A Philip Randolph and the Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers, co-chairmen of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, however, last Friday hailed Senator Ives' maneuver in getting the anti-discrimination in employment bill on the Senate calendar ahead of other civil rights proposals and urged that the Senate debate the measure before taking up either antilynching or anti-poll tax legislation.

34b

In a letter to Senator Taft, Mr. Randolph and the Rev. Mr. Chalmers brought to his attention editorials which appeared last week in newspapers in support of the bill.

Ives Bill Passage Urged By 15 Business, Professional Leaders

The Defender (34b) Sat 2-21-48

Sat 2-21-48

Fifteen prominent business and professional leaders urged passage of the Ives-Fulton bill against discrimination in employment in telegrams to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, president pro tem of the Senate and Repesentative Joseph W. Martin Jr., speaker of the House.

Members of the committee signing the telegram under the chairmanship of Oren Root Jr., were: William L. Batt, Allen L. Dulles, Paul G. Hoffman, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Eric Johnston, Henry R. Luce, Martin Quigley, Dwight R. G. Palmer Anna M. Rosenberg, Spyros P. Skouras, Beardsley Ruml, Paul C. Smith, Herbert Bayard Swope, Charles H. Tuttle and Mr. Root.

The telegram reading that the great majority of people in the U. S. "know that such discrimination is uneconomical in that it results in an unsound use of manpower and retards the development of purchasing power. They know it is undemocratic and inhuman. . . . that it weakens the position of the United States in the eyes of the world."

The telegram asks Senator Vandenberg and Speaker Martin to use their "fullest influence" to expedite passage of the Ives-Fulton bill our judgement the Ives-Fulton bill if enacted into law will substntially advance the cause of non-discrimination in employment. It will strengthen the hand of those who believe in its purposes, and it will tend to bring into compliance those few who do not. . . . We do not believe that passage of this bill will eliminate prejudice from America but it will be an effective step along the road."

The committee was formed at the suggestion of A. Phillip Randolph.

34b 1948 Labor-Federal Security Appropration Bill

The Call

Negro, White Unionists Fight Keefer Rider

Fri 5-21-48

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Delegations of thousands of Negro and white employes of federal, state. county and municipal governments from all parts of the country were in Washington this week to urge members of the senate to defeat the Keefer rider to HR-6355 which destroys their right to belong to a trade union of their choosing.

Hearings on the Labor-Federal Security appropriation bill are being held this week by the senate appropriations subcommittee. The bill, which was adopted by the house a few weeks ago, contains a rider submitted by Rep. Frank Keefer of Wisconsin, which provides for withholding of payment of salaries to federal employees who belong to unions whose officers have not filed Taft-Hartley affidavits. Although public workers are excluded from provisions of the Taft-Hartley act and cannot gain use of services under the National Labor Relations board, the rider attempts to compel compliance.

This rider, according to Lees Pressman, general counsel for the United Public Workers of America, violates the first, fifth ninth and 10 amendments of the constitution. Fri. 5-21-48

The rider further provides penalties of a year in jail and $1,000 fine for any federal employe who continues membership in such a union. The rider defines such membership as a felony.

To Hold Lobby On Equal Rights

34b Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

An Equal Rights Day Lobby will be conducted at the State Capitol in Albany, Monday, March 8, it was announced here over the weekend. The lobby will press for legislation guaranteeing equal rights to the Negro people of the state. Mm.

The sponsors of the lobby urge all organizations and individuals interested in the fight for the rights of the Negro people to participate in the lobby. Further information can be secured at the lobby's headquarters, 23 W. 26 St., or by calling Murray Hill 4-0520. 3-1-48

Among the sponsors are Congressmen Leo Isacson and Vito Marcantonio, City Councilmen Eugene P. Connolly, Benjamin J. Davis, and Michael Quill; James E. Allen of the NAACP; Paul Robeson; Sam Burt and Leon Strauss of the Furriers Union; Mrs. Ada B. Jackson; Arthur Schutzer, State American Labor Party secretary; State Senator Kenneth Sherbell (ALP), and Assemblyman Sam Kaplan (ALP).

CRC Anti-Lynch Lobby Scheduled

Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

NEW YORK—A one-day Washington "Lobby to End Lynching" on Feb. 13 to press for passage of a Federal anti-lynching law in this session of Congress was announced last week by Joseph Cadden executive director of the Civil Rights Congress.

1-31-48

Large delegations from organizations through the Eastern States will visit the capital to meet with members of Congress, committee chairmen and majority and minority party leaders. 9a.

34b

ROBESON AMONG MARCHERS

White House Picketed by 3,169 on Mundt Bill

Detroit Free Press

Thur. 6-3-48

WASHINGTON—(AP)—The White House was picketed Wednesday by 3,169 marchers who are opposed to the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill and who want civil rights legislation.

Marching four abreast, the pickets slowly moved back and forth in front of the White House.

*

6-3-48

TOWERING OVER all the others was Singer Paul Robeson, who helped organize the movement.

Robeson told the Senate Judiciary Committee last Saturday he would rather go to jail than answer a question as to whether he is a Communist.

Many of the marchers wore buttons saying "Henry Wallace for President."

They carried signs reading: "Defeat the Mundt Bill" and "Pass the Antilynching Bill, the FEPC and the Antipoll Tax Bills."

The crowd marched orderly and without incident. They once started to chant, "Jim Crow must go," but White House police quickly stopped that because it's against the regulations to chant.

* *

6-3-48

THEREAFTER many of the marchers put handerchiefs over their mouths—as a sign that they were being gagged.

Robeson had told a news conference that the decision to picket the White House was made because President Truman refused to see members of their delegation.

Most of the protesters came down on three special trains from New York. But backers of the demonstration said that delegates came from as far south as Mississippi and as far west as Chicago. 6-3-48

The protesters spent most of the day buttonholing Congressmen and in mass meetings.

The protest group was organized after the Senate Judiciary Committee closed out hearings on the Mundt-Nixon Bill Monday. The House already has approved the measure overwhelmingly.

Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.), a committee member, declared that he would not be "pressured" into reopening the hearings.

6-3-48

Mundt Bill Dead—For Present

CIO News

34b

Washington D.C.

THE widely-criticized Mundt-Nixon bill appeared likely to die on the books—at least so far as the 80th Congress is concerned.

At CIO News press-time, the Senate Judiciary Committee had issued no report on the bill—the most widely-discussed civil rights issue since the Taft-Hartley proposals came up in Congress a year ago. Mon. 6-21-48

The bill was sponsored by the House Un-American Activities Committee and was widely heralded by that committee as the best means of combatting subversive activities.

But labor, liberal groups, students of laws and many newspapers joined to warn that the Un-American Committee's cure was worse than the disease.

In addition, Washington's oft-quoted "usually informed sources" were reported in the daily press as believing that Attorney-General Tom Clark whose power to list organizations as subversive would be increased by the bill—had decided to turn thumbs down on the Mundt-Nixon proposals.

Perhaps the sharpest criticism of the bill came from elderly Zechariah Chaffee, Harvard Law school professor and world-renowned expert on constitutional rights.

CHAFFEE said, in a letter to Chairman Wiley of the Senate Judiciary Committee, that he saw "no necessity . . . of elaborate regulations of the opinions of private citizens and exceedingly drastic penalties for entirely novel offenses." 6-21-48

Chaffee said that "although he dislikes the Communists very much," they're far less dangerous today than after the Russian revolution in 1919-20.

If the country were really menaced by Communism, Chaffee said, "surely there would have been somewhere or other an outburst of unlawful acts or at least tangible evidence of an unlawful conspiracy."

He said the question is more than whether American Communists should be forced to register. It's whether "American citizens who have not been proved to be dangerous individuals should be made liable to heavy fines and long prison sentences, in large measure because of the activities of other people. A good deal of the bill creates guilt by association."

Such "novel penalties" as the bill provides, Chaffee continued, should not be used merely because "Communists are pestiferous people or indulge in big talk about taking over our government. The question is whether they are within a million miles of doing so." 6-21-48

The Harvard professor said he agrees with Thomas Jefferson that the American government is the strongest on earth, and for that reason the Senate committee should "reject this un-heard-of bill."

Communists Defy U.S. on Anti-Red Bill

34b

Free Press

Detroit, Mich

BY WILLIAM S. WHITE

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The American Communists would not support the United States in war with the Soviet Union nor would they obey pending legislation restricting Communism, their leader swore. Sat. 5-29-48

William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, so testified before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee in attacking the Mundt - Nixon Communist-control bill.

Foster

Foster and John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker of New York, both declared bluntly that in the event of armed conflict with the Soviet their one determination would be to find means to end that war on "democratic terms."

These terms, they said in substance, could only be the Soviet's terms, for such a clash could only be an "imperialistic" war in which the United States necessarily would be the aggressor.

* * *

FOSTER DECLARED the Communist intention to disobey the Mundt-Nixon measure, if it became law.

Gates, who identified himself as a veteran of World War II and of the Spanish Civil War, told the subcommittee:

"I would volunteer in any war against any enemy of the American people. I do not consider the Soviet Union an enemy." 5-29-48

"You would betray the United States to the Russians, then?" demanded Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.).

"I would direct myself," Gates answered, "toward the American people to put pressure on the Government or to change that Government to one that would bring about peace."

* * *

FOSTER SAID that the Mundt-Nixon bill was "a Fascist act of war preparation, just as Hitler's Nuernberg decrees and the Japanese ban on 'dangerous thoughts' were acts of preparation for World War II."

Opponents of the bill who testified Friday included S. S. Wuchinich, of the American-Slav Congress; Joseph Cadden, of the Civil Rights Congress; Lewis G. Hines, of the American Federation of Labor; David Scribner, of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO).

Rep. Marcantonio (A.L., N.Y.); Osmond Fraenkel of the American Civil Liberties Union, and representatives of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions and the National Lawyers Guild also attacked the bill.

Thomas Y. Emerson, spokesman for the Lawyers Guild, filed a brief, declaring 5-20-48

"The enactment of the Mundt-Nixon bill would mean the end of Constitutional government in America. It would make possible the introduction of a despotism abhorrent to American traditions."

Branding Communists

Birmingham News

To the Editor of The News:

Washington was recently "invaded" by 5,000 Communists and fellow travelers. They came by three special trains from New York City and its boroughs, principally the Bronx and Harlem, for the purpose of attempting to prevent enactment into law by the U. S. Congress of the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill. These people were made up from varied European races and a large sprinkling of American and Jamaican-born Negroes. They carried placards advocating anti-lynch, anti-segregation and other so-called civil rights measures. Wed. 6-9-48

The Mundt-Nixon bill may not be constitutional or workable—the Communist will tell you it is not—but it is certainly a step toward a means of identifying these vermin. The great American West had an established code that all cattle must be branded. This custom later was enacted into law by state statute. All mavericks were rounded up and given the branding iron. This practice protected the cattlemen from the thieving rustlers. The Mundt-Nixon bill purposes to place an identifying brand on these Communists to prevent their rustling against traditions planted on this soil by blood, sweat and tears.

W. B. STRICKLAND.

Washington, D. C.

Thomas L. Stokes

Detroit Free Pre

Endangering Civil Rights

34b

Tues. 6-1-4

WASHINGTON—The best argument against the Mundt-Nixon "anti-Communist" bill may be found in the attitude of some of its supporters in their arguments for it before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The measure, recently passed by the House, is designed purportedly to curb Communism but it actually goes far beyond that to strike at basic rights of all citizens. 6-1-48

An insidious and seductive approach taken by some of its advocates is that anyone who is against the measure is, by that fact, either a Communist or the dupe or stooge of Communists. These dupes and stooges are perhaps "intelligent" persons, "well-informed," "well-intentioned" and "patriotic," They may be fine people, but, alas, they are just blindly following the Communists!

That's the technique, a familiar one, recalling a similarly familiar one of the shame-on-you-poor-fool type back in the Roosevelt days when anyone in favor of some of the economic and social reforms of that time

was often dubbed a "softie" or a "do-gooder."

It was said here recently that the danger of the Mundt-Nixon bill is that its effect would go far beyond Communism and Communists to frighten and squelch sincere and loyal citizens interested in measures to improve our society and in speaking and writing and carrying on organized activity for them.

Detroit Free Press

THIS SEEMS now to be amply demonstrated by some of the measure's supporters who attempt to scare people from opposing this bill by saying that such persons are Communists or dupes and stooges of Communists. These champions of the measure obviously are disturbed that so many reputable individuals and organizations are raising their voices against it. And, in their condemnation of such free expression of opinion, there is the insinuation that this ought to be stopped somehow. You can almost hear the summons to the secret police.

And now, we discover, it is following Communist technique to say that this measure could hurt innocent persons, or so at any rate we are told by Paul Griffiths, former national commander of the American Legion. He said in his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee that minorities and labor groups and some well-meaning "but not too sophisticated" liberals already have allowed themselves "to be panicked by the sly Communist scare tactics."

6-1-48

Senator Alexander Wiley (R., Wis.), who holds the responsible position of chairman of the Judiciary Committee, also made his contribution. He said the committee already had evidence of the Communist campaign to defeat the bill in "thousands" of telegrams pouring in each day in opposition to it.

Maybe the Senator has examined all those telegrams, in spite of the press of business on every member of Congress these days, and knows what he is talking about. But the inference from such a statement might be that anyone who has sent a wire, or might send one later, is a Communist or inspired by Communists. Undoubtedly Communists have been drumming up wires busily, just as all sorts of groups do about this and that issue, but that hardly seems reason to criticize the traditional right of petition on this issue.

6-1-48

ANOTHER contribution came from Edgar C. Corry, Jr., national commander of Amvets, a veterans organization, who was aroused over a wire from a group of House members opposing the bill urging his organization to wire the Senate committee stating its determination to be heard. Mr. Corry answered them all right, saying among other things:

"Your position, knowingly or unknowingly, gives aid and comfort to the Communist cause and deserves utmost condemnation from American people. Your position clearly indicates that you are stooges, knowingly or unknowingly, for minority groups that speak chiefly for the various Red Fronts in this Country."

Both Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Corry harp on "minority groups." How embracing is this vague definition and the "Red Fronts" used by Mr. Corry, and how embracing will they be next week or next month if this sort of thing continues?

6-1-48

Some people seem to be getting very confused about what Mr. Corry calls "American freedom" which he says he wants to preserve. All this confusion must be very pleasing to the Communists, since confusion is their aim, and they must be very flattered, too, at the imitation of their methods in so much that goes on here now.

Wallace, Thomas Hit Mundt Bill

(34 D)

Free Press

BY WILLIAM S. WHITE
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Henry A. Wallace asserted that the Mundt-Nixon Communist control bill was an offensive act in "the cold war against Russia."

Its sponsors, he declared, were "war-mongers, fear-mongers and hate-mongers" who in history would stand as "American counterparts of Mussolini and Hitler."

Detroit Mich

HE SWORE that his third party "most certainly" would refuse to register under such a measure, if called upon to do so.

Testifying before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, Wallace contended that if acts of subversion were afoot here, they could be got at by "adequate" existing law.

Sun. 5-30-48

Another presidential candidate, Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party, joined Wallace in opposing the bill as a violation of civil rights.

Thomas, however, told the subcommittee that he accepted as "approximately correct" the bill's contention that the Communists were bent upon criminal methods. He observed that to him there was no question that Communism in the United States was "strictly controlled from outside the country."

5-30-48

HE ASSERTED that he would be glad to debate with Wallace "his very bland view of what is happening in Russia," and contended that "well-trained and disciplined Communists" were "manipulating" Wallace's new party "to a considerable extent."

Thomas asserted that Wallace's party would not fall under the bill's ban.

(34 F)

Final Congressional action this session on the Mundt-Nixon Bill, which has already passed the House by a heavy majority, was cast into considerable doubt Saturday when the Senate subcommittee scheduled more hearings.

When asked if he thought the bill would apply to his party, Wallace said, "I don't know, it is so loosely phrased."

Circumventing Constitutional Rights

Sat. (34 C) Montgomery Advertiser

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

President Truman is fully justified by both principle and expediency in his opposition to the Mundt-Nixon "Communist-control" bill. The right of American citizens to advocate change in their government is embedded in the Declaration of Independence. They have the right even "to abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

This is not merely the guaranty of a right. It is also a practical guaranty of the flexibility which is necessary in human institutions if they are to survive. The free speech thus assured is the safety valve for the escape of social ferment. This bill would drive Communists and other malcontents underground. Merely as wise police procedure, J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI wants to keep them in the open where they can be better watched.

The Mundt-Nixon bill sets up new standards of treason, circumventing by careful phraseology the safeguards specified in the Constitution for the prosecution of that crime. The bill gives tedious and involved definitions of "Communist political organizations" and "Communist-front organizations," and empowers the attorney general to place voluntary associations of American citizens in these categories.

This confers on a cabinet officer the authority to smear whole groups of citizens as disloyal or treasonable, to limit their freedom of expression, and to visit stringent penalties upon them without trial. Judicial review of the attorney general's actions is provided, but this is no remedy for the fear of political persecution and no protection against the ordeal of a court trial. No wonder that Gov. Dewey puts this bill in the category of "hysterical suggestions" which "tarnish the Bill of Rights."

Montgomery Ala.

Under the wording of this measure, the attorney general might prescribe Henry Wallace's third party as Communist and subject its members to prosecution. Protection of all citizens of nonconformist opinions against conservative or reactionary swings of public opinion would be reduced to the vanishing point. In defense of this bill, Representative Mundt says:

"There is incontrovertible evidence of the fact that the Communist party of the United States is dominated by . . . totalitarian dictatorship and that it is one of the principal instrumentalities used by the world Communist movement, directed from within that totalitarian dictatorship . . ."

If this is true (and it may very well be) we already have federal laws which can be used for protection—laws which are general in application and not dangerously invidious. We have the McCormack Act and the Voorhis Act. These laws require agents serving foreign principals and organizations serving foreign governments to register their connections for the FBI and other government agencies to see. If Mr. Mundt is right in what he says or if the government wishes to determine in court whether he is right, Attorney General Clark can file charges tomorrow. No additional law is needed.

Sat. 5-22-48

Ideas, whether right or wrong, cannot be outlawed. They cannot be put behind bars. History proves the futility of all such efforts. The historic policy of the United States is to permit the free competition of ideas in the market place of the mind. Against treason we have sufficient law already, without any need for the addition of laws which threaten free speech, free thought and the resiliency of our institutions.

William Z. Foster's Views

The Courier-Journal (34 B)

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal:

Louisville, Ky

I have noted with considerable interest the statements made by William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, before a Senate judiciary subcommittee in reference to the Mundt-Nixon Bill. I am not going to argue the merits of this bill, which has been subjected to considerable unbiased criticism. However, Mr. Foster appears to be principally concerned over a provision of the bill which he regards as a ban on free speech. Moreover, he is quoted as saying that neither he nor any other member of the party would support the United States in any conceivable war with the Soviet Union. What he and others who think as he does choose to ignore is the fact that if he were a citizen of the Soviet Union and made similar criticisms and statements, he would not live long to enjoy the privilege of airing his opinion.

Tues

In the event of a war with Russia, I believe that his deportation to that country, which he evidently prefers to his own, would be a punishment that fits the crime.

6-1-48

SAM L. SALOMON.

Louisville, Ky.

The Courier-Journal

Associated Press Wirephoto.

PAUL ROBESON TESTIFIES—WITH GESTURES.

Foes of Red-Control Bill Vow March On Capital

34b

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky. Tues 6-1-48

Senate Hearings On Measure Are Recessed Amid Demands That They Be Continued

From Wire Dispatches.

Washington, May 31.—Senate hearings on the Mundt-Nixon Communist-control bill were indefinitely recessed late today amid angry cries from its opponents that they would bring "thousands" to Washington to demonstrate against it.

"By God," shouted their leader, Len Goldsmith, "we are coming down by the thousands on Wednesday and if they won't listen we will find other means!" He promised an "orderly" march on Washington by "trainloads and planeloads."

Goldsmith stood in the Senate Office Building caucus room to issue his challenge in demanding a continuation of open sessions before a Senate Judiciary Committee.

Foes Take Most of Time.

Such an extension, if for any length of time, would make highly improbable, if not impossible, final Congressional action on the bill in the brief time remaining before the scheduled adjournament of June 19.

Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.), the acting subcommittee chairman, had just announced a recess "without a date," saying that in the absence of the chairman, Senator Wiley (R., Wis.), he had no authority to do otherwise.

He acted at the end of the fourth day of public sessions, which originally had been scheduled to run only three days and at which the great bulk of the time had been taken by opponents of the bill.

Louisville Ky.

Demand Right to Hearing.

Goldsmith, who said he represented a New York City organization called the Committee for Democratic Rights, was on his feet at once, as were several others, some of whom wore the blue campaign button of Henry A. Wallace. Tues. 6-1-48

He and others began to demand "the right to be heard" and to insist upon "assurances" that these hearings would not be closed. The Courier-Journal

Ferguson, after explaining that a decision for or against further sessions could not be made by him, walked from the room in what had by then become rather an uproar. Louisville, Ky.

Women stood to protest that none of their sex had testified about the bill; a boy of about 18 called out that "at least one youth" must state his views.

Robeson Refuses to Answer.

Senator Langer (R., N. D.) told the crowd that for his part he would like nothing better than to continue sitting, but added: "I am powerless."

Goldsmith told Joseph A, Davis, a committee clerk: "Please get word to Senator Wiley that we are coming down by the thousands on Wednesday. If we cannot be accommodated at the Capitol we are prepared to hire Turner's Arena for the use of the senators in a hearing. We are prepared to assure orderly, senatorial procedure." Tues.

Davis undertook to pass this along to Senator Wiley by telegraph. 6-1-48

All this brought a disturbed end to a harsh and clamorous day before the subcommittee.

Paul Robeson, the Negro singer, and Joseph Kehoe, the secretary-treasurer of the C.I.O.-American Communications Association, each had refused to answer questions as to whether he was a Communist.

Hisses Mix With Applause.

A possible contempt citation did not arise in either case, Senator Ferguson told a reporter, because a subcommittee quorum was not present when either incident occurred.

Robeson told the committee he thinks members of the Communist Party "have done a magnificent job in America." Tues.

"Are you an American Communist?" Ferguson asked.

"I refuse to answer that question," Robeson replied with emphatic gestures. "This is an invasion of my right of secret ballot." 6-1-48

Ferguson fired back the same question a second time and a third, and Robeson finally broke out:

"Nineteen leading Americans are going to jail for refusal to answer that question and if necessary I will join them."

There were some hisses mixed with the audience applause that greeted the singer's statement.

Asks Many Questions.

The Courier-Journal

His reference to 19 Americans covered the Hollywood writers and others charged with contempt of Congress for refusal to answer similar questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The sharp give-and-take at times found Robeson asking as many questions as he answered.

Robeson, on the questions he was willing to answer, told the committee:

He has "many dear friends" who are Communists, and he is "interested in a party and a people who stand for complete equality of the Negro people in the United States."

"I walked the earth (in Russia) for the first time with complete dignity." Louisville, Ky.

His son went to school there and found complete freedom from racial prejudice. Tues.

He doesn't know whether the Communists believe in world revolution. 6-1-48

U. S. Communists "don't have as much allegiance to Russia as some Americans to Fascist Greece."

Would Disobey Law.

Robeson owes "allegiance to my Government" but in case of war "if it was a Fascist act I wouldn't support it. I would decide at the time."

He thinks Henry Wallace and his third party are "carrying on New Deal principles." He also thinks Wallace has the support of the Communists.

34b

The United States is on the "wrong side" in Italy and Robeson would choose the Communist side in Greece, China, and Spain.

And if the Mundt-Nixon bill is passed, Robeson will class it as fascism and refuse to obey it.

When Kehoe was asked whether he was a Communist, he refused and said: Louisville

"I am glad to associate myself with Paul Robeson." Ky.

John Rogge, former special assistant to the U. S. Attorney General, said the theory behind the Mundt-Nixon bill is that "the people can't judge ideas for themselves." The Courier-Journal

If Congress should pass the bill, Rogge said, "it is inconceivable to me that the Supreme Court would hold this monstrosity constitutional." Tues.

Rogge said he is chairman of the New York Wallace for President Committee. 6-1-48

NAACP Calls Mundt Bill Threat to Equality Fight

(34 b)
Daily Worker
New York

The defeat of the Mundt police state bill has been urged by the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Terming the bill a "threat to all organizations engaged in an effort to obtain full citizenship rights for all American citizens," the resolution declared the bill is so loosely worded as to make an organization like the NAACP "subversive."

Thur. 5-13-48

pa

The CIO Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers yesterday called upon its entire membership to act immediately to defeat the Mundt bill. Thousands of leaflets on the bill are being distributed by the union.

The New York District of the CIO United Public Workers sent telegrams to all New York Congressmen demanding they oppose the Mundt measure and the Keefe "riders" on appropriations bills. The Keefe rider dictates what unions American citizens should be belong to.

5-13-48

TWU ASSAILS BILL

The Transport Workers Union also called upon Congress to defeat the Mundt bill, in a joint statement by TWU international president Michael J. Quill and secretary treasurer Douglas L. MacMahon.

The Student for Wallace Committee at Long Island University held an outdoor meeting attended by some 400 students, protesting the Mundt bill. Three students, Sidney Butensky, Raymond Mones and Monroe Birns, assailed the measure, as did Peter Lawrence, the Theatre Guild delegate to the Progressive Citizens of America.

(34 b)

Wires to Senators Ives and Wagner were sent by the New York Area Council American Veterans Committee urging defeat of the measure. Representing 15,000 World War 11 vets, the organizaton said a free America means the right of men to think, act and speak "according to their conviction without fear of punishment so long as they keep the peace and obey the law."

Thurs.

PAINTERS BACK MARCH

Members of Local 842, Brotherhood of Painters, AFL, voted unanimously to oppose the Mundt bill and to back today's protest march to Washington. Wires were sent to House Speaker Martin, New York's two senators. AFL president William Green and A. B. Lindelof, president of the Brotherhood of Painters.

5-13-48

ATLANTIC CITY, May 12.—The international executive board of the CIO International Fur and Leather Workers, in session here, today unanimously condemned the Mundt bill and wired House Speaker Martin to help defeat the measure.

MEET CONGRESSMEN

WASHINGTON, May 12. — The Congressional bloc to defeat the Mundt measure reported today that opposition to the bill is being registered by the American Civil Liberties Union, the CIO national office, the Americans for Democratic Action, the Anti-Defamation League and Baptist and Congregational spokesmen. These groups are meeting with a new group of Congressmen to plan an attack on the measure.

RABBI SILVER HITS THE BILL

CLEVELAND, May 12.—The two greatest dangers on the home front are the proposal to outlaw the Communist Party and the continued discrimination against races, it was declared by Rabbi A. H. Silver, national Zionist leader.

"We must overcome the determined efforts being made to curb our freedoms," Rabbi Silver said. "Once you start outlawing political groups, you never know where this outlawing process will stop."

ACTION IN CONNECTICUT

HARTFORD, Conn., May 12. — The state convention of the American Veterans Committee here unanimously voted to urge all Connecticut congressmen to vote against the Mundt bill.

5-13-48

NEW HAVEN, May 12.—Over 100 persons of mixed political affiliations urged Reps. Horace Seeley-Brown and Ellsworth Foote, both Republicans, to defeat the Mundt bill, at a conference called by the People's Party of Connecticut.

Speakers against the bill were Dr. Leon Whitney, who described himself as a "Dewey supporter"; Dr. Alice Hamilton; Profs. Joseph D. Phillips and John Marsalka; Jerry Stavola; Vincent Romeo; Alex Brooks; Mrs. Charles E. Calkins, and Louis Denov.

ST. LOUIS, May 12. — The **St. Louis Globe Democrat** in an editorial said that much opposition to the Mundt bill exists from people "who certainly cannot be accused of sympathy for the Reds."

ROCHESTER, N. Y., May 12.—Leading ministers here have spoken out against the Mundt bill, while the Rochester Citizens Committee to Protect Constitutional Rights is distributing 25,000 leaflets against the measure and advertising in the local press. A campaign to petition Rep. Keating is under way.

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE, May 12.—One hundred and fifty Baltimoreans representing the Progressive Party of Maryland labor division and other groups met with Reps. Garmatz, Fallon, and Sasscer, to urge them to vote against the Mundt bill. Unions represented include Marine Cooks and Stewards, United Furniture Workers; United Electrical, rank and file delegations from Steel Workers, National Maritime Union, International Ladies Garment Workers, United Auto Workers, Longshoremen, and FTA.

Harold Buchman, executive director of the Progressive Party, Duke Aznet of the Lawyers Guild and James Stewart Martin, chairman, Progressive Party, ripped into the bill.

Group Barred From Cafe

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
34 b

5,000 March on City

Sat. 6-12-48

Against Mundt Bill

SOLONS 'OUT'

Woman Accused of Slapping Guard

WASHINGTON

In spite of all efforts to maintain discipline and avoid incident among the 5,000-odd protestors against the Mundt Bill, three persons ran afoul of the law near the Capitol on Wednesday.

Biggest trouble at the Astor Restaurant at 18th and M Sts., N.W., when the manager, John Roussos, summoned police to oust a mixed delegation after he refused to serve the colored persons.

Because she protested the undemocratic treatment in no uncertain terms, Miss Gloria Giovelli, white, of Woodside, Long Island, was charged with disorderly conduct and later forfeited a $5 collateral.

Sat. 6-12-48

Two others arrested were Alex Goldberg of Kearny, N.J. and Miss Amelia Lamb, a resident at Midway Hall, who were charged with disorderly conduct for failing to obey an order to move on when the Senate Building police tried to break the delegation up into units of six each.

Miss Lamb was accused of striking Wesley Wilbur, a guard who blocked her from entering the Senate office builling.

Came From 30 States

The group, the most impressive and perhaps the largest ever to converge on the nation's capital, poured into town Wednesday morning from 30 States by planes, buses and trains only to find their Congressmen none too gracious hosts.

The huge cavalcade of protestants had a dual purpose in Washington. One segment estimated at 5,000 came to oppose the Mundt-Nixon Bill, while another segment composed of 1000 delegates were here to launch an all-out drive for the passage of civil rights legislation by the 80th Congress, which is slated to adjourn soon for the coming party conventions.

About 3,000 of the visitors arrived in two sections of a New York train completely jamming the huge concourse of the Union Station reminiscent of a holiday throng.

Advised by Ex-Congressman

Jerry J. O'Connell, former Congressman from Butte, Mont., chairman of the anti-Mundt Bill delegation, termed the demonstrators as "patriotic defenders of ancient American liberties."

"You are in truth patriotic defenders of our ancient American liberties and I am proud to be associated with you in this common fight.

"It is more than passing strange that certain members of the committee can keep vital anti-lynching legislation bottled up in committee while the Mundt bill is railroaded through. Our delegation will make their views known on this question very emphatically."

Meet at Sylvan Theatre

Following the briefing, the delegates trekked to Capitol Hill where they visited their respective Congressmen.

After making their opposition known to Congress, the visitors met at the statue of John Marshall, U. S. Chief Justice from 1801 to 1835, where a wreath was laid by Rep. Adolph J. Sabath (Dem., Ill.).

The delegates then moved to the open air Sylvan Theatre at the foot of Washington Monument for a mass meeting, where a number of national figures delivered a blistering verbal blast at the proponents of the Mundt Bill and the opponents of the Civil Rights measures.

BULLETIN

The board of the Progressive Party of Oklahoma, through its chairman, Dr. Michael A. Shadid, today called upon the people of Oklahoma to express themselves against the vicious un-American Mundt-Nixon Bill which has just passed the House of Representatives in Washington. It will now go to the Senate and Dr. Shadid said that Sen. Thomas should be showered with wires, letters, and cards urging him to take a stand against the bill.

Address: Sen. Elmer Thomas, Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.

The Black Dispatch
Okla. City 34 b Okla.

HERE'S PROOF MUNDT-NIXON BILL WOULD HIT NAACP

Sat. 5-29-48

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Any doubt that the NAACP would be hard hit by the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill now before congress was dispelled last week when the house discussed the resolution for regional colleges in the south.

When Rep. Marcantonio told the house that the NAACP opposed the regional college idea, Rep. Rankin leaped to his feet and immediately charged the association was a "Communist front organization" that does not "represent the better element of the

Negroes in this country."

34 b Sat. 5-29-48

Rankin, whose slick work revived the un-American committee when the 79th congress convened in 1945, is one of the key figures in this committee now headed by Rep. J. Parnell Thomas, and had a hand in writing the Mundt-Nixon measured aimed at destroying all organizations classed as "Communist frants." Its passage would give Rankin and similar politicians a means of blocking the NAACP and other groups working for Negro advancement.

Foolish Opposition Commends a Bad Bill

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

IF CONGRESS fails to pass the MUNDT-NIXON Bill for "control" of U.S. Communism, it will not be the fault of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, JOHN GATES or HENRY WALLACE. Tues. 6-1-48

In their testimony against the bill, Mr. FOSTER and Mr. GATES, two chief spokesmen for Communism in this country, have stimulated the fears that inspired the bill. They have announced flatly that in any conceivable war between the United States and the Soviet Union, they would support the latter—on the fixed premise that the United States would be the aggressor. It is another proof, as if one were needed, that the U.S. Communist Party is not a domestic political entity but the agency of a potential enemy.

Mr. WALLACE, too, contributes to the frame of mind which would accept the MUNDT-NIXON Bill when he attempts to oppose it. Its sponsors, he says, are "warmongers, fearmongers and hatemongers" whom history would consider "American counterparts of MUSSOLINI and HITLER." Louisville, Ky.

We are sorry for all this because we think the MUNDT-NIXON Bill is ill-advised. We think so despite the human impulse to endorse something that Messrs. FOSTER, GATES and WALLACE oppose. We think so because it would write into U.S. law for the first time penalties against a line of thought. Tues

As THOMAS E. DEWEY recently pointed out, there are 27 laws on sedition and treason. These apply, however, not to thoughts, but to acts. Even our laws against murder do not apply until some act proves the offender's intent to murder. 6-1-48

We do not believe the MUNDT-NIXON Bill would do what it is intended to do—even if we momentarily overlook the dangerous principle it contains. Mr. FOSTER, the general chairman of the Communist Party in this country, declares his party would refuse to register as the bill would require. Mr. WALLACE said his third party would do the same thing. And what happens then? The F.B.I. might jail the handful of principal leaders of either party but the membership could disappear by the simple expedient of silence or denial. The Courier-Journal

We would have a full-blown underground in the United States. Already we have the makings of one of its martyrs, PAUL ROBESON, who refuses to tell a Senate sub-committee whether he is a Communist. Already he has goaded Senator MOORE into some exceedingly foolish talk about "sometimes a year in jail cools some of these people off."

Foster Scores Anti-Red Bill; Robeson Mum On Party Beliefs

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

NEW YORK —(AP)— William Z. Foster, American Communist leader, said Monday night the real purpose of the Mundt-Nixon bill was a "deadly blow to the labor and progressive movement, American Democracy and world peace." Tues. 6-1-48

He said the bill "aims to outlaw the Communist Party" but that "actually, the Communists are only a secondary objective."

Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, assailed the proposed measure in a speechprepared for a radio debate with Rep. Karl E. Mundt, (R), South Dakota, one of the sponsors of the measure now before Congress. Foster spoke from New York. 6-1-48

Mundt was to speak extremporaneously from Yankton, S. D. Foster had challenged Mundt to the debate.

Foster claimed that outlawing the Communist Party would "knife organized labor, undermine American democracy, clear the way for a police state and speed us into war."

He said passage of the bill, "like our barbarows theatment of the Negro people, would expose the weak state of our democracy and would ruin American prestige aboard."

He declared it would bring "ruin . . . to your unions and living standards, to your liberties and to world peace."

"Hitler," he said, "like the sponsors of this bill, also made wild charges against Communism, and for the same purpose—to plunge his country into Fascism and war."

Foster said America "is carrying on the biggest campaign in imperialist expansion in the history of the world." He said one of the main purposes of the Mundt-Nixon bill is "to push our country into the disastrous war that Wall Street is now organizing." 6-1-48

Foster reiterated that Communists would refuse to register as would be required under the bill.

Anti-Red Bill Foes Picket White House

Advertiser

6-3-48

Singer Paul Robeson Leads 3,169 Marchers In Civil Rights Parade

Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON (AP) — The White House was picketed Wednesday by 3,169 marchers who are opposed to the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill and who want civil rights legislation.

Marching four abreast, the pickets slowly moved the two blocks in front of the White House, and then back again.

Towering over all the others was Singer Paul Robeson, who helped organize the movement. Robeson told the Senate judiciary committee last Saturday he would rather go to jail than answer a question as to whether he is a Communist. 6-3-48

Many of the marchers wore buttons saying "Henry Wallace for President." [redacted]

They carried signs reading: "Defeat the Mundt Bill," "Pass the Anti-Lynching Bill, the FEPC and the Anti-Poll Tax Bills," and "Full and Adequate Hearings on Mundt Bill."

Carefully Lettered

Nearly all the signs were carefully lettered, and most of them had "Prompt Sign Service, Inc.," stamped in the lower righthand corner. Only a few signs—such as the "Brooklyn Consumer and Tenants' Council"—were homelettered. Thur. 6-3-48

The crowd marched orderly and without incident. They once started to chant, "Jim Crow Must Go," but White House police quickly stopped that because it's against the regulations to chant.

Thereafter many of the marchers put handkerchiefs over their mouths—as a sign that they were being gagged. [redacted]

The number of marchers—3,169—was supplied by a secret service man who counted them.

The demonstrators also held mass meetings and buttonholed members of Congress.

Wallace Rapped

Meanwhile the leadership of the CIO United Auto Workers, which also opposes the Mundt-Nixon bill, sent a telegram to Capitol Hill accusing Henry Wallace of trying to "provoke" Congress into passing the bill.

Addressed to the Senate judiciary committee, the telegram said: 34 6-3-48

"Don't be suckers for the left hook of Henry Wallace and his Communist collaborators who seem to be trying to provoke you and the Senate into passing the Mundt-Nixon subversive activities control bill. 6-3-48

"Let's keep the Communist Party, and its front organizations, its stooges and dupes above ground and out of the cracks in the woodwork so that they can be dealt with by facts, reason and existing law under the constitution, including the Bill of Rights."

It was signed by Emil Mazey, acting president of the union.

MUNDT-NIXON FOES TALK OF BESIEGING CAPITAL TOMORROW

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Senate Hearings on Bill Are Recessed Amid a Warning Thousands Will Flock In

New York Times

ROBESON MUM ON HIS TIES

New York, N.Y.

Kehoe, Communications Union, Joins Him in Refusing to Say Whether He Is Communist

Tues. 6-1-48

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, May 31—Senate hearings on the Mundt-Nixon Communist-controll bill were indefinitely recessed late today amid angry cries from the bill's opponents that they would bring "thousands" to Washington to demonstrate against it.

"By God," shouted their leader, Len Goldsmith, "we are coming down by the thousands on Wednesday and if they won't listen we will find other means." He promised an "orderly" march on Washington by "trainloads and planeloads." 6-1-48

Mr. Goldsmith stood in the great marble Senate office building caucus room to issue his challenge in demanding a prolongation of open sessions before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee.

Delay Might Kill Bill

Such an extension, if for much time, would make highly improbable, if not impossible, final Congressional action on the bill in the brief time remaining before adjournment, scheduled for June 19.

Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, the acting subcommittee chairman, had just announced a recess "without date," saying that in the absence of the chairman, Senator Alexander Wiley, Republican, of Wisconsin, he had no authority to do otherwise.

He acted at the end of the fourth day of public sessions, which originally had been scheduled to run only three days and which most of the time had been taken by opponents of the bill.

Mr. Goldsmith, who said he represented a New York organization called the "Committee for Democratic Rights," was on his feet at once, as were several others, some of whom wore the blue campaign button of Henry A. Wallace.

He and others began to demand "the right to be heard" and to insist upon "assurances" that these hearings would not be closed.

Senator Ferguson, after explaining that a decision for or against further sessions could not be made by him, walked from the room amid an uproar. 6-1-48

Women stood to protest that none of their sex had testified about the bill; a boy of about 18 called out that "at least one youth" must state his views.

Mr. Goldsmith confronted an assistant committee clerk, Joseph A. Davis, with a series of requests. The first was that Senator Wiley be asked to re-open the hearings. Mr. Davis went to a telephone and returned to report that Mr. Wiley had left town.

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Mr. Goldsmith then proposed that Senator Ferguson be called on the telephone.

Mr. Davis returned to report that Senator Ferguson had repeated that he was without authority to conduct the hearings beyond today. 6-1-48

Mr. Goldsmith then told Mr. Davis: "Please get word to Senator Wiley that we are coming down by the thousands on Wednesday. If we cannot be accommodated in the Capitol we are prepared to hire Turner's arena for the use of the Senators in a hearing. We are prepared to assure orderly Senatorial procedure."

Mr. Davis undertook to pass this along to Senator Wiley by telegraph.

All this brought a disturbed end to a harsh and clamorous day before the subcommittee.

Paul Robeson, the singer, and Joseph Kehoe, secretary-treasurer of the American Communications Association, CIO, each had refused to answer question as to whether he was a Communist.

A possible contempt citation did not arise in either case, Senator Ferguson told a reporter, because a subcommittee quorum was not present when either incident occurred. 6-1-48

While these and other witnesses came forward to denounce the bill in strong terms, some calling it a movement toward "fascism," one took the stand in its support.

The Rev. Benjamin Schultz of Yonkers, N. Y., executive director of the American Jewish League Against Communism, Inc., testified that the Communists on May 14 began a "campaign of distortion" against the measure in an effort to stir up Jewish sentiment against it.

He submitted to the subcommittee excerpts from The New York Morning Freiheit, which he called a "yiddish-language Communist organ." These, he asserted, typified Communist "propaganda that there is something dangerous to Jews in the Mundt bill." 6-1-48

In this, he added, "there is not a particle of truth."

The final witness, Ewart G. Guinier, international secretary-treasurer of the United Public Workers of America, CIO, denounced the committee in a shouting, table-pounding appearance, for not taking action on anti-lynching legislation and other parts of the civil rights program.

A Negro, he called on the subcommittee to put aside the Communist control bill and act instead against "Jim Crowism."

Mr. Wallace's supporters were obviously numerous in the hearing, both among the witnesses and the spectators. One of these was Mr. Robeson.

After he took the stand he was asked several times whether he was a Communist, and each time he replied that he would "answer that" in due course.

At length, Senator Ferguson asked again: "Are you a Communist?"

"That question," replied Mr. Robeson, "has become the very basis of the struggle for civil liberties. Nineteen men are about to go to jail for refusing to answer it. I am prepared to join them. I refuse to answer it."

Mr. Kehoe, when his time came was asked by Senator Ferguson: "Are you a member of the Communist party?"

"I am honored," replied the witness, "to associate my reaction to that question with Mr. Robeson's reaction."

"You refuse to answer?" pursued Senator Ferguson.

"Yes, sir," said Mr. Kehoe.

Like Mr. Robeson, he testified that for his own part he would not be prepared to obey the Mundt-Nixon or any similar measure, no matter if it became law.

Asked whether the American Communists would fight on the side of the United States in any war with Russia, Mr. Kehoe replied: "I don't know the answer to that question." He added that it was an inquiry that had "no relation to reality." 6-1-48

Mr. Robeson's examination on the same point was as follows:

Senator E. H. Moore, Republican, of Oklahoma: "If the United States went to war with Russia would the (American) Communists be loyal to the United States?"

"I would think," replied Mr. Robeson, "that the struggle should be for peace."

"Would you fight for the United States in a war with Russia?"

"That," the witness said, "would depend on conditions."

"If Congress declared war on Russia," asked Senator Ferguson, "would you fight for the United States?"

"I would say that's too hypothetical," answered Mr. Robeson. "That would depend on many things."

"Then you'd be the judge?" asked Senator Moore.

"No, no," said Mr. Robeson, "a lot of people would be the judges."

O. John Rogge, a former Assistant Attorney General, denounced the Mundt-Nixon bill as one that would "cause Jefferson, Holmes and Brandeis to turn over in their graves." 6-1-48

He called upon the subcommittee to ask Representatives J. Parnell Thomas, Republican, of New Jersey, "whether he joined the Ku Klux Klan in Paterson, N. J., in 1925."

Mr. Thomas heads the House Committee on un-American Activities, which drafted the Mundt-Nixon bill and carried it through to House passage.

Mundt-Nixon Bill

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To the Editor of The News:

During all the years that I have received and have kept up with The Congressional Record, no legislative action that I know of—with but one exception—can hold a candle to the "Subversive Activities Control Bill, 1948" (Mundt bill), passed by the House May 19 by 319 to 58 majority. What the bill provides, in order to suppress subversive activities, ostensibly on the part of Communists, would delegate to the attorney general authority making him prosecutor, judge and jury. Under this legislation "administrative law," a New Deal innovation that proved to be a bane and abomination to business and industry, would again come into its own with a vengeance. In this respect no other legislative proposal so closely resembles the Mundt bill as does the Fair Employment Practices Commission bill now being held in abeyance.

Birmingham News

"The FEPC bill should be called a bill to destroy civil rights," said Sen. Lister Hill on March 23 in an address over Mutual Broadcasting System. Further than that, he said, under the guise of preventing discrimination in employment the bill actually contains the weapons for the complete destruction of many civil rights.

Birmingham, Ala.

As I closely followed the entire debate on the Mundt bill through the medium of The Congressional Record, the fact was easily discernible that this bill would do likewise. Since voted on, the following appeared on Page 6360, Record of May 20: "Mr. Speaker, since coming to Congress in 1943, I have been opposed to the Fair Employment Practices Commission for one reason, and that is that it places in the hands of a commission the job of being prosecutor, judge and jury. I voted against the bill to outlaw communism yesterday because it does the same thing. . . ." —Rep. Fernandez, New Mexico.

My next witness has this to say: "If we sincerely believe, as we profess to, that freedom under law is incomparably better than any species of dictatorship, that the individual has rights of which the state cannot deprive him, we should not begin to betray the political ideals we honor by risking any infringement of that freedom or those rights. . . . As for attempts to change the nature of our government by other than lawful constitutional means, we already have laws enough to punish and defeat them. Will more law cure lax enforcement?" This is an excerpt from an article headed "Resisting Our Reds," published in The Wall Street Journal of May 20, 1948, in reference to the M[illegible]. 6-2-48

In The Christian Science Monitor an editorial, "A Test of Leadership," which enumerates the yet unfinished business Congress has to deal with, has this to say: "Some of the measures which await action could await it forever, in our view, to the benefit of the country. One is the Mundt-Nixon Communist control bill, which contains more threats to civil liberties than to the more dangerous kind of Communist activities. . . ."

As practically every representative from the South voted for the Mundt bill with his eyes, ears and mind shut to its implications involving the civil rights threatened by FEPC, which all are so seriously concerned about, the people themselves must, it seems to me, defend those rights.

Akron, Ala. BEN T. COUCHMAN.

MUNDT BILL CALLED DISASTER TO PEOPLE

The Times

New York, N.Y.

Isacson, Denying He Is Red, Scores Measure—Proponents See a 'Lie' Campaign

Fri. 5-28-48

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 27—Senate hearings on the Mundt-Nixon Communist control bill opened in bitterness today amid charges from Congressional and other proponents that the Communists were pressing a campaign to misrepresent the measure.

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The first opponent, meantime, to appear at the initial session, Representative Leo Isacson, American Labor of New York, accused the bill's backers of seeking to bring "disaster to the American people."

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

The Commies---

Atlanta, Ga.

At Work and Play

Fri. 6-4-48

A Communist is, by oath, a liar, a perjurer and a traitor to the United States of America. He usually is a cry-baby oaf who is hurt because some imagined greatness in his make-up is not recognized.

The Communist indoctrination plays up to his weakness, telling him that under the Communists he will be able to display his true worth and talents.

The Communist leaders are shrewd. But obvious.

Methods They work by formulas. They try, with great hypocrisy, to get on the side of the people. They embrace any opportunity which allows them to fight for "rights." The fact that no human rights exist in Soviet Russia—that no person may criticize any single act of the Government or its administrators—is ignored.

One of the maddening facts about them is that they demand the protection of our civil rights and our laws while carrying out acts which are aimed at destroying those rights.

Mundt Bill Now come Paul Robeson, who sent his son to school in Russia, and who almost certainly is a Communist and disloyal to this country; Henry Wallace, whose campaign is directed by Communists, a fact most recently testified to by Norman Thomas, the distinguished Socialist candidate; William Z. Foster, the Communist Party head in this country, and others of equally unsavory associations, arguing against passage of the Mundt-Dixon Bill, which, among other things, would require Communists to register as enemy agents. Fri. 6-4-48

Henry Wallace, Robeson and others, to whom this country has been very good, and who are allowed freedom of movement, speech and publication they would not be allowed in the Russia they so greatly admire, are following the Communist line as laid down for this problem. They want to discredit non-Communists who oppose it and they earnestly want to see the bill become law.

Maneuver They thereby contribute to a frame of mind which would not merely accept the Mundt Bill, but which would make it even more stringent than it seeks to be.

This is unfortunate.

Along with Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, and Sen. Robert Taft, of Ohio, to name but a few, we think the Mundt Bill is unwise.

The Constitution

As Gov. Dewey and Sen. Taft have pointed out, there already are in existence 27 laws on sedition and treason. These apply to acts. Not thoughts.

The Mundt Bill attempts to deal with thoughts.

We have, for example, laws against murder.

But we cannot act with them until murder is committed. Nor can we arrest people for thinking about murder.

Results Wallace, Foster, Robeson and others who are Communists or associates of Communists have said they would not obey the law. The net result would be to put a few leaders in jail—if the law is held to be constitutional, which we doubt it to be. The membership would deny membership and we would have then created a fully established underground movement. Robeson, who has been given the opportunity to become a wealthy man and who enjoys luxuries and position, already has caused Sen. Moore, of the committee, to say, "A year in jail would do him good."

Atlanta, Ga.

It is important to recall that every Communist now in power in Europe, from Joe Stalin on down, has spent a good many months or years in jail. Jail is not an answer.

Policy The facts are that the Communists want the Mundt Bill to become law. Fri. 6-4-48

Their agents in Birmingham, Atlanta, Jacksonville and New Orleans have revealed to persons who have their confidence that they are under orders to do all in their power to create public opinion in favor of the Bill.

That is why, here in the South, the Communists are seeking to get publicity with ads and statements against the Mundt Bill. It is part of a typically shrewd maneuver.

They know if the Communists and the Wallace campaign fight the Bill, the inevitable reaction of Americans will be to pass the Bill in a hurry.

The Communists want the law so as to create martyrs; so as to put them in the light of fighting for personal liberty, and so they will have a constant sounding board of court tests out of which will come long pages of Communist propaganda in the form of official court testimony.

The Mundt Bill is unwise for that reason also.

We have got 27 laws—all we need.

Let's just keep these vermin out in the open and dust them with the DDT of exposure and truth.

Art Against War

Daily Worker

EVERY great movement of the people attracts its artists, its poets, painters and singers.

New York, N.Y.

Tyrants have never wanted poets to sing of liberty.

Our war-makers are enemies of American writers, poets, singers and artists who refuse to be goose-stepped into an atomic war against the rest of the world.

Thurs. 6-3-48

That is why Paul Robeson, great singer and spokesman for the Negro people, faced a hostile Senate committee the other day in the Mundt bill hearings. Certain Senators don't like the message which this noble and courageous man brings—in his art as well as his activities as a citizen—to the country.

ROBESON

That's why some of America's best writers face a cowardly blacklist in Hollywood—their talents helped win the war and are now in the service of peace. The small-minded Thomas Committee gave its orders—and the moneymen in Hollywood are quick to obey. The commodity wanted from writers is war propaganda, not peace propaganda. 6-3-48

But America's artists and writers will not be so easily forced into the mold of a Rankin-Thomas Committee. They will not so easily be deformed into Mundt bill intellectuals, fearful of truth, and intent only on servile accommodation to the needs of the war-makers of Big Business. This, after all, is the America which had its Freneau, its Emerson and Thoreau, its Whitman and Dreiser.

The Worker

Robeson will bring from Washington tonight the message of the great anti-Mundt bill struggle as it appeared to an artist, John Howard Lawson, honored victim of the petty imitators of Hitlerism, will bring the message of America's writers to the same public gathering tonight at Manhattan Center. This meeting will speak for the conscience of our country's intellectuals. It will embody the spirit of the American Resistance to the new Gestapo-like terrorism of the mind. We urge our readers to demonstrate their defiance of the thought-controllers along with Robeson, Lawson, Howard Fast and others. It will be a meeting in the great tradition of freedom.

New York, N.Y.

Thurs. 6-3-48

The Un-Americans and the Negro

(To the attention of Congressman Karl Mundt)

By Lance Jeffers

They dream
of flaming faces to erupt in our ghettoes
of men to come storming down to the ghettoes with guns in their arms
and hatred spilling from their mouths.

The Worker

They envision
men in automobiles with rope and club
driving through the streets of every town
eyes alert for the black face
and the quarry cornered, shouting laughter at his fear
and his animal-scream when the toe finds the groin.

New York, N.Y.

They smile
at the thought of the blank-faced police standing, rocking on their
heels,
idly watching the fun, as they did in Detroit;
of priests sorrowfully pressing palms together,
counselling disturbed onlookers:
"Let us pray."
Of "liberal" politicians, confronted in pine-panelled offices,
averting eyes, muttering:
". . . . the imperfections of democracy."

And they glow at the image of ghettoes from which year around no
Negro
would dare venture,
from which we would be transported
to the "protective custody" of concentration camps,
to the protective custody of death,
and a numb American conscience to watch with protest.

Karl Mundt and his masters dream of these things,
dream of growing the evil wheat of fascism,
of watering the poisoned weed so that it may stifle the land.

But they will learn a new knowing,
learn that from our mother-flesh we have taken the blood of struggle,

learn that there will be no "protective custody" for us,
that they will not march over our bodies to war.

learn that the old corroded chains we are slashing away
we will never permit them to fashion again!

5-23-48

THOMAS L. STOKES

34b

The Constitution

Objections to the Mundt Bill

Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 6-2-48

WASHINGTON—The best argument against the Mundt-Nixon "Anti-Communist" Bill may be found in the attitude of some of its supporters in their arguments for it before the Senate Judiciary Committee. The measure, recently passed by the House, is designed purportedly to curb Communism, but it actually goes far beyond that to strike at basic rights of all citizens.

An insidious and seductive approach taken by some of its advocates is that anyone who is against the measure is, by that fact, either a Communist or the dupe or stooge of Communists. These dupes and stooges are perhaps "intelligent" persons, "well-informed," "well-intentioned" and "patriotic." They may be fine people but, alas, they are just blindly following the Communists! That's the technique, a familiar one, recalling a similarly familiar one of the shame-on-you,-you-poor-fool type back in the Roosevelt days when anyone in favor of some of the economic and social reforms of that time was often dubbed a "softie" or a "do-gooder."

It was said here recently that the danger of the Mundt-Nixon Bill is that its effect would go far beyond Communism and Communists to frighten and squelch sincere and loyal citizens interested in measures to improve our society and in speaking and writing and carrying on organized activity for them.

The Constitution

This seems now to be amply demonstrated by some of the measure's supporters who attempt to scare people from opposing this bill by saying that such persons are Communists or dupes and stooges of Communists. These champions of the measure obviously are disturbed that so many reputable individuals and organizations are raising their voices against it. And, in their condemnation of such free expression of opinion, there is the insinuation that this ought to be stopped somehow. You can almost hear the summons to the secret police.

And now, we dicover, it is following Communist technique to say that this measure could hurt innocent persons, or so at any rate we are told by Paul Griffiths, former National Commander of the American Legion. He said in his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee that minorities and labor groups and some well-meaning "but not too sophisticated" Liberals already have allowed themselves "to be panicked by the sly Communist scare tactics.: 'It's not the Communists but you that they are really after'."

Atlanta, Ga.

Sen. Alexander Wiley, Republican, Wisconsin, who holds the responsible position of Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, also made his contribution. He said the Committee already had evidence of the Communist campaign to defeat the bill in "thousands" of telegrams pouring in each day in opposition to it. Maybe the Senator has examined all those telegrams, in spite of the press of business on every member of Congress these days, and knows what he is talking about. But the inference from such a statement might be that anyone who has sent a wire, or might send one later, is a Communist or inspired by Communists. Undoubtedly Communists have been drumming up wires busily, just as all sorts of groups do about this and that issue, but that hardly seems reason to criticize the traditional right of petition on this issue.

Another contribution came from Edgar C. Corry, Jr., National Commander of AMVETS, a veterans' organization, who was aroused over a wire from a group of House members opposing the bill, urging his organization to wire the Senate Committee stating its determination to be heard. Mr. Corry answered them all right saying among other things:

Wed.

"Your position, knowingly or unknowingly gives aid and comfort to the Communist cause and deserves utmost condemnation from American people. Your position clearly indicates that you are stooges, knowingly or unknowingly, for minority groups that speak chiefly for the various Red fronts in this country."

Both Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Corry harp on "minority groups." How embracing is this vague definition and the "Red fronts" used by Mr. Corry, and how embracing will they be next week or next month if this sort of thing continues?

6-2-48

Some people seem to be getting very confused about what Mr. Corry calls "American freedom" which he says he wants to preserve. All this confusion must be very pleasing to the Communists, since confusion is their aim, and they must be very flattered, too, at the imitation of their methods in so much that goes on here now.

Real Americanism

THAT was a great demonstration of Americanism down in Washington—the kind of real Americanism that the Un-American Committee and the red-baiters could never understand.

The 5,000 who marched in front of the White House urging that President Truman follow up with deeds his promises on Negro civil rights were acting in the tradition of Abe Lincoln's Americanism—the kind that the "white supremacy" ignoramus Rankin would like to wipe out with the Mundt Bill.

Daily Worker

The 3,000 other citizens who used their Constitutional right to "petition for the redress of grievances" were defending the Americanism of Tom Jefferson—the Americanism that no stooge of Big Business corporations can understand or support.

New York, N.Y.

These historic demonstrations spoke the thoughts of millions of others.

Fri. 6-4-48

* * *

THE NEWSPAPERS, as usual, tried to belittle this demonstration of traditional Americanism. They hinted "it came mainly from New York"—a crude piece of anti-Semitism, and an insinuation that only "Jews and Negroes" are opposed to the police state in the U. S. A. In the same manner did the Nazis sneer that only "Jews and Communists" were opposed to Hitlerism.

The Washington demonstrations must continue without any letup. New Paul Reveres are needed to alarm the nation to its dangers, new Minute Men, as Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, recently said, to carry the fight to save democracy into every city, town, and village.

The thousands who wanted to testify against the Mundt conspiracy should be granted the right to be heard. Hearings should be extended. All Senators should be visited by back home delegations. This is not a narrow, partisan fight; it involves the traditional liberties of the most conservative men.

Fri. 6-4-48

The great crusade for Negro rights and the fight to halt the police state merge like two great rivers into a mighty Mississippi. The people can yet win. But they must speak out!

Ferguson Gets Protest to Anti-Red Bill

34b

Detroit Free Press

From Our Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—A Michigan delegation told Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.,) in a stormy interview that 60 University of Michigan faculty members and 1,500 students opposed the Mundt-Nixon Bill to outlaw the Communist Party.

Fri. 6-4-48

Ferguson is a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee considering the bill. He has said he favors "some such bill."

* * *

FRED BATES, U of M student veteran, said Prof. John L. Brumm, head of the U of M journalism department, headed a delegation of 25 persons representing Michigan organizations which came here to protest the threat to civil liberties in the bill.

Brumm conferred with Arthur H. Vandenberg, Jr., executive assistant to Senator Vandenberg.

Bates said Ferguson was interested in the argument that Negro welfare organizations would be called subversive and silenced if the bill should become law.

6-4-48

Ferguson took an aggressive attitude, Bates said, demanding to know who sent the delegates. Bates said Ferguson appeared surprised that others than Communists would oppose the bill.

He went around the room asking each person:

"Have you a Communist card?" Bates said.

None had.

Among those who interviewed Ferguson were Zigmund Poplawski and Regina Martin of the Polonia Society.

As We See It

Tues. 5-25-48

Truth Is a Casualty Of the Cold War

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

By Abner W. Berry

AMONG THE 58 Representatives who voted against the Mundt Bill last Wednesday were several whose names are seldom found in the column supporting a progressive cause. In the case of Republicans a nay ballot meant not only defiance of the anti-Communist hysteria induced by the Un-American Committee, but opposition to the GOP leadership, in the person of Majority Leader Charles Halleck. Such a step could not have been taken lightly. It must have been based on conviction coming after prolonged inner struggle.

The reasoning by which these gentlemen reached their conclusion—to vote against the Mundt bill—is of keen interest to the student of political science, and of special importance to those who are seeking to persuade Senators to cast their ballots for the defeat of the measure.

In the case of a few who took the floor in the debate, we have their own testimony as to the compelling reasons which guided them. Daily Worker

Take, for example, the remarks of Rep. William J. Miller (R-Conn). Miller voted for the Taft-Hartley Act last year and for many other anti-labor measures during his tenure in the House since 1940. Recently he took the floor to endorse Senator Ferguson's demand for the prosecution of the national committee of the Communist Party.

"If this bill were limited only to dealing with the Communist Party as such," said Miller during debate, "I might swallow the doubts I have and go along with it. . . . The bill as now written very definitely denies American citizens some of their constitutional rights." New York, N.Y.

"I am not a lawyer," said Miller, "but I do know from reading the langue of this bill that the Attorney General is given power to do great damage to many loyal American citizens and that damage will be done long before that citizen ever gets into court."

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AN EQUALLY conservative member of the House is John W. Heselton (R-Mass), a graduate of the Harvard Law School and a banker. Heselton suggested that the sections of the Mundt bill dealing with "Communist front organizations" were so vague and indefinite as to make the measure unconstitutional.

Another conservative Republican who voted against the bill was Dr. Frederick C. Smith of Marion, Ohio. "Doc" Smith, as he is known, pointed out that the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx endorsed many policies now generally accepted, such as progressive taxation, which was adopted by the U. S. in 1913. The Mundt bill does not touch the real cause of Communism, he said, which "has its roots in a diseased economy, excessive taxation, political corruption of money and class legislation." He said the bill was merely "designed to garner votes." Daily Worker

REPRESENTATIVE Jacob Javits, (R-NY) was one of the most effective opponents of the bill to take the floor. Javits is prone to make gratuitous attacks on the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. He supported the Marshall Plan and is supported by the Liberal Party. But his voting record on labor issues in general is excellent. He reveal that the reason he so vigorously opposed the bill was the fact that it would absolutely outlaw the Communist Party.

Citing the language of section three, four and eight, Javits said: "Therefore, as soon as such an organization registers, it admits officers and members are guilty of a felony. If that does not mean outlawing the Communist Party, I do not know what would. And that of course is considered inimical to our very efforts to fight communism by some of the most distinguished Americans in public life." New York, N.Y.

Javits said the bill makes "certain sweeping findings of fact against individuals and movements without proof of individual guilt." He said the legislation "defines a new kind of treason" and deprives those convicted of citizenship and nationality. He maintained that the Smith, Voorhis and McCormack Acts already on the books were sufficient. "You cannot substitute for the enforcement of laws new laws," he said. Tues. 5-25-48

Representative John Carroll (D-Colo), expressed agreement with Javits that any organizations which registered under the Mundt bill would in effect be pleading guilty to a crime. "In short," said Carroll, "they are being compelled to give evidence against themselves in a matter involving possible criminal prosecution which is clearly unconstitutional." Daily Worker Tues. • 5-25-48

IF ONE were to summarize the reasons of these members, then, they appear to constitute two general arguments. First, under the vague language of the bill and the broad powers that it gives the Attorney General, not only Communists but progressive non-Communists would be victimized. Second: despite denials of the Un-American committee, the bill would outlaw a political party, an unconstitutional objective, and employs unconstitutional methods to reach that end. New York, N.Y.

Undoubtedly these arguments will carry weight with some, even extremely conservative, Senators.

ANTI-COMMUNIST BILL OPPOSED BY THOMAS

The Times

In an address on "The Rights of Man" from Radio Station WNBC, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, yesterday defined his position on six issues of the national campaign.

He opposed the Mundt Subversive Activities Control Bill as dangerous and unnecessary legislation. While not attacking loyalty tests in general, he criticized the activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He called for legislation to remove racial discrimination by both public and private agencies and to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, asked for compensation for Japanese-Americans evacuated from the West Coast during the war and opposed all forms of peacetime conscription. New York, N.Y.

Mr. Thomas attacked all forms of totalitarianism, both fascist and communist, as well as private capitalism. Mon. 5-24-48

"In America, we Socialists have fought for human freedom and racial equality in innumerable struggles in which we have had no allies from the National Association of Manufacturers," he said. "The Socialist ideal is not a society equivalent to a herd of 'contented cows' still milked by a master."

Saying that the Communist party in America was not engaged in overt acts of subversion at this moment, he declared that, if we are to give reality to the American idea that ballots can be an effective substitute for bullets, we must lean over backward to protect the rights of the most radical parties

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Mundt Admits He Based His Bill on 'Hunch'

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
Tues. 5-25-48

By Rob F. Hall

WASHINGTON, May 24.—Rep. Karl Mundt (R-SD), one of the authors of the Mundt-Nixon Bill, will probably be painfully embarrassed when he reads this. For the gentleman from South Dakota made an admission in the course of debate on the House floor which somehow escaped the attentive ears of his fellow Congressmen. He said that after 10 years of "Investigating" by the House Un-American Committee, and 10 years of accusing the Communists of being foreign agents, all he has to go on is a "hunch."

You will find it on page 5996 of the Congressional Record for May 14. Daily Worker

Mundt's statement reads:

"We of the Committee on Un-American Activities believe that a diligent alert Department of Justice will be able to demonstrate in a court of law that some of the leaders of the Communist Party of America are today trying to deliver this country, lock, stock and barrel, to the men of the Kremlin, trying to establish here a totalitarian government subject to the control and domination of Soviet Russia, and if our hunch can be established as a matter of fact in a court of law by legitimate judicial procedures, these men will go to jail for 10 years and perhaps pay a fine of $10,000. New York, N.Y.

The numerous printed reports issued by the Un-American Committee purporting to "prove" that the Communist Party is part of a world-wide "conspiracy," and that its members advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence, is thus reduced to nothing more than a "hunch." The Mundt-Nixon Bill, Mundt confesses, is a complicated and expensive legislative device to establish whether or not the "hunch" of the Un-Americans can be proved in court.

But to confirm Mundt's "hunch," the Constitution mut be outraged, the Bill of Rights raped, and millions of people drawn into a dragnet of intimidation and persecution. Tues. 5-25-48

Bill to Control Communists Passed by House, 319 to 58

The Times New York, N.Y.
Thurs. 5-20-48

Whether It Outlaws Party Is Contested as It Goes to Senate With Fate in Doubt—14 From New York Vote No

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to The N

WASHINGTON, May 19—The House passed the Mundt-Nixon Communist-Control Bill today, 319 to 58.

The measure, providing stiff jail sentence and fines for subversive activities as well as exposure and regulation of Communist organizations, now goes to the Senate, where leaders have indicated that the session-end pressure of business would prevent its consideration. The Times

Winding up three days of intensive and sometimes harsh debate, sponsors predicted nevertheless that an aroused public opinion would prompt the Senate to act.

The people will insist on it, the House was told by the bill's co-author, Representative Karl E. Mundt, Republican, of South Dakota. New York, N.Y.

If members of the Senate represent the people, "they will act upon this issue," asserted the other co-author, Representative Richard M. Nixon, Republican, of California.

Amid cries of "Vote! Vote!" by members of a word-weary House, *the debate ended late in the afternoon* with opposing sides still in disagreement over whether the bill would outlaw the Communist party of the United States.

Sponsors maintained that it would outlaw only the party's subversive activities while opponents, led by Representative Vito Marcantonio, American Labor, of New York, insisted that it would wipe out the party itself.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Marcantonio contended, devised the bill for the purpose of outlawing the party and thus "attempted to do by indirection what the Constitution prevented them from doing directly." 5-20-48

On passage, 104 Democrats joined 215 Republicans in voting for the bill. Against it were forty-eight Democrats, eight Republicans and the two American Labor party Representatives. Fourteen of the negative votes were cast by Representatives from New York City.

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The opposition was largely among left-wingers and members having constituencies comprised heavily of labor union membership. The Congress of Industrial Organizations has directed a campaign against the bill on behalf of labor's rights. The Times

Disposal of Armaments

Passage followed the rejection of all amandements not approved by the Un-American Activities Committee. The committee itself, however, proposed several revisions designed to insure against possible injustices or to perfect the bill's language, and they were adopted. New York, N.Y.

In the form that it was sent to the Senate, the measure would make it a crime, punishable by ten years' imprisonment, a $10,000 fine and loss of citizenship, "to attempt in any manner to establish in the United States a totalitarian dictatorship, the direction and control of which is to be vested in or exercised by or under the domination or control of any foreign government, foreign organization or foreign individual." Thurs.

Any attempt to aid in accomplishing such an aim, active participation in the direction of any movement having such an objective and conspiracy to accomplish these ends would be similarly punishable. 5-21-48

Whether membership in the Communist party of the United States would subject a person to the penalties is not spelled out in the bill, and sponsors prefer to leave the question to the courts.

However, the bill does state, as a Congressional finding, that a world Communist movement is attempting to establish in all countries totalitarian dictatorships controlled and directed by "the Communist dictatorship of a foreign country." In doing so, this Communist dictatorship utilizes political organizations in various countries, it is added.

Defining Those to Register

The bill would also require Communist political organization and Communist-front groups to register with the Attorney General.

A Communist political organization is defined as one having specified characteristics which would make it "reasonable to conclude" that it is under foreign Communist control. 5-20-48

A Communist-front organization is defined as one having specified characteristics which would make it reasonable to conclude:

"1. That it is under the control of a Communist political organization, or The Times

"2. That it is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to a Communist political organization, a Communist foreign government or the world Communist movement * * * or

"3. That its views and policies are in general adopted and advanced because such views or policies are those of a Communist political organization, a Communist foreign government or such world Communist movement."

The organizations would have to register as such, file annual financial reports with lists of contributors, receipts and expenditures and name their leaders. Communist political organizations, but not Communist-front groups, would also have to give the names and addresses of members.

Procedure by Attorney General

The Attorney General would name the organizations required to register. Objecting organizations would have a hearing, with the right of cross-examination and presentation of witnesses. The Attorney General's final determination as to facts would then be subject to court reversal if the organization's case were supported by "a preponderance of the evidence." New York, N.Y.

Organizations which did not register after a final determination that they were Communist would be subject to $2,000-$5,000 fines for each day of failure. Officers would be subject to the same fines plus two-to-five-year jail sentences for each day of failure.

Members remaining in non-registered organizations for more than 120 days after the final determination would be subject to the same penalties. Thurs.

Registered groups would be required to label their publicity as emanating from "a Communist organizations." 5-21-48

Passports and Federal employment would be denied to members of Communist political organization."

Contributions to Communist political organizations and Communist-front groups would be prohibited from receiving income-tax deductions for charitable gifts.

MARCHERS PICKET THE WHITE HOUSE

The Times

New York, N.Y.

SWARM IN CAPITOL

Thurs. 6-3-48

Mundt Bill Foes and Civil Rights Advocates Hold Rally at Washington Monument

MOST ARE FROM NEW YORK

Names of Truman, Vandenberg and Taft Booed—Crowd of 3,500 Causes No Disorders

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By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 2—Thousands marched on Washington today in orderly demonstrations demanding defeat of the Mundt-Nixon Communist Control Bill and the enactment before Congress adjourns of the so-called civil rights program. The Times

For an hour they threw a line of mass pickets, five and six abreast, across the entrance to the White House, although President Truman himself has long demanded passage of the civil rights measures. New York, N.Y.

They moved upon Congress in many groups numbering hundreds each, seeking directly to influence the Senators from their states.

Finally, at a rally tonight on the green solpes below the Washington Monument, their speakers urged them to continue the "fire" of telegrams, delegations and protests toward Congress. Thurs.

Most of the demonstrants were from New York and other Eastern cities and all their manifestations were in the general charge of the forces of Henry A. Wallace, the third-party Presidential candidate.

Wallace Leaders in Action

At the Washington Monument rally the chairman was former Representative Jerry J. O'Connell, the Washington State Wallace leader. The Wallace campaign manager, C. B. Baldwin, moved about in the background. 6-3-48

Thirty-five hundred persons, by the estimates of police on the scene, appeared in the outdoor theatre at the Monument. Mr. O'Connell estimated that more than 5,000 had come to Washington.

Two of tonight's scheduled speakers, Senator Glen Taylor, the Wallace candidate for the Vice Presidency, and Senator William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota, did not appear.

It was announced that Mr. Taylor's plane had been delayed and that Senator Langer had been detained in a night session of the Senate.

Other speakers, however, talked over the amplifying system for nearly two hours, denouncing the Mundt-Nixon Bill as "fascism" and proclaiming that all who did not work for the civil rights program would be held responsible.

The immediate tactic indicated by the anti-Mundt bill forces was an effort, as recommended by Mr. O'Connell, to compel Democratic members of the Senate Judiciary Committee to insist upon prolonged further hearings on the measure. "Thousands" of witnesses, said Mr. O'Connell, must yet be heard on the bill. The Times New York, N.Y.

Like other speakers, he urged the crowd not to be discouraged by the "run-around" which he asserted the demonstrants had received in attempting to confer with Senators about the measure. Thurs. 6-3-48

Representative Vito Marcantonio, American Labor, New York, shouted across the slopes of the monument grounds that it was the two leading Senate Republicans, Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, and Arthur H. Vandenberg, of Michigan, who must be blamed for the lack of civil rights legislation.

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He accused them also of having given "the go-ahead signal" for the Mundt-Nixon Bill.

The names of Senators Taft and Vandenberg raised a chorus of boos and hisses. President Truman's name also brought similar but less vigorous manifestations.

Messrs. Taft and Vandenberg, Mr. Marcantonio shouted, "will have to answer to the 14,000,000 Negro people of the United States."

There was violent applause at this, from an audience about half of which was white and half Negro. The Times

The final speaker of the demonstration was Paul Robeson, the Negro baritone. Mr. Robeson, after first singing three militantly political songs, cried out to the crowd: New York, N.Y.

"If we can't get our liberties one way we will build a new structure to get those liberties." He asserted that because of racial segregation in Washington his people had been subjected here today to "terrorism," and added: Thurs

"The struggle for peace and the kind of America we want has reached another level; we have taken the offensive against fascism! Thurs. 6-3-48

"We will take the power from their hands and through our representatives we will direct the future destiny of our nation."

Communist Trap Asserted

Just what would be done in the Senate Judiciary Committee about the Mundt-Nizon Bill remained in great doubt. The committee is scheduled to meet Friday, when some definitive decision may be made.

Meanwhile, Leon Henderson, chairman of American for Democratic Action, one of the groups opposing the bill, issued a statement asserting that the Communists were seeking actually to bring about the enactment of the bill as an opportunity for "martyrdom."

"Threats to violate the law, intemperate attacks on the bill, marches on Washington, are all traditional communists tactics that can only help to achieve this end," he said. Thurs.

"The Communists are banking on the hope that the Senate can be stampeded into passing the bill. We urge the Senate to avoid their trap." 6-3-48

The demonstrators, the bulk of them coming from New York in three special trains, arrived in good order and maintained order throughout the day.

At the outset they were in two distinct groups—the "committee to defeat the Mundt bill" on the one hand and on the other hand "The National Non-partisan delegation to Washington for Passage of Civil Rights Legislation."

The quickly coalesced for practical purposes, however, and by the time they moved forward to mass picketing of the White House, at about 3 P. M., the banners they carried were mixed between those demanding defeat of the Communist control bill and those demanding enactment of the so-called civil rights program.

The rights delegation held a rally at the Vermont Avenue Baptist Church, in which Mr. Robeson was a leader.

There, just after 12:30 P. M., the crowd voted by acclamation to furnish pickets to the activities of the anti-Mundt bill organization and to participate unanimously in the White House demonstration.

This was decided after a speaker, who was identified by other delegates as Raymond Tillman of New Orleans, a member of the national executive board of the Transport Workers Union (CIO), had declared that "the White House" had "refused" to see representatives of the group. Thurs.

"Picket the White House!"

"Picket the White House! Picket the White House!" This cry swept the church as Mr. Tillman shouted that President Truman had given "only lip service to civil rights."

There was some immediate lack of clarity as to just what sort of refusal had been made at the White House concerning the demonstrators, although it appeared that what they were objecting to was their inability to see the President himself.

A group of about ten of their number was admitted into the office of David K. Niles, an administrative assistant to the President, and protested the Mundt bill. Mr. Niles heard them in silence. This was while picketing was still in progress. 6-3-48

By 3 P. M. the Capitol itself, the principal declared objective of the marchers, was alive with their movement and several thousand were in its vast, stony areas and those of the Senate Office Building.

The office building police put on the customary rule that no more than five might enter a Senator's offices at one time, unless he himself invited more.

The police were everywhere, although unobtrusively so, and the galleries of the Senate and House were at one time permitted to become very heavily populated.

The Senate, the point to which the marchers were attempting to went through a typical, unhurried legislative day. 6-3-48

Mundt Bill Stalled

The Senate Judiciary Committee took no action at a meeting Monday on the House-approved Mundt-Nixon Bill to require registration of Communists.

Chairman Wiley (R., Wis.) said the Committee still had not received opinions on the constitutionality of the measure. It has asked for opinions from Attorney General Tom Clark and a number of private attorneys. 6-8-48

34b 1948

Negro Women in the Armed Services

DISCRIMINATION IN WOMEN'S ARMED SERVICES FOUGHT BY NAACP

(34b)

2/19/48

N.A.A.C.P. N.Y. Fri-2-20-48

Washington, D.C., Feb. 18--"The WACS, WAVES and the women Marine Corps must commission officers and accept enlistments without discrimination or segregation," stated Leslie Perry of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, speaking before the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Organization and Mobilization on a bill to establish, for the first time, these units as permanent parts of the Regular Army, Navy and Marine Corps.

The proposed law, which passed the Senate last year without a non-discriminatory provision, would allow women enlistees and commissioned officers to make up two percent of the armed services. The Army would be empowered to commission 51,00 women officers, and ten percent of the women personnel in the Navy could hold officer rank. The NAACP is seeking to have a non-discriminatory amendment introduced to this bill, S. 1641.

(34b)

Fri. 2-20-48

NAACP - New York

The Army and Navy Departments have uniformly opposed anti-discrimination amendments to legislation affecting the armed services. This was evident last year when they blocked attempts to amend the Permanent Army and Navy Nurse Corps Act so as to prohibit discrimination in the selection of nurses. The Army has quietly opposed all attempts to secure a non-discriminatory amendment to the Universal Military Training Bill. The Department of the Army, of course, still has a policy against mixed units of Negroes and whites.

34b 1948 Virginia

VIRGINIA GETS 5 BILLS TO BAN JIMCROW

346
[illegible] New York, N.Y.
Feb. 22, 48

RICHMOND, Va.—Five bills to outlaw segregation and Jim Crow on public transportation, public assemblies and theatres were introduced in the Virginia General Assembly this week by W. H. C. Murray, delegate from Richmond.

Mr. Murray, member of the Virginia House of Delegates, who is also president of the Richmond Central Labor Union (AFL), was elected to the Assembly last fall by the Negro, labor and progressives in the Richmond area. The Negro people, who have been extremely active in qualifying themselves to vote, gave Murray an overwhelming vote. In this same election Attorney Oliver W. Hill, Negro, narrowly mised election in the Democratic Primary by only 190 votes. Sun. 2-22-48

The Bills introduced by Mr. Murray would repeal various sections of the Virginia statute which segregate and Jimcrow the Negro people. The five bills H. B. No. 262 to No. 266 have been referred to the House Committee on Courts of Justice which will meet this week to determine the outcome of these measures. 2-22-48

The main need, it is seen by observers, is to get a public hearing on these bills where opponents to these vicious un-democratic, degrading laws can mobilize support.

34b 1948 Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial Hospital

34b

RANKIN BOASTS OF HIS SUPPORT OF SEGREGATED VETERANS' HOSPITAL

NAACP New York

Washington, D.C., February 19 - Congressman John E. Rankin of Mississippi takes credit for passage in the House of Representatives of the bill to establish a segregated veterans' hospital at the birthplace of Booker T. Washington in Franklin County, Virginia. This was revealed when the Mississippi congressman testified in bitter opposition to the anti-lynching bill before the House Judiciary subcommittee on February 4.

Fri 2-20-48

Describing his support of the Jim-Crow veterans' hospital bill, Rankin said: "The Booker T. Washington Negroes.....were in my office just the other day asking for an all-Negro veterans' hospital in Virginia. They are entitled to it.....I helped get the bill amended to provide the required amount, got it passed through the Committee and passed through the House." Lashing out at the NAACP for opposing the segregated hospital plan, Rankin angrily charged, "this so-called Association for the Advancement of Colored People..... (does) not represent the real Negroes. The secretary of that outfit is a man named Walter White who is as white as I am, almost, or looks like it.....The head of that association is a Jew named Spingarn in New York. What interest do you suppose he has in a Negro?"

Perry Howard, Negro Republican Committeeman from Mississippi and an outstanding advocate of segregation, is also supporting the Jim-Crow hospital bill, which is now before the Labor and Public Welfare Committee of the Senate. Lined up in opposition to the bill along with the NAACP are the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, the National Medical Association, the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches in America, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, the National Council of Negro Women and the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses.

In A Democracy

The Journal Guide

Colored Candidates For Public Office Start With Three Strikes Against Them

By LUTHER P. JACKSON

Feb. 28-48

A LEADING activity in the realm of politics today is the effort which a number of Negroes are making to win public office by the votes of the people. In recent weeks here in the upper South they have been announcing themselves as candidates for city offices leading to the primaries in April or May, or for the general election in June. In most of the larger cities of Virginia and North Carolina one or more are running for seats on city councils, for membership on school boards, for justice of the peace, and other offices. Later in the year similar elections will take place in Kentucky and Tennessee.

In this part of the country Negroes have been running for office for the past ten or fifteen years. During this time one hundred or more have thrown their hats in the ring in the two states of Virginia and North Carolina for every elective office from the state legislature down to justice of the peace. So many have tried to gain office in these years in these states that the act of a colored man running no longer makes special news for the press. The phase of the subject which does make front page news is winning after running. When one of the office seekers actually wins, nation wide publicity comes to him. This is because of the one hundred or more who have attempted, only two have landed in office. These two are the Rev. Kenneth Williams, alderman, in Winston-Salem, N. C., and William Lawrence; member of the board of supervisors of Nansemond County, Va.

* * * *

THE FACT THAT one hundred or more have tried and only two have won, raises the question of why didn't they win in particular cases. One answer of course is that too few Negroes supported them at the polls. Increase the number of voters by one or two hundred per cent, we would say, and the job is done. All of this reasoning is correct, as I have shown in this column on numerous occasions before. But on this occasion I wish to give a different kind of explanation.

Feb. 28-48

It is safe to say that in all of these elections not all of the qualified Negro voters turned out to support a member of their race. On the other hand white voters have been known to give support to Negro candidates, and, in at least one instance, the Negro candidate received more votes from white people than he did from his own people.

One reason for the failure of nearly all of the candidates is a personal one whereby the voter held some grievance against the candidate and made that more important than the benefits which might flow to the entire race because of his successful race. Such remarks as the following confront all of the candidates who are running now as well as those who have run in the past: "Mr. X is a highly educated man and a successful person, but I am not going to vote for him because he doesn't speak to people." Or "Mr. Y is capable and would make a creditable member of the city council but he is "uppity' so that he will never get my vote. I am going to cast my ballot for the white candidate."

Feb. 28-48

SUCH REMARKS OVERLOOK the fact that no person is perfect. To expect a man to be a good mixer, to know everybody, to speak to everybody, and at the same time to be highly educated, active in the church, own property, and to be efficient on his job after he gets into office is an impossibility.

The Negro candidates for office in Virginia and North Carolina have failed again and again because they have had three strikes against them to begin with. They have been able to rally the support of not more than five per cent of the white voters, they have depended upon Negro voters whose number is always small, and of this small number a considerable proportion have refused to support given candidates because this one or that one does not know everybody, and mix with everybody.

Of far greater importance to Negroes than the lack of some personal quality is the ability of the man to get for members of his race all or some of the many benefits which all members of his race now lack. If he can get larger appropriations for the health and safety of the Negro district, can block any anti-Negro legislation, and do many other things for the general welfare of all people, he is the man for Negroes to cast their votes for some personal deficiency of the man to the contrary notwithstanding.

Negro Chairman

BY AN ODD TWIST of fate, the committee which the Republican Congress built up for the purpose of meat-axing the Truman administration, will now be chairmaned by a Negro—Congr. William Dawson of Chicago.

Not only is this the first time in history that a Negro has sat as chairman of a congressional committee, but he will sit at the helm of the House expenditures committee, one of the most powerful in Congress.

Office holding

This committee can investigate almost anything under the sun—from European expenditures under the Marshall plan to how the president spends his private allowance. There is almost no part of the executive branch of the government that this committee cannot probe.

On it, because of its power, the Republicans placed their most disagreeable and tenacious meat-axers—Michigan's Clare Hoffman, Pennsylvania's Robert Rich, Oklahoma's Ross Rizley, and Clarence Brown of Ohio, Taft's campaign manager.

After Jan. 3, these gentlemen not only are shorn of power, but will be called to order by a quiet-spoken, modest Negro who is well-liked even by his Southern colleagues.

However, perhaps because the role of a colored congressman is not easy on Capitol Hill, the self-effacing Dawson has attended only two meetings of the expenditures committee, and only a score or so of rollcalls on the House floor in the last two years. Most of the time he has spent in his own office or in Chicago.

Tues. 12-7-48

Result is that Dawson may be tragically unprepared to handle this highly important committee. Second in command, however, is California's Chet Holifield, a shrewd, tough Democrat who knows committee operations from A to Z. Without race prejudice. Holifield will sit at Dawson's right next January as he pounds the gavel at the first historic meeting of the expenditures committee.

FOUR NEGROES TO MISSOURI LEGISLATURE

(By R. C. Fisher)

Black Dispatch

ST. LOUIS — (ANP) — Last Tuesday the Negro vote here went heavily to a president who has battled vigorously for his civil rights program, sweeping along the entire local Democratic ticket into office.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

Four Negroes will go to the state legislature next January, the most at one time in the history of Missouri as a result of last Tuesday's Democratic landslide. All of the elected legislators are Democrats; three from St. Louis and one from Kansas City. They are, St. Louis: William A. Cole, lawyer; John A. Green, war veteran and erstwhile athlete of St. Louis; Walter Lay, Stowe college student and James M. McKee of Kansas City.

A Real Surprise

In local voting, most conclusive evidence of the landslide was shown in the Sixth ward, Republican stronghold of Committeeman "Billy" Morant and Alderman J. C. Caston. The sixth ward is where the bulk of St. Louis Negroes live. It was the only ward in the city to remain in the Republican column in the Roosevelt victory in 1936 and which had been steadfast Republican for more than 24 years, under the militant and shrewd leadership of the "Big Four," Crittenden E. Clark, Langston Harrison, "Billie" Morant and Robert Walker. The sixth ward, last Tuesday gave Truman 6,199 votes against Dewey's 2,854. This pattern was followed in all of the St. Louis heavily Negro populated wards.

Margaret Wilson, a candidate for congress on the Progressive ticket and Josiah C. Thomas, grand chancellor of Missouri Knight of Pythias, GOP candidate for reelection as state legislator, failed in the election. Mrs. Wilson, however, made one of the most spectacular campaigns of any of the Progressive party's candidates, in her bid for a seat in the U. S. Congress.

CHICAGO ELECTS TWO NEGRO JUDGES

The Northwest Enterprise
Seattle Wash.

CHICAGO — (ANP) — Chicago swept two Negro judges into office and re-elected Rep. William L. Dawson to his fourth term in congress in the Democratic landslide here last week.

Wed. 11-10-48

Judge Wendell E. Green, rated by attorneys here as the city's best judge, received 1,018,266 votes to start his second term as a municipal court judge.

Former all-American football star at Iowa and pro with the Chicago Cardinals, Fred "Duke" Slater was the second colored municipal court justice elected with more than 966,000 votes. His present office is that of assistant corporation council.

Wed. 11-10-48

Dawson received more votes than his two opponents, Republican William E. King and Progressive Earl B. Dickerson, combined to return to office from the first district.

In the poll for seats in the Illinois General assembly, three more Negro Democrats came through. Corneal A. Davis will represent the first district; Chas. M. Skyles, the fifth, and Fred J. Smith, the third.

Third Of Chicago Jobs To Dawson

Chicago Defender

Congressman William L. Dawson (Dem., Ill.) was named as one of the three Democratic state patronage bosses for Chicago by the Cook County Central Democratic Committee this week.

Chicago Ill.

Named along with Dawson, who will control jobs from the Chicago River south, including Chicago's powerful loop, are Joe M. Gill, city clerk, northside, and Albert A. Horan, chief bailiff, westside. Dawson's area is the largest and contains many lush jobs.

Suggests Negro As Treasury Register

The Defender

WASHINGTON — (ANP). — J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks, said last week in a conference at the treasury department that a Negro should again be appointed register of the treasury in reward for 3 Negroes' contribution to the success of the forthcoming security loan campaign.

Chicago Ill.

Wilson pointed out that no Negro had served as register of the treasury since the Democrats came into power in 1913. Up to that time, John C. Napier, W. T. Vernon, Blanche K. Bruce and others had served.

In A Democracy

Colored Officeholders Of Bygone Days Should Inspire Today's Candidates

34c

By LUTHER P. JACKSON

Journal & Guide

AT THIS season of the year when quite a number of Negroes are running for local public office in a number of states of the South, it is well for them and the public to know that their attempt is by no means the first of its kind in the history of their particular locality.

To the contrary, during the generation following emancipation Negroes ran for nearly every public office within the gift of the city, county, or state. They frequently won the election contests because there were two parties in the field and because the colored man felt that he had much more at stake to cause him to vote then than he has now.

I can not give all of the names of the predecessors of the present group of candidates for every state in the South, but I can give many names for the State of Virginia and about all for the city of Petersburg. Currently we have running in this city for the office of councilman Raymond J. Valentine, lawyer and successful business man. To him I dedicate this article in a recital of the career of the officeholders of this city during the twenty-five year period 1870-95.

Norfolk, Va.

OFFICEHOLDING by Negroes in Petersburg was at its height during the early years of the 1870 decade. At this time there was a total of 10 members of the city council, five overseers of the poor, two gaugers, one commissioner of streets, two clerks of the city market, two bailiffs, four constables, and 12 police.

In these years the Republican Party was in power in this city and since there were more registered Negro Republicans in Petersburg than there were white Democrats (or Conservatives), they found it not especially difficult to land persons of their race in office and on certain jobs.. Raymond J. Valentine faces no such fruitful situation as this today since the white qualified voters outnumber the Negro about four to one. But the very fact that there were many in office then, and none at all at present, should serve as a challenge for him to get one Petersburg office now.

During the twenty-five year period extending to 1890, there was a total of nineteen who served on the city council to which Valentine is aspiring. Among them were seven storekeepers (chiefly grocery stores, three carpenters, two contractors, one fish and oyster dealer, one barber, one letter carrier, one butcher, one lawyer, and one minister. None of these persons was as highly educated as Valentine but most of them measured up to the educational requirements of their day. They were like him, however, in the ownership of property. He owns property, and so did they. One of them, J. York Harris, held eight pieces in this town.

* * * *

TO CALL THE names of some of these councilmen is to call the honor roll of some of the best families of the city. In some instances one or more descendants still live here. Among them were James Carter, John T. Chissell, George Fayerman, John Henry Hill, James E. Hill, J. M. B. Holmes, William H. Jordan, Peter G. Morgan, James M. Smith, John K. Shore, Christopher B. Stevens, Erasmus Thweatt, and the Rev. Henry Williams. Possessed of good trades, professions, or lines of business; holding membership in churches; and believing thoroughly in education, these officeholders were the forerunners of the same type of families in Petersburg today including that of Raymond Valentine.

Officeholding by Negroes as well as voting itself came to an end in Virginia and the South around 1900. Officeholding came to an end not because the incumbents were failures as legislators, but because as time moved on the Republican Party of the North gradually lost control of the South and the white Democrats once more came into their own. Their return to majority control spelled the doom of the black Republicans.

Valentine and the other candidates have a tremendous responsibility resting upon them in the direction of actually winning the offices they now seek. By winning they will give the colored people greater interest in politics, the kind of interest possessed by their forbears during the generation following emancipation.

In The Nation's Capital

Colored Americans Rate Cabinet Post

34c

office holding

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

THE PRIME factors in the election of President Truman, insofar as bloc votes go, were the labor, farm and colored votes. None of these blocs in itself would have been sufficient to elect Mr. Truman. But without anyone of them he would not have been elected. Governor Thomas E. Dewey might not have been elected, but he would have, at least, received enough electoral votes to have kept Mr. Truman from getting a majority and the election of a President would have been thrown into the House of Representatives. There the Dixiecrats would have been in position to use their strength for bargaining purposes.

MR. LAUTIER

In the make-up of President Truman's Cabinet, which was under consideration at Key West, where the President vacationed, both labor and the farm interests will have representation. But insofar as is known, no Cabinet representation will be given to colored Democrats. As a matter of fact, no colored person has ever held a Cabinet post, and not since the administration of the late William Taft has a colored man been in the "Little Cabinet." The last and only colored man to hold such a position was William H. Lewis, eminent lawyer, of Boston, who served as an Assistant Attorney General during the administration of President Taft.

There are nine Cabinet positions—Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Defense, Attorney General, Postmaster General, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce and Secretary of Labor. If Mr. Truman is unwilling to elevate a colored person to a Cabinet post, it appears that equity would dictate that one or more be elevated to a "Little Cabinet" post.

* * * *

THE ARGUMENT that there are no qualified colored persons for such posts will not hold water. Since the days when Lewis was an Assistant Attorney General, the colored lawyer has grown in stature and has proved his ability in the courts of the land.

A number of them have judicial experiences. Governor William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands has had both judicial and administrative experience. Two now are members of the federal judiciary—Judge Irvin C. Mollison of the United States Customs Court and Judge Herman E. Moore of the United States District Court for the Virgin Islands.

A number of them, like Charles H. Houston, who is engaged in the private practice of law, and Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have matched their intellectual powers and legal ability with some of the best white lawyers in the country and have carried off the honors.

* * * *

IN OTHER FIELDS there are also colored men of unquestioned ability. For instance, Ralph J. Bunche, United Nations Mediator for Palestine, has proved his skill in international diplomacy in a difficult situation. The State Department has two Under Secretaries and six Assistant Secretaries. Certainly Mr. Bunche can fill one of these eight positions creditably and, at the same time, help the United States to square in the eyes of the world its practices with its professions.

34c

References here to specific persons and positions, are not to be interpreted as excluding other persons and other positions. There is today a large number of colored persons, who, by character, education and experience, are well qualified to fill any position in the gift of their country.

Recognition of the part played by colored people in electing President Truman for a full term in the White House should be given by appointment of colored persons of unquestioned ability and integrity to positions of Cabinet and "Little Cabinet" rank.

THANKS A MILLION,

CONGRESSMAN

34c

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"Thanks million, Congressman," says Leo-

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nard Parker, Jr. of Kansas City (left) to Rev. Albert L Reeves, Jr. Missouri Fifth District. The 19 year old Missourian, son of the Reverend Leonard Parker, Sr., recently obtained a position in the House of Representatives under the sponsorship of Congressman Reeves.

Sole GOP Man Elected In City Is Negro; Wins Legislature Post From 8th District

34c

KANSAS CITY, Kans. — (ANP) — The sole Republican candidate to survive the Truman Democratic landslide which swept Kansas City, Mo., and didn't stop until it had engulfed Wynadotte countp, was Atty. Myles Clay Stevens, Negro, who won election to the state legislature from the eighth district. It had been predicted that the popular lawyer and civil leader would lead the ticket in his district but instead he led the county.

A practicing attorney here for 12 years, Stevens has served as deputy attorney in the county attorney's office. He is amember of the NAACP, Masonic grand lodge, secretary of the Twin City Hotel corporation, owner of the Parkview hotel in Kansas City, Mo.; and a member of the CME church.

Sat 11-20-48

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received a measley 1,805 out of an approximate total of 40,000 votes cast in the district in which 12,000 colored voters reside.

Georgia's 150,000 colored voters gave Truman a two to one plurality over both Thurmond and Dewey. . . . Carter Wesley's Houston Informer was the only newspaper in the Texas City to back Truman, who won the State by a large majority. . . . One Dixiecrat elector, Malcolm Hill of Sparta, Tenn., has already announced he will cast his vote for Truman. . . . Others are trying to get back into the good graces of the Democratic National Committee. . . . In addition to civil rights, the 81st Congress will now enact many other pieces of legislation vital to us, namely, low-rental housing projects, increase of minimum wages to 65c, expansion of social security coverage and some form of price control.

Two colored coroners were swept into office in Tuesday's landslide. Dr. Samuel B. Milton, River Rouge physician, was elected in populous Wayne County, Mich. The Rev. John Henry Hester of Atlantic City won in Atlantic County, N.J., the first time a colored candidate has been elected to this office. . . . J. McKinley Neal, a druggist, was re-elected to the Missouri General Assembly from Kansas City on the Democratic ticket.

office holding

To Judge Francis Rivers, Dewey appointee and a staunch supporter of the N.Y. Governor, the election "shows once again that voters don't change their President when times are good." . . . Bertram L. Baker was sent to the N.Y. State Assembly from Brooklyn's 17th District, the first of his race to ever be elected to a public office in that community. . . . Jerry O. Gilliam, retired Norfolk mail clerk, running for Congress on the Progressive ticket.

34c

Boston Councilman Feted by State's Top Leaders

34c The Afro American

Sat 4-17-48

BOSTON (Special to the AFRO) —The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, Mayor Fred Lamson of Malden, several State legislators and other prominent leaders attended an impressive testimonial last week for Councilman Herbert L. Jackson of nearby Malden, who represents an all-white district.

The affair held in a downtown hotel attracted 300 guests, so many of whom paid glowing tributes to the councilman that members of an orchestra engaged for the purpose never got a chance to unwrap their instruments.

HERBERT L. JACKSON

Veteran political leaders and older citizens opined that it was perhaps the first time in the history of the Commonwealth that such an honor has been paid to a living man of color.

Sat 4-17-48

Colorful Career

Mr. Jackson, a former actor and business man, was elected to the council for his first term from a district in which only 25 colored families live. He was elected again from another district in which all the voters and residents but himself were white.

Baltimore Md

He has had a colorful career. He was one of the early stars of the Boston stage, eventually going to New York with three productions, and co-starring in the hit presentation, "Turpentine."

34c

Business Leader

A few years ago he opened a cleaning business in an area almost entirely white, which he expanded into a chain of dry-cleaning and tailoring establishments with a State-wide volume of business.

Since entering the council, Mr. Jackson has been responsible for introducing a number of ordinances which have improved the schools, parks and playgrounds, and streets.

He has been sought by his party as their candidate for State Representative or State Senator, neither of which office he has yet decided to seek.

Sat 4-17-48

Purse, Jewelry for Couple

A large purse was presented the honoree by Mrs. Edna Center of Cambridge, secretary of the sponsoring committee which was interracial. Mrs. Jackson was tendered a gift of jewelry by Benjamin Averbrook, committee chairman.

Among other guests and speakers were:

Ex. Rep. William R. Gilman, chairman; the Rev. Richard R. Earley, S.S.J., Roxbury; Gov. Robert F. Bradford; Lt. Gov. Arthur Coolidge; Rep. Laurence Banks, Boston, Speaker of the House; Fred B. Willis Laurence Curtis, State Treasurer;

Attorney General Clarence Barnes; State Senator S. G. Whittier; the Rev. E. W. Lawson, Malden; Samuel L. Laviscount, Roxbury; and R. L. Minich, Malden; David Brickman, president, Temple Tifereth Isreal; Sheriff L. E. Boutwell; Joseph S. Mitchell, assistant Attorney General;

Mrs. Julie Ober, treasurer; Lucius Carter of Malden; Melvin E. Ross and Dr. F. Irving Gray of Roxbury; other sponsoring committeee members:

Mrs. Mariam D. Walker, New York City, cousin of the honoree; John T. Jackson, his brother; and Mr. and Mrs. Russell Green, and Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Cook, brothers-in law and sisters-in-law.

Prosecuting Attorney Takes Office Jan. 1

The Afro American 34c

Baltimore Md. Sat. 12-4-48

BALDWIN, Mich.—Percy J. Langster, who was elected county prosecutor for Lake County, Mich., in the recent election, will take the oath of office on January 1.

When Mr. Langster takes over the duties of the prosecutor's office, he will be charged with the responsibility of prosecuting all the criminal and civil cases in the county.

The 58-year-old bespectacled attorney, who ran on the Republican ticket, is a native of Brownsville, Pa., and lived most of his early life in Pittsburgh, which he calls home.

Duquesne U. Graduate

He was educated in Pittsburgh and received his bachelor of arts degree from Duquesne University and a law degree from Duquesne in 1932. He has practiced law in Michigan for 17 years, the last three in Baldwin, the county seat of Lake County.

Sat-12-4-48

Mr. Langster is married but has no children. His wife is Mrs. Marie L. Langster, the former Miss Marie J. Williams, daughter of Charles and Nellie Williams of McKeesport, Pa., her hometown. She is a graduate of the Emerson College of Oratory of Boston, and married Mr. Langster on Dec. 31, 1919.

Serves Idlewild

As county attorney, Mr. Langster will serve the 16 townships which make up Lake County, with a population of approximately 48,000, about 40 per cent of which is colored. Baldwin, the county seat, is located about three miles from Idlewild, the famed summed resort, which is among the 16 townships of the county.

The victory in the election marked the first time in the history of Michigan and the United States that a colored man has been elected to serve as county prosecutor. It was also the first time Mr. Langster had run for a political office, and he was thrilled over his election.

However, he modestly says "I am ready to serve this small county to the best of my ability."

Was Civilian Instructor

Mr. Langster defeated the three-term incumbent, Dic I. Cooper, for the honor of representing his district in lake-dotted Western Michigan.

He formerly served as educational advisor to the Civilian Conservation Corps, and during the war period quit law temporarily to serve as an engine and propeller instructor at Chanute Field, Ill., a position he held until an ulcerated stomach sent him to the hospital for treatment. In 1946, he came to Baldwin to practice law.

34c 1948 Texas

Negro, White Judges Preside In Fort Worth, Texas Precinct

34c

Atlanta Daily World

By ALMITA S. ROBINSON

Atlanta, Ga.

FORT WORTH, Texas—(ANP)—Fort Worth made political history again on Tuesday when for the first time in the county the interracial element was brought in at Precinct 59 when a Negro, Mrs. W. B. Lacy, and a whtie man, A. L. Bailey, served as presiding judges during the presidential and senatorial election year. Tues. 11-9-48

Mr. Bailey is head of the Fort Worth Building Trades association. Mrs. Lacy was elected chairman of Precinct 59 in the August primary run-off. Tues.-11-9-48

34c 1948

Virginia

Rights And Duties

In A Democracy

Journal + Guide (34c)

By LUTHER P. JACKSON

Norfolk Va.

The Old Time Members Of The Richmond City Council And Their Relation To Oliver W. Hill

Sat. 7-10-48 Va.

IF ANYONE WANTS to know how many years it has been since a Negro of Richmond has held membership in the Richmond City Council, he can hardly get an answer to this question from the newspaper accounts which have been recently published on this subject. The papers have issued statements like the following: "Oliver Hill is the first Negro to be elected since Reconstruction," or "he is the first in 75 years."

Fortunately this problem of the time an individual Negro held this or that office is not a difficult one to solve, since the historical records on the subject are plentiful and the places where they are kept are open to all investigators. A visit to the Richmond City Hall and to the State Library with their collections of city directories, and old newspapers is sufficient to establish the facts concerning when particular colored persons were officeholders.

7-10-48

THE LAST NEGRO IN THE RICHMOND City Council in bye-gone days was Henry J. Moore and the date was 1898. In the light of this fact it has been exactly fifty years since the exit of Mr. Moore and the entrance of Mr. Hill. Mr. Moore was elected to the Board of Alderman of the City Council in 1894 under a four-year term. For two years of this time there were four colored men in the Common Council of the City Council and one other on the Board of Aldermen along with him, but each lost his seat in the fatal election of 1896. Mr. Moore was continued simply because his term had not expired.

At that time there were six wards in Richmond, including Jackson Ward with its majority Negro population. In every election from about 1870 to 1896 the Negro voters of this ward did not fail to elect several members of their race to represent this ward and also one or more white Republicans.

* * * *

BEGINNING IN 1870 AND ENDING in 1898 there was a total of about thirty Negroes who held seats in one of the two bodies of the city council. Most of them were property holders, nearly all had received some schooling, and each followed a gainful occupation. Several of them held from three to ten pieces of real estate, four were highly educated, and at least one-third pursued trades and professions or held jobs which lifted them above the level of their fellow citizens.

There were 2 lawyers—Edward A. Randolph, and James H. Hayes; 1 physician—Robert E. Jones; 3 postal clerks—Andrew J. Brown, Edward R. Carter, and Josiah Crump; 1 newspaper editor—John Mitchell; 3 contractors — John H. Adams, Joseph E. Farrar, and Henry J. Moore: 1 carpenter; 2 shoemakers; 1 caterer; 3 barbers; 1 wheelwright; 1 plasterer; 1 dairy farmer; 1 huckster; 2 grocers, and 3 laborers.

As lawyers, Edward A. Randolph was graduated from the Yale law school and James H. Hayes from the Howard University law school. As a physician, Robert E. Jones finished the University of Michigan medical school, and as a contractor, John H. Adams finished Lincoln University.

* * * *

THE LEADER IN REPUBLICAN Party politics in Richmond was John Mitchell. He is a man who suffers in the eyesight of the older generation of Virginians because of his reversals in later life, but in his early life he captured the attention of the nation for his pioneer labors in stamping out lynching and in publishing one of the most widely circulated Negro papers of his day, the "Richmond Planet."

The man who served the longest period of time in the city council was Josiah Crump who began about 1879 and ended his career by death in 1890. He was highly respected both by white Democrats of the body as well as by the Negro Republicans.

7-10-48

THE NEGROES LOST OUT in officeholding not because they were inefficient but because the white Democrats in every southern state were determined that the race as a whole should no longer vote and hold office. Among the factors which brought a final collapse were the Walton law of 1894, division within Negro ranks by running two Republican tickets in 1896, the "gerrymandering of Jackson Ward, and finally, almost complete disfranchisement by the Constitution of 1902.

These council members are the spiritual ancestors of Oliver W. Hill and the group from which he may draw inspiration. He must remember that two lawyers have preceded him and that one of them, James H. Hayes, was rated as one of the most brilliant of his day and generation.

34c(1) 1948

THE FIRST NEGRO GOVERNOR

The [illegible]

34C(1)

Beverly Smith, in Saturday Evening Post of this week, has a most interesting and creditable article concerning Hon. Wm. Henry Hastie, first of his race to govern the Virgin Islands. He proclaims him, a man whose notable calmness is being tested to the limit, by a domain which is, "heaven for climate, hell for politics." Many citizens are buying The Post to read and preserve this tribute to a great colored statesman.

Thur 4-15-48

Cincinnati, Ohio

The Defender

RAPID RISE in legal profession is still underway for Cecil Armilla Partee of Chicago appointed assistant state's attorney last month. Atty. Partee attended Tennessee State college, Nashville, Tenn., and Northwestern University Law School. He took the Illinois Bar Examination in Nov., 1949 and was admitted to practice in January, 1947.

Sat. 10-[illegible]-48

Chicago, Ill.

NEGRO NAMED TO U. S. DISTRICT COURT POSITION IN KANSAS

[illegible]

34C(1)

Wed 9-1-48

[illegible]

KANSAS CITY, Kan.—(ANP) —District Judge Arthur J. Mellott last week named a Negro to the post of bailiff crier and messenger for the U. S. District Court in Kansas, the first time a colored person has been named to that job here.

Wed 9-1-48

The new crier is Charles Allen of Kansas City, a former band leader. Green, 39, is a former Virginia State College student. As court crier, he will open all sessions and travel with the judge throughout the state.

Judge Mellott was appointed to the federal bench here two years ago by President Truman.

Teacher First To Get State Revenue Post

St. Louis Argus

34C(1)

St. Louis, Mo.

SANTE FE, N. M. (ANP) — Miss Jimmie Lee Thompson, operator of a kindegarten at Hobbs, N. M., became the first person of her race to receive an appointment in the state revenue office here last month, when she took over duties as statistician in the school tax division and part-time secretary to Victor Salazar, commissioner of revenue.

Fri. 1-16-48

Born in Fort Worth, Tex., Miss Thompson received her elementary education in Breckenridge; later graduated from Texas college, Tyler, with a major in mathematics enrolled in Butler university; and completed her training at Browning Commercial college, Albuquerque. She was also the first Negro to be accepted as a student at the latter school.

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

34c(1) Calif.

• Newest and one of the few Negro Federal Deputy Assistant Attorneys is George E. Cannady (right) whose appointment in Los Angeles has just been announced. Young Cannady is receiving congratulations from H. A. Howard, president of Broadway Federal Savings and Loan Association of Los Angeles, who worked aggressively in behalf of the appointment. Inset photos are of Helen Gahagan Douglas, California Congresswoman, who recommended the appointment to the Attorney General; and James Carter, Cannady's chief.

Sat. 5-22-48

Negro named to 'Frisco D.A. office

Los Angeles Tribune

34c(1)

Los Angeles, Calif.

SAN FRANCISCO—District Attorney Edmund C. Brown has made the first appointment of a Negro in any capacity to his staff. Named a night clerk in the complaint division is Thomas C. Fleming, 40-year-old California-educated native of Florida.

Fleming, an ex-GI, has been a newspaperman and radio commentator, and is active in politics.

San Francisco has a Chinese deputy district attorney, appointed by Brown.

Sat. 7-24-48

Municipal Judge One Of 3 Named To Position

Courier

Sat. 3-13-48

Pittsburgh, Pa.

34c(1) Calif.

LOS ANGELES—Municipal Judge Edwin L. Jefferson was one of three Los Angeles jurists named to a pro tem appointment as a Superior Court judge last Wednesday by State Supreme Court Justice Philip Gibson.

Along with Judges Joseph Marchetti and Eugene P. Fay, the other two appointees, Judge Jefferson will divide his time between the municipal and State courts.

The move was designed to give assistance to the crowded Superior Court calendar and to test an innovation designed to merge the two courts into one. The three appointees will receive Superior Court judges pay on a per diem basis whenever they preside in the upper court.

SALARIES

Superior judges receive $15,000 in California, and municipal judges $12,500.

Judge Jefferson is the first Negro ever appointed to the bench in the State, and was re-elected last year by an overwhelming majority.

34c(1)

Federal

NAACP ASKS INVESTIGATION OF U.S. CONSUL

July 15, 1948

34

Press Service of the NAACP

New York, N. Y.

Wcon. 7-15-48

NEW YORK, July 15.-- In a letter addressed to Secretary of State George C. Marshall, NAACP secretary Walter White today demanded a prompt and thorough investigation of charges made against U. S. Consul John Bernard Faust of Beirut, Lebanon, in the New York Post on July 14. It was reported in that paper that Mr. Faust made a statement to the effect that, "There is no law about the nigger in the South and here there are no laws against killing Jews."

Probe Diplomats' Racial Prejudice, Legislator Urges

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

Tues. [illegible] 48

Washington, July 19 (U.P.)—Representative Arthur G. Klein (D., N. Y.) asked the State Department today to investigate charges that some of its Foreign Service officers are swayed by "racial and religious prejudices."

Federal

He protested alleged statements by John Bernard Faust, United States consul at Beirut, Lebanon, who represented this country in obtaining release of 41 Americans removed by Arabs from the U. S. ship Marine Carp.

Klein said the Americans, who returned to this country last week, were quoted by newspapers "to the effect that . . . Faust made strong anti-Semitic and anti-Negro statements." He asked that the investigation be extended to all State Department officers abroad.

Norfolk, Va

John R. Wright Named Deputy Sheriff Of Nansemond County

Journal & Guide

PORTSMOUTH — Another progressive step in the annals of Nansemond county was made Saturday, December 4 when John R. Wright, of Huntersville, was sworn in as deputy sheriff of the county. Sat. 12-18-48

The appointment of Mr. Wright to this office, the first such appointment of a race deputy sheriff in the county since 1895, was brought about as the result of a recommendation made by the Huntersville Welfare and Civic League to the board of supervisors and endorsed by J. F. Culpepper, sheriff of Nansemond county.

Mr. Wright was sworn in last Saturday in the office of J. H. Powell, county clerk. The ceremonies were witnessed by Daniel F. Wright, president of the Huntersville Welfare and Civic League. The new deputy sheriff will be in charge of the "lower parish" of Nansemond county, iti was revealed this week.

The first Negro deputy sheriff to serve in Nansemond county was Albert White, who was appointed in 1895, and served until 1902.

Ask Mayor To Appoint Successor

St. Louis Argus

St. Louis, Mo.

Appeal Made For Representation

Fri. 7-16-48

In a letter to Mayor Aloys P. Kaufmann, the St. Louis Branch of the NAACP asked that he appoint a Negro as successor to the late Fred Beck, member of the Board of Education. It marked the second time that the Mayor has been faced with such a request.

Although the race represents almost one-third of the public school population in St. Louis, there has never been one of its representatives as a member of the twelve-member board. At least three attempts by well qualified members of the minority group to gain a Board office has been unsuccessful due to the city-wide vote by which a member is elected. Fri. 7-16-48

Woman and Negro Named Military Aides to Bowles

By The Associated Press.

HARTFORD, Conn., Dec. 17—For the first time in Connecticut history a Governor-elect has named a woman and a Negro to his military staff. Sat. 12-18-48

The appointments, announced today by Chester Bowles, who defeated Gov. James C. Shannon in the November election, included those of Mrs. Margaret Fraser Lindsay of Orange, one of the first women in the state to volunteer in the Women's Army Corps, and Edward Thornton Dixon of Hartford, both as majors. Mrs. Lindsay rose to the rank of major in the corps.

Mr. Dixon was one of the first Negro air cadets accepted by the Army and served as a bomber pilot. He is now 26 years old and will be the youngest member of the new Governor's staff.

Telesford Gets Vacancy on N. Y. Civil Service Board

Chicago Defender

Chicago, Ill.

NEW YORK—Appointment of Darwin W. Telesford to a $9,000 a year pob on the Municipal Civil Service commission was announced last week. Sat. 2-14-48

The announcement came only 10 days after Mayor O'Dwyer had ordered an investigation of reports that an aspirant for the post left empty by the resignation of Ferdinand Q. Morton, had offered Tammany leaders a bribe.

Morton, president of the commission, resigned Jan. 10, because of his health. As president of the commission Morton drew an annual salary of $10,000. The new president will be elected by the commissioners themselves.

Telesford is a prominent Harlem lawyer, and has been secretary to State Supreme Court Justice Benjamin F. Schreiber since 1940. He served as assistant state attorney general from 1934 to 1937. Sat. 2-14-48

The new appointee was born in Granada, British West Indies in 1901, and came to the U. S. in 1919.

Named To Richmond Recreation Board

Oliver W. Hill, Richmond city councilman, was one of three persons named to Richmond's Advisory Board on Recreation and Parks last week. Mr. Hill will serve a one-year term. The board was created by the new Richmond Charter to consider issues placed before it by the director of the Department of Recreation and Parks.

First N. J. Race Law Clerk Named

TRENTON, N. J. — (ANP)—For the first time in the history of New Jersey, a Negro law student has been named law clerk to a Federal judge. Clifford [illegible], senior in Temple University's Law School, and former bailiff in the court of Judge Phillip Forman, has been appointed clerk to the same judge.

Meyzeek Appointed On Ky. School Board

Jefferson Co.

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — (ANP) — A retired [illegible] Meyzeek, was recently chosen by Gov. Earle Clements as one of seven new replacements on the State Board of Education.

Myzeek replaced O. M. Travis, of Monticello, appointed by Gov. Simeon S. Willis. Travis was the first Negro to be named to the board. Myzeek retired as principal of Jackson Junior High School in 1943. He earned his B.A. and M.A. at Indiana University.

34c(1) 1948

Federal (General)

34 Negroes Now With U. S. Foreign Service

34c(1) Fed. (gen

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) —With the recent appointment of two foreign service officers, two administrative officers and one clerk, the number of colored persons representing the United States in the Foreign Service totals thirty-four, the Department of State announced last Friday. Thurs. 2-26-48

Giles A. Hubert, until recently head of the department of economics and business administration at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, has been appointed a career officer and will leave shortly for the Embassy at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, with his wife, the former Muriel Patillo of Nashville.

A native of Atlanta, Mr. Hubert is the son of Dr. Z. T. Hubert of George attended Howard University and entered the Foreign Service in 1929 and served as a clerk and later an administrative officer at Monrovia and Las Palmas in the Canary Islands. He recently passed the competitive examinations for a commission as a foreign service officer. He is married to the former Juanita James of Washington and they have two children. 34c(1)

His brother, John S. George, also of Washington, who for the past three years has been a clerk at Monrovia, has been appointed an administrative officer and will return to that post with his wife, the former Ida Milton of Washington. An alumnus of Howard University, Mr. George was formerly associated with the District of Columbia Board of Education for sixteen years. Fed (Gen 2-26-48

William P. Boswell, son of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred M. Boswell, of Jersey City, New Jersey, has been named an administrative assistant and has been assigned to Monrovia. Daily World

OTHER APPOINTEES

A graduate of Wilberforce University in 1941, Mr. Boswell was in the United States Army Engineers and Signal Corps from 1941 to 1945 and served in China-Burma-India Theatre as a second lieutenant. He also did graduate work at American University. Atlanta, Ga.

He is a native of Jersey City and was formerly employed by the Department of State as an assistant security officer. He will be accompanied by his wife, the former Dorothy Austin of Boston, and their son. Daily World

Miss Beatrice M. Carson, daughter of Mrs. Ella Carson of Louisville, Kentucky, has been appointed a clerk and will also be sent to Monrovia. A native of Ashville, North Carolina, Miss Carson attended the Central High School in Louisville and was society editor of "The Louisville Defender" from 1938 to 1941. Prior to her joining the Foreign Service, she was employed for six years by the United States Maritime Commission. 34c(1) Atlanta, Ga.

In the Foreign Service there are now a Minister, Raphael O'Hara Lanier, who heads the United States Legation at Monrovia; five career officers, one reserve officer, seven administrative officers and twenty clerks, who are colored. 2-26-48

Two Colored On Civil Service FEP Board

34c(1)

Journal Guide

By NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C. —Eugene Kinckle Jones, general secretary of the National Urban League, and Jesse H. Mitchell, president of the Industrial Bank of Washington, D. C., have been appointed as members of the sevenman Fair Employment Board of the Civil Service Commission.

Norfolk Va.

Guy Moffatt, a former White House aide, was named chairman o fthe board. The other members are Frank C. Croxton, formerly with the United States Conciliation Service when that agency was under the Labor Department; Dr. Ethel C. Dunham, formerly with the Children's Bureau; Daniel Tracy, former Assistant Secretary of Labor and Judge Annebelle Matthews.

Under the provisions of Mr. Truman's executive order, the board is given authority to review on appeal decisions made by the heads of departments in cases involving charges of racial discrimination against employees or job applicants. Recommendations for corrective action, which are not carried out by the agencies, are to be reported to the President for such action as he finds necessary.

Norfolk Va.

The board also is authorized to make rules and regulations, in consultation with the commission, for the purpose of carrying out the board's duties and responsibilities under the executive order.

It also is given authority to advise all departments on problems and policies relating to fair employment, to disseminate information pertinent to fair employment programs, and to make reports and submit recommendations to the commission for transmittal to the President from time to time, as may be necessary to the maintenance of the fair employment program.

34c(1) 1948 Massachuetts

Gourdin Given High Government Post

The Defender

Sept 4-48

Chicago Ill

BOSTON, Mass. — Edward O. Gourdin, Harvard university law school graduate and assistant U. S. District Attorney, has been appointed as head of the civil division of that office, marking the first time a Negro has been given this important administrative post.

Gourdin, a former star athlete for Harvard, commanded the 372nd Infantry, which was stationed at various military bases in United States during World War II. As assistant U. S. Attorney he has handled many important cases fo rthe government involving admiralty law:

GOVERNOR NAMES A SPECIAL JUSTICE

The Guardian

Boston Mass

Governor Robert F. Bradford on Dec. 15 named Atty. G. Bruce Robinson, 47 Rutland Square, Boston, as a Special Justice of the Boston Juvenile Court replacing Judge Frank Leveroni, deceased.

Sept 18-48

Mr. Robinson has served as chief secretary of the Executive Council for the past two years. He is a native of Washington, D.C., and was educated at Williams College and Boston University Law School. He is a former Assistant Attorney-General of Massachusetts, and a former Ass't Corporation Counsel for the City of Boston. He once served for a period of five years as professor of Livingston College North Carolina. He is widely known in Massachusetts political circles and is active in many civic organizations, including the Advisory Committee of the Y.M.C.A. He is married and lives at 47 Rutland Square, Boston. Judge George L. Ruffin. many years ago, was appointed a judge and no other colored lawyer since that time has been so named. There has been much agitation for a full judgeship.

Sept 18-48

Atty. G. BRUCE ROBINSON
Named a Special Justice

34c(1) 1948

New Jersey

New Jersey Gets County Attorney

(34c(1))

Memphis World

Memphis, Tenn

CAMDEN, N. J.—(NNPA)—The appointment of Robert B. Johnson, 45, as assistant prosecutor of Camden County, was announced last Friday by Mitchell Cohen, county prosecutor, making him the first colored person to hold judicial office in the county.

Fri. 4-2-48

Mr. Johnson who lives at 829 Kaighn Avenue, Camden, has been a member of the Camden Board of Education for ten years and is lawyer for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the Camden region.

He was graduated from Lincoln University, Chester, Pa., in 1924 and from the University of Pennsylvania Law School in 1927. In his last two years in law school he was editor of "The Pennsylvania Law Review." He became a counselor of law in 1946.

Mr. Johnson is the son of William H. Johnson, who formerly was principal of a school in Merchantville, New Jersey, and of Mrs. Katie Peterson Johnson, who formerly was principal of the Summer School in Camden. His wife, the former Catherine Palmer, taught in the Camden schools before their marriage.

Camden Appoints Its st Negro Prosecutor

The Defender

(34c(1))

Sat. 4-3-48

Chicago, Ill.

CAMDEN, N. J.— The appointment of Robert B. ohnson, 45, as assistant prosecutor of Camden County, as announced last Friday by Mitchell Cohen, county rosecutor, making him the first colored person to hold idicial office in the county.

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Sat 4-3-48

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34c(1) 1948

New Mexico

Teacher First To Get State Revenue Post

34c(1)

St. Louis Argus

Fri. 7-16-48

SANTE FE, N. M. (ANP) — Miss Jimmie Lee Thompson, operator of a kindegarten at Hobbs, N. M., became the first person of her race to receive an appointment in the state revenue office here last month, when she took over duties as statistician in the school tax division and part-time secretary to Victor Salazar, commissioner of revenue. St. Louis Argus

Born in Fort Worth, Tex., Miss Thompson received her elementary education in Breckenridge; later graduated from Texas college, Tyler, with a major in mathematics enrolled in Butler university; and completed her training at Browning Commercial college, Albuquerque. She was also the first Negro to be accepted as a student at the latter school.

34c(1) 1948

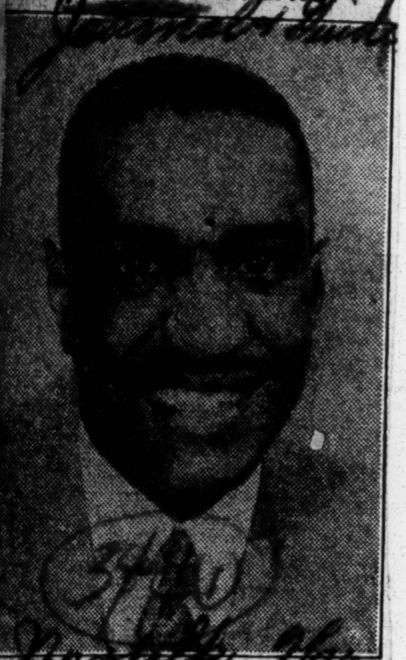
Ohio

ATTY. LUTHER JOHNSON last week became the first Negro to be appointed to a major political office in the City of Akron, Ohio, when Mayor Charles E. Slusser named him an assistant law director. Johnson, a Democrat, will serve a two-year term. 34c(1) Jan. 1-4-48

Johnson attended the University of Akron, Western Reserve University and the Akron law school.

Named To New Post By Ohio Governor

Journal & Guide



34c(1)

Norfolk, Va.

Governor Thomas J. Herbert this week announced the appointment of Maceo Hill to a publicity post in the state. Sat.

Governor Herbert pointed out that Mr. Hill, a graduate of Wilberforce University and of Ohio state University, and former publicity man for Senator John W. Bricker, is well qualified. 34c(1) 7-31-48

Mr. Hill is a Columbus business man, operator of the Hill Printing Company, former National Tennis Champion, former vice president of the Ohio League of Young Republican clubs, a member of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, Lamda Boule, Masons and Elks Lodges.

Ohio Governor Appoints Publicist

Daily World

COLUMBUS, Ohio—(ANP)— Gov. Thomas J. Herbert this week announced the appointment of Maceo Hill to a publicity post in the state of Ohio.

34c(1) Atlanta, Ga.

Gov. Herbert, in making the appointment, pointed out that Hill, a graduate of Wilberforce university and Ohio State Univ. and former publicity man for Senator John Bricker, is well qualified. Wed,

Maceo Hill is a Columbus business man, operator of the Hill Printing Co., former national tennis Champion, executive vice president of the Ohio League of Young Republican clubs, a member of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, Lamda boule, Mason and Elk lodges.

34c(2) 1948

California

Two Negroes now in Cal legislature

The Tribune

With the election Tuesday of Byron Rumford, Berkeley pharmacist, to the Assembly from the 17th district, and the re-election of Los Angeles' 62nd district representative, Augustus Hawkins, Los Angeles had two Negroes in the legislature today.

Rumford, a Democrat, received more than 13,000 votes to double that given his opponent, the incumbent, George Miller, Jr.

Hawkins was returned to the Assembly for the [illegible] time, making a total of 32 years the seat has been held by a Negro. He succeeded Frederick Roberts, Republican standard bearer in 1934 and has been re-elected every year since then.

Defeated for Congress from the Northern California's 7th district was a liberal white, Dr. Buel Gallagher, pastor of an interracial church in Berkeley, and former president of Alabama's Talladega College, a Negro school.

Gallagher, author of "Color and Conscience," ran for Congress from a congressional district enclosing the 17th assembly district, said to have a Negro population close to 75,000. However, although the district's Negro vote went to him, he was unable to overtake the Republican standard bearer.

Elected First Negro Solon in N. Calif.

The Courier

34c(2)

BERKELEY, Calif.— Polling 28,494 votes to his opponent's, Edgar S. Hurley's 13,594, in the fight for the State Assembly seat of the Seventeenth District, Byron Rumford became the first Negro to obtain a seat in the State Assembly from this area. He is a Democrat.

Elected First Negro Solon In N. Calif.

34c(2)

Weekly Review

BERKELEY, Calif.—Polling 28,494 votes to his opponents, Edgar S. Hurley's 13,594, in the fight for the State Assembly seat of the Seventeenth District, Byron Rumford became the first Negro to obtain a seat in the State Assembly from this area. He is a Democrat.

34c(2) 1948

34c(2)

Iowa Bystander

Thur 11-11-48

Illinois Legislator Gets 4th Term in House; Is One of 'Topflights' to Aid Truman

~~[illegible]~~

Chicago (NNPA)—The smashing upset victory of President Truman, sweeping into office a Democratic Congress with him, was intrepeted last Thursday by Representative William L. Dawson, Democrat, of Illinois, as a mandate for "a new era of democracy."

Reelected to a fourth term in the House, he is in line to head the important House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

As organizer and director of the National Citizens Committee for the Reelection of President Truman, Mr. Dawson was one of the few topflight politicians who aided Mr. Truman in his almost single-handed fight for election for a full term in the White House.

With the Democratic till almost bare Mr. Dawson did the unheard of thing in politics of raising funds among colored people to help finance the campaign among colored voters.

Sees Approval

In the election of Mr. Truman Mr. Dawson sees approval of the President's civil rights program by the American people. The text of his statement follows:

"The American people have spoken! Their powerful mandate ushers in a new era of democracy.

"President Harry S. Truman stands today as the supreme champion of all American citizens, regardless of color. The American people have given their irrefutable answer to those who doomed him to defeat because of his courageous and history-making stand on civil rights.

First Dawn

"This is the first dawn of a better tomorrow—a brighter future for ourselves, our children, and for all mankind.

Thur 11-11-48

"These reasons make me eager to thank all of my friends, associates, and others who helped to take the story of Truman's deeds to Negroes throughout America.

Press Photo Service

WILLIAM L. DAWSON

"The huge Truman vote which Negroes cast should stand as a glistening two-edged sword to warn all who held posts of responsibility that the Negro will fight to the last ditch in his cause."

Congressmen

DUSTIN' OFF the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

Drew Pearson Is Wrong When He Says "The First"

34c(2)

"BY an odd twist of fate," Drew Pearson, noted columnist, tells us, "the committee which the Republican Congress built up for the purpose of meat-axing the Truman administration, will now be chairmaned by a Ne —Congres li

Sat 12-18-48

Lucius Harper

an ressional ittee, but he will sit at the helm of the House Expenditure Committee, one of the most powerful in Congress."

And he says further: "This committee can investigate almost anything under the sun—from European expenditures under the Marshall Plan to how the President spends his private allowance. There is almost no part of the executive branch of the government that this committee cannot probe."

Mr. Pearson feels, however, that Congressman Dawson "may be tragically unprepared to handle this highly important committee," but states that he will have at his elbow, when he takes over the gavel next January, "California's Chet Holifield, a shrewd tough Democrat who knows committee operations from A to Z." We differ with Mr. Pearson on his opinion of Congressman Dawson's capabilities in handling affairs in committees. He is a veteran at that game. He has demonstrated his expertness in committee handling throughout his entire political career. True, he may have to learn the mechanics of this new office, but once at the helm, and with a little seasoning, we predict that Congressman Dawson will teach Chet Holifield a few pointers about committee manipulations as the months grow on. As a race, we are highly pleased with this selection, and fear no disappointment.

Sat 12-18-48

Sat 12-18-48

34c(2)

* * *

MR. Pearson is off on another point in his comment on the Dawson elevation. He says that this is the "first time in history that a Negro has sat as chairman of a congressional committee." He is entirely wrong. Had he said that this is the first time a Negro has served as chairman of such an IMPORTANT committee as this, he would have been correct. This, however, is a common mistake committed by most white writers when they come across exceptional honors conferred on Negroes during these times. Knowing little, if anything, of Negro history they refer to such events as the first time.

Sat 12-18-48

Sat 12-18-48

The honor of being the first Negro to sit as chairman of a congressional committee goes to Senator Blanche K. Bruce who represented Mississippi in the Forty-fifth Congress in 1876. He was made chairman of a very select committee on Mississippi River Levees. This was, indeed, an honor, as there were so many other Mississippi Valley members who would have been especially suitable. Serving under him on the committee were such notable senators as Blaine, Conover, Cockrell and Harris. No doubt, this was an interesting experience, as well as a rather queer one, for the two Southern Democrats, Cockrell and Harris. Mississippi River levee problems were of great importance in those days, and to have a Negro serving as chairman of a congressional committee handling them was something almost out of the question. Bruce, according to the record, did a splendid job. During his term of office—from March 4, 1875 to March 3, 1881—his assignments to senate committees included those on Manufactures, Pensions, Education and Labor. He also enjoyed the distinction of being the first and only Negro thus far to preside over the United States Senate.

Sat 12-18-48

* * *

AND even Bruce was not the first Negro to serve on a congressional committee. This distinction goes to Hiram Rhodes Revels, the first Negro to occupy a seat in the U. S. Senate. He came from Mississippi, and was elected by a joint session in that state to fill the unexpired term of Jefferson Davis, the Rebel, January 20, 1870. After lengthy debate, he was seated by a vote of 48 to 8, and on February 24, 1870, he was appointed to the committee on Education and Labor. Although not a chairman, he made several reports to the senate from that committee.

The first Negro to receive appointment of committee assignments in the national House of Representatives was James Hayne Rainey, Congressman from South Carolina, who was also the first Negro to be elected to that office in 1869. He served nine years in Congress. In the Forty-third Congress he was appointed to the Indian Affairs and Freedman's Affairs Committees, and to the special committee to attend Sen. Charles Sumner's funeral, being the only Negro on the program. Later he served on the Special Centennial Committee, and two regular committees: Invalid Pensions and Freedman's Bank. Before his term expired he was on the Militia Committee, and Education and Labor.

Sat 12-18-48

* * *

IN the Forty-fourth, 1875-77, Rainey received a special honor which no contemporary of his race enjoyed. While the Indian Affairs Bill was under discussion, Rainey's knowledge of the subject in point was so keen and brilliant that he was called to the chair to preside over the House of Representatives. Although this was a common practice, yet this unusual occupant of the role of Henry Clay caused bold headlines in the New York Herald of that day: "A Liberated Slave in the Speaker's Chair."

So when we saw "The First," we should always be careful to thumb some old dust-ladened books in the library for the sake of keeping the record in order, that goes for Mr. Drew Pearson as well as for the "Oracle of the Barber Shop" who usually knows everything.

Sat 12-18-48

34c(2) 1948

Federal (Illinois--Dawson)

Dawson Thinks Republicans Will Duck FEPC

34c(2) Fed. (Ill.)

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Rep. Wiliam L. Dawson of Illinois declared last week in an exclusive interview that it is "extremely unlikely" that the Republican dominated congress will enact a Fair Employment Practice act unless more pressure is mobilized by minorities.

He pointed out that big business may seek to undermine FEPC legislation, if the NAACP, the Negro Newspaper Publishers association and other groups relax their vigilance.

Dawson said, however, that both the anti-lynching bill and the anti-poll tax bill would very likely become law during this session of congress. "But," he declared, "we not only need these two laws on the statute books, but we also need FEPC and a balanced civil rights program."

The congressman expressed complete confidence in the assurance that Atty. Gen. Tom Clark will see that these laws are executed, once they are enacted. "Clark," he said, "has been one of the finest and fairest attorney generals that this nation has had."

When asked what he thought of the reactionary editorial in the "liberal" Washington Post which said in effect that an anti-lynching law is not needed now, Dawson shook his head and said, "I am disappointed—greatly disappointed."

Tues, 3-9-48

Dawson, a native of Georgia, has consistently fought for an anti-lynching law and the other component parts of civil rights. Last year, he introduced his own anti-lynch bill.

CHICAGO NEGRO IN LINE FOR BIG POST IN HOUSE

Daily Tribune

34c(2)

Ill.

BY JAMES DOHERTY

Sat. 11-6-48

Rep. William L. Dawson, Chicago's Negro congressman, is the prospective chairman of the powerful house committee on expenditures, and as such would take over the investigation, if any, of the Capone gang paroles, the retiring chairman, Rep. Hoffman (R., Mich.), said yesterday.

Rep. Dawson

Chicago Ill.

Dawson's right to the chairmanship of the committee which can investigate expenditures of federal executive departments, may create an outright race issue when the new congress convenes, according to an Associated Press story from Washington.

Would Check On U.S. Spending

President Truman and southern members of the present congress have battled politically over issues pertaining to the Negro race and Truman's victory last Tuesday is believed to be a guarantee that Dawson will not be sidetracked from the chairmanship.

If selected, Dawson will be the first present day Negro congressman to head an important regular committee of the house. As chairman he would name all subcommittee chairmen and direct all activities of the 25 members assigned to the task of scrutinizing government spending, and, actually, the operations of most government departments, bureaus and agencies.

Dawson is now the third ranking Democratic member of the committee. The top man, Carter Manasco of Alabama, was defeated for renomination, and the second, John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, is slated to return to his former job as majority floor leader. The floor leader, it was explained, customarily does not have any committee assignments and never has held a chairmanship.

Dawson 61; Born In Georgia

To become chairman, Dawson will have to be selected by the Democratic members of the ways and means committee of the new house. This group's recommendations for committee assignments are submitted to a caucus of all party members, then to the entire house. The ways and means committee's recommendations usually are approved by the caucus, and accepted.

Sat 11-6-48

Dawson is 61 and a lawyer, who was born in Georgia. He was educated in the south, and at the Kent College of Law and the Northwestern university here. He was for years a Republican precinct captain in the 14th ward of Chicago.

Since 1928 Dawson has been a frequent candidate for office. He tried twice as a Republican to be elected congressman, and sought to be Republican ward committeeman of the 2d ward. Republicans nominated him as nonpartisan alderman of this ward, and when defeated he became a Democrat. Former Mayor Kelly appointed him Democratic ward committeeman and helped him to the Democratic nomination which sent him to congress for the first time in [illegible].

34c(2)

Sat 11-6-48

Negro Due to Head Major House Group

Wash Post

Ill.

34c(2)

Sat 11-6-48

By The Associated Press

An outright race issue confronts the new Democratic majority of the House—a Negro is in line to head a major committee of Congress.

Dawson

He is Representative William L. Dawson of Illinois, Georgia-born Chicago attorney who was reelected Tuesday to his fourth term.

Dawson actually is only the second ranking Democrat on the Executive Expenditures Committee. But the No. 1 man—Representative John W. McCormick of Massachusetts—is slated to return to his job of majority floor leader. And the majority leader customarily does not have any committee assignments; he never has carried the burden of a major chairmanship.

Democratic committee assignments in the House are arranged by the party's members of the Ways and Means Committee. This group's recommendations are submitted to caucus of all House Democrats, then to the entire House.

Wash D.C.

The Ways and Means members' recommendations usually are approved by the caucus, since they are worked out with the party's leaders and committee chairmen. Acceptance by the House is just a formality.

Almost without exception, chairmanships are decided on committee seniority; that is, on how long a man has been on the committee, rather than how long he has been in Congress.

If tradition is followed in his case, Dawson will be the first modern-day Negro Congressman to head an important regular committee. The only other present Negro House member is Representative Adam C. Powell, jr., of New York who won reelection to his third term on the Democratic and American Labor Party tickets. He ranks fifth on the Labor Committee.

Last Headed by Hoffman

The Expenditures Committee has broad authority to look into all the executive departments of the Government. Its jurisdiction covers any activity involving the spending of Federal money.

Under the chairmanship of Republican Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan, this committee during the past two years has probed the State, Commerce, Justice, and Agriculture departments, as well as the Federal Communications Commission and housing agencies.

Among the nine hold-over Democrats on the Ways and Means Committee, with six to be added in line with the party's new majority status, four represent Southern States where President Truman's anti-discrimination civil rights program provoked a storm of protest.

Wash D.C.

Four Backed Civil Rights

They are Representatives Robert L. Doughton (N. C.), Jere Cooper (Tenn.), Wilbur D. Mills (Ark.), and A. Sidney Camp (Ga.), all from States Mr. Truman carried easily despite the States' Rights uprising. A fifth member is Representative Noble J. Gregory of border-State Kentucky, which also landed safely in the Truman column.

The other four Democratic members of the committee actively supported Mr. Truman's Civil Rights program. They are Representatives John D. Dingell (Mich.), Walter A. Lynch (N. Y.), Aime J. Forand (R. I.), and Herman P. Eberharter (Pa.).

34c(2) 1948

Federal (Mississippi--Eastland)

Sen. Eastland Insists on Being Nasty

34c(2) Fed. (miss.) PM

New York, N.Y. WASHINGTON. 2-3-48

Walter White, secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, urging passage of an anti-lynch law, assailed "the Eastlands, the Rankins, the Bilbos, and the Talmadges who advocate second class citizenship for minorities' in testimony before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee.

Sen. James O. Eastland (D., Miss), who arrived late sat down, beside his colleague, Sen. John C. Stennis (D., Miss.).

"He called you a demagogue," said Stennis. Tues. 2-3-48

"That's absolutely all right," said Eastland. 'I don't want any controversy with this witness or any other nigger."

Reporters understood Eastland to say "any other neighbor" and so reported, but Eastland insisted on a correction which he got. PM New York, N.Y.

EASTLAND DESERVES NO SENATE COURTESY, SAYS WHITE

34c(2) Fed. (miss.)

NAACP Fri 2-6-48 New York, N.Y.

Washington--Senator James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, judging by his remark that the U. S. Supreme Court "is not judicially honest" is a demagogue, Walter White wrote to Sen. Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia. Sen. Revercomb had expressed regret that White had called Eastland a demagogue during testimony in favor of an anti-lynching bill. Citing Eastland's remark as recorded January 28, 1948, before a subcommittee of the Senate judiciary committee, White wrote:

"Any man who falsely or wilfully attempts to destroy the faith of the American people in the U.S. Supreme Court is, in my measured opinion, a demagogue who deserves no protection of senatorial courtesy or congressional immunity."

34c(2) 1948 Federal (Mississippi--Rankin)

The Advertiser

FEAR BORN OF GOD

Editor, The Advertiser: 34 c(2)

Mr. Rankin's gallant concern because "Washington women are afraid to walk the streets" deserves some feminine recognition. Lack of chivalry and the gentlemenly virtues might make a lady sigh, Mr. Rankin . . . , but only the absence of honesty and courage makes her tremble with a fear born of God, not of man.

Montgomery, Ala.

KATHERINE GRANT.

Montgomery. 2 - 7 - 48 The Advertiser

Rankin Democrat

34c(2)

The advance dope had forecast dire tidings for Rep. John E. Rankin, the fiery rabble rouser from the hill country of Northeastern Mississippi. To the United Press, his effort to win Democratic renomination for a fifteenth term appeared likely to be "his stiffest test." To The New York Times, he was facing "one of the toughest political battles" in his 66 years, in which "most observers are tagging him to run second."

Newsweek

Nwk 9-6-48

That Rankin was losing his touch was provable statistically. His usual victory margins of 2-1 or 3-1 or even 4-1 had slipped in 1946 to almost nothing when he polled 14,027 votes to 10,499 for Claude F. Clayton, youthful ex-circuit judge, and 1,671 for an also-ran. In 1947, seeking promotion to Theodore G. Bilbo's old Senate seat, he ran a bad fifth out of five, not even carrying his own home district.

Why Rankin was slipping was easily explainable. Even his poor-white constituents were apparently fed up with his out-Bilboing Bilbo, his demagoguery, his "Dear Dago" and "Nigra Lover" and "Kike Communist" epithets, and his fisticuffs on the House floor. Seemingly they had forgotten his vote-getting achievements in co-sponsoring the TVA, fighting for veterans' benefits and rural electrification, giving GI's pay raises from $21 to $50 monthly, and getting the House Committee on Un-American Activities put on a permanent basis.

Nwk 9-6-48

Two political events this year saved Rankin's weatherbeaten skin: President Truman's civil-rights program, and the Un-American Activities Committee's "spy" probe.

Bigger Than Ever: During the August primary campaign, Rankin plainly knew he was fighting for political survival. As in 1946, he was challenged by Judge Clayton, 38, an avid joiner who had fought in Europe as an Army officer. This time Rankin was opposed also by Circuit Judge Raymond T. Jarvis, 45, amiable backslapper who like Rankin and Clayton was a University of Mississippi law graduate.

Trying to disarm Rankin, both of his opponents came out as strongly against the civil-rights program as Rankin himself, and both joined him in endorsing Dixiecrat Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President. Pointedly, Clayton said he would "work to gain the respect of the other members of Congress. I cannot get their help by abusing them or making their every honest difference of opinion with me a personal matter." 34c(2)

But Rankin made a boll-weevil campaign. He attended picnics and barbecues. He spoke in town squares and on courthouse steps. He catered to Southern pride in having a congressman with as much seniority as Rankin. With no basic differences on issues existing between the three candidates, Rankin appealed to emotion rather than to reason. He resorted to his usual arm-waving, leather-lunged tirades against "New York Jews" and "Damyankee interference." His defeat, he said, "would be the best news that Joe Stalin ever heard." The Communist spy hearings and the Kasenkina case clinched matters.

Nwk 9-6-48

The result: On primary day Aug. 24 Rankin was triumphantly renominated. Confounding the advance dope, he amassed 14,566 votes, his record high in fifteen Congressional contests, against only 5,522 for Jarvis and 4,534 for Clayton, and thereby broke all Mississippi records for Congressional tenure. Even Rankin chirped: "I didn't expect the margin to be quite so large." As the voters themselves wagged their heads in surprise, Clayton mourned: "I took a hell of a licking."

34c(2) 1948

Federal (New York--Powell)

Rep. A. Clayton Powell Hints He Won't Run for Re-Election

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Tues. 1-13-48

By Abner W. Berry

34c(2) Fed. (N.Y.)

Congressman A. Clayton Powell (D-ALP-NY) in an interview with the Daily Worker Saturday, hinted that he might not run to succeed himself this year. Rep. Powell, the first Negro to represent New York in Congress, said he was "against Truman" and for a third party in 1952 "if the Democratic and Republican parties let the people down this year."

We interviewed him in the office of the Abyssinia Baptist Church, in Harlem, of which the Congressman is pastor. Written questions were submitted by this reporter Rep. Powell answered in his own handwriting. The questions and answers follow: Daily Worker

Q. Are you definitely breaking with the Democratic Party?

A. I am against Truman UNLESS the Republican candidate is worse.

Q. Will you run for Congress in 1948? New York, N.Y.

A. I will run if there is a likelihood of a political hack being forced on the people by either party. (The Congressman did not enlarge on this, but it seemed implicit that he would retire in favor of a progressive candidate.) Tues. 1-13 48

Q. As a candidate, would you split endorsements as between the Presidential candidate and local candidates endorsed by independents?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you support state and Congressional candidates endorsed by Wallace followers?

A. Not necessarily.

Q. Would you accept third party support in view of your Jan. 4 speech? (On Jan. 4. Rep. Powell had called Wallace's candidacy "unwise" and announced his support of Eisenhower as the Republican candidate.) Daily Worker

A. Gladly, as in the past.

Q. What possibility has Eisenhower of securing the GOP nomination? New York, N.Y.

A. I don't know. Tues. 1-13 48

Q. Would you support the GOP ticket from top to bottom if Eisenhower won nomination?

A. No. Only progressives.

Q. What differences do you have with the Amsterdam News and the Consumers Protective League? (The Congressman had criticized both groups in his Jan. 4 speech.)

A. No comment.

Q. Are you opposed to a third party in principle?

A. No. Tues. 1-13-48

Q. In your opinion, under what conditions could a third party successfully be developed? New York, N.Y.

A. If the Republican and Democrat parties let the people down this year, then build a third party for '52. Daily Worker

34c(2) 1948

Florida

Medic Qualifies in Fla. School Election

The Defender

Broward Co -

34c(2)

Feb 3-48

FT. LAUDERDALE, Fla, (ANP) —The first Negro to enter candidacy for election to public office in this county, Dr. Von D. Mizell, medical director of Provident hospital and publisher of the Floriad Spur, qualified for school board post, second district, subject to the Democratic primary election in May. Dr. Mizell's candidacy has been endorsed by civic, professional and business groups throughout the county, including the Broward County Democratic committee.

Chicago Ill

Commenting upon his qualifying, Dr. Mizell said, "It is very evident that the school board needs some advice from this side of the tracks.

"It is very seldom that they get both sides of the educational picture and I know that a Negro would be an asset to the administration."

He said that he had two reasons for running for the school board: First, such a move will inspire Negros to register and participate in county elections. Second, he is especially interested in obtaining school buses for Negro children and seeing that the school board gives the Negroes at least one accredited high school in the county.

CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.

by Louis Lautier

"On earth peace, good will toward men." This theme which the angels sang to herald the birth of a child in a manger in Bethlehem nearly twenty centuries ago is echoed in the behind-the-scenes jockeying over the chairmanship of the House Committee of Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

34C(2)

Northern Democrats were reported to have approached Southern members of the committee and told them they were opposed to Rep. Bill Dawson, of Chicago, being made the committee chairman and suggested that a fight against Dawson's elevation would come with better grace from the Southerners but they would join in knifing the Illinoisan.

Sat. 12-25-48

The Southern Reply . . .

To which the Southerners replied that Dawson was entitled to the chairmanship by reason of seniority and they thought he should have it.

Moreover, the Southerners said, they would prefer to be on the committe under Dawson's chairmanship than under the chairmanship of some other members with whom they had served.

~~Louis Mehlinger~~, Justice Department lawyer, is representing the Government in a batch of cases brought by railroad companies to have the United States Court of Claims determine the proper freight rate classification for jeeps.

A Union Pacific case, selected for trial as a test suit, involves about $7,000 but the total the railroads seek to recover runs into the millions, and the question at issue is whether a jeep is a passenger car or truck.

Earl McDonald, the sportsman, got the nicest Christmas present from the United State Supreme Court—relief from a stretch from six to eighteen months at Lorton ((Virginia), leaving the faces of Lieut. Roy Blick, head of the vice squad, and Detective Sgts. Howard Ogle and Paul Clarke burned to a crisp.

Sat. 12-25-48

Will He Quit

Ogle said if Earl didn't go to jail, he would resign. Well, the lads along U street are betting he won't quit. And if he did, they'd sing hosannas.

The Omegas are tossing a New Year's eve cocktail party for the 800 AKA's who are expected for the sorority boule.

Alpha Omega (graduate) Chapter and Alpha (undergraduate) Chapter at Howard University are giving it at Carver Hall from 7:30 to 11 at night, just before the AKA's have their closed affair.

Lawrence Oxley and West Hamilton are the committee on arrangements, and they're planning on taking over all of Carver Hall, upstairs and downstairs.

Early Christmas greetings came from Major Danny Day, public relations officer at headquarters of the 8th Army in Yokohama (Japan).

Jeanne Mary Mallette, daughter of Kermit Mallette, and Reid Rector, son of Mercedes Rector, will be a holiday merger.

Santa Claus left a boy at the Jerry Coopers (Jeane Banks)—he's a Government employee and she's a school mistress.

Leon (Andy) Ransom, the lawyer, is hospitalized at Adams Hospital.

Sat. 12-25-48

Party for Underprivileged

The District Theaters is tossing a Christmas party for underprivileged kiddies at the Lincoln, Monday morning, December 27.

Tickets of admission will be distributed to about 1,000 children through settlement houses, the Police Boys Club and the Junior Police and Citizens Corps. Movies, cartoons, candies and ice cream are on the program.

George Judson's band, the Ravens, a new quartet that is bidding to become the jukebox champions, and Dinah Washington will headline the show at the Howard, opening on Christmas Day and running through New Year's Day. Midnight shows are scheduled for Christmas and New Year's eves.

So, "on earth peace, good will toward men." A Merry Christmas to all.

Negro Elected To Community Chest Board In St. Louis

Black Dispatch

34C(2)

ST. LOUIS — (ANP) — Dr. A. N. Vaughn, assistant director of surgery at Homer G. Phillips hospital, became the first Negro to be elected to the board of directors of the Greater St. Louis Community chest, it was announced last week.

Sat 3-20-48

He was elected recently at the annual meeting of the Chest board of government. Dr. Vaughn is a member of the board of directors of the St. Louis Urban league and of People's hospital. He is former president of the Mound City Medical forum and the National Medical association.

Oklahoma City Okla

Henrico Co.

ELECTED TO RICHMOND — Richmond, Va. — Oliver W. Hill, 31-year-old attorney, has been elected to the ~~Richmond City Council~~ and is the first Negro to attain public office in Richmond since the Civil War. He polled 9,097 votes, 150 more than T. B. Chen-

vnen Ordination rites were conducted in Sister's Chapel, Spelman College for Bishop John Wesley Edward Bowen, Jr. Earlier at the 11 o'clock morning worship services, the 124 delegates and visitors in attendance were summoned to live lives of dedication and service in

Voters Pick 31 Negroes

Complete tabulations after the Nov. 2 elections revealed that a total of thirty-one Negroes had won posts in the national and state campaigns.

Sat 11-20-48

Pittsburgh Pa

In Michigan, Atty, Percy Langster, 58, Republican of Lake County, became the first Negro county prosecutor in the State. On the Democratic ticket, Atty. John F. Young of Flint was elected to the State Assembly.

In Missouri four Democrats were elected to the State Legislature in a historic triumph for Negro voters. The successful candidates were Atty. William A. Cole, John A. Green and Walter Lay, all of St. Louis, and James M. McNeal of Kansas City.

In Kansas City, Kan., the only Republican candidate who survived the Democratic landslide was Atty. Myles Clay Stevens who won a seat in the State Assembly.

In Delaware, William (Jim) Winchester, 62, Wilmington Republican, was elected to the State Assembly, thus setting a precedent in the Delaware legislature.

25 Posts Won By Negroes in

Nov. 2 Election

(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

Sat 11-13-48

Pittsburgh Pa

WASHINGTON—Back into office last week went the two Negro Congressmen and some twelve State Representatives, a municipal court judge and a county coroner as the Democrats swept back into power. Eight new members were elected to State Legislatures along with a new Municipal Court judge, as voters accepted and rejected candidates.

Congressmen William L. Dawson, of the First Illinois District, and Adam Clayton Powell Jr., of New York's Twenty-second District, both Democrats, won smashing victories, with Representative Dawson being projected into the national spotlight as the leading Negro Democrat by virtue of having spearheaded President Truman's campaign among Negroes.

PHILADELPHIA

The Quaker City led the procession with six Negroes going into the State Legislature. Three of them, including two Republicans, were holdovers. The other three were Democrats.

The Rev. Dennis W. Hoggard, pastor of Mount Carmel Baptist Church, and father of the Penn State football star; Granville S. Jones who beat out William Upshur, Republican ward leader, and Mrs. Susan Monroe were the Democratic newcomers.

Re-elected were J. Thomas Pettigrew, Democrat, and Lewis Mintess and Dr. Edwin Thompson, Republicans. Homer S. Brown, veteran Pittsburgh Democratic legislator, was also re-elected.

Snowed under by the Democrats were Hobson Reynolds, Republican aspirant for he State Senate, and Joseph A. Rainey, who offered for Congress on the Progressive party ticket.

NEW YORK CITY

Two New York City Democrats were returned to the General Assembly. They were Harold A. Stevens and Hulan E. Jack. New legislators, also Democrats, were Thomas Dickens and Elijah Crump.

Brooklyn gave Democrat Bertram L. Baker, nationally known tennis figure, his first term in the General Assembly.

CHICAGO

Fred (Duke) Slater, football great, and assistant corporation counsel of Chicago, became a Municipal Court judge in that city, joining Judge Wendell E. Green who was re-elected. Both are Democrats.

Three Democrats and a Republican won re-election to the Illinois Legislature. They were Corneal Davis, Fred Smith and Charles Skyles, Democrats, and Charles J. Jenkins, Republican incumbent.

MICHIGAN

Wayne County acquired its first Negro coroner when Dr. Samuel Milton of Detroit was elected on the Democratic ticket. With the backing of both AFL and CIO groups, Edgar Currie, a Detroit Democrat, was elected State Representative-at-large in the Michigan Legislature.

Swamped in the landslide were two Republican candidates for the Legislature, Leroy White and Robert L. Ward, both of Detroit.

CALIFORNIA

History was made on the West Coast when Byron Rumford of Oakland, Calif., was elected to his first term in the California General Assembly. Mr. Rumford was the first Negro in Northern California to ever gain nomination and subsequent election to the State Assembly. He was backed by both major labor groups.

Assemblyman Augusts Hawkins of Los Angeles was re-elected to his seat in the Assembly.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

J. McKinley Neal, a Kansas City Democrat, was re-elected to his second term as a member of the Missouri General Assembly from the Fourth District.

At the same time, voters in St. Louis beat down a proposal for a $16,000,000 bond issue aimed at a slum clearance program and which would affect five densely populated Negro wards in that city.

In Senator Robert A. Taft's home State of Ohio, Republicans felt the brunt of Democratic opposition, with State Senator Harry E. Davis and State Representatives Francis E. Young and William B. Saunders, all Republicans of Cleveland, being swept out of office, removing every Negro representative from Cuyahoga County from the Ohio Legislature.

Two other aspirants for the Ohio Legislature were also defeated. They were Republican Atty. Joseph Fulton and Democrat Madison Perkins, both of Cincinnati.

Mrs. Bolton Popular With Negro Voters

CLEVELAND, Ohio—(ANP)—Mrs. Frances P. Bolton, Republican congresswoman from the 22nd Ohio district, was the only member of her party to withstand the Democratic landslide here in Cleveland. Mrs. Bolton, noted for her philanthrophy and for her interest in affairs affecting colored people, had the almost solid support of her constituency which is largely Negro. They rallied to her despite the heavy vote the Democrats received

Both newspapers in Cleveland, the Herald and the Call-Post, supported Congressman Bolton. She has now been elected five straight times to the house where she holds several portant committee posts including the chairmanship of the sub-committee on Africa in the foreign relations committee.

TWO FILE INTENTIONS FOR SCHOOL BOARD POSTS

34c (2)

HOT SPRINGS, Ark. — (ANP) —Notices of candidacy for membership on the Hot Springs board of education were filed here last week by two Negroes. They are Callie Gardner, music teacher, and the Rev. A. R. Puckett.

The two will seek to fill posts of two members whose terms expire this month.

Oklahoma City Okla

ELECTED COMMISSIONERS

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—At its annual election last week the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission again returned Negro leaders as officers and commissioners.

Among the officers elected for this year are Dr. Tanner G. Duckrey who was re-elected vice-president; and Rev. George A. Trowbridge, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Chestnut Hill, re-elected president.

Norfolk Va

IN THE general elections last week Negroes made significant gains.

In Wayne County, Michigan, voters elected Dr. Samuel B. Milton coroner. It marks the first time that a Negro has been elected to the coroner's office.

For the first time Brooklyn elected a Negro to public office when it sent Bertram L. Baker to the state assembly. Baker won over his opponent, Mrs. Maude B. Richardson, also a Negro.

Atty. Percy Langster became what is believed to be the first Negro county prosecutor in Lake County, Michigan, when he defeated the incumbent, D. I. Cooper.

Bargaining With Negroes Held False

34c (2)

John H. McCray, chairman of the South Carolina Progressive (Negro) Democratic party, said today that "it is entirely false and unfair to accuse any of the candidates on any of our approved lists as having bargained for, or sought, our support.

"The truth is," he said, "we refused to support several who sought our votes and it is they who are attempting to humiliate honest citi-

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silken things you say . . . The way you utter chapters with your sighs. I must write them down, your sacred lips . . . Your sunny laugh, the perfect little, smile—Your gay remarks, the haunting fingertips . . . And the fragrance I've remembered all this while. I must write them down, the things I know . . .

25 Posts Won

By Negroes In Nov. 2 Election

Weekly Review

WASHINGTON—Back into office last week went the two Negro Congressmen and some twelve State Representatives, a municipal court judge and a county coroner as the Democrats swept back into power.

Eight new members were elected to State Legislatures along with a new Municipal Court judge, as voters accepted and rejected candidates.

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PHILADELPHIA

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Office
[illegible]

CHICAGO ELECTS TWO NEGRO JUDGES, REELECTS DAWSON TO CONGRESS

(34c(2))

CHICAGO (ANP)--Chicago swept two Negro judges into office and reelected Rep. William L. Dawson to his fourth term in congress in the Democratic landslide here last week.

Judge Wendell E. Green, rated by attorneys here as the city's best judge, received 1,018,266 votes to start his second term as a municipal court judge.

Associated Negro Press
Chicago Illinois

Former all-American football star at Iowa and pro with the Chicago Cardinals, Fred "Duke" Slater was the second colored municipal court justice elected with more than 966,000 votes. His present office is that of assistant corporation council. Wed-11-10-48

Dawson received more votes than his two opponents, Republican William E. King and Progressive Earl B. Dickerson, combined to return to office from the first district.

WELCOME
TO
HARLEM
MAYOR MANGHAM
34c(2)

Daily World
Atlanta Ga
Tue 2-3-48

PREPARE WELCOME FOR NEGRO MAYOR—New York,—Members of the Better Harlem Committee at 262 W. 135th St., prepare plans for welcome of Michael Mangham, mayor of Lincoln Heights, Ohio, the only mayor of an all-Negro city above the Mason-Dixon line, who is scheduled to visit Harlem early in February. From left: Robert W. Justice, ex-assemblyman from the Harlem District; Samuel Richardson, executive director of the Better Harlem Committee; and Miss Ella J. Baker. (Keystone Picture).

PASTOR UP AS FIRST ED. BOARD NOMINEE

Journal and Guide Norfolk, Va.

Little Rock, Ark.---(NNPA)--The Rev. A.R. Puckett, charter member of the Negro Civic Improvement League, is one of the four candidates for membership on the Board of Education here. His candidacy is sponsored by the league in an attempt to improve Langston High School.

Sat 3-6-48 34C(2)

Puckett is said to be the first colored candidate for membership on the Board of Education. Emmett Harris was an unsuccessful candidate for alderman in the city election on April 17.

34c(2) 1948 General

RICHMOND ELECTS NEGRO

New Republic

New York N.Y.

New Republic

The votes of several thousand white men helped elect a 41-year-old Negro lawyer, Oliver W. Hill, to the city council of Richmond, Virginia. He is the first Negro to serve on the governing body of the capital of the Confederacy since 1895.

34c(2)

A member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a spokesman for the Negro in civil-rights court cases, Hill ran ninth in a 29-man field. He and another Negro leader, Amos Clark, organized a strong voters' movement among the Negroes who make up one-third of Richmond's population. By personal block-by-block canvassing, they built up a nucleus of 6,500 registered voters in Richmond, a record in a state that has an accumulative $1.50 poll tax. But some of the votes that put Hill into office came from all-white districts, and the *Times-Dispatch* said, "It is obvious that several thousand whites also voted for Hill." 6-21-48

men

Winner Held City Office For 16 Years

The Defender

34c(2)

Sat 11-20-48

Chicago Ill

WILMINGON, Del.—The election upset that swept thousands of Republicans out of office did not prevent GOP William J. Winchester of this city from winning a seat in the General Assembly of the State of Delaware, the first Negro ever to hold such a position in that body.

Winchester, who is 62 years old, will represent a district largely composed of foreign extraction.

Highly capable after 16 years in the city council and six years as chairman of the Second Ward Republican committee, Winchester has an interesting background.

He was born in Barclay, Md., the son of the late Robert and Angelina Winchester and after a very meager formal education left home and came to this city where he settled with two uncles, James M. and Frederick Winchester.

He became the first Negro selected for grand jury service in New Castle county among many other distinctions. As superintendent of sanitation today, he has under him more than 100 city employees.

For 10 years Winchester was a trustee of Morgan college, Baltimore, and for 40 years has been a trustee of Mount Joy M.E. church.

Many Lodge Affiliations

His fraternal affiliations include 40-year membership in G.U.O.O.F. 1459; long membership in Household of Ruth No. 4, Past Grand Masters' Council No. 5; Wilmington Patriarch No. 20; District Grand Lodge, No. 5, State of Delaware and Paul Lawrence Dunbar Lodge 106 of I.B.P.O.E. of W.

34c(2) 1948 General

BUT FOR THIS AND THAT

The Advertiser

Senator Lister Hill is to be pardoned if he has been inwardly reflecting that, but for this and that fact of the Deep South rebellion, he would probably become Democratic majority leader of the United States Senate in January, one of the most powerful posts in the government.

Fri 11-5-48

Majority Leader Alben Barkley will resign the post to preside over the Senate as Vice President. The Democrats will elect a majority leader whose duty it is to serve as marshal for the President's legislative program.

34c(2) Ala.

Hill was majority whip and thus second in command to Majority Leader Barkley, but he resigned the whipship when the Republicans won a majority in 1946.

Senator Hill, like Senator Sparkman, stuck it out with President Truman as long as he could, but finally the oven blasts of Alabama resentment over the Civil Disturbance program forced both to abandon Truman. In the end Senator Sparkman called upon Truman to renounce the nomination to keep the party from being "cut to ribbons." Sparkman was a foremost Eisenhower generator.

Montgomery, Ala.

Even after Senator Hill repudiated Truman in the most blunt terms, he was charged with covert friendliness to Truman. Finally at an Alabama caucus at the Philadelphia convention, Hill, in a climate of inflamed accusation, said that no man in America was more "unalterably" opposed to Truman than he—that if nobody else would, he himself would nominate Senator Dick Russell of Georgia in opposition to Truman.

Despite all of that, the friendship between Majority Leader Barkley and Hill remained warm. Barkley has been something of a patron and mentor of Hill's for years and there is a strong bond between them.

The night that Barkley walked into the Philadelphia convention hall to be nominated for Vice President, the handsome widower, accompanied by one of the most stunning brunets this editor ever saw, stopped and chatted with Senator Hill as though no such thing as an Alabama walkout had occurred a few hours before.

Thus, had it not been for the rebellion and Hill's participation in it (Alabama, through Hill, yielded to Georgia to nominate Russell) and had it not been for his resignation as majority whip, he undoubtedly would become Barkley's successor as majority leader.

Fri 11-5-48

But even if Barkley prevailed on Truman to forget Hill's shotgun desertion, it is all but inconceivable that Hill would or could accept the post. For one of the things the Administration will demand Democratic action on will be a brace of the Truman civil rights proposals.

34c(2) 1948 Georgia

Ga. Senator Bucks All Bills With Race Tinge

Baltimore, Md.
The Afro-Am.

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—Sen. Richard B. Russell (Dem., Ga.), objected to the consideration of every bill to which there was a racial tinge, during the call of the calendar last Tuesday for passage of bills by unanimous consent.

Sat 6-12-48

One of the measures to which he objected was the resolution to amend Senate rules to provide for the limitation of debate upon "any measure, motion, or pending matter before the Senate, or any unfinished business."

Sat. 6-12-48

Other measures to which he objected included the resolution requesting the President to proclaim February 1 as National Freedom Day; the Ives bill to prohibit race or religious discrimination in employment; and the bill to authorize the admission into the U.S. of persons of races indigenous to Siam and make them racially eligible for naturalization.

Talmadge and the Future

The Constitution

34a(2)

Acting Governor M. E. Thompson, in conceding defeat by Herman Eugene Talmadge in the Georgia Democratic Primary of Wednesday, paraphrased Job, sitting in the wreckage and ruin of his plans and possessions, saying:

"The people giveth and the people taketh away, blessed be the name of the people."

At home the dwellers in ivory towers, wistfully gazing toward always distant horizons upon which, one fine day, will appear a shining knight in armor who will slay all the mean and wicked dragons and bring us a political utopia in which all men are handsome and true, utter jeremiads of warning and prepare for the worst.

Fri 9-10-48

In distant States, the observers see in the Talmadge victory a thwarting of the will of the people; the enthronement of ignorance, the Ku Klux Klan, and all the warty kin of that stupid organization. They speak of it as the coming of night and a pall of gloom.

All of this is understandable.

None of it is true.

Job, having been righteous, could not understand why he was punished by the Lord. M. E. Thompson, having done a job he believed to be good and honest, as it was until the Rivers-Arnall management began to use road contracts in a reprehensible manner and forced him to replace a loyal friend as Revenue Commissioner, could not understand why the people could turn him down.

Atlanta Ga

But they did. The Talmadge victory was won with votes, not with fraud or violence. The Ku Klux Klan was not a factor. It and its morons burned a few crosses here and there in their customary mockery of the Cross of Christ. They were a bloodsucking tick on the body of the victory. But no more.

The inescapable fact is that a majority of Georgians wanted Herman E. Talmadge for Governor.

It is from that point that we must begin, and no amount of maidenly yearnings for a fair knight, and no sounding of wild alarm will solve anything.

Georgia is not going to be destroyed. Nor will the State live under a pall. Industry will continue to come to our State. Farmers will go ahead with soil conservation and improvement of methods. A way will be found to spend more money on health and education.

Herman Talmadge is a young man. He may be assumed to have political ambitions. He can achieve them only by making a good Governor. If he fails he will fail not merely himself but his organization. He must have an affection for his State. He will hardly willfully do it harm. He must have political plans for the future. Therefore, while he may, and probably will, withhold the State from the Truman column, he will hardly take it off after the Dixiecrats who have bolted the Party.

The Constitution

34a(2)

It is perfectly true that the Truman policy, as well as the Republican, on civil rights aided his campaign. This did not elect him. It did crystallize his support and set it to work with a zeal it otherwise would not have had. It is on the racial program that he is most vulnerable in that his victory will give to the Kluxers and their vermin breed the idea they have a license for violence. This may trouble him. But he cannot give support to them and if violence comes he cannot ignore it.

Fri 9-10-48

So, we go back to the inevitable premise. He is the man the people wanted. He wants more of the people. He is a young man. He is a product of our schooling and our university. He served well, in combat territory, during the war. He attracted young voters. He got the veterans' support.

How ridiculous it then is to be crying like Jeremiah or lamenting like Job. He is a product of the people. Therefore, let the people give him every support and every good wish and good promise. It is no time for the people of good will and good intent to hold back. Let us all pledge to him that we will support him in every good endeavor and let him know of our opposition to those we believe wrong. He is to be our Governor. Let us participate in our government.

To that we pledge ourselves.

The Constitution

Poll-Observing Role To Continue-CEKLOR

34(a)(2) Atlanta Ga

Ga. Fri 9-10-48

By BILL BORING.

Having turned the spotlight of publicity on state-wide voting irregularities in the Democratic Primary, CEKLOR, an organization of civic clubs promoting clean and honest elections, yesterday announced it would continue its role as observer at the polls in the General Election of Nov. 2.

"We shall continue to evolve a program directed at cleaner and better managed elections in the State," a spokesman for the organization said. "We are not attempting to dig up skeletons. We are trying to throw light on voting irregularities for the purpose of acquainting the voters with what they are legally entitled to at the polls. We'd like to get every citizen into a working program for better election practices."

The spokesman commended the newspapers for the part they took in the "cleaner elections" drive, adding that the publicizing of irregularities is one of the most effective means of combatting them.

The CEKLOR (Civitan, Exchange, Kiwanis, Lions, Optimist and Rotary Clubs) and the Junior Chamber of Commerce observes uncovered what they termed gross irregularities at the polls.

Among the irregularities were the counting of votes before the polls closed, the inadequancy of private voting booths and scattered cases of racial discrimination.

Fri 9-10-48

Meanwhile, Sol. Gen. Paul Webb, of Fulton County, who was nominated for re-election in Wednesday's primary, commended the civic clubs for their zeal in campaigning against malpractices at the polls.

The Constitution

"At the same time," he said, "I want to commend the election managers in Fulton County for the splendid job they did in the primary. I placed so much trust in their honesty that I sent but one observer to the polls and that one only at the insistence of one of the citizens."

Atlanta Ga.

Sol. Gen. Roy Leathers, of DeKalb County, who also was in Wednesday's race, likewise commended the poll officials of DeKalb County (CEKLOR charged a number of DeKalb precinct stations with malpractice). "As far as I know there is not a single dishonest election official in DeKalb County," he said. "The people who work at the polls should be congratulated and not criticized."

9-10-48

THE GEORGIA ELECTION

34a(2)

The Times

Whatever may be the result for Georgia of the gubernatorial primary which Herman Talmadge has won, the cause of racial understanding in the South has suffered a bad defeat. Mr. Talmadge made his whole campaign on the issue of white supremacy and the question of civil rights, which was not really at issue since Governor M. E. Thompson had not supported the Truman program. The Ku Klux Klan and other bigoted groups have thus been encouraged to use the same tactics elsewhere, appealing to the emotions and fears of the white voters instead of to their minds.

Fri 9-10-48

Although Mr. Thompson apparently has made a good interim Governor, it is quite possible that Mr. Talmadge could have won without making the racial issue paramount. The Talmadge name is still apparently magic in the rural areas of Georgia, where his late father always won his elections through the Georgia county unit method of voting, which gives sparsely settled rural counties a disproportionately larger unit vote than is given counties containing the larger cities. There may have been some Georgians also who felt he had some merit on his claim to the governorship last year when his father died before he could be inaugurated. We should like to think, at least, that there were other issues than the racial one that gave him his victory. The popular vote, incidentally, was not a landslide—only a majority of 30,000 in over 500,000 votes cast.

New York N.Y.

Fri 9-10-48

Under the liberal governorship of Ellis Arnall, Georgia had made real progress. It is one of four Southern states that has abolished the poll tax. Some 142,000 Negroes were registered to vote in the primary. It is disheartening to see Georgia take a step backward in nominating Herman Talmadge. The only comfort is that he will hold office for only two years and, under Georgia law, cannot succeed himself.

Talmadge Memorial

34c(2)

The Constitution

Editor Constitution. After reading an article in the paper just the other day telling of the plans being made to put a life-size statue of the late Eugene Talmadge on the lawn of the Capitol, I have been wondering if the people of Georgia have lost all the sense they have. I thought a memorial of that sort was supposed to be in honor of some worthy person who had done good and great things for humanity. If anyone can show where a Talmadge has ever done anything for the State of Georgia other than disgrace it I would like to know what it was.

If all the people who gave so generously of their time and money to make this memorial possible, had given to some charitable organization or even thrown it away, would have done the State of Georgia a favor. Atlanta, Ga

Atlanta. 6-12-48 L. G. LEMMING.

Greatest Georgian

Editor Constitution: In reply to L. S. Braselton, Eugene Talmadge was the greatest man the State of Georgia has ever had. He always stood up for white people in the State. I think that his statue would be a great thing to put on the Capitol lawn. Over 100,000 Georgians contributed to his statue in memory of him. Sat.

Thomaston. 6-12-48 S. L. TURNER.

Talmadge Dynasty?

34c(2)

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: I too want to say something in regards to L. S. Braselton's letter concerning Gene Talmadge. If he was such a disgrace to the people of Georgia why did the people elect him for the fourth term? I think it is an honor and I for one am in favor of a statue on the State Capitol of Gene. It will remind the good people what Gene did for Georgia. And remember, good people, there is Herman now and I hope in later years Herman's son.

Atlanta, Ga. 6-12-48

Decatur. C. S. BAKER.

Herman Talmadge, thirty-five years old, who won Georgia's Governorship in Tuesday's primary . . . he campaigned on the "white supremacy" issue, urging race segregation and opposing the President's civil rights program . . . his father, the late Eugene Talmadge, used the same issue and was elected governor four times . . . "Hummon" affects the same red galluses as did "Old Gene" and the same lock of hair dangling over the right side of his forehead; and his voice over the radio sounds to his "wool-hat" followers just like his father's screech . . . a year ago last January Herman claimed the governorship after his father died; so did Lieutenant Governor M. E. Thompson for two months Georgia had two governors and utter confusion until the state supreme court threw Herman out . . . in last week's primary Thompson was his chief rival . . . serving in the Navy, Herman saw action at Guadalcanal and Okinawa . . . he was divorced from his first wife, a professional model, because—according to her mother—she and her family were temperance people and the Talmadges definitely were not . . . remarried in 1941, he has two sons.

34c(2) Time 7-19-48 New York, N.Y.

MATTER OF FACT

Herald Tribune

By STEWART ALSOP

Mon. 10-18-48

Young Hummon and the Imperial Wizard

34c(2)

ATLANTA.

With fear, or with gleeful anticipation, or with a kind of wary hopefulness, Georgians are waiting to see what a new Talmadge regime will be like. No one really knows what face the next Governor, Herman Talmadge, known as "Young Hummon," will show to the world. If outward appearances count for anything, Young Hummon should provide a sharp contrast to his father, "Ol' Gene" Talmadge. But a good many shrewd observers here who have watched the younger man in action fear that outward appearances count for very little.

New York, N.Y.

Certainly there is a surface contrast. Ol' Gene's loud bellowings, his single red gallus, his thick "woolhat" diction, have all been discarded. Instead, Young Hummon goes in for neat blue suits, flowered ties, a suave manner, and grammar, even on the hustings.

At one point during the recent campaign, Young Hummon's advisers, worried by the comparative paleness of his platform manner, urged him to stop using grammar and three-syllable words, and to belch forth fire and brimstone, like Ol' Gene. Young Hummon refused. And although he made it clear that one of his first acts as Governor would be to find some way largely to disfranchise the Negroes, he did so without his father's customary rancor.

Man to Be Reckoned with

The results were surprising. Young Hummon not only held the traditionally pro-Talmadge rural counties, but won some of the urban "streetcar counties" as well, which his father had never done. And in the Georgia back country, the verdict was unanimous: "Young Hummon's even smarter than Ol' Gene."

This may very well be true. Young Hummon, with his small, shrewd eyes, his jet-black hair, straight as an Indian's, and his softly courteous manner ("Mighty nice of you to stop by, now you be sure to come again") is a man to be reckoned with, according to those who should know. He is a thoroughly intelligent man, tough, determined and ambitious. And there is no doubt that his ambitions extend beyond the confines of the state of Georgia.

His ambitions explain why he has infuriated the Dixiecrat leaders and given Truman a chance in Georgia by failing to embrace the Dixiecrat cause, for he undoubtedly remembers the fate of other Georgia politicians who have bolted the regular Democratic organization. His ambitions also explain the conscious contrast he is making to his father. Unlike Ol' Gene, Young Hummon, nattily dressed and soft-spoken, is storming such citadels of respectability as the civic and business clubs, making earnest, intelligent speeches on good business or education or soil conservation.

Mon. 10-18-48

His father also entertained wider ambitions, and Herman Talmadge certainly remembers why Ol' Gene never got to the Senate. The powers that be in Georgia decided that Talmadgism was all very well for home consumption, but not for export.

Yet astute Georgians are asking themselves just how far this conversion to moderation and respectability will go. One highly significant index will be the future relationship between Young Hummon and one of his most ardent supporters, Doc Green, imperial wizard of the Ku-Klux Klan.

In his way, of course, the doctor is eminently respectable. His new red brick suburban house has a determined air of respectability. So does his dentist's office, with its aging magazines, its faded copy of Hippocrates Oath, and its vintage red leather dentist's chair. The imperial wizard (he promoted himself from a mere grand dragon) is a dusty, gray, sad-looking, angry, small man. Just as Harry Truman looks like that mythical figure "the average man" in person, so Doc Green, with his long, off-center face, his watery eyes and his small, timid mustache, looks like an unfriendly caricature of the average man.

Mon. 10-18-48

34c(2)

Important Political Symbol

The imperial wizard will never himself be an important political figure. Yet he is an important political symbol. For the moment, although it is growing, his Ku-Klux Klan is more silly than anything else, with its mumbo-jumbo and its soiled bedsheets. But it could again become an important political factor in the South, and not only in the South, because it stands for violent measures to prevent social change.

Two recent typical resolutions in Klan Klaverns are evidence enough, if more evidence is needed. One called for a fight to the finish with the "Jew-loving, Catholic-loving, nigger-loving C. I. O." Another called for the sending of a letter of appreciation to an Atlanta policeman variously known as "Itchey Trigger Finger" and "Slappin' Sue" for having shot a large number of Negroes.

Despite the newly acquired air of sweet reasonableness, Herman Talmadge and those around him are also, of course, bitter enemies of social change. Therefore the future relationship between the young Governor and the elderly doctor should be a fairly accurate measure of the pressure for social change in the South, and the resistance against it. The betting seems to be that Young Hummon and the imperial wizard will remain on distant but not unfriendly terms.

Mon. 10-18-48

It must be said for the record that the men of good will here (and there are many) are almost unanimously convinced that a change is on the way, but that the proposed attempt to impose change from Washington has played directly into the hands of the imperial wizard and his friends. Whether they are right or wrong, there is a tension in the air here, a smell of violence to come.

Darkness In Georgia

Wash. Post

Herman Talmadge has come back, as he promised he would do, to the Georgia governship which he held illegally for 67 days early in 1947 after his father died just a month prior to assuming the office. In Wednesday's Democratic Party primary the equivalent of an election under Georgia's one-party system, Talmadge defeated Gov. M. E. Thompson not only under the county unit system which had made his victory a foregone conclusion anyway, but even in terms of popular votes. He won as an extreme advocate of "white supremacy," of opposition to President Truman's civil rights program and of all the know-nothing bigotry and demagoguery of which his father was one of the South's leading exemplars. The Talmadge triumph is likely to turn back the clock and hold it still in Georgia for a long time to come.

Sat. 9-11-48 Wash. D.C.

34c(2)

In the September issue of *Harper's Magazine*, a Georgia journalist, Calvin Kytle, analyzes the social, political and economic circumstances accounting for the primary's outcome. His peculiarly timely article, *A Long, Dark Night for Georgia?* explains that the Democratic primary, like the State Legislature, is rigged through the county-unit system to give absolute control to the rural areas of the State. "The half million residents of Atlanta's Fulton County, for instance, carry no more weight at the polls than the 45,000 people of Troup County . . . Only about 80 of the 159 counties have adopted a secret ballot . . . Votes often are sold for a dollar and a slug of stump rum; the dead and insane are voted; returns frequently are not counted at all, but concocted."

Sat 9-11-48

The future does not look very bright for Georgia. Because he did not scruple to use force when he temporarily seized the governorship in 1947, it is widely expected that Talmadge, once armed with the legal powers of office, will employ force ruthlessly to keep his clique in control. He has made no bones about his intention to disfranchise Negroes completely, no matter what the Supreme Court may say about it. The Ku Klux Klan made itself evident in the campaign for his nomination and is likely to flourish under his protection.

Mr. Kytle sees hope only in the formation of a new liberal party—not Henry Wallace's—seeking support among organized labor, among the one million Negroes and among the white middle class of the cities. But labor is weak in Georgia, the Negroes are helpless, and there is serious doubt that the mass of white-collar Georgians would enter into alliance with either of them. "At best," concludes Mr. Kytle, "their task would have to be reckoned in years. At worst, it might be smothered almost immediately under a Talmadge reign of terror, which could make Georgia liberals just as helpless as those of Louisiana under Huey Long."

Sat 9-11-48

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Talmadge And the Year 1950

34C(2)

Herman Eugene Talmadge may make one of our best Governors—a possibility which seems to amaze some of our citizens.

I can understand opposition to him. There is reason for some of it. There are about a quarter of a million Georgians who voted against him. There are almost a half million who stayed away from the polls because, presumably, they didn't care enough about the candidates to go out and vote.

Mon 9-13-48

But it is ridiculous, and not good sense, to assume from the start that he will give the State a bad administration.

He is an intelligent young man. He has great political ambitions. He is elected. There is no reason for sulking in tents. It seems to me that even his worst opponents must be good enough Georgians to hope he will make the very best of Governors.

No one knows his full capabilities. He may or may not be a good administrator. All we can know is that he is intelligent; that he knows the workings of politics, and that he wants to make politics a career.

Atlanta Ga.

So he may make us a good, even a superior, Governor.

If he doesn't there will be time to say so and to oppose him.

Now, it seems to me, a patriotic Georgian can do nothing else save hope and work for the best.

Future He has not said so, but it is obvious he has in mind the Senate in 1950. Sen. Walter F. George has not said so, but there are indications he may not again be a candidate. There are many who wish him to retire to head up the Mercer Law School and conserve his strength after years of strenuous service in Washington.

There is every reason to believe that 1950 will see Herman Eugene Talmadge a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate.

That being the case, he would hardly fail to give every talent he has to making a good Governor.

Problem He will seek the Democratic nomination. The man his faction selects to campaign for Governor will run as a Democrat.

The Talmadge faction now faces a decision about the party. At Philadelphia they properly refused to bolt the party and nominated Sen. Richard B. Russell.

The Dixiecrats cannot exist long as a party.

The Democratic party of the South cannot exist as political street walkers, independent of any party, walking the streets ready to bestow their electoral vote favors upon which ever national party promises the most. No Southerner can have a national political career on that sort of "tribute" basis.

The two-party system is the backbone of our national way of life and of our government.

Decision Therefore, this is a time for decision.

We have already made the error of considering the problem in terms of the man, Harry Truman; the man, Tom Dewey, and the man, Henry Wallace.

They will all three be gone and forgotten in a few years, but political parties go on. Sometimes they absorb others. But they go on.

The Southern Democrats don't want to vote for Truman.

They would like to find a way to remain "regular" and still not vote for Truman.

Mon 9-13-48

A few will say, "We have shown you that we detest Truman and his works, but we are not going to bolt the party. It is going to be defeated anyhow, so we will stay in it and try to change what we think to be wrong."

A few others will withhold their electoral votes.

The really thoughtless will bolt into the fourth party called the Dixiecrats.

Choice It is a difficult choice. It looks as if the Democratic party has a chance to hold a slight margin in the U. S. Senate. At the worst it will have a sizable bloc of votes there. Sen. Russell, of Georgia, showed last year what a minority can do in getting concessions from the majority.

If the party is going to be defeated nationally, as it is, it may be well to consider staying in it with the fighting chance to win concessions.

That will mean some changes at home. Local Democratic organizations in Southern counties and cities already are competing for Negro votes. There are many decisions to be made.

Meanwhile, it seems to me to be common sense and State patriotism to give every support to Herman Talmadge's every act which would establish him as a good Governor. We all get hurt if he fails.

Talmadge Win Won't Wreck Georgia, Atlanta Editor Says

The Post

Fri 9-10-48

34C(2)

By Ralph McGill

Editor of the Atlanta Constitution

Washington D.C

Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 9.—Herman Eugene Talmadge's smashing unit vote victory, and comfortable popular vote margin in Georgia's Democratic primary of Wednesday, is being taken right in stride by a State used to politics of a fire-and-brimstone variety.

The more timorous are at the topmost peak of their ivory towers writing wistful editorials about the white knight in shining armor who, free of all wicked political connections, will come one day to rescue the maiden fair. Others are crying havoc and all of us are sitting back waiting for the editorial comment from our neighbors north of the line which will see in the Talmadge victory a smashing triumph for the Ku Klux Klan and its associated stupidities.

Fri 9-10-48 Wash D.C

The truth of it is that nothing unusual will happen. The Thompson campaign, which gave the State an exhibition of corrupt use of whisky money and road contract shakedowns not seen since the years before the war, had been clad with the white robes of virtue simply because it was against Talmadge. Actually, with former Gov. E. D. Rivers associated with it, not even the onetime "peerless leader" could give the Thompson camp a clean bill of health.

Fri 9-10-48

Thompson himself was never appealing, a good, honest schoolteacher, he had done an acceptable job, but he attracted no support. Very few persons were for Thompson. A great many were against Talmadge. Georgia has been divided roughly into Talmadge and anti-Talmadge camps for a quarter century. This time, with the greatest registration in history, well over one million, only about half the voters were interested enough in what they considered a bad choice, to come out and vote. Even the Negroes, intimidated only here and there, were not enthusiastic. In Atlanta, for example, where there was no intimidation or hint of it, only half the registered Negro voters came to the polls. They reflected white opinion, namely that Thompson was a political accident who was being manipulated by the shopworn political forces and for them it was no great issue. There is great mourning among the anti-Talmadge group, but everyone is up and doing, expecting no heavens to fall.

34C(2)

Fri 9-10-48

Klan Influence Slight

The Ku Klux Klan at best has about 15,000 members and was not a factor. Old Doc Greene, the wistful grand dragon, hung around the Talmadge headquarters. Three times an effort was made to get the dragon to depart, on the theory that he was not a good ad, but the Doc stuck it out. Even so, not even the Talmadge people, while they had taken his votes, were making a pal of him.

Southern politics, in the one-party States, has always been a politics of protest and in that pattern Georgia has long been a leader. Tom Watson sparked the Populist revolt of the eighties and nineties which almost smashed the Democratic Party in the State. Georgia, like the other Southern States, is going through the retreat from cotton and what amounts to an agricultural revolution. Industry is coming ahead and unions have more strength. But, industry's workers come from the farms, and reflect the farm psychology. Hence, the CIO, which hates Talmadge, sat back in impotence while all the CIO automobile unions and a good 30 per cent of the textile union members whooped it up for Herman as they had for Old Gene.

Civil Rights "Threat"

Georgia, along with the South is in a state of transition. That goes for politics, too. The Truman Civil Rights proposals were very effective in solidifying the Talmadge ranks and putting them to work. The threat of an FEPC put most of the industrial workers and owners behind him. Thompson was crying "me, too" and trying to prove that no one hated the civil rights proposals more than he, but the presence of Ellis Arnall, who had seconded Henry Wallace's nomination at Chicago in 1944, made the Thompson camp vulnerable. It may be noted in passing that the platforms of both candidates were so alike they could well have been written by the same man and on no single pertinent issue did they differ at all, another reason why Thompson didn't get any "for" votes but only the negative ones. Henry Wallace's entry into neighboring Southern States also had an effect. The average Southerner is in something of the mood of the bull at the bullfight after the picadors and the banderillos have finished with him. The civil rights proposals and Henry Wallace's bumbling parades have aroused a lot of them to furious defense of their worst politicians.

Fri 9-10-48

Even the State's liberals, while they wanted Thompson to win, privately admit it probably is better for the State he didn't. Had he won he would have been a schoolteacher lost in the political woods. Young Talmadge is just 35. He is far shrewder than his father. He speaks grmmatically and uses big words with ease. He is politically ambitious. He plans to run for the United States Senate two years from now when the present term will end. That will be against Senator Walter F. George if he chooses to run. But the Talmadge people hope his age will cause him to retire. The Talmadge organization will then have to choose for the 1950 governorship between Robert Elliott, national committeeman from Columbus, Ga., and Lieut. Gov. Marvin Griffin, nominated with Talmadge and who ran far stronger than even Talmadge. Griffin carried even Fulton County of which Atlanta is the county seat, which Talmadge lost by more than 10,000 votes and Griffin was even more anticivil rights than Talmadge.

No Feeling of Despair

Eo, one and all hope that young Talmadge, with that ambition before him, will try to make a really outstanding Governor and will adopt a policy of conciliation. He has said he wants the qualified Negro to vote and have full rights so long as eegregation is maintained. His position is that of the dominant majority and it is also that of a majority of the Negroes, although their voice is not heard. MRost of Georgia's Negroes, like those of the South, are rural Negroes. It is noteworthy the Atlanta Daily World, a militant Negro publication, was critical of the Ray Springle articles as harmful rather than helpful.

Fri 9-10-48

8, while a lot of Georgians are unhappy about the Talmadge victory, there is no despair and there is no feeling that slavery is at hand. The Talmadge organization looks good for about six years, but they feel nt will be a betterbrand ofTalmadgeism than that of the late' Gene Talmadge and the State got along under six years of his administration. The anti-Talmadge forces rmain strong and full of fight and there will be no lying down and giving up. The fight will go on. The klan will try to derive all the benefit it can out of the racial situation, and it will be helped by antilabor unions. But there is no chance at all the klan will have any great influence in State government.

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Meanwhile, the Republicans likely .will run a man for Fovernor. He will get a good vote, uut has no chance to win. That will be a start toward the gretaly desired two-party problemubical

party system. But until the racial problem is made less acute by emigration and more jobs, and until the State is less of a have-not State, our politics will continue to be explosive and based on protests rather than issues. The liberal is gloomy—but not buried.

Hummon And The Wizard

ATLANTA—With fear, or with gleeful anticipation, or with a kind of wary hopefulness, Georgians are waiting to see what a new Talmadge regime will be like. No one really knows what face the next Governor, Herman Talmadge, known as "Young Hummon," will show to the world. If outward appearances count for anything, Young Hummon should provide a sharp contrast to his father, "Ol' Gene" Talmadge. But a good many shrewd observers here who have watched the younger man in action fear that outward appearances count for very little.

Certainly there is a surface contrast. Ol' Gene's loud bellowings, his single red gallus, his thick "woolhat" diction, have all been discarded. Instead, Young Hummon goes in for neat blue suits, flowered ties, a suave manner, and grammer, even on the hustings.

34c(2)

At one point during the recent campaign, Young Hummon's advisers, worried by the comparative paleness of his platform manner, urged him to stop using grammar and three-syllable words, and to belch forth fire and brimstone, like ol' Gene. Young Hummon refused. And although he made it clear that one of his first acts as Governor would be to find some way largely to disfranchise the Negroes, he did so without his father's customary rancor.

* * *

Surprising Results

THE RESULTS WERE SURPRISING. Young Hummon not only held the traditionally pro-Talmadge rural counties, but won some of the urban "streetcar" counties as well, which his father had never done. And in the Georgia back country, the verdict was unanimous: "Young Hummon's even smarter than Ol' Gene."

This may very well be true. Young Hummon, with his small, shrewd eyes, his jet-black hair, straight as an Indian's, and his softly courteous manner ("Mighty nice of you to stop by, now you be sure to come again") is a man to be reckoned with, according to those who should know. He is a thoroughly intelligent man, tough, determined and ambitious. And there is no doubt that his ambitions extend beyond the confines of the state of Georgia.

His ambitions explain why he has infuriated the Dixiecrat leaders and given Truman a chance in Georgia by failing to embrace the Dixiecrat cause, for he undoubtedly remembers the fate of other Georgia politicians who have bolted the regular Democratic organization. His ambitions also explain the conscious contrast he is making to his father. Unlike Ol' Gene, Young Hummon, nattily dressed and soft-spoken, is storming such citadels of respectability as the civic and business clubs, making earnest, intelligent speeches on good business or education or soil conservation.

10-19-48

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Yet astute Georgians are asking themselves just how far this conversion to moderation and respectability will go. One highly significant index will be the future relationship between Young Hummon and one of his most ardent supporters, Doc Green, imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan.

Tues 10-14-48

In his way, of course, the doctor is eminently respectable. His new red brick suburban house has a determined air of respectability. So does his dentist's office, with its aging magazines, its faded copy of Hippocrates Oath, and its vintage red leather dentist's chair. The imperial wizard (he promoted himself from a mere grand dragon) is a dusty, gray, sad-looking, angry small man. Just as Harry Truman looks like that mythical figure "the average man" in person, so Doc Green, with his long, off-center face, his watery eyes and his small, timid moustache, looks like an unfriendly caricature of the average man.

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* * *

Typical Resolutions

TWO RECENT TYPICAL RESOLUTIONS in Klan Klaverns are evidence enough, if more evidence is needed. One called for a fight to the finish with the "Jew-loving, Catholic-loving, nigger-loving CIO." Another called for the sendnig of a letter of appreciation to an Atlanta policeman variously known as "Itchy Trigger Finger" and "Slappin' Sue" for having shot a large number of Negroes.

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Appeal To All Voters Puts Michigan Coroner in Office

Afro American 34c(2) Mich

Sat. 11-20-48

● By ISAAC JONES

Baltimore, Md.

ANOTHER PAGE on the democracy side was added to the history of Wayne County, in last Tuesday's election, when voters of both races marched to the polls and elected Dr. Samuel B. Milton coroner of River Rouge, Mich.

It marks the first time in history that other than a white physician has been elected to the coroner's office by the votes of the people of Wayne County.

Pays $9,000

Running on the Democratic ticket, with the slogan — "Don't Be Half Safe — Vote Straight Democratic," Dr. Milton, polled 462,912 votes, while his Republican running mate, Dr. Albert A. Hughes, received 475,185.

The winners defeated Dr. Albert L. French, and Dr. Loyd K. Babcock, Republicans.

The coroner's position carries a salary of $9,000 per year, plus allowances for expenses.

Dr. Milton has proven that he is a man of keen ability; his medical skill, understanding of human relations between classes and races has made him an outstanding leader in the community.

Founded Hospital

The three-story, Sidney A. Sumby Memorial Hospital, located at Visger Rd. and Palmerston, in River Rouge, Mich., which is owned and operated by Dr. Milton stands as a monument to his great work.

The hospital has an interracial staff of 12 physicians, five white and seven colored.

It is equipped with all the modern equipment necessary to handle the most delicate operations and treatments of patients.

Any one in River Rouge will tell you that Dr. Samuel B. Milton has always been a fighter for justice in that community.

It was through his efforts that River Rouge has become a better place for colored people to live in. Discrimination bars in theatres and eating establishments have almost disappeared.

On School Board

He has been a member of [illegible] River Rouge school board since 1945. Dr. Milton is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Beechwood Community Center and the down river Council of Social Agencies. He is an active member of Union Baptist Church of River Rouge.

Sat 11-20-48

During World War II, Dr. Milton was medical examiner for Selective Service and also held a health officer post in the city of Ecorse, Mich. for two years.

The Elks. Masons and Knights of Pythias have his membership

Seated in his spacious office at his hospital Thursday, Dr. Milton told me that the success of his campaign for Wayne County Coroner was due to the fact that he carried his message to all the people—including all classes and races.

"I spoke to religious, civic, educational, business and other groups—and I even went into the beer taverns and carried my message to the people there," said Dr. Milton.

Dr. Samuel Byron Milton was born March 8, 1902 in Washington, D.C. He is a graduate of Brown University and received his medical training at Northwestern University.

Sat 11-20-48

He did interne work at City Hospital in St. Louis, Mo. and general surgical practice in Kalamazoo, Mich. for one year and in the Detroit area for 19 years.

Has Two Children

Dr. Milton and his wife, Mrs. Isaure Eva Milton have been married 20 years. They have two children, Suane, 14 and Samuel Milton Jr., 17, who is a military student at Willston Academy, East Hampton, Mass.

Dr. Milton believes that a man can climb as high in life as his ability—and will power will lift him—and it is not always the color of the skin that defeats his ambition.

He made it plain that he will do everything in his power to serve the people of Wayne County as they have never been served before. He will succeed—because Dr. Samuel B. Milton has what it takes.

DR. SAMUEL B. MILTON

Rankin keeps cool on 'nigra' question on air

Tribune Los Angeles, Calif.
Sat. 3-20-48

Limiting himself to a brief, and respectful, mention of "nigras," Congressman John Rankin, of Mississippi, tore into fair employment practices legislation in a debate with Rep. Vito Marcantonio, of New York, Wednesday night over KHJ-Mutual.

34c(2)

Baited by Marcantonio with the old story about the Mississippi Negro asked by the late Senator Bilbo to speak a word over a nationwide hookup who yelled, "Help", Rankin insisted that "Nigras down home—the colored people, are not going to call on the people from New York to solve their problems.

"Nigras and whites in the South get along better than any similar number of nigras and whites any place else in the country," Rankin went on.

Declaring that FEPC "simply violates every principle on which this government is founded," Rankin cited what he regarded as defects in the New York law as typical weaknesses in the national bill.

He lamblasted the law for denying employers the "right to make inquiry into the original name, birthplace, or citizenship of applicants."

Sat.

Had FEPC been law when the United States entered the last world war, it would have been possible for enemy nations to have had espionage agents in vital defense industries, Rankin said.

Under the New York state law, employers may not require applicants to show naturalization papers, to tell when they acquired citizenship, or to tell where they were during the first World War, Rankin went on, declaring that such proscriptions are hazardous to national defense.

3-20-48

"Everytime you mention progress, he stops and says 'Communist,'", Marcantonio said of Rankin. Relative to charges of Communism, the New York representative recalled that the Republican platform of 1944 contained a plank favoring FEPC.

"I know the Republican didn't mean it, but it was there," Marcantonio said.

Sat.

"Only the Wallace party" really wants FEPC or democracy, Marcantonio went on.

3-20-48

The News

Rankin Goes Back

Birmingham, Ala.

The voters of Rep. John Rankin's district in Northern Mississippi sent him back to begin his 29th year of service in Congress by a handsome margin. In the Democratic primaries held Tuesday he defeated his two opponents handily. The election in November is a mere formality.

34c(2)

Mr. Rankin, 66 years old, has made himself conspicuous in the House by his frequent bad manners and his bitter opposition to what he conceives as anti-Americanism. Many of his critics do not concede that his conception of Americanism is correct. His belief in white supremacy is carried to extremes of poor taste. He has been known to impugn citizens because their names indicate family origin in foreign countries. As ranking Democratic member of the House un-American affairs committee, he has often sponsored methods which many opponents think infringe upon the Bill of Rights. In many respects he has made himself unpopular with his fellow House members.

Thurs. 8-26-48

On the credit side, however, one must note Mr. Rankin's firm support of the TVA.

Mr. Rankin was renominated by a small minority of the people living in his district. Fewer than 25,000 votes were cast in the primary for congressional candidates, and Rankin was nominated by receiving approximately 14,000 of them. The fact to be emphasized is that thousands of Mississippi's citizens of voting age either do not or cannot vote. No one can say, of course, that if more of the people in his district were qualified to vote he would have been defeated. But one can point out that his long tenure in office, giving him importance in Congress by the antiquated rule of seniority in service, has been assured by a minority.

Truman Again Snubs Powell; No Bid To Annual Reception

34c(2)

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) — President Truman again snubbed Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., by failing to invite him to attend the annual state reception given at the White House Tuesday night.

The traditional reception given for members of the senate and house turned out to be somewhat of a flop, as far as numbers were concerned. Only about one-half of the invited guests turned up, making this the smallest official reception held at the White House this winter.

Rep. William L. Dawson was also conspicuously absent. He attributed his absence to the fact that a recent death in his wife's family had prevented them from accepting any social invitations lately.

It is said that not enough Republicans showed up to make a quorum and that the Democrats stayed away en masse.

Disapprove Stand

Because of the recent controversy within the ranks of the Democratic party, it is believed that the Democrats stayed away from the White House reception to show their disapproval of the stand taken by the administration on civil rights.

Because the reception was held during Lincoln week, it is alleged that many Republicans were out of town making Lincoln-day addresses.

Sun 2-22-48

Whatever the reason, neither of the Negro congressmen attended the reception either this year or last year. Congressman Powell was not invited either this year or last. It was the general opinion last year that the Harlem congressman was intentionally left off of the guest list because of an old grudge which the President held against him. This dislike is said to have arisen because of a remark made by the New York congressman in regard to Mrs. Truman's stand on the segregated policy practiced by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

When Mrs. Truman was asked to boycott a recital given at Constitution hall because the DAR had previously denied the congressman's distinguished wife, Hazel Scott Powell, the right to appear in a concert there because of her race, the First Lady replied in effect that she saw no reason why she should not attend the recital.

School Board Candidate

34c(2)

Mrs. Martha B. Ammons, former Baltimore schoolteacher and now a resident of Mount Vernon, N.Y., has been named by a citizens committee as the first candidate in the 1948 school election to be held on May 4, in Mount Vernon. Daughter of the late Henry W. and Adele Brown of Baltimore, Mrs. Ammons is a graduate of Morgan College and Coppin Teachers College. While in Baltimore she was a weekly contributor to the AFRO, and active in civic groups including the NAACP, Girl Reserves, Girl Scouts, and the Urban League. She founded the Book-A-Month Club in Baltimore.

Brooklyn Elects Its First Negro to Office

N.Y.

Sends Bertram L. Baker to Assembly From 17th District

Brooklyn voters elected a Negro to public office in Tuesday's election for the first time. The precedent was established in the Assembly race in the 17th District, with Bertram L. Baker, Democratic-American Labor party candidate, defeating Maude B. Richardson, candidate of the Republican and Liberal parties, who is also a Negro.

Mr. Baker polled 21,086 votes, of which 5,392 werre on the A. L. P. line. Mrs. Richardson's total was 11,628, including 2,777 Liberal ballots.

Thur-11-4-48

There are four other Negro Assemblymen from New York City—all Democrats from the Harlem area. They are Thomas Dickens, 11th District; Elijah Crump, 12th; Harold A. Stevens, 13th, and Hulan E. Jack, 14th.

Mr. Baker, fifty, was born in Nevis, British West Indies. He migrated to this country in 1915, and has been a resident of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area since 1923. He has two married daughters. His home is at 399 Jefferson Avenue.

He was formerly a deputy collector of internal revenue assigned to the income tax audit section of the Brooklyn Bureau of Internal Revenue. He is currently a confidential inspector on the staff of John Cashmore, Brooklyn Borough President. He has been for years the executive secretary of the American Tennis Association, the Negro counterpart of the United States Lawn Tennis Association.

Negro Elected in Brooklyn

Assemblyman-Elect Bertram L. Baker

TRUMAN AGAIN IGNORES REP. ADAM C. POWELL

34c(2) N.Y.

Washington (ANP) — President Truman again snubbed Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. by failing to invite him to attend the annual state reception given at the White House Tuesday night.

The traditional reception given for members of the senate and house turned out to be somewhat of a flop, as far as numbers were concerned. Only about one-half of the invited guests turned up, making this the smallest official reception held at the White House this winter.

Dawson and Adam Powell Re-elected

34c(2)

WASHINGTON

Rep. William L. Dawson (Dem., Ill.), and Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr., (Dem., N. Y.), were re-elected for their ~~fourth~~ and third terms, respectively, in Congress in the national election on Tuesday.

Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey of Philadelphia lost his fight to become the first colored Congressman from Pennsylvania when the Progressive Party's ticket on which he ran was swamped over by the Democratic victory in that city.

Magistrate Hobson R. Reynolds, Republican, also lost in his bid to become the first State senator in Pennsylvania who is not white despite the endorsement of the GOP in Philadelphia.

Six candidates in Philadelphia, five Democrats and one Republican, were elected to the Pennsylvania State Legislature, one being Mrs. Susan Monroe, a beautician from the 23rd District, the second colored woman to be so elected.

The others were: Lewis Mintess, Sixth District, only one of five GOP legislative incumbents to keep his seat; Granville Jones, Seventh District, who defeated William A. Upshur, 30th Ward GOP leader, for an upset;

Samuel Floyd, 13th District; the Rev. D. W. Hoggard, 18th District; J. Thompson Pettigrew, 21st District;

34c(2)

In Baltimore, Dr. John E. T. Camper, 4th Congressional District, running on the Progressive Party ticket, placed third in his bid for a seat in Congress, polling 6,552 votes. Rep. George H. Fallon won by 38,480 votes.

Led by Congressman Dawson, who piled up an early lead of more than 40,000 votes over his Republican opponent, William E. King, the Democratic landslide in Chicago also carried two judges and three legislators into office.

Dawson Lauds Truman

With regard to his victory, Congressman Dawson said:

"The American people have spoken. Their powerful mandate ushers in a new era of democracy. President Harry S. Truman stands today as the supreme champion of all American citizens, regardless of color.

Sat 11-13-48

"The American people have given their irrefutable answer to those who doomed him to defeat because of his courageous and history-making stand on civil rights.

"This is the first dawn of a better tomorrow, a brighter future for ourselves, our children and for all mankind.

"The huge Truman vote which the group cast should stand as a glistening, two-edged sword, to warn all who hold posts of responsibility that the colored citizen will fight to the last ditch in his cause."

Democrats Sweep Ohio

The Democratic sweep in Ohio ousted from office three colored Republican members of the State Legislature, Attorneys Harry E. Davis from the Senate and William B. Sanders and Francis E. Young from the House of Representatives.

Two State Democratic candidates, Frank C. Shearer, of Columbus, and Madison H. Perkins of Cleveland, failed to get enough Democratic support to win seats in the House.

James Christian, Youngstown, Ohio, Republican, also failed in his bid for the House. Colored voters in Ohio cast their ballots approximately three to one for Mr. Truman.

5 Elected in N.Y.

Bertram L. Baker, 50, a public accountant for the past 26 years, on Tuesday, became the first colored man to be elected to a public office from Brooklyn when he defeated Mrs. Maude B. Richardson in the 17th Assembly District race for the New York State Assembly by a plurality of 9,588 votes.

In New York four colored Democrats were sent to the New York State Assembly. They were Tom Dickens, attorney of the 11th District, Elijah Crump of the 12th District and Julian Jack of the 14th District and Harold Stevens of the 13th District, the latter two were re-elected.

In the Wayne County (Mich.) Democratic landslide, Dr. Samuel B. Milton, River Rouge physician, was elected coroner to become the second colored Democrat to hold the post in Wayne County. He received 186,278 votes from 700 precincts out of 1672.

His associate, also a Democrat, former coroner, Dr. Albert Hughes, received 191,752 votes.

Edgar Currie, labor leader and Democratic candidate for the State House, is almost assured a seat in the State body. Robert L. Ward and Leroy G. White, Republican candidates for the State senate from Wayne County, were defeated.

Sat 11-12-48

In Atlantic City, N.J., Freeholder John Henry Hester, Republican, was elected coroner with a plurality of over 13,000 votes. He is also pastor of Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church in Pleasantville, N.J.

In California, Byron Rumford was elected to the State Legislature from Berkeley. He and Augustus Hawkins are the only two colored members of the State Legislature in that State.

In Norfolk, Va., Jerry O. Gilliam, retired railway mail clerk, who ran for election to the House of Representatives on the Progressive ticket, polled only 1804 votes out of 40,000 cast in the district.

One colored candidate won in Missouri. J. McKinley Neal, a druggist, was re-elected on the Democratic ticket to the Missouri General Assembly from the Fourth District, for his second term. He defeated Republican Joseph N. Moore, an attorney, by a count of 11,384 to 5,223.

34c(2)

Only other colored person on the ballot was Julius B. L. Jones, Progressive candidate for Lieutenant Governor. He polled 431 votes in Jackson County.

Man Who Came From Detroit With $4 in Pockets Elected 'Mayor' of Harlem

W. Afro American - Sat 4-3-48
Baltimore Md

~~NEW YORK~~—(NNPA) — Harlem ~~had~~ a new colored "mayor" last week and the man responsible for his election was already mapping plans to elect a "governor" of the State of New York.

The new "mayor" is Sherman Hibbitt, 39-year-old native of Glasgow, Ky., and owner of a chain of barbecue spots in Harlem, who was elected on March 17 and inaugurated before 1000 at the Savoy Ballroom by Hugo E. Rogers, president of the Borough of Manhattan, last Tuesday.

34c(2)

Hibbitt, who came from Detroit with $4 in his ~~pocket in~~ 1941, polled 14,946 votes in a heated race which saw Harlem cast more than 30,000 votes.

His nearest competitor was Mrs. Madeline McCoy, a member of the State Board of Cosmetology, and owner of a Harlem beauty salon, who polled 10,313 votes to lead "Creole" Pete Robertson, Harlem restaurant owner, who received 5,418.

Sat 4-3-48

To Clean Up Harlem Streets

A mild mannered businessman and a conservative dresser, Mr. Hibbitt, campaigned on a platform which called for a cleanup of Harlem streets and last Wednesday he was busily engaged in mapping out what part of his work he would begin first.

His mother, Mrs. Mollie Hibbitt, and his sister, Mrs. Emily D. France, came from Glasgow to see him sworn in. Two other sister,Mrs. Lizzie Stark of Cleveland and Mrs. Sannell Thomas of Detroit, also came here for the affair.

Married to Mrs. Marie Hibbitt, the new "mayor," who has no children, said he has no particular hobbies and is not interested in politics. He says that he is a Jackie Robinson fan and that he and Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis are close friends.

~~His chief adviser.~~ Reuben J. Patton, is all set to make the "mayor" a State-wide figure and a possible "governor" of New York. Last Wednesday he displayed a certificate of incorporation of the Negro Locality Mayor's Committee of New York, authorizing such a project.

Sat 4-3-48

The articles of incorporation passed by the State Supreme Court Nov. 15, permit annual elections in all colored localities of Greater New York and authorize the corporation to promote, foster, develop and maintain interest in civic, social and commercial affairs in the above mentioned localities.

The Supreme Court also gave it the right to purchase, lease or otherwise secure and sell or mortgage property, borrow money, execute and issue bonds and promissory notes.

Sat 4-3-48

Candidates for "mayor" must be at least 30-years-old, a business or professional man and must have resided in Harlem for at least three years. To stage the campaign, Patton divided Harlem into 37 divisions between 110th and 165th Streets.

New N. Y. Assemblymen Congratulated

Office Seeking
34c(2)

. ~~New York~~ Assemblyman-Elect Bertram L. Baker, first Brooklyn Negro to be elected to public office, is congratulated on his victory by Lloyd I. Herzka (left) assistant to the borough president of Brooklyn, a confidential inspector. Mr. Baker, who is 50, was elected on Tuesday, Nov. 2. He has two married daughters, was born in the British West Indies and has lived in Brooklyn for 25 years. He polled nearly 10,000 votes more than his Republican opponent.

Sat 11-13-48
Pittsburgh Pa

34c(2) 1948

South Carolina

2 Negroes Announce for Columbia Council

COLUMBIA, S. C., May 7—(AP) Two Columbia Negroes announced Friday they would be candidates for two open places on City Council in a general election here next Tuesday. 34a(1)

They are I. S. Leevy, an undertaker, and the Rev. L. C. Jenkins, pastor of Union Baptist Church.

They said they would run on a Republican ticket in opposition to Democratic candidates Colin S. Monteith Jr., and Lester L. Bates, chosen in previous Democratic primaries.

The Candidacy Of A. J. Clement

The Lighthouse & Informer

A. J. Clement, Jr.., executive secretary of Progressive Democrats, former county chairman for Charleston, a young successful businessman and long identified with civic and business projects for the elevation of the people of South Carolina, has offered in a special primary at Charleston, in which seven nominations for offices in the newly authorized county governmental council for the county, will be made.

Columbia 34c(2) S.C.

Wholly on his own, and like the 19 or 20 other candidates, Mr. Clement has paid his $100.00 entrance fee, offering, he said, so that his people may have honest representation in the county government..

Sun 10-3-48

This marks the first time ever that a citizen of his race has offered in a primary of any sort in South Carolina, and significantly, he does so in a county where the influential political sources, Rep. Rivers, Senator Maybank, The news and Courier, have, perhaps more than anywhere else in the State, fanned hot the passions of hatred and intolerance.

On the other hand, Mr. Clement lives in the county which leads the State in political action among his people, both in registration for the general election and enrolment for primaries, and also in the casting of ballots. It is estimated that more than 10,000 Negroes have registered in the county, a sizable and effective number in an election of the sort in which he will be a candidate.

Sun 10-3-48

"Arthur" Clement is not a seeker of political prestige; nor has he political ambitions. A well-trained, capable and proved businessman, he offers so that his people may be assured of at least sympathy and more than "token" allocations by their county government.

Perhaps the colored voters in Charleston will want to turn out on October 9 and give him a good vote. He can be elected. Oliver C. Hill was elected to city council in Richmond this year. The Rev. Kenneth Williams was elected to city council in Winston-Salem a year or two ago. South Carolina can elect a colored citizen-a qualified and honorable one-if it so chooses.

We suspect that the old loyalty of Charleston's citizens will be very much in evidence on October 9. The Dixiecrats of course will not like it.

34a(2) 1948 South Carolina

2 Negroes File for S. C. Council

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (SNS) — Two Negro Republicans, one an undertaker, the other a Baptist minister have announced their candidacy for places on City Council at Columbia, S. C.

Sun. 5-9-48

34a(2)

The aspirants include I. S. Leevy Columbia undertaker and the Rev. L. C. Jenkins, pastor of the Union Baptist Church. They are running in opposition to two white candidates of the Democratic party.

SOUTH CAROLINA OUT OF TRUMAN PARADE

34a(2)

(International News Service)

Times Picayune
New Orleans, La.

Columbia, S. C., Dec. 30.—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond announced today that South Carolina would not have a float in President Truman's inaugural parade in Washington. Each state has been invited by the committee in charge of inaugural festivities to be represented in a large parade honoring the president. Thurmond, who was the States' Rights candidate for president in opposition to Mr. Truman, gave no reason for his decision.

Fri-12-31-48

34c(2) 1948

Texas

Texas Negro elected to school board

Kansas City Call

Bexar Co -

SAN ANTONIO — G. J. Sutton, a funeral director, became this city's first Negro on the board of trustees of the San Antonio Junior College District, which has jurisdiction over a white and a Negro junior college. Sutton received 7084 votes. A Mexican, Gus C. Garcia, was elected to the trustee board of the San Antonio Independent School District in a coalition vote of Mexicans and Negroes.

Sat. 4-10-48

Mixed Texas Precinct Names Negro Chairman

The Defender

Jefferson

BEAUMONT, Tex. — The mixed citizenry of Precinct 14 recently elected Aaron Jefferson its chairman, marking the first time a Negro has held this office in an interracial community for many decades.

Sat. 8-14-48

Chicago, Ill.

Richmond Negro Elected to Seat On City Council

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

34a(2)

Thurs

Richmond, Va., June 9 (AP)—Citizens of Richmond elected a 41-year-old Negro attorney to a seat on their new nine-member City Council today. 6-10-48

Oliver W. Hill, World War II veteran, is the only independent candidate to break the ranks of the Richmond Citizens Association, which elected eight of its nine candidates. Hill edged out T. D. du Cuennois, ninth member of the association's slate, by an unofficial count of 9,095 to 8,834. Du Cuennois is area director of the C.I.O. for the eastern part of Virginia.

The Negro attorney's election marks the first time that a member of his race has been named to the City's governing body in many years.

Viewing The Election Results

Journal + Guide

THE ELECTION last week in Norfolk, especially when viewed in conjunction with the history-making result in Richmond, points inexorably to one imperative requirement: we must close ranks.

34a(2)

In Richmond the voters elected OLIVER W. HILL to the new nine-man City Council which will replace the old and cumbersome 32-man council. In winning, MR. HILL defeated 21 other candidates, including one of the otherwise victorious slate of nine aspirants running under the auspices of the potent Citizens Association and having, in addition, the not insignificant backing of the CIO and its energetic political affiliates.

Sat 6-19-48

VA

MR. HILL, a young and able lawyer, demonstrated his political potency last summer when he failed of election to the Virginia General Assembly by only 190 votes. Among the candidates who defeated him in the state capital were thirteen who were members of the existing council.

Norfolk Va.

In Norfolk, against terrific odds, VICTOR J. ASHE polled 2,707 votes—roughly one-fourth of the total—in his second try for the City Council and his third for public office. He polled over 2,900 votes to finish seventh in a nine man field in 1946. Last summer he polled 2,733 votes in his first try for election to the lower house of the General Assembly.

Through an unfortunate set of circumstances surrounding last week's election, MR. ASHE was one of three candidates, the other two being white, whose names were not printed on the official ballots. His votes were garnered entirely by a write-in and rubber-stamping technique in last week's councilmanic race. He suffered from a campaign of fear generated during the last days of the campaign, a beware-of-a-writein-that-will-elect-ASHE tactic taken by the opposing camps. This actually became a bigger factor than the normally heavy obstacle presented by the writein necessity.

But when everything is considered, the prime obstacle to minority political representation in Norfolk has been the failure to close ranks. We simply have not got together on our fundamental needs, we have succumbed to the division of factions, cliques, and personality differences. It should be axiomatic that only if we are united can we succeed. No one candidate will exactly meet the personal requirements and likes of each voter. In the effort of a minority and disadvantaged group to achieve a voice in policy-making and legislative bodies, these preferences must be subordinated to the overriding necessity to establish the principle of representation.

As it is now, we have approximately 5,000 registered voters among our group which are being wasted when compared to their real potential. MR. ASHE's totals in his three tries have been, respectively, 3,001, 2,733, and 2,707. In each election he has polled some votes in every precinct, so obviously he has polled many white votes. Equally obviously, he has polled hardly half of the available vote most reasonably expected to go to him. That way lies defeat for any effort to bring about direct minority representation in City Council.

Sat 6-19-48

Whether we close ranks or not, it is imperative that those agencies which seek to have our citizens pay their poll taxes and register must continue those efforts with renewed and persistent energy. This drive must be frequent and unwavering. From now on we must unite for action, for successful action; we must forget the past, we must overlook personalities. Defeats must not discourage us. In the long run they are unimportant. The vital thing is to learn from them. Military men know that battles can be lost but the campaign of which they are a part can be won.

MR. HILL and those voters who finally elected him in Richmond were not discouraged by his earlier defeat. Less than a year later they closed ranks. His election is without doubt the most significant political development in the South since the last century. Therein lies the important lesson for all who would try to make democracy a reality.

MR. ASHE made a remarkable showing. His intelligent and broad-gauged platforms, public utterances, and general campaign demeanor have won the respect, if not the balloting support, of the majority group. Part of the battle has thereby been won. The rightness, the obligation, for minority representation, is more generally acknowledged as a result. Whether he consents or not to stand again for elective office, his contribution to our political advancement is beyond dispute and will weigh heavily in all future developments.

THERE is considerable dissatisfaction in all quarters of the city with the present administration of city affairs. The feeling is, with a good deal of justification, that the present City Council is too narrowly a business men's council and that it is more sensitive to the interest of industry, business, commerce, and big financial interests than to the overall desires and needs of the community as a whole.

6-19-48

One of the prime needs too long ignored is better housing, better streets, improved street lighting, and sounder city planning and zoning. One of the great obstacles to Negroes helping themselves to obtain better living conditions is the lack of residential land on which to build. It is next to impossible to acquire lots in desirable places for Negro homes. It is not the lack of either money or credit to acquire such land, but a harsh restriction on the land which is in fact purchaseable.

The present City Council has overmagnified the myth of the taxpayers' burden. Many of the so-called big taxpayers who cry for relief actually only transmit to the public coffers monies collected from others in indirect taxes. The burden is actually on the little people.

Hill Takes Office In Richmond Council

Ward

34a(2)

Va.

Memphis Tenn.

By ALVIN E. WHITE

RICHMOND — (ANP) — Oliver Hill, recently elected councilman, took office with eight associates also elected in the last elections, here last Tuesday. Fri. 9-24-48

Although the group was elected in the spring, the change from the old form of government to the new city manager-council form was not effected until this month.

Mr. Hill says the group has met from time to time to transact business necessary for the conduct of the new form of government, selecting a city manager from the mass of applications received for the post and aligning a new policy making body.

NO COMMITTEE

Under present plans, there will be no committees, Mr. Hill said, the entire group acting on issues arising, with all but executive sessions being open to the public.

Accepting Mr. Hill as an elected official, other members of the council have been cooperative, he said, and helpful.

He has no specific program to present the council for Negroes, standing, he says, for progress of Richmond's citizens. Cognizant of the city needs, however, he feels that his very presence in the council will focus attention on the things colored Richmond needs.

FOUR WARDS

ward

The city, divided into four wards named after favored sons of the south, Lee, Clay, Jefferson and Madison, once boasted a colored ward, Jackson, from which Negro officials were formerly elected.

Memphis Tenn

In making this change in the form of government, Mr. Hill remarked that this is the first change since 1918, although there have been seven or eight changed in the type of government since the city was founded in 1789. Fri. 9-24-48

As related at the time of his election, Mr. Hill, a Howard law school graduate and a member of the firm of Hill, Martin and Robinson, is the first Negro elected to office in Richmond in half a century. Present to witness the inauguration of the new government were his wife and other friends and a host of Negroes. Mr. Hill's term expires in 1950, having been elected for two years. He speaks of his election, not as a miracle, but as a tangible expression of what Negroes can do with the ballot when they are informed and exercise the privilege of voting. His election, he believes, is a forerunner of similar elections in the south, where Negroes are beginning to realize the importance of the ballot.

Election In Virginia

34 a

New York Age

The election last Tuesday of Attorney Oliver W. Hill as a member of the Richmond, Va., City Council proves that democracy is not dead in the South. Mr. Hill was elected to his $1,200-a-year municipal post on a city-wide basis by white and Negro voters. He is the first Negro to win such an honor since 1895, when a Negro was a member of the old Common Council; he is a highly respected citizen who defeated the white Area Director of the CIO.

Sat. 6-19-48

This newspaper has no intention of using the election of Mr. Hill to a seat on the City Council at Richmond as a generalization to prove that the South has suddenly undergone a change of heart and is now ready to grant full recognition to the Negro and his citizenship rights. But Mr. Hill's election is most significant in that it marks progress for the Negro at the hands of Southern white citizens themselves. The rest of the country should not be indifferent to what goes on in other sections, whether good or bad, but it should also be recognized that reforms freely proposed by the people of a community are certain to be more broadly and permanently based, and assured of being put into practical operation with less friction and opposition than those which have come about as a result of outside pressure.

Amsterdam News

The local view—and it is a good one—of the election of Mr. Hill is given by the Richmond Times Dispatch, one of the South's greatest newspapers, edited by Virginius Dabney, which said in an editorial:

"Something of a milestone in Richmond's modern political history was set with the election of Oliver W. Hill, Negro attorney to the Council. No colored citizen has been chosen to public office here since the late 19th century, and some white Richmonders may be inclined to view the novel phenomenon with alarm. Actually, however, there is no real basis for such a feeling. Mr. Hill is a valuable citizen who is well qualified by education and background to sit on the Council.

6-19-48

"Since the population of Richmond in nearly one-third colored, it is altogether natural and proper that this large segment of the city's life should be represented on the new Council by a man of Mr. Hill's character and capacity. His presence on the law-making body should give our Negro citizens a sense of participation in Municipal affairs here that they have not had during this century, and should promote better inter-racial relations. While the propriety of 'single-shotting' by the Negroes may be questioned by some, it is obvious that several thousand whites also voted for Hill."

Richmond and its citizens may well be proud of their record in electing Mr. Hill to the City Council. It is a good beginning not only for Richmond but for other sections of the country, North, South, East and West, where full citizenship rights and equal opportunities for participation in the life, work and government of the United States are denied to citizens because of race, color, creed or national origin.

Pastor Is Candidate For Seat On Council

34a(2) Va.

Journal and Guide

PORTSMOUTH — "I intend to offer, not as a Negro candidate, but as a citizen of Portsmouth in general and Jackson Ward in particular.

Norfolk, Va.

So stated the Rev. E. Deedom Alston, rector of St. James Episcopal Church, who qualified as a candidate for City Council from Jackson Ward last Friday, subject to the municipal general election June 8. Running as an independent, Rev. Mr. Alston is opposed by E. Robie Sturtevant, incumbent, the Democratic Party's nominee.

Sat. 4-24-48

In offering as a candidate, Rev. Mr. Alston hopes to wage an impressive campaign in this downtown ward where another colored candidate, Mrs. Nancy Thomas CIAA center in 1934. He is a member of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity.

PRESENT ACTIVITIES

Rev. Mr. Alston now serves as chairman of the committee of management of Chestnut Street Branch YMCA; former vice chairman of the operating committee of "307" USO Club; member of the board of Portsmouth Community Library; vice president and member of the board of directors of the Frontiers of America and chairman of the committee on public affairs and community education.

Sat. 4-24-48

He is also secretary of the Hampton Roads Board of Athletic Officials; secretary of the colored convocation of the Diocese of Southern Virginia of the P. E. Church and secretary of its executive committee; vice president of the Eastern District of Alumni Association of North Carolina State College, and general secretary of the alumni association of Bishop Payne Divinity School.

Rev. Mr. Alston is a member of Campbell Lodge No. 67, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons.

Negro Attorney Elected To Richmond Council

The News Birmingham, Ala.

RICHMOND, Va., June 8—(AP)—Citizens of Richmond, Va., elected a 41-year-old Negro attorney to their nine-member City Council today. 34c(2) 6-9-48

Oliver W. Hill, World War II veteran, was the only independent candidate to break the ranks of the Richmond Citizens Association. The association elected eight of its nine candidates. Wed.

Hill edged out T. D. DuCuennois, ninth member of the association's slate, by an unofficial count of 9,095 to 8,834. DeCuennois is area director of the CIO for the Eastern part of Virginia. Wed. 6-9-48

White Aldermen Warmly Welcome Negro Winner

34c(2) (Atlanta Daily World) Thu. 6-24-48

RICHMOND, Va. — (A N P) — Oliver W .Hill, who was elected to the new City council here June 8, was warmly welcomed by his eight white colleagues when the body held its first brief session in the city hall Monday, June 14.

Councilman W. Stirling King, who was chosen temporary chairman, told his colleagues:

"This is indeed a historical session of the Council....This is the first time in 60 years that a member of the Negro race has been a member of our City Council. Today we welcome Mr. Hill as one of our colleagues. We are fully aware that Mr. Hill worked vigorously for the adoption of the charter under which we will operate and that he is a sincere friend of our new charter.....

The council will meet the second and fourth Mondays at 2:30 p. m., Mr. Hill having suggested the hour for meetings, until September , when the group officially takes over the administrative duties of the city government. Mr. King was elected to serve also until Sept. 7.

The immediate job of the new council is the selection of a city manager for which applications are now in order. Later the council will choose one of their members to act as city mayor.

ELECTON LAUDED

Commenting on Mr. Hill's election the Richmond Times Dispatch morning daily edited by Virginius Dabney, said:

"Something of a milestone in Richmond's modern political history was set with the selection of Oliver W. Hill, Negro attorney, to the council. No colored citizen has been chosen to public office here since the late 19th. century and some white Richmonders may be inclined to view the novel phenomenon with alarm. 34c(2)

"Actually, however, there is no real basis for such a feeling. Mr. Hil is a valuable citizen who is well qualified by education and background to sit on the council. Trained in law, he is highly regarded by the Negro community and competent to pass upon the issues which will come before him on the municipal legislative body.

"Since the population of Rich--mond is nearly one-third colored, it is altogether natural and proper that this large segment of the city's life should be represented on the new council by a man of Mr. Hill's character and capacity. His presence on the law making body should give our Negro citizens a sense of participation in municipal affairs here that they have not had during this century and should promote better interracial relations. While the propriety of 'single-shooting' by Negroes may be questioned by some, it is obvious that several thousand whites also voted for Hill."

RICHMOND'S NEW COUNCILMAN

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

The election of Oliver W. Hill, 41-year-old attorney, to the City Council of Richmond, Va., last week teaches a political lesson. 34c(2)

An analysis of the voting shows that of the 9,097 votes which the victorious candidate received, more than 3,000 of them were cast by white citizens. They enabled him to defeat his nearest white rival by 263 votes. Sat. 6-19-48

Mr. Hill thus becomes Richmond's first colored city councilman since Reconstruction days. He will serve with eight white members of the city's first unicameral council.

As a representative of 30 per cent of the city's population, Mr. Hill received a large number of "solid-shot" votes in precincts heavily populated by members of his own race, but without the votes from progressive white fellow citizens, he would have been an also-ran. 6-19-48 Sat.

This is an important political lesson and one which should be learned in every community if we are to continue our political progress. And another thing which must be kept in mind is that there probably are some whites already at work trying to devise ways and means to gerrymander the district so as to prevent political lightning from striking again.

Richmond's citizens, therefore, while justified in rejoicing, should be ever mindful of this. We must guard our gains jealously.

What has just happened in Richmond and what has been happening for years in cities farther North should inspire other communities to renew their efforts for political representation.

We salute Richmond's new councilman and those who worked hard for his success. It CAN happen here!

Progressivism in South Gets Lift From Election of Negro Councilman

34c(2)

RICHMOND, Va. — The growing campaign for the election of Negro candidates to office in Virginia chalked up its second and most signficant victory last week with the election of Mr. Oliver W. Hill prominent Negro attorney, to the Richmond City Council. The first such victory came last fall with the election of Mr. William Lawrence to the Suffolk County Board of Supervisors. Thus, within nine months, two Negro candidates have been elected to important public office in Virginia—the first time any Negro has been elected to such posts in more than fifty years.

These two victories mark a new step forward in the national liberation movement of the Negro people, and contain many vital lessons for progressives. 34c(2)

In both victories the winning Negro candidates have run as independents. These victories give the lie to those socal democrats and confused liberals who are trying to short-circuit the growing third party movement by claiming that because Virginia is a so-called "one-party" State, only chance of success lies in influencing and working within the Democratic Party. The success of Negro candidates in running as independents should go far to clear up doubts created by the social-democrats and should give a real stimulus to third party activity.

In Richmond, Mr. Hill was the only one of twenty independent candidates in running as independents should go far to clear up doubts created by the social-democrats and should give a real stimulus to third party activity.

In Richmond, Mr. Hill was the only one of twenty independent candidates successful in bucking the "lily-white" slate of the Richmond Citizen's Association, a "good government" group apparently dominated by middle class "reform" elements and local property owners.

★

MR. HILL'S ELECTION gives new proof also of the growing support among white voters for the demands of the Negro people for representation in local governments. While Mr. Lawrence won election in Suffolk County, where the Negro people are in the majority, Mr. Hill's election came in Richmond, where the Negro people are a minority of the population.

With only approximately 6,000 registered Negro voters in the city, Mr. Hill received 9,097 votes, more than one-third of his total vote, from white Richmonders. This was true despite the refusal of the powerful citizen's Association to include Mr. Hill on its slate, the failure of the "liberal" Richmond newspapers to support his candidacy, and the failure of the labor movement to endorse or work for Mr. Hill's election.

Mr. Hill's election demonstrated also the unity and political maturity of the Negro community, for although there were two Negro candidates making the race, the Negro people, and their white allies, gave completely united support to Mr. Hill. Mr. Hill received 9,097 votes while the other Negro candidate, running apparently for personal reasons, and perhaps at the instigation of the Democratic machine, received only 618 votes.

This unity was marked also by the effective use of the "single-shot" vote by thousands of voters, a spontaneous movement rather than an official part of Mr. Hill's campaign strategy. In four precints Mr. Hill received 2,206 votes while the total vote of his four nearest opponents in these precincts came to only 117.

THERE ARE ALSO important lessons, and serious danger signals, for the labor movement in the Richmond election. Last year the labor movement and the Negro community worked together in an effort to elect a labor candidate and a Negro candidate to the Virginia House of Delegates. This joint campaign resulted in the election of the labor candidate, but the Negro candidate lost out by 190 votes, largely due to the failure of the labor movement to actively campaign and get out the white vote for the Negro candidate.

In the recent City Council elections labor unofficially but very obviously rejected a policy of unity with the Negro people when its leadership failed to fight for the inclusion of a Negro candidate on the slate of the Citizen's Association, but then permitted Mr. T. D. du Cuenoins, area director of the CIO, to accept a position on the "lily-white" slate that resulted. The city CIO then failed to endorse Mr. Hill who had been forced to run as an independent, but permitted duCuennois to be publicized as the "labor" candidate although not officially endorsing him.

This chauvinist and stupid policy on the part of the leaders of the Richmond labor movement led to du Cuennois' defeat. The Negro candidate, Mr. Hill, was the ninth man out of nine to be elected and Mr. du Cuennois came in tenth, 263 votes behind Mr. Hill.

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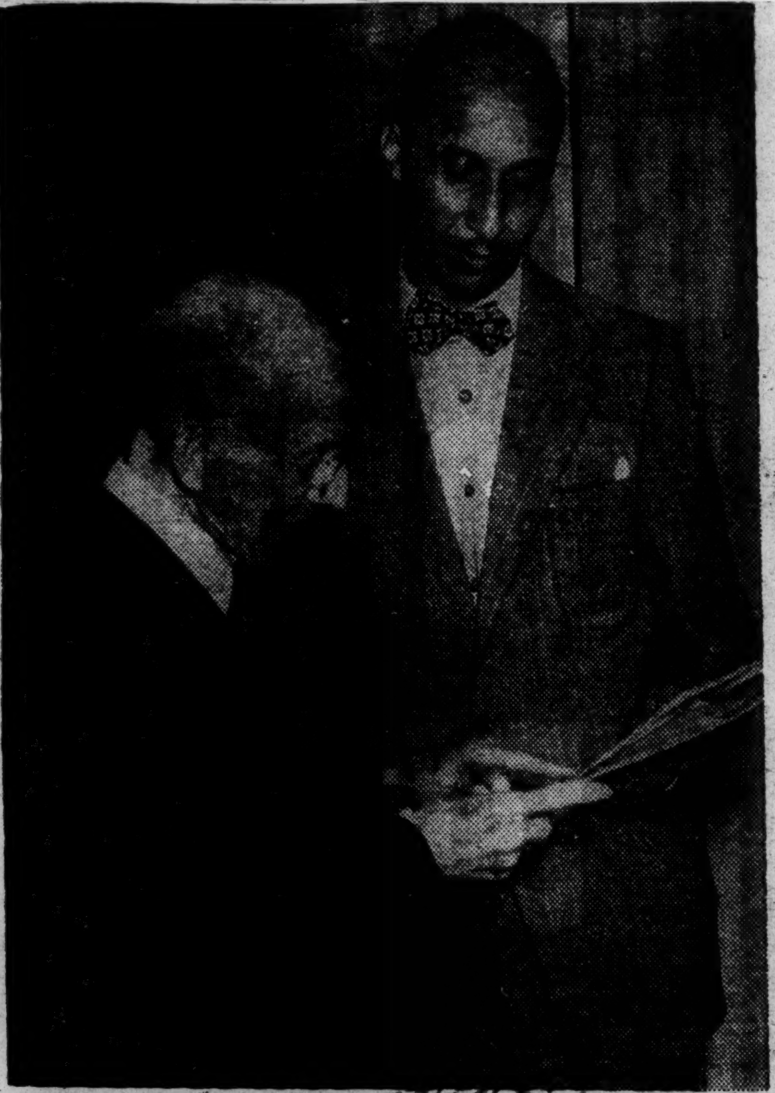
THE ELECTION of Mr. Hill to

Richmond's City Council will certainly give a powerful new push to the campaign for the election of Negroes to office in all parts of the State and proves the tremendous possibilities for important new progressive victories. But such victories will only come if labor and all white progressives actively fight for a policy of Negro-white unity, and give full support to the demands of the Negro people for representation in all public offices by including Negro candidates on all progressive slates and fully backing independent Negro candidates.

Those Negro candidates who have won election also can win wider support among the Negro people and their white allies by conducting a real fight in the interests of all the common people.



HALF A CENTURY APART—Edward R. Carter (left), only Negro now living who has served in the Richmond City Council, and Councilman-elect Oliver W. Hill look over a book listing the names of Negroes who held public office in Virginia during the latter part of the 1880's. Mr. Hill's election means he will be the first Negro member of the Council for more than half a century.

340(3)

Hill Given Support by Wealthier Whites

340(2)

Afro-American, Baltimore Md.

6-19-48

By NAT TURNER

Oliver W. Hill, 41-year-old attorney elected to the Richmond City Council last week, holds his position as the result of "solid shot" voting by colored citizens and the righteous indignation of angered white citizens of the City of Richmond.

An analysis (precinct by precinct) of the 28,343 ballots cast in the councilmanic election last week, the city's first city-wide non-partisan contest, indicates that Mr. Hill received a total of 4,095 votes from precincts in which upwards of 96 per cent of the voters are white. 6-19-48

Money Determining Factor

Another fact driven home by the tabulation was that economic status and not education determines largely the amount of racial prejudice a white person has toward colored people. Ninety-five per cent of whites who voted for Mr. Hill live in the more wealthy sections of the city.

Certain precincts in Lee and Clay Wards, which include the West End, Westhampton and the North Side, accounted for nearly all the white votes polled by Mr. Hill. Church Hill, South Side and the southern section of the downtown district gave only a smattering of support.

Typical Precincts Cited

Typical of these polling places where practically all of the voters are white were Precinct 40, 315 Maple Ave. (Westhampton), which gave him 388 votes; No. 51, 3400 Park Ave., 267; No. 39, at 5007 Groove Ave., 237, and No. 55, Chamberlayne and Claremont Aves., 281.

The effect of the solid shot voting for Hill was to give him an early lead when the first precinct reported, an advantage which he held over the other 29 candidates up through the 28th precinct to report. The others then began to catch up and trim his lead until he hit ninth place.

At 11:15 p.m. he still was in ninth place, with T. D. DuCuennois, labor candidate, tenth, his lead over Mr. DuCuennois being 414 votes. He had a total of 8,540. while Mr. DcCuennois had 8,134. "It looks like the entire slate has won," said the RCA leaders via radio.

Afro-American

"Big 40" Fails the Boys

One of the two precincts yet to report was the "big" No. 40 in Westhampton and, obviously, judging by the comments, association leaders felt that the heavy vote from this lily-white precinct would pull Mr. DuCuennois out of the hole. Baltimore, Md.

But when returns from the two tardy precincts were reported, the boys lost for a time their power of speech and didn't fully recover it before the election program went off the air. No. 40 had given Mr. Hill 388 votes, while it gave Mr. DuCuennois 474. 6-19-48

This and the other precinct that had not reported gave Hill a total of 9,097, leaving him still in ninth place with a lead of 263 over DuCennois's total of 8,834. Thus was elected the first colored councilman in Richmond since Reconstruction days.

Richmond Elects a Negro

The Courier

The election last week of Atty. Oliver W. Hill to the City Council of Richmond, Va., is a landmark in the gradual return of Virginia Negroes to political power.

6-19-48

Last year Attorney Hill failed by only 190 votes to win the Democratic nomination to the Virginia House of Delegates, but this time he succeeded in gaining 9,097 votes to win a seat on the Richmond governing body of nine members.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

340(2)

Thus, Attorney Hill becomes the second Virginia Negro within the year to win a seat on a local governing body, the other successful candidate having been elected to the County Board of Supervisors of Nansemond County.

While his election is a tribute to the enterprise and loyalty of the qualified colored voters of his district, it is obvious that a whole lot of white people also voted for him, which is even more significant.

This is another indication of a new day dawning in the South, and an augury of what is sure to happen more frequently in the future in many parts of the South.

The charge of ignorance, incompetence and unreadiness leveled against Negro candidates in the period of Reconstruction and afterward cannot be made today because these young Negroes running for high office now are well trained, politically alert and capable of measuring up to the highest standards of public service.

Men like Attorney Hill are not simply a credit to their race but also to their communities and to the country.

6-19-48

The people of Richmond, colored and white, are to be commended for making such an excellent choice.

Installed In Simple Ceremonies

Hill Takes Seat In Richmond Council

34c(2) Journal Guide

7-11-48

Special to Journal and Guide

RICHMOND, Va. — Oliver W. Hill, prominent local attorney, was installed along with eight other members of Richmond's new City Council, in simple ceremonies on the steps of the City Hall Tuesday morning.

MR. HILL

Mr. Hill, who was elected to the post in last June's Councilmanic race, became the first member of his race to officially take a seat in the City Council of Richmond in about 60 years.

In the June elections Mr. Hill, running as an independent, polled 5,407 votes to win seventh place in the nine-man race for the Council. He defeated T. D. duCuenois, ninth candidate on the Citizens Association nine man slate.

ELECTED FOR TWO YEARS

Under the system effective Tuesday, Mr. Hill will be a part of a council of nine, elected for two years to run the city of Richmond. The councilmen receive $100 a year for their services to the city.

7-11-48

The inaugural ceremonies, arranged by a citizen's committee, consisted of brief speech-making and introduction of the new Council members.

Many of the local radio stations carried the ceremonies as

Welcome Negro Winner

34c(2)

Richmond, June 28 (ANP) — Oliver W. Hill, who was elected to the new City Council here June 8, was warmly welcomed by his eight white colleagues when the body held its first brief session in the City Hall Monday June 14.

Councilman W. Stirling who who was chosen teuporary chairman, told his colleagues:

"This is indeed an hisoical session o the Council — This is the first time in some 60 years that a member of the Negro race has been a member of our City Council. Today we welcome Mr Hill as one of our colleagues. We are fully aware that Mr. Hill worked vigorously for the adoption of the charter under which we will operate and that he is a sincere friend of our new charter. . . ."

WALLACE'S POLICY ATTACKED BY ADA

The Times

New York, N.Y.

Offshoot of Old National PAC Says Candidate Adheres to Communist 'Line'

Tues.

4-27-48

34D

By CLAYTON KNOWLES

WASHINGTON, April 26—Americans for Democratic Action, an anti-Communist offshoot of the old National Citizens Political Action Committee, today attacked Henry Wallace's adherence to the Communist "line" in a thirty-four-page analysis of the first three months of his campaign for the Presidency.

In underscoring what it terms "the shifts and fallacies" of Mr. Wallace's record to date, the ADA statement takes into account his statements on Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, defense, civil liberties, labor and other subjects. Assailing this record, the ADA again crossed swords with the Progressive Citizens of America, the other derivative of the old National Citizens PAC, which is sponsor of the third party organization.

Noting that Mr. Wallace already has made more than twenty-six major speeches in nine states to audiences in excess of 75,000 persons, the ADA said that the analysis it made was necessary at this time because the candidate "will have conducted the equivalent of nearly two full Presidential campaigns by the time the major parties and the third party hold their conventions." 4-27-48

The ADA stated that, under these circumstances, it was "quite natural that only Wallace's major pronouncements will be widely reported," then added that another serious difficulty "relates to the increased unpredictability of the Wallace position as his campaign gears itself more and more closely to the fluctuations of Soviet policy."

"Wallace makes 'tough' statements which are apparently prepared for him by the well-disciplined operatives around him," the ADA'S analysis continued. "After the statements have been reported in the press and elsewhere, Wallace is apt to qualify, evade or 'explain' them in such a way as to make it virtually impossible to determine which position is really his own."

Duclos Put in Picture

The Times

The very foundation of the third party the ADA stated, dates back to the statement of Jacques Duclos, the French Communist leader, on the role of the Communist party in the United States. It pointed out that M. Duclos, in undermining Earl Browder, quoted "generously and perhaps significantly" from Mr. Wallace himself.

The analysis recalled that Mr. Wallace, in his first analysis of the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, indicated that Russia was retaliating against United States imperialism. After being chided in the Daily Worker for this statement, it observed that Mr. Wallace accused Laurence A. Steinhardt, the United States Ambassador, of having precipitated the revolt by supporting an abortive "rightist coup."

Further, the ADA's analysis accused Mr. Wallace of making a "spectacular about-face" in his view of British foreign policy on his visit to England in 1947. It said he first charged Britain with pursuing an imperialistic cause which it would be folly for this country to follow, only to switch and charge that the United States was fathering "dollar imperialism." New York, N.Y.

In the matter of defense, the ADA asserted that Mr. Wallace refused to support either universal training or the draft, yet suggested an Army of 1,000,000 men.

The whole third party strategy, the ADA contihued, was to "blackmail progressives into supporting Soviet foreign policy" or to "punish at the polls those progressive candidates who do not come to terms with the Wallace forces."

Noting that Mr. Wallace had devoted many words to the subject of civil liberties, the ADA quoted the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as saying that: "Under his secretaryship the Department of Commerce was more than ordinarily ridden with humiliating separation of workers because of color and limitation of promotion for the same reason." The same publication said that Mr. Wallace "dodged speaking before conventions of the NAACP." Tues. 4-27-48

Communist Record in South Is Old and Honorable One

By Sam Hall

Chairman, Communist Party of Alabama

The Worker

A DESPERATE mother in Chattanooga, Tenn., some 15 years ago turned wildly for help. Her son—really just a child—along with eight other lads, had been given what passed for a trial and sentenced to death in Scottsboro, Ala. This mother went to her employer, a white man. He couldn't help. But he told her, "I don't want to have anything to do with them, but if I were in your shoes, I'd ask the Communists to help me."

June 11-21-48

Thus 15 years ago the Communists in the South had established, even before Scottsboro, a reputation for fighting for full justice for the Negro people and for the working class, Negro and white.

What happened when the Communists took a leading role in fighting against the frame-up of the nine young Negro boys at Scottsboro was heard around the world. The lives of all nine were saved.

New York N.Y.

THIS UNDERLINES one aspect of what it means to the South when the Justice Department indicts and brings to trial the 12 national leaders of the Communist Party on a frame-up. These are the men that Tom Clark accuses of organizing a Party that advocates the use of force and violence to overthrow our government. These political tools of the big business crowd are trying to outlaw the Communist Party.

This means to the South, the party that, over the years since it was organized, has fought for full democratic rights not only for the Negro people but for all of the working people of the South. This attempt at outlawing the Communist Party is an attempt to smash the fight for ending the oppression of the Negro people in the South and overcoming the semi-colonial status that the Wall Street crowd has imposed on all the people of the South.

• • •

THAT BRINGS US around to another aspect of this frame-up. Every worker knows that the Communists played a major and heroic role in organizing the big industries in the South during the thirties. Communists braved some of the toughest company-dominated towns in the South to make a breakthrough for the CIO organizing drive.

Even before that, Communists rallied the unemployed masses in the South to fight for relief and for unemployed insurance. It was the Communists who gave leadership to these starving unemployed workers, Negro and white, in the great demonstrations in such cities as Houston and Atlanta and Birmingham in the early thirties.

If the big business crowd can outlaw the Communist Party they can smash the trade union movement and they can move toward shifting all the burden of the coming depression (or economic crisis) upon the backs of the working people. This time they want the unemployed to be without fighting leaders.

Or take the fight for the right to vote for all southern working people. The Communists were the first to raise the demand for the repeal of the polltax and for fair registration laws and practices. The Wall Street crowd and their junior partners, the plantation landlords, want to stop cold the growing fight for full voting democracy in the South. They aim at the Communists as the first major step in this fight.

• • •

THE ATTEMPT to outlaw the Communist Party in the coming trial of the 12 national leaders of the Communist Party is not just aimed at this political party, as undemocratic as that is. Just as Hitler in Germany outlawed the Communists as the FIRST STEP in his drive against all the rights of the German people; so too the attempt to outlaw the Communist Party of the United States is a first step in taking away the rights of labor, the Negro people and all others who oppose Wall Street's plans for profiteering, world plunder and World War III.

What gall these big business stooges have! They accuse the Communist Party of advocating force and violence, when day in and day out the Communists in the South are struggling against the force and violence used against the Negro people and against the workers generally.

June 11-21-48

WHEN IN A PERIOD of six weeks nine Negroes were shot and killed by members of Commissioner "Bull" Connor's police force in Birmingham, it was the Communists who spoke out against this brutality along with wide groups of citizens. Connor chose to honor the Communist Party by saying that the fight against the police shootings of Negro citizens was a Communist plot. Is this the kind of plots for which the United States Steel bosses of Birmingham (and the Federal Government) are moving against the Communist Party?

Two of the 12 indicted leaders of our Party are from the South. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., a fighting young Negro attorney of Atlanta, Ga., joined the Communist Party during the Scottsboro and Angelo Herndon civil liberties fights. Today he is a member of the city council of New York City, elected twice on the Communist ticket. Henry Winston, a Negro born in Mississippi, who came up through the youth movement's fight for the people's needs, is today the national organizational secretary of our Party.

All of this together is why the people of the South must write and wire President Truman, demanding that this frame-up against the Communists be dropped!

Walter White

The Defender

A very vigorous campaign is being waged to prevent the deportation to the West Indies of Claudia Jones and Ferdinand Smith, alleged to be members of the Communist Party. Action of the Department of Justice in deportating them is unquestionably stupid. Miss Jones has lived in the United States 23 or her 31 years.

Ferdinand Smith, Secretary of the National Maritime Union, has also lived the greater part of his life in New York. There is no other crime against them except that they are aliens and have been active in the communist Party. At least, to date, it is no crime to belong to the Communist Party.

COUNSEL OF WISER

For a variety of reasons, I hope that the counsel of wiser heads will be listened to by Congress to the end that the Communist Party will not be outlawed. If the purpose of the party is to overthrow the American Government, there are ample laws already on the statute books to arrest, try and punish persons for such treasonable action.

Chicago Ill

Arresting and deporting Miss Jones and Mr. Smith is downright silly unless the Department of Justice has evidence to demonstrate that either, as individuals or as alleged members of the Communists Party, is guilty of crimes against United States Government.

But equally silly is the position of individuals like Miss Jones and Mr. Smith for not taking out citizenship papers if, as has been evidenced by the length and permanence of their residence in the United States, they intended to make their homes here. They knew, or certainly should have known, the risks and penalties involved in joining and working in radical movements. They, themselves are responsible for being vulnerable.

As citizens, they would never have been in their present precarious plight. But apparently they and some of the other Communists, or alleged Communists, who have been arrested and deported are well read and informed enough to know that they were laying themselves open to such action as long as they were classified legally and actually as aliens.

LITTLE LATE FOR DEFENSE

It's a little late for their defenders to assert as they do in a leaflet which is before me as I write, that the deportation proceedings are a "fascist drive" and that "Claudia Jones and the other victims of hysteria and persecution" must be defended.

The man or woman who goes out to do battle against intrenched power must be above reproach like Caesar's wife. He must guard against the kind of Achilles' heel, which failure to secure citizenship in a country where one works to change the system of society, that has brought arrest and threatened deportation to Claudia Jones and Ferdinand Smith.

Attorney General Issues New List Of Red, Fascist Subversive Groups In U.S.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25—(AP)—Eighty-two organizations were classified as "Communist" Saturday by Attorney Gen. Clark.

He also listed 15 organizations as "Fascist," 22 as "totalitarian" and six as "subversive."

Four groups, he said, have "adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the constitution," and five "seek to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

* * *

THE LIST, a reclassification of organizations previously named by the attorney general under a presidential order, was furnished to the loyalty review board for the guidance of all government departments and agencies in the continuing check-up on federal employes' loyalty.

Several of the organizations appeared on more than one list. The Communist Party, Communist Political Association, Socialist Workers Party, Workers Party and Young Communist League were listed on three: As "Communist," "subversive" and as seeking to alter the form of government by unconstitutional means. The German-American Bund appeared on both the "Fascists" and "subversive" lists.

Eliminating duplications, 123 organizations were named.

In ordering the attorney general last November to furnish the lists of such organizations, the president said:

"Membership in an organization is simply one piece of evidence which may or may not be helpful in arriving at a conclusion as to the action which is to be taken in a particular case."

* * *

THE LIST, by categories, fol-

TOTALITARIAN—Black Dragon Society; Central Japanese Association; Central Japanese Association of Southern California; Military Virtue Society of Japan or Military Art Society of Japan; Japanese residing in America Military Conscripts Association; Imperial Japanese Reservists; Rising Sun Flag Society; North American Reserve Officers Association; Japanese Association of America; Japanese Overseas Central Society; Japanese Overseas Convention, Tokyo, Japan; Japanese Protective Association; Current Affairs Association; association of U. S. citizens of Japanese ancestry who have returned to America after studying in Japan; Imperial Military Friends Group or Southern California War Veterans; the Great Fujii Theater; Northwest Japanese Association Peace Movement of Ethiopia; Patriotic Society, or Cherry Association—composed of veterans of Russo-Japanese War; Shinto Temples; Fatherland Society; Reserve Officers Association Los Angeles).

FASCIST — American Patriots, Inc.; Overseas Branch of Nazi Party; Association of German Nations; Central Organization of the German-American National Alliance; Citizens Protective League; Dante Alighieri Society; Federation of Italian War Veterans in the U. S. A., Inc.; Friends of the New Germany; German-American Bund; German-American Republican League; German-American Vocational League; Kyffhaeuser Fellowship; Kyffhaeuser War Relief; Lictor Society (Italian Black Shirts); Mario Morgantini Circle.

* * *

COMMUNIST—Abraham Lincoln School; American League against War and Fascism; American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, Inc.; American Committee for European Workers' Relief; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc.; American Council for a Democratic Greece; American Council on Soviet Relations; American Croatian Congress; American Peace Mobilization; American League for Peace and Democracy; American Polish Labor Council; American Russian Institute; American Slav Congress; American Youth Congress; American Youth for Democracy; Armenian Progressive League of America; California Labor School, Inc.; Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent; Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side (New York City).

Civil Rights Congress and its affiliates; Committee to Aid the Fighting South; Community Party, U. S. A.; Communist Political Association; Connecticut State Youth Conference; Congress of American Revolutionary Writers; Congress of American Women; Council on African Affairs; Council for Pan-American Democracy; Dennis Defense Committee; Friends of the Soviet Union; George Washington Carver School; Hollywood Writers Mobilization for Defense; Hungarian-American Council for Democracy; International Labor Defense; International Workers Order, including People's Radio Foundation, Inc.; Jefferson School of Social Science; Jewish Peoples Committee; joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; Labor Research Association, Inc.; League of American Writers; Macedonian-American People's League; Michigan Civil Rights Federation; National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners; National Committee to Win the Peace; National Council of Americans of Croatian Descent; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; National Negro Congress; Nature Friends of America; Negro Labor Victory Committee.

New Committee for Publications; Ohio School of Social Sciences; People's Educational Association; People's Institute of Applied Religion; People's Radio Foundation, Inc.; Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art; Photo League; Proletarian Party of America; Revolutionary Workers League; Samuel Adams School; School of Jewish Studies; Seattle Labor School; Serbian Vidovdan Council; Slovenian-American National Council; Socialist Workers Party, including American Committee for European Workers' Relief.

Socialist Youth League; Southern Negro Youth Congress; Tom Paine School for Social Science; Tom Paine School of Westchester, N. Y.; United Committee of South Slavic Americans; United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization; United May Day Committee; United Negro and Allied Veterans of America; Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Walt Whitman School of Social Science; Washington Bookshop Association; Washington Committee for Democratic Action; Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation; Workers Alliance; Workers Party, including Socialist Youth League; Young Communist League.

SUBVERSIVE—Communist Party, U. S. A.; Communist Political Association; German-American Bund; Socialist Workers Party; Workers Party; Young Communist League.

* * *

ORGANIZATIONS WHICH have "adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States:"

Columbians; Ku Klux Klan; Protestant War Veterans of the United States; Silver Shirt Legion of America.

* * *

ORGANIZATIONS which "seek to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means:

Communist Party, U. S. A.; Communist Political Association; Socialist Workers Party; Workers Party; Young Communist League.

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75 Negro Leaders Urge High Court Hear Dennis

Daily Worker

New York New York

Seventy-five Negro leaders from 32 states have called upon the U. S. Supreme Court to "uphold the 14th Amendment and enforce the suffrage right of Negro Americans" by agreeing to hear the appeal of Eugene Dennis from the recent decision of Judge Bennett Champ Clark, Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia.

In a statement addressed to Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson and all eight Associate Justices, the Negro leaders criticized Judge Clark for calling "fantastic" and sheer nonsense" the contention by Eugene Dennis that "the House Committee on Un-American Activities is illegally constituted because one of its members, John Rankin of Mississippi, sits in Congress in violation of the 14th amendment.

Tues. 11-23-48

Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, was convicted of "contempt" of the Un-American Activities Committee because he refused to appear before the committee when summoned. His defense was based partly upon the contention that Rep. Rankin, a committee member, was "elected" through the disfranchisement of Negro voters in Mississippi and in violation of the 14th amendment to the Constitution.

Pointing out that this case affords the Supreme Court an opportunity to act upon the long-neglected Part Two of the 14th amendment, the Negro leaders assert,

Tues. 11-23-48

"We submit that the imprisonment of Mr. Dennis for upholding the rights of the Negro people is a travesty of justice, the more bitter at a time when the murderers of Isiah Nixon, who tried to vote in Georgia, go free."

Among the signers of the statement are: Bishop Cameron C. Alleyne, Philadelphia; Mrs. Maudelle B. Bousefield, principal of Wendell Phillips High School, Chicago; Dr Elbert Lee Tatum, professor of Social Studies, Stowe Tachers College St. Louis; Dr. C. A. Petioni, West Indian-American Committee, New York; Dr. Charles H. Wesley, president of Wilberforce State University, Ohio; Professor L. F. Palmer, Hampton Institute, Va.; Dr. Luther P. Jackson, Virginia State College; Charles G. Comillion, Tuskegee stitute, Ala.; Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, Brooklyn; Rev. Charles A. Hill, Detroit; Rev. George A. Fisher, Raleigh, N. C.; Benjamin F. Bell, Jr., executive secretary, Southern Relations Council, Memphis; Attorney Willard B. Ransom, assistant manager, Madam C. J. Walker Co., Indianapolis; Theodore Ward, Guggenheim Fellow, playwright, Brooklyn; Shirley Graham, writer; Charles Enoch Wheeler, write and poet, Chicago; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, honorary president National Association of Colored Woman Chicago; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, honorary president, National Associaton of Colored Women, Washington; Larkin Marshall, editor of the Bacon World, Okla.; William Harrison, associate editor Boston Chronicle.

Tues. 11.23-48

Protests Win Release of Detroit Negro Communist

Daily Worker

Fri 11-12-48

DETROIT, Nov. 11.—Following a visit of 105 Communist Party members to central police headquarters here last night, demanding the release of Negro Communist leader, James E. Jackson, arrested on a trumped charge, Detroit police released Jackson this morning. Since 6:30 a.m. yesterday, when Jackson was arrested on his way to distribute leaflets against speedup at the Ford Rouge plant, hundreds of telephone calls poured into police headquarters demanding his release. From 9 p.m. last night till daylight this morning telegrams poured into the home of Detroit's mayor Eugene van Antwerp.

When Judge John V. Brennan yesterday refused to grant a writ of release or bail, but ordered police to hold Jackson till 10 a.m. Friday, the state committee of the Michigan Communist Party called for a protest delegation of Communists to meet within two hours to visit police headquarters.

A total of 105 Communists marched to police headquarters, went to the fourth floor and demanded Jackson's release. The delegation was led by Nat Ganley, editor of the **Michigan Worker**; Chris Alston, Negro Communist leader in the UAW, and Jack Gore, party youth organizer. A nervous police inspector sought to placate the crowds, ending up with advising them to send more delegations today. Then Ganley demanded and won the right to send a committee to see Jackson and tell him about the 105 party members downstairs demanding his release.

Today as 10 delegations from different groups prepared to begin an every-hour visit to police commissioner Harry Toy, Jackson was released at 11 a.m.

Jackson will speak at a testimonial banquet this Saturday at 9 p.m. in his honor at Yemans Hall, 3014 Yemans Street.

Fri 11-12-48

By Benjamin J. Davis
Member, New York City Council

34d

THE JUNE 2nd delegation to Washington was the greatest single people's action in the nation's capital in modern political history. It registered politically and all over the country.

The insulting letter which Sen. Alexander Wiley, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, sent to the Daily Worker, was not only a vain attempt to browbeat the Daily Worker and to threaten freedom of the press. It was evidence of the fact that government officials in Washington are still smarting under the impact of the June 2 mass action.

Two magnificent peoples lobbies converged upon Washington, one under the leadership of the National Non-Partisan Delegation for the passage of civil rights legislation, and the other under the leadership of the Committee for Democratic Rights against the Mundt-Nixon-Rankin bill. One objective was to let the President and Congress know what the people did not want done; the other was to inform these gentlemen what the people wanted done, and in a hurry. One purpose was negative: to defeat the fascist Mundt bill. The other purpose was positive: to secure passage of the anti-poll tax, anti-lynch and FEPC bills and to eliminate Jim-crow and segregation in the armed forces.

New Yo. Post

The common goal of both was to defend and extend the civil liberties of the American people. The battle was centered upon the Senate Judiciary Committee which is attempting to steamroller through the Mundt bill, although it could not even mobilize a quorum for consideration of the anti-lynch bill. The Mundt bill was in its possession for about a week; while anti-lynch bills have been before the Senate for 71 years without passage, and under successive Democratic and Republican-controlled Administrations.

The Worker

Sun. 6-13-48

WHILE the delegations were separate in their sponsorship and business, they merged in their activities and determination. The National Non-Partisan Delegation was the voice of the Negro people organized by about 100 Negro leaders of all political persuasions and from all walks of life. The Committee for Democratic Rights consisted of all those against the Mundt bill—irrespective of race, color, creed or nationality.

Standing together for civil liberties were Republican and Communist, Democrat and Wallace-Taylor New Party adherents, ALP and Townsendites, labor and middle class professionals, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, native-born and foreign-born, Negro and white. The unity of this delegation was the living refutation of the base slander that the Communist and other progressive preach hatred, strife and disunity between races, creeds, colors and nationalities. Who preaches such Hitlerism is quite clear.

The action was a double-edged sword. It put the peoples pressure on the Washington bureaucrats to do the will of the majority of American citizens. At the same time, it further exposed the rotten and contemptuous attitude which the President, the Senators and other Washington officials—Republicans and Democrats—have toward the American people.

AMERICA's peace and democracy are on fire, the flames being fed by the coals of fascism and warmongering helped by both Republicans and Democrats. Support for either one of these Wall-Street controlled parties is like pouring gasoline on the flames. The only immediate hope of extinguishing this menacing conflagration is the building of the Wallace-Taylor New Party which will show in plenty millions of votes next November. Such is the experience of 8,000 Americans who were insulted and pushed around by the peanut politicians of both major parties in Washington last June 2.

Just as slavery in 1860 became the issue which saved American democracy, so in 1948 the issue of Negro rights is the dynamic power which can deal shattering blows to Wall Street imperialism and its iniquitous plans. How can a U. S. Senate, which rushes to pass the universally despised Mundt bill, explain its failure to pass the anti-lynch bill for which Negroes and their supporters have been clamoring for 71 years?

The follow-up is of supreme importance. The Independent Non-Partisan Committee, the continuation of the non-partisan delegation is headed by Paul Robeson and Percy Greene of Mississippi, co-chairmen, Estelle Massey Osborne, secretary, and Capt. Hugh Mulzac, treasurer. The battle goes on for the passage of civil rights legislation at this session of Congress, nationally and in the state and localities. Merged with this will be the continuing battle against the Mundt bill or any variation thereof.

June 2nd was the beginning. But the militant, bold and disciplined fighting qualities of the people in Washington—multiplied a thousand-fold—show that the battle can be won.

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4 Ex-Reds Call Stevens Party Boss

Newport Star

34d

Wed. 9-1-48

Four former Communists testified yesterday that Alexander Stevens, now facing deportation to Hungary as an alien ~~Communist~~, was known to them as "J. Peters," key figure in the American Communist Party during the 1930s.

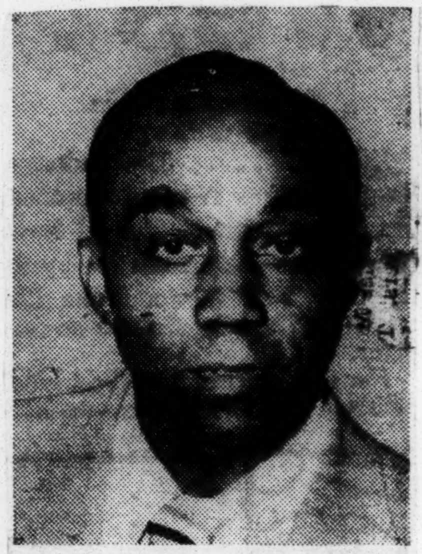
New York, N.Y.

Testifying at a deportation hearing at 70 Columbus Ave., they confirmed in general the testimony given Monday by Whittaker Chambers that Stevens was head of the Communist underground in this country.

One witness, Maurice Malkin, identified Stevens as "the big boss" who organized "action committees" designed to take over the country in time of war or economic crisis.

Denies Party Pays Him

Stevens told newsmen later he had never heard of "these action committees." He also said he was unemployed and denied he was a paid Communist Party official. On advice of his counsel, Carol King, Stevens has refused to participate in the deportation hearing, contending that it is illegal.



George Hewitt
Testifies in spy probe

A second witness, George Hewitt, testified that he heard Stevens teach that the U. S. Government "must be destroyed." Hewitt is a former member of the national committee of the Communist Party. He testified that he renounced communism in 1944.

Andrew Smith, who said he had left the Communist Party in 1935 after 16 years of membership, described Stevens as "the most active man working for the revolution in America."

Wed 9-1-48

The fourth witness, Charles H. White, identified Stevens as representative of the U. S. Communist Party at the Comintern in Moscow.

Three of the witnesses said they had seen Stevens in Moscow in the early 1930s when they were students at the Lenin School.

The hearing continues today.

Assassins Slay Communist Boss Of Havana Docks

Constitution

34d

June 10-1948

HAVANA, Cuba—(UP)—Aracelio Iglesias Dias, 46, Communist boss of the Havana waterfront, died early yesterday of assassins' bullets.

Atlanta Ga.

Police immediately posted heavy guards on the docks to fores[illegible] possible clashes between Rig[illegible] wing and Leftwing stevedores.

Iglesias was presiding at a union meeting Sunday night when a group of unidentified gunmen burst into the hall and opened fire. He was hit by six bullets. Two others were wounded.

Dias died several hours later, after an emergency operation in a guarded hospital. Police kept his death a secret until heavy reinforcements had been moved into the dock area.

Six persons, including two officials of a Rightist union, were held [illegible] charges in connection [illegible].

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3 Hunger Strikers Win New Round in Deportation Fight

A new victory was chalked up by three of the five Ellis Island hunger strikers in their fight against deportation when the Department of Justice granted bail for them, it was revealed yesterday by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

This follows the earlier victory of the hunger strikers who won court bail after their heroic hunger strike which aroused nationwide protests.

The three men are Irving Potash, John Williamson and Ferdinand Smith. The other two "strikers," Gerhart Eisler and Charles Doyle, have been denied bail by the Justice Department, but are out on court bail. Applications for Justice Department bail for them will be heard this morning in the District Court, Foley Square.

The Committee released yesterday a letter, dated Oct. 29, to its attorney Carol King from the New York District of the Department's Immigration and Naturalization Service, which stated that Potash, Williamson and Smith were under $3,500 bond each. No reason was offered by W. G. Watkins, Department official, for the denial of bail to the other two.

WON RELEASE

Back in February, all five were detained at Ellis Island without bail, but a five and a half day hunger strike and mass opposition to the policy of Attorney General Tom Clark to hold the men without bail forced their release.

In August, the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals held that the Federal District Court must hear argument on Clerk's arbitrary denial of bail. The case of the five was scheduled to be heard tomorrow morning. The Justice Department's last minute action in granting bail to three, leaves only the Doyle and Eisler cases to be heard.

At a press conference yesterday at the Committee's headquarters, 23 W. 26 St., Abner Green, executive secretary, said, "The granting of bail to Potash, Smith and Williamson is a victory for the American people, who protested and demonstrated against the Justice Department's unconstitutional denial of bail. The Justice Department, however, is trying to cheat the American people of this victory and is still trying to set the undemocratc legal and political basis on which it can hold non-citizens indefinitely without bail pending disposition of deportation proceedings in their cases."

MENACES DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Denial of bail to Eisler and Doyle, he said, menaces the democratic rights of all Americans.

Present at the press conference were Miss King, Doyle, Eisler, Williamson and Smith. Potash was ill with the grippe.

Doyle interpreted denial of bail for himself as a "petty and vindictive" attitude on Clark's part. The action places in question all the government's documents in his case, he asserted, and shows that the deportation is "nothing short of a frame-up."

Eisler pointed to the "contradictory facts" in his case where the courts have granted him bail but the Justice Department refuses. He is presently under $23,500 bail

Williamson, labor secretary of the Communist Party, pointed out that as long as Eisler and Doyle are held without bail "we three are not free."

Daily Worker

N.Y. N.Y.

Thurs. 11-25-48

Smith stressed the lack of legal or humanitarian logic that guided the Department in denying bail to Doyle, a father of four small children.

The Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born yesterday appealed for a mass turnout this morning at 10 a. m. in front of the U. S. District Court, Foley Square, where applications for bail for Doyle and Eisler will be heard before Judge Simon H. Rifkind.

FERDINAND SMITH

Claudia Jones Tells Why U.S. Wants To Deport Her

The Lighthouse and The Informer

Columbia, S.C.

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Sun. 9-26-48

Blames Action On Her Fight For Democracy

BY CLAUDIA JONES FOR ANP

For close to 25 years, I have been a legal resident of the United States. I came to this country as a child of eight years of age from Trinidad, British West Indies. For almost 12 of these years, my activity in the Communist movement of the United States has been a matter of record. I have never denied my political beliefs. Yet nine months ago, on Jan 19, I was arrested, charged as an alien believing in force and violence and told that I had suddenly become a "danger" to American democracy.

I consider it important that the American people know why, if I was such a "dangerous alien" 25 years ago, a the tender age of eight, or 12 years ago, or any period therein, I was not apprehended.

CALLED DANGEROUS

I have become "dangerous" to the Truman administration, because, as a Negro woman, I have dared to challenge the civil rights lip-service cry of this reactionary administration which is yet to lift a finger to prosecute the lynchers, the KKK or the anti-Semites.

During the very month of my arrest, a Negro woman student was denied entry into a southern jim-crow college because of the color of her skin. An imprisoned Georgia Negro mother of 14 children, forced to kill because of assault against her dignity, life and property by a southern poll tax minded landlord, was jeopardized by KKK mobs and threats.

Meanwhile the grand kleagle of the KKK bobly marched unmasked through the streets of Georgia, boasting that enforcement of Truman's civil rights proposals would mean that blood would flow on the streets. In over a dozen major northern industrial cities, during this same month, violence and indignities against the persons of Negro citizens were widespread. To all of these and other examples of force and violence against 14 million Negro Americans, the Truman administration uttered not one word of protest or took action to protect civil rights.

As these facts show, it is not I, Claudia Jones, who represent a "danger" to American democracy, but the reactionary Truman administration which is doing everything to ready the American people for war, while it tramples on the civil rights of all Americans using spy scares, frame-ups and deportation arrests, to frighten the American people into silence and non-resistance to its reactionary foreign and domestic policies.

SPURS DIXIECRATS

Even worse, such do-nothing civil rights declarations are serving as the provocation for the Dixiecrats to blatantly trample on the right of franchise of the Negro and white working people of the south. Only yesterday a Negro father of six children was slain for voting in the Georgia primary. It is not accidental that the Dixiecrat presidential candidate recently boasted that the FEPC, which the Truman administration killed "serves the interests of the Communists" and not the millions who suffer job discrimination in private and public industry due to lack of enforcement of the 14th amendment of the constitution.

But American history is rich in example of courageous Negro and white fighters for freedom who treated with contempt those "house" Negroes who betrayed this cause of freedom which resulted in the overthrow of chattel slavery. These miserable renegades to the cause of Negro freedom and democracy will go the same road as will others of their kind who landed in the junkheap of history.

It was in American public and high schools, where in my junior high school graduation year, I received the Theodore Roosevelt Award for Good Citizenship, that I first studied American history and learned the principles of American democracy, and not in any other land. But as do many Negro children who are native Americans, I early learned the second-class citizenship distinctions which American democracy reserves for Negro citizens.

LEARNED TO FIGHT

That I have learned through my Communists beliefs how to fight for these principles, for my own people and for the rights of all working people against reaction, fascism and war, is the crime against me. It is a crime which usually outrages those who believe in the myth that the oppressed revere their oppressors.

That I am not a citizen is no fault of my own. I tried to become a citizen at the age of twenty-three I was prevented from becoming a citizen despite efforts on my part over a period of years. My whole life in the United States, particularly the period of my participation in the Communist movement is one, which through lecturing, writing and fighting in various progressive causes, I met thousands and thousands of Communists and non-Communists who heard me and read my writings. Let them judge rather than this biased hearing my devotion to the democratic principle of American democracy and my right to citizenhip. During the war years I edited a youth magazine which contributed to the morale of our soldiers, including those who served in jim-crow foxholes. To the best of my abilities therefore, I have tried to serve the American people, my own people, and the cause of democracy.

The issue of deportation for political beliefs is not only a serious matter to me but to the American people, because it is an attack on the constitution and the bill of rights. This is the real danger which these persecutions against me and other Communist, labor, and national group leaders seek to obscure.

Face to Face

The Worker

By Benjamin J. Davis

Member, New York City Council

IF THIS COLUMN didn't appear last week, blame the FBI. We were preparing it that fateful Tuesday afternoon when we were rudely interrupted by the American Gestapo. By the time the six of us had been put through the vicious indignities of finger-printing, mugging and what-have-you,

Aug. 8-1-48

including listening to the court clerks read those fantastic indictments, the deadline of the Sunday Worker had passed.

We were writing some necessary self-criticism concerning a previous column, which will be carried in an early issue. The criticism was occasioned by letters from readers, and that is heartening because it is incontrovertible proof that the column has readers.

It seems that the Truman Administration and its Gestapo are allergic to self-criticism by Communists. It bases its indictments, for example, on the date that the Communist Party re-established itself in 1945 from the CPA. That, of course, was the most important period of self-criticism in the history of the American Communist movement.

New York, N.Y.

The Truman Administration objected so strenuously to our self-critical correction at the 1945 emergency Communist convention that it reprimanded nine members of the National Board of the Party with arrests. Truman preferred that we should have kept the CPA as Earl Browder wished.

Such is the dramatic proof that self-criticism is one of the strongest and most unique weapons of the Communist Party. When we learn its mastery in true Marxist-Leninist fashion ,it will be even more devastating.

•

OTHER matters which would have been included in the column were some comments on the two-party system, on how the Republicans and Democratic mountains labored in Philadelphia and brought forth a couple of mice, mainly Dewey and Truman. We confess that a few intended barbs of exposure on Truman were not very complimentary to the gentleman. So maybe J. Edgar Hoover and his bloodhounds would have been unhappy anyway.

But it is just as well. What Truman did in framing up Foster, Dennis, Winston and the rest of us exposed him much more than anything we could have said. We always had our suspicions about the nature of the animal which personifies the Democratic Party: it is not a donkey, it's a jackass (with apologies to the latter).

The big monopolies, which control both major parties, desired these absurd frame-ups of the Communist leadership as a part of Wall Street's drive toward World War III and toward domestic fascism. Although the dollar imperialists seek to dominate the world, they cannot dominate America, neither its workers nor its stubborn democratic population. As we write, the defiant resistance of the movement of labor and the American people at the New Party convention is ringing in our ears, against monopoly, against war and fascism.

Aug. 8-1-48

Aim Is To Socialize U.S. Says Ben Davis

Amsterdam News

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New York N.Y. Sat. 7-31-48

Declaring that the immediate objective of the Communist Party in the United States is the improvement of conditions of the people now and within the framework of our present system, with socialism as its ultimate goal, Benjamin J. Davis, New York City Councilman branded as a 'vicious lie' the charge that he and eleven others indicted in Federal Court here last week have 'conspired to overthrow the United States Government by force and violence.

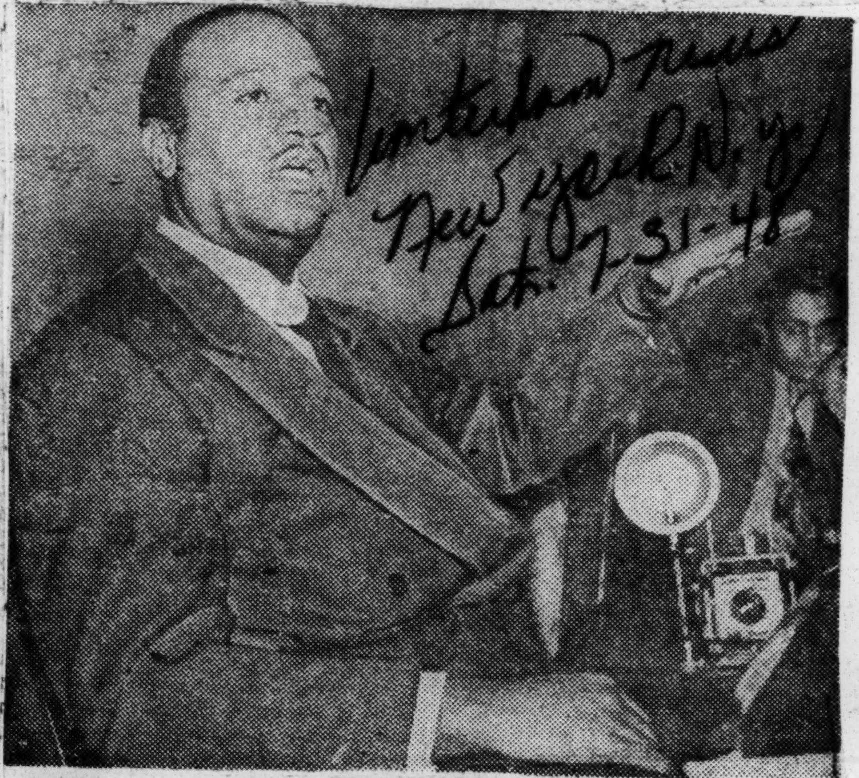
Davis and Henry Winston, and 10 were indicted last week and held in $5000 bond, after arraignment in Federal Court where all pleaded not guilty. All are members of the high command of the Communist Party. Davis said any member of the Communist Party who advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence would be acting in violation of the Communist Party Constitution and would be expelled from the Party.

What Will Happen

The Councilman was asked what would happen of the Communist Party should win an election: if there would be a President and a Congress and a judiciary functioning as the three branches of the Government today are functioning.

He said there was little prospect of the Communists winning an election, but said the first thing it would do if it were to win would be something most revolutionary. The Party would carry out its pledges and promises , something neither the Republican nor the Democratic has ever done.

Davis was equally emphatic in saying that the Communist Party of the United States "does not take its orders from Moscow." He said as a member of the National Council of the Party here, he takes his orders from the membership. The councilman did not say how the Government would acquire the property of private ownership in its program of socializing the economy. He did not say whether the owners would be paid for their holdings or whether properties would be seized through confiscation.



Amsterdam News
New York N.Y.
Sat. 7-31-48

BENJ. DAVIS

Worried Ben Davis Gives Press View On 'Plot' Charges

Amsterdam News

Sat. 7-31-48

It was a solemn and concerned Benjamin J. Davis, who "met the press" last Thursday morning in his uptown office at 200 West 135th Street. Much of the dash and daring which have characterized his previous press conferences were missing. He appeared worried about the two indictments handed down in Federal Court against him and eleven others last week. They face 10 years in prison and fines of $10,000.

Flanked by Attorney William L. Patterson, national secretary of the Civil Rights Congress and Henry Winston, general administrative secretary of the Communist Party, City Councilman Davis opened the conference by ripping into President Truman, who he said, had dealt a "major blow against the rights of Negro people." He branded the action against him and his associates as a frame-up, and said, "It exposes all the Truman demogogy about civil rights. It reveals the Truman demogogy as a smokescreen, concealing a mailed-fist against Negroes and white fighting for the rights of all people."

The councilman said ever since Truman came out for Civil Rights he and other Negroes have begun to lose their rights. He said he and Winston are concrete examples of this development.

Assails Tom Clark

The indictments against Davis, Winston, and the others charged that they had conspired to overthrow the United States government by force and violence. Speaking of the charges, Davis said,, "As far force and violence is concerned, it is a cock-and-bull story, well known to Truman and others in his administration, especially his attorney general, Tom Clark.

"It is a tragic-comedy," he said, "that Clark, who comes from Texas where Negroes are lynched, disfranchised, and made victims of other bigoted action, should talk of force and violence." 7-31-48

Davis said he planned to support Henry A. Wallace in the November elections, pointing out that the "Truman frame-up and the silent support of Dewey leave him no choice but to support Wallace since Wallace has spoke out against the action against the Communist dozen.

Davis said that what happened last week to him and Winston can happen to any person regardless of race, creed, color, political affiliation or national origin. He said West Indians were being subjected to similar abuses and pressure.

Warns of Red-Baiting

Davis said he doesn't consider it accidental that he was arrested at a time when he was directing a campaign against police brutality, and charged that the FBI action was an attempt to intimidate him. He said he expected some action to be taken [illegible] him from the city council.

"It is clear," he declared, "that certain reactionary Democrats and Republicans will seize upon the federal grand jury action to get me out of the city council under the guise of red-baiting.

"It is not a personal question," he continued, "but an attempt to remove the only Negro from the city council of New York." He said he is confident the Negro people will come to his rescue in the effort to block his removal.

Winston concurred with Davis that the indictments are aimed at curbing the militancy of the various groups fighting for the civil rights of the people.

Mobilize Public Opinion

Patterson said he had come here from Chicago to help in the legal fight on behalf of the defendants. He said the fight would not only be waged on legal lines, but steps would be taken to mobilize public opinion against the "terrorism." He said he believes the Negro people will respond as they never had before.

Amsterdam News

Davis made three main points in the interview:

1. If this frame-up can happen to a Negro in the North, it is easy to understand what suffering a Negro must endure in the South.
2. Winston, Patterson and I, far from being intimidated, now are engaged in working to compel the Special Session of Congress to pass Civil Rights legislation to protect minorities, and
3. This frame-up is designed to warn against the advocacy for socialism in America which our Party does. Negroes realize how rotten capitalism is. He said the Communist Party is in business to stay

New York N.Y.

HENRY WINSTON

Ben Davis and Other Communists Deny They Plan To Overthrow United States Government

The Call Kansas City, Mo.
Fri. 7-30-48

NEW YORK, — (NNPA). — Their indictment by a federal grand jury with other topflight Communist party leadership on charges of conspiring to overthrow the United States government, was branded last Thursday by Benjamin J. Davis Jr., city councilman, and Henry Winston, member of the Communist National board, as "examples of the way Negroes are losing their civil rights."

The 12 high-ranking Communists, among whom were Davis and Winston, were charged in an indictment returned on July 20, with "conspiracy to organize as the Communist party of the United States of America, a society . . . of persons who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the government of the United States by force and violence, and knowingly and willfully . . . advocate and teach the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the government of the United States by force and violence . . ." 7-30-48

At a press conference Thursday in Davis' office, Davis declared that he and the other Communist party leaders "have been framed by Truman with the silent support of Governor Dewey."

Asked whether he and Winston take orders "from Moscow," Davis replied "That's a flat lie. As Communists, Winston and I take orders from the membership of our party, and I, as a city councilman, take my orders from the people who elected me."

Asked what the Communist party would do if it ever came into power in this country, Davis asserted that "The most" revolutionary thing we could do would be to keep our promises." He added, "We would fight for peace and for the immediate improvement of the conditions of the working class."

Winston, a veteran of World War II and national organizational secretary of the Communist party, denounced hinted attempts to force Davis' resignation from the city council. "Any such move," Winston predicted, "would be a return to the aldermanic system where the Negro people had no representation."

The Call

Davis said his treatment was "an insult to the dignity of the city council." He expressed appreciation that "most of the councilman are attempting to follow a policy that I am innocent until proven guilty."

Kansas City

"This is an attempt," Davis said, "to prevent any discussion of socialism in America, for the Negro people more than any other section, knows the rottenness of the system they suffer under."

Mo.

Both Davis and Winston denied the allegation of the indictment. Davis read the section of the Communist party constitution that condemns force and violence, and provides for the expulsion of anyone who advocates them.

Fri.

"Negroes should understand who advocates force and violence in this country when lynch terror and forced segregation go unchallenged by the Truman administration or the Dewey-led Republicans."

7-23-48

Communist. If the government declares it criminal to be a Communist, then we could take action, but there's nothing we can do in the meantime. Until a jury finds him guilty, he is innocent. He was honest and ran for Council as a Communist—unlike some other members."

Star

Michael J. Quill, ALP member of the Bronx, who recently has been warring with Communists, said that the indictment and arrest of 12 Communist Party leaders "to my mind is a serious mistake. It makes a frontal attack on American civil liberties. It apes the Palmer raids of 1920. It creates in New York the first step in a region of terror similar only to Hitler's Reichstag fire scare. As far as Communist Party leaders are concerned, this action serves only to make martyrs out of harmless crackpots."

New York, N.Y.

Other comments on the arrests follow:

Thurs. 7-22-48

¶ Henry A. Wallace, leader of the Third Party, said yesterday that indictment of the 12 Communist leaders was an attempt to "create fear" among the American people and are "another in a series of diversions created for Americans who are complaining about mounting inflation, the stupid bungling in Berlin, and other problems."

¶ Wallace's campaign manager, C. M. Baldwin, told reporters in Philadelphia that it was a "remarkable coincidence" that the government should make the arrests just as the New Party prepared to open its convention Friday.

Held 'Dangerous'

Thurs.

¶ Arthur Schutzer, executive secretary of the American Labor Party, said the arrests form "a dangerous first step in a plan to destroy civil liberties . . . We recall that the Nazis first smashed the civil rights of Communists as a necessary prelude to the destruction of trade unions, church groups and finally all dissenting groups in Germany."

¶ Radio Moscow said arrest of the U. S. Communists is "the latest action of the U. S. government aimed at liquidating the working classes."

7-22-48

¶ The CIO Joint Board, Fur Dressers and Dyers Union condemned the arrest as "the most dangerous step taken by the fascist-minded forces in our country to drive us into Fascism and war."

¶ The New York Labor Committee for Wallace and Taylor urged President Truman to intervene and secure withdrawal of the action against the Communist leaders.

Councilmen Assail Davis

Star

The arrest of Benjamin Davis, Communist councilman, on charges of plotting to overthrow the government, drew indignant protest yesterday from a Republican colleague, Councilman Stanley Isaacs of Manhattan.

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"I know Ben Davis too well," Isaacs said, "to believe it possible that he would engage in any conspiracy to overthrow his government by force or violence. I was shocked to read of his arrest."

New York, N.Y.

Respects His Sincerity

"I differ from him radically on many important issues, but I do respect his sincerity, and I have faith in his loyalty."

Thurs.

Another Republican councilman, Edward Rager, also of Manhattan, said that Davis "impresses me as a person who sincerely believes communism is the answer to all man's ills. Although I disagree with this, he has a right to his own views, and surely no man should be indicted for that."

7-22-48

Rager said that Davis in the Council had always denied advocating violence, and added that in his opinion, nothing Davis had said on the floor of Council was worthy of his being indicted. He added that "Davis's views usually are diametrically opposed to mine, but I am disturbed about his arrest, without knowing, of course, what evidence the grand jury may have against him."

Councilman Walter G. McGahan, Queens Republican, said he was "considering" whether the Council should exclude Davis from participation while the charges are pending. Other councilmen, who would not be quoted, scoffed at the suggestion and said any such attempt would be blocked at the first move.

'Still Innocent'

Joseph T. Sharkey, Brooklyn Democrat and majority leader, said "The people elected Davis as a

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FOUR TWU CHIEFS FOLLOW RED LINE, O'DWYER DECLARES

The Times

New York, N.Y.

340

Hogan, MacMahon, Santo and Sacher Wanted a Strike, Not Rise, He Asserts

Fri. 5-21-48

MAYOR GAVE ULTIMATUM

Offered 24-Cent Increase on a Take or Leave It Basis, He Tells Rival Union

By WILLIAM R. CONKLIN

Mayor O'Dwyer named four leaders of the Transport Workers Union, CIO, yesterday as principals in a Communist-directed scheme to strike the city's transit lines in preference to accepting pay increases offered by the city.

The Mayor listed Austin Hogan, president of Local 100, Transport Workers Union; Douglas L. MacMahon, international secretary-treasurer of the TWU; John Santo, international director of organization, and Harry Sacher, TWU counsel, as leading figures in the scheme.

Fri. 5-21-48

The Mayor, informed that the plan was under way while he was vacationing in California, rushed back to the city last month and took personal charge in the transit crisis. He said yesterday that that action had balked the plan, which was all set to go through in his absence.

Mr. O'Dwyer's denunciation came during a conference with thirteen leaders of the Civil Service Forum, a rival union on the transit lines. The Forum spokesmen complained that they had not received equal treatment with the TWU on the New York City Transit System and asked the Mayor to adjust their grievances. Charges that the TWU practiced "coercion and intimidation," and maintained a "reign of terror" on the city lines circulated freely during the City Hall conference.

The Times

Benjamin Davis, Jr City Councilman Arrested In Red Drive

New York Age
New York, N.Y.
7-24-48

Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Communist New York City Councilman, and Henry Winston, educational director in the party, were among the five top party leaders who were indicted here on Tuesday morning and later arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Arrested with the Negro leaders by the FBI were William Z. Foster, national chairman of the party, Eugene Dennis, general secretary, and Jack Stachel, a member of the party's national executive board.

The indictments were handed down earlier in the morning by a special grand jury to Federal Judge Vincent L. Leibell, who immediately had ordered the indictments sealed at the request of U. S. Attorney John F. X. McGohey, and that bench warrants be issued for the accused.

It was reported that the men are charged with violating the Smith Act, which was enacted in 1940, and provides penalties up to 10 years' imprisonment, a $10,000 fine, or both.

The Act make it unlawful for any person to "knowingly or wilfully advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence or by the assassination of any officer of any such government."

New York Age

For the past 11 months the special grand jury has been conducting an investigation in the Communist Party and its leaders here in this country, and after a recess of several weeks, convened here at ten o'clock in the morning.

New York, N.Y.

About ninety minutes later, the jury appeared into the Judge's courtroom, and the U. S. Attorney then announced that certain indictments had been returned and asked that they be sealed and warrants issued.

In the courtroom as well as in the grand jury room were T. Vincent Quinn, of the criminal division of the U. S. Attorney General's office and Thomas J. Donegan, a special assistant to the Attorney General.

-48

Listed among the many national leaders in addition to those already arrested by the FBI and said to be on the "wanted list" of the Government are: John Williamson, administrative secretary and labor director; now battling deportation rulings) Robert Thompson, head of the New York State division; Irving Potash, vice-president of the CIO Fur and Leather Workers, Joint Council, also battling deportation proceedings; Gil Green of Illinois; Gus Hall, Ohio; Carl Winter, Michigan; John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker; Alexander Bittleman, and Alexander Trachtenberg.

Arrested Here

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 1-31-48

HYSTERIA—Miss Claudia Jones, West Indian-born Communist leader said at her home in Harlem last week that the arrest by Immigration authorities on deportation charges "is another example of hysteria directed against all sections of the population who dare have an independent thought and fight for equal opportunity." She denied that she advocates violent overthrow of the U.S. Government.

Even Poorest American Well Off, Martin Avers

34d
Atlanta, Ga.
Mon. 4-26-48

SALISBURY, Md., April 25—(UP)—House Speaker Martin, Jr., told a Negro audience Sunday night that the poorest American family is better off than anybody under a totalitarian Government, "No matter what cunning Communists or Fascists would have you believe."

But he said in a prepared address before the organization, Fraternal Day for the Peninsula, that this country must remove discriminations and restrctions between races and classes on a "just and reasonable" basis.

Martin, a dark horse candidate for the GOP Presidential nomination, said free government now is in the greatest peril it has ever been.

The Constitution

He made a detailed comparison of the Russian and American way of life.

Atlanta, Ga.

Pointing to the Negro's advancement in the field of education, he said the race can progress beyond all visible horizons "if you do not let the poison of Communism seep into your universities and ruin them." Mon. 4-26-48

STEVENS IS CALLED COMMUNIST 'BOSS' AT ALIEN HEARING

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Ex-Members of Party Assert He Headed Plans for Revolt Against U. S. Government

Wed. 9-1-48
34d

ONCE MOSCOW DELEGATE

Native of Hungary Here 25 Years Says He Is Lawyer and Will Fight Deportation

By EDWARD RANZAL

Alexander Stevens, alias J. Peters, was identified yesterday by former party functionaries as the one-time representative of the American Communist party to the Comintern in Moscow.

At a deportation hearing for the alleged Communist underground leader at the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 70 Columbus Avenue, a witness also declared that the 54-year-old alien was the "big boss" of the action committee set up to organize Communists to overthrow the United States Government in time of war or economic crisis.

Mr. Stevens is charged with illegal entry into the United States and being a member of a group advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

Came Here 25 Years Ago

The Times

Born in Hungary, he came to this country from Czechoslovakia twenty-five years ago. He said he received a law degree from a university in Hungary.

On Monday he was threatened with Congressional contempt proceedings when he refused to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. At that hearing he was described by Whittaker Chambers, former Communist party courier and now a senior editor of Time magazine, as a master of international Communist intrigue.

As head of the action committee, Stevens was in charge of disciplinary action against recalcitrant party members. In one intance, a witness yesterday said, he acted as judge and prosecutor at a hearing that resulted in the witness' expulsion from the party.

Maurice Malkin, 47-year-old machinist, who was expelled from the party twice, told Presiding Inspector Ralph Farb that in 1934 he knew Peters as the "big boss" of the action committee, which in time of war or economic crisis would "take the lead in taking over the Government," and that officials, such as Governors and Senator, who resisted would be liquidated.

New York, N.Y.

Mr. Malkin testified that he joined the party in 1919 and was expelled in 1928 after he had been convicted of felonious assault during a Communist-led fur strike. He said he was an organizer and member of the district control commission and first met "Peters" in 1924 when he was assistant manager of The Daily Worker.

He rejoined in 1931, after serving time in prison, and became a field organizer for the International Labor Defense, which he described as a Communist organization. He was also an official of the Trade Union Unity Council, which he said was or[illegible]zed by the Communists to com[illegible] with the American Federation of [illegible]bor.

He said he was expelled in 1937 for holding Trotskyite views after a hearing in which Mr. Stevens acted as judge and prosecutor. He explained that no one leaves the Communist party but is always expelled, and that his expulsion was due to "heretic ideology and counter-revolutionary ideas." 9-1-48

Other Ex-Communists Heard

Three other former party members who testified yesterday said they had attended the Lenin School in Moscow and had met Mr. Stevens there. He held the title, they said, of the party's American representative to the Commintern.

One of these witnesses, Andrew Smith, 64, who came here from Hungary in 1912 as a "radical," described Mr. Stevens as "the most active man in the party working for revolution in America." Mr. Smith said he joined the party in 1919 and left it in 1936, when "I threw my party card across to Russia." 9-1-48 Wed.

The witness declared that he was transferred to Russia in 1932 after he paid the party's executive committee $2,500. He added that he saw Mr. Stevens at the Comintern as the representative of the United States Communist party and that the official signed two letters in connection with the transfer. The texts of the letters were maae public Monday by the House committee.

The last witness of the day was Charles H. White, a Negro, who joined the party in 1930 when he was 17. A year later, with all expenses paid, he was sent to the Lenin School. He said he remained a year and received a stipend of approximately $35 a month. He said he was told to hide his identity while in Russia, so he changed his name to Karl Schumach.

While attendin gthe school, he reported, there was a "revolt" and split in the Anglo-American student body over Moscow's policy on the Negro problem in the United States. Mr. Smith said Mr. Stevens, as United States party representative, called a meeting of the fifty students and threatened disciplinary action and expulsion.

"Peters was the most important person there from the United States and was responsible for anything that went wrong with the student body," he declared.

On the day of his return from Russia in 1932, Mr. Smith recalled, he went to the party's national headquarters in Twelfth Street and was told to see "Peters," who immediately assigned him to lecture before party members in Poughkeepsie.

Wed 9-1-48

In 1933, the party designated Mr. Smith to run for Councilman in Newark, and a year later he was told he was the Communist party candidate for Congress from Harlem. He was defeated each time. He said he quit the party in 1935 by "just walking out and disappearing."

Hewitt Finishes Testimony

George Hewitt, a self-styled Communist for eighteen years until 194, completed yesterday his testimony against Mr. Stevens, which he began on Monday. He identified twenty-two pamphlets as Communist-written and said they preached the violent overthrow of the Government. He charged that Mr. Stevens had written one of the pamphlets, "Manual of Organization."

Mrs. Carol King, Mr. Stevens' attorney,, refused to cross-examine the witnesses on the grounds that the "hearin gwas not properly constituted" and that her client did not wish to participate in any way "in this illegal proceeding."

During a recess the short, florid defendant insisted that his name was Alexander Stevens and that the witnesses were "all confused." Asked to account for the witnesses confusing him with "Peters," he replied, "Ask them."

Mr. Stevens declared that he would fight deoprtation "to the very end," explaining that he had been here twenty-five years. When asked whether he wantd to stay here because he "loves" the country or because he wanted to overthrow its government, he replied: "They have false ideas about me and my work." He would not describe his work.

At the close of the session, in reply to a question, Mr. Stevens said, "I never heard of those action committees. I don't take that story seriously."

He denied emphatically that he was a paid official of the Communist party, said he was unemployed and refused to say for how long he had not worked. He added that he had worked in factories. In explaining how he managed to live, Mr. Stevens pointed out that his wife, whose name he would not disclose, worked. He complained that since his arrest last October he had found it difficult to get a job.

The hearing will continue today.

Claudia Jones Hearing Halted, Witness Missing

Herald Tribune
New York, N.Y.

34d

Red Leader's Deportation Proceeding Is Suspended on Government Motion

Tues. 9-14-48

A deportation proceeding against Mrs. Claudia Vera Scholnick, known as Claudia Jones, was suspended unexpectedly yesterday by the disappearance of one of the Immigration and Naturalization Service's key witnesses who was under subpoena.

The action against Mrs. Scholnick, at the Immigration Service offices, 70 Columbus Avenue, is part of the government's effort to deport subversive aliens. Mrs. Scholnick, thirty-three, was born in the British West Indies. She is a member of the National Committee of the Communist party and freely admits that she is a Communist.

At the outset of the hearing before William Wyrsch, presiding inspector, Mrs. Carol King, attorney for Mrs. Scholnick, asked for an adjournment on two grounds: that she had inadequate notice of the hearing and that it violated the administrative procedure act.

9-14-48

Edward P. Emanuel, examining inspector, opposed Mrs. King's application, and it was denied. Mr. Emanuel then produced a number of witnesses, all employees of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, who testified as to the authenticity of records purporting to show that Mrs. Scholnick was an alien and a Communist.

After the luncheon recess Mr. Emanuel suddenly announced his concurrence in Mrs. King's earlier request for an adjournment! He refused to tell newspaper men why he had changed his tactics. Later W. F. Watkins, district director of the service, told reporters that a "key witness" under subpoena, had failed to appear. He refused to identify the man, but said Federal officers would try to locate him.

34d

Tues 9-14-48

Herald Tribune

Herald Tribune—Acme

Mrs. Claudia Vera Scholnick, known as Claudia Jones, at the Immigration and Naturalization Service offices, 70 Columbus Ave.

New York, N.Y.

Says Declaration Nearly Finished; Activity Urged

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 8-6-48

NEW YORK -(NNPA)- Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, speaking at a meeting of the Harlem branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations had nearly finished a declaration on human rights and a covenant on the subject of being drafted.

34d

Without such a covenant, she declared, the United Nations functions merely as a world forum and any petition dealing with human rights can have no result beyond discussion.

Justice Jane M. Bolin of the Domestic Relations Court also spoke at the meeting.

Mrs. Roosevelt praised the work of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, research director for the NAACP who earlier has accused the organization of abandoning the world plight of colored people to engage in partisan political activity, in presenting a petition to the United Nations on the rights of colored people in the United States.

She said, however, that at present with no charter of human rights any United Nations petition could be only a gesture.

She urged colored people, as a means of improving their status to take part in civic affairs in ther communities and counseled them not to accept communism as a solution of their problem.

Half-way through her address, made after the capacity audience of 2,500 had responded indifferently to appeals of NAACP officials for contributions, she reminded the gathering that the "NAACP is a good organization but it is only as good as you make it."

Pointing out that the organization needed funds to provide education and enlightment to its members, she said "if we expect things to be done for us in a democracy they will never be done; we must do them ourselves."

Warning against the evils of communism, Mrs Roosevelt said communism might be all right as long as a benevolent dictator was ruling, but the people cannot be sure they will always have a benevolent dictator who will give them their just share of things.

"We must think carefully when people tell us of the advantage of communism," she said., "When people know what they want, feel it in their hearts and are willing to work for it, they will find a way to get it," she added.

Mrs. Roosevelt advised her audience that "If you want to hold power in your hands, if you want to control, you must be an active citizen in your democracy, for that is the only way you can control."

Fri. 8-6-48

She saw hope for the develop ment of Liberia in the plans of E. R. Company for the development of Stettinius, Jr., chairman of the board of the Liberia the natural resources of the West African republic, and contrasted his program with the "negligence of this nation when it first set up Liberia and then left the former slaves to manage on their own." She charged that the United States at that time shirked its responsibility.

Justice Bolin traced the history of the NAACP from its organization in 1909 and said the colored man's knowledge that such an organization would defend him makes him "less amenable" to racial discrimination.

8-6-48

"All of us have a responsibility to interest ourselves in injustices and do something more than talk about them," she declared.

8-6-48

Attorney Jawn Sandfifer, president of the local branch of the NAACP, presided. Justice Bolin introduced Mrs Roosevelt. Charles A. Levy, executive secretary of the local branch, spoke briefly on police brutality in New York.

Atlanta, Ga.
Daily World

The fund raising effort was under the direction of the Rev. Charles Stewart, pastor of the Bethel A. M. E. Church.

7 Communist Heads Out on $35,000 Bail

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Thurs (34D) 7-22-48

By Harry Raymond

Attorney General Tom Clark's hippodromized crack-down on the Communist Party and the civil rights of the American people reached the kleig-lighted stage of a Hollywood premiere yesterday as seven of the 12 indicted Communist leaders were paraded past a battery of eight movie news cameras and thirty newspaper photographers in U. S. Courthouse, Foley Square, to post a total of $35,000 bail. The ceremony took exactly two hours. The Communist leaders went through its fighting every inch of the way. Communist Party chairman William Z. Foster, party secretary Eugene Dennis, City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, party leaders Henry Winston, John Williamson and Jacob Stached, charged with attempt to "overthrow the U.S. government by force and violence," appeared in Judge Vincent L. Leibell's air conditioned courtroom promptly at 10:30 a.m.

NOT GUILTY

The six defendants, arrested Tuesday afternoon at Communist Party offices, 35 E. 12th St., had pleaded not guilty during arraignment Tuesday night and were released in custody of their attorneys until bonds could be posted yesterday morning.

When Judge Liebell called the court to order, Abraham Unger, attorney for the Communist Party, arose and announced quietly: "My clients are here and the bail is here."

District Attorney John F. X. McGohey reminded the court the bail was $5,000 for each defendant.

Robert W. Dunn, tall, lean political economist and treasurer of the Civil Rights Congress Bail Bond Fund, 205 E. 42nd St., carried with him a large envelope containing $30,000 in U.S. Treasury Bonds. The defendants, the attorney and Dunn were then hustled from office to ofice where the bonds were checked and the bail was finally signed and sealed at 12:30 p.m.

During a one-hour interim the Communist leaders faced the movie cameras, the press photographers and reporters, part of the time under the red hot blazing lights.

Meanwhile, John Gates, 34, editor of the Daily Worker, who learned a warrant had been issued for his arrest as a member of the Communist Party's national board, surrendered voluntarily to David Sweeny, clerk of the U. S. district court. Like his six colleagues who appeared in court before him, Gates denounced the indictment and arrest as "outrageous." He said the indictment was an "obvious maneuver of the Truman administration to salvage its bankrupt policies and make the Communist Party the goat."

GATES RELEASED

Daily Worker

Gates pleaded not guilty during an arraignment before Judge Liebell. He was released on $5,000 bail at 2:40 p. m. after facing the movie camera batteries, the news photographers and the reporters.

Thurs.

Foster, Dennis, Winston, Davis, Williamson and Stachel faced the cameramen and reporters for a full hour in the small broiling hot courthouse pressroom. They sat behind a big table under the strong white movie lights and denounced the frame-up in a fighting mood.

7-22-48

"This frame-up attack on the Communist Party is an attack on the trade unions, the new party and every democratic movement in the United States," declared Foster as the movie cameras ground. "It is one more of the steps being taken by the government and Wall St. to force us into fascism as part of a program of war."

New York N.Y.

RAPS WAR-MAKERS

The lights brightened again and the room got hotter as Dennis faced the movietone cameras and declared:

"If the administration is indicting advocates of force and violence it would have to indict itself; i; would indict, the war makers, advocates of use of the atom bomb and lynching. Our party is the party of American workers fighting in the interest of our country, for peace and against war."

A reporter asked Foster: "Is the Communist Party of the U. S. Moscow controlled?"

"Of course not," Foster replied.

"Do you care to extend that?" the reporter shot back.

"There is nothing to extend," Foster replied with a broad smile. "It's just plain no."

Daily Worker New York N.Y.

The newsmen crowded around Councilman Davis to inquire into his feelings about his arrest. Earlier when Davis arrived at the courthouse an elevator man mistook him for Paul Robeson. The false rumor soon spread through the corridors of the big court building that "Robeson is in court with the Communists."

Thurs. 7-22-48

"My arrest as one of the elected public officials of New York City is an attempt to silence the only voice of the Negro people in the City Council of the largest city in the world," Davis declared.

"My arrest also proves that the Truman talk of civil rights is pure demagogy and that ever since Truman began his-so-called civil rights program I and other Negroes have been losing civil rights in America," Davis continued.

"My record in the City Council is a dramatic proof of the policy and activities of the Communist Party for extension of democracy in our city and our nation. I've introduced into the Council measures requesting the Truman administration to take action against the lynchers of my people. But these measures have been killed in the City Council by a coalition of reactionary Republicans and Democrats.

"I am condent that the people of New York City whom I have the honor to represent will oppose with all their vigor this attempt to disfranchise one of the voices of democracy in our city."

FATHER DIES

David Freedman, one of the attorneys for the Communist leaders, could not appear in court yesterday because he had to attend the funeral of his father, Israel Freedman, 78. The report of the death of his father reached Freedman Tuesday night while he was debating with District Attorney John F. X. McGohey over the indictment and the bail issue.

Daily Worker editor Gates said he had left his office a few minutes before the FBI agents arrived with the warrants for his arrest. He said he stayed at the home of a friend Tuesday night and as soon as he learned of the warrant made arrangements with his attorney to appear in court.

Gates stated the charge that Communists advocated force and violence was based on false information.

Davis Denies Taking Orders From Moscow

Journal & Guide

Norfolk, Va.

Aid Of Civil Rights Congress Pledged Twelve Defendants

Sat. 7-31-48

NEW YORK—(NNPA)—Their indictment by a federal grand jury with other topflight Communist party leadership on charges of conspiring to overthrow the United States Government, was branded last Thursday by Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., City Councilman, and Henry Winston, member of the Communist National Board, as "examples of the way Negroes are losing their civil rights."

The twelve high-ranking Communists, among whom were Davis and Winston, were charged in an indictment returned on July 20 with conspiracy to organize as the Communist party of the United States of America, a society, of persons who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and knowingly and willfully advocate and teach the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence."

PRESS CONFERENCE

At a press conference last Thursday in Mr. Davis' office, Mr. Davis declared that he and the other Communist party leaders "have been framed by Truman with the silent support of Governor Dewey."

Asked whether he and Winston take orders "From Moscow," Davis replied, "That's a flat lie. As Communists, Winston and I take orders from the people who elected me."

Asked what the Communist party would do if it ever came into power in this country, Mr. Davis asserted that "The most revolutionary thing we would do would be to keep our promises." He added, "we would fight for peace and for the immediate improvement of the conditions of the working class."

Sat.

Winston, a veteran of World War II and national organizational secretary of the Communist party, denounced hinted attempts to force Mr. Davis' resignation from the City Council. "Any such move," Winston predicted "would be a return to the aldermanic system where the Negro people had no representation."

7-31-48

Mr. Davis said his treatment was "an insult to the dignity of the City Council." He expressed appreciation that "most of the Councilmen are attempting to follow a policy that I am innocent until proven guilty.

"This is an attempt," Davis said, "to prevent any discussion of socialism in America, for the Negro people more than any other section, knows the rottenness of the system they suffer under."

DENY ALLEGATION

Both Davis and Winston denied the allegation of the indictment. Davis read the section of the Comuist party constitution that condemns force and violence and provides for the expulsion of anyone who advocates them.

"Negroes should understand who advocates force and violence in this country when lynch terror and forced segregation go unchallenged by the Truman Administration or the Dewey-led Republicans.

William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, who was present at the press conference, said it was "significant" that the arrests of the Communist leaders came on the eve of the third party convention in Philadelphia and "just before the Klanvocation of the Ku Klux Klan at Stone Mountain, Ga.

The Civil Rights Congress will defend the Communist leaders and has posted bond for them.

NATIVE OF ATLANTA

Mr. Davis is the son of the late Benjamin Jefferson Davis, of Atlanta, who was prominent in the affairs of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows. He was educated at Morehouse College, Amherst, and Harvard Law School. After defending Angelo Herndon in Atlanta on a charge of attempting to incite insurrection, in violation of a slave statute, Davis left Atlanta and settled in New York City.

He was elected to the City Council in 1943 and reelected in 1945. In 1946 he was Communist candidate for Attorney General of New York State. Last February he testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee that Communists of the United States did not advocate force and violence to bring about political change and they would not register as agents of a foreign power.

7-31-48

Winston, 33, is a resident of Brooklyn but a native of Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

Ben Davis, Jr. Among Top Reds Under Arrest

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Released On Bond After Not Guilty Plea

Thurs.
7-22-48

NEW YORK — (SNS) — Twelve high-ranking members of the Communist party, including New York Councilman Ben Davis, Jr., and another Negro, were arrested late Tuesday in indictments returned by a special federal grand jury which has investigated Communist activity for more than a year.

Six of them, including Councilman Davis, a native of Atlanta, were released to their attorney under promise of bond Wednesday on charges of conspiring to overthrow the United States Government.

The other Negro arrested was Henry Winston, member of the national Communist board.

Others placed under arrest were: Carl Winters, chairman of the Community party in Michigan; William Z. Foster, party chairman and several times Communist candidate for President of the United States; John Williamson, member of the Communist national board; Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist party; Jack Stachel, member of the nationa board; Robert Thompson, member of the national board and chairman of the New York State Communist party; John Gates, editor of the Communist Daily Worker since 1947; Irving Potash, manager of the Furriers' Joint council of the New York CIO and member of the Communist national board; Gilbert Green, of Chicago, district chairman; Gus Hall, chairman of the Communist party in Ohio.

OVERTHROW ACCUSATION

The general indictment accuses the defendants of conspiring to organize the Communist party of the United States of America "a society of persons to teach and advocate the destruction and overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence; and the defendants knowingly and wilfully conspired to teach and advocate the duty and necessity of overthrowing the Government of the United States by force."

Daily World

Councilman Davis was arrested in his home. The other New Yorkers were arrested at Communist headquarters, discussing afternoon newspaper stories about the indictments.

Atlanta, Ga.

The six arraigned in New York pleaded not guilty to the charges and were promised "an American trial" by Judge Leibell.

Forum Denies TWU Contention

After a general discussion of union conditions on the city lines with the Forum representatives, the Mayor called City Hall reporters into the conference. Robert Diana of the Forum complained that the TWU contended that it had been solely responsible for winning a 24-cent-an-hour increase for transit workers.

"You complain, and I think justly, that the TWU was given full credit for the raise," the Mayor said. "The truth is that the Civil Service Forum, or any other union, has the absolute right to be heard by the Board of Transportation. In this instance the Forum members were heard, and they contributed just as much as any other union. It is regrettable that anything should happen to deprive the Civil Service Forum of due credit for its contribution to the 24-cent-an-hour increase."

When Mr. Diana complained against the union dues check-off maintained by the TWU, the Mayor said:

The Times

"The check-off is legal and proper, on a voluntary basis. If the union wants it, it must pay for it. The Corporation Counsel says it is legal, and that was stated as a matter of policy a year and a half ago."

New York, N.Y.

The Mayor agreed that the Forum should have the same rights to billboard space in the yards and shops that the TWU gets, and added that it should be made a serious offense for one union to tear down another's billboards. When the Forum members complained of instances of physical volence at the hands of opposing unionists, the Mayor said:

"You give me one case of assault on the subways, with a sworn complaint and witnesses, and I will have it prosecuted just as any other complaint is prosecuted. There should be just as much law on the subway as on the street."

Reverting to the complaints of unequal treatment for Forum members, he added:

5-21-48

"There can be no preference for any union in any part of our employe group. Under Civil Service Law there is no such thing as a sole collective bargaining power, or even collective bargaining as it is generally understood in private enterprise. As long as I am here, that will be enforced."

Plans to Reappoint Sullivan

Whe na Forum leader mentioned a current rumor that Frank X. Sullivan, member of the Board of Transportation, would be replaced by Councilman Michael J. Quill when Mr. Sullivan's term expires next month, the Mayor said:

"This is as good a place as any to announce that I want to reappoint Commissioner Sullivan. Frank desn't know it yet, but that it what I would like to do."

Before the conference broke up about 6 o'clock, the Mayor had asked William Reid, chairman of the Board of Transportation, to obtain an itemized list of grievances from the Forum and make whatever adjustments were needed to achieve their equality with the TWU. After a general handshaking all around, the Forum leaders departed.

5-21-48

The group was led by Robert E. Brady, president of the Forum, and Robert Kirkpatrick, chairman of the Forum's transit committee. The spokesmen said they represented 6,400 transit workers.

Davis Assails Quill

Earlier, the transit issue had provoked a heaated exchange of remarks in the City Council between Councilman Benjamin Davis Jr., Harlem Communist, and Mr. Quill, Bronx American Labor party member who is international president of the TWU. Mr. Quill recently resigned from the left-wing Greater New York Council and the American Labor party, of which he was a founder, on the issue of Communist control.

"Mike is without a party," Mr. Davis gibed. "His own party repudiated him. He's a traitor to the working class and to the progressive movement in this country when he supports a higher subway fare. I say to Mayor O'Dwyer and to the Democratic party, you can have him, we don't want him."

The Times

"Davis always gets very sore at me when I make very truthful statements about the Communist party," Mr. Quill retorted. "He does not hurt my character or veracity, for I know this screwball and all the others who speak for the Communist party. They don't represent anybody."

New York, N.Y.

After the exchange the Council voted 13 to 3 to adopt the 1948-49 expense budget of $1,160,538,857.15, as approved by the Board of Estimate on April 27. After certification by Controller Lazarus Joseph, Mayor O'Dwyer and City Clerk Murray W. Stand, the budget will go into effect on July 1.

Members who voted against the majority report included Mr. Davis, Eugene P. Connolly, Manhattan Laborite, and Edward Rager, Manhattan Republican. Louis P. Goldberg, Brooklyn Liberal, refrained from voting. Councilman Charles E. Keegan, Bronx Democrat, submitted the majority report as chairman of the Council's finance committee.

5-21-48

W. Z. Foster And Dennis Are In Group

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Wed. 7-21-48

From Wife Dispatches.

New York, July 20.—Twelve U. S. Communist Party leaders and members were indicted today on charges of advocating the overthrow of the United States Government.

Among them were William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party of America.

Seven of the group, including General Secretary Eugene V. Dennis, were arrested and arraigned on the charges.

The others, named along with the first seven in secret indictments returned by a special federal grand jury investigating alleged subversive activities, were being sought.

A State Department official said yesterday he thought every representative of a Russian satellite country in the United States was here to spread propaganda. Story is on Page 5.

Party Charges 'Frame-up.'

A formal statement by the Communist Party, released a few minutes before the seven were arraigned, denied the charges and characterized them as a "monstrous frame-up."

The men were arrested on bench warrants under sealed indictments returned by a special grand jury. Several of the defendants are facing deportation proceedings.

Arrested besides Foster and Dennis were:

The Courier-Journal

New York City Councilman Benjamin Davis; John B. Williamson, a trade-union secretary for the Communist Party; Henry Winston, organizational secretary for the Communist Party, and Jacob Stachel, educational secretary of the Communist Party, all arrested in New York, and Carl Winters, chairman of the Michigan Council of the party, who was seized in Detroit.

All were described by federal authorities as members of the Communist Party national board. Davis and Winston are Negroes.

Louisville, Ky.
Wed.

Daily Worker Editor Sought.

The five being sought were identified as:

7-21-48

Irving Potash, manager of the C.I.O.-Furriers Joint Council of New York City; John Gates, editor since July, 1947, of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party in the United States; Robert G. Thompson, chairman of the New York State Communist Party; Gilbert Green, district chairman for the Communist Party at Chicago, and Gus Hall, Cleveland, chairman of the Ohio Communist Party.

Of the six arrested here, all but Councilman Davis were arrested by F.B.I. agents as they sat at Communist headquarters discussing afternoon newspaper stories about the indictments. Davis was arrested later in his home.

The Courier-Journal

Six F.B.I. men walked quietly into the discussion on the ninth floor of Communist headquarters, showed their badges, and merely said, "You are under arrest." Foster an dhis companions did not seem astonished. They got up from their chairs, walked to the elevators with the agents, and at the curb entered two automobiles which took them direct to the Federal Building.

Those arrested in New York were arraigned before Federal Judge Vincent Leibell, who set bail at $5,000 for each.

Amount of the bail was protested vigorously by attorneys for the group. Judge Leibell then granted a request by one of the lawyers for a 30-day period in which to file motions.

Louisville, Ky.

Charges Political Trick

Judge Leibell set August 23 as the deadline for this action and ordered the men held in jail until bail is posted.

Wed.

Shortly before 9 p.m. the six defendants in New York were paroled overnight in the custody of counsel after Leibell had been told it was impossible to post bonds because of the lateness of the hour.

Leibell ordered the men to be in court tomorrow morning to post bail.

7-21-48

Shortly before the men were arraigned, a statement from the Communist Party was made public. It protested the arrest of the men on what the party described as a "monstrous frame-up charge." The statement said the protest has been authorized by Foster and Dennis "a few moments before their arrest."

The statement added:

"The American people can now see to what desperate provocations (President) Truman is driven in an effort to win the election, by hook or crook. As The New York Sun flatly stated, the reported indictment of the Communists is neatly timed to embarrass the new people's party now holding its founding convention in Philadelphia."

That was a reference to Henry Wallace's New Party.

In Philadelphia, C. B. Baldwin, campaign manager for Wallace, said:

"We aren't making any statement on this because it doesn't nvolve the New Party. My only nswer would be 'no comment.'

Conspiracy Is Charged

Wed.

All the defendants immediately ntered pleas of innocent.

Those arrested in New York vere named in one indictment harging them with violating the mith Act by "unlawfully conpiring, together with other perons unknown to the grand jury, to organize as the Communist Party of the United States a society or group to teach and advocate the overthrow of the United States by force and violence."

Six additional indictments, to which the defendants also pleaded innocent, charged the men with holding membership in the Communist Party.

7-21-48

Winters, in Detroit, stood mute at his arraignment on charges of violating the Smith Act.

One defense attorney, Abraham Unger, asking the court to parole the men in their own custody, said the "outrageous character of these indictments should be clear to the court."

"This is actually an outrage perpetrated upon the court," he said. "The data on which these indictments were found should be conclusive to even a layman that no crime is concerned, but rather the political activities of citizens."

At another point, he said:

"It is clear that this case will be fought relentlessly and determinedly by the defendants to vindicate themselves and guard against the sort of thing that is taking place tonight.

Councilmen Hit Davis' Arrest; GOP'er Hints Ouster Move

Daily Worker

34d

New York, N.Y. Thurs 7-22-48

By Michael Singer

The news of Manhattan Communist Councilman Benjamin J. Davis' indictment evoked considerable protest at City Hall yesterday, with rumors afoot that certain reactionary members of the Council were considering moves to oust him from that body.

Manhattan Republican Stanley M. Isaacs, however, emphatically rebuffed such a conspiracy, declaring that he was "shocked" to read of the news. Isaac said that though he differed with Davis "radically on many important issues" there was no question of Davis' loyalty and sincerity.

"I know Ben Davis too well to believe it possible that he would engage in any conspiracy to overthrow his government by force or violence. I differ with him radically on many important issues, but I do respect his sincerity and I have faith in his loyalty," Isaacs declared.

7-22-48 Thurs.

Councilman Eugene P. Connolly, Manhattan Laborite, assailed the arrests as "the most flagrant step yet taken in the direction of fascism in this country." His statement read:

7-22-48 Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

"The shocking arrest of the leaders of the Communist Party indicates clearly how the trumped-up hysteria of the Democratic Republican coalition leads inevitably to the destruction of basic principles of our democracy." 7-22-48

Majority Leader Joseph T. Sharkey expressed the view that Davis was elected as a Communist, is openly known as a Communist and that there was nothing the Council could do at this moment to unseat him. "At least there is nothing we can do until after the federal government has acted," Sharkey asserted. "If the government declares that it is a crime to be a Communist, then we can go to work on him, but until the jury finds him guilty, he is innocent." Daily Worker

34d

When Sharkey added that the Council could remove him if the court found him guilty, a reporter asked whether such a move was being contemplated.

"Why that's silly. The people have spoken. They elected him as a Communist," Sharkey replied. New York, N.Y.

SEEKS OUSTER

The one councilman reached who indicated that he was considering measures to remove Davis was Queens Republican Walter McGahan. Thurs.

The Queens Republican said that he would favor any law or provision which would bar Davis from Council sessions until his case was disposed of. Thurs.

Manhattan Republican Edward Rager strongly upheld Davis' right to speak as a Communist and expressed a personal sense of distaste over the indictment. Calling Davis "my colleague," the usual red-baiting Councilman said that "I do not like to see him indicted."

Rager declared that "Davis has always denied advocating violence. He has impressed me as a person who sincerely believes that communism is the answer to all of man's evils. Although I disagree with him, he has a right to his views." 7-22-48

Rager said that he would "individually protest if he (Davis) is indicted for anything he has said on the floor of the Council. That would be clearly an infringement of freedom of speech. However, I don't know what they have indicted him for."

QUILL RED-BAITS

The repudiated Labor Party Councilman and 10-cent fare spokesman Michael J. Quill called the indictment "a serious mistake." He said that it makes "a frontal attack on American civil liberties" and "apes the Palmer raids of 1920." But Quill could not forego an attack of his own on the Communist leaders. Daily Worker

"As far as the Communist Party leaders are concerned," he said "this action serves only to make martyrs of harmless crackpots."

Ira J. Palestin, Bronx Liberal, issued the following statement:

"I would consider the invoilability of our Constitutional system, providing due process of law, more important than the apparent attractiveness of suspending his membership at this time." This was taken by reporters to mean that while Palestin was purporting to defend Davis' right to his Council seat, he would consider any "legal" action to bar him "attractive."

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Thurs.

The only other Councilman reached was Bronx Democrat Edward Cunningham, who had no comment to make. Most of the other Councilmen were out of town or on vacation. 7-22-48

Benjamin Davis, Jr. City Councilman, Arrested In Red Drive

The Sun

34d

New York, N.Y.

Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Communist New York City Councilman, and Henry Winston, educational director in the party, were among the five top party leaders who were indicted here on Tuesday morning and later arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Arrested with the Negro leaders by the FBI were William Z. Foster, national chairman of the party; Eugene Dennis, general secretary; and Jack Stachel, a member of the party's national executive board.

The indictments were handed down earlier in the morning by a special grand jury to Federal Judge Vincent L. Leibell, who immediately had ordered the indictments sealed at the request of U. S. Attorney John F. X. McGohey, and that bench warrants be issued for the accused. Sat.

It was reported that the men are charged with violating the Smith Act, which was enacted in 1940, and provides penalties up to 10 years' imprisonment, a $10,000 fine, or both. 7-24-48

The Act make it unlawful for any person to "knowingly or willfully advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force of violence or by the assassination of any officer of any such government."

For the past 11 months the special grand jury has been conducting an investigation in the Communist Party and its leaders here in this country, and after a recess of several weeks, convened here at ten o'clock in the morning.

About ninety minutes later, the jury appeared into the Judge's courtroom, and the U. S. Attorney then announced that certain indictments had been returned and asked that they be sealed and warrants issued.

In the courtroom as well as in the grand jury room were T. Vincent Quinn, of the criminal division of the U. S. Attorney General's office and Thomas J. Donegan, a special assistant to the Attorney General.

Listed among the many national leaders in addition to those already arrested by the FBI and said to be on the "wanted list" of the Government are: John Williamson, administrative secretary and labor director; now battling deportation rulings) Robert Thompson, head of the New York State division; Irving Potash, vice-president of the CIO Fur and Leather Workers, Joint Council also battling deportation proceedings; Gil Green of Illinois; Gus Hall, Ohio; Carl Winter, Michigan; John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker; Alexander Bittleman, and Alexander Trachtenberg. 7-24-48

Reds Lose All N.M.U. Posts in Curran Victory

Herald Tribune

New York, N.Y.

34d

Right-Wing Slate Swept Into Office by 2 to 1; Expulsions Forecast

Mon. 7-26-48

By Robert A. Bedolis

Communists and Leftists have been voted completely out of controlling positions in the National Maritime Union, losing the powerful waterfront organization as a stronghold for the first time since it was organized in 1926, it was announced Saturday.

As the Honest Ballot Association reported a sweeping victory for Joseph Curran, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations affiliate, and his supporters, a statement conceding defeat was issued by his rivals. They included three of the union's highest officers, who were voted out.

Mr. Curran made it clear that trials and expulsion from the union face those of the N. M. U.'s former office-holders and other members, including "Communist party officials," who have committed "crimes against the membership." He named no one Saturday.

Mr. Curran, who split with the N. M. U.'s Left-wing faction more than two years ago and has been fighting it ever since, was re-elected by a 3 to 1 margin, the Honest Ballot Association announced. Herald Tribune

He and his supporters won every post on the thirty-two-man N. M. U. policy-making National Council, which has previously been controlled 2 to 1 by the Left-wing forces. Victors for N. M. U. secretary, treasurer and three vice-presidencies, all members of the council, are Curran supporters.

Sweeping Curran Victory

George J. Abrams, executive secretary of the Honest Ballot Association's committee on labor elections, said virtually every one of the 131 elective positions in the N. M. U. which was contested was won by members of what has been known as "the Curran rank-and-file caucus." The vote was generally 2 to 1, Mr. Abrams said.

He explained that while some ballots remain to be counted the thorough Right-wing victory is mathematically certain, even if challenged votes are considered void. New York, N.Y.

Mr. Abrams said the official vote count will not be released until a N. M. U. meeting tonight at Manhattan Center, 311 West Thirty-fourth Street, at which officers will be installed. The Honest Ballot Association conducts N. M. U. elections by a stipulation in the union's constitution. Mon.

Mr. Curran indicated he would not bring charges against any former N. M. U. officer or other members until after the installation meeting. He also made it clear that the N. M. U. will withdraw from the Greater New York C. I. O. Council. 7-26-48

Curran Defeats Myers

Mr. Curran, president of the N. M. U. since its founding, defeated Frederick (Blackie) Myers, also one of the union's founders and a vice-president until two years ago. Ferdinand C. Smith, secretary, and another of the union's founders, was defeated by Neil Hanley. Mr. Smith, an alien, is facing deportation on charges of being a Communist and therefore "undesirable." A third of

out was Howard McKenzie, a vice-president, defeated by H. B. Warner. Chester Young, a vice-president, was defeated by Adrian Duffy, a Curran man. Jack Lawrenson, an incumbent vice-president, and Hedley Stone, incumbent treasurer, both Curran supporters, were re-elected. Curran supporters wrested control of the key Port of New York N. M. U. offices from Leftist hands.

Although his opponents controlled the National Council, Mr. Curran, with the aid of Mr. Lawrenson and Mr. Stone, had much power, with the fight resulting in many instances in a stalemate which spelled marking time or regression for the N. M. U.

In a victory statement Mr. Curran said: "It will be possible, now that those officials who gave their first allegiance to outside forces instead of the membership have been defeated, for the union to do a real job in giving the membership service on their economic welfare and also for our union to take its place as a militant section of the national C. I. O." "The running fight of the past three years to return our union to the membership has been won."

Referring to the Taft-Hartley

Mon.

law injunction now delaying an N. M. U. strike, he said the union is in a position now to "struggle in unity to retain the gains made by the seamen and to improve their conditions, and will do this."

In a statement in the N. M. U. publication, "The Pilot," defeated officers, including Mr. Smith, Mr. McKenzie and Mr. Young, said they accept the mandate of the membership and "will register on the shipping list and go back to sea." 7-26-48

They pledged their "full support" to the newly elected officers of the union "who carry out in deeds the fight against the shipowners," and to continue "to carry out . . . the democratic and militant traditions of the union."

TOM CLARK'S LIST

Communism did not prove to be a very successful campaign issue for Harold Stassen in Oregon, but Harry Truman apparently still has hopes that it will help revive his failing popularity. Attorney General Tom Clark's new ruling that the Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the government, and the publication of a new list of "subversive" organizations, are the two latest Administration moves to keep the Red scare raging.

New Republic

The Communist Party has never before been judicially held to advocate the "overthrow of the government by violence." It is the business of the courts to determine this basic question, and in his unnecessary decision, the Attorney General is, in effect, usurping a judicial function. In arbitrarily listing 32 more organizations as "subversive," Clark is announcing the Administration's intention to continue its "guilt by association" policy.

President Truman took some of the edge off the announcement of the original list of 90 subversive groups last December by stating that the presence of an organization's name on the Attorney General's list was not conclusive evidence that its members were "disloyal" to the government. Attorney General Clark, by his new ruling, has now made membership in the Communist Party cause for dismissal from federal employment. Tues. 6-7-4

Until the Attorney General's ruling, President Truman's Loyalty Review Board had been, according to its chairman Seth Richardson, "like a ship without an anchor." It had no yardstick or standard for determining the degree of "disloyalty" in questionable cases. But. "since it is clearly shown that the Communist Party is prohibited under the Hatch Act," Richardson says in interpreting Clark's decision, "then any person who is a member of the Communist Party or an organization which assists, aids, or abets the Communist Party is now subject to discharge." Now that the matter of who is and who isn't subversive has been settled, to the satisfaction of the Loyalty Review Board, its members say they "can move more easily."

The second list of "subversive" organizations follows the pattern of the original list almost exactly. The blacklist experts have steered clear of naming any of the left-wing political groups or unions which have been repeatedly labeled "un-American" by the Thomas committee. But the Attorney General has made it clear that he has many more names to add to his list.

6-7-48

Meanwhile, with this urging from the Attorney General, the Loyalty Board can be expected to speed up its procedure, to show much less hesitation in moving for the dismissal of government employees whose loyalty is questioned. It is reasonable to assume that the ratio of one to 1,800 government employees found to be disloyal (FBI figures) will soon rise considerably.

Clark's ruling on the Communist Party will make it more difficult but more necessary than ever to test the constitutionality of the whole Loyalty Board procedure through the courts. The only case now pending to determine the power of the Attorney General to designate groups as subversive, an action brought by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee against the Attorney General, is in great danger of being dismissed on a motion of the government. New cases will have to be started on the Clark ruling as soon as government employees are fired on the strength of it. 6-7-48

The lawyers who have worked hardest in challenging the "loyalty" system are glad to have this whole question out in the open. The legal fight, they know, will be long-drawn-out and expensive, but the combined efforts of many groups will be solidly behind the contests, and they have no doubt that the Supreme Court, in time, will make it clear that Truman's "loyalty" program is more politics than law.

THE COMMUNIST INDICTMENTS

The Times

The general indictment brought by a federal grand jury against twelve principal Communists is in effect an indictment of the Communist party itself as an allegedly illegal organization. The indictment charges that "from on or about April 1, 1945, and continuously thereafter" these top leaders of the party "unlawfully, willfully and knowingly did conspire with each other, and with divers other persons to the Grand Jurors unknown, to organize as the Communist party of the United States a society, group and assembly of persons who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and knowingly and willfully to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence." New York, N.Y.

Such activities, if established, would violate the Smith Act of 1940, which made it a criminal offense to advocate the overthrow or destruction of any government (federal, state or local) in the United States by force or violence. The conference report on the enactment of this statute was adopted in the House of Representatives by a vote of 382 to 4 and in the Senate without a roll-call. The measure received the formal approval of President Roosevelt's signature on June 28, 1940.

Since the case is now in court, and since the evidence on which the indictments rest has not been revealed, any comment on the merits of the charges would be not only uninformed but improper. It may be said, however, that there is no excuse for the excited allegation by the National Committee of the Communist party that this is "an American version of the Reichstag fire." It is, on the contrary, a proper procedure under existing law. A statute defining certain illegal acts has been in effect since 1940. A federal grand jury, considering evidence submitted to it from time to time over a period of more than a year, believes that this evidence demonstrates a violation of the law in question. It is both proper and essential that the merits of this evidence should be submitted to the courts. The defendants are assured not only of a fair trial but of an opportunity, if they choose to make use of it, to test the constitutionality of the law itself. 7-22-48

Davis Asks Council To Demand Senate OK Civil Rights Bill

Daily Worker

Wed. 6-9-48

New York

The City Council yesterday referred to its State Legislation Committee a resolution by Manhattan Communist Benjamin J. Davis urging the Council to call on the Senate "to act upon anti-polltax, anti-lynch and FEPC legislation before this session adjourns." Davis said the legislation was vital "to guarantee the basic civil rights of American democracy to all people." His proposal that the resolution be acted upon immediately was denied by Majority Leader Joseph P. Sharkey.

Another important resolution which was denied immediate consideration was one by Manhattan Laborite Eugene P. Connolly calling for a boycott of purchases of all British goods and equipment by the city administration. The resolution also urged the Council to appeal to the people "likewise to boycott British goods."

Connolly's resolution denounces British aid to the Arab nations and proposed a permanent boycott until the British ceased all "active and passive support" to the aggressors against Israel. 6-9-48

The Council defeated a motion by Manhattan Republican Stanley M. Isaacs which would have referred the proposed pinball legislation back to the Welfare Committee for clarification. The legislation which bans pinball machines was held over for another week.

The Council also delayed a vote on the double business tax legislation which was approved by the Finance Committee and sent to the Council floor for action. However, because of minor technicalities in the language of the bill, it was held over for a vote next week.

Manhattan Republican Councilman Edward Rager introduced a resolution urging the Council to censure Andrew G. Clauson and William Jansen, President of the Board of Education and Superintendent of Schools respectively, for their attack on his resolution of June 1 which calls for an investigation of the schools and a special commission by O'Dwyer to probe the loyalty of school teachers. The resolution was referred to the City Affairs Committee.

Associated Press Wirephoto.

IN THE RED . . . After posting $5,000 bail each, these Communist leaders talked things over yesterday in the Federal Building in New York. Seated, from left, Eugene Dennis, William Z. Foster, and Benjamin J. Davis. Standing, from left, John Williamson, Henry Winston, and Jacob Stachel. All six men have pleaded innocent.

Paper Says Contrite Spy Told F.B.I. of Communists

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

24

New York, July 21 (UP)—A conscience-stricken beautiful blond leader of an intricate spy ring gave the F.B.I. three years ago the tip that resulted in the indictment of 12 Communist leaders. The New York World-Telegram reported today. Thurs.

The espionage ring included top Government officials, the newspaper said in a coyprigh story. 7-22-48

The woman and her associates gave the Soviet Union the first plans of the B-29, complete data on the plastic explosive R-D-X, almost daily figures on plane production, and statistics on other war materials, The World-Telegram reported.

Implicates 50 U. S. Employees.

The woman was not identified, but was described as an attractive New Englander, the graduate of a select New England college. She told the F.B.I. she had been a member of the Communist Party for years and had served in wartime as an official of a purported relief organization, the newspaper said. She was said to be employed now as a clerk in New York City.

She told the F.B.I., The World-Telegram said, that more than 50 Government employees, one a personal adviser to President Roosevelt, supplied information to her for the Soviet Union. All were Communist Party members and were not paid for their espionage, the newspaper said.

The 12 Communist leaders indicted yesterday were not charged with espionage, but with violation of the Smith Act, which prohibits activities aimed at the overthrow of the Government by force. 7-22-48

Claims Employees Were Fired.

United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey told a press conference today the indictments of the 12 had "nothing to do with a blonde."

"I don't know anything about a blonde, nor any other woman," he said. The Courier-Journal

He said the indictments handed up here had nothing to do with a top-secret investigation being conducted by two special assistant attorneys general from Washington.

"It is believed that the F.B.I. does not have enough proof to indict (members of the spy ring), but it is known that the bureau is remaining relentlessly on the track," The World-Telegram story said. It added that nearly all the Government officials involved had been dismissed because of F.B.I. pressure.

Six of the 12 men indicted were released in Federal Court today after providing bail supplied by the Civil Rights Congress. They all pleaded innocent when indicted and Federal Judge Vincent L. Leibell set August 23 for the hearing.

Editor Gives Self Up.

Louisville Ky.

John Gates, 34, editor of The Daily Worker, walked into the Federal Court clerk's office today and surrendered. He said he had not learned of the indictments until he read the morning papers.

Defense attorneys said Irving Potash, manager of the Furriers Joint Council, would surrender at 10:30 a.m. tomorrow. Thurs.

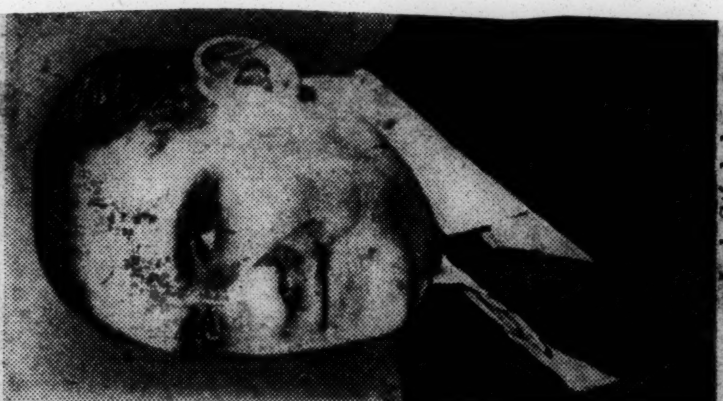
F.B.I. agents said they still were hunting for Robert Thompson, chairman of the New York State Communist Party; Gilbert Green, Chicago Communist district chairman, and Gus Hall, chairman of the Communist Party in Ohio. 7-22-48

COMMUNIST LEADERS TAKEN INTO CUSTODY BY FBI

The Times

William Z. Foster

Eugene Dennis



Jack Stachel

BAIL SET AT $5,000

The Times

Special Federal Grand Jury's Action Follows Year's Investigation

New York, N. Y.

PARTY CONDEMNS TRUMAN

Calls Charges the 'American Version' of Reichstag Fire

Hearing Due Aug. 23

Wed. 7-21-48

By MEYER BERGER

Six of twelve high-ranking Communists named in indictments handed up before noon yesterday by a special Federal grand jury that has investigated Communist activity for more than a year were held here in $5,000 bail each last night on charges of conspiring to overthrow the United States Government. The others, some of them from other cities, were sought by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

After the six men had been detained about two and one-half hours they were released at 10 P. M. in the custody of Abraham Unger, one of their lawyers. He pleaded with Federal Judge Vincent L. Leibell that the men had made every honest effort to raise the required bond, but could not produce it until morning. The court agreed that full effort had been made, and ordered Mr. Unger to be back in court this morning at 10:30 o'clock with the bonds.

The Associated Press reported that Carl Winters was arrested in Detroit, at about the same time that the six were taken in New York. His bail was set at $10,000 and hearing was fixed for two weeks from yesterday.

The six taken in New York included William Z. Foster, party chairman and several times Communist candidate for President of the United States; Benjamin Davis, New York City Councilman; several members of the Communist National Board and the editor of The Daily Worker. Each of the six was held on two indictments. Hearing date was set for Aug. 23. The six taken here were detained in the Federal Court House in Foley Square, pending arrival of bond.

Leaders Under Indictment

The men named in the indictments, in addition ~~to Foster~~ and Davis, were: The Times

John Williamson, member of the Communist national board.

Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist party.

Associated Press Wirephoto.

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John Gates, 34, editor of The Daily Worker, walked into the Federal Court clerk's office today and surrendered. He said he had not learned of the indictments until he read the morning papers.

Defense attorneys said Irving Potash, manager of the Furriers Joint Council, would surrender at 10:30 a.m. tomorrow. Thurs.

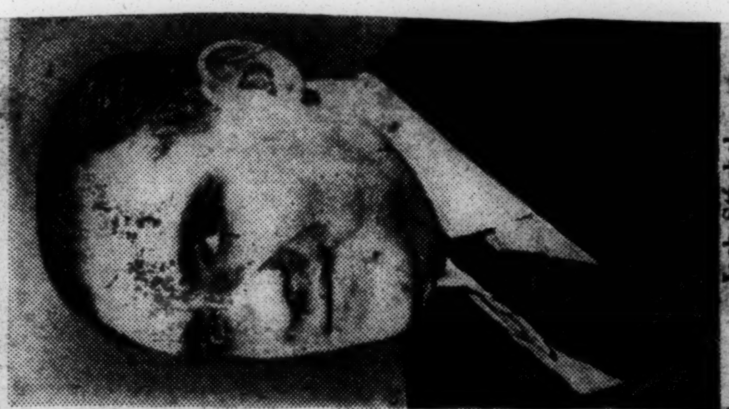
F.B.I. agents said they still were hunting for Robert Thompson, chairman of the New York State Communist Party; Gilbert Green, Chicago Communist district chairman, and Gus Hall, chairman of the Communist Party in Ohio. 7-22-48

COMMUNIST LEADERS TAKEN INTO CUSTODY BY FBI

The Times

William Z. Foster

Eugene Dennis



Jack Stachel

BAIL SET AT $5,000

The Times

Special Federal Grand Jury's Action Follows Year's Investigation

New York, N.Y.

PARTY CONDEMNS TRUMAN

Calls Charges the 'American Version' of Reichstag Fire

Hearing Due Aug. 23

Wed. 7-21-48

By MEYER BERGER

Six of twelve high-ranking Communists named in indictments handed up before noon yesterday by a special Federal grand jury that has investigated Communist activity for more than a year were held here in $5,000 bail each last night on charges of conspiring to overthrow the United States Government. The others, some of them from other cities, were sought by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

After the six men had been detained about two and one-half hours they were released at 10 P. M. in the custody of Abraham Unger, one of their lawyers. He pleaded with Federal Judge Vincent L. Leibell that the men had made every honest effort to raise the required bond, but could not produce it until morning. The court agreed that full effort had been made, and ordered Mr. Unger to be back in court this morning at 10:30 o'clock with the bonds.

The Associated Press reported that Carl Winters was arrested in Detroit, at about the same time that the six were taken in New York. His bail was set at $10,000 and hearing was fixed for two weeks from yesterday.

The six taken in New York included William Z. Foster, party chairman and several times Communist candidate for President of the United States; Benjamin Davis, New York City Councilman; several members of the Communist National Board and the editor of The Daily Worker. Each of the six was held on two indictments. Hearing date was set for Aug. 23. The six taken here were detained in the Federal Court House in Foley Square, pending arrival of bond.

Leaders Under Indictment

The men named in the indictments, in addition to Foster and Davis, were: The Times

John Williamson, member of the Communist national board.

Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist party.

New York, N.Y.

John Williamson

Henry Winston

Wed. 7-21-48

Henry Winston, member of the national board.

New York N.Y.

Jack Stachel, member of the national board.

Robert Thompson, member of the national board and chairman of the New York State Communist party.

John Gates, editor of The Communist Daily Worker since 1947.

Irving Potash, manager of the Fuirriers' Joint Council of New York, CIO, member of the Communist national board.

Gilbert Green, Chicago Communist district chairman.

Wed.

Carl Winter, Detroit, chairman of the Michigan State unit of the Communist party.

Gus Hall, chairman of the Communist party in Ohio.

Several of these men are aliens, among them Williamson, Stachel and Potash.

7-21-48

The indictments, which had been sealed when they were handed up before noon, in Judge Vincent L. Leibell's court, were opened at the arraignment here. A blanket indictment accused all twelve of the men named of conspriacy to violate the so-called Smith Act, a wartime measure passed in June, 1940. Each of the men was indicted individually for specific violation of the act.

Indictment Charges Conspiracy

The general indictment set forth:

"The defendants from on or about April 1, 1945, up to the present day conspired to organize [illegible] Communist party of the United States of America a society of persons to teach and advocate the destruction and overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence; and that the defendants knewingly and wilfully conspired to teach and advocate the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence."

The language of the individual indictments was much the same. It accused all twelve of the men named of teaching and encouraging others "to be, become, a member of, or affiliate with any such [Communist] society, group, or assembly of persons, knowihg the purpose thereof."

United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey had withheld the nature of the charges, and the names of the indicted, until the six arrested in New York were brought before Judge Leibell for arraignment at 7:45 P. M. Of the six arrested here, all but Councilman Davis were arrested by FBI agents as they sat at Communist headquarters, 35 East Twelfth Street, discussing afternoon newspaper stories about the indictments. Councilman Davis was arrested later in his home.

Six FBI men walked quietly into the discussion on the ninth floor of Communist headquarters, showed their badges and merely said, "You are under arrest." Gray-faced Foster and his companions did not seem particularly astonished. They got up from their chairs, walked to the elevators with the Federal agents, and at the curb entered two automobiles that took them directly to the Federal Building.

Communists Denounce Truman

The Times

The arrest was anticipated. Hardly had the five party leaders started for the door with the FBI men before the press relations office of the National Committee of the Communist party handed out a two-page statement. This denounced the indictments as a "Truman effort to win the election, by hook or crook," described them as "this American version of the Reichstag Fire" and caalled it "the domestic counterpart of the criminal bipartisan attempts to turn the war in Berlin from cold to hot."

"Terrified of the growing support for the Wallace-Taylor ticket" the statement saaid, "the Democratic high command is seeking to brand the new party as 'criminal' because among the opponents of Wall Street's two old parties and their candidates are the Communists, who also join with all other progressives in supporting the new peeople's anti-war party."

The indictments were declared to be "neatly timed to embarrass" the New party, which is holding its convention in Philadelphia Friday and Saturday.

Another part of the statement said:

New York, N.Y.

"All that is known of the history of the blue ribbon grand jury which reportedly returned these indictments confirms our charge. For a full year the Justice Department has apparently been planting in the ultra-reactionary press tales about its alleged investigation of a 'gigantic spy plot.'

"Clearly the purpose of these inspired newspaper accounts was to bring pressure on the grand jury, while at the same time whipping up an atmosphere of public hysteria.

Wed.

"In the Congress, the courts, and above all before the bar of public opinion we Communists will press our case against the pro-Fascists and war mongers in the GOP and in the Truman Administration."

7-21-48

All six arraigned here pleaded not guilty to the charges. Abraham Unger, counsel for the group, asked the court to "recognize the extraordinary nature of these proceedings" and to deny Mr. McGohey's request for $5,000 bail in each case. He pleaded that none of the men would leave the jurisdiction.

Judge Leibell assured Mr. Unger that the men would "have an American trial," but pointed out that the charges against them were grave.

"Yes," he said, "They shall have an American trial."

"I hope so, your Honor," the lawyer said.

"Don't worry about that; they will."

The court held that if Mr. McGohey had asked that bail be set at $50,000, there might be reason to argue against it. He thought $5,000 a nominal amount, and after a half-hour's discussion it was fixed at that. The court would not consider a motion by Mr. Unger that the six be paroled in their own custody. Throughout these procedings, as through the reading of the indictment, the defendants were silent and grim-lipped.

The special grand jury, which has sat intermittently since mid-June, 1947, handed up the indictments before noon to Judge Vincent L. Leibell.

No presentment was offered in open court. United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey asked at once that the indictments—there appeared to be between ten to fifteen, in as many envelopes—be sealed, and they were, by District Court Clerk David Sweeney.

Mr. McGohey then asked the court for bench warrants for the persons named in the true bills. Judge Leibell ordered the warrants drawn. They were turned over to agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Before the arrests, Mr. McGohey would not disclose the charges in the true bills. He would not tell how individuals were named in them, nor the total number of indictments. None of these details, he insisted, could come out until the persons named stand to the bar for arraignment.

The prosecutor's tight-lipped attitude stirred considerable speculation as to the nature of the charges. The most general belief seemed to be that the persons named might be accused of violation of the Smith Alien Registration Act, a wartime measure passed in June, 1940. It applies to persons who:

Wed.

"Knowingly or wilfully advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence . . ."

The special grand jury's foreman is Edmund L. Cocks of Scarsdale in Westchester County. The jury was made up of twenty-three members, two of them women. The nature of its investigation was guarded with extraordinary caution. At no time up to last night did Attorney General Tom Clark or Mr. McGohey so much as hint, officially, what it sought.

17 Jurors in Court Room

The jury last met about a month ago. At 10:30 A. M. yesterday seventeen of its members—a quorum—convened in the jury's fourteenth-floor rooms in the Federal Building in Foley Square. A littel more than an hour later the seventeen went into Judge Leibell's court.

7-21-48

In the court room were Mr. McGohey, his assistant, Edward P. Rigney, and T. Vincent Quinn and Thomas J. Donegan, special assistants to the Attorney General, who it was unofficially reported, have appeared before the grand jury many times. Mr. Quinn is a former United States attorney for the Eastern District of New York. Mr. Donegan, now chief of the criminal division of the Department of Justice, was agent in charge of the FBI office in New York. Both have an extensive knowledge of Red operations.

When Judge Leibell mounted to the bench, Mr. McGohey said: "Your Honor, the grand jury has some indictments to hand up to you. I ask that these indictments be sealed, and that bench warrants be issued."

The Times New York N.Y.

"It is so ordered," the Court responded.

Mr. Cocks passed a large manila envelope to the court clerk. Within this were a number of smaller envelopes, each containing a true bill. The clerk sealed them.

"Has this jury completed its work?" Judge Leibell asked.

"No, Your Honor," said Mr. McGohey, and I ask at this time that this jury be allowed to recess, subject to call."

7-21-48

The Court consented.

Leaving the chamber, the grand jurors all stopped to shake hands with Mr. Donegan and with Mr. Quinn. It was assumed from this that the true bills were probably based on evidence submitted by Mr. Donegan and Mr. Quinn, but Mr. McGohey, in a subsequent interview, disclosed that the indictments were based on evidence submitted by him.

Wed.

There were rumors to the effect that the Donegan and Quinn evidence had to do with espionage, but that the jury has not completed its inquiry into that phase of its work. Mr. Quinn, incidentally, intends to resign from Government work next month to enter private practice.

Justice Officials Silent

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 20—Officials of the Department of Justice either professed ignorance of the contents of the indictments handed down by a Federal grand jury in New York, or declined to discuss them, today.

Wed.

The special grand jury was created about a year ago by order of Attorney General Tom C. Clark, and presumably some of its material was initiated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. However, the committee experts said they did not know what the scope of the inquiry had been or who might be concerned in the sealed indictments.

It was said here that the investigating body would not be compelled to confine its inquiry to events occurring in the vicinity of New York, but, on the other hand, could look into alleged espionage ramifying into various parts of the nation.

7-21-48

While officials disclosed nothing about the grand jury proceedings, it seems established that they have been in touch with the inquiry as it proceeded.

One of Mr. McGohey's assistants told reporters after arraignment, that conviction for violation of the Smith Act carries a maximum penalty of ten years' imprisonment and $10,000 fine, on each count.

A Story the Detroit Press Didn't Headline

Daily Worker

By William Allan New York, N. Y. Wed. 5-5-48

DETROIT, May 4.—There were no roaring headlines in the Detroit press today about Nelson Davis, Negro Ford local leader and prominent Communist, because Nelson was standing in front of Gate 4 at Ford River Rouge plant getting hundreds of workers to sign petitions to put the Wallace for President Progressive Party on the ballot.

A week before at the same time, Davis was also getting signatures on the Wallace petitions when he was arrested purportedly in connection with the shooting of UAW leader Walter Reuther, and taken to police headquarters and held for 48 hours. He was released two days later after a judge told Prosecutor James McNally that he could no longer allow Davis to be held without bail because McNally had failed to produce evidence that the Ford leader was involved in any conspiracy to shoot Reuther.

SIGN PETITIONS

Hundreds of workers came to Davis today at Gate 4, signed the petition despite the watchful eyes of plant police, then shook hands with Davis and went into work.

Daily Worker

The danger of frameups of progressive unionists by law enforcement agencies here is emphasized by evidence that has come to your correspondent that a specially assigned Detroit News reporter has been participating with County Prosecutor James McNally in grilling unionists brought in by the police department.

New York, N. Y.

This reporter is John Carlisle. He is assigned to prepare a series of anti-labor articles to rival the recent hate inciting series of James Sweinhart of the same paper.

So far the police department and

NELSON DAVIS

Back at Work

Police Commissioner Harry S. Toy, former Ford attoreny, have not said they have investigated violent anti-labor forces or known Detroit fascist elements. Wed. 5-5-48

Reuther's secretary revealed that Reuther had received two threatening letters: one spewing hatred because he testified against the exclusion of Negroes from the American Bowling Congress; the other threatening him because he deplored the attack of a mob on a Communist organizer's home in Columbus, Ohio. Wed. 5-5-48

Commissioner Toy would do well to scan the LaFollette Committee's investigation of the anti-union corporations in Detroit and get the names of the hired gunmen, spies and hardened criminals used to attack the early union organization.

Daily Worker

Detroit is the hangout of America Firster, Gerald L. K. Smith, the United Sons of America, a front group for the Ku Klux Klan, whose Neon sign can be seen at West Forest Aves. near Woodward. There is a group of hate-inciters, whose names the police have. They initiated the anti-Negro riots of 1943, where 16 were killed. Yet six days after the shooting of Reuther no one but unionists have been called in by the police New York, N.Y.

Out on Bail, She Signs 57 New CP Members

By Arnold Sroog

Claudia Jones, out on bail on a deportation charge, personally signed up 57 new Communist Party members in her month's tour of the West Coast, Miss Jones told the Daily Worker yesterday. This figure, she stressed, does not include those brought into the Party at her meetings by other people.

On her tour, which coincided with the powerful campaign against the Mundt police state bill, Miss Jones found "deep alarm among all sections of the people and a desire to fight against infringements of civil liberties."

New York, N.Y.,

One of the most heartening aspects of the tour, she added, was that "you could literally feel the democratic upsurge of the people."

"People were not afraid—they came right up to the front of the hall and signed up for the Party," she said. Fri. 6-4-48

Her tour took her to Seattle and Tacoma, Wash.; Portland, Ore.; San Francisco, Oakland, Contra Costa, Los Angeles and San Diego, Calif.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Salt Lake City, Utah, and Denver, Colo. She spoke to more than 7,500 people at public meetings in these cities.

In Portland, Miss Jones spoke to a meeting of 300 at Norse Hall, the day after Republican hopeful Harold Stassen called for outlawing the Party. As a result of Stassen's incitements, a rock was thrown through a window of the hall while the meeting was in progress.

At the conclusion of the meeting a middle-aged, stout Negro woman came up to the platform and presented Miss Jones with a souvenir—the rock. Daily Worker

"This is a souvenir from Oregon," she said, "but it is not how the people really feel. Do you know what stopped the rock? It was the American flag." New York, N.Y.

The rock now rests in an honored place on the mantle of Miss Jones' home. Fri. 6-4-48

In Phoenix, an unprecedented meeting of 1,000 people jammed her rally, the climax of a long campaign which recently won an FEPC ordinance for the state. The greatest applause at this meeting, as at all the others, came when Miss Jones declared that the Communist Party would never register if the Mundt Bill was passed, and that it would continue its struggle to free America from Wall Street.

NEGRO SENTIMENT

Daily Worker

The main current moving among the Negro people, she found, was a desire to smash Jimcrow in the Army and to win real civil rights legislation. Around these two issues, she found, was a deep desire for unity among all groups of the Negro people.

New York, N.Y.

A new feature in politics in the southwest was the emergence of the Mexican people as an active force. In Los Angeles the Mexican community was deeply stirred by a recent fight by progressives which forced the arrest of a trigger-happy cop in Salcida, Calif. Fri. 6-4-48

Side by side with the upsurge of the people, however, Miss Jones found that the oppression of the Negro people is increasing, with Ingram cases prevalent in almost every community she visited. In Tacoma, for example, where Jimcrow is totally alien to all tradition, a move was started recently to initiate segregated transportation.

But the big thing that came through on the tour was the people's courage in the face of the unprecedented attacks on their rights and living standards. This will to fight back, Miss Jones emphasized, is the thing that will smash the plans of reaction to shackle the American people. Fri. 6-4-48

CLAUDIA JONES
Undaunted Fri. 6-4-48

U. S. Indicts Communists

Herald Tribune

Five top American Communists were sitting in their inner sanctum on the ninth floor of their New York City headquarters, 35 East Twelfth Street, at 5:30 o'clock last Tuesday afternoon. They were discussing a story in the afternoon newspapers to the effect that a special Federal Grand Jury, which had been studying Communism in the United States, had returned some sealed indictments. At that point six men from the Federal Bureau of Investigation walked in quietly and arrested all five Communist leaders.

New York, N.Y.

Seven more top Communists, who were not in the room at the time, also were indicted. It was the most drastic Communist round-up ever conducted in the United States, for it made a clean sweep of the national board that dictates Communist party policy. Among the first to be apprehended were William Z. Foster, national chairman; Eugene Dennis, general secretary, and Benjamin J. Davis jr., member of the New York City Council. Others indicted included John Gates, editor of "The Daily Worker"; Gus Hall, Ohio chairman of the Communist party; Gilbert Green, Chicago leader, and Carl Winter, Michigan chairman.

The grand jury indictment accused the Communists of having "conspired to organize as the Communist party of the United States of America a society of persons to teach and advocate the destruction and overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence." Such activity was prohibited by the Smith act of 1940, which prescribed a maximum penalty of $10,000 fine and ten years in jail. Sun

The Smith law never before had been used against Communists, although it had been used in 1942 against eighteen members of the Socialist Workers party, known as Trotskyites. The indictment of Communists raised two basic questions which have never been decided by the Supreme Court. First: Is the Smith law constitutional? And, second: Does the Communist party advocate the violent overthrow of the government? The Communists say they do not. The twelve indicted Communists planned to carry the case to the Supreme Court. If the court answers the two basic questions in the affirmative, all active members of the Communist party in the United States would be under hazard of imprisonment. In short, the legal process begun last week was a frontal attack on American Communism.

Herald Tribune

The Communists, of course, seized upon the situation to make propaganda; they looked upon themselves as martyrs in the struggle for civil liberties. Their arrest was "an American version of the Nazi Reichstag fire." Their fourteenth national convention, to be held in New York City Aug. 2, will be turned into a "gigantic protest against the frame-up." A fund-raising drive was started with a goal of $250,000; plans were made for 500 simultaneous street meetings throughout the city Tuesday; and 2,000,0000 protest leaflets were in preparation.

Blonde's Tip Rip Red Spy Grip

Constitution, Atlanta Ga.

Thu. 7-22-48

NEW YORK, July 21—(AP)—The World-Telegram said today in a copyrighted article that a beautiful blonde's tip to the FBI on a large Russian spy ring led to the Federal Grand Jury investigation culminating in indictments of 12 top Communist officials.

Meanwhile, four of the Communist Party heads indicted on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the U. S. Government still were sought by FBI agents.

The other eight, including Party Chairman William Z. Foster, were accounted for here and in Detroit. 7-22-48

The seven men taken into custody here all were released on $5,000 bail today.

A special Federal Grand Jury indicted the 12 top members of the Communist hierarchy yesterday, charging them with a plot to topple the American Government by violence.

U. S. Atty. John F. X. McGohey commenting on the World-Telegram story, said no woman gave testimony before the Grand Jury.

The World-Telegram reported the following:

The unnamed woman, New England-born, suffered pangs of conscience and decided she could no longer sabotage her native country. Her fantastic story, incredible to FBI agents at first, turned out to be completely true.

She told the FBI that 50 Government employees of all ranks were members of the ring. The FBI still does not have enough evidence to indict but is remaining relentlessly on the trail of ring members. Sat.

The woman, graduate of a noted women's college and an official of a purported relief organization during the war, had been a minor Communist Party member for years. Gradually she was taken into Communist confidence and in the midst of the war, when her immediate superior died, found herself in control of the spy ring.

She was given information by some 50 men and women Government employees, all Communists, ranging from clerks to one man of near cabinet authority. Nearly all, due to FBI pressure, no longer are on the Government payrolls. Constitution

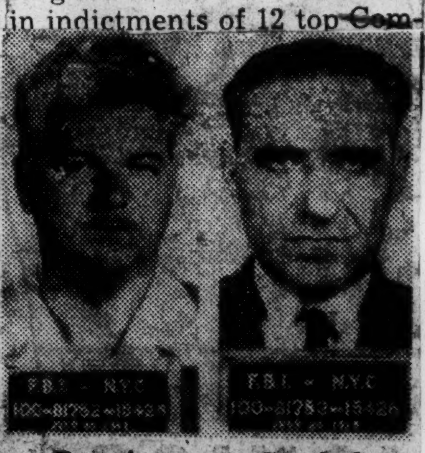
WASHINGTON, July 21—(AP) Secretary of State Marshall threw cold water today on a story—told by members of his own Department — of Communist agents hacking away at U. S. security under a shield of United Nations immunity. Marshall told a news conference he doesn't know of a single case in which a foreigner has come to this country for the United Nations and has threatened American security in any way.

Among the secrets the woman and her agents turned over to the Russians were the first plans of the B-29, still under wraps, and complete data on R-D-X, a plastic explosive.

Working for the woman was a man high in the councils of the Office of Strategic Services who would meet the woman on a Washington street corner and turn over secret information to her.

Others working for her included a personal adviser of President Roosevelt, a high Army Air Force officer, an official of the War Production Board, members of the Office of War Information and persons informed of policy from other strategic Government agencies.

None received money for their activities. Once, with FBI agents watching, she met a high official from the Soviet Embassy in Washington. She received an envelope containing several thousand dollars from him. The official came to New York to press the money on her because he believed she was weakening.


F.B.I. - N.Y.C.
100-81752-15428
F.B.I. - N.Y.C.
100-81752-15426

Dennis Stachel

F.B.I. - N.Y.C.
100-81752-15430
F.B.I. - N.Y.C.
100-81752-15425

Foster Williamson

Benjamin Davis

The four men still sought are Irving Potash, manager of the CIO Furriers' Joint Council in New York; Robert G. Thompson, Chairman of the New York State Communist Party; Gilbert Green, District Chairman for the Communist Party at Chicago, and Gus Hall, of Cleveland, Chairman of the Ohio Communist Party.

The seven freed on bail here were Foster, Eugene V. Dennis, General Secretary of the Party; John B. Williamson, Trade Union Secretary for the Party; Henry Winston, Party Organizational Secretary; Benjamin Davis, Negro, former Atlanta lawyer and now New York City Councilman; Jacob Stachel, Educational Secretary for the Party, and John Gates, Editor of the Daily Worker, Party newspaper. Constitution, Ga.

All but Gates were arrested last night and allowed by Federal Judge Vincent L. Leibell to go free overnight on a promise to return this morning to arrange bail. Gates surrendered today.

Groups Rise To Aid Reds Jailed By U.S.

Birmingham, Ala.

eral authorities expected the surrender today of the ninth man among the 12 indicted members of the Communist Party's national board. Three others are being sought.

Wed.

All 12 are accused of advocating the violent overthrow of the U. S. government. 7-21-48

Eight of the party's high-ranking officials were released yesterday in $5,000 bail each.

Attorneys for a ninth board member, Irving Potash, manager of the CIO furriers' joint council, in New York, announced he would return from a New England vacation today and turn himself over to authorities. 7-21-48

* * *

ASSOCIATES of the three other accused men—Robert G. Thompson, New York State party chairman; Gilbert Green, Chicago district party chairman, and Gus Hall, of Cleveland, Ohio state Communist chairman—indicated the three soon will surrender voluntarily.

Bail for the seven who appeared in federal court here yesterday morning was provided by the Civil Rights Congress. The congress also reportedly posted bond for Carl Winter, chairman of the party's Michigan council, who appeared in court in Detroit.

The congress is on a list of groups named by Atty. Gen. Clark as subversive. The News

* * *

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, national Communist Party chairman, and the party's general secretary, Eugene Dennis, also indicted, defended themselves at a news conference.

Latest of the Communist leaders to appear here was John Gates, editor of The Daily Worker, the official party organ. He walked into the federal courthouse yesterday, and said, "I'm surrendering myself. I have a clear conscience."

He said he had read in morning newspapers about the indictment, handed down Tuesday by a federal Grand Jury after a year-long investigation into alleged subversive activities. Birmingham

Others released here on bail were John Williamson, party trade union secretary; Henry Winston, party organizational secretary; Benjamin Davis, city councilman and Jacob Stachel, party educational secretary. Ala.

* * *

MEANWHILE, several sources protested the government's assault on communism. Wed.

Norman Thomas, Socialist presidential candidate, said the arrest of the party officials is likely "to impair America's standing as the land of liberty." 7-21-48

The American Civil Liberties Union charged that the indictment against the 12 "on its face, in our judgment, violates every principle of freedom of speech and press."

In Philadelphia, a Henry A. Wallace statement said the arrests were an attempt to "create fear" among the people.

The new party presidential candidate said the move was calculated to divert attention from "mounting inflation, the stupid bungling in Berlin and other problems."

* * *

MICHAEL J. QUILL, national president of the CIO transport workers union, said the arrests were "the first step in a reign of terror." 7-21-48

Defense for one of the indicted men, Councilman Davis, a Negro, came from some fellow members of the New York City Council.

Republican Councilman Stanley Isaacs said "I know Ben Davis too well to believe it possible that he would engage in any conspiracy to overthrow his government by force or violence . . . I have faith in his loyalty." Wed

"The people elected Davis as a Communist," said Democratic Council Majority Leader Joseph T. Sharkey. "Until the jury finds him guilty, he is innocent."

The Communist officials were indicted for alleged activities extending over the past three years in violation of the Smith act, a 1940 defense measure aimed at those who advocate or teach overthrow of the government by force.

The maximum penalty is 10 years imprisonment and $10,000 fine on each count.

Face to Face

The New Party Made History On The Draft Fight in Congress

The Worker New York, N.Y.

348

By Benjamin J. Davis

GLEN TAYLOR in the Senate, together with Vito Marcantonio and Adam Powell in the House, led an historic battle against the draft—a prime cog in the imperialist plans of Wall Street for Jimcrow world war III and for a Jimcrow army. Theirs was the voice of labor and the people — Negro and white — against domestic fascism.

6-27-48

The Negro people, in particular, will greet this as the most magnificent struggle in Congress in modern times against the barbarous Jimcrow system in the armed forces. They will note too that it was led primarily by the New Party stalwarts, thus demonstrating in life the powerful, fighting mettle of this rising political giant. This battle, in addition to several others waged by the New Party, amply justifies its existence, its necessity to the people at this fateful moment in world affairs.

Taylor's action in the Senate, plus his dramatic and earnest defiance of the Jimcrow system in Birmingham, bring him forward as one of the outstanding people's leaders of the country. The irrepressible, resourceful and courageous Marcantonio bids fair to become one of the greatest legislators in all American history. But it is not merely these men as individuals, although their personal abilities are enormous factors. As champions of the New Party, as tribunes of the new, healthy and fundamental political current developing among the people, they are a thousand times effective.

* * *

THE Negro people and their white progressive supporters nationally will welcome the militant role of Adam Powell on this and other issues in Congress recently, considering certain of his serious disappointments. When Powell put up his fine stand against army discrimination, it was not Republicans and members of his own Democratic party who unflinchingly supported him, it was Taylor and Marcantonio, the New Party-ALP forces. If Powell is to achieve his maximum potentialities of political independence of the machines, of conscientious service and leadership to the Negro people in this crisis, he should abandon all hesitations and doubts and resolutely identify himself with the Wallace-Taylor movement. This is the overwhelming desire and expressed mandate of the Negro people in Harlem, and nationally.

If the Committee against Jimcrow in Military Service and Training—headed by A. Phillip Randolph and Grant Reynolds—had been sincere in its publicly proclaimed objective, it would have hastened to congratulate and support Marcantonio, Taylor and Powell. On the contrary, Reynolds, in the name of the Committee, issued a disgusting statement denouncing Marcantonio and Powell for "following the Communist Party line" and for interfering with the "carefully laid plans" of Randolph and Reynolds, the two self-appointed master-minds. They told the two Congressmen to keep their hands off the draft bill, which is the same thing Rankin told them. But Marcantonio and Powell — thank heaven!—refused to take their advice.

* * *

WHAT mysterious "carefully laid plans" are they talking about? It is indeed good that the plans of Randolph and Reynolds were interfered with; for obviously they were "carefully laid plans" to sell out the Negro people without putting up one wisp of fight against the Jimcrow draft.

The Worker

6-27-48

Not a single word of criticism appeared in Reynold's statement against the Republican - Democratic defeat of the anti-Jimcrow amendments to the draft. But the statement obviously defends the war-mongering Marshall plan, which is a noose around the neck of Africa, of American Negroes and whites, and of colonial peoples the world over. Reynolds, as Dewey's hand-picked boy, and Randolph, Dubinsky's willing prisoner, have revealed themselves as a couple of rabid and brave war inciters. Thus has their so-called Committee against Jimcrow in the Armed Services politically degenerated. Reynold's red-baiting statement is plainly a confession of bankruptcy, of the lack of any constructive, fighting program, of capitulation to the Jimcrow war-mongers.

Although Negroes instinctively had well-founded questions about the civil disobedience proposal, they looked upon it, in part, as a distorted reflection of their deep anger and indignation. But the civil disobedience proposal for these two travesties upon the late Gandhi, has turned out to be a smokescreen from behind which they are attacking, not the fascist white supremacists, but the anti-fascist Communists; from behind which they are whooping, not peace, but war; from behind which they are fighting, not army Jimcrow, but the Wallace movement and all others who do battle against Jimcrow.

The only fighting against army Jimcrow that these two rip-snorters have engaged in has been in the newspapers, where Reynolds hoped that he could be headlined into Congress next November.

The Daily Worker warned at the outset that the civil disobedience proposal could not be directed against Jimcrow as long as its two so-called authors accepted the war party-line of Wall Street. Now Reynolds' statement confirms this by betraying the whole struggle against army Jimcrow and by attacking those who conduct such a struggle.

6-27-48

Such a struggle to be effective must be directed against the bipartisan war plans of Washington, as demonstrated by the New Party, again by the June 2 mass capital lobby, and by all anti-wa

anti-fascist Americans, of who the Communist Party is a p ticipating and indispensable tion.

Ever Meet a Communist? Here's What They Are

WHAT is a Communist?

He believes that all men and women who work for a living should enjoy a life of security, free of hunger, free of fear.

He believes that no child should go hungry and that one workingman's baby is more valuable than all the gold under Fort Knox. For he believes with Abe Lincoln that "labor is prior to capital," and that the working classes are the true treasure of all nations.

He believes that the Bill of Rights is sacred and that anybody who denies it or undermines it is the enemy of our people.

He believes that any man who hates another for the color of his skin or for the church in which he worships is an enemy of our people.

He is an American who loves his nation, his people and wants them to live in peace and friendship in a peaceful world.

He believes, therefore, that Lincoln was right again when he said: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people of al nations and tongues and kindreds.".

He believes that the government s been captured by the enemies of labor, of the people; that men of the counting-houses, of the Big Corporations, are those enemies whether they sit in the top councils of the Republican Party or the Democratic Party.

He believes that these enemies are plotting atomic war and the horrors of fascism to cow our people into silence.

* * *

HE believes that the times demand a great coalition of all the honest, all the decent, all the common men to further a political program that will defeat the plot of our people's enemies

He believes that the Progressive Party can be built into that coalition; its program calls for enforcement of the agreements arrived at by Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Soviet Union, based upon a policy of cooperation with our wartime ally. For American-Soviet friendship is the key to making the United Nations an instrument for peace.

He believes that all democratic Americans should back the Progressive Party's demands for full restoration of labor's rights and the establishment of curbs on the atrocious rise in the costs of living. For he has always fought the Taft-Hartley Act and strike-breaking injunctions because they are weapons against the people's resistance to monopoly's plots

For these reasons he believes that the program of the Progressive Party is the course history demands at this moment.

But he believes that the common man's dream of peace, liberty and the pursuit of happiness can only be finally guaranteed when organized greed—the profit system—is changed by the majority of the people.

He believes that socialism is that way of life: socialism, which means that the country should be governed by the common man headed by the working class that produces the wealth of this nation. He believes that that wealth—our treasures of iron, coal, transportation, all the basic resources of the country, should be owned by the people and not by a few billionaire families.

* * *

HE has come to these conclusions through struggle and study—study of the works of the greatest social scientists, like Karl Marx, who prove that capitalism breeds wars, depressions, fascism, and that socialism alone can finally guarantee the brotherhood of man.

He believes in these truths with all his heart and mind and he practices what he believes. For these reasons he has struggled in the forefront of all progressive movements, promoting all mass action that will win peace; that will secure the rights of trade unions; that will achieve a better standard of life; that will eliminate Jimcrow and all racism; that will make the Bill of Rights truly the law of our land. In this struggle for progress, he is ready to face anything—slander, prison, death itself—to better the lot of the working people, of his nation.

That's why the people's enemies hate him—and fear him.

STUDENTS QUERY COMMUNIST LEADER AT DEBATE

34

Eager University of Pennsylvania students crowd around Henry Winston, one of the 12 indicted Communist leaders, as he continues answering questions after a debate in Bennett Hall, Tuesday, on the "Pros and Cons of C.P. Line on Foreign Policy" with Dr. Donald Harter, Professor of Political Science. The debate, under the auspices of the U. of P. Women's Student Union, was chaired by Miss Gill Mizzi. The 350 students who crowded the club room gave Winston a warm response, with their applause evenly divided between the debaters. Winston is national organizational secretary of the Communist Party.

Dw-12-13-49

Alabama Says 'No' To Truman Program

Continued From Page 1

In the Senate race, unofficial returns from 1,192 boxes gace:

Sparkman	103,767
Hamm	24,232
Thomas H. Maxwell	2,576
Wallace Pruitt	1,807
Thomas F. Harlin	1,360

* * *

THE OUTCOME OF THE delegate race—another move to take Alabama from the regular Democratic ranks—was still uncertain.

Of the first eight leaders in this tussle, five were aligned with the McCorvey-led walkout movement, with the state chairman among this quintet. The other three were emphatically against a convention walkout, even if any part of Truman's "civil rights" program is written into the platform.

* * *

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN MARION RUSHTON, Montgomery, was far out in front of Folsom-supported State Sen. Broughton Lamberth, Alexander City, for this key party post. Returns from 997 boxes gave Rushton 62,294 and Lamberth 31,077

Gordon Persons won overwhelming renomination as Public Service Commission president over two opponents. Returns from 997 boxes gave The News

Persons	89,222
M. J. Williams, Jr.	10,515
Mack R. Heatherly	6,113

* * *

TABULATION OF 897 BOXES in the 24-candidate delegate-at-large race: Birmingham Ala.

Lister Hill	54,824
Handy Ellis	49,208
Eugene Connor	48,267
Chauncey Sparks	46,499
J. M. Bonner	42,695
Gessner McCorvey	40,197
Albert Stapp	40,254
A. A. Carmichael	38,083
Hardy Riddle	37,102
John H. Pinson	30,572
James E. Folsom	30,113
Joe J. Money	26,383
John C. Walters	25,505
A. L. Patterson	24,995
Charles G. Dobbins	23,696
Jerome Phillips	21,251
J. W. Ayres	17,960
Dan J. Baker	16,980
Carl Griffin	15,868
S. J. Colpack	14,637
C. C. Horton	12,369
James McCollum	13,018
John D. Morris	11,245
Swann Colwell	9,623

Votes for presidential elector in 744 boxes: Wed. 5-5-48

Tom Abernethy	39,906
Robert B. Albritton	35,468
John Lusk, Jr.	35,394
Gessner T. McCorvey	35,209
Horace Wilkinson	34,364
Ben Bloodworth	34,111
Walter C. Givhan	33,271
Edmund Blair	31,894
Norman W. Harris	31,653
Tully A. Goodwin	26,940
Roger Snyder	25,946
Walter F. Miller	25,746
W. R. Withers	25,491
Thomas H. Maxwell	22,274
J. J. Rodgers	22,126
Verdo Elmore	21,886
Forrest Castleberry	20,807
Guy W. Hanna	20,777
James A. McCollum	20,601
Roy F. Parker	20,365
Ralfe Searcy	19,381
Bart J. Cowart	18,592
Herbert Meighan	18,119
Roy Mayhall	17,905
J. A. Carnley	17,281
Elvin C. McCary	16,347
J. E. Bains	13,552
A. M. Simmons	13,481

* * *

CHAIRMAN McCORVEY said the early returns clearly indicted that "all 11 Alabama electors will be in our camp." Wed.

"So, regardless of how the race for delegate goes," said McCorvey, "the 11 men who do the actual voting (in Electoral College) will be pledged to vote for someone other than Truman."

McCorvey, as state committee chairman, spearheaded the movement to pledge delegate candidates to walkout. 5-5-48

"Naturally I feel deeply gratified that our people have backed the program outlined by our State Democratic Executive Committee," said McCorvey.

TABULATION IN THE congressional races:

First District (159 of 270—Rep. Frank W. Boykin, 13,271; Joe Thompson, 6,274; Miss Erma Appleby, 461. The News

Second District (161 of 325)—Rep. George Grant, 10,220; James G. (Country) Oliver, 2,651; Frank J. Mizell, Jr., 1,840; Burton C. Fincher, 309. Birmingham, Ala

Third District (133 of 229)—Rep. George Andrews, 11,672; John E. (Boozer) Pitts, 2,101.

Fourth District (62 of 235)—Rep. Sam Hobbs, 2,617; Kenneth A. Roberts, 1,598; Tom Graff, 112.

Fifth District (75 of 290)—Rep. Albert Rains, 5,662; Theo Steed, 2,074. Wed 5-5-48

Sixth District (192) of 215)—Edward de Graffenreid, 11,531; Rep. Pete Jarman, 10,776.

Seventh District (193 of 305)—Carl Elliott, 14,162; Rep. Carter Manasco, 7,228; J. H. Kelly, 1,034.

Ninth District (186 of 256)—Rep. Laurie Battle, 16,754; Luther Patrick, 7,159; George D. Patterson 5,963.

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*Montgomery/

McCORVEY EXPLAINED

Editor, The Advertiser:

A sitter on the sidelines enjoys analyzing the score of the game, whether it be football, baseball, or a political pastime. The editorial in a recent issue of The Birmingham Age-Herald over the headline "What Happened to McCorvey?" and the comments of some commentators and political writers relevant to this same inquiry cause me to attempt to give an analytical answer.

The correct answer is that the vote given to Chairman McCorvey was a remarkable tribute to his character, personality, and leadership. It is, doubtless, true that he lost a substantial number of votes because of his criticism of Senator Hill. Senator Hill has a strong political and personal following in Alabama, including a large number of officeholders who have their holdings under his patronage. However, the real causes of Chairman McCorvey's position in the race being fifth instead of first were primarily the following: Advertiser

1. In the field of seven candidates, Bonner, Riddle, Stapp, and McCorvey represented the position of Alabama Democrats who do not propose to follow blindly a national leadership contrary to democratic principles and the best interests of the white and Negro races; opposed in principle were only three candidates, Carmichael, Money, and Folsom. It was, therefore, necessary, in order to have their votes counted, for the supporters of the three to select at least one candidate out of the group of four. The slates of the CIO, the labor unions, the last line supporters of Governor Folsom, the Negro Shores, and others, all eliminated McCorvey as the leader in the contest. It, therefore, followed that of the minimum of substantially 80,000 votes cast for Folsom and of the substantially 96,000 cast for Money, substantially none were cast for McCorvey and the remainder were divided between the other candidates. This accounted for approximately 30,000 votes, which added to the 111,000 votes cast for McCorvey would have easily caused him to lead the ticket, notwithstanding the negative votes of many of Senator Hill's closest friends and admirers.

2. Atty Gen. Carmichael has a strong following in his own right. Not only has he many personal friends, an honorable position as attorney general of the state, to which office he has been twice elected by the people, but the name "Carmichael" in itself attracts many supporters. His father, of Geneva, was one of the leading lawyers and most beloved citizens of the Wiregrass. His uncle, A. H. Carmichael, of Tuscumbia, was probably the best beloved statesman in the Tennessee Valley. His uncle Malcolm Carmichael for many years held legislative and judicial office, and his grandfather was one of the strongest political personages who ever lived in the State of Alabama. For these reasons it is not surprising that in a race where the principles involved had been settled by the overwhelming election of electors pledged to the anti-Truman Civil Rights program, Atty. Gen. Carmichael received a large personal vote far in advance of the other two who were in the race on his side of the question. It needs only an anlysis of the votes of the various counties of the state where reside the labor unions, the Folsomites, those influenced by the perpetual pounding of piffling newspaper editorials of some of our papers, the Negro vote (for illustration, in Box 1 of Precint 9, of Jefferson County, where there are only 12 eligible white voters, (the vote was Folsom 114, Money 114, Carmichael 116, McCorvey 6, Bonner 24, Riddle 16, and Stapp—who was selected as the fourth candidate in this instance by the opposition—107) and the personal Carmichael following (the Wiregrass and the Tennessee Valley) to demonstrate the correctness of the above analysis. Wed 6-16-48

3. Chairman McCorvey was also confronted with the fact that certain papers and some others in the state in issue after issue placed upon McCorvey the burden of carrying the leadership assisted in concentrating the vote of the opposition to McCorvey's leadership against McCorvey personally.

Under these circumstances, WHAT HAPPENED TO McCORVEY? The vote of over 111,000 for McCorvey was a magnificent tribute to him as a leader of the Democratic Party in Alabama and an upright, outstanding, and courageous citizen.

6-14-48

BORDEN BURR

McCorvey And Freedom

To the Editor of The News:

"Alabama has today given notice to the national Democratic organization that our people are free and independent and from now on out we are going to be heard from whenever an effort is made to trample under foot our traditions." This statement by Democratic Party Leader Gessner T. McCorvey is well worth considering in all its implications.

You, I and my neighbor next door call ourselves free, independent and not-to-be-dominated Americans. When our property is stolen we telephone the police. When fire gets beyond our control we call the Fire Department. Our children are educated at public expense. When disaster strikes we expect the Red Cross to help us out. Skullduggery and trickery of our public servants we yell about in public meetings, over the radio and in "Voice of the People." When we have the facts no jail doors invite us in. 6-9-48

We are free and independent, Mr. McCorvery, only by reason of a federal constitution won by seven years' war and the continued determination of thinking citizens that all races, creeds and colors shall have justice. Individuals alone cannot have freedom or independence. Only in cooperation with others, accepting majority rule, is there freedom and independence for anyone. Wed 6-9-48

Alabama is just one of the 48 states in our federal union. Northerners, Yankees, are not all skinflints or fools. The majority know the Southern states cannot be reformed from without. Like Christianity, reform action must come from within or it is meaningless.

When an Alabama presidential elector refuses to vote for the nominee of the Democratic convention, such an elector is not a good Democrat, American, or even a good Christian. Birmingham News

Dixie bolters should think about the implications of Mr. McCorvey's published statement in The Birmingham News.

1216 Woodland Avenue. W. G. KITTS.

VIOLENCE PLANNED

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

There are a few communists in Alabama. The card holding members of that party here are so few that perhaps the fingers of two hands would suffice to count them. Therefore, it is usually reasoned, there is little point in bothering about such a feeble force for disruption. Sat. 4-17-48

But few as are the actual card holding communists in Alabama, the influence they wield is perceptibly significant.

The communist party of the United States is a dangerous organization. Even though it seem insignificant in Alabama, it should disturb Alabamians because of its national threat.

Today the communist party has enrolled approximately a hundred times as many members as were goose-stepping members of the German-American Bunds of pre-war notoriety. What is even more disturbing is that the communist have been able to insinuate themselves into positions of power in labor unions and in some other organizations. They have been able to acquire positions of authority chiefly because of the laziness of their opposition, a laziness belatedly transformed into energy now that the labor defamed Taft-Hartley law has given tools to that labor leadership which would purge its ranks of communist influences.

Even with the effects of the purge considered, there is still at large in the United States a significant force of sabotage in event of a showdown conflict with our only possible opponent in another world conflict. Despite the heated denials from the communists, it is clearly evident that their first allegiance is to Russia instead of the country of their birth or adoption. It is further evident that their plans do include the forcible overthrow of existing governments unless the armed legions of the Politburo get there first.

That last point has been argued several times through the courts, and each time the final authority, the Supreme Court, has decided that the case was not proved. But whether or not it has ever been proved to the satisfaction of the Supreme Court, plain common sense dictates a clear decision.

As evidence for a common sense appraisal of the communist aim in the United States, communist Milton Howard wrote recently in the "Daily Worker" about the difference between Western style democracy and that which exists in Czechoslovakia, a recently acquired Russian satellite. In arguing that democracy does not exist in the United States but does in Russia, Mr. Howard says:

> "But there is no case in history where the propertied class has democratically permitted the nation to vote establishment of new property relations which turned the industries over to the nation as a whole, taking them out of the hands of the private owners."

Mr. Howard's obvious lie, common to all communists, is disregard of the present British experiment in state socialism.

But more important, Mr. Howard by lying about the actual state of affairs in the world succeeds most graphically in underlining the communist aim—that of forcable overthrow of all existing governments which do not conform to the communist point of view. It is an obvious deduction from his article that, since he does not believe a communist state will ever be voluntarily voted, it must be imposed by force. Mr. Howard further emphasized this point by saying:

The Advertiser

> "It would be highly desirable, of course, if such a transformation to a higher social order could take place in this peaceful manner. And Marxists have always, even from the days of Karl Marx himself, tried to achieve the 'easiest' transition to socialism. Even during the Russian revolution Lenin noted a certain moment where there could be a peaceful transition to socialism, provided the kicked out industrialists and landlords were willing to accept the democratic verdict of the nation. It was possible but events showed it to be highly improbable."

The typical lie in the foregoing is the statement that there has been a "democratic verdict" from the Russian people that the industrialists and landlords be "kicked out." Nothing could be further from the truth. The communists seized power from the only effort ever made in Russia to set up a democraracy, the Kerensky government. The present dictatorship of Russia never had a mandate to do anything. It merely seized power and has acted like any dictatorship since that time.

A most important thing is Mr. Howard's emphasis on the impossibility of securing a peaceful transition to the type of state desired by all communists. In their reasoning, it is obvious therefore that violent overthrow of the government is the only solution.

Montgomery, Ala.

In the same article there was the usual patting on the back of Henry Wallace. Mr. Howard said, apparently with regret, that Wallace was not a true communist but that he was the next best thing. At least, according to communist Howard, Mr. Wallace approved of all the things which would make the United States weak and Russia strong. That makes Wallace, in communist Howard's eyes, a fine candidate for president.

Sat. 4-17-48

This brings us back to Alabama with an incidental note. Wallace is obviously playing the communist game without actually wearing the badge. There are Alabamians who are also playing the same game with the same lack of identification. In the confusion which attends our taking a strong stand against Truman's civil disturbance program, some odd characters have slipped into a commanding position for the driver's seat. About a third of them are mugwumps and oldtime bolters and another third are Wallaceites. Both are equally repugnant to reasonable men.

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

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Typical or the Alabama Wallaceites is their leader, Folsom. He mouths the "party-line" just like he read it from Henry or the "Daily Worker." Yesterday he tried to escape the Wallace onus by denouncing as infamous the "pig killing," sponsored by Wallace in early New Deal days.

But on foreign policy, on UMT, on security for our country through strength, Folsom and Wallace think as one. They are against it.

Sat. 4-17-48

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It's Legal To Scratch Your Ballot

By GEOFFREY BIRT
Staff Writer, The Alabama Journal

ANY Alabama Democrat can "scratch" his ballot in the November general election if he desires.

A man "scratches" his ballot if he "splits the ticket" and gives some votes to Democratic candidates and some to Republican nominees, and the remainder to Wallaceites or independent candidates.

Sun. 6-6-48

The Democratic rooster con go "scratching" at the polls next November to his heart's content, and there is no law to stop him.

But the Democrat who has voted in a Democratic primary, such as was held May 4 and June 1, is under a moral obligation to support the Democratic nominees in the November general election. He is not under any legal constraint to do so and, in any event, the ballot is supposed to be secret so that no one can know.

When the votes are counted after the election, voting papers with a split vote recorded on them, are perfectly legal and will be counted in the final totals.

But the recent history of Alabama gives pause to would-be scratchers. To be precise, it is the memory of what happened to Tom Heflin and Judge Hugh Locke in 1928 and 1930.

Heflin crusaded against Al Smith's bid for presidency in 1928. Heflin threatened a lot of hard, and sometimes picturesque things, against Catholics and waged war on all Democrats who supported Smith, the Democratic nominee.

Montgomery Advertiser

THIS demagogue was accused of actually voting Republican, for Herbert Hoover, on the issue. But he denied he did what he urged others to do; that ruined him.

Sun. 6-6-48

In 1930 the State Democratic Executive Committee refused to qualify Heflin because of his 1928 actions and statements. Accordingly, Heflin ran for the Senate as an independent and was soundly thrashed by the late John Bankhead.

Now Heflin is an old man, (79), forgotten, and in retirement. Only two weeks ago, one of Gov. Folsom's "inner circle" could not say, when asked, if Tom Heflin was alive or dead.

Hugh Locke formed an independent party and ran for governor in that same year of 1930. He had with him, running for lieutenant governor, Dempsey M. Powell, of Greenville, Ala.

Locke was beaten on this same issue by B. M. Miller and Powell was defeated by Hugh D. Merrill.

History shows that the score on these two races was: Miller 155,034, and Locke, 95,742; Merrill, 154,562, and Powell 92,570.

In the governor's race, Locke carried only the counties of Chambers, Chilton, Clay, DeKalb, Escambia, Henry, St. Clair and Winston, and then, except in the case of Winston County, only by a handful of votes.

Montgomery Advertiser

LOCKE has been a figure only in the background of Alabama politics since then, though he emerges into the half-light occasionally, as he did a few weeks ago. He then advertised himself as chairman of a committee to encourage the election of some candidates for delegate to walk-out of the National Convention in Philadelphia.

Sun. 6-6-48

Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks and others immediately roused the old cry of pollywog"—a term originated in the 1928 and 1930 hue and cry.

There is one last thing which "scratching," or even "bolting" roosters should bear in mind.

Taking the attitude of the State Committee towards Tom Heflin as their example, the State Executive Committee might, in certain circumstances, be equally harsh on would-be political candidates in 1950, if any of them become known as not having voted the party "ticket."

The difference this year is that the State Committee itself is bolting the national party.

6-6-48

And in conclusion, the writer wishes it to be known—he ain't no pollywog, mugwump or such-like. He has just been trying to dig up, rather than scratch up, a few facts, and study them slightly in the present day light—for, the editor says, a lot of people want to know if they can vote for a Republican presidential nominee for senator and Board of Revenue.

Alabama CP Asks Protests In Mensh Case

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
34d
Wed. 4-7-48

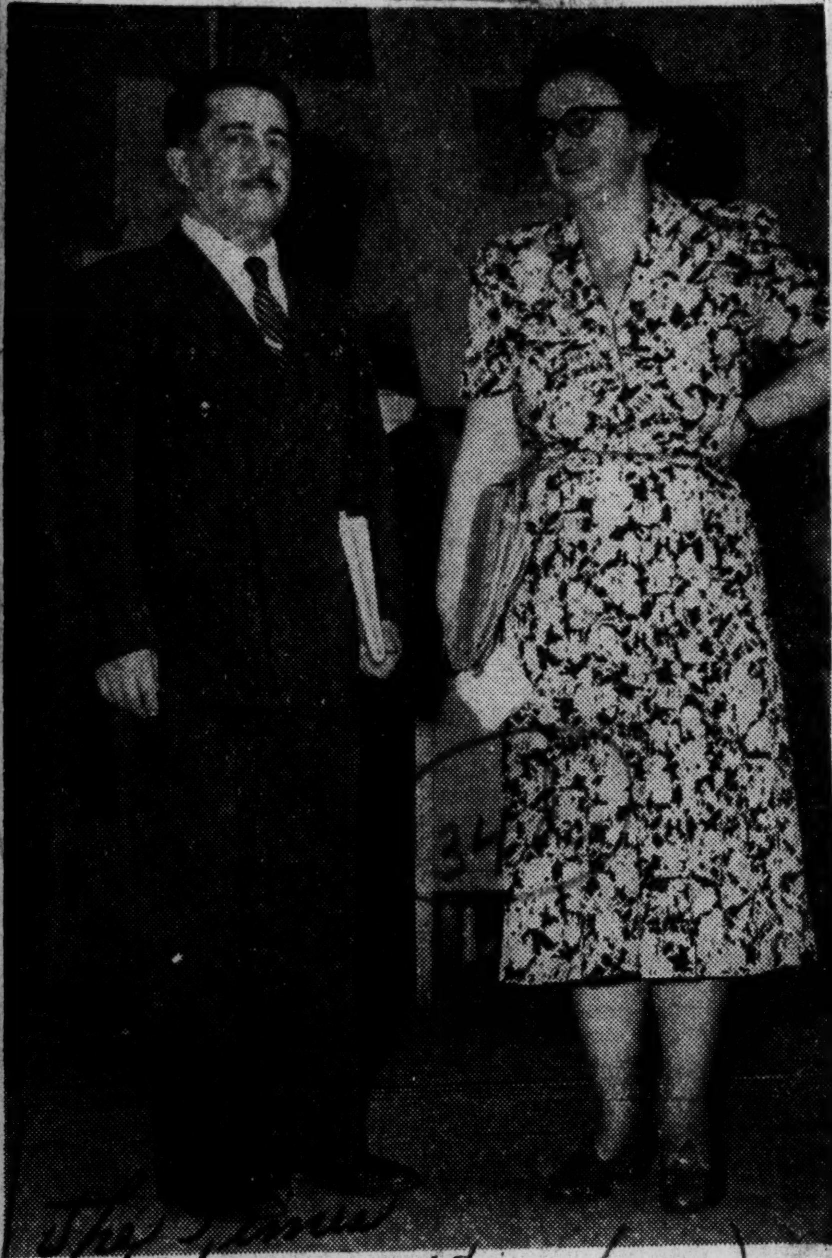
BIRMINGHAM, Ala., April 6.—The Alabama Communist Party today issued a call for protests to be made to Mayor C. N. Gilley, of Fairfield, Ala., against the sentence of 180 days at hard labor imposed on Harry Mensh for distributing a pamphlet.

Mensh, who is southern educational organizer for the CP, was also fined $100. The pamphlet he was distributing was William Z. Foster's **Twenty-three Questions and Answers About the Communist Party.**

"In announcing his decision," the Alabama CP stated, "Mayor Gilley insisted that distributing Communist literature of any kind is disorderly conduct. 4-7-48

"He fully exposed the political nature of the charges against Mensh when he offered a 30-day suspended sentence if he would agree to respect the steel curtain and stay out of Fairfield. Mensh refused to be a party to this attack on basic constitutional rights. Mayor Gilley then slammed down the maximum sentence. An appeal was taken immediately and bail arranged. The case will be fought through to the finish."

PRINCIPALS AT COMMUNIST HEARING



The Times Wed 9-1-48 New York, N.Y.

Alexander Stevens, alias J. Peters, facing deportation, arriving with his attorney, Mrs. Carol King, for yesterday's session of hearing at the Immigration and Naturalization Service at 70 Columbus Avenue.

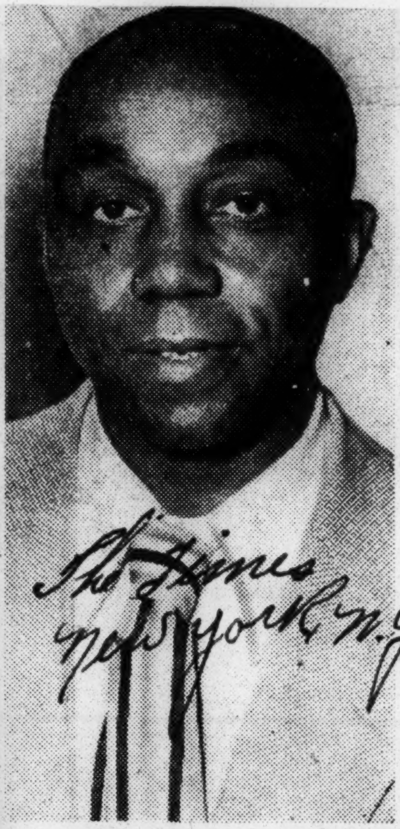
Witness disappears; deportation of woman Communist held up

The Tribune [illegible] 9-[illegible]-48 Los Angeles, Calif.

NEW YORK —(CNS)—Because of the disappearance of a key witness for the government, the deportation hearing against Trinidad-born Claudia Jones, woman leader in the Communist party, has been delayed.

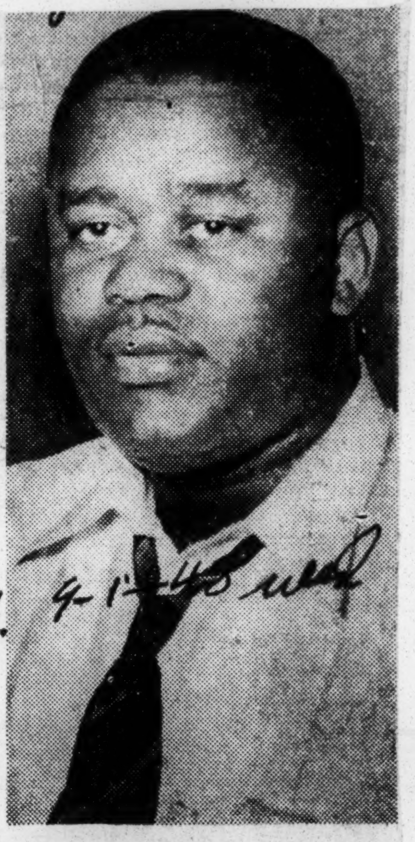
Though W. Frank Watkins, district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service has refused to state just who is the "key" witness, it has been reported that it is George Hewitt, also a Negro and former member of the party. Hewitt is supposed to have renounced Communism in 1944.

Miss Jones is also known as Claudia Vera Scholnick.



The Times New York, N.Y.

George Hewitt, a witness



9-1-48 Wed

Charles H. White, who testified

'Too-Patriotic' Women Not Too Popular With Top Communists

The Afro American Sat 9-11-48 Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK (NNPA) — Colored women are not popular in top Communistic circles because they are too patriotic and nationalistic to grasp the world wide aims of the Communist program, a former high ranking member of the Communist Party declared here last Thursday.

Manning Johnson, one time member of the Communist National Commission and also a member of its powerful Political Bureau, made this statement in an exclusive interview directly following an all day appearance on the witness stand where he appeared as a key Government witness in the deportation proceedings of Ferdinand Smith, British West Indian Secretary of the National Maritime Union.

Johnson said the Party has tried, but has finally decided that it "just can't do anything with colored women because they will only go so far for any cause against their country."

Too Balker

He said not only colored Communist women been known to balk at strategic moments in a well planned Communist move, but they have also been found guilty by the party of influencing their men to balk also.

Sat 9-11-48

This, Johnson says, is one reason why the Communist "put a white woman next to a colored man as soon as he gains any weight in the Party."

But, he added, thats not the main reason. He said the Communists put a white woman "next to" their colored leaders so they can keep their fingers on them.

According to Johnson, these women, whether they marry the men or not, keep the party informed as to where their man goes, how he lives and whom he associates with. This information is relayed to the National Control Commission, Johnson said, which is the American counterpart of the Russian Secret Service. In this way, he swears, Communist leaders in Russia are able to chart every move of their American henchmen.

Sat 9-11-48

It may sound a bit fantastic but apparently the United States Government holds Johnson's opinions in high regard. He walks in and out of the Justice Department headquarters as if he owns the building—and even hard working reporters are only admitted by card.

Un - American Unit To Probe Red Seepings

Daily World Wed 9-1-48 Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — "Communist infiltration" among Negroes is slated for a hearing by the house un-American activities committee, according to Chairman Thomas (R., N. J.). The committee chairman said that Communists are seeking to win over large Negro groups. His committee, he declared, has been studying these efforts for seven months and "is ready to publicly expose the whole program."

The investigation among Negroes is one phase of a five-point program which will include inquiries regarding labor groups in the Panama Canal zone, and attempts to steal atom-bomb information. Hearings on Communist influences in Hollywood will be resumed also.

Deportation Proceedings Suspended

Daily World Fri 9-17-48

Mrs. Claudia Jones, Admitted Communist, Under Gov't Fire

Atlanta, Ga.

NEW YORK — (NNPA) — Deportation proceedings against Mrs. Claudia Jones were unexpectedly suspended Monday afternoon, September 13, by the disappearance of one of the Immigration and Naturalization Service's key witnesses who was under subpoena.

Edward P. Emanuel, examining inspector, asked for the adjournment following the noon recess. He had earlier in the day opposed an adjournment requested by Mrs. Carol King, attorney for Mrs. Jones. Mrs. King asked for the adjournment on the grounds that she had had inadequate notice of the hearing and that it violated the administrative procedure act.

After Mrs. King's request for adjournment was denied, Mrs. Jones declined to take the stand. She said the hearing was illegal and she would defend herself at the proper time.

Fri 9-17-48

The action against Mrs. Jones at the offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service is a part of the Federal Government's effort to deport subversive aliens.

BRITISH WEST INDIAN

Mrs. Jones, 33, was born in the British West Indies. She is a member of the National Committee of the Communist party and freely admits she is a Communist.

Before the noon recess, a number of witnesses, all employees of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, testified as to the authenticity of records purporting to show that Mrs. Jones, who also known as Mrs. Claudie Vera Scholnick, was an alien and a Communist.

After the noon recess, Mr. Emanuel suddenly announced his concurrence in Mrs. King's earlier request for an adjournment. He refused to tell newspaper men why he had changed his tactics. Later, W. F. Watkins, district director of the service, told reporters that a "key witness" under subpoena, had failed to appear. He refused to identify the witness but said Federal officers would try to locate him.

NMU Secretary Still Detained

Afro American

Feb 2-28-48

Baltimore Md

NEW YORK — Ferdinand C. Smith, internationally known militant secretary of the National Maritime Union which he helped to organize, was still detained at Ellis Island for possible deportation as protests on his behalf mounted throughout the country last week.

He was arrested by FBI agents on Feb. 15 as he left his home at 270 Convent Ave., and charged with being a member of an organization (Communist) which seeks to overthrow the United States Government by force, and with having entered the country illegally as an alien.

His detention is being vigorously protested by Michael Quail, president, Greater New York CIO Council; Abner Green, executive secretary, Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, which gives special legal aid to foreigners arrested here; and other labor and civil rights agencies.

FBI's Dragnet Widens

His arrest followed by less than a week that of John Wililamson labor secretary of the Communist Party.

Others recently caught in the FBI's dragnet to rid the country of known and suspected alien Communist leaders and agents who have established illegal residences here were Claudia Jones, 32-year-old Communist youth leader, a native of Jamaica, B.W.I.; and Gerhart Eisler, an alleged Communist agent.

Civil Liberty—Going Fast

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

IT is time for all thinking Americans to wake up to what is happening to our rock-bottom civil liberties.

They are fast going down the drain. Wed 2-18-48

Many Americans don't realize this. They have not been hit personally—yet. 34d Communist

But, if the civil rights of one man are wiped out it won't be long before the rest of us will be in the same boat. (Gen)

Here are the stark facts:

For the first time in American peacetime history the Department of Justice has seized a citizen of this land **to be held without bail for an indefinite period.** The charges are so flimsy that even Attorney General Tom Clark admits that they couldn't stand up in court.

John Williamson, Communist Party leader, has been denied the right to be released on bail from Ellis Island. He is charged with "believing in force and violence." **It may take years before these absurd charges are tried.**

He must remain at Ellis Island, away from his family, all that time. Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

With the denial of bail to citizens like Williamson, and to non-citizens like Gerhart Eisler and Ferdinand Smith, also held at Ellis Island, the road is now open for the FBI to seize anyone they choose **for an indefinite imprisonment without bail, before any trial has been set.**

They can put any man in jail under this tactic, without having to pay any attention to the Constitution of the United States. Wed. 2-18-48

* * *

SIMILARLY, the Supreme Court's refusal yesterday by a vote of 6-3, to give any opinion on the legality of the House Un-American Committee's probe into "loyalty" now means that Leon Josephson, who refused to answer "loyalty" questions **as defined by the Rankin-Thomas committee,** must now go to jail for one year.

It also means that all other progressive Americans, whether they be Eugene Dennis, Communist Party secretary, or the Hollywood notables, or the anti-Franco Americans who helped the Spanish Republic, also face jail sentences. Daily Worker

It means that the FBI, the Un-American Committee and the Attorney General can seize, question and jail any American whose opinions they don't like on grounds of "contempt of Congress." New York, N.Y.

The fact that three Supreme Court judges, Douglas, Rutledge, and Murphy, and Justice Clark of the lower Court believed that a grave constitutional issue was at stake has not made any difference to the Truman Administration. Wed 2-18-48

Armed with these arrogated powers, the Truman Administration is seizing pro-Wallace union leaders like Ferdinand Smith of the NMU and Negro women leaders like Claudia Jones. It is barring from re-entry into the U.S.A. such CIO unionists as Charles A. Doyle of the coke workers on the eve of a wage negotiation—after Doyle lived here for 24 years. It has seized John Santo, war veteran, and official in the CIO transport union in New York. There are others, too.

* * *

THIS list of political victims is small now. But it will grow, unless halted. It is threatening the foundations of American democratic liberties. It is alibied behind red-baiting hysteria and falsehoods. But it will strangle the democratic liberty of every American as surely as the night follows day. Daily Worker

The fight for the minimum decency of ordinary bail for Williamson, Smith and Eisler on Ellis Island is the fight in which no American can safely remain on the sidelines. It is YOUR right to bail which is at stake, YOUR elementary legal protections against **false prosecutions,** YOUR right to think **as** you please.

The right of decent citizens to refuse to surrender the meaning of "loyalty" to any self-appointed group of reactionaries is at stake in the Dennis-Josephson cases. Public opinion should demand **the abolition** of the Truman Administration's and the House Committee's witch-hunt. New York, N.Y. Wed. 2-18-48

Otherwise, the threat of arbitrary arrest and "police state" imprisonment for political opinions, will hang over our entire country.

This is not mere rhetoric. It is a fact already facing us all. **Speak out, hold protest meetings, picket, demonstrate. There is no time to lose**

Woman Communist Leader Is Arrested for Deportation

34d The Times

New York, N.Y. Wed. 1-21-48

The arrest of a second top Communist leader for deportation was disclosed yesterday. The new prisoner is Miss Claudia Jones. Like Alexander Bittelman, who was arrested last week, she is a member of the national committee of the Communist party of the United States.

Miss Jones was arrested Monday evening at her home, 504 West 143d Street, on a deportation warrant, W. F. Watkins, district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, announced. The warrant charged that she was an alien in this country illegally in that she advocated and taught the overthrow of the Government by force, the same charge lodged against Bittelman.

In a statement protesting Miss Jones' arrest, the national board of the Communist party, headed by William Z. Foster, chairman, described her as "not only an outstanding Communist, but also a leader of the Negro people and secretary of the National Women's Commission of the Communist party." The Times

"We call on all Americans who love peace and freedom to stop [Attorney General] Tom Clark's arrogant police-state blitz, to demand his removal from office, and to demand the dismissal of charges against Claudia Jones, as well as against Alexander Bittelman," the statement said. New York, N.Y.

Miss Jones was born in Trinidad in the British West Indies in 1915 and came here in 1924, according to Mr. Watkins. Her name was apparently Claudia Vera Cumberbatch, and she has also been known as Claudia Vera Scholnick, he said. Wed. 1-21-48

She was first active in the Young Communist League of New York and later became the organization's educational secretary. Then she became national educational director of the league, and in 1940 chairman of the youth section of the Communist party.

When the league was merged into American Youth for Democracy, Miss Jones became a leader of the latter organization and she was active also in the World Youth Congress. Mr. Watkins said that she was a frequent contributor to The Daily Worker and other Communist publications under the pen name Claudia Jones, and that she was a frequent speaker at Communist meetings.

34d

The Times New York, N.Y. Wed. 1-21-48

Claudia Jones

The New York Times

Freed in $1,000 Bond

34d

Miss Jones was taken to Ellis Island but was released late yesterday afternoon, on posting a $1,000 bond. The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, which proivded counsel for Bittelman, assigned an attorney to defend Miss Jones.

A rally protesting the arrest of Bittelman will be held tomorrow evening at Webster Hall, 119 East Eleventh Street, Ben Gold, president of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, CIO, and of the Morning Freiheit Association, announced. The Times

Mr. Gold, who is also a member of the Communist party's national committee, issued a statement urging that letters, resolutions and telegrams be sent to the immigration service, demanding that the charges against Bittelman be dropped immediately. The service is seeking to deport the Communist leader to the Soviet Union, of which he is a native. 1-21-48

A special Federal grand jury was reconvened yesterday after a recess since early last month. It is understood that the jury has been investigating Communist espionage, but this has never been officially confirmed. The jury has been sitting intermittently since last June to receive evidence of an undisclosed nature. New York, N.Y.

The evidence is being presented by T. Vincent Quinn and Thomas J. Donegan, acting as special assistants to the Attorney General. Mr. Quinn is chief of the criminal division of the Department of Justice. Mr. Donegan was formerly with the Federal Bureau of Investigation as special agent in charge of the New York office. 1-21-48

U. S. JUDGE FREES 4 ACCUSED ALIENS ON BAIL OF $3,500

The Times
New York, N.Y.
Sun 3-7-48

Men in Deportation Case End 6-Day Hunger Strike Before Leaving Ellis Island

34

HEARING TO BE TOMORROW

Mounted Police Break Up Night Demonstration That Ties Up Times Square Traffic

3-7-48

By AUSTIN STEVENS

The four alleged Communist aliens who have been on a hunger strike on Ellis Island for six days were released late yesterday on bail of $3,500 each.

Federal Judge William Bondy set bail for the four men, whom the Government seeks to deport, pending argument on their appeal of his dismissal of writs of habeas corpus. Sun 3-7-48

Bail was set on the condition that all four would appear in United States Circuit Court tomorrow at 10:30 A. M.

A few minutes after Judge Bondy signed the bonds at 4:05 P. M. the men were placed aboard the last boat leaving Ellis Island for the day for South Ferry.

They Quickly End Fast

The Times

Despite their hurried departure, the hunger strikers found a few minutes for their first food since Sunday night, when they decided to limit themselves to water as a protest against Attorney General Tom Clark's refusal to grant bail for them while deportation proceedings were pending.

Bowls of soup and glasses of orange juice were served to them on Ellis Island. New York, N.Y.

The four, all of whom are alleged to be deportable as aliens advocating the overthrow of the United States Government, are Gerhart Eisler, often described as the "brains" of the Communist party in the United States; John Williamson, labor secretary of the Communist party; Ferdinand C. Smith, secretary of the National Maritime Union, CIO, and Charles A. Doyle, vice president of the United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, CIO. 3-7-48

Group Impedes Times Sq. Traffic

Mounted police broke up a demonstration of Communist sympathizers in Times Square at 8:30 o'clock last night when a group chanting "Deport Jim Crow," concentrated before the Paramount Theatre at Forty-third Street, tied up traffic in the area.

The police cleared the area in front of the theatre. There were several scuffles. The marchers carried banners calling for the release of Eisler, Williamson, Doyle, Potash and Smith. They held the paper banners overhead as they marched in a circle.

The police were prepared for the demonstration and had twenty mounted men, forty uniformed patrolmen and officers and twenty-five detectives, including members of the Alien Squad in reserve.

Prominently stationed at corners were many vendors of The Daily Worker, official Communist party publication. The Times

Several hundred demonstrators took part, almost all carrying the placards. They mixed in with the crowds on the east and west sides of the Square between Forty-third and Forty-seventh Streets. Only when traffic was disrupted did the mounted police maneuver their horses on to the sidewalk and start to force demonstrators and theatregoers down the side streets.

No permit had been issued for a demonstration. New York, N.Y.

Judge Bondy's decision in the cases of the four men, who have been in custody on Ellis Island for periods of up to thirty-two days, was in line with a ruling made Friday when he granted bail to Irving Potash, manager of the Furriers Joint Council. Potash, who was picked up last Monday, also for deportation hearings, and who joined the hunger strike for two days, was released on $5,000 bail pending an appeal of his writ. Potash is also scheduled to appear in Circuit Court tomorrow. 3-7-48

Only Smith's case differed from the others. His counsel had earlier appealed the dismissal of his writ of habeas corpus but no bail had been set. His appeal had already been set for tomorrow as well. Sun

A group of seventy-five persons had gathered at the ferry slip to greet the four men. Most of them had come from the Seaman's Church Institute, 25 South Street, presumably to greet the maritime union leader, Smith. There was a light cheer as the four men appeared outside the ferry house.

Among the group were four of their counsel — Mrs. Carol King, Abraham Unger, Isidore Englander and David M. Freedman. After reporters had talked to the men briefly and photographers had finished taking pictures, the men went in automobiles to the office of Dr. Jack Nelson, 535 Park Avenue, for a physical check-up.

Dr. Nelson said last night, after completing his examination of the four men, that all appeared to be in "reasonably good condition." He said he had given them dietary instructions and ordered them to rest for a few days. 34 Comm.

Williamson called his release the results of "the fight of the American people to defend the Constitution." He said that Attorney General Clark had acted like a "would-be Hitler in trying to institute a concentration camp in the United States." The Times

Eisler announced: "I'm glad to be out and I'm going home."

Doyle echoed Williamson's sentiments about the Attorney General and called the release of the group "a victory for the progressive movement of this country."

Asked if he intended to eat, Smith said: "I can't eat. I'm not concerned with food. I'm more concerned with freedom."

Judge Bondy handed down his decision at 3 P. M. after reviewing the arguments on the Attorney General's use—or misuse—of discretion in denying bail for the group. New York, N.Y.

He first set the bail at $5,000, United States Attorney General John F. X. McGohey concurring. Mrs. King, however, pressed for a reduction, reminding Judge Bondy that he had set $5,000 for Potash in consideration of his previous criminal record.

None of the group, with the exception of Eisler, she said, had a criminal record. Mrs. King said Eisler was free on $20,000 bail in another case. Sun

Finally, after considerable discussion, Mrs. King said "Let's settle for $3,500," and Judge Bondy agreed. 3-7-48

Mr. McGohey, who has contended that the Attorney General had not misused his discretion in denying bail, showed little interest in the argument about what figure bail should be set. (Deportation)

"I do not think there should be granting of bail at all," he said. "But I am too tired." The Times

When the attorneys produced government bonds to cover the bail Mr. McGohey remarked:

"You see, judge, what difference does the amount make? They were ready unless they needed the rest for others." New York, N.Y.

Ferdinand Smith

Daily Worker

By Gerald Cook

"I'm feeling swell, come on in," Ferdinand Smith said heartily as he threw open the door of his apartment to your apologetic reported. The tall Negro trade union leader, recuperating in his quiet apartment at 270 Convent Ave., showed little effect of his six-day hunger strike on Ellis Island. New York, N.Y.

Smith dismissed the hunger strike with a quip. "You can't kill an old man," he grinned. "Besides, I lost my little bay window in the process, and that's good."

Released on bail Saturday evening with his three fellow hunger strikers, Smith said he felt like "taking on a T-bone steak." But all heavy food having been ruled out by his doctor, the National Maritime Union secretary, who lost 23 pounds during the six-day fast, is "breathing in" gradually. Fruit juice, broth, thin soup and a small piece of boiled chicken has made up his diet since he was freed. Tues 3-9-48

HAPPY OVER VICTORY

The 54-year-old union leader, imprisoned on Ellis Island for 20 days, talked enthusiastically of the victory over the Truman administration's attempt to hold the hunger strikers without bail.

"The American people," Smith said, "have demonstrated that they will not allow Attorney General Clark to impose a night-rider brand of justice upon the United States."

He was particularly proud of the part the NMU membership took in the fight for the freedom.

Smith attributed their release to the pressure of the people, "particularly organized labor, the Negro people and other minority groups." He is especially proud of the part the NMU membership took in the fight.

"TRUE TO TRADITION"

A rank-and-file sailor for 19 years and an official of the union since 1936, Smith said the NMU membership acted "true to the tradition of the sea." Daily Worker

"The sailors demonstrated that which is commonplace to every sailor," Smith said, "not to desert an injured shipmate in a storm."

Discussing NMU president Joseph Curran's statement repudiating him, Smith pointed out that the arrests were part of a drive against all opponents of the Truman administration's foreign policy and supporters of the third party. Curran has declared his support of the Marshall Plan and opposition to the Wallace movement. New York, N.Y.

WON'T HOLD UP

Curran's alibi that the desertion of his fellow official was a matter of national CIO policy won't hold up before the NMU membership, Smith said. He pointed out that CIO president Philip Murray, John Green, Shipyard Workers leader and State CIO head Louis Hollander had denounced Attorney General Clark's refusal to grant bail in the case.

His arrest on the morning of a scheduled special NMU national council meeting, "was no coincidence," Smith declared. Tues 3-9-48

Referring to the hearings still pending, Smith said:

"I'll be back at work in a couple of days. None of us can relax now. We have won a skirmish but not the war."

Deportations Hit by Lawyers' Unit

WASHINGTON

In a letter last week to Attorney General Tom Clark, the National Lawyers Guild opposed the new wave of deportations instituted by his office.

Robert J. Silberstein, the guild's executive secretary, forwarded with the letter a copy of a resolution on deportations adopted by the national convention of the guild in Chicago last Feb. 22.

Arrests Growing

The resolution points out that during the last 18 months, "The Department of Justice has arrested for deportation at least 29 people for alleged membership in an organization allegedly believing in and advocating the overthrow of this government by force and violence."

It added that "over 60 more arrests have been forecast by the attorney general."

Lawyers' Recommendations

The lawyers' recommendations which cover the whole field of civil liberties call for:

Jailed Seamen's Union Official Is Denied Bail

The Defender

NEW YORK — Ferdinand C. Smith, Jamaican labor leader arrested last week by the Justice Department, was refused bail this week by Federal Judge Harold Medina.

However, the court did issue a writ of habeas corpus returnable on Feb. 20 to "inquire into any irregularities." Held on Ellis Island, Smith, secretary of the National Maritime Union, is awaiting deportation orders.

The prominent National Maritime Union official is the second Negro caught in the government's drive against alien communists. The first was Claudia Jones, who awaits deportation orders to Trinidad. Smith is charged with being a communist and entering the U. S. illegally.

Chicago Dee

Shake Hands: Ferdinand Smith shakes hands with his fellow hunger striker, Gerhart Eisler, at a rally Wednesday night to greet the Five hunger strikers who won their release from Ellis Island after a six-day fast, which was marked by huge protest demonstrations throughout the country. Left to right are Eisler, Smith, Charles Doyle and Irving Potash. John Williamson couldn't attend because of illness.

Photo by Julius Lazarus

Life of the Party

Cleveland Negro Women Respond to Defense Appeal

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

Daily Worker, N.Y., N.Y.

LAST WEDNESDAY night I spoke at a reception in defense of Claudia Jones in Cleveland, Ohio at the Cedar YMCA, a beautiful building in the heart of a Negro community. There were 25 present, predominantly Negro women from the neighborhood. They organized a Claudia Jones Defense Committee, sent wires to President Truman, Tom Clark, the Governor of Georgia and the trial judge down there, on Mrs. Ingram and her boys.

They planned to contact immediately all [illegible] organizations in a most efficient manner. We are not sufficiently aware of the high degree of organizational experience and the broad outlook of Negro women, or we would call on them for aid and cooperation in these critical hours far more than we do. Negro women can be aroused nationwide over the attempt to deport Claudia Jones and through her case learn of the other deportation issues as well.

They can be called to vigorous action against the Jimcrow justice of Georgia, which has sentenced a Negro widow (mother of 12 children) and her her teen age sons to death for an act of self-defense. They will help save her. I saw this in Cleveland.

Mun. 3-8-48

THIS RECEPTION was dedicated "to the cause of freedom for all—the Negro people, women, labor, political minorities"—In this spirit they spoke and acted. I was particularly moved by the remarks of Comrade Mary Lindsay, who has been in our party since the struggles of the unemployed, fought for the Scottsboro boys, and knows whereof she speaks. Her voice was low and controlled, with a passion and intensity, and a brevity of words, that stirred and shook the listeners like great music.

In part she said: "You don't have to cross the Mason and Dixon line to know you are a Negro. You know it every hour. You are never allowed to forget it, not for a moment. We come away from the South. But our minds stay there. We can't forget our people in the South. We have [illegible]t for the Negroes who can[illegible] fight for themselves—in the South. It is forever and ever a place of massacre—for Negro people.

Mun. 3-8-48

"If th[illegible] had happened on any other farm or if the Negro woman and her boys had been killed there would be no trial. It would be 'self defense.' But Negroes are not allowed to defend themselves. Terror is their lot in the South. But I tell you, the young Negroes won't take what the older people did. Only, to fight personally, one by one, does no good. It must be together with our true friends of the white race. I'm glad I don't live there. But as long as there is a Negro in the South part of me is down there. Now we must act. We can't wait. By Christmas they may be dead.

"If you never fought you must make a fighter of yourself now. And when we win you are proud you fought and ready to do it again. They can't kill all of us. They can't kill the working people. Right is on our side. It always wins out. Wrong has its day. But it can't win out. We said: 'They shall not die' of the Scottsboro boys. They did not die! Let us fight to free Mrs. Ingram and her sons, not to put them away in a prison where some day they would put the boys out in a prison yard and shoot them, the say, 'They were trying to escape,' They must be free!"

•

WE PASSED the clippings of Harry Raymond's article from the Daily Worker around with the picture of the strong, sad-faced Negro mother and her boys made wan by hard labor. Every woman there pledged to take it up with her pastor, her organization, her friends. A pamphlet with all the information is needed. Let's hurry it at the office of the D. W. People want the facts, material to give out, the pictures, the addresses to write to—and quickly. When I repeated Harry's description of the children's plight, these women decided to send clothing at once to the Ingram Defense Fund, W. R. Burleigh, treasurer, Americus, Ga. P. O. Box 43.

They decided to write to Mrs. Rose Lee Ingram, County Jail, Albany, Ga., to tell her that they are ready to help her. These are good suggestions to adopt at other meetings.

Mun. 3-8-48

Nor did they forget Comrade Claudia, on whose behalf the meeting was originally called. But, if she were there, she would have urged them to proceed on an emergency basis to save this woman who symbolizes all Negro women in the South—Mrs. Ingram. An injury to one is the **concern of all,** in this struggle.

Time

Chicago, Ill

COMMUNISTS

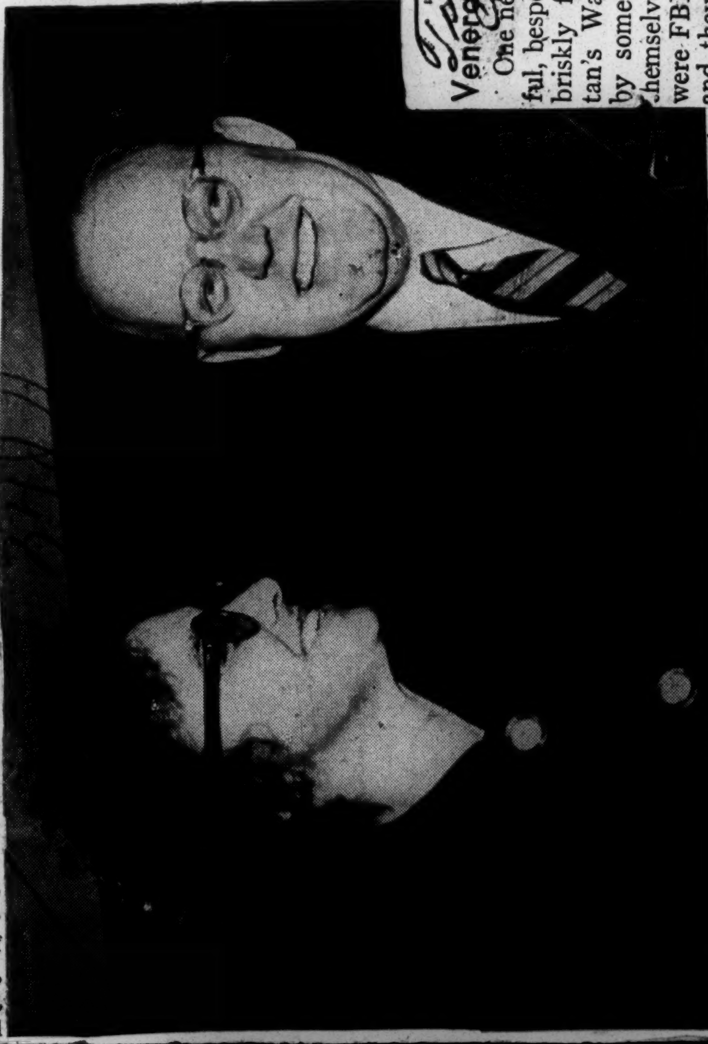
Venerable Chestnut

One near-zero morning last week, cheerful, bespectacled John Williamson stepped briskly from his apartment in Manhattan's Washington Heights to be greeted by some absolute strangers. They made themselves known with dispatch. They were FBI agents and immigration officers, and they hustled John Williamson off to Ellis Island.

Mun. 2-23-48

Thus the Government tapped another top Communist for deportation. Williamson, 45, married and father of two sons, is the party's national labor secretary and a member of its twelve-man policymaking board. The Justice Department identified him as fourth in the U.S. party's hierarchy, called him "the most important figure" it has picked up to date (others: Gerhart Eisler,* Alexander Bittelman, Claudia Jones).

Like the others, Williamson was accused of advocating the overthrow by violence of the U.S. Government. His lawyer, Mrs. Carol King, who had defended them



COMMUNIST WILLIAMSON & LAWYER KING (LEFT)

Time Chicago, Ill Mun. 2-23

all, promptly sought his release on bail, set to planning his defense. Mass.

Before Williamson can be deported, however, the Justice Department will have to nail down the question of whether or not he is an alien. The Government says he was born in Scotland and came to the U.S. in 1913. Williamson's story is that he was born in San Francisco, where his birth records were destroyed in the great fire and earthquake of 1906.

Immigration men consider that yarn a venerable chestnut. Almost every Oriental picked up for illegal entry into the U.S. has tried to use it. 2-23-48

• • •

Also ticketed for deportation this week was Ferdinand Christapher Smith, national secretary of Joe Curran's C.I.O. National Maritime Union. Smith, a Negro, entered the U.S. from Jamaica in 1919. Like Williamson, he was picked up as he left his Manhattan apartment and taken to Ellis Island. He not only advocated violent overthrow of the U.S., said the warrant, but returned from a Mexican trip in 1945 without a visa. Smith's politics were no news to Curran. Only recently Joe had called him a Communist Party card-holder.

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* Whose composer brother, Hanns, ordered deported last week, agreed to leave the country voluntarily. He will go to Paris, write the score for a movie version of *Alice in Wonderland*.

Thousand Hear Claudia Jones In Phoenix

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
Wed. 5-26-48

Special to the Daily Worker

PHOENIX, Ariz., May 25.—A thousand people jammed the amphitheatre of Eastlake Park to hear Claudia Jones, Communist woman leader, who faces deportation, now on a nation-wide tour in behalf of the deportation victims.

"Only by the people's protests and unity can we stop the drive to fascism," she declared. "The history of the last decade shows that to outlaw the Communists is to outlaw democracy and our democratic institutions."

The audience showed an intense interest in the Communist Party, which has been active in fighting the issues facing the Mexicans, Indians and Negro minorities in this large state. To Miss Jones' call for "welding of the unity of the Negro people and isolating the Uncle Toms" the audience slapped their thighs. Morris Graham, chairman of the Arizona Communist Party, also spoke.

7th Stoolie Ends Smith Deportation Hearing

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Fri. 4-9-48

By Art Shields

The Department of Justice brought its inquisition against Ferdinand C. Smith, National Maritime Union Secretary, to a close yesterday after the seven government stool pigeons had finished speaking their pieces in the deportation hearing room at 70 Columbus Ave.

The hearing closed with a sharp denunciation by Smith's lawyer, Herman Rosenfeld, an associate of William T. Standard, NMU counsel, of "these illegal proceedings."

SMITH

Smith had refused to take any part in the hearings. They are in violation of the U. S. Administrative Procedure Act, requiring impartial tribunals, his counsel points out.

ASSAILS DAILY WORKER

The seventh stool, George Hewitt, alias Tim Holmes, interrupted his testimony yesterday to make a frenzied outcry against the Daily Worker, which had called him a stoolpigeon.

He wasn't, indeed he wasn't a stoolpigeon, the renegade kept shouting in such excited accents that Presiding Inspector Gilbert Zimmerman, who has been encouraging the fink witnesses finally cut him short.

HITS CIVIL RIGHTS

Daily Worker

"How did the Communists plan to shatter the capitalist state?" asked Examining Inspector Maurice Roberts. New York, N.Y.

"Through the fight for democratic rights," replied Hewitt.

"With every victory on that field," he continued, "they will proceed with the overthrow of the capitalist system." Fri.

Hewitt, alias Holmes, gave the usual parrot testimony of FBI stoolpigeons. This "testimony" was that Communists were trying to "overthrow" the government by "force or violence." 4-9-48

And like the other stools, he said he had seen Ferdinand Smith at "Communist" meetings.

Hewitt, alias Holmes, was getting $25 a day pay, and $6 a day expenses as an "expert" witness on Communism.

A similar stool, Manning Johnson, was in the same "expert" catagory at the same $25-and-$6 compensation.

PANDHANDLER SPY

Another $25-and-$6 FBI spy was Victory Campbell, alias "Forty Fathoms," a waterfront panhandler, who continued testifying today after an earlier appearance yesterday.

Campbell, said a statement by the Smith Defense Committee at the CIO National Maritime Union, was an "irresponsible panhandler, who had aroused the seamen's suspicion many years ago because he never had any visible means of support."

Campbell, who wrote doggerel under the "Forty Fathoms" byline, used to hang out at NMU headquarters and various progressive political organizations' offices, until the seamen decided to keep him away. Daily Worker

He bobbed up at the Smith hearings as an open Department of Justice fingerman, after several years absence.

Campbell says he is now "farming" at Cheverie, Hamps County, Nova Scotia, Canada.

All three fink "experts" identified reams of literature, from the **Communist Manifesto** to Lenin's **State and Revolution**, and later pamphlets as the "force or violence" documents of the Communist Party.

DIDN'T SEE "LIBERTY"

New York, N.Y.

The routine of much of the testimony ran like this: Fri.

Examining Inspector Maurice Roberts would slap the "Manifesto" or some other document out of the pile on his desk and ask if the witness had ever distributed this document in the name of the Party.

Hewitt, alias Holmes, Johnson or Campbell would answer that they had done so. The Party believed in the government's "overthrow," they would say. 4-9-48

Presiding Inspector Gilbert Zimmerman would then solemnly intone: "I now mark the Communist Manifesto as Exhibit" so and so. The pamphlet would then be tossed to Smith's attorney who would say that he wasn't interested in taking part in "illegal proceedings."

Ferdinand Smith Booklet Published By Defense Comm.

New York N.Y.
New York N.Y.
7-17-48

The Ferdinand C. Smith National Defense Committee, which was set up last February to fight the attempted deportation of Ferdinand C. Smith, National Secretary of the National Maritime Union, Wednesday announced the publication of a pamphlet entitled FOR HIS PATRIOTIC SERVICE.

This pamphlet shows that Smith had entered the country legally in 1918, that he had sailed American merchant ships for many years, that he became a father and grandfather in the country of his adoption and that the heinous crime for which he was picked up by the Department of Immigration on February 16 of this year and for which he was imprisoned on Ellis Island the Committee believes is the crime of every progressive in this country who is fighting, uncompromisingly, against the reactionaries in our midst. The pamphlet also gives a detailed account of Smith's continuous and fruitless attempts to secure his citizenship papers as well as the fact that he had registered for the draft and was ready to serve his country whenever called upon. 7-17-48

FOR HIS PATRIOTIC SERVICE is being distributed throughout the country in order that people will learn all the facts in the charges of the Department of Immigration as well as to make it posibl to defray the costs of the leg l battle which is being made.

Another Victim

34d Daily Worker

ATTORNEY GENERAL CLARK kept to his announced anti-civil rights schedule yesterday when he slammed John Williamson onto Ellis Island and held him for deportation. Not satisfied with this flagrant violation of democratic rights, the government has even denied Williamson the elementary right of bail. 2-11-48-Wed.

Each 10 days the gates of Ellis Island must close on a Communist, according to Clark's time table. And if there is no new Communist to arrest, they slam the gates again on Gerhart Eisler, the German Communist held here against his will. New York, N.Y.

It's all part of the new technique—used to frighten the nation into support of the Administration's drive against all opposition to its reactionary foreign policy and the rule of bankers and generals at home. 2-11-48 Wed.

Tom Clark and the bankers and generals he serves—just as Hitler before them—will not stop with Communists.

Indeed, already they have whacked at trade union leaders like Michael Obermeier, Charles Doyle, John Santo, the Negro leader Claudia Jones and the Jewish fighter, Alexander Bittelman.

For 25 years, his entire adult life, Williamson was an active Communist. His worth to America is best expressed in the CIO rubber, steel and auto unions which he helped to build.

If the labor movement and the liberals allow the administration to make a concentration camp of Ellis Island—others will follow. Call a halt now to these attacks on freedom of thought and political activity.

Demand that charges against Williamson and other arrested Communists and progressives be dropped and that they be freed forthwith.

Demand that Williamson and Eisler be granted bail immediately.

Insults For Negro Women

34d Daily Worker

IT IS a sign of the times that Negro women now are being singled out for persecution. New York, N.Y. Mon 2-2-48

The callous FBI raid on the home of Claudia Jones, woman Communist leader, and the contemptuous refusal of Oklahoma's university and supreme court to grant educational rights to the Negro woman, Mrs. Fisher, are part of the same pattern.

Truman's political police want to deport Claudia Jones for the same reasons that the KKK-minded educators of Oklahoma's university are defying the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court which granted Mrs. Fisher equal educational rights

In both cases, it is fear of the democratic demands of the Negro people. It stems from a desperate desire to defend the rotten Jimcrow system which costs the nation such a heavy price. Daily Worker

The guilt for these crimes and indignities heaped upon the Negro women of the land rests equally upon the Democratic and GOP big-money parties.

Truman's agents are behind the Claudia Jones arrest, just as his Democratic Party is behind the insolent treatment handed out to Mrs. Fisher in Oklahoma.

But what of the GOP reactionaries linked to the big corporations which control the industry of the South where they finance Jimcrow because it helps them beat down Negro and white labor alike? New York, N.Y.

What of the GOP Congress which systematically works with the Southern poll-taxers to block an anti-lynching law? What is the GOP Congress doing to give Mrs. Fisher her rights in Oklahoma?

The fight for Negro rights gave birth to a new party in the 1850's. Mon 2-2-48

The same fight today has merged with the fight for the Third Party which will challenge the Truman-GOP line-up in November.

The First Concentration Camp

The Worker New York, N.Y.

WILL ELLIS ISLAND in New York become America's first concentration camp? 34d Sun. 2-15-48

Public opinion may well ask this question as it views the arrest of John Williamson, Communist Party leader, who has been imprisoned at Ellis Island for deportation and denied all bail.

Gerhart Eisler also is being held at this island, with all the usual bail denied.

How many others will be flung into this new kind of prison for the "crime" of having "dangerous thoughts" hostile to the warmakers and the Wall Street trusts?

This is the new tactic of the Truman Administration's political police—to seize the most courageous men and women, like Claudia Jones, for example, and to hustle them off to Ellis Island. The idea is to keep them there indefinitely, while their appeals to the courts slowly make their way.

Quick public indignation caused the release on bail of the Negro woman leader, Claudia Jones.

Similar protest should make itself heard in the case of John Williamson and the others. Sun. 2-15-48

* * *

THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION is reviving the methods of the notorious Palmer Raids of the 1920's. Later, the courts rapped the FBI and immigration officials for refusing bail to their victims.

The Truman Administration prattles cynically about civil rights. The Worker

But the biggest enemy of civil liberties in America today is the Truman Administration itself, with its FBI witchhunts, its "loyalty" investigations, and its latest deportation drive. New York, N.Y.

The assassination of civil liberties is taking place now in an "inch by inch" manner, one victim at a time.

But if the nation does not halt this at this stage, it will be impossible to prevent a blackout of civil liberties later on. Sun. 2-15-48

Protest to President Truman! Demand Williamson's release!

Claudia Jones Dramatizes Communist Fight for Negroes

34d The Worker New York, N.Y.

Sun. 3-8-48

The FBI, it could be said, is an old dog that never forgets old tricks. It ran true to form when it ordered its agents, on the night of Jan. 19, to arrest Claudia Jones, Negro Communist woman leader, for deportation proceedings. W. F. Watkins, district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, said that Miss Jones was arrested because she is a Communist and believes in and advocates the overthrow of the U. S. government by force and violence. It is well known that the accused is a member of the Communist Party, but the more literate sections of the American citizenry could have set Mr. Watkins and the FBI straight on the force and violence issue.

The Communist constitution expressely forbids such beliefs to its members.

Indeed for two decades the Communists have busied themselves with fighting against the force and violence used against American citizens in quest of their rights—especially Negro citizens.

Miss Jones, unarmed except for her typewriter, is not known to have lynched a single person. She has not pulled an electric switch once to send a lethal current through the body of a prisoner of doubtful guilt. She has not been guilty of denying the vote to a citizen. And no one, not even the Department of Justice, could offer proof that she ever organized, or was part of a mob.

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AS A NEGRO, born in a British West Indian colony, Miss Jones was identified with America's submerged tenth—the voteless, the Jimcrowed the lynched. Her party—the Communists—identified itself with Miss Jones and her strivings for democracy and equality against the disfranchisers, the frame-up artists, the manglers of men. The Worker

Miss Jones heard of the Communists when Scottsboro was a magic word, a sacred banner. Four of the nine young Negroes, marked by Alabama lynch-justice for execution, marched across the stage of the old Hippodrome Theatre and the people went mad in their victory cheers. New York, N.Y.

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THE COMMUNISTS had fought the force and violence of plantation justice applied by courts of law. If Communists could do that — American Communists—then there was hope here for a bright and wide awake girl like Claudia Jones. There was hope for the Negroes of America. Sun 3-8-48

The great movement of the unemployed, organized and led by the Communists, saw plank after plank of its program placed into the official government program. "Work or Wages!"—once a slogan of marching men in the country's streets—was realized in relief checks, food baskets and WPA jobs. Government recreational programs put idle artists to work and lifted the flagging morale of the people.

The Communists were there, too,

hold of monopoly on the meat and bread and homes of the men and women who produce with hand and brain. 3-8-48 Sun.

That spirit can't be deported, and it can't be jailed. New York, N.Y.

If the FBI has in mind intimidating the people through its deportation program it's missing the boat. Its tyrannical acts only convince many more that the fight must be carried out all the harder. And there will be more Communists as a result of that conviction. have been under attack the Communists have been there. On the battlefields of Europe and Asia, in the fight against the Axis, 15,000 Communists were there—many to remain. The Worker

That is the organization Claudia Jones represents. That's the spirit the FBI and the monopolists its serves would like to squelch. That is the spirit of America; the spirit of the ever widening frontier. It is the spirit of the Negro people for freedom. It is the aspiration of the workers of America and the world to break the economic strangle-America against his program while Hoover and Heast were peddling his and Mussolini's fascist wares. The same FBI which snatched Claudia Jones from her home in the middle of the night as a dangerous alien, protected Hitler's consulates from the people who hated fascism. Spain's Republican fighters for their legitimate government had their staunchest American support in the Communist Party. Sun. 3-8-48

Wherever democracy and peace acting, painting, singing, building. With art the people viewed their history, laughed at the plutocrats, fought the racehaters.

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PICKET LINES of Negro and white marched in New York, Detroit, Cleveland—the people's fair employment committee. "Jobs For Negroes!" read the picket signs. Negro girls, like Claudia Jones, took their places behind counters and cashiers' cages. Negro porters and stockmen became floorwalkers and in some places managers.

America became a better place for the Negro. He wasn't up against a united white front. White workers learned what Communists taught about all men being brothers and grabbed the Negro's hand. Many died shielding a Negro from the vicious of the hate-crazed cops. Rose Pastor Stokes, a socialist flower from New York's East Side, was one of the victims.

The lessons learned on the hunger marches, in the Scottsboro demonstrations and mass meetings weren't lost when the factory chimneys belched their smoke again. Negro and white workers at work in the factories became restless for organization. Ford's River Rouge plant in Detroit and Autolite in Toledo saw mass flights for the right to organize. Communists were there. They were at Flint, Michigan, when the sitdown strikes started the auto workers on their road to a mass militant union. Sun. 3-8-48

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THE COMMUNISTS were in the fight for the Roosevelt program. They spotted Hitler, warned

'Free Claudia Jones Week' Opens Today in Harlem

34D

Communist

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y. Mon. 2-23-48

A Free Claudia Jones Week that will culminate in a big rally next Sunday in the Golden Gate Ballroom on 143 St. and Lenox Ave., begins in Harlem today. Days of picketing and street corner meetings will precede the big Golden Gate event. A delegation to Washington will aid the fight.

This program of counter-attack was decided by 121 CIO, AFL, fraternal and religious leaders at an enthusiastic Free Claudia Jones conference at Harlem's Elks Hall Saturday.

The big ballroom, where Henry Wallace spoke a week ago, is expected to be filled with angry men and women, who are protesting the arrest of Claudia Jones, Negro Communist leader; Ferdinand C. Smith, Negro Secretary of the National Maritime Union, and other workers' leaders.

MARCANTONIO TO SPEAK

Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-NY) and Councilman Ben Davis, Negro Communist leader, will lead the attack on Tom Clark and other authors of the present deportations delirium at the meeting.

Dr. Charles Petione, Trinidad-American leader and Abner Green, secretary of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, which is defending the men and women arrested on deportation warrants, will be among the other speakers. New York, N.Y.

Many workers from other parts of New York joined Harlem's angry men and women at the Claudia Jones conference. Daily Worker

Seamen, who had picketed the U. S. Courthouse, where Ferdinand Smith was denied bail, were a vital part of the Saturday meet. New York N.Y.

TRANSPORT MEN THERE

CIO Transport Workers, whose organizer, John Santo, was arrested on similar deportation charges, were active participants as well.

AFL hotel workers, whose leader, Michael Obermeier, was likewise caught in the deportations' delirium, were present also with AFL ladies garment workers, CIO furriers, Harlem church leaders, women's leaders and child nursery representatives.

Ben Davis was applauded as he warned Clark that "Wall Street's imperialists and warmongers would not succeed in keeping Negro and white workers divided by this campaign of terror."

The applause got still warmer when Davis pointed out that a new fighting Congressman, Leo Isacson, would help the freedom fight.

WILLIAMSON WIRE

A message from John Williamson, trade union secretary of the Communist Party, was roundly applauded. Daily Worker

The message was in the form of a wire from Mrs. Williamson, who had visited her husband on Ellis Island, where he is held without bail in semi-isolation. It said:

"John Williamson asked me to wire you that he is also a victim of the same Un-American attack on the civil rights of trade unionists, the Negro people, the Communist Party and all progressives. All people must be mobilized now to protest such action as denial of bail and the tearing apart of families." Mon. 2-23-48

Ferdinand C. Smith, Gerhart Eisler and Charles Doyle, vice president of the CIO Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, are also held without bail in the same concentration camp.

Richard B. Moore, West Indian American leader, and Bertram S. Alvez, secretary, the Harlem Civil Rights Congress, were elected cochairmen of the Save Claudia Jones committee. New York, N.Y.

DOYLE DISCUSSES CASE

It was emphasized by the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born yesterday that Charles Doyle was not picked up by the FBI. He voluntarily appeared at the U. S. Immigration offices at 70 Columbus Ave., before he was rushed to the island without bail.

Doyle had returned to the U. S., after being officially barred on the Canadian side of the Niagara Falls bridge on his way home from a visit to Canada for his union.

A statement, which Doyle released through the committee, follows: Daily Worker

"After very serious consideration, I decided to come to New York City from Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada, to surrender to the immigration authorities. . . .

"I became convinced that the only way to achieve my day in court, and to prevent a frame-up in my case, was to enter the United States and to surrender to the immigration authorities. I have no desire to violate any laws of th United States. In my 24 years residence in the United States I have never been arrested or convicted of any crime. I fel today that I have violated no law in seeking to return to my home and to my job in the United States. . . . New York, N.Y.

"My 24 years residence in upstate New York makes me a product of the American scene. I belong here and I will fight to stay here and to become an American citizen." Mon 2-23-48

34d 1948

Communist (Deportation)

A Political Raid

34 D

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

ANOTHER political arrest has taken place. This time it is Ferdinand Smith, one of the leaders of the National Maritime Union. He was arrested the day after he led a delegation to Harlem in support of Henry Wallace.

Smith was seized in the same way that Claudia Jones, John Williamson and Gerhart Eisler were seized. Tues 2-17-48

SMITH

He has been rushed to Ellis Island for deportation to British Jamaica. Like Williamson and Eisler, he is being held for indefinite imprisonment, **without bail.** The political gestapo of the Truman administration puts its political opponents in the same class as murderers to whom bail is also denied.

The government's FBI agents claim that they want a test case for the Supreme Court on whether a foreign-born member of the Communist Party can be deported for advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

Does the Truman administration have to arrest one victim a week, and to herd its victims into indefinite imprisonment, to get a "test case?"

Does the administration have to flout the rulings made by the courts in the 1920s which sternly rebuked the bosses of the notorious Palmer raids, Attorney General Palmer and J. Edgar Hoover? The courts denounced the refusal to grant bail to persons arrested for deportation on the same charges now being trumped up against militant members of the labor movement.

The charge of "force and violence" is an insult to the public's intelligence. There is no evidence, and there can be no evidence, unless it is faked and forged the way the Nazis faked and forged the documents of the Reichstag fire to justify their own anti-Communist violence. On Feb. 5, Attorney General Clark admitted to the House Un-American Committee that he has no evidence that would "stand up in court" on the force and violence charge against Communists. Daily Worker

The aim of these without-bail arrests is closely linked to the war drive of the Truman administration.

Smith is the outstanding leader of the NMU who opposes the anti-labor grab-Europe Marshall Plan. He favors a relief-without-strings plan as advocated by Henry Wallace. He has been seized as a means of assisting the pro-Marshall Plan forces within the NMU.

His arrest is a deliberate administration intervention within the NMU. New York, N.Y.

Does the Bill of Rights protect the right to disagree with the Marshall Plan and the Truman war-breeding policy? This is the crucial issue facing all citizens, regardless of their beliefs. Tues 2-17-48

We urge an immediate and firm public demand for the release of Smith and Williamson on bail. The refusal to grant bail is a confession of political persecution of the most cold-blooded kind.

This outrageous use of government police power against political opponents of the Truman policies should be halted by resolute protests.

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500 Pickets Rap Move to Deport NMU Secretary

34d Communist

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

By Art Shields

Tues 2-17-48

Shipping was suspended in the port of New York all yesterday afternoon as seamen protested the FBI's arrest on a deportation warrant of Ferdinand C. Smith, national secretary of the National Maritime Union and member of the CIO's national executive board. Daily Worker

The arrest came 18 hours after Smith greeted Henry Wallace at the Golden Gate Ballroom meeting in Harlem and sat by the side of the third party leader during the rally. New York, N.Y.

It came one hour before Smith was to take part in a 10 a.m. meeting of the NMU's national council at which plans were to be made for the struggles that are expected when the union's wage contract expires June 15. Tues 2-17-48

It followed Smith's active fight and vote against the Marshall Plan and his attack on Greek terror at a recent CIO executive board meeting.

Tues SMITH 2-17-48

The huge NMU hiring hall at 346 W. 17th St., was deserted yesterday afternoon while more than 500 Negro and white seamen picketed the U.S. Immigration offices at 70 Columbus Ave. Daily Worker 2-17-48

Some members of the independent Marine Firemen's Union and the CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards took part in the Columbus Ave. march. New York, N.Y.

The picketing demonstration followed a stormy meeting of 1,200 NMU seamen, who shouted their denunciations of the Truman administration's strikebreaking move.

Smith, the country's best-known Negro union leader, who came to the United States more than 30 years ago, was taken to Ellis Island as a so-called alien "red."

The same charge of belonging to an organization "advocating the overthrow" of the government was made against Smith that had been made against John Santo, CIO Transport Workers organizer, and other trade union leaders.

BAIL REFUSED

Bail was refused pending a hearing for which no date has been set. Daily Worker

The hiring hall emptied like magic after the meeting as seamen rushed to the Immigration headquarters at 62nd St. and Columbus Ave., without taking time to ask the police for a permit for fee speech.

Negro and white seamen, two, three and four abreast, circled back and forth in front of the building in a double revolving line, shouting the slogan: New York, N.Y.

"We Want Smith!"

A tall seaman, meanwhile, used the hood of a parked automobile as a writing table while he wrote the same slogan on placards for the pickets to carry. Tues

A delegation led by Frederick "Blackie" Myers, veteran seamen's leader, was demanding the right to see the Immigration officials meanwhile. 2-17-48

STALL DELEGATION

The crowd began shouting, "Let Our Delegation In!" while cops kept stalling the delegation off.

After the demonstration which lasted an hour, the seamen promised to come back in still bigger numbers

The 1,200 seamen at the special membership meeting served notice that they would fight the case through. Daily Worker

"We give notice that we will fight with all our strength to resist this attack," the declared in a wire to President Truman, Attorney General Tom Clark and Mayor O'Dwyer.

"We demand," the continued, "that Ferdinand Smith be released at once and this chiseling upon our civil liberties cease.

"We want no political prisoners and no reign of terror."

"Blackie" Myers, temporary chairman of a 15-man Smith defense committee, told the meeting that the polt against Smith began developing in 1921 when he was one of the leaders of the big seamen's strike. New York, N.Y.

The plot came into the open, said Joe Stack, former vice-president, when Smith took the stump for President Roosevelt in a national tour in 1944. Tues 2-17-48

The World-Telegram then raised the cry that Smith was a foreign "red" from Jamaica. Smith resigned from the union then but was elected in a subsequent referendum after he again filed his intention to become a citizen. He had originally d in 1920.

NMU president Joseph Curran, at the time, Stack reported, accepted the fact that Smith had complied with the union's constitutional provisions.

CURRAN REFUSES AID

Stack's castigations of Curran for refusing to help a brother union official, who was arrested during the present union-busting drive, roused a vehement response from the members. Tues 2-17-48

Vice-president Howard McKenzie told how Curran had announced his refusal to aid Smith at a National Council meeting that morning.

The Council, however, set up a committee, headed by McKenzie, to fight for its brother union leader.

"The arrest of Smith is part of the drive to smash the union and bring fascism and war," said McKenzie. "This drive will be defeated." Tues. 2-17-48

McKenzie's announcement that William L. Standard, NMU attorney had offered to raise Smith's bail personally, if necessary, got a big hand. Daily Worker New York

Detroit's giant Ford Local, with 60,000 members in the CIO's United Automobile Workers, protested Smith's arrest at a meeting of the local's executive board yesterday.

The three top officers of the Wayne County (Detroit) CIO Council, also blasted the arrest. Judge Patrick O'Brien, the motor city's liberal jurist, denounced it as well. Daily Worker New York, N.Y. 2-17-48

In New York, Michael Quill, president of the CIO Transport Union, attacked the arrest as "outrageous." Similar protests were made by the Furriers Joint Council, the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born and the New York Civil Rights Congress spokesmen.

Waterfront Boils Over Smith Arrest

Daily Worker

By Art Shields

The waterfront is hotter than I've seen it since the big 1936 strikes.

The arrest for deportation of Ferdinand C. Smith, Negro secretary of the National Maritime Union, is the reason.

This former chief steward, who has been leading his fellows' struggles, since the big strike of 1921, is the symbol of the men's victories over the shipowners and the Jimcrow system.

Men coming back in focsles from Bremerhaven, Valparaiso, Shanghai, Salonika, Marseilles or Genoa are cursing Attorney General Tom Clark as a shipowners' stooge. New York, N.Y.

Seamen in a dozen coffee houses have told me that they'd never have built their unions if it hadn't been for men like Ferdinand Smith who came here from Jamaica some 30 years ago.

Many Negro seamen, whose jobs had been saved by Smith's intervention, were among the grim crowds denouncing Tom Clark. Mon 2-23-48

The Negro and Caribbean seamen, who make up nearly half of the membership of the National Maritime Union and the Marine Cooks & Stewards, are especially hot, though the native American whites are not far behind.

MULZAC LAUDS SMITH

"Every honest American seaman has an especially warm feeling for Smith," said his friend Capt. Hugh Mulzac, famous skipper of the SS Booker T. Washington, to me. Daily Worker

Capt. Mulzac said he wasn't just thinking of Smith's part in the fight to get a Negro skipper for the ship he commanded, and other ships too.

"I'm thinking of his successful fight to establish the NMU on a policy of no racial discrimination and to hold it to that line," he said.

Oliver Boutte, another Negro seaman, added that Smith was decisive in winning the support of the Negroes for the NMU at the start. New York, N.Y.

The Negroes had been sold down the river so often by AFL bureaucrats that they had to be convinced the new union would give them equality in the hiring hall.

Smith did the convincing.

Boutte is serving as acting secretary in Smith's place, while the pioneer leader is confined in isolation on Ellis Island.

FOUGHT FINKS New York, N.Y.

Seamen respect courage.

"Jerry King, Ray Carlucci and the other private detectives never scared Smitty' with their baseball bats in 1928 when the fink Mariners' Club almost took over the union," said Jimmy Gavin, chief tanker patrolman.

"You're damned right," added a seaman, who told of seeing Smith put two thugs out of his office on the waterfront in 1938. Daily Worker

Joe Stack, able seaman, who shares the co-chairmanship of the port's Smith Defense committee, with Frederick N. "Blackie" Myers told how "King, Carlucci and other stools" had Smith put on charges in the union in 1938. Mon

"Only shipowners spies tried to frame Smith," commented Stack. 2-23-48

The same type is behind the frame-up today, added another seaman.

Another thing men remember about him was how "Smitty" managed to keep the soup pot full when he ran the "soup kitchen" on the waterfront in the big '36 winter strike.

It was a tough job. But Smith managed to get supplies through his connections in the labor movement and other progressive circles. Daily Worker

"He made the stuff taste splendid," a Negro seaman remarked.

Smith, everyone testifies, is a master cook. New York, N.Y.

"And he fed men better at sea than any chief steward ever did before on a Luckenbach ship," remarked George Burns, an old timer, who sailed with Smith in 1931. Mon 2-23-48

I picked up my ears at this. I had sailed on the hungry Luckenbach line.

"Smitty did it by fighting with the port steward till he got enough for the men to eat," explained the old sailor.

I asked Al Lannon, Communist waterfront leader, a veteran seaman, who had served on the strike strategy committee in 1936, to comment on Smith.

"Well," said Lannon, "if it hadn't been for men like Smith, Joe Curran would still be a bosun on a non-union ship—because there wouldn't be a union."

COMMUNISTS

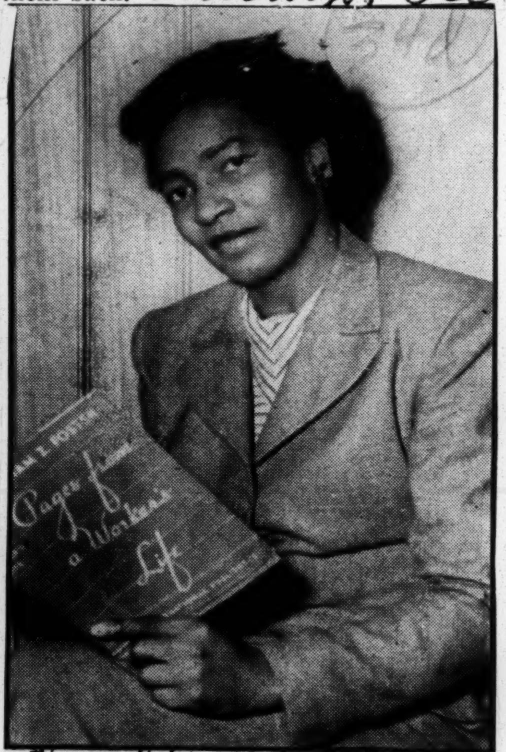
Long Voyage Home

Benjamin J. Davis, New York's Communist councilman who thinks Communism is a science (TIME, Jan. 26), uncovered another foul capitalist plot last week. This time, said he, it was "an attempt to intimidate the powerful Negro sentiment behind the presidential candidacy of Henry Wallace."

What got Communist Davis' dander up was the arrest in Harlem one night last week of Claudia Jones, 32, nee Claudia Vera Cumberbatch, known also as Mrs. Scholnick (for her ex-husband). Miss Jones, a Negro, is secretary of the National Women's Commission of the Communist Party, a member of its national committee, long active in the late Young Communist League and a frequent contributor to the columns of the *Daily Worker*. Time

Like Alexander Bittelman, the Russian-born Communist intellectual picked up a fortnight ago in Miami, she is an alien. She came to the U.S. from Trinidad in 1924, and the Department of Justice would like to send her back. She spent one night on Ellis Island and then was bailed out for $1,000. Promptly the Communist apparatus of protest (which involves meetings, indignant telegrams, denunciations) meshed into gear. Mon 2-2-48

It might be, however, that considerable time will elapse before Bittelman is deported to Russia or Claudia Jones to her native Trinidad. There will, of course, be the usual lengthy appeals to the courts. But even after they are exhausted, there is one other big hurdle in the way. Their native countries may simply refuse to take them back. Chicago, Ill


Pages from a Worker's Life

Keystone

Time Chicago, Ill

COMMUNIST JONES
Deportation is complicated.

Mon 2-2-48

Deportation Drive Hits Minorities

By Art Shields 34d

Representatives of 14 American minorities have been seized in the deportations drive of Attorney General Tom Clark and J. Edgar Hoover, FBI chief, since President Truman's war drive got under way two years ago. Sun-2-29-48

All were grabbed on charges of membership or former membership in the Communist Party—a legal party. However, trade union activities were the actual reason for the arrest of many of the victims.

This attack on the foreign-born minorities began before the arrests of Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, and other native-born progressives on charges of contempt of the House Un-American Committee.

Negroes, Jews, hard-working immigrants from many countries of Europe, as well as Latin Americans, Communist Party leaders and militant trade unionists have been grabbed on deportation warrants since 1946.

Four of them—John Williamson, trade union secretary of the Communist Party; Gerhart Eisler, German anti-fascist; Ferdinand C. Smith, National Maritime Union secretary and Negro leader, and Charles Doyle, vice-president of the CIO's United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers—are held without bail in the Ellis Island concentration camp.

FUND DRIVE to finance the appeal to higher courts to furnish bail is now being conducted by the Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born, from its offices at 23 W. 26th St., New York.

A list of Clark's victims by minority groups follows:

The Worker

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NEGROES: Claudia Jones and Ferdinand C. Smith. Miss Jones, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, who has led many fights against racial discrimination, was arrested at her home in Harlem this month. Clark wants to ship her back to Trinidad, which she left 24 years ago as a girl of eight. Claudia Jones will give her answer to Clark at a meeting in Harlem's Golden Gate Ballroom, at 143rd St. and Lenox Ave., this Sunday. N. Y. N. Y.

Ferdinand C. Smith, NMU secretary, came from Jamaica more than 30 years ago. Sun. 2-29-48

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JEWISH VICTIM: Alexander Bittelman, member of the Communists' National Committee for more than 20 years and general secretary of the Morning Freiheit Association, came here from the Ukraine 35 years ago. Five previous federal administrations made no move to deport him.

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GREEK: Peter Harisiades will furnish a test case of the rights of Communists and former Communists to civil liberties, when his case reaches the Supreme Court.

Harisiades opposes American intervention in Greece in his articles in the anti-fascist Greek-American Tribune. He came from Samos, an island, which the guerillas largely control, 32 years ago.

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ORGANIZED LABOR'S victims include Smith, Doyle, John Santo, organizer for the CIO's Transport Workers Union, who came from Romania 20-odd years ago; Michael Obermeier, former president of AFL Hotel and Club Employes, Local 6, who came from Germany 34 years ago; Peter J. Warhol, former business agent of AFL Upholsterers Union, Local 61, Minneapolis, from Czechoslovakia 34 years ago; Refugio Roman Martinez, of Chicago, a leader of the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union and a former president of the Mexican American Patriotic Society, from Mexico 23 years ago; Alex Balint, regional director, the CIO's Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Cleveland, and David Balint, ex-president, Local 1666 of the CIO's United Steelworkers in the same city, who both came from Czechoslovakia 27 years ago, and Harry Bersin, AFL painter in New York, from Latvia 28 years ago.

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SPAIN: Juan Diaz, former organizer of the CIO Food and Tobacco Workers, who came from monarchist Spain 32 years ago and faces execution if sent back to Franco today.

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IRELAND: James J. Crain of Seattle, who came from the green island 32 years ago.

★

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Sixtv - two year old Charles Kratochvil of New York, who came from the present territory of Czechoslovakia 45 years ago, was eventually held for deportation as the result of a raid on Communist headquarters in Chicago. Warhol and the two Balint brothers are also from the Czech land.

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POLAND: Beatrice Siskind-Johnson of New York and Frank Carlson of San Francisco, both Communist Party workers, both came from Poland more than 30 years ago.

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ROMANIA: Dr. John Greenberg of San Antonio, Texas, and John Santo.

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HUNGARY: Theresa Horvath of Fairmont, W. Va., mother of a veteran, who came from Hungary 26 years ago; Joseph Knerly of Detroit, who left Hungary 34 years ago; Alexander Stephens, New York, here 15 years.

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BULGARIA: Konde Dimitroff of Lorain, Ohio, here 28 years.

SMITH, CIO LEADER, HELD AS ALIEN RED

The Times

New York, N.Y.

34d

Curran Foe in Maritime Union Arrested for Deportation, Taken to Ellis Island

Tues. 2-17-48

Ferdinand C. Smith, one of the nation's top Negro labor leaders and a founder and national secretary of the militant National Maritime Union, CIO, was arrested and held for deportation yesterday as an alien Communist illegally in this country.

Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Immigration Service, acting on the express orders of Attorney General Tom C. Clark, picked up the 54-year-old native of the British West Indies as he left his home, 270 Convent Avenue, at 8:30 A. M. They took him to Ellis Island, where, like Gerhart Eisler and John Williamson, Communist officials, he was held without bail. Tues 2-17-48

In its warrant of arrest, issued last Friday, the Government made two specific charges against the labor leader. It alleged that Mr. Smith was a member of an organization advocating the overthrow of the United States by force and violence. It also asserted that at the time of his last entry into this country on March 6, 1946, from Mexico, he did not possess a valid immigration visa. The Times

Mr. Smith's citizenship troubles began in 1944 when it was revealed that as an alien he was ineligible to hold office under the union's constitution. At that time he was also active in the American Labor party and made a national tour advocating a fourth term for the late President Roosevelt under auspices of the National Citizens Political Action Committee. New York, N.Y.

When the news of his alien status came out, Mr. Smith resigned his NMU office. According to statements made then, he took steps to apply for citizenship. On the basis of those reports, the executive board of the union declared him eligible to run for office and early in 1945 he was returned to his office as secretary in a tight four-cornered race. 34d

Mr. Smith said that he had entered the United States legally in 1918, that he had filed his intentions of becoming a citizen two years later but that because of frequent absences at sea he had neglected to complete the necessary legal steps. Immigration officials offered a somewhat different version of the story. The Times

They said he apparently entered the country sometime in 1919 as a seaman, making a number of trips after that. He could do this without a visa as a seaman, but once he desired to take up permanent residence, a regular permit would be necessary. They also denied that he could have taken steps to become a citizen, as he said in 1944, since, not being a legal resident, he could not file papers.

New York, N.Y.

Split With Curran

Since 1936-37, when the NMU was being organized and when Mr. Smith led a large contingent of Negro workers out of the International Seamen's Union, AFL, and into the new CIO union, he has been an acknowledged spokesman for the left wing in his organization and in the national CIO, of which he is an executive board member. Until recently he was closely associated with Joseph Curran, NMU president. Tues

Since 1945, however, the two have been at odds over national and union issues. This split was highlighted at the biennial convention of the union last fall in New York when they openly attacked each other from the rostrum. In lashing out at the Communists in the NMU, Mr. Curran specifically charged Mr. Smith had held his office "fraudulently" for seven years. In turn, the secretary hit at the policies of the Truman administration and at Mr. Curran. 2-17-48

The split has been widened by the third-party candidacy of Henry A. Wallace. In a vote held last month by the CIO executive board, Mr. Smith was one of eleven favoring a resolution supporting the Wallace move. Mr. Curran joined thirty-two others in voting against it. Yesterday Mr. Curran refused comment on Mr. Smith's arrest.

Abner Green, executive secretary of the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, termed the action "illegal, unconstitutional and un-American." New York

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ARRESTED HERE

The Times

34d

Ferdinand C. Smith

Associated Press

New York, N.Y.

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150 MARINE COOKS WERE NOT AT SEA ON CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Thurs. 3-4-48

Dots and dashes in the radio officer's cabin were telling an ugly story as big Marine Jumper of the Moore - McCormack Line plowed home from Britain and France at an 18-knot clip.

Civil rights were sinking on shore.

Ferdinand C. Smith, Negro secretary of the National Maritime Union, had been arrested and held without bail on a deportation warrant.

One hundred and fifty Negro and white members of the CIO Marine Cooks & Stewards crowded into the emergency dining room of the big ship.

"Ferdinand Smith," said the resolution, which they unanimously adopted, "represents one of the most capable and powerful spokesman, not only for Negro seamen, but also for all seamen, and particularly those working in the steward's department, in which he sailed for many years.

". . . it would be more patriotic to deport the dictatorial reaction which is striking at our right to organize," the stewards declared."

Full support, with all necessary funds, was pledged by the seamen for Smith's defense. Thurs.

A meeting of the Cooks & Stewards New York port organization at 6 Stone St. concurred in the resolution, when the ship arrived in New York. 3-4-48

"Similar action is being taken by other crews."

Smith Fought for Us--We 'Fight For His Freedom', Say Seamen

Daily Worker N.Y, N.Y.

By Art Shields

"Ferdinand Smith has been fighting for me since 1921—that's why I'm fighting for him now," said an old time seaman, Charles McAlister, as he was about to set out for a demonstration for the four hunger strikers before their release on bail. "Smith wasn't afraid of anything then, and he's afraid of nothing now," McAlister continued as he joined a group of seamen across from the National Maritime Union Hall at 346 W. 17 St. Mon. 3-8-48

"Smith and I were in the old ISU (the AFL's International Seamen's Union) during the 1921 seamen's strike," said McAlister. "We had phony leaders, who sold us down the river. There was Dave Grange of the Stewards Union for instance. Grange used to thump a big gun on the table when he opened a meeting. But he didn't scare Smith. I saw Smith tell him off again and again.

"Smith is a fighting man the seamen respect."

REPLIES TO CURRAN

"I've been in seamen's unions since I joined the ISU in 1921 and I've never met a better man than Smith."

"Joe Curran nor anyone else is going to keep me from working for Smith's release from Ellis Island."

McAlister, like thousands of other seamen, is bitter at NMU President Curran's brazen statement in Wednesday's **PM** that "I will not defend him (Smith), and I have called on the membership to reject him completely."

Curran knows who did the biggest work in building up the union on the waterfront after the collapse of unionism in the 1920s, said the old seaman. Mon. 3-8-48

"It was built by men like 'Blackie' Myers and Smith."

A tall Negro seaman, who said he was one of the hundreds of West Indian non citizens in the union who faces the threat of deportation, was almost too angry at Curran to talk.

"That man, Curran," he finally said, "wants to send us to our doom."

"Phil Murray's official support of Smith puts Curran on the spot," said another old-timer, Tom Lewis, "black gang," who also knew Smith in the old days.

"The seamen aren't going to let men like Curran keep Smith in prison on Ellis Island."

"FIGHTING FOR US"

Lewis has vivid recollections of Smith's work for the ISU strikers in 1921.

"I had come into port on the S.S. Baltimore," he said, "and I remember how Smith was traveling from the East to the Gulf Coasts and back in support of the strike. He was a working seaman, a steward, who was giving everything he had to the struggle.

"We didn't care whether Smith came from Jamaica or anywhere else. He was fighting for us."

Lewis added that he could understand why the bosses want to keep Smith in prison without bail.

"The bosses never forgive or forget," he explained.

Many seamen kept telling why they were fighting for Smith as they got ready to demonstrate against the concentration camp keepers at Immigration headquartes at 70 Columbus Ave.

"100 PERCENT BEHIND SMITH"

"My crew is 100 percent behind Smith. . . . We had a meeting about him when the radio opperator brought us the bad news," said chief cook Maxie Harris of the S. S. American Miller, a United States Line vessel.

"No," he added, "the men don't like Joe Curran's attitude towards a brother union member, a bit."

Harris, a Negro, said Smith was respected all over the nation.

Willard Thomas, a Negro utility worker, spoke out just as strongly.

Ray Gregory, an able seaman; Richard Ellsworth, a fireman, Al Andert, a junior engineer, and others had told me that they are to fight for Smith until he is released. Mon. 3-8-48

"Don't forget," said Sol Leviton, a seaman, who helped to promote Smith's tour for President Roosevelt in October, 1944, "that the enemy first attacked him when he was fighting for FDR. That was when the WORLD TELEGRAM smeared him. And Attorney General Clark had him arrested after he sat with Henry Wallace at the Harlem rally.

SMITH

The Fight Goes On

Daily Worker

THE RELEASE ON BAIL—at least for a few days—of Irving Potash, fur workers leader, is a partial victory but by no means a final one. New York, N.Y.

Now the job is to win the immediate release of his colleagues who remain—John Williamson, Gerhart Eisler, Ferdinand Smith and Charles Doyle. All five must be granted bail.

The hunger strike continues on Ellis Island and now is in the fourth day. Have you ever gone without food for four days? Thurs 3-4-48

They are risking their health, their lives, for the elementary right of bail, a right denied up to now only to murderers. The release of Potash shatters the red-tape alibi used to hold the others.

The savage persecution by the Truman Administration of these men is something that can be defeated. Once the facts are known, public opinion will surely not stand idly by.

These men have broken no law, committed no crime. They are facing an indefinite imprisonment—a veritable burial alive—because their political views don't meet the approval of the Truman-Marshall war makers.

Let the protests mount. Demand bail for Eisler, Williamson, Smith and Doyle. Wire President Truman now.

Ellis Island '4' In Hospital; Bail Ruling Due Today

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Fri. 3-5-48

By John Hudson Jones

The four hunger strikers on Ellis Island were moved from their cell yesterday to the Marine Hospital on the Island. Today begins their fifth grueling day without food in their protest against Attorney General Tom Clark's refusal to grant them bail.

News of the latest development galvanized additional thousands to join the nation-wide picketlines and demonstrations that are demanding they be released on bail.

The four—Ferdinand Smith, Negro maritime leader, John Williamson, Communist official, Gerhart Eisler, anti-fascist refugee, and Charles Doyle, CIO union official—were notified yesterday morning by Charles Forman, officer in charge of Ellis Island, that they were to be moved to the hospital. They are all in the same hospital room now. All are in a weakened condition.

Their defense organizations—the Civil Rights Congress and the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born—promptly wired Forman demanding that "a representative group of citizens and the press be permitted immediately to visit the four hunger strikers now being moved to Marine Hospital on Ellis Island."

Today, as on Wednesday at the Potash hearing, McGohey confessed he had no evidence of lawbreaking against the men.

Despite their weakned condition, the men had strength to send the following wire to Irving Potash: The Worker

"We greet your release confident with you on the outside the fight against holding people without bail will be intensified."

Abner Green, of the defense organizations, said in a statement that it would be more appropriate for Attorney General Clark "to observe the Bill of Rights and immediately release these four brave men on bail" than to remove them to the hospital. New York, N.Y.

COURT ARGUMENT

But in Federal Court in New York yesterday, the attorney general's underling, U. S. Attorney John F. X. McGohey continued to obstruct every effort to free the men on bond. Nevertheless he argued bitterly before Federal Judge William Bondy, yesterday, in the latter's chambers, against joint petitions of the four political prisoners for habeas corpus and immediate bail. The petitions were presented by defense attorneys Abraham Unger, Isidore Englander and Mrs. Carol King. Fri. 3-5-48

Despite McGohey's heated resistance, Judge Bondy took the petitions under advisement.

If he signs them early today there will be argument on the writs before him at 2:30 p.m., in open court.

All McGohey could say was that the "Attorney General ought to have a reasonable length of time to do his duty." Mrs. King pointed out this might take anywhere from one month to 10 years.

34d 1948

Communist (General)

As We See It

An Open Letter To Walter White

(34D)

By Abner W. Berry

William Patterson, Illinois legislative secretary of the Communist Party, answers below some wrong contentions of Walter White, NAACP leader. Patterson a veteran of the labor and Communist movement, headed the International Labor Defense at the time that organization began the long fight which saved the lives of the nine Scottsboro Boys.

Ever vigilant to dangers facing the Negroes and democratic progress, Patterson's open letter is an eloquent and well-reasoned warning to liberals and labor—Negro and white.

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

Mr. Walter White,
Nat'l Secretary NAACP
20 W. 40 St.,
New York, N.Y.
Dear Walter:

YOUR WEEKLY comments on the vital national and international problems with which our country is confronted are undoubtedly followed with great care by thousands of Negro as well as white Americans. We, who are Communists, give your words the most careful consideration, if for no other reason because you are a leading spokesman for the powerful National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This fact gives far-reaching political weight to what you say. It also carried with it the gravest responsibility for balanced reasoning, deliberation and above all for unchallengeable respect for the truth. Certainly you will agree with this.

You may well imagine then our surprise when in reading the **Chicago Defender** Column of Jan. 24, in which you so curiously oppose the efforts of Henry A. Wallace to build a third party movement, we find you resorting to the grossest distortion of the attitude of the German Communists in the '30s to the rise of Adolf Hitler. Please explain what is gained by such a twisting of history.

Thurs Jan. 29-48

THERE IS, as you say, a comparison between the situation in America today and that which existed in Germany in the early '30s. But it is a complete falsification of well known and easily verified facts to say that "the Communists decided to back the worst possible candidate—Adolf Hitler—in the belief that the people would revolt against utter reaction and elect a left-wing government. . . ." The situation was just the opposite.

The German Communists not only fought Hitler from the moment he was brought upon the political stage by finance capital, until the day of his death, but in the early '30s they opposed Von Hindenburg and called for a united front against him precisely because they recognized Hindenburg as the tool selected by monopoly to blaze the way for Hitler. The Socialists and liberals of Germany supported Von Hindenburg, rejected the Communist plea for unity against him on the basis that Hindenburg constituted the lesser evil. This was a terrible mistake. Hindenburg was elected and shortly thereafter gave power to Hitler. Hitler destroyed democracy in Germany and brought on war. American boys died all over the world trying to stop fascism.

Daily Worker

THE CANDIDACY of Henry A. Wallace does not raise the issue as to which is the lesser evil as between the Democratic and Republican Parties. Both are desperately seeking to blaze a path for American fascism. The existence of Loyalty tests, thought control laws, Un-American Committees, a gestapo-like F.B.I., increasing anti-Semitism and terror against Negroes, created, nurtured and developed nationally and in the various states under Republican or Democratic Administration or through bi-partisan action is proof of that.

Both parties have become the lynchers of democracy and the instigators of a new world war. You yourself write: "We need a third party in this country because both of the major parties are afflicted with dry rot." Where then is the leaser evil?

New York. N.Y.

IT IS ON the basis of the lessons of Germany and the facts of America that one concludes that both old parties are worse. Harry Truman or Taft, Dewey or Vandenberg would play Hindenburg tc some yet un-named American Adolf Hitler.

The American Communists are as unalterably opposed to an American Hitler as were the German Communists to the Austrian paper-hanger. The American Communists will therefore not fall for the fiction, the myth of a lesser evil where none exists. We have learned the lessons of Germany. We sincerely hope that you will not follow the tragic path of the German liberals and Social-Democrats.

Jan. 29.-48

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

Truman Administration Has Over-Reached Its Hand in Frame-up of Claudia Jones

(34D) Communist

By Benjamin Davis

WHEN THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION placed its clammy and cowardly hands upon Claudia Jones, it touched one of the brightest flowers of Negro American womanhood. This time the Republican and Democratic reactionaries in Washington, led by the decadent Missouri compromise, have bitten off more than they can chew.

Claudia Jones is a worthy daughter of the militant and enterprising Negro West Indian citizenry of the country. The attempts of the subversive polltaxer Tom Clark to deport this outstanding young Negro woman leader, one of the most beloved Communist figures in America, will be defeated and will backfire with the detonation of an atom bomb.

Sun. 1-25-48

Three days before, the Truman Administration plucked Alex Bittelman from a resort where his rest was necessary to repair permanent scars to his health sustained in the course of 40 years of battling for the betterment of the American workers and people generally—Negro and white. Bittelman is a great Jewish Community leader, symbolizing the aspirations of the Jewish people in America, in Palestine and all over the world.

The Worker

Comrades Bittelman and Jones were both framed on a technical immigration charge, which is naturally quite important in their defense, but which does not affect in the slightest the fact that they were victims of Truman's drive to silence all opposition and establish a police, thought-control state in America. It is only on the basis of opposing Wall Street's drive toward domestic fascism and imperialist war, that the hand of the jailer can be pried loose from Claudia Jones, Bittelman, Eugene Dennis, Gerhart Eisler, Leon Josephson and a host of other fighters for the people.

With the arrest of Jones and Bittelman, the Truman Administration has placed itself at the head of the persecutors of the Negro and Jewish peoples, the two largest victim minorities in America. Long ago, the outright Fascist scum of the country, with unlimited and mysterious finances, had made the Negro and Jewish peoples their chosen scapegoats. The Truman Administration, moving under the cover of legalism, has given these gangsters its unofficial blessing.

Instead of arresting the Fascist lynchers and anti-Semites, the Truman administration is arresting, hounding and framing their victims.

The Worker, New York N.Y.

NOT SINCE the slaveholders' confederate regime of outlaws during the Civil War, has an American government dared to persecute Negro women. (The Truman Administration has broken one record—for which it will receive due credit!)

Sun. 1-25-47

If the administration thinks it will intimidate Negro women, it is in for a rude awakening. Negro women are intimidation-proof. Negro women, since Harriet Tubman (in whose pattern Claudia is cut), have been the backbone of the Negro people's struggles. They, who have been the defenseless victims of the lust of white supremacists (some of whom now sit in Congress), they, who must sell themselves in domestic slavery for a pittance—these women know how to fight. Today, more than ever, they are not alone.

The dirty underhanded way in which Truman's Gestapo arrested Claudia Jones is an obscene challenge to every principle of common decency. The bloodhounds—three of them—came for her at her home in the dead of night, when, they hoped, no kind of assistance would be available to her. Their intent was to strike terror into her and her friends and neighbors. But this failed, even as 300 years of terror against the Negro people has failed.

New York N.Y.

In Harlem, alone, there are almost 100,000 Negroes either foreign-born or of West Indian ancestry. Claudia's arrest is a threat to anyone of them, not to mention the West Indian citizens in other parts of the country. It is an attempt also to divide West Indian from native-born Negro—and to intimidate both.

One other record has been broken by Truman: He is the most shameless demagogue that ever sat in the White House! While he talks of "Negro rights," his only move has been to persecute the most defenseless section of America's most oppressed people—Negro women. Yet Truman has the audacity to ask for the Negro's vote in the Presidential elections! If the President's Civil Rights Committee—including its two Negro members, Dr. Channing Tobias and Mrs. Sadie Alexander—don't act to halt this move against Jones and Bittelman, then they stand exposed before the Negro and white masses as a fig-leaf for Truman's ugly nakedness. Truman, Dewey and the other obedient tools of Wall Street will never forget the name of Claudia Jones. We will win this fight. The Negro people and their millions of labor and white progressive supporters will smash the deportation order against Claudia Jones and Alexander Bittelman.

Free Claudia Jones!

An Editorial

(34D)

ATTORNEY General Tom Clark's political police have added a new name to their fast-growing list of victims.

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

This time it is that of Claudia Jones, young Negro woman leader, whose home was invaded without warning two days ago. She is now being rushed toward deportation to the British possession of Trinidad in the West Indies.

Wed. 1-21-48

The pattern is ominously familiar.

First trade unionists like Doyle, Obermeier. Then, Jewish leaders like Alexander Bittelman. Now a Negro woman. The "charge" is copied from Hitler — "overthrowing the government."

The dragnet is widening. The Palmer days are returning. No American is safe. If J. Edgar Hoover's police can't "get" this or that progressive on one "charge" they'll trump up another. The frame-up system is steadily wiping out democracy in our land. Daily Worker 1-21-48

President Truman must hear immediate protest! He should drop the infamously false "charge" against Claudia Jones and the other Clark victims. He should drop Attorney General Clark, the new Palmer trying to outlaw the Bill of Rights. New York, N.Y.

Harlem Acts To Help Free Claudia Jones

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y.

Mon. 1-26-48

A fighting organization to save Claudia Jones, young Negro Communist leader, from an FBI deportation plot, was set up in Harlem over the week-end. The response of Harlem to the FBI attack was almost instantaneous. At short notice more than 80 representatives of Harlem organizations crowded the meeting room of the Association of Trade and Commerce at 2370 7th Ave. Friday night on the coldest night of the year and organized a Save-Claudia Jones Committee.

Councilman Benjamin J. David will play an active part in the work of the committee.

A delegation will carry the committee's protest to Washington early this week.

And a Committee of Women for Claudia Jones, proposed by Audley Moore, Harlem woman's leader, will carry the fight into the homes of the people. 1-26-48

LEADERS HIT ACTION

West Indian Negro leaders, lawyers, physicians and trade unionists and business men were among the men and women who denounced the plot to send Miss Jones back to Trinidad after 24 years' residence in New York. Mon.

Richard B. Moore, temporary chairman of the committee, is secretary of the American Committee for West Indian Federation.

Cyril Philip, a Harlem business man, who chaired the meeting, is temporary secretary-treasurer.

Dr. Charles Petione, president of the West Indian Council, is taking a leading part in the fight.

Dr. Petione, an elderly physician, who had been a guest at the wedding of Claudia's parents back in Trinidad, bristled with anger as he scored the deportation plot.

NOW COMMUNISTS BACK FIGHT

Worker New York N.Y.

He was not a Communist, he said, but he wanted the world to know that non-Communists, who loved liberty, were fully behind the fight to protect American liberties.

He added that he personally doubted whether the Trinidad government would accept this girl, who had done so much to defend her people. New York N.Y.

Dr. Petione got that opinion after discussing Miss Jones' case with a representative of the British consulate in New York.

Attorney Hope Stevens, vice president of the United Mutual Lif

Association, warned that the attack on Miss Jones was part of a move "to confuse and divide the people in preparation for war."

GETS OVATION 1-26-48

Claudia Jones herself got a most enthusiastic ovation as she rose to tell of the FBI's night raid on her apartment at 504 W. 143d St. last week.

The FBI men, who pushed their way into her home at night were a crude and rude crowd, she declared. They tried to get her to let them search the place without any search warrant.

"The attempt to deport Alexander Bittelman and myself, and other men and women is a desperate attempt to frighten the people. That attempt will fail."

The crowd cheered this.

WON'T BE INTIMIDATED

Rose Gaulden, Negro member of the Communist National Committee, said her own father had been hanged by the Ku Klux Klan in the South.

"They are foolish if they think they can intimidate our people after all we have suffered," she continued.

Face to Face

History of Negro People Is Richer Because of the Communist Party

The Worker New York, N.Y. Sun. 2-8-48 (348)

By Benjamin J. Davis

Member, City Council of New York

TO THE EXTENT that the most hard-bitten foes of communism are honest, they cannot deny that the Communist Party, despite all its weaknesses, has cut a big sway in American life in the struggle for the free and equal citizenship of the Negro people. In connection with this special issue of The Worker, which is a tribute to the historical achievements of the Negro people, it is appropriate to ask why this is true. The unique contributions of the Communists have not been due to their militancy and uncompromising struggle alone, although plainly these are well known hallmarks of Communist activity. At various stages of the battle for Negro rights, non-Communist trade unions and people's organizations—especially the Negro people themselves, as today — demonstrate a capacity for vigorous struggle against Jim-crow, in varying degrees.

What makes the Communist party tick on this question is its theory, its Marxist-Leninist approach to the task of liberating the Negro people from the national system of oppression. Just as theory without practice is sterile, so practice without theory is blind, and sometimes self-defeating.

* * *

MARXISM-LENINISM equips one with knowledge of the general line of march, its relationship to all other factors, and with orientation upon the ultimate objectives. When one sees the goal toward which he is striving, and understands how that goal is to be reached, he is a thousand times more effective on the day-to-day current issues—for example, in the struggle against the poll tax and the white primary, against lynch law, against all forms of Jim-crow, discrimination and segregation. The bedrock principle of the Communist Party is the unity of theory and practice. The Worker

The Communist Party views the Negro question in America as that of an oppressed people, having all the attributes of nationhood, although these attributes are not as fully developed as in much older nations. There are, in reality, in our country two American nations—the Negro people, whose heartland is in the black belt of the deep south, and the dominant white—or so-called Anglo-Saxon nation. While the Communists were the first in modern America to put forth the concept of the Negro people as a nation, this established fact today finds strong strains of support in the views of such distinguished students of Negro history as Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Earl Conrad and others. The Negro people are themselves moving toward recognition of their nationhood. New York, N.Y.

As any other nation—indeed, as the various nations inside the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and other bi-national and multi-national states—the Negro people are entitled to self-determination or self-government in the black belt areas, where they are in the majority and where their nationhood has developed. Sun. 2-8-48

Since the fascist lynchers, Rankin poll taxers and white supremacists rule the Democratic Party in the South, with the connivance of the GOP, and since both parties are controlled by Wall Street then it is clear that the liberation of the Negro people in the deep South lies outside the beaten, cynical path of the two major parties in the direction of their political self-rule which is the best guarantee of their democratic and constitutional liberties, whether under capitalism or socialism.

* * *

IN ALL OTHER PARTS of the country, the Negro people constitute a national minority, whose Jim-crow ghetto status is fixed by the lynch oppression imposed by the imperialists and their feudal flunkies upon the Negro in the deep South.

The Negro people are exploited not only as workers in common with white workers—but they are victims of double political and social oppression as Negroes, through Jim-crow, discrimination and segregation. The Negro question is a special question because capitalism has imposed special disabilities upon the Negroes. Even the Negro upper-classman who is not exploited as a worker, is nevertheless a second-class citizen as a Negro. American imperialism, to bolster its economic domination, has constructed a super-myth of white supremacy which holds the entire Negro people in inferior status, irrespective of their class. The Worker New York, N.Y.

Thus we have two aspects of the class struggle in America, the main one, which is the struggle between the working class and monopoly capitalism or imperialism, and secondly, the struggle of an oppressed nation for equal dignity and nationhood status, likewise against American imperialism. The working-class Negro and white has the main responsibility in both, for the two struggles are a part of the same battle. The white workers can never be free of exploitation as long as their black brothers are enchained, and the Negro people cannot win their freedom except through their united, unbreakable alliance with labor. The Worker

THE COMMUNIST PARTY first dramatically brought forward this dynamic and scientific policy in the celebrated Scottsboro case, 16 years ago, where for the first time the struggle for Negro rights became the practical, conscious responsibility of the white workers and progressive forces of the dominant nation. 2-8-48

This policy is the key to the march forward of labor and the Negro people in the most recent years, before the advent of the bi-partisan Truman Administration, which set out, with cunning perception, to smash this alliance—in order to enchain labor and to kill off the militant struggles of the Negro. Such are Wall Street's preparation for imperialist war abroad and fascism at home. New York, N.Y.

34d 1948

Communist (General)

Connor, McCorvey Issue Curt Retorts To Commie Attacks

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Sun. 2-1-48

Commissioner Reasserts His Desire To Have Party Outlawed; Demo Chief Chooses To Ignore 'Such A Source'

34d

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Communist attacks on Birmingham Public Safety Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor and the State Democratic Executive Committee Saturday drew sharp replies from Connor and Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey. 2-1-48 Sun.

Both the police commissioner and the committee were assailed by Sam Hall, Alabama Communist Party chairman, in a statement denouncing "segregation and all that goes with it in Alabama."

Concerning Commissioner Connor's declaration that he wanted to outlaw Communists, contained in his announcement as a candidate for Democratic delegate-at-large, Hall said it "should surprise no one" that the public safety commissioner wanted to do this.

* * *

THE COMMUNIST head attacked the Democratic committee "for not dealing with the real problems that face the people of this state."

"I want to say again," said Connor, "that I not only want to outlaw Communists in Alabama, but outlaw Communists all over America. That's why I'm for putting such a plank in our national Democratic platform. The News

"Since when did this vicious bunch of Communists, who take orders from Moscow and who want to tear down our American form of government, become so interested in 'full democratic rights' for the people of Alabama? Birmingham

"I'm still for putting the exterminator to them." 2-1-48

* * *

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34d

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The News-Age-Herald

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Pickets At White House Demand 'Civil Rights'

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

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The pickets marched up and down outside the White House fence shouting: Sat. 3-6-48

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The Revolt of the South's Democrats May Hit the Party In the Pocketbook

34d

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Sun. 2-27-48

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

By Drew Pearson

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34d

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

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Panic Journalism

Daily Worker 5-26-48
New York, N.Y. Wed.

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Yet the press is eagerly beating the drums of anti-Communist hysteria, just as they did in the Reuther case in Detroit. This is wonderful for the criminals whom no one bothers to look for amid the anti-Communist noise.

The Communist movement denounces all such violence, as the newspaper liars very well know. But that doesn't prevent them from slandering Communists and covering up for the real criminals if they can start violence and panic with their falsehoods. It is the tactic used against Negroes by the lynch press in the South. Decent citizens will be on guard against such poison.

5-26-48

34d 1948

Communist (General)

Connor, McCorvey Issue Curt Retorts To Commie Attacks

The News Birmingham, Ala

Sun. 2-1-48

Commissioner Reasserts His Desire To Have Party Outlawed; Demo Chief Chooses To Ignore 'Such A Source'

34d

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Communist attacks on Birmingham Public Safety Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor and the State Democratic Executive Committee Saturday drew sharp replies from Connor and Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey. 2-1-48 Sun.

Both the police commissioner and the committee were assailed by Sam Hall, Alabama Communist Party chairman, in a statement denouncing "segregation and all that goes with it in Alabama."

Concerning Commissioner Connor's declaration that he wanted to outlaw Communists, contained in his announcement as a candidate for Democratic delegate-at-large, Hall said it "should surprise no one" that the public safety commissioner wanted to do this.

* * *

THE COMMUNIST head attacked the Democratic committee "for not dealing with the real problems that face the people of this state."

"I want to say again," said Connor, "that I not only want to outlaw Communists in Alabama, but outlaw Communists all over America. That's why I'm for putting such a plank in our national Democratic platform. The News

"Since when did this vicious bunch of Communists, who take orders from Moscow and who want to tear down our American form of government, become so interested in 'full democratic rights' for the people of Alabama? Birmingham

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Controlling The Professors

John Temple Graves

The Record

In their darkness our lights are dazzling.

That must have been a fine commencement talk Mark Ethridge, of The Louisville Courier-Journal, made at Tulane last week. He always makes them like that. But he went very wrong in two places, if rightly quoted. He said we shouldn't "fire professors for what they believe." It is upon this conventional libertarian sentimentality in America that Russia is counting. If Mark would say his speech the other way around he would see how wrong he is. For it amounts to saying professors can believe anything they choose and still be professors. They can be citizens, voters, speechmakers, writers of letters to the editor, yes, but I say they can't stand in authority over the minds of young Americans with just anything they happen to believe. This won't remain a free country long if we don't snap out of that particular sentimentality about freedom.

Columbia, S.C.

Then Mark used Bishop Oxnam's fallacy. He said, in effect, that we must make democracy work at home to halt Communism abroad. Their are many reasons for making democracy work at home, but that is not one. To say so, as does Bishop Oxnam—and now Mark—is to rob ourselves of confidence and the world of faith in an America where people are infinitely better fed and more free than in any Communist area. What's more, it is to give extremists among our champions of more democracy incitement to tear us to pieces in the face of the enemy when there is no need for such radicalism and hurry.

Sat. 6-12-48

It is the constant preaching of this fallacy by so many of our old-time New Deal leaders that produces misconceptions like Paul Robeson's. When that Negro singer refused to tell the Senate whether he is a Communist or not and indicated his ardent admiration for Russia, he said that when he visited that land he "walked the earth for the first time with complete dignity." Deploring injustices which do indeed deny him and the members of his race completeness of dignity in America, the liberal Miami News points out nevertheless that if he had been in Russia as a citizen rather than as a visiting and sympathetic foreigner he would not have been able to feel so dignified, no matter what his race.

He could not walk there with dignity, says The News, "as an artist, as a creative thinker, or as a human being." If suspected of anti-government ideas he would not be asked merely to testify before a legislative committee, "but before the security police. If he refused to talk, no time would be wasted in deciding whether or not to cite him for contempt. Speedily, and without ceremony, he would be introduced to the third degree." As an artist he would be bullied and blacklisted if suspected of anti-government ideas or art.

The Record

"In Russia today, Paul Robeson would be allowed no integrity as an artist, and no dignity as a person," says The News. Not because he is a Negro but because he is an individual and the state there is everything. Yet Paul Robeson, who is a great artist but only an average thinker, has been persuaded that because democracy in America is less than perfect Russia is to be preferred over America. I say it is time to stop this stale and everlasting implication that we can't face the world with what we've got, that unless we get a great move on, people will turn to Russia, that because we are not complete in the freedom, food and dignity we provide, there is balm for any of us, white or black, in Russia.

Columbia, S.C.

I wish The Miami News' editorial could be printed in every newspaper in America. It is so specific and graphic an answer to the fallacy our Bishop Oxnams are instilling into our Paul Robesons. The driven, herded, sick people of Europe are not meticulous about whether we have dotted the last "i" and crossed the last "t" of our democratic institution. In their darkness our lights are dazzling. Sat. 6-12-48

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

The Commies Have a Formula

Atlanta, Ga.

Sat. 5-29-48

There is no Communist "party line."

The Communists have a set of formulas.

Thus, in this country they have made a practice to join any liberal movement in order to smear it and lessen its chances.

They have vigorously aided the radical Negro organizations in the North, which insist on breaking the segregation lines immediately. They have patiently infiltrated into key unions, especially in the communications field. They are trained at parliamentary practices and they will argue and stay late until the opposition gets disgusted and goes home.

Work They work ceaselessly among people who feel their poverty is a result of their being kicked around. They exploit poverty, bad housing and racial differences. Sat

The FBI has been able to obtain photostatic copies of many of the membership cards in their lists. The Communists in this country have stacked their files with cards containing the names of many Americans in our fields of science, literature and education. They hope to have these "discovered" and thereby cloud the name of men who might aid the government in time of war.

They have joined the Wallace Third Party movement. Even Stalin has been invoked to help out this plan to get votes for Wallace. As the campaign comes closer we may expect the Communists to denounce Wallace and withdraw, hoping thereby to cause others to vote for him. 5-29-48

The 'Line' Everywhere there is chaos and confusion the Russians try to make those two allies fight on their side.

This may be the confusion and chaos in the Middle East, in France, in Italy and India—or the confusion in this country.

Egypt is a considerable distance from the Soviet Union. Yet, I noted in 1945 and again in 1946, the large staff the Soviets maintained in Cairo. The Constitution

The "line" there will help illustrate my point.

In Egypt the Communist Party is outlawed by law. But the Communist Party operates. It doesn't talk Communism or Stalin. It stirs up demonstrations against foreign troops and the British, two old standbys of the Egyptian politicians. It also agitates about working conditions and wages, which, respectively, are bad and low. It tries in every way to make the misery and general wretchedness of the masses articulate. All of this embarrasses the government and makes for great expense. Their latest success was a strike of the Egyptian police. The Russians never bother with religion there. Indeed, the Soviet Ministry includes a practicing Moslem who goes, with great ostentation, to service each Friday. Atlanta, Ga.

Iraq I note also that in Iraq, which is very close to the Soviet Union, and where the Communist Party is outlawed, that a very shaky pro-British government is troubled by the Kurds and Armenians, who are infiltrated with Communist agents and supplied with money from the same source. Sat. 5-29-48

The "line" there is to aid the already existing opposition to the government. The Communist underground works on students, office workers, and, more intensively, on the oil and railway workers. It also is friendly with the private soldiers and the non-coms.

Iran I recall seeing the Communist demonstrations in Iran in 1945. They consisted of two small and obviously slightly scared boys, carrying a sign advertising a meeting of the "Tudeh" each week. "Tudeh" is the "Peoples Party." But it is Communist. Presence of Russian troops in Iran, along with our own and the British, was enough for the party to exist. Now it is outlawed. The "line" is to play up the existing discontent with the government; to try and win some of the army and intellectuals, and always to point out the luxury of the ruling classes, which stupidly lives in lavish luxury amid awful and unrelenting misery.

In Syria, which has just recently outlawed the party, and in Lebanon, where it still is legal, the Communists have supported the Arab position on Palestine. The Constitution

The Russians have managed to get some few persons into Palestine. The two ships which sailed from Bulgaria some months ago and which put their immigrants ashore at Cyprus, certainly contained some agents. The pattern of underground immigration has offered a chance to get in other agents and the Soviets assuredly have not failed to take the opportunity. Atlanta, Ga.

The Communist "line" for the present is to keep supplying both sides with arms and promises. If any outside nation intervenes, she will insist on taking part. Sat. 5-29-48

She will move on to agitate for "partition" in other states with dual population.

So "the line" operates.

Arrested Communist leader nattily dressed at weighing-in

Tribune Los Angeles Calif

Sat. 7-31-48

NEW YORK — The two Negro Communists who were arrested last week by the FBI in the purge of active Communists in the U. S., presented extreme contrasts in their appearance and demeanor as they were "weighed in" by the FBI.

Benjamin Davis, New York City councilman and president of the board which publishes the Daily Worker, was the most nattily dressed of the entire 12 as he posed for his official FBI rogue's gallery potograph. (The photograph, however, didn't flatter Davis. In it, he looked jowly and sullen.)

Cool, self-possessed and chatty, Davis was splendid in a double-breasted, lightweight summer suit, a magnificent silk tie with diamond pattern, and a cocoa brown straw hat. 7-31-48

Almost the opposite to Davis in actual appearance was Henry Winston, veteran organizational leader in Brooklyn. Winston photographed a bit more benignly than Davis, but unlike the successful Harlem politician, was ill-clad in unpressed pants, wrinkled shirt, and a too tight white coat. He was glum and ill at ease.

As We See It

Mon. 4-19-48

34D

May Day Milestones

Daily Worker

In Fights for Negro Rights

New York, N.Y.

By Abner W. Berry

BETWEEN April 9, 1931, and July 24, 1937, it was a long, hard pull, but we made it. In case you have forgotten, April 9, 1931, was the day an Alabama judge sentenced eight of the nine Scottsboro boys to death; July 24, 1937, marked the end of the legal trail in the case, and outright freedom for four of the boys. All but one of them are now out of jail—and they are all alive.

The story of what has happened to them is to be told elsewhere. I want to discuss six outstanding days in their defense. There are some who say that the most dramatic moments in the case occurred in court. They might cite the day in Decatur, Ala., when Judge James E. Horton reversed his own decision. Others might prefer the day—April 1, 1935—when the U. S. Supreme Court reversed the death sentence on the ground that Negroes had been excluded from grand and petit jury panels

There were the "April days" back in 1931 when the streets of New York rang with "Stop the Legal Lynching!" "Free the Scottsboro Boys!" Then there was the day in Havana when Cuban workers threw a stone through the Embassy window wrapped in a note which read "Free the Scottsboro Negroes!" Brussels, Berlin, Prague, Dresden, Paris, Buenos Aires and little Alabama towns echoed the New York protests in those days. The State Department had to request the Scottsboro transcript in order to answer the angry protests lodged with the American embassies.

Daily Worker

ONE DAY which should not be forgotten is the first of May 1932, when Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of Roy and Andy, two of the condemned boys addressed the Berlin May Day demonstration.

Mon.

May Days were highlights in the defense of the Scottsboro boyls. They were fighting days for the Negro people. They were heartening days for the nine boys who had escaped a lynching and lived constantly in the fear of the electric chair.

New York, N.Y.

And 17 years later Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, a Negro widow and her two teen-age sons are faced with a life-time in jail. Their crime was self-defense aganist a landlord's attack.

4-19-48

Through the Scottsboro mothers and the defenders of their sons, America became more conscious of the need to wipe out the stain of a modified slavery. **The Negro people were introduced to America's progressive classes as a force in the fight for a democratic America as well as for their own liberation.**

•

SIX MAY DAYS drove this lesson home. For the Negro people this tremendous show of solidarity in struggle ended their political isolation. They turned from the nationalistic messiahs. The folk poet, Langston Hughes, celebrated the long-overdue alliance with a poem entitled "White Worker, Here's My Hand."

Daily Worker

Mon.

For the Scottsboro boys and their mothers, as stated by the great French writer, Henri Barbusse, the workingclass movement "had abolished the misery of being alone."

4-19-48

Under a tall tree growing at the corner of 126 St. and Lenox Ave. in Harlem, Negroes gathered on May Day and heard the story of freedom. And in the blocks between there and 135 St. housewives and children prepared to march that day.

New York, N.Y.

This was a different kind of a holiday. This was the day when the things you spoke about in barber shops was placed on banners and flung to the nation and the world. The muttered protest of the southern black farmhand stood many feet high on streamers. The world knows today—May Day—that the Negro was not a contented clown. He was a fighter for his freedom and for the freedom of others like himself the world over. He was a man and a force. He was as strong as the thousands marching eight abreast past the reviewing stand in Union Square.

Daily Worker

AFTER 17 YEARS we are likely to forget. But the enemy does not sleep. He is marching, too. In bedsheet and legion suit he is chasing Negroes from polls, stopping progressive meetings and burning crosses—and books. But more—the Scottsboro brand of "Justice" is being meted to Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons in Georgia. The enemy wasn't completely defeated in the Scottsboro case; he's back again on the attack.

New York, N.Y.

May Day demonstrations were an important factor in saving the Scottsboro boys. May Day, 1948, can help save the Ingrams and spur the fight for Negro and white unity against the system that breeds Scottsboros and Ingram cases.

Mon. 4-19-48

Democrats Are a Mighty Flighty Lot

(34d)

Atlanta Constitution

WASHINGTON—For a while there, the way those Democrats were inciting each other to riot, I thought I'd never get out of Philadelphia alive. And then I thought I'd never get out of Philadelphia, period. On account of my hotel bill. But the Democrats eventually subsided in favor of H. Truman, without actual mayhem, while the hotel man who'd socked me $19.50 per day for what he laughingly called a suite on an air-shaft let me sign the bill. And I beat it for home before the Democrats changed their minds again and held another convention.

Now that I've had a cool shower and a chance to think about their wonderful, wacky session in the city of brotherly love I have decided they are flighty folks. I say this advisedly and without meaning to insult 'em. I couldn't keep up with their whirligig. I'd turn my head for a minute and a Truman-hater would turn into a rooter for Harry S.

Friday 7/16/48

There was the Hon. Jake Arvey, of Chicago, who denounced Mr. T. for weeks and then announced one hot night that he didn't mean it. The Hon. James Roosevelt, who didn't think so much of the President, either, made a final speech saying he did.

I'll never forget the Hon. Claude Pepper, either. One night he was tearing down Ike Eisenhower's pictures and setting himself up in business, with kisses, flash bulbs and handshakes, the people's friend. He said he was going to be nominated as President.

7-14-48

The following evening the Hon. Claude was tearing down his own photographs. He'd changed his mind. The Hon. Ben Laney, the millionaire Governor of Arkansas, did the same trick, but it cost him money because he didn't change his mind until after he bought a supply of Laney-for-President buttons.

The supporters of Mr. Justice William O. Douglas couldn't decide whether to make him President, or Vice President. They bought signs advertising him for both jobs. Then he said he'd skip both of 'em. And along came the Hon. Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, who was sure he didn't want to be nominated as President, but couldn't make up his mind until the final penultimate moment whether he'd rather be Vice President or Senator from Kentucky.

By now the fellows were snarling at each other. Some of 'em from Alabama and Mississippi got up and announced they were walking out of the joint. The Hon. Sam Rayburn, wearing the unhappiest expression I've ever seen on a bald man, told 'em to sit down. Some of the Democrats cheered. Some booed. Some hissed. The situation was as gummy as my fingers, which were sticking together in the clam chowder the Democrats chose to breathe instead of air. Outside the night was cool, but within the convention hall the superheated Democrats were cooking themselves on gas.

7-16-48

A Georgian in horn-rimmed eye-glasses nominated Sen. Richard B. Russell as President. Delegate Tom C. King, of Alabama, simultaneously stood in front of a television camera and threw his pretty badge away. He said he wanted no more of the Democrats.

He led a parade of Southerners who paused under the Kleig lights and consigned their jewelry to the wastebasket. This was serious. Like a girl giving back her engagement ring.

As you may already have read, Mr. Truman did get the official nod and all I can add is that the next four years ought to be joyous. No more conventions, unless the embattled Democrats change their minds again. Keep all 10 fingers crossed.

Counter-Revolt in South

Detroit Free Press - Detroit, Mich.

BY THOMAS L. STOKES

WASHINGTON—The current attempt of some elements in the South to break away from President Truman and split the Democratic party in its traditional stronghold finds the South, itself, splitting in turn into groups to set up a counter-rebellion against the self-appointed state righters.

Sat. 7-24-48

This is helpful, in its way, because it shows dramatically that the whole South cannot be herded together under the Confederate flag.

(34d)

This resistance to the anti-Truman movement springs from various motives—personal conviction, awareness that the Civil War is over, and in some cases is dictated by practical political considerations.

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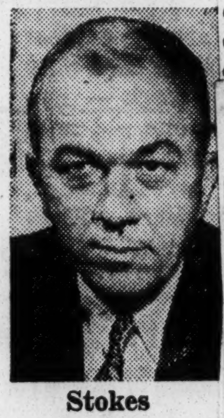
A SYMBOL IS THE South Carolina Federal judge, J. Waties Waring, of an old Charleston family who, even while the Southerners were rebelling at the Philadelphia convention against the Truman civil rights program, was declaring calmly from the bench that no subterfuges could be used by South Carolina Democratic Party officials to keep Negroes from voting in party primary elections. He announced bluntly that anybody who violated his decision would be jailed for contempt.


Stokes

To the Negro standing before him who had brought a case against discrimination, he said:

"It's a disgrace and a shame when you must come into court and ask a judge to tell you you are an American."

Those words might well become historic.

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THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE all over the South who look upon extension of the franchise as a primary civil right that must be granted to make the South and its politics truly democratic. The judge was merely backing up the United States Supreme Court in its outlawry of the "white primary" and the Supreme Court was only upholding the Constitution.

Detroit, Mich.

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IT IS INTERESTING THAT it happens in the state which led the way to secession in the Sixties, and the state which has provided, in Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, the presidential candidate of the new Confederate movement organized at Birmingham.

This alliance may impede Gov. Thurmond in lining up his state electors against President Truman.

Sat. 7-24-48

It bespeaks the ferment all over the South today out of which may come something not anticipated by the Birmingham revolutionaries. For other elements in the South will refuse to go along with this rump rebellion, including church groups, labor groups and independent citizens who are working quietly in behalf of extension of civil rights.

Today And Tomorrow

By Walter Lippmann

Hail And Farewell

Wash Post

ALTHOUGH this article must be written and out of my hands before the nominations are made at Philadelphia, I am assuming that the predictions are correct and that the ticket will be Truman and Barkley. If that is it, the convention will have made the best it could out of Mr. Truman's refusal to step aside.

LIPPMANN

7-15-48

It will have made it possible for Senator Barkley to become the caretaker of the party once Mr. Truman leaves the White House. For while Mr. Barkley is only the second man on the ticket, he will be the first man of the party when it becomes the opposition. Only in Congress will the Democratic Party play a responsible part in the National Government. Senator Barkley is already the Democratic leader in Congress. As the nominee of the convention for Vice President, he will have the clearest mandate to exercise his leadership which the party was able to give him.

Wash. D.C.

34d

HAD THE party expected to elect Mr. Truman, it would not have turned to an elder statesman to be his running mate. The choice of Barkley, who is older than Truman but is a highly experienced legislator and a trusted party leader, is as frank a recognition as the circumstances and the rules of the game permitted that the Democrats have written off this election, and are looking beyond it. The managers and the orators of the convention came as near to saying this as they could. They dwelt upon the record of the past, upon the achievements of Wilson and Roosevelt, passed over the Truman period in virtual silence, treating it as an interlude, and reaffirmed the big attitudes and aspirations to which a new generation of Democrats, as yet unseen and unknown, will give substance and meaning.

Wash. Post

IT HAS been said, notably by Mr. Farley, that the Democratic leaders and bosses did a disservice to the party by manifesting their opposition to Mr. Truman. They have, so runs the complaint, torn down the man whom they were bound to nominate and support. Mr. Farley is, I think, too preoccupied with the orthodox routine of party organization. The opposition to Truman did not tear down a strong and successful leader: There would not have been the wide and varied opposition if the Truman leadership had not already broken down. For the different factions to have pretended that they were happy and harmonious would have deceived no one—least of all the disaffected rank and file. It would have built up the Truman Administration.

7-15-48

Wash D.C

But it would have stifled the one best thing in the Democratic Party, the very thing which will enable it to survive defeat, and to recover. That is its vitality and freedom, its enterprise and adventurousness, often undisciplined, sometimes reckless but, nevertheless, the secret of its hold upon those who look forward and want to go forward. Had the convention followed Mr. Farley's advice and shown itself to be complacent, partisan to the point of hypocrisy, the result would have been more melancholy than it is. For then, in addition to certain defeat this year, the party would have made it much more difficult for those who cannot support Truman now to remain Democrats for the future. They would have been homeless, unable to stay with the

Truman Democrats, unable to go to Wallace.

The great clatter of the anti-Truman opposition was the noise of the doors being forced wide open for a new generation to enter.

Wash Post

THE NEW generation of Democrats will not be ready and available for some years to come. Nor, unless there is a national or international catastrophe, are the Democrats likely to return for at least 8 years, perhaps for 12 or 16 years. Under Dewey and Warren there is every reason to anticipate a long period of Republican rule. For Dewey is not only likely to be an extremely competent President but an astute party leader as well, quite capable of holding the conservatives while he reaches out for the progressives.

For some considerable time, therefore, the Democratic opposition will not be dealing with the Republican Party they have been used to for the past 16 years but with something much more formidable, more intelligent, more attractive—with a party which moves in the tradition of Theodore Roosevelt, of Root, of Stimson rather than of Hoover, Coolidge and Landon. The new generation of Democrats will be educated by serious competition. That is something they have lacked for 30 years, and that is one of the main reasons why, after Roosevelt, they have no great national figures today.

7-15-48

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AS THE Democratic Party relinquishes its power, it is torn by factionalism, yet I think there are both general and specific reasons for disgreeing with those who, like Mr. Wallace, say that the party is dying. The general reason is that American parties do not die. My old friend and colleague, Herbert Croly, used to say that the two American parties were like primitive organisms which cannot easily be killed: If their heads and tentacles are cut off, they grow new ones. Experience hears him out. The Democrats, who tore themselves to pieces in 1924, won overwhelmingly in 1932; the Republicans who in 1936 looked to be as down and out as it was possible to be, would, but for the war, have been probable winners in 1940, certain winners in 1944.

Wash. D.C.

The factionalism of the Democrats today is not, it seems to me, so violent as it was after the Wilson period. There are no controversies so apparently irreconcilable as were those which raged over the Ku Klux Klan, prohibition, Al Smith and Bryan. My own notion is that any party, when it has exhausted its mandate to govern, becomes factional. But its divisions are not what cause it to lose power. It is the prospect of losing power that incites and releases the factions of which all great parties are invariably composed.

Wash Post

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THE COUNTRY, all of it, may, therefore, say to the Democrats as they relinquish the power they have held so long and the heavy responsibilities they have borne through dangerous days: "Hail and farewell . . . we shall meet again . . ."

Williams Urges Wallace To Quit Party, Come Home

The Advertiser

FORMER NYA Administrator Aubrey Williams called on Henry Wallace Saturday to "repudiate" the Progressive party as now constituted and "come on back home."

Mon. 7-26-48

Williams, a close friend of the former vice-president, made his appeal in a front page editorial in the current issue of his paper, The Southern Farmer. The editorial added:

Montgomery Ala.

"It should be as clear as the noon-day sun by now to Henry Wallace, as it was to practically 100 per cent of all other Progressives 10 months ago, that he is being used to weaken and defeat the efforts of the U. S. to reach an understanding with Russia.

"Wallace should repudiate the whole thing and come on back home. He is the last man in America who should have gotten mixed up with that New York crowd of sharpers."

Williams said he agreed that the nation needs a Progressive party but not one built around the Communist - dominated clique which sits at the center of the Wallace movement."

Tues 7-26-48

The Southern Farmer publisher noted that "it is still the belief of some of us" that the Democratic party with all of its shortcomings, is the best means of achieving a Progressive political party in this country.

He said the party at its recent national convention at Philadelphia, showed that it still believes in the Progressive principles which the party stood for under Jefferson, Jackson, and Roosevelt.

COALITION IS VIEWED AS RIGHTS PLANK PERIL

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People expressed fear yesterday for the survival of President Truman's civil rights program in the Democratic platform in view of the coalition of anti-Truman Democrats of the North with Southern Democrats.

New York Times

Walter White, secretary of the association, noted the problem in telegrams to James Roosevelt, chairman of the California Democratic Committee; Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, Minn.; Jacob M. Arvey, Democratic leader of Chicago; Chester Bowles of Connecticut and Mayor O'Dwyer.

The five were among northern Democrats who joined last week with Southern leaders in calling a caucus at Philadelphia for Saturday to consider a candidate other than President Truman.

"Your support of civil rights legislation reported in today's papers is appreciated by Negro Americans," the telegram said. "However, these and other Americans are puzzled by your apparent coalition with such bitter opponents of civil rights as Senator [Lister] Hill of Alabama, Governors [J. Strom] Thurmond of South Carolina, [Ben T.] Laney of Arkansas and [Robert M.] Tuck of Virginia.

Tue. 7-6-48

"How do you propose to press for inclusion of civil rights plank in Democratic party platform while working hand in hand with these Southern politicians who have openly declared they would rather see the party defeated than permit inclusion of a plank upholding equality of citizenship for all Americans?"

Representative Emanuel Celler, the New York member of the convention platform committee, said yesterday he would insist upon inclusion of President Truman's civil rights program in the platform.

At The C

Convention

PHILADELPHIA, July 12.

THE Monday morning caucus of the Alabama delegation was vehement, testy and aimless.

340

The bloody spurs left wounds which may be festering through the 1950 election of a governor and a senator.

What happened at the caucus this morning was plainly traceable to one thing alone—frustration of Alabama in trying to find a way to assert its rebellion against efforts to reorder and reconstitute its social pattern.

Because of legal barriers, because of the absence of an inspiring and authoritative leader of the Southern people, the South is beating its wings against the iron rods of its Democratic cage.

Montgomery, Ala.

Because of this frustration and despair, members of the Alabama tribe have turned upon each other in civil strife. In the presence of a commanding leader and the hope of victory in November, Alabama's political leaders would not have been at each others throats Monday morning.

The aimlessness of the delegation's wrangling is characterized by the fact that in a bruising controversy between the walk and non-walk factions, the walkout leader couldn't even tell this morning at just what point a delegation takes its walk. And at the same time the walkers out were prevailing over their adversaries they appointed a member of the convention committee to notify President Truman of his nomination.

Tues. 7-13-48

Montgomery Advertiser

HERE in the convention hall this morning it is difficult to demonstrate that it makes any difference whether the Alabama delegation walks or remains through Truman's first ballot nomination.

The caucus this morning had considerably more bearing on Alabama political affairs than on the proceedings of the Democratic Convention. Ancient vendettas, rivalries, jockeying for position in the 1950 race for governor—those were the ingredients in the angry pot that boiled in the midday Philadelphia heat.

Handy Ellis, who was defeated by Folsom in the 1946 primary, told The Advertiser that he was again a candidate for governor. Ellis said:

"Yeah. I'm going to run."

Near Ellis as he said this were former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, who likewise desires to run, Albert Stapp, Albert Carmichael, Birmingham Commissioner "Bull" Connor.

Essentially the Alabama strife hinged on the tug between Handy Ellis and Senator Lister Hill for chairman of the delegation. In the end Ellis won out.

The Ellis walkout group had wanted to postpone the election until Lester A. Farmer of Dothan, who is a sick man, could be flown to Philadelphia. In the absence of Farmer, Alternate Delegate George Wallace, of Clayton, would have stepped in and destroyed the Ellis majority.

Tues. 7-13-48

BUT this morning it was ruled that the alternate could not be seated until the convention began. That kept Wallace, who was present and eager to participate, from coming to the aid of Hill. A vote on seating Wallace was taken and the Ellis guard prevailed.

Said Atty. Gen. Albert Carmichael:

"I denounce it as unfair and illegal in every way."

Whether Delegate Farmer was really expected to be flown here in time for the caucus this morning or whether that was a fabrication to keep Wallace from taking his place until too late, we don't know. Ellis said today that he might still be coming. But we hear otherwise that Farmer is in bed after his operation with drainage tubes in his midriff.

After the Wallace exclusion vote, the fur flew to the extent that, for example, protesting Atty. Gen. Carmichael was met with a burst of "shut up."

Former State Senator W. W. Malone of Athens, said of the whole business it was the "biggest fool thing" he ever saw, and promised to pop it to members of the Ellis faction between now and November.

7-13-48

Of the Ellis victory, Ellis, now sitting solidly as chairman, told the caucus with some frankness:

"We had the majority—we meant to use it ruthlessly, just as the others would have used it ruthlessly."

Such words and threats as these are not likely to be forgotten as the 1950 campaign for governor takes form and assumes motion.—G. C. H.

Harry Truman Is Named Pallbearer In Chief

Columbia Record
Columbia, S.C.

Harry S. Truman is the seventh vice president to become President through the death of an incumbent President.

He is the third vice president to be nominated to succeed himself after attaining the Presidency. Thurs. 7-15-48

Only two of the other six, both of them Republicans, were nominated to succeed themselves—Theodore Roosevelt and Calvin Coolidge.

In 1904 President Theodore Roosevelt's name was the only one put before the Republican convention and in the 1924 convention the first ballot produced 1,065 votes for President Coolidge, 34 for Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin and 10 for Senator Hiram Johnson of California.

As for President Tyler in 1844 and President Johnson in 1868, neither had any chance of nomination by their respective parties and Johnson even had enough of the White House. Both had broken their party ties four years before to run on the ticket of the opposition party.

Columbia Record

President Fillmore was rejected in 1852 and President Arthur in 1884 simply because the conventions found candidates they liked better. Fillmore, last the Whig Presidents, had agreed to the compromise of 1850 on slavery and had signed the fugitive slave act. That cost him the support of the anti-slavery Whigs. He led by only two votes on the first ballot at the Whig convention of 1852 and eventually lost the nomination to General Scott, the war hero, who was, of course, defeated in the election.

Columbia, S.C.

As for Arthur, he hadn't made a bad President despite the unsavory political past he brought to the vice presidency. But his effort at reform lost him the favor of many party workers and the Republicans felt that they needed New York's electoral votes to win. Arthur's bad political record had been made in New York state. Finally in James G. Blaine the party found a leader about whom the party workers could be enthusiastic. Blaine led Arthur by more than 56 votes on the first ballot and continued to gain as Arthur's strength declined. He was nominated on the fourth ballot.

The trouble with the unhappy Democrats this year is that they cannot find another candidate upon whom they could agree. General Eisenhower might have filled the bill, But Eisenhower isn't available. And so the nomination goes to Truman by default with a few bitter-enders holding out. And when the party is to be defeated and can not find a winner does it matter much who is selected to lead it into the valley of the shadow of disaster?

And last night Truman was nominated to preside over the dissolution of the Democratic party. It is the one job that he can do. He cannot win the election. That now is beyond the capacity of any candidate. Now even General Eisenhower now could weld the warring factions together in time to win the election. The wounds are too deep and there is too much emotion mixed up in the conflict. 7-15-48

Everybody is deserting the sinking ship. Every top labor leader was invited to address the convention. Everyone of them refused, except one, Whitney of the railroad brotherhoods. Labor, which has a lot to learn about politics, isn't willing to go down the line for Truman in a hopeless fight even though the Democratic platform promises the repeal of the Taft-Hartley act. The labor leaders know that they cannot control the rank and file. The left-wingers, most of them at least, are off chasing the Wallace will o' the wisp. And the South is mad enough to froth at the mouth. There has even been some frothing, as in the debate over seating the Mississippi delegation. A few of the Southern delegations—South Carolina's among them—are even set to walk out of the national party and carry their states with them. Some of the other Southern states where the Republican party has advanced beyond the rudimentary stage may vote for Dewey and Warren. The Republicans are to make an effort to capitalize upon this Southern discontent and try to channel it into Republican votes.

The great wake is over. Truman, dapper and cocky, hardheaded and courageous, has been named pallbearer in chief and the trek to the graveyard begins. Let the band strike up the "Death March."

Democrats And The Future

The Louisiana Legislature has initiated action to provide fo the names of Truman elector nominees being placed on the ballot in that state for the November presidential election, but there's an odd mix-up in the whole situatic and national Democratic officials are not pleased by the present prospect.

It is proposed to list Truman nominees if 100 voters sign a petition by Oct. 5 nominating 10 candidates. A legislative committee side-tracked a proposal to permit the National Democratic Committee to file a Truman slate. It was opposed as invading states' rights. The Truman candidates would be designated as representing the national Democratic Party, but would not appear under the rooster, the traditional symbol of the Democrats in that state.

Democratic National Chairman McGrath had wired Gov. Earl Long protesting against "any scheme" to "shunt" Truman and Barkley "off into a column other than that always accorded nominees of the Democratic Party." Sat. 9-25-48

Obviously the national party officials feel that the Truman slate would be handicapped if it did not appear under the regular symbol and are concerned as to what would be the result under those conditions. On the other hand, the "States' Right" group doubtless is confident that with its own ticket appearing under the regular symbol, it would make an impressive showing against the national party candidates.

* * *

Here again is raised the important question as to what future relations of the national Democratic organization will be with the dissenting Democrats of the South.

"States' Rights" group adherents have proclaimed their intention of striving to gain dominance in the party throughout the nation. But there are millions of Democrats in other parts of the country who will resist such efforts and it seems highly unlikely that the Southerners will gain any such ascendancy. The News

On the other hand, many factors are deepening the cleavage between these Democratic groups and developing a relationship that will make future reunion a complex and difficult task. Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

Does this mean that a more or less permanent disruption of the party is going to result? The present, in all its controversy, bitterness and complexity, does not provide a clear answer to that very important question. Sat. 9-25-48

Should We Split The Democratic Party?

To the Editor of The News:

All over the South where I travel constantly, money is being spent, speeches are being made, and letters are being written by States' Rights Democrats. You published two in your edition of Sept. 20.

The thing about all this movement that impresses me is how many things the States' Rights Democrats have evidently failed to think through. All the speeches and articles dwell upon one theme, namely, that Mr. Truman's civil rights program is anathema to the South and the Dixiecrats are opposed to it. There is no argument upon that point. Almost every Southern white man believes exactly the same thing. The whole question simply is as to what is the wisest thing to do about it. We should learn a lesson from history.

In the 1860s there need not have been a civil war in this country. Slavery was a right guaranteed by the federal constitution. The Dred Scott decision had confirmed it. Abraham Lincoln then stood for protection of slavery where it existed, but for no extension of it. Had the South met the abolition sentiment of the North with a constructive program of gradual abolition, the slave-holders being compensated either in labor or money for slaves set free, the whole question could have been settled within the national Congress and without all the tragic consequences that followed attempted secession.

Personally, I think that a state that comes into the Union may have a right to leave it, but I do not think it would be wise to do it. By the same token, I think the States' Rights Democrats have a right to split the Democratic Party, put Tom Dewey into the White House, and produce a situation where, no matter who is president, three-fourths of the country will be opposed to the South on everything, but I do not think it is a wise course to follow.

States' Rights Democrats undoubtedly can control a large part of the electoral vote of the South and thereby defeat Mr. Truman, but what will they gain by such defeat? No election is going to be thrown into the House of Representatives. The defeat of Truman means the certain election of Dewey, and that means all the recent Republican Congress stood for and worse. The Republicans killed OPA, and the next week lumber advanced $15 per 1,000 feet and all things climbed with it. Republicans have listened to the manufacturers' and real estate lobbies and done nothing to reduce the cost of living or make possible cheaper homes for poor people. They have done nothing for veterans and propose at their next session to tax the pensions of disabled veterans. They gave lip service to the Marshall plan and then proceeded to scuttle it by reducing the appropriation for it until whipped into line by public opinion. They refused to make a loan to the United Nations for permanent buildings until forced to do so by threat of moving that headquarters to Europe. They have opposed TVA, and favored exploitation of the people by private power interests. They retained the odious oleo tax upon colored margarine made mostly from Southern oils. They have opposed farm benefits vital to the Southern farmer. They favored the infamous Bulwinkle bill for railroads. At every turn they have favored the rich at the expense of the poor.

Dewey owes his nomination to this group and will listen to the voice of his masters. In fact, he does not seem to have an opinion or hold a conviction until he consults his masters. He has no national or international experience. While Stassen, Lodge, Truman and Thurmond were volunteering to risk their lives to help save their country, Dewey was hiding out, so he could run for office, if and when they did save it. Certainly, on every question except civil rights, the position and experience of Mr. Truman is vastly to be preferred by the common man to that of Mr. Dewey, and even on civil rights, I prefer a Democratic president and Congress to Republicans. In a Democratic administration which might owe its very existence to the loyalty of Southern Democrats, those Democrats would certainly control Southern patronage and exercise much more influence upon every question.

In short, since we cannot secede from the Union and have our own little country, my advice to all Southern Democrats is to remain within the party, whether we like everything or not, and work like mad to return a Democratic administration before it is too late. Even in defeat, such loyalty would exercise a strong voice in reorganization of the party, but in any defeat due solely or principally to deflection of the Southern states, Democrats from those states will remain an independent and weak party, for, however much we believe in the principle of states' rights, to support an independent states' rights ticket is to walk out of the national Democratic Party, if I can think straight.

E. J. HAMMOND.

Molton Hotel. Home address. Atlanta, Ga.

Similarities, Differences In Planks Of Demos And GOPers Shown Here

Birmingham News

B'ham, Ala,

(340)

7-15-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 15—(AP)—Comparisons between major planks of the 1948 Democratic and Republican platforms:

* * *

Foreign Policy

7-15-48

DEMOCRATIC—Pledges full support of the United Nations, continued leadership toward curtailing the veto power and establishment of an international armed force to back up U. N. authority.

Promises necessary funds and a "sound, humanitarian" administration of the Marshall plan for European recovery.

Advocates an "adequate" armed force to protect the nation's "vital interests" and to assure the country's security against aggression.

Pledges restoration of the reciprocal trade agreements program drafted in 1934 by the Roosevelt administration, but "crippled" by the last Republican-controlled Congress.

REPUBLICAN—Promises financial aid, within "prudent limits" of this country's own economic welfare, to help other peace-loving nations restore their economic independence and human rights and fundamental freedoms. This aid to be on a basis of self-help and mutual aid.

Insists on "businesslike and efficient" administration of foreign aid.

Pledges support of the United Nations; favors freeing the U. N. of any veto in the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Holds that the U. N. should be provided with an armed force.

Promises support of the "system of reciprocal trade" and encouragement of world commerce.

Palestine

DEMOCRATIC — Pledges full recognition of the state of Israel and approves its boundry claims as set forth in a United Nations resolution of last Nov. 29. Promises financial aid to Israel for developing its recovery.

Favors a revision of this country's arms embargo to give Israel "the right of self-defense." Pledges support, within U. N. framework, of the internationalization of Jerusalem.

* * *

REPUBLICAN—Subject to "letter and spirit" of U. N. charter, pledges Israel full recognition, with its boundaries as sanctioned by the U. N., and aid in developing its economy.

Charges Truman administration undermined U. N. prestige by its "vacillation" on the question of a free and independent Jewish commonwealth.

* * *

Civil Rights

DEMOCRATIC — Claims credit for recent civil rights gains. Pledges the party to continuing efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination. States a belief that minorities must have the right to work, live, vote, and get legal protection on a basis guaranteed by the constitution. Calls upon Congress to exert its full authority to the limit of its constitutional powers to assure and protect these rights.

REPUBLICAN — Says lynchings or other mob violence is a disgrace, and favors prompt enactment of legislation to end it. Says equality of all individuals in their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is the cornerstone of this republic. Says the right of equal opportunity to work and advance in life should never be limited because of race, religion, color, or country of origin. Favors enactment and just enforcement of such federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right in every part of the country. Favors abolition of poll taxes as a requisite to voting. Opposes racial segregation in the armed services.

Communism

7-15-48

DEMOCRATIC—Condemns communism and other forms of totalitarianism and "their destructive activity" overseas and at home. Pledges the party to expose and prosecute treasonable activities. Says the party will continue to enforce vigorously the laws against subversive activities, observing always the constitutional guarantees of free speech and press and honest political activity. Says the party will strengthen the laws against subversion to the full extent necessary, protecting at all times traditional individual freedoms.

REPUBLICAN—Pledges a vigorous enforcement of existing laws against Communists and enactment of such new legislation as may be necessary to expose the treasonable activities of Communists and defeat their objective of establishing here a Godless dictatorship controlled from abroad.

* * *

Inflation

DEMOCRATIC—Blames Republican-controlled Congress for present high cost of living, because of its rejection of President Truman's "comprehensive" program to control prices. Promises to "put a halt" to price rises.

REPUBLICAN—Asserts Truman administration has deliberately encouraged higher prices. Pledges an attack on "basic causes" of inflation by cutting government spending, stimulating production, reducing the public debt, and establishing fiscal policies to provide incentives for production.

* * *

Labor

7-15-48

DEMOCRATIC — Advocates repeal of the Taft-Hartley act because it has "failed" to bring industrial peace. Advocates legislation to establish rules for collective bargaining, determine the rights of employes and employers, and enable labor unions to keep their membership free from communistic influences. Favors increasing the minimum wage rate from 40 cents an hour to 75 cents. Urges a rebuilt and strengthened Department of Labor.

REPUBLICAN—Pledges continuing study to improve labor-management relationships in the light of experience and changing conditions. Declares collective bargaining is an obligation as well as a right, applying equally to workers and employers. Says the "fundamental" right to strike is subordinate only to "paramount" considerations of public health and safety.

* * *

Social Security

DEMOCRATIC—Favors increases in old-age and survivors' insurance benefits by at least 50 per cent, and reduction of eligibility age for women from 65 to 60. Also would extend these aid programs to all workers not now covered. Favors national health program for expanded medical research, medical education, and hospitals and clinics.

REPUBLICAN—Urges extending federal old-age and survivors' insurance program and increasing benefits to "a more realistic level."

* * *

Education

7-15-48

DEMOCRATIC — Advocates federal aid for education administered by the states. Supports federal appropriation of $300,000,000 to start such a program. Charges Republican Congress "shockingly" ignored educational needs.

REPUBLICAN—Favors equality of educational opportunity for all and the promotion of education and educational facilities.

* * *

Veterans

DEMOCRATIC — Pledges improvement of federal benefit program for veterans and their families. Says level of benefits must be constantly reexamined in light of the decline in the dollar's buying power. Pledges a program of housing for veterans at prices they can afford to pay.

REPUBLICAN—Proposes a "realistic and adequate" adjustment of veterans' benefits on a cost-of-living basis. Demands "good-faith" compliance with veterans preference in federal service and efficient and business-like management of the Veterans Administration.

* * *

Agriculture

DEMOCRATIC — Pledges efforts to maintain continued farm prosperity, improvement of rural living standards, and preservation of the family size farm. Specific federal aids included: permanent system of flexible price supports to maintain farm income on a parity with farm operating costs; an intensified soil conservation program; improvement in methods of distributing farm products; adequate financing of the school lunch program; development and maintenance of stable export markets; use of farm surpluses to improve diets of the needy, and continued expansion of the rural electrification program. Favors repeal of taxes on oleomargarine, and promises encouragement of farm cooperatives.

REPUBLICAN — Declares nation must have long-term program in the interest of agriculture and the consumer. Says such program should have: Accelerated program of "sounder" soil conservation; effective protection of "reasonable" market prices through flexible price supports, commodity loans, and marketing agreements, together with such other means as may be necessary; development of sound farm credit; encouragement of family-size farms; support of the principle of bona fide farmer-owned and farmer-operated cooperatives; and "sound" rural electrification.

* * *

Business

7-15-48

DEMOCRATIC — Pledges intensive enforcement of anti-trust laws, with adequate appropriations. Advocates strengthening of such laws, and pledges a "positive" program to promote competitive business. Supports the right of free enterprise.

REPUBLICAN — Declares small business must be encouraged through aggressive anti-monopoly action, elimination of unnecessary controls; protection against discrimination, correction of tax abuses, and limitation of competition by government organizations.

Secret Service's Start

WASHINGTON — The Secret Service was established by Congress in 1864 to suppress counterfeiting. It did not take over the guarding of the president until 1901.

7-15-48

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pile strategic minerals and to encourage a sound mining industry.

REPUBLICAN—Favors "progressive" development of water resources for navigation, flood control and power, with immediate action in critical areas, and a comprehensive reclamation program with full protection of rights and interests of the states. Also favors stockpiling of strategic and critical raw materials, and adequate representation of the West in the national administration.

* * *

Equal Rights

(34d)

BOTH—Recommends submitting a constitutional amendment on equal rights for women.

* * *

Atomic Energy

DEMOCRATIC — Pledges adherence to the principle of non-partisan civilian administration of atomic energy.

REPUBLICAN—No plank.

Dissident Democr

Journal Guide

Sat 10-30-48

Norfolk Va.

VIRGINIA'S Democratic Party machine is accomplishing the same thing it once planned to do under the TUCK-sponsored anti-TRUMAN law passed by the last Legislature but without risking party "irregularity" —entirely for selfish reasons, since the South has made a fetish of regularity in order to retain a stranglehold on its political power.

Negroes for the past twenty years have thrown the strength of their voting support to the Democratic Party in this state, but the party now slaps them in the face on a purely anti-Negro issue. Mr. TRUMAN'S courageous if "politically inept" program is anathema to the South. The South's counterfeit claim that state's rights entitle it to handle its "domestic" affairs as it sees fit is solely the expression of its wish to restrict the benefits of democracy to those it chooses, and it does not choose to regard these benefits as inalienable rights of *all* citizens, despite the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution. It would even proscribe the perogatives and duties of the courts to protect these rights. THURMOND, TALMADGE, and their ilk say so. And their silent and "neutral" supporters applaud them for so saying.

The Democratic Party in the state of Virginia is putting on an amazing spectacle. The top man, Senator HARRY FLOOD BYRD, is persisting in a Sphinx-like silence on the presidential campaign, but it fools nobody. He hates TRUMAN and hopes for his defeat.

His hand-picked governor, WILLIAM TUCK, plays coy too on the score of the presidential candidates when it comes to a formal announcement, but he leaves no real doubt that he is a Dixiecrat at heart. Consider his above-the-call-of-duty hospitality and cordiality to Governor STROM THURMOND of South Carolina, the presidential candidate of the Dixiecrats, when he was in the state the other day.

Sat 10-30-48

His introduction of him to a Richmond audience did everything but formally commend him to Virginia voters. Then he housed and breakfasted him at the governor's mansion, drove him to Norfolk to a football game, and told reporters it was up to the public to decide if all these excessive courtesies were to be considered endorsement of THURMOND'S candidacy. The public not a fool and knows he is endorsing THURMOND in fact.

Subsequently, the state's new attorney general, Mr. ALLMOND, came to Norfolk and made his "bats in the belfry" speech, thoroughly repudiating the TRUMAN-BARKLEY ticket but advocating the election of "regular" Democratic candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives, some of whom have announced unenthusiastic support of TRUMAN only because they felt "obligated" to remain "with the party," but who nevertheless disavowed the President's support of civil rights and the party platform's advocacy of the same.

Mr. ALLMOND is the official duty-bound to interpret and help enforce the laws, yet he takes his firm *partisan* stand against extending full citizenship to a great segment of the state's population. To him such proposals signify a party leadership which, in his words has "bats in the belfry and . . . skunks in the parlor."

Then to cap the climax, the state Democratic Central Committee's chairman, ALVIN MASSENBURG, author of the infamous MASSENBURG Law enacted by the State Legislature in the '20s, formally announces that he and the Democrats of the state officially are going to remain "neutral" in the presidential contest.

Sat 10-30-48

This is nothing but armed "neutrality" against the national Democratic administration and the party's ticket. When the official hierarchy of the Democratic Party of the state takes a "neutral" stand with reference to the party's presidential ticket, it effectively repudiates that ticket.

These Virginia manifestations are significant because they are so typical throughout the South.

It is just because the Democratic Party embraces such Bourbon reactionaries, plus the rotten big-city machines which only for cynical political expediency are supporting Mr. TRUMAN, that many voters are getting sick and tired of the Democratic Party

If Mr. TRUMAN has to buck such elements in his own party even to get nominated, and in his effort to get elected, he could do very little to bring his program into reality even if, by what would have to be a miracle, he should be returned to the White House.

Such a dismal prospect, such unprecedented party disunity, such inability to rally his party colleagues to his leadership, such fierce, hate-inspired resistance to real civil rights, do not face Mr. DEWEY as the prospective next occupant of the White House.

ALLIANCE WITH DIXIE QUESTIONED BY NAACP

Northwest Enterprise

Wed 7-14-48

Seattle, Wash

NEW YORK, — In a telegram sent to five leading northern Democrats N A A C P secretary, Walter White expressed concern at the recent coalition of these men with such bitter opponents of civil rights legislation as Senator Lester Hill (D. Ala.) and the Governors of South Carolina, Arkansas and Virginia.

The telegram, which was sent to James Roosevelt, chairman of the Democratic Committee of California, Jacob M. Arvey, chairman of the Cook County Democratic Committee in Chicago, Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York City, Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis and Chester Bowles, expressed the appreciation of Negro Americans for the continued support given by these five leaders to civil rights legislation. In view of this support, the NAACP secretary declared himself at a loss to understand the planned coalition, recently announced in the nation's press, between these men and southern Democrats, in an attempt to prevent the renomination of President Harry Truman at the Democratic National Convention, inasmuch as the Dixie leaders had openly based their opposition on the issue of civil rights.

"Experience has taught us," wired Mr. White, "that coalition with such elements means complete sacrifice of all civil rights measures. How do you propose to press for inclusion of a civil rights plank in the Democratic party platform while working hand in hand with these southern politicians who have openly declared they would rather see the party defeated than permit inclusion of a plonk upholding equality of citizenship for all Americans? How can you as a liberal collaborate with avowed enemies of liberalism?"

Senator Barkley Runs Up

Columbia Record

Wed 9-29-48

Senator Alben W. Barkley, "Dear Alben," who has made himself a workhorse for Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, appealing for Democratic votes at Asheville, N. C., got himself a bit mixed up in his argument that only through the Democratic party can the South have a voice in national affairs.

It would be a tragic thing, Senator Barkley, candidate for vice president on the Democratic ticket, said, "if the partnership between the Democratic party and the states of the South were to be destroyed . . . It would leave the South without effective means of promoting its own high aspirations" and "without a voice in the councils of the nation."

Columbia, S.C.

The Republican party, he said, never has been friendly to the South and "is not interested in its problems . . . Whenever the Republican party has been in power the South's fortunes have declined."

Let's analyse Barkley's logic. The Republican party, it is true, has never been especially interested in the South, but why? The answer is plain: the South has never been interested in the Republican party or held out any real hope to the Republicans that they could accomplish anything in the South. The Hoovercratic movement in 1928 was not a genuine shift of Southern support from the Democrats to the Republicans. It was a movement born of bigotry and prejudice and most of the Hoovercrats were safely and a little shamefacedly back in the bag by 1932.

And it is an inaccuracy to say that the Republicans have not tried to help the South, that the South's fortunes decline every time the Republicans get into power. William Howard Taft tried to cultivate the South and won many friends in the South, if no votes. Herbert Hoover did the same thing, but the South whooped it up for F. D. R.

The South has no voice in the Republican party councils, but the choice is the South's not the Republicans'. The G. O. P. would like to make itself a truly national party by breaking into the South.

And the way to get that voice is for the South to break the bonds which have heretofore bound it in slavery to the Democratic party, to destroy, as Senator Barkley puts it, the partnership between the Democratic party and the states of the South.

What has this record of blind and slavish adherence to the Democratic party brought the South? How much attention is paid the voice of the South in the councils of the national Democratic party? How does it promote "its own high aspirations" by being in the bag, year after year and election after election? Who got most of the relief money when it was the system to spend and spend and elect and elect? Who got most of the war plants and most of the war business? Who got the silver subsidy? Who was nominated for Democratic vice presidential candidate in 1944 instead of James F. Byrnes of South Carolina?

Politics is a business of courting the doubtful voters and the doubtful states. The South has been ignored by both parties because it has not been doubtful territory, either for the Democrats who counted it in the bag, or for the Republicans who could not. The South must make itself doubtful by building up a genuine two-party system, holding out the hope to both parties that they may, if they court the South and promote its own high aspirations, win the South.

Wed 9-29-48

Barkley's warnings are logical only if they are applied to the States' Rights Democrats. And it may be that Barkley had this possibility in mind. If the South goes off into a splinter Southern party, which as Senator Barkley said has no hope of obtaining more than a fraction of votes, it will sacrifice its influence in the national Democratic party, which is little enough, without getting a voice in the Republican party as compensation for it.

But even this sacrifice may be more

illusory than real. Southern Senators and Representatives will still call themselves Democrats and the national Democratic party will still need them and welcome them. Its hopes of winning control of the Senate are based upon the idea that Southern Democrats are still Democrats even when hey vote for Thurmond. The Southern bolt is a protest and like most political protests it may be futile. But it can be also a halfway point on the road to the establishment of a real two-party system, an invitation to both parties to move into the South to court the South's votes, held in escrow for this election by the States' Rights party. The only thing that could prevent this development would the politicians' attempt to make the States' Rights party instead a caretaker for the single party system and for the Democratic party—and there is evidence that some of them, too many of them, look upon it as nothing more than this.

Washington Calling

The Advertiser

Future Of The Democratic Party

WASHINGTON.

THE fate of the Democratic Party in the aftermath of the campaign and the election has a great many people guessing. The many-sided split within the party goes so deep that it hardly seems possible that humpty-dumpty can be put together again.

Adv 11-3-48

Determined and ambitious individuals will try to prevent the old, uneasy coalition between the agrarian South and the Northern labor from forming anew. Among them are the powerful men who have financed the Dixiecrat revolt in the South.

They are out to capture the Democratic Party and make it over to suit their own ends. If they have their way, it will become the vehicle of those who use the states rights battle cry in an incessant campaign to curb the powers of the Federal government. In this camp are the representatives of Northern interests that have gone to the South seeking freedom from the social legislation of such advanced states as Massachusetts and New York.

Montgomery, Ala.

At the same time the revolt against the Truman civil-rights program has been widespread and intense. This passionate revolt has given reaction a powerful lever throughout the South.

How the same party can contain Hubert Humphrey, of Minneapolis, who forced the extreme civil-rights plank in the Democratic platform at Philadelphia, and Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, it is hard to see. They are irreconcilable opposites.

The future of the Democratic Party will be determined, in part at least, by what happens within the Republican organization, the Dewey team has its own strictly private plan for reshaping the Grand Party in such a way that four years from now it hardly will recognize itself.

IT WOULD become the party of moderate progressivism, attracting and holding a broad band of support including the moderate segment of organized labor. Outraged remnants of the Tory old guard would then be free to join the States' Rights Party and a new kind of North-South coalition would be formed.

Success along this line would assure the new style Republican Party a long term in power. The opposition would be reduced to ineffectual splinters of reaction on the one hand and an extreme leftism on the other.

But this tidy vision of the future does not take into account the plans and ambitions of a group of men who may have considerable say about how the political parties are to be aligned. William Green, of the A. F. of L. has already said that the convention of his unions in Cincinnati later this month will take up the question of labor in politics and the possibility of a new third party.

A great deal turns on the decision taken by Walter Reuther, of the United Auto Workers. Reuther, who was nearly assassinated some time ago, is the most politically conscious and knowledgeable of the leaders of labor. In his own union he licked the Communists and drove them out of office after a fierce battle.

Reports have persisted that Reuther means to have a principal part in forming a third party that would rest on the strength of organized labor. The UAW has virtually taken over the Democratic Party in Michigan.

THE political role of labor will be determined partly by the showing that organized labor makes—or fails to make—in Tuesday's election. The large industrial cities may show a heavier anti-Dewey vote than had been expected. That is what the political managers for the big trade unions have been counting on—a silent protest vote. The prospect of such a vote encouraged President Truman to take his swipe at the polls that showed Dewey far in the lead in almost all states with industrial centers.

Adv 11-3-48

Should labor unexpectedly deliver a pro-Truman vote that would cut down the Dewey margin, labor leaders would be encouraged to try to take over the Democratic Party in the North. Major elements of both CIO and A. F. of L. could be expected to work together in the Michigan pattern.

This would leave the Dixiecrat splinter in the balance-of-power position. Some who know the South well believe the Dixiecrat movement will be forgotten with this election. They think that inertia and indifference, if nothing else, will overwhelm the revolt. There is also the fact that the Republicans are pledged to a radical civil-rights program and if those pledges are carried out, oposition will center on the old enemy—the GOP.

Humpty-dumpty has had several bad spills in the past and has been patched up again. Perhaps the break this time is not bad as it seems.

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Tell It To Old Grandma

Letters to the editor must carry complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names may be used at the editor's discretion. Letters of less than 200 words are given preference. All letters may be cut.

Adv [illegible]

HOLLOW NAME

EDITOR, The Advertiser: For a long time I have felt that all the country's ills could be solved if the newspaper editors and columnists, and the radio news commentators were allowed to settle them. But since listening to the Henry Wallace convention I realize that I have been wrong. His crowd know all the answers first.

Adv 8-3-48

Wallace is about 10 years ahead of the National Democratic Party. Ten years ago he was just about where the Trumanites are today. People said, 'Wallace is a good man. He is an idealist, a dreamer, a great liberal." Few would have accused him of being a Communist or a Communist sympathizer, but today it is different. Henry Wallace has "progressed." He has progressed just about as far as he can without inviting Joe Stalin to grow a long, white beard and don a striped stovepipe hat.

Where will the National Democratic Party be 10 years from now? By admission, that party launched its present program because its leaders felt such a step was necessary to hold the "independent voters." In other words, those wings and minority groups who, it was feared, would join Henry Wallace's Progressives unless appeasement came their way. Instead of opposing the Wallace Party on principles, the National Democratic Party has tried to compete with it by appeasement and promises. It has tried to out-Wallace Wallace.

Montgomery, Ala.

If there is one bitter lesson the world should have learned ere now, it is that appeasement can be very dangerous. A few years more and the National Democratic Party, at its present pace, will be standing in Shibe Park joining hands with the Wallaceites in their weird snake dances and in their wild-eyed search for Utopia. The gap now between the two is quite narrow, much more so than some of our well-meaning friends would have us believe. If the National Democratic Party is to "progress" its leaders seem to believe it can do so in only one direction—toward the left and toward Henry Wallace. I do not believe we can surrender our right to local self-government, to a centralized government in Washington, which proposes to be godfather to all its people and to chart the course of every sparrow that flies, and keep our liberty at the same time.

There certainly must be a stopping point somewhere this side of state socialism, or of Moscow, which is not far beyond. If I know the road leads over a precipice I am not going to continue on that road indefinitely, (or "progress" as the prosessionals like to call it) simply because my forebears traveled that road for a distance and found it all right.

Adv 8-3-48

For a man to boast of having voted the Democratic ticket, or the Republican ticket all his life is not, within itself, a great honor. The so-called Yellow Dog Democrat (if my party nominates a yellow dog I will vote for him) is nothing more than a rubber stamp. The worshipers of a symbol, an emblem or a name, without regard to principles, are bowing down to false gods.

If I should belong to the Society for Prevention of Forest Fires, to which my forefathers belonged, and with which I had been affiliated all my life; and then if my leaders should suddenly decide that the initials SPFF stood for Society for Promotion of Forest Fires, would it not be wiser for me to undertake to restore the original and rightful meaning to these initials than to follow, through unreasoning loyalty, my crazed leaders, in their foolish, incindiary liberalism? I think it is high time people started voting for a principle rather than for a hollow name for mere sentimental, traditional or selfish reasons.

H. L. SHELBY.

Anniston, Ala.

* * * *

HAUGHTY AND NAUGHTY

Editor The Advertiser:

Very aptly captioned "Homeless" there was a very interesting letter in the "Tell It To Old Grandma" feature of the good old Montgomery Advertiser—last Thursday's edition—written by my former neighbor, Dr. H. C. Fountain, Evergreen, Alabama.

Knowing that he knows the history and policies of the two major parties like he does, and knowing his ability to think logically and realistically, I am noticing with a great deal of regret that his present erroneous thinking has placed him in a real state of complete political homelessness. It is very plain that his letter was correctly captioned.

Adv 8-3-48

My good friend, Dr. Fountain, should certainly know that if enough good citizens were to follow his present way of thinking and vote "Dixiecratic," a party split would follow, weakening the party to such an extent that even filibustering couldn't prevent what we don't want.

Anyone should know that the present independent movement in the South is playing right into the hands of the Republican Party. That is the reason the Republicans are so confident of victory and are acting so haughty and so naughty at the present time.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that this independent movement will terminate as disastrously as the similarly shameful episode of 20 years ago.

It is a pity that the South acts in such a way that it brings occasional shame on itself. And the way the South is acting now, it will bring on itself exactly what it is against and does not want.

Dr. Fountain says, "The national situation concerning our present crisis is far too serious a matter to be divided on."

Now, that being the case, Mr. Editor, I notice with a great deal of regret that my good friend and a few others of our best citizens are doing all they possibly can to bring about a division. Dixiecrats —not Democrats—is a pretty good name for them, but Republicans would be more apppropriate for the simple and undeniable reason they are so greatly aiding the Republican Party.

W. C. BRAXTON

Anniston, Ala.

BIGGEST FOOL THING

Editor, The Advertiser:

I am not a professional politician (thank God for that) for they are an abomination to the world. I do like politics, and have voted the Democratic ticket ever since the days of Samuel Tilden. I think the Alabama delegates walking out is about the biggest fool thing any sensible man could devise.

Montgomery Advertiser

They need not vote for Truman, or for anybody for that matter, but they should be present in convention, in case some other go[illegible] our liking [illegible]oposed.

I heartily commend Sparks, Carmichael, Hill and Dobbins for their stand against the walking-out matter.

Selma, Ala. C. C. GRAYSON.

TRUMAN WOOS LIBERALS BUT WARS ON DIXIECRATS

The Times

Sun 9-26-48

President Is Expanding His Strategy, Which First Seemed Based Merely On Attacking the GOP

New York, N.Y.

TRIES TO REBUILD FDR'S PARTY

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25—Thus far the clamor of the Presidential campaign is a distant echo to Washington, where the largest group in the nation that will be personally affected by its outcome is concentrated.

The minds of the policy-makers and their chief assistants, especially in the National Military Establishment and the Department of State, are riveted on Paris and Moscow, tensely awaiting any clue to Soviet action that may defer, dissipate or increase the threat of war. The rank-and-file of government servants, most of them remembering they are protected by civil service tenure and by Republicans as well as Democrats in Congress, are reading with interest but considerable detachment the promises of the Republican national candidates that they will "streamline" the Federal system in the interest of economy and efficiency.

These promises have been heard in many campaigns, not only from the challengers of the White House incumbent but from Presidents themselves, and nothing much has come of it.

Sun 9-26-48

When the commission headed by former President Herbert Hoover makes its report on this subject to Congress after the election, the attitude of those protected in expendable jobs by Congressional friends may change from the present easy assurance to one of anxiety. But campaign promises will not do that; hence a large segment of the population of the capital, because it has often heard the charges and countercharges on domestic issues which the candidates are exchanging, is paying less attention to them than is probably true of citizens elsewhere.

The political community of Washington is scattered just now by the campaign and the absence of Congress, and therefore the effect of this group on the thought and conversation of the capital is temporarily absent too. But there are numerous persons here who are in office because of their political connections, who are politically-minded and who will return to private life if Gov. Thomas E. Dewey succeeds President Truman. They are carefully noting campaign developments.

Mr. Truman's Change

To these it is clear that in the current week Mr. Truman has expanded his strategy, which until then was pivoted on attacking the Republican party as the vassal of a selfish moneyed interest, basing this attack on the record of the Eightieth Congress which has a Republican majority. He has expanded it by an effort to bring back to the Democratic party two groups which were parts of it throughout the Administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt and helped to make it the popular majority. These groups are the so-called "liberals" on the far Left who are supporting the party of Henry A. Wallace, and the mass of traditionally Democratic Southerners.

To attract those left-wing supporters of Mr. Wallace who are not Communists, Mr. Truman has used the argument of guilt by association. Accepting the overwhelming evidence that Communists "are guiding and using the third party," the President told Mr. Wallace's non-Communist supporters, whom he granted the full title of "liberals," that they are associating themselves with illiberal forces which do not believe in any American ideals. He urged them to return to the party banner under which he is seeking a four-year term in the White House. Since on this strategy depends whatever hope he has of carrying New York and California, the tactic is obvious.

Sun 9-26-48

Party Insurgency

The decision to make an open fight against party insurgency in the South was forced by the failure of a policy of conciliation. Even if the President can bring back the left-wingers in the Progressive party the prospect of Nov. 2 is that the loss of as many as 30 electoral votes in the states of the former Confederacy would defeat him or throw the Presidential election into the House, where he could not hope to be chosen. He and his political managers hoped until recently that, when the time to vote arrived, a majority of the Democratic voters in the South would return to the national party standard wherever it appeared on the ballot. Hence for a period they sought to placate the insurgent state organizations and simply make certain that ballots in the South would include the names of electoral slates pledged to Mr. Truman and Senator Barkley. At the worst, they said, they might lose Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina to the States' Rights ticket—28 electoral votes—but no Southern states would give its electors to the Republicans.

Sun 9-26-48

Total War in South

But then came the bitter disturbances among the Democrats of Texas, and the extreme action of the Louisiana machine in denying to Truman-Barkley electoral candidates any place at all on the ballot, assigning the regular Democratic place and emblem to the States' Rights nominees, Govs. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding Wright of Mississippi. That was total war, not revolt. And it was accompanied by indications that Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida, where the state Democratic machines are maintaining technical regularity, may go for Mr. Dewey.

The President and his political managers then decided to cast away the soft soap of conciliation and carry the national party purge into the South with the dreaded battle-cry of "bolter." They drove hard in Texas to nominate for the Senate a stanch New Deal Representative in Congress, Lyndon Johnson, over former Governor Coke Stevenson, though both aspirants oppose with equal vehemence the "civil-rights" program. Mr. Johnson's razor-edge victory, by 87 votes, cannot be confirmed until the Senate itself settles the contest, but for the moment the pro-Truman faction scored. And by getting narrow control of the Texas state committee and the party convention the national Democracy was able to oust all non-Truman delegates, including those from the largest county, Harris, which includes the city of Houston. The Texas Democrats accordingly are split deeper and more bitterly than they were in 1928, with the consequence that Governor Thurmond or even Governor Dewey may carry the state. But the national party was forced to risk that.

Louisiana Incident

Sun 9-26-48

The same aggressive tactics were reluctantly decided on in Louisiana. Not only did Senator J. Howard McGrath, the national chairman, demand that the Legislature admit a Truman-Barkley slate to the ballot; he said it must occupy the traditional place of the national Democracy under the traditional emblem. Despite this statement, the Legislature in special session denied the second part of Mr. McGrath's demand.

That increases the compulsion on Mr. Truman and his managers to wage open warfare against the Democratic leaders in enough Southern states to decide the President's fate, even though he should recapture the left-wing "liberals" and retain Mr. Roosevelt's percentage of the votes of labor and the Northern Negroes.

BARKLEY APPEALS FOR SOUTH'S VOTES

The Times

Sun 10-17-48

He Says in New Orleans Only Hope for Area's Progress Lies With Democrats

New York, N.Y.

NEW ORLEANS, Oct. 16 (AP)—Senator Alben W. Barkley flew into the deep South today with a bid to rebelling Southern Democrats to re-establish their "friendship and partnership" with the Democratic party.

It was the second foray into Dixie by the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate, who flew more than 700 miles from Kansas City in his role as party peacemaker. Earlier this month he made a peace proffer to North Carolina Democrats.

Mr. Barkley was met at Moisant International Airport by a reception committee consisting of Senator W. C. Feazel, Democrat, of Louisiana. It was the coolest reception he has received since the beginning of his campaign tour on Oct. 1.

In a speech prepared for delivery tonight Mr. Barkley did not mention the civil rights fight which has torn the Democratic party asunder. Neither did he refer to unsuccessful efforts of Louisianans to keep off the ballot his own name and that of President Truman.

He also ignored the Presidential candidacy of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, representing the States' Rights Democrats.

Sun 10-17-48

However, he reminded his audience that Southern Democrats would still their own voice in Government if they voted for anyone except President Truman.

"A vote for any other ticket than the regular Democratic ticket," he said, " is in effect a vote for the Republican party. A vote for a minor party diversionary political group would not only be futile and hopeless but endangers the whole economic and political future of the South."

The fortunes of the South, Mr. Barkley said, both economically and politically, have been tied closely with those of the Democratic party. From the Republican party, he declared, the South has never received anything and cannot hope to receive anything.

"The Democratic party has a great tradition of friendship and partnership with the people of the South," he asserted. "The South, since the War Between the States, has prospered only when the Democratic party was in power."

In The Nation

The Times

Whatever Became of the "Civil Rights" Message?

Sun 10-19-48

By ARTHUR KROCK

New York, N.Y.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 18—As the President heads from Miami into North Carolina, one of the former Confederate states in which his so-called civil rights message to Congress on Feb. 2, 1948, aroused strong opposition in the local Democratic party, the question recurs whether he will make any mention of the positive federal program he proposed on that date. Though that message caused a violent sectional split among the Democrats in Congress and at the National Convention which nominated Mr. Truman, and though its affirmative political result was the emergence of the Democratic States' Rights party, which is held certain to gain electoral votes that normally would go to the party nominee, the President has avoided the issue in his campaign speeches.

He toured Texas, another Southern state where the party was badly split by his message, but did not mention it there, directly or indirectly. In view of the fact that he proposed the federal program of enforcement to Congress as a deliberate stroke of major policy, his campaign silence suggests either that he did not expect the serious political consequences that ensued or believes they may be overcome or diminished if he talks about other matters until Nov. 2.

But if Mr. Truman decided to wait to demonstrate the sincerity of his proposals until he spoke in a former Confederate state where, despite them, the regular Democratic organization has stood most firmly behind him, North Carolina is the place. Political tests there indicate that the States' Rights party has made nothing like the headway it has in South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Virginia; also that North Carolina Democrats are not going to stay at home or vote Republican to the degree they are in Florida, Texas and Tennessee. The auguries may be incorrect for North Carolina, but, except for Arkansas and Georgia, it looks like the Southern state Mr. Truman is most likely to carry.

Yet, because of the Administration's effort at the national convention to keep out of the platform a plank specifically endorsing the message of Feb. 2 and the President's "courage" in delivering it, and because of Mr. Truman's long and studied campaign silence on the subject, politicians of all sorts will be surprised if he strongly backs up his "civil rights" federal program in North Carolina. For, in plain language, Mr. Truman urged Congress to make the Federal Government an effective enforcement agency of the following laws which he asked it to pass: Tues May 18-1948

A federal anti-lynching statute, violators within any state to be apprehended and punished by the central government. A statute banning the state poll-tax as a voting prerequisite in federal elections. A national fair employment practices law setting up a federal commission "with authority to prevent discrimination" by employers on the bases of race, color, religion or national origin. A statute, to be enforced by federal officers, preventing states from instituting "Jim Crow" segregation in any vehicle on an interstate journey that enters their borders. The establishment of a permanent federal commission, a joint Congressional committee and a new division in the Department of Justice to compel obedience to these measures by the states.

For numerous reasons, some good and some bad, this program aroused bitter resentment in the South, so much so that Mr. Truman is believed certain to lose enough electoral votes in that section to assure his defeat, even if he were to carry some of the Republican states in the Midwest and the West where he is given a fighting chance. While it is true that Franklin D. Roosevelt could have won any of his four Presidential contests without a single Southern elector, that has not been the happy situation in which any other Democratic Presidential nominee has found himself since the rise of the Republican party. None other could have spared as many as two Southern states. When the Republicans are united, as at present, and the odds favor them in the populous states of the Northeast and the Midwest, the loss to the national Democratic nominee of a single large Southern state could defeat him. [illegible]

After the Administration began to realize the seriousness of the Southern Democratic uprising against Mr. Truman it sought to allay this by a drastic compromise in the national platform. The plank offered by the President's supporters spoke of "Congress" as the agency for greater protections of "civil rights," and that of course meant new federal laws. But the specific items were omitted, the message of Feb. 3 was glossed over, and Mr. Truman was not lauded as the champion of these liberties through federal enforcement. The Americans for Democratic Action refused to join the Administration's retreat and forced into the platform a plank that put the national party and its nominees on record for the message in detail. However, Mr. Truman, who was celebrated by name in this text, has left the position to the platform.

But some politicians, while they do not expect him to alter this course in North Carolina, think he may do so in New York or some other Northern state before election day. They reason that he will come to the reluctant opinion he cannot recapture his Southern electors by any strategy and conclude that a firm reiteration of his "civil rights" program will give him his only chance to reverse the unfavorable conditions reported in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and California.

By Nov. 2 they will know whether their speculation is soundly based.

The Question For Workers

News Birmingham Ala

To the Editor of The News:

The most important question facing American working men and women on Labor Day of 1948 is this: For whom shall I vote for president in November? For the people of Alabama it is an especially perplexing question, because the men who have control of our state Democratic Party machinery are not Democrats. They are back-door Republicans. And our Democratic electors are refusing to support the nominees of the national Democratic ticket.

Alabama's 11 Democratic electors have pledged themselves to vote for Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for president.

Thurmond was "nominated" at a Dixiecrat "convention" in Birmingham in July. The people elected no delegates to this "convention." They had nothing to do with calling it or staging it. What was notable about it was the fact that among those in prominence were Texas oilmen, Southern lawyers who represent big Northern corporations and the odious Gerald L. K. Smith, a notorious rabble-rouser.

But the nominee of this "convention" is the candidate our electors have pledged themselves to support! 8-6-48

The position our 11 electors have taken can do nothing but help place Dewey in the White House and continue the Republican control of Congress. Yet they refuse to support President Truman and proclaim they will vote for Thurmond! Birmingham, Ala.

There is little doubt in the minds of thinking people in Alabama that the back-door Republicans who control our state Democratic Party machinery want just that—a Republican administration!

We of organized labor in Alabama are convinced that the so-called "leaders" of our state Democratic Party—Gessner McCorvey, ex-Gov. Frank Dixon, Horace Wilkinson, Hugh Locke and their ilk—are knowingly aiding and abetting the Republican attempts to win the presidency this year. News Sept. 6-48

These men were never in sympathy with Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. They have never been for the social measures Roosevelt pushed through Congress to benefit the mass of America's citizens. In their attitude toward Roosevelt and the New Deal and its accomplishments in behalf of the people they have been more Republicans than they have ever been Democrats.

Why? These men—these political "leaders" in Alabama—have always been identified with the money interests of the state, more particularly with the interests controlled by absentee owners—by the huge corporations of the North that operate in Alabama.

These men are corporation lawyers. McCorvey, Dixon, Wilkinson and Locke aren't fighting civil rights, although that is what they tell you and me. That, they say, in the crux of their whole opposition to President Truman. But they know the Republicans are committed to a civil rights program the same as the Democrats, although the GOP was less honest about it this year.

What McCorvey, Dixon and their ilk are doing is serving the corporations for whom they work. Big Business controls the Republican Party, and the corporations that control Big Business want another Republican administration, for reasons that are obvious to everyone. Thus these men—the "leaders" in our state Democratic Party—are not serving you and me, the voters of Alabama, in their rabble-rousing tiarades against President Truman. They are serving the corporations which employ them. They are using civil rights as a smoke screen to confuse the voters and lead them into unconsciously helping to elect a Republican president.

Unless it is possible to force our 11 electors to support the Truman-Barkley ticket as Democratic electors named in a Democratic primary to support the nominees of the party, or else force them to resign and be replaced with electors who will support the party, the McCorvey-Dixon crowd will have accomplished their aims—to keep Alabama's votes from the Democratic Party nominees.

Will the voters of Alabama let McCorvey, Dixon, Wilkinson and Locke succeed in obscuring the real issue in this campaign? There is only one issue and it is this: Whether we are to have a continuation of the Democratic administration which has brought so many blessings to the average citizen and to the South, or whether we are to usher in the Republicans again and suffer the consequences.

We of organized labor in Alabama cannot afford to be fooled by the McCorvey-Dixon-Wilkinson-Locke gang of back-door Republicans!

CAREY E. HAIGLER,
President, Alabama State Industrial Union Council.

The Ayes Of Texas

States' Rights faction of the Democratic Party was defeated in its attempt in Texas to wrest control of the party machinery from those who wish to remain loyal to the national party. That is the one clear result of the party convention in Fort Worth in which there was instituted a general house-cleaning of all who showed sympathy for the Thurmond-Wright revolt movement.

The final issue is not yet settled, however, for the States' Rights Democrats are expected to put up an "independent" slate of presidential electors, which they are able to do even this late under the election laws of Texas. Not until Nov. 2, therefore, will it be known which group gets the state's bloc of 23 electoral votes, the largest, by far, in the South, and the sixth largest in the nation. The News

* * *

In Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana, the States' Rights faction has been able, sometimes by questionable tactics, to get command of the Democratic Party machinery. It would have been a big plum if it could have done the same in Texas. For the party machinery is a decided asset. It has favors to bestow. It has the color of regularity and loyalty. It has the inside track. Birmingham Ala

Perhaps the greatest significance of the Texas result lies in the clear evidence that the States' Rights group does not have the support of all the South. It cannot successfully claim to be the champion of all the South. It cannot be regarded as the voice of a united Dixie. It represents only itself, and that is only a part of the South. Thurs. 9-16-48

* * *

More clearly it is to be seen, now, that there are other loyal Southern Democrats who do not believe that the way toward improvement of the South's political position lies through division and rebellion. There are earnest and sincere and conscientious Southern Democrats who will follow the Thurmond-Wright line. The question is not one of adherence or opposition to Southern principles. There is general agreement on that. The Texas Democratic Party cannot be attacked as accepting the Truman civil rights proposals or as opposing segregation. It is simply holding firm in the belief that the South should fight its battles within the national Democratic Party. 9-16-48

34d 1948

Democratic

What Next For Democrats?

The Times

(Editor's note: Mr. Childs' article was written before the results of the election were known.)

WASHINGTON—The fate of the Democratic Party in the aftermath of the campaign and the election has a great many people guessing. The many-sided split within the party goes so deep that it hardly seems possible that Humpty-Dumpty can be put together again.

Determined and ambitious individuals will try to prevent the old, uneasy coalition between the agrarian South and Northern Labor from forming anew. Among them are the powerful men who have financed the Dixiecrat revolt in the South.

Wed 11-3-48

They are out to capture the Democratic Party and make it over to suit their own ends. If they have their way, it will become the vehicle of those who use the States' Rights battle cry in an incessant campaign to curb the powers of the federal government. In this camp are the representatives of Northern interests that have gone to the South seeking freedom from the social legislation of such advanced states as Massachusetts and New York.

At the same time the revolt against the Truman civil rights program has been widespread and intense. This passionate revolt has given reaction a powerful lever throughout the South.

How the same party can contain Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis, who forced the extreme civil rights plank in the Democratic platfrom at Philadelphia, and Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, it is hard to see. They are irreconcilable opposites.

B'ham Ala

The Republican Plan

THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY will be determined, in part at least, by what happens within the Republican organization. The Dewey team has its own strictly private plane for reshaping the Grand Party in such a way that four years from now it hardly will recognize itself.

It would become the party of moderate progressivism, attracting and holding a broad band of support including the moderate segment of organized labor. Outraged remnants of the Tory Old Guard would then be free to join the States' Rights Party and a new kind of North-South Coalition would be formed.

Success along this line would assure the new style Republican Party a long term in power. The opposition would be reduced to ineffectual splinters of reaction on the one hand and an extreme leftism on the other.

But this tidy vision of the future does not take into account the plans and ambitions of a group of men who may have considerable say about how the political parties are to be aligned. William Green of the AFL has already said that the convention of his unions in Cincinnati later this month will take up the question of labor in politics and the possibility of a new third party.

A great deal turns on the decision taken by Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers. Reuther, who was nearly assassinated some time ago, is the most politically conscious and knowledgeable of the leaders of labor. In his own union he licked the Communists and drove them out of office after a fierce battle.

Reports have persisted that Reuther means to have a principal part in forming a third party that would rest on the strength of organized labor. The UAW has virtually taken over the Democratic Party in Michigan.

Wed 11-3-48

The Role Of Labor

THE POLITICAL ROLE OF LABOR will be determined partly by the showing that organized or makes—or fails to make—in Tuesday's election. The large industrial cities may show a heavier anti-Dewey vote than had been expected. That is what the political managers for the big trade unions have been counting on—a silent protest vote. The prospect of such a vote encouraged President Truman to take his swipe at the polls that showed Dewey far in the lead in almost all states with industrial centers.

Should labor unexpectedly deliver a pro-Truman vote that would cut down the Dewey margin, labor leaders would be encouraged to try to take over the Democratic Party in the North. Major elements of both CIO and AFL could be expected to work together in the Michigan pattern.

This would leave the Dixicrat splinter in the South with the Dixiecrat bosses hoping to function in the balance-of-power position. Some who know the South well believe the Dixiecrat movement will be forgotten with this election. They think that inertia and indifference, if nothing else, will overwhelm the revolt. There is also the fact that the Republicans are pledged to a radical civil rights program and if those pledges are carried out, opposition will center on the old enemy—the GOP.

Humpty-Dumpty has had several bad spills in the past and has been patched up again. Perhaps the break this time is not bad as it seems.

Speaking Out

The Defender

By ROBERT I

THE VOICE OF THE NEGRO WOMAN

MRS. Lucille Douglas, speaking at the founding Conference of the Alabama Democratic Association in Birmingham said:

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"Mrs Chairman, delegates and Friends of the Alabama Progressive Democratic Meeting:

"It is a source of very great pleasure to extend to you a most hearty welcome to the City of Birmingham. I need not linger to remind you of the significant place which Birmingham holds in the present political crisis of the nation, and the ever mounting confusion in the South, as incubator of the Dixiecrat movement. Today, we bestow upon Birmingham another honor, one which will do it credit. The call has been issued, you have responded, our meeting has been planned and today we erect a monument dedicated to our posterity. Your very presence here today is an indication that you have decided to live for something; to build well in this state organization of Negro Democrats and leave behind you a monument of virtue that the storm of time can never destroy. Today we write our names in kindness, love and march on the hearts of thousands the world over; and our monument will never be forgotten. Our names, our deeds, will be legible on the hearts of our posterity as the stars on the brew of the evening.

Sat 10-2-48

Chicago Ill.

"Today, the nation as a whole is confused as to what course to take to insure justice and to make the American way of life a reality for all people. The actions of the Dixiecrats darken the horizon of our nation and seriously threaten the security of all minority groups.

In the light of these facts, I deem it a privilege to welcome you, because you have come to being in a movement to awaken the Negro to political action. You are endeavoring to make possible by unity of action participation in the making and administration of the laws of our state and land. I trust that you have come imbued with the spirit which prompted Winston Churchill in effect to say in England's darkest hour, 'We will fight in the streets, in the hills, on the plains and on the seas, and we will not surrender.'

Sat 10-2-48

"I welcome you, fellow citizen, because I'm convinced that you can do the job that is to be done, in such a way that you will usher in what historians will refer to as a New Day in the realm of Negro politics. The movement which we are about to begin here today offers the voter and non voter a chance to join hands in a type of folk politics. Those who are unjustly denied the use of the ballot here in Alabama can make their contribution in a financial way; for we are more determined than ever that President Truman will not suffer embarrassment and defeat for the lack of funds. The Negroes not only of Alabama, but of the nation have pledged themselves to replace dollar for dollar every one lost by the national Democratic Party, through the Dixiecrat movement. Again, I welcome you because I'm convinced as a woman, that the Negro women and children of the state of Alabama can depend upon you to see to it that they enjoy the freedom of speech, the freedom of religion, the freedom of peaceful assembly, the freedom from want and fear and the freedom of the ballot. You cannot and must not fail us, good men; for if you do then surely, we will know that the task is ours and we will set about to accomplish it.

"However, we the women, recognize this as an age of equality and we believe that the job can best be done with both sexes working together. We will gladly share our part of the responsibility if you will share yours.

"In a sense, the people of the world are looking to us for leadership. We are the only people in the world who do not have our brothers blood required at our hands. Yes, we have a rendezvous with destiny and we must keep it. Friends, the battle ahead is not an easy one, but with God on our side it is a possible one. Just here I would like to style us on **Onward Christian Soldier,** marching as to war, with the cross of Jesus going on before. We are not devided. All one body, we are one in hope and doctrine. One in charity.

Sat 10-2-48

"Finally, those who seek to disfranchise the Negro and bar us from our civil or constitution-al rights we brand as killers; for when Negro children are denied sufficient milk and daily bread they become emaciated mentally and physically. As a result they do not live a normal life span. This tends to undermine our race and as a result, we are made the targets of unjust criticism.

"What the Negro wants in the post war world is simple and obvious. Our hopes may be summed up in a single phrase—full **equality** and the **examination** of Jim Crow. In this Negroes are united as never before. The attainment of this goal is more than mere hope. It is now the grim determination of all elements within our race. For fear someone may misinterpret the word equality, allow me to explain. Our hopes for equality are simply these; we are entitled to and must have every right, privilege, and opportunity for the develoment of individual personality, the attainment of a fair and adequate share of the world's goods, and the enjoyment of life. We must have the right to work. In the field of politics we must demand the unrestricted exercise of those political rights guaranteed to every American by the Constitution; the right to participate freely in the selection of local, state and federal officials. Denial of these political rights imposes a status of second-class citizenship upon us which we must no longer be willing to accept.

"Then, we want civil equality; for every citizen has the right to expect protection of the law and even-handed justice in the courts of the nation.

"Ultimately, we want and must have equal educational opportunity so that our children can compete favorably with others the world over.

"Fellow Americans, I welcome you to join in the fight for the above mentioned rights and never cease fighting until complete victory is won."

Researcher Credits Progressive Demos With S. C. Voters

COLUMBIA, S. C., (SNS) — The Progressive Democrats, organized in 1944 to aid entrance of Negroes into the Democratic party, are credited in a recently issued booklet with having produced 50,000 registered Negro voters in South Carolina since 1944.

The accreditation is made in the June-July edition of NEW SOUTH monthly publication of the Southern Regional Council and was made by Dr. Luther P. Jackson, professor of History at Virginia State College, who last year conducted a study into voting in the South. His compilation is titled: "Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940."

Indicating that the state had less than 2,000 registered voters in 1940, Dr. Jackson says the present 50,000 represent thirteen per cent of the state's adult Negro population. He writes:

"The great increase in South Carolina is due almost entirely to the formation of the Progressive Democratic Party by a small group of courageous Negroes in opposition to the white Democratic party at the time when the latter group ruled that Negroes could not vote in their primary." He singles out John H. McCray, chairman since its organization and Oseceola E. McKaine, also one of the founders and the party's 1944 U. S. Senatorial candidate for special mention.

The study covers the South, giving attention to such items as registration, the poll tax, the primary and trends in southern politics.

HUNTSVILLE TIMES GOES G.O.P.

After 40 years, The Huntsville Times, one of Alabama's better dailies, has gone Republican.

"So as for us," The Times said Sunday, "it's Dewey and Warren on Nov. 2."

The Huntsville paper is the third Alabama paper espousing the Dewey-Warren ticket. The Dothan Eagle made a spirited bolt from the Democratic Party soon after the G.O.P. convention and The Brewton Standard, a weekly, was next.

The bolts of all three papers were occasioned by the Civil Disturbance program, but our accumulative impression from the reading of their respective editorials is that they find better reason for going Republican this year than the civil rights issue.

None of the three is unfriendly to the fourth party effort of Thurmond-Wright, but regard going Republican the only way of waging a shooting war.

The Times editorial sets forth in part:

The great, overriding issue of the presidential campaign, now reaching its climax, is, in our opinion, the foreign policy of the United States during the next four years.

Upon whether we have a firm, consistent, vigorous policy toward Russia and the satellite states allied with her in their challenging effort to communize and enslave the world, depends whether we shall have peace or war.

If, despite all, war does come in the final showdown, then we must have an administration that can not only command the unity of the American people, but also provide aggressive leadership for the non-Communist nations of the world.

Upon this basis, and for this reason, principally, The Times will support the candidacy of the Republican ticket, Governor Dewey and Governor Warren, on Nov. 2.

It is distasteful to leave the Democratic party on this occasion, for it, and its candidates, have received our votes, and our support, for almost 40 years. . . .

What do the parties and their candidates offer the voters on this score?

From President Truman, we can look forward only to further bungling and butchering of government policy. The past week, we have seen a conspicuous instance. While Secretary Marshall and the American delegation were grappling with the Berlin and atomic bomb crises at Paris, the bright idea suddenly popped into his head that he should go over Mr. Marshall's head, and send Chief Justice Vinson to Moscow to talk to Premier Stalin, in order to explain how the American people feel about the atomic bomb. Such an ill-advised action, our allies, the British, feel would have all but torpedoed the United Nations.

It's not hard to recall that Mr. Truman almost dealt the same blow to Secretary of State Byrnes a year or two ago. He gave his okay to a speech in Madison Square Garden by Henry Wallace that caused a furor. In order to prevent Byrnes' resignation at a critical time of negotiations, Mr. Truman was compelled to ask Wallace's resignation.

The President is ,unfortunately, a man who has a peculiar faculty for opening his mouth and sticking his foot in it, at critical times, especially on matters of foreign policy.

Governor Thurmond, the States Rights candidate, is running without any mention of a foreign policy. He seems to be unaware that there is any issue on this vital matter. His only concern is Federal encroachment upon the rights of the individual states.

As for Mr. Wallace, it is difficult to see how any American, who is not a Communist, can tolerate him. He's outside the pale. He's swallowed Stalin's program, body and breeches. . . .

His (Dewey) administration as governor of New York for three terms has been vigorous and progressive. He has built upon the policies and programs of the three progressive Democratic governors who preceded him — Al Smith, Franklin Roosevelt and Herbert Lehman. He has made a fine record as a strong administrator. . . .

The nation needs unity, invigorating leadership. There is no hope to get this from the President; Governor Thurmond has no chance to provide it, for he is the leader of only a small segment of the once great Democratic party.

Our sole opportunity for a fresh start is from Governor Dewey and Governor Warren.

They have the strength, and the will, we believe, to wrest control from the reactionary Republicans in both House and Senate, and to provide a unified, cohesive national effort to meet the grave domestic and international problems that now beset us, and that will continue through the next four years.

So, as for us, it's Dewey and Warren on Nov. 2.

The Times, unlike The Eagle, which sometime ago developed a nauseated surfeit of the Roosevelt Administrations, is solicitious about the degree of progressiveness of the incoming Republican Administration.

It is apprehensive over the possibility of control by the Martin-Halleck-Taber element, believing them to be reactionary. Possibly the key to this attitude is the Tennessee Valley's intense preoccupation with the fortunes of TVA. TVA is lifeblood to the Tennessee Valley. The Authority provides yardsticks for measuring politicians as well as electricity rates, which, to illustrate, is one reason why Senator Lister Hill is powerful upstate.

We have no doubt that the Dewey Administration is going to be much too progressive for an important element of the G.O.P. Certainly the records of Dewey and Warren suggest that. In 1944 Dewey ran on a militant New Deal platform. Warren, as governor of California, has been very advanced in views and performance.

New Citizens Democratic Club Formed

world Atlanta Ga.

34d

Tue. 6-29-48

Organizational work is being stepped-up among Georgia's Negro Democrats as party-workers eyed the September 8 primary date. New Citizens Democratic Clubs have been formed in Washington, Sylvania and Louisville, Georgia.

Tue. 6-29-48

The officers of the Washington, Wilkes County, Democratic Club are Rev. W. V. Joyner, president; F. C. Jenkins, vice president; Ed Danner, secretary; Rev. J. H. Geer treasurer; Rev. Wharten, chairman of the executive committee and T. A. McLendon, County Director of Washington-Wilkes County.

At Sylvania, Ga., officers of the Democratic Club are J. Spencer, president; George Bryant, vice president; Memisy Robertson, secretary and Mrs. Florence Robertson, assistant secretary. N.Y. N.Y.

Mr. W. B. Foley is president of the Louisville, Ga., Jefferson County Democratic Club.

A Political Quiz for Young and Old

34d

New York Times

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, July 5—Through the wondrous facilities of modern science this correspondent is able to report a conversation today between a distinguished political observer and his son, an undergraduate in a quieter college than Columbia is just now. Only the captious and the congenitally unkind will attempt to detract from the wisdom and authority with which the elder spoke by pointing out that, in common with so many political experts, he is usually a bad forecaster.

It is true that he said Senator Vandenberg would be drafted by the Republican National Convention, after a deadlock, to run for President this year; that Governor Warren would hold inexorably to his repeated refusal to run for Vice President; and that nothing in the plight of the Democrats and the New Dealers would cause General Eisenhower to lend himself to their dire political necessities—the only prediction that has stood the test of time. But, as the following conversation discloses, this political observer still rates as a sage in his own family circle: Thu. 7-6-48

"Father, do the Southern Democrats who came out for Eisenhower against Truman know how he stands on the issue that has aroused them—federal laws against civil and military segregation of Negroes, lynching, poll-taxes, etc?"

"No."

"Do the New Dealers—Leon Henderson, the Roosevelt boys, Bowles and company—know whether he is to the right or left of Truman on their own political philosophy?"

"No."

"Do the big city bosses like Jake Arvey in Chicago know whether he would ever let them inside the White House?"

"No."

"Have any of them any real information that he would run on the Democratic ticket if they could get him nominated?"

"No."

"Then what's the shooting about?"

A Mixture of Motives

"They all are sure the Democrats will be badly licked with Truman as the nominee. The Southerners and the big city bosses fear the licking will be so bad they will lose control of their organizations to a combination of Wallace and the New Dealers, who for the moment are fighting him. The Henderson-Bowles-young Roosevelt outfit are after future party control. The only way they see to attain this is to eliminate Truman with Eisenhower at the convention. Then, if he rejected it, and they have no assurance he wouldn't, they think they could nominate Justice Douglas."

"Are they sure they could win with Douglas?"

"No, but they are sure they could take over the Democratic party, whether he wins or loses, and probably get Wallace to withdraw and join them."

"How would the Southerners and the big city bosses feel about that?"

"Just terrible. Yet by plugging Eisenhower against Truman they are asking for this unhappy ending unless they are sure Eisenhower could be drafted, which they certainly are not."

"It looks too subtle to work unless Eisenhower can find those 'obvious and overriding reasons' which he said in his letter to the New Hampshire editor, Finder, alone would justify a professional soldier like himself in 'seeking high public office.' Were these reasons supplied by the nomination of Dewey and Warren on the Republican ticket?" 7-6-48

"I'd hate to have to write the piece for Eisenhower that said they were."

What Is "Obvious"

"From what you say, all groups of Democrats are in a hell of a fix, and that sure is 'obvious.'"

"Check."

"It's 'obvious' that the general could get the Democratic nomination if he went after it, and obviously he might be elected. Are those the kind of reasons he meant?"

"Not as I read his letter and estimate his character."

"Would the prospect of John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State and Senator Vandenberg as spokesman of the Congress majority on foreign policy strike him as an 'overriding' reason why he should accept nomination from the Democrats?"

"I'd hate to be assigned to write the piece for him that said it was."

"Then why does Eisenhower let all these Democrats come to see him and give out predictions that he can be drafted by their party?"

"Partly, I think, because he is good-natured; partly because he hopes the people rely on what he wrote to Finder (who seems to think his name is changed to keeper); and partly because he enjoys the spectacle of this mercenary wooing by politicians who love only themselves."

"Back to that civil rights program of Truman's. He hasn't mentioned it since he sent that message to Congress. What does that mean?"

"I think it means he wrote that message just for the record. By environment he is much less for it than Dewey, and perhaps Eisenhower, whom the Southerners are demanding."

"So this is politics, Father."

"Yes, son, this is it."

Democrats Hint Of Compromise On Civil Rights

34d

Courier-Journal

Sat. 7-3-48

South Would Accept '44 Platform Plank

By C. P. TRUSSELL.

Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal.

Washington, July 2.—Progress toward a possible compromise on a civil-rights plank in the 1948 Democratic platform was reported in responsible quarters of the Northern and Southern wings of the party today.

Highly placed supporters of President Truman, at whom the Southern Democratic revolt is aimed because of his sweeping civil-rights program, indicated that one, and perhaps two, of the Southerners' demands would be met.

As to the first demand, it was said that a civil-rights plank as generalized as was the plank in the 1944 Democratic platform probably would be "acceptable" to the platfor mwriters who will start hearings in Philadelphia next Wednesday.

Voting Rights Urged.

This plank declared for racial and religious minorities the right to live, develop, and vote equally with all citizens, and share the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. It called on Congress to exert "full constitutional powers" to protect such rights.

The Republican National Convention approved a civil-rights plank which went on record for antipoll tax and antilynching legislation, opposed racial segregation in the armed forces, and declared that the right to equal opportunity to work and to advance in life should never be limited in any individual because of race, religion, color, or country of origin.

The plank called for enactment and enforcement of federal legislation "to maintain this right . . . in every part of this Republic."

2d Plank Discussed.

7-3-48

A second ground for possible compromise concerned a "States'-rights" plank. Southern Democrats, through years of successful Congressional fighting on civil rights or racial issues, have contended that such programs intruded on the sovereign rights and traditions of individual States.

It was predicted in Administration quarters today that a States'-rights plank well might be inserted into the 1948 Democratic platform, but on one condition. This condition was that it not be tied directly to the proposed civil-rights plank.

A combination of civil rights and States' rights, it was suggested, might amount to the same thing as writing something on a blackboard and then quickly rubbing it out.

Might Be Hooked On.

It was suggested in quarters seeking the compromise that a States'-right plank might be hooked to a phrase of the platform with which Southern Democrats "wanted to co-operate."

A plank dealing with federal financial aid to States in educational, public-health, or agricultural fields was proposed as a medium.

In such a case, it was contended, a States'-rights plank could be interpreted as applying to all the platform, but not as a deliberate and immediate neutralizer of the pledge on civil rights.

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50 TOP DEMOCRATS BACK RIGHTS PLANK

New York Times

They Meet in Minneapolis and Issue Statement—Some Are Eisenhower Backers

Mon. 7-5-48

MINNEAPOLIS, July 4—Fifty leaders of the Democratic party, including a number who recently have become actively identified with the "Draft-Eisenhower" movement within that party, announced here today that they intend to press for the inclusion of President Truman's civil rights program in the party's 1948 platform.

34d

The declaration was distributed by Mayor Hubert Humphrey of this city, and others who participated in its drafting and circulation were James Roosevelt and Jack Arvey, Democratic leader of Cook County (Chicago); all active in the Eisenhower movement. However, the list also included a number of others, such as Herbert H. Lehman, Edward J. Flynn, William Green, Paul E. Fitzpatrick, James E. Murray of Montana and Emma Guffey Miller of Pennsylvania, who have not taken sides relative to the Stop-Truman drive. 7-5-48

The statement issued by the group follows:

"The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights is one of the most important measures of moral strategy devised by the United States of America in modern times.

"Although its recommendations do credit to all sections of American life represented on the non-partisan committee, its sponsorship will remain a landmark in the history of this Democratic Administration.

"As an examination of America's political conscience, it dramatizes the internal vitality of our democracy and eloquently challenged the rest of the civilized world.

"Any dispassionate examination of this report will reveal that its fundamental principles are as old as our nation. The report measures the intent of our most cherished documents against the reality of the present and recommends concrete legislative measures to close the gap between profession and practice in the field of civil rights. 7-5-48

"We believe that the gravity of

"As active members of the Democratic party, and as citizens, we support this program. Many of us will be delegates to the national convention of our party in Philadelphia. The issue of civil rights is in the worthiest tradition of our party. We hereby declare that we shall actively seek, at Philadelphia, to make the accomplishment of this program a part of our party's platform for 1948.

the present international situation cannot fail to convince patriotic leaders of our party everywhere that neither imagined rights, private economic interests nor cherished customs of any section of America can remain sacred if they jeopardize the position of our nation in world affairs.

"It is as a measure contributing to the moral strength of America as a free nation that we uphold the President's civil rights policy.

"The cost of opposing this policy must, we believe, be measured in the same coin."

Other signatures on the statement included those of Senator Robert F. Wagner, Henry Morgenthau Jr., Chester Bowles, Mayor David L. Lawrence of Pittsburgh, Will Rogers Jr., Archibald Alexander, Democratic candidate for Senator in New Jersey, and Thurman Arnold.

THE NEW DEAL RECORD

Daily Tribune

340

To give Alben Barkley his due, he has the courage of the tried political professional. He contended for public office for decades before Democrats could ride in on the Magic Coattails, in the years when the Democrats were a minority, repudiated by most of the nation's voters. Experience teaches him that when prospects appear blackest, then it is the time to roar the loudest defiance.

And so Sen. Barkley roared. For a few hours at least he Claghorned the bedraggled Democrats, gathered in Philadelphia to nominate a candidate whom none of them really wants. As reward, or punishment, for this service to his party, he seems likely to be dragooned to make the same sort of speeches from now until November, as the running mate of a nominee who is even less qualified for the Presidency than he is himself.

Chicago, Ill.

Statistically, Sen. Barkley still regards 1932 as the economic Year One. He dragged out all the old figures, brought up to date, and added a few new ones. He failed, however, to notice that some of the latter were double edged.

Wed

For example, he attributed to the New Deal reciprocal trade policy the fact that American exports last year exceeded imports by 6 billion dollars. The reciprocity is a little hard to figure, since the excess exports represented gifts to foreigners in one form or another.

7-14-48

Our old friend and confederate, Mrs. India Moffett Edwards, released a balloon when she followed Sen. Barkley on the speaker's stand, to demonstrate what she asserted was the effect of removing price controls. Sen. Barkley's 6 billions in unbalanced exports supplied most of the gas in Mrs. Moffett's balloon. Americans are paying more for food because we are giving so much away, and taxing both consumers and farmers to pay for it. Only the other day cheese merchants complained that the British, bidding in the national cheese auctions in Wisconsin, have instructed their agent there to top any other bids by as much as 4½ cents a pound. The British don't have to worry about a dollar shortage in that transaction. They get their dollars free, from Gen. Marshall and Paul Hoffman.

Altho Sen. Barkley extoled the New Deal record for more than an hour, he left much more unsaid than he said. Our involvement in war he sought to evade with a single sentence, "We were drawn into the second World war because of events familiar to us all."

Those events are now familiar, it is true, but they have become familiar only since the lifting of war time censorship, and since the Democratic party last met to justify its conduct of the nation's affairs. The best excuse that Mr. Roosevelt's apologists have been able to advance for his war-breeding actions has been the assertion that he deceived the American people for their own good. If Sen. Barkley had a better excuse, Monday night was the time to state it. He let the opportunity pass.

Daily Tribune

In claiming credit for the Marshall plan, he also was careful to avoid discussion of the manner in which the "further totalitarian aggression" that the plan is supposed to stop was built up. The senator's description of New Deal foreign policy left out Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam. It made no mention of the betrayals of free peoples, the abandonment of principles, and the isolation of the American garrison in Berlin where it is possible for the Russians to try to starve it out.

Chicago, Ill.

In 16 years the Democratic party and its New Deal administration have drained the nation's resources, burdened it with a debt unparalleled in history, sent hundreds of thousands of its sons to death, and built up a new enemy, both within and without our gates, more powerful and dangerous than any they struck down. Even the party schisms arise from the policy of setting class against class, and promising everything to every one. What Sen. Barkley could do with words he did, but words cannot struggle against acts, and its acts damn the New Deal as a failure.

Wed. 7-14-48

Negro Democrats In Wide-Open Split

Thurs

Sat 7-17-48

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By LEM GRAVES Jr.
(Courier Staff Correspondent)

Pittsburgh, Pa.

PHILADELPHIA—The unhappy state of Democratic party affairs here early this week was reflected in the bitter fight which split even the Negro faction of the party in a pre-convention caucus, called ostensibly for the purpose of outlining a civil rights proposal and a resolution announcing united Negro support behind the contest of the colored delegation from South Carolina.

Cautiously steered around an open break during the first two hours of the Negro Democratic caucus in a club room of the Pyramid Club here Sunday evening, the caucus considered the two specific issues—civil rights and the South Carolina contest—appointed committees to draw up resolutions and even heard the reports of these committees.

BATTLE BREAKS

But at this point two competing factions of Negro Democrats declined to further postpone the bitter showdown. On a motion to adopt the report of the Platform Committee, the battle, so astutely deferred up to this point, broke with full force.

Sat 7-17-48

Partisans of the National Colored Democratic Association launched an all-out attack on the National Council of Negro Democrats of America and almost immediately the practically hopeless cause of the South Carolina delegates and the civil rights planks were forgotten as the rival factions shouted at each other across the small club room.

Facts developed in the argument conclusively proved that the "association" faction was the guest of the "council" faction in this particular meeting and as such was clearly out of order. The Council had issued a call for its members to meet and the association group had barged in in an obvious effort to force a showdown. The Council faction produced a copy of a detailed call for a meeting at the Pyramid Club at the evening hour on Sunday.

INTRA-RACE FEUD

In a transparently phony rebuttal, representatives of the opposing faction produced a mimeographed copy of a highly general call for a meeting "in July 1948 in Philadelphia."

In the wee, small hours of Monday morning, the caucus broke up with little accomplished in the way of establishing a united organization to back the resolutions so enthusiastically worked out and with little progress in settling the bitter intra-race feud.

Meanwhile, it developed that several key Negro Democratic leaders had boycotted the meeting. They included Congressman William L. Dawson of Chicago, Recorder of Deeds Marshall Shepard, and seceral others. New York's Congressman Adam Powell was also conspicuously absent.

Nevertheless, supporters of these elements, who now control the Democratic patronage, were on hand. It had been rumored through the corridors of downtown hotels throughout the evening that the Council, headed by Detroit's Emmett Cunningham, was seeking to get control of party patronage and hoped to supersede the "association crowd" in the high party councils. Whether or not these rumors were correct, the net result was a concerted effort to stop the Cunningham machine.

COUNCIL YOUNGER

The Council, which dates back to 1944, is considerably younger than the association, which, it is claimed, has been in existence for a time variously estimated at from forty to fifty-six years.

Both organizations claim succession to the "machine" headed by former Recorder of Deeds William Thompkins. At any rate, the association bunch took advantage of the loosely phrased "call" of the Council group to load the club room with men opposed to the Council and succeeded in halting effective development of the Council's program.

The association claimed that the Council represented "only five or six people" and threatened to walk out. Pleas for harmony while specific issues were settled fell on deaf ears.

During one of the intermittent "harmony" periods in the Sunday caucus, Mr. Cunningham made a dramatic plea for a strong civil rights fight. He said: "If the white Southerners who have no place to go can raise all this commotion in opposition to civil rights, then surely Negroes, who have some other place to go, can raise just as much commotion."

Young Dmeocrats Vote Not to Hear Thurmond Talk

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Wash Post

Richmond, Va., Sept. 13 (AP).—Spokesmen for the Young Democratic Clubs of Virginia said today that Frank P. Burton, jr., States' Rights Party chairman, was in error in insisting that Gov. J. Strom Thurmond would address the junior party convention here October 8 as schtduled.

Tues 9-14-48

Burton, in the face of a decision of the executive committee of the Young Democrats to "take care" of the already accepted invitation to Thurmond by postponing the convention dates, said that the convention would be held as scheduled and the States' Rights presidential candidate would speak.

Wash D.C.

W. P. Brown, jr., publicity director of the Young Democrats, said Burton had no authority to make such a statement for the organization and spoke only as an individual.

Burton, a member of the Young Democrats' executive committee as chairman from the fifth district, was not present at Saturday's meeting when the committee by a vote of 8 to 6 turned thumbs down on Thurmond speaking to its convention. The invitation had been extended by President Thomas Odom of Whaleyville.

Georgia Elector Chief For Purge, Not Bolting

The Constitution Wed 10-27-48

Atlanta, Ga.

Deploring Democratic Party bolting, Henry McIntosh, of Albany, chairman of the Democratic presidential electors, yesterday asked Dixiecrats:

"Why burn down a house to get rid of rats?"

McIntosh, who has called a meeting of Presidential Electors for Wednesday at Macon to campaign for the Democratic ticket, said he, personally, doesn't subscribe to Mr. Truman's Southern viewpoints.

"I believe that the only sensible course of action, however, is to purge and strengthen the Democratic Party," McIntosh told newsmen at Albany. "Most persons booming the Dixiecrat ticket are not voting for the Dixiecrat candidates but are voting against Mr. Truman. This will get us nowhere. What can we do with a strictly Southern Party? The South has progressed only under leadership of the Democratic Party."

McIntosh criticized Rep. Eugene Cox, of the Second Congressional District, who has strongly indicated his support of the Dixiecrat ticket. He said that persons nominated by the Democrats should not bolt, or even consider bolting, into another party and retain their designation as Democrats.

Wed 10-27-48

Georgia business and labor are joining hands in supporting the Democratic ticket, McIntosh said, pointing to encouragement he has received from J. P. Allen, of Atlanta, prominent business leader, and George Googe, State AFL leader.

M'GRATH WILL BAR SOUTH'S DISSIDENTS AS PARTY LEADERS

The Times

Tue 11-9-48

New York, N.Y.

Chairman Asserts Few Bolted Truman—'Great Bulk' Held Eligible for a Return

CONGRESS RULE SEPARATE

Majority Will Decide There, He Says—Mrs. Roosevelt Urges Posts Be Denied Many

By CLAYTON KNOWLES

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8—Senator J. Howard McGrath, the Democratic National Chairman, disclosed today that he intended to bar from positions of party leadership those who bolted the ranks to take an active part in founding the States' Rights Democratic party.

In his first pronouncement on the subject, Mr. McGrath stressed that the actual number of Southerners in this category was few, that "the great bulk" of those who supported the States' Rights ticket had "understandable motives" that would not foreclose their return to the party.

"But there are those," he declared with equal emphasis, "whose actions have been such that the Democratic party could never have confidence in their integrity in the future."

He stated that he "did not intend to forget those in the South who stood loyally by the party" in emphasizing that new party organizations, formed to fight the States' Rights revolt in South Carolina and Mississippi, would continue to be recognized by him.

He was asked if this would mean, by way of example, that Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who headed the States' Rights ticket, was definitely out as Democratic National Committeeman.

Tue 11-9-48

"It does as far as I'm concerned, and the only party agency that could upset that ruling would be the Democratic National Committee."

Upon further questioning, he said that there was no meeting of the Democratic National Committee scheduled and that he, as chairman, had no plans for calling such a meeting. He recalled that the first such meeting after the 1944 election was held on Oct. 29 of last year, at which time he was elected chairman.

The Senator emphasized that his decision concerned party organization alone and that it did not apply to the organization of the Congress. There the views of the majority of Democrats in the House and in the Senate would be binding, he said, and he added that he would be sittink just as one Senator, not a party chairman, whene the matter was decided in the Upper House.

Many Southern Democrats, returned to the Congress election after election, are in line for important committee chairmanships on a seniority basis now that the party has been returned to the majority.

Rankin Is Singled Out

Mrs. Eleanore Roosevelt in a radio broadcast in New York today proposed that chairmanships be denied to a number of prominent Southerners. She specifically mentionad Representative John Rankin of Mississippi, whom she termed "one of the worst reactionaries," and Senator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, whom she said had "snubbed" President Truman.

Tue 11-9-48

A fairly large number of Southern Representatives took the stump for the Thurmond-Wright ticket, although only Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi of the Southern delegation in the Upper House was active in such a capacity.

Senator McGrath, who will leave Thursday afternoon or Friday morning to join the President at Key West, said that he would have no agenda for their discussions but that he would be ready to talk about anything Mr. Truman desired.

He said he did not believe that the President has thought about or discussed Cabinet changes, a subject that has been the source of much speculation, but he said he would have suggestions should the matter be brought into their talks.

"The results of the election," he said, "constituted a mandate for continuation of the progressive policies that have become synonomous in the public mind with the New Deal. I myself think the people principally voted for a Truman deal and I think that's what they have a right to expect to get."

Rs he prepared to leave, Senator McGrath set at rest reports that, now that the election was over, he would resign as national chairman. Such reports had been coupled in some cases with the implication that his direction of the recent campaign had not met with the approval of the inner guard at the White House.

OLOG,HE LFWPeoAB

"I have no intention whatsoever of changing my personal status in the Democratic National Committee," he declared.

The chairman made it equally plain that he had no intention of shaking up the personnel in the National Committee's headquarters. There had been rumors that the White House also was dissatisfied with their work.

"To the top echelon of the staff at Democratic National headquarters belongs a lot of the credit for last Tuesday's big victory even though their names seldom got into the newspapers," he said. "It was as excellent and loyal a staff as a party could hope to gather. No organization, confronted with the immense and complex roblems that faced the Democratic party, could have succeeded without such staff work."

Return to Ranks Forecast

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8 (AP)—Senator-elect Russell Long, Democrat, of Louisiana, said today he believed that most States Rights Democrats "are ready to return to the regular party."

Mr. Long also predicted in an interview that President Truman would receive some of the electoral college votes pledged to Gov. J. Strom Thurmond.

"President Truman made a smart move when he said he holds no malice against anyone," Mr. Long said. "It leaves the way open for anyone to come back who wishes."

Tue 11-9-48

This does not mean that Southerners would not oppose the President's civil rights program, Mr. Long added.

Mr. Long said he came to Washington to confer with War Assets Administration officials on business "of interest to Louisiana communities." He declined to give any details.

During the day he visited the Capitol and talked with Vice President-elect Alben W. Barkley.

In the election, Mr. Long's name appeared on both the ticket headed by Governor Thurmond as the State's Rights candidate and on the ticket headed by President Truman.

BARKLEY WARNS THE SOUTH ON GOP

The Times

Vote for Anyone but Truman Is a Vote for Republicans, He Says at Asheville

Tue 9-28-48

ASHEVILLE, N. C., Sept. 27 (AP)—Senator Alben W. Barkley told Southern Democrats tonight a vote for any other candidate than President Truman "is a vote for the Republican nominees."

Asheville, N.C.

First of top Democratic candidates to invade the South where many dissident party members are backing Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President, Mr. Barkley said it would "be a tragic thing if the partnership between the Democratic party and the states of the South were to be destroyed."

Mr. Thurmond, candidate of States' Rights Democrats, is on the North Carolina ballot with Mr. Truman and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey.

Mr. Barkley, Democratic Vice Presidential nominee, spoke at a meeting arranged by the State Democratic Committee.

Should the South break away from the Democratic party, he declared, "it would leave the South without effective means of promoting its own high aspirations" and "without a voice in the councils of the nation."

Asks Adjustment of Dispute

The November election, he said, was between Democratic and Republican candidates, for "no other party has any hope of obtaining more than a fraction of votes."

Without mentioning the revolting Southern party, Mr. Barkley said:

"Some of the following of fragmentary political groups, some of them in the South, have been attracted by sincere interests, some by distortion of issues and some by misunderstanding of these issues."

Mr. Barkley invited Southerners to resume their "long and fruitful partnership with the Democratic party" and to "adjust differences of opinion withim the framework of the party."

Tue 9-28-48

He said the Republican party never had been friendly to the South and "is not interested in its problems."

"Whenever the Republican party has been in power," he added, "the South's fortune shave declined."

Twenty years ago, he recalled, many Southern Democrats supported a Republican, Herbert Hoover, against Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic nominee.

"I am sure," he said, "your memories of the one four-year term of President Hoover are sufficiently etched in your mind that you need no reminder from me."

Freight-Rate Fight Recalled

Neither Governor Dewey nor Gov. Earl Warren, GOP candidates, "knows the South," Mr. Barkley said, and in Mr. Dewey's case "he opposed the interests of the South by intervening against the South in its fight for more adequate freight rates."

"It is well to inquire," he said, "whether the Governor of New York, if he became President, would seek through his appointive power to remove representation of the South on the Interstate Commerce Commission."

And Mr. Dewey, he said, "is in sympathy with the desire of some interests to operate the huge Oak Ridge, Tenn., atomic energy plant for their own private profit."

As additional evidence of Republican unfriendliness to the South, Mr. Barlyey said the GOP-controlled Eightieth Congress refused to provide money for further development of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Vote for Truman

The Constitution

Mon. [illegible]

Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: Why all the confusion about who Democrats should vote for for President? Mr. Truman is the regularly and properly nominated candidate of the Democratic party, therefore, he is the proper one to vote for. I don't agree with his favoring a civil rights law and an FEPC law. But, reading between the lines, it is clear he is bidding for Northern and Eastern votes. I don't believe Mr. Truman actually wants these laws to apply to Missouri any more than we want them to apply to Georgia.

Nor do I believe the Northern and Eastern voters actually want Negroes to eat and sleep in the same hotels as their white men and women, nor their children to attend classes in school with Negro children. Their claim to favor civil rights and FEPC laws is just to aggravate and tantalize the people of the South. I have full confidence in our United States Senators of the South having the ability and willingness to prevent any and all civil rights and FEPC bills being enacted into laws by Congress. Why throw away votes by voting for Dixiecrats? Nonsense. I am going to vote for Mr. Truman. A. J. INGRAM.

Valdosta.

The Courier-Journal

The Democratic Party Takes Its Stand

Fri. 7-16-48

MANY who listened to broadcasts of the Democratic convention must have been struck by the solemn note in voices of radio pundits announcing a tragic turn in history's tide. Here, they declared, was the end of the Democratic Party of tradition. They seemed a bit shocked, some of them even sad and reproachful, after the Southern delegates twice were beaten on the issue of States' Rights vs. civil rights. It was as if they had looked upon murder; and deliberate, wanton murder at that.

The occasion was, indeed, a point in history. But in one very clear light it may be seen as a high point, illumined by a kind of moral brightness: touched by a sunrise rather than a sunset. It was a point at which a principle was stated—and then, in the face of an opposition that shouted terror at sight of principle so vivid, accepted for what must be all time.

In other words, the Democratic Party has given a shape and definition to its purpose. It has said that it will not be all things to all men in its old strange association of divers interests. It decided that it must stand for one thing or for nothing. And this was it, a principle on which the party decided it can and should stand, making its cause a fighting cause.

Louisville, Ky.

The thing was done by a vote of the majority of the party's representatives and spokesmen—the rank and file, as it were, rather than the inner core of organization diplomats. It may not have been expedient, in the short view of November 2, but there are many who will believe that it was necessary to be done sooner or later.

Who the Rebels Were

But even looking at November, and at the rebel Southern politicians, there is a point of question whether all was lost thereby. Is the South lost? One must look at the spokesmen for the South who were there in Philadelphia. Many of these were to be recognized as representatives of factions that were not dominant in 1944 or even 1946. In many a State the "outs" of those years are the "ins" of today—the Regulars of Texas, for example, who were thwarted in just such a rebellious move four years ago but who came back in a mood of public disillusionment.

The Alabamans who walked out were representatives of a faction, or an alliance of factions, whom JIM FOLSOM defeated single-handedly two years ago, only to give them opportunity for triumph in the next test through public revulsion against his personal conduct and political ineptness and vainglory as Governor.

And many a radio listener may have missed a brief episode which revealed the rebels from Georgia to be a factional group almost certainly to be challenged. It occurred when E. D. RIVERS, former Governor and momentarily holding on as Georgia's national committeeman, arose to report on a convention routine. He was introduced inadvertently as a member of the Georgia delegation, at which there arose an instant angry protest from the latter. It happens that the delegation was a group of HERMAN TALMADGE's followers, recently come to power, and bitter enemies of RIVERS.

This is to say that the political note in much of the Southern rebels' action ought to be obvious, and that in many states there is bound to be factional challenge for them—issued, doubtless, in the name of the Democratic Party, that rock of ages. You will see then what you will see as to whether the name has lost the old magic of its appeal. It could be that the old incantation plus the new and distinct principles of a forthright platform will have their effect before the summer is out. The men who walked out or who otherwise asserted their indignation are men who have lived by politics, who now are risen by politics, but who also have had the experience of, at least temporarily, dying by politics.

Not Necessarily the End

Fri. 7-16-48

Thus the Philadelphia convention is not to be regarded entirely as the end of everything. In a way, it was the important beginning of several things, including a fight that will go on for several years. The immediate shape of this fight was given to the convention in its final moments by President TRUMAN, who announced his plan to call Congress back into session.

This obviously is a political action, but nonetheless an aggressive, fighting action. Besides a move by the President of the United States it is also a move by the candidate of one party to challenge the intentions and good faith of the platform and candidates of the opposing party. In this, Mr. TRUMAN is certainly to be fortified by the stand which his party has taken on a point of uncompromising principle. For all the wounds that were inflicted in its internecine conflict, the Democratic convention has given assurances, not to be mistaken, of what the party stands for. In the long run, in the years beyond next November, it will rise or fall on its determination to stick by its principles.

SOB STUFF AND ALL

Editor, The Advertiser:

Well, I see Senator McGrath has begun pulling the rope that used to be tied in the Southern Democrats nose. At first they said that the States Rights' movement was just a "flash in the pan" and would soon pass off and we would all come back and be led to the polls and vote the Truman-Barkley ticket.

The Advertiser

He says those of us who vote for Thurmond and Wright will be "leaving the party." I guess he means the Yankee part of the old Democratic Party and he has his cart before the horse. The Northern branch of the proselyted Democratic Party has left us. The party of Truman-McGrath, etc., no more resembles the original party of Jefferson, Pettus, Morgan, Underwood and the Bankheads than a buzzard resembles a canary.

That old original Democratic Party saved the South during Reconstruction days and has always consistently fought for every principle of states' rights that the South has always stood for. That is the party we are supporting.

Wed. 9-15-48

I am surprised that men like Mr. A. A. Carmichael, who has a background of sterling worth and integrity, can be so badly misinformed as to the sentiment of the people. He is not alone as some of our senators and congressmen are also mealy mouthed and indecisive as to how they stand. It may be that they are just waiting to just see which way the band wagon goes, but I am afraid that some of them will be too late. They'll find out which way it went when they offer for reelection.

I don't know much about other parts of the state, but down here we want them to stand up and be counted, so we will know what kind of tag to put on them for future reference. How it is that some of our ablest men, men we have elected to positions of honor and trust, can afford to line up with men like Senator Langan, McGrath, Primm, Aubrey Williams, et al., and be so diametrically opposed to the unequivocal wishes of the same people who have always supported them, I can't understand.

Montgomery, Ala.

I know some men are natural objectors. We expect them to be on the wrong side. It is the men we have trusted and honored whose silence mystfies us. We want them to come out and take a definite stand, either for states' rights Democracy or the old shell of the old party. We have been loyal to that old party for all these many years, but as soon as the time arrived when they thought they were big enough to get along without us, they ignored our wishes, leered at our protests and derided our desires, then they climaxed the whole dirty business by saying, "let them go and good riddance." I don't know who made that remark but it expressed the feelings of the Yankee Democrats toward the South better than could be written in a large book. Now they expect to jerk the rope as usual and look for us to come trotting along.

Senator McGrath I think you have the toughest job your bosses have ever given you for that old line about (bolting the dear old party) Sob stuff and all is not making any headway down here.

Love to Grandma.

DR. H. C. FOUNTAIN.

Greenville, Ala.

HASTIE SEES NEGROES VOTING FOR TRUMAN

The Times

William H. Hastie, Governor of the Virgin Islands, declared yesterday that Negro voters would support President Truman because of his program of civil rights and would not be misled by the civil rights program of the Progressive party into voting for Henry Wallace.

Thur. 10-14-48

Introduced by Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democratic National Chairman, at Democratic headquarters in the Biltmore Hotel, Mr. Hastie announced that he would speak for President Truman in nineteen cities on a campaign trip until the eve of the election.

New York, N.Y.

Mr. Hastie said that he was convinced that the Progressive party was "a political puppet securely tied to the Communist party line" and that he could not find any other explanation of a course of action which denounced the Marshall Plan and at the same time describes every honest criticism of Communist policy as "red baiting."

"Mr. Wallace himself was notoriously disinterested in civil rights and the needs of the Negro when he was Vice President and in the Cabinet," Mr. Hastie said. "He could have helped us then, but did not choose to do so.

"We can and will win the civil rights fight under President Truman's leadership. Nothing but bitter disillusionment and a reactionary Republican Administration could result from following the Wallace will-o'-the-wisp."

One-Party Government

Syracuse, New York N.Y.

President Truman prepares for a far-ranging and energetic campaign not only in the face of public opinion polls which show him trailing his Republican rival but in the face of a drastic Southern revolt. Governor Thurmond and his running mate, Governor Wright, representing the reaction against the President's civil-rights program are now counting on forty-five of the 127 electoral votes in states ordinarily considered the "solid South"; their total in the end may well be more. The magnitude of the revolt was stressed last week when the Democratic State Committee in Louisiana voted to place Governor Thurmond at the head of the regular Democratic ticket, thus making it necessary for Truman votes to be written in.

9-14-48

9-14-48

The Democratic National Committee has reacted strongly against this new defection. It is one thing to have the State Righters qualified to appear under their own name on the ticket, as at present in Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina and Texas; but it is a different and far more serious thing when they win control of the Democratic organization, substituting their own candidates for those nominated by the party's national convention. Students of political history have recalled that in 1912 Theodore Roosevelt, having split his party, saw his name placed in the Republican column of states where he controlled the regular organization, leaving Taft nowhere on the ballot. But whatever the precedent, the tactic is open to question; and the Democratic leaders complain with much justification that the voters are being deprived of their right to vote for the party's regular candidates. Tue. 9-14-48

That complaint would be the more effective, however, if the South had not been for so long a one-party region. Those who are admitting today that the Democratic emblem at the head of the ballot in the South exercises a well-nigh irresistible fascination for the voter are the same who have been benefiting from this situation election after election. The truth is that a one-party system is not healthy, whether it benefits Mr. Truman, Mr. Thurmond or anybody else. The present tactics of the States Righters will serve a useful purpose if they remind us all of this fact and if, more concretely, they help give to the Republican party a real opportunity to make its way into what has hitherto been for it a barren ground. Such an opportunity is opening up as a result of the split in Democratic ranks, and it is being vigorously taken advantage of by the national committee. The Republicans are now waging in the South an unprecedented publicity campaign and are preparing to assign leading Republicans to speak in each state for the Dewey-Warren ticket. The votes gathered by the party in November may thus mark the beginning of the end in what has long been an anomaly in a country believing in two-party government. 9-14-48

National Chairman Acts To Minimize Confusion

and if they were [illegible] Congress they would be States [illegible]mocrats and not simply Democrats.

But in **South Carolina** the candidates for the United States **Senate and Congress** were nominated in the **Democratic** primary and will make the race as **Democratic** nominees. Should they be elected as expected—their names will be on both the States Rights (i. e. the regular) Democratic party ticket and on the Truman-Barkley ticket. If they elect to call themselves Democrats who in Washington, including Senator McGrath, will dispute their claim?

The fact is, of course, that the Southern Democrats will come pretty near controlling the Democratic party when the election is over. Losses elsewhere would leave the Southern Democrats almost with the exclusive power to speak for the party in Congress. And gains elsewhere would give the Democrats control of the Senate, only if the Southern Democrats be considered still Democrats despite their support of Thurmond and Wright. Fri 9-3-48

This is the reason the Southern Democrats, although bolting the Democratic nominees for president and vice president, have not been willing to break their ties with the Democratic party.

And McGrath probably doesn't object to considering these Southern Democratic Congressmen Democrats if they are nominees of the Democratic party. A man can be a nominee of two parties. William Jennings Bryan was the presidential nominee of the Democratic and Populist parties.

But the national leaders, concerned now with the immediate problem of getting a Truman-Barkley ticket in the field, are proposing to do for the States Righters what they would not do for themselves—sever their official connection with the Democratic party. The national executive committee will recognize the Citizens Democratic group in South Carolina as the official Democratic party, presumably seating its representatives on the national executive committee and according its state chairman recognition as the head of the Democratic party in South Carolina.

It is a good thing, clearing up some of the confusion and giving South Carolina the rudiments of the two-party system, even though the States Righters had sought to preserve, protect and defend the single-party system.

Now South Carolinians can take sides. It is a little less confusing.

The schizophrenia which has afflicted the States Rights Democratic party from its birth and which has spread from the States Rights party to the Democratic party of South Carolina seems to have Senator J. Howard McGrath, national chairman of the Democratic party, almost as confused as the South Carolina voters. So he moves to eliminate some of the confusion.

Fri 9-3-48

Mr. McGrath, who is, of course, a leading contender for the title as the world's worst Democratic national chairman, declares in Washington that Democratic office-seekers must either support President Truman's campaign for election or else stop regarding themselves as members of the Democratic party. Candidates in the South will "automatically" be withdrawing from the party if they spurn the Truman-Barkley ticket for the States Rights nominees, Governor J. Strom Thurmond and Governor Fielding Wright, he said.

The Dixiecrats are a fourth party in this campaign, he declared, and their supporters are "leaving the Democratic party just as effectively as if they supported the Republicans or Henry Wallace's Progressive party."

Columbia S.C.

Yet the South Carolina Democratic party executive committee, meeting the day before, had decided that it was still the Democratic party of South Carolina even though its electors are pledged to support not Truman and Barkley, but Thurmond and Wright, who call themselves the candidates of the States Rights Democratic party but also describe themselves as still Democrats.

The simple truth is that the States Rights party has never been able to make up its mind whether it should consider itself a fourth party or not.

In South Carolina it is not a new party, but has taken over the regular Democratic party in which it constitutes a faction. And the same is true in Alabama and Mississippi.

In most of the other states, in which it will be represented, it will be a fourth party, however, opposing the regular Democratic party. Georgia's decision hasn't yet been made and cannot be made until the gubernatorial election has been decided.

If in any of these states the States Righters were to nominate candidates for governor and Congress—they threaten to nominate a candidate for governor in Texas—these candidates, of course, would have to call themselves States Rights candidates

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Washington Calling

Montgomery

Democrat Debacle Bad For The Nation

MARQUIS CHILDS

PHILADELPHIA.

WATCHING this slack and spiritless gathering reluctantly begin its foreordained business, you need no crystal ball to see what kind of campaign will develop in the Fall. The contest will be more one-sided than any in our recent political history. July 7-13-48

The Democratic organization will be virtually without funds. It is even now living from hand to mouth. The newspapers will be overwhelmingly for the Republican ticket.

The Democratic chieftains here for this convention see all too clearly how bad is their plight. But such an unbalance is bad not merely for the party that happens to be on the short end.

Under our two-party system, it is bound to be bad for the country and even for the Republicans, who are at this moment looking on with such smug self-satisfaction. There must be vigorous competition if the system is to produce truly representative government.

Already the effort is being made on the Republican side to make it sound as though this were to be a contest between the individual and individual freedom, on the one hand, and the all-powerful state on the other hand. Nothing could be more false. A victory won on that ground would open the way to exploitation by interests more powerful than government itself.

In two fields it is already evident what this can mean. No. 1 is taxes. In this connection, a plank in the Republican platform deserves more study than it has received. The plank says:

"The Federal government shall as soon as practicable withdraw or reduce those taxes which can be best administered by local governments, with particular consideration of excise and inheritance taxes."

Montgomery, Ala.

THIS is an outright invitation to repeal the Federal inheritance tax. State governments are far more subject to pressure from wealth and power. Moreover, the way would immediately be opened to rivalry, with some states deliberately trying to attract wealth by a low inheritance tax or none at all. 7-13-48

At the last session the Republican Congress went a long way toward this coal. The new tax law permits the splitting of estate and gift taxes between husband and wife in the same manner that income tax can now be split. In his message vetoing the tax bill, President Truman said that nearly all of the $260,000,000 annual reduction would go to 12,000 of the nation's most wealthy families. The new law, according to one theoretical example, would permit $1,000,000 to be passed on tax free.

You do not need to be an apostle of the soak-the-rich tax school to see where this can lead. Perhaps a truly objective study of our chaotic tax system would reveal that too great a share of the burden is being carried by wealth.

But a, compliant Congress, willing to repeal or nullify the inheritance tax, could very quickly throw the whole structure out of balance. In finding ways to make up the deficit, the burden would be passed to those less able to bear it. Our inflation-ridden economy would be under still another strain.

Tue. 7-13-48

POWERFUL exploiters hope to use a Republican victory in the field of public power and public land. As Bernard De Voto has shown so effectively in Harper's, a concerted plot seems to be aimed at turning over all public lands to the states and from there to private owners.

It has begun with a high-powers attack on the modest regulations of the forest service which protects part of the public lands—your land and mine—from ruin through over-grazing. Back of this is seen the dim outline of an intention to break down all barriers, including even those in the national parks. This would be a repudiation of Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot, the crusading Republicans who long ago believed they had won the conservation battle.

In public power, the goal is to stop further Federal power development and to turn all power distribution over to private utilities. The real gains that have come to so-called backward regions from Federal power could conceivably be reversed.

A victory won in part by default and on the false opposition of control vs. freedom would give the extremists far too much license; a license they are already preparing to use. In 1934 and 1936, the years of the New Deal tide, we heard a great deal about the need for restraint and effective opposition under the two-party system. That need may be even greater today, when the party in power for so long seems on the point of disintegration and is all but powerless to make itself heard.

7-13-48

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A Lesson From Democratic Party History

The Democrats can go back to 1860 for a parallel to the happenings at Philadelphia, back to another Democratic dispute which resulted in the first Republican victory.

The party met for its convention at Charleston and split on the racial issue—the slavery plank in the platform.

Southern Democrats wanted the platform to say that a slave-owner could go into any new territory of the West and be fully protected by the federal government in his constitutional right to own slaves.

The platform committee upheld this view. But a minority report was presented to the convention—just as it was at Philadelphia. It ignored the slavery issue.

After a terrific fight, the minority report was adopted. Eight Southern delegations walked out. The party was so shaken that it adjourned without nominating any candidates.

Fri 7-16-48

Later it met again at Baltimore. Three more Southern states bolted. The remaining delegates nominated Stephen A. Douglas for the presidency. Douglas believed that the people of each territory should decide for themselves whether to allow slavery.

Columbia S. C.

The bolting Southerners held a convention at Richmond and nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, as the Southern bolters this year are planning to meet at Birmingham.

The Republican party was solidly united under Abraham Lincoln, who was elected although he received only a minority of the votes.

7-16-48

And it was 24 years before the Democrats got back in again with Grover Cleveland.

THE ALSOPS

Thunder On the Left

Atlanta Constitution

The labor groups and their Northern liberal allies now clearly intend to make a genuine effort to transform the Democratic party. Their objective is a party in which the labor-liberal faction, which claims credit for Truman's re-election, will speak with a dominant voice on such matters as appointments, legislation, and party strategy. What labor wants, in a word, is a Democratic party which will be in some measure a labor party. And if labor does not get what it wants, there is sure to be trouble ahead for President Harry S. Truman.

Atlanta Georgian

There are signs of trouble already. For one thing, the Cabinet shakeup which Truman's labor backers expected after the election has conspicuously failed to occur. Truman's enthusiastic assurances to his conservative Treasury Secretary, John Snyder, have particularly failed to please the labor groups.

Sun 11-28-48

Yet the most interesting aspect of the struggle for the soul of the Democratic party arises in the Congress. Those in whom labor and the liberals have real confidence in both Houses are by and large the junior members, of the stripe of Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, or Paul Douglas, of Illinois. On the other hand, much of the power which derives from seniority and committee assignments rests with the older conservatives, and particularly the Southerners, men like Georgia's Walter F. George, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and North Carolina's Robert L. Doughton, Chairman of Ways and Means in the House.

The labor-backed liberal Democrats are in a big majority, and they intend to get an equivalent share of power. Already it is clear that this situation will give rise to a bitter struggle for power in the Congress. Initially, the contest will revolve largely around the organization of the House, and particularly about the two most powerful House committees, Ways and Means and the Rules Committee.

Ways and Means, acting as the Committee on committees, appoints members of other committees, including the Rules Committee. In the ordinary course of events, Ways and Means would be heavily loaded with Southerners and conservative Democrats. Already, however, plans are being laid by the Northern liberal contingent to insist in the Democratic caucus, which meets before Congress convenes, on a heavier representation on Ways and Means. The liberals may even attempt to establish the Committee on Committees as a body entirely separate from Ways and Means, thus under-cutting the Southerners and conservatives, and altering the whole structure of power in the House.

The outcome of the fight on the Ways and Means Committee will closely affect the contest which is in prospect on the Rules Committee. As things stand, the Rules Committee can prevent any legislation from reaching the House floor. And an alliance of the Republicans and three Southerners, Cox of Georgia, Smith of Virginia and Colmer of Mississippi, could stop labor-backed legislation in the House dead in its tracks.

Sun 11-28-48

The labor-liberal contingent is determined that this shall not happen. It could be prevented in a number of ways. A Committee on Committees controlled by the liberals could disregard seniority and pack the Rules Committee. Or the rules could be changed, so that the Rules Committee could no longer bury legislation. Or a purge of the Democratic Party, which would take care of Cox and possibly Colmer, could be undertaken.

Among labor and liberal groups, there is much talk of such a purge. Indeed, a purge list has already been drawn up. The list includes as a minimum such unquestioned Dixiecrats as Eastland, in the Senate, and Cox, Davis, Rivers, Battle, Hobbs, Boykin, Rankin, Williams and perhaps Colmer in the House. The liberals argue that the Southerners must be diciplined, and that the disciplining should be accomplished right away, as an object lesson to less conspicuous bolters.

In this impending struggle for power in Congress, the key figures are Vice-President Alben Barkley, and more especially, House Speaker Sam Rayburn.

It is a reasonable guess that the Barkley-Rayburn strategy will be, at least initially, one of conciliation and delay. In all probability, no purges will be undertaken. The Southerners, including the overt Dixiecrats, will be allowed to keep their committee places. In the meantime, the pressure from the Northern labor-backed Congressmen can be used, by Rayburn especially, to prevent the Southerners from hamstringing the Administration program.

Thus there is a fair chance for a short honeymoon. But toward the end of the session, civil rights legislation, to which Truman is inescapably committed, will be introduced. Then it is perfectly certain that a battle royal will ensue, which may permanently split the Democratic party. One consequence of such a split would be that the Democratic party would then become wholly a party of labor and the liberals, a party of the Left.

Sun 11-28-48

McGrath Predicts President Will Forgive 'Venial Sins'

The Advertiser

JAY G. HAYDEN

Truman Not Geared To Punish All Foes, Chairman Believes

Fri 11-12-48

Montgomery Ala

KEY WEST, FLA., Nov. 11.—(AP)—Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath expressed belief tonight that President Truman will forgive "venial, but not mortal sins" of the campaign when he proceeds with the reorganization of his administration.

Senator McGrath flew here from Washington with William (Bill) Boyle, a special political assistant. His arrival was scheduled to step up Mr. Truman's search for cabinet replacements.

McGrath said he would be "glad to discuss anything the President wants to take up" while he is with him. The party chieftain was asked if he hadn't said there were some groups the President "won't forgive" for failure to support his hard-fought race.

Not Geared That Way

"The President is not geared that way," McGrath said. "There are some groups that the President can't help but forgive."

"I'm sure he will forgive venial sins as opposed to mortal sins."

Asked to define a mortal political sin, he said it was "one which kills the soul."

McGrath didn't volunteer a definition of a venial sin. Reporters looked up a chaplain who likened a venial sin to a misdemeanor.

He and Boyle joined Senator Alben W. Barkley, vice-president-elect, and Leslie L. Biffle, director of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee for top-level discussions about prospective administrative changes as aftermath of the campaign.

Progressive GOP's Welcome

McGrath welcomed the support of "progressive Republicans" for what he described as "progressive legislation" to be offered the new Congress.

Fri 11-12-48

He was told that Senator Aiken (R), Vermont, had suggested that "progressive Republicans" would vote to support such legislation on which Democratic and Republican platforms coincided.

"Such support will be very welcome," McGrath said.

He was reminded that Mrs. India Edwards, chairman of the women's division of the Democratic committee, had expressed belief women would get "a break" in the "little cabinet."

He said "I am all for her idea of more women in public life," but "it is too early to get specific."

Fri 11-12-48

Silent on Cabinet Changes

McGrath was asked point blank what cabinet changes he favored.

"No comment," he said tersely.

A source high in the President's confidence said he is looking for successors to Secretary of Defense Forrestal and Secretary of of the Air Symington in the defense establishment.

This man, who would not be quoted by name, said that a replacement for Robert A. Lovett, undersecretary of State, had not been decided upon, but that Lovett is expected to step out soon.

Secretary of State Marshall wants to retire at the close of the year. The President apparently wants him to stay on the job.

Marshall Report Awaited

Meanwhile, there was no further word from the President's vacation headquarters on developments at blockaded Berlin. The President's aides yesterday threw down reports of a prospective Truman-Stalin meeting.

Whether Mr. Truman sends a personal emissary to Moscow to talk with Premier Stalin in an effort to find an agreement to ease European tension likely will depend on Secretary Marshall's advice when he returns from Paris.

Fri 11-12-48

The President was represented at Armistice Day ceremonies of the Key West American Legion post today by his Army aide, Maj. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan.

Vaughan told the Legionnaires Mr. Truman's "fervent daily prayer" is that the young men of this and succeeding generations "will be spared the horrors of war."

"His life is devoted to peace for this nation and the world," Vaughan said.

HERE'S TEXT OF TRUMAN AND THURMOND BACKERS

Montgomery Advertiser

Editor's Note: Following is a partial text of Senator Claude Pepper's speech in support of President Truman at Sidney Lanier Auditorium last night. Neither the Republican nor the Wallaceite speaker furnished a text.

Montgomery, Alabama

By SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER

IT is good to feel beneath one's feet again the soil of his native state. Not far from here, I, like my father and ancestors before me, was born. And from Alabama's soil my grandfathers went off to wear the Gray in a cause that was already lost 80 years ago. . . .

Go back with me to 1860. The Democratic Party split because our forebears demanded Federal protection for the extension of human slavery into the new states growing up in the West. A position which the national Democratic Party would not and could not accept.

Jn-10-8-48

In the election of 1860, Northern Democrats, who nominated Douglas, and the Southern Democrats, who nominated Breckenridge, got nearly one-half million votes more than the Republican nominee, Lincoln, but Lincoln, because of the Democratic split, won in the electoral college and became the President. Those who risked all upon extending slavery into the new territory wound up by losing the slaves they had even in the South, which assuredly they could have saved for decades if not generations and have been paid for in the end.

What I am saying is that we can see now that history was against the institution of human slavery although we were not the ones who primarily initiated it and primarily prospered from it; notwithstanding the fact that it was those who sold us the slaves who later took them away.

Today, speaking to you with the candor which the situation demands, history is on the side of the Government of the United States, which is the champion of human liberty and freedom in this world, practicing at home the Democracy it preaches to mankind.

Nothing other or less than the Government of the United States, giving their fair and just constitutional rights under the Federal Government to every segment of our citizenship, holds us up to ridicule and scorn before the totalitarians of the world as hypocrites, is preaching one thing and practicing another.

If the South throws its weight and strength against the Constitution of the United States and the basic principles of Americanism it will and should lose.

Upholds Truman

But there is a clear and distinct sphere for the application of Federal Constitution with utter fairness and impartiality and the obligation of state laws, traditions and customs, without either doing violence to the other.

Jn-10-8-48

The President of the United States has been flagrantly if not designedly misrepresented in his recommendations on the so-called civil rights measures to the Congress. He has not recommended one thing relative to segregation in the states, in the public schols, in restaurants, in hotels, in theaters, swimming pools—and of course he has made no recommendation concerning churches, lodges, clubs and associations of local nature. He has recommended the abolition of the poll tax as a condition precedent to any citizen, white, black, yellow, or brown, voting for president, vice-president, senator or congressman, as the U. S. Congress has the power and and in my opinion the duty to do if the states will not strike it down themselves.

Jn-10-8-48

He has recommended Federal Jurisdiction to prosecute lynchers of any citizen whatever his color if the sheriff or his deputy or the U. S. marshall or his deputy willfully conspire in the lynching but only in such cases. He has advocated that in respect to interstate commerce, commerce crossing state lines, Congress has the right to regulate race, religion, color or national origin should not be the sole basis of either hiring or firing and he has advocated that private companies have no authority to segregate passengers crossing state lines in the Armed Forces. But of course he has not recommended and of course Congress has no power to interfere with or to abolish local laws, traditions, customs, and practices, respecting the wise segregation of the races in local affairs and institutions in the several states.

Time Is Needed

Time, education and wise experience will determine when, whether or to what extent the local practices requiring certain race separations should be changed. And whatever the decision is in these matters, mind you, it will be made by the people in the several states.

The State of New York has abolished segregation between different races. All races are assured equal access to any kind of public place. But that was done not by Federal Government but by Governor Dewey, and the Republican Legislature of New York.

Jn-10-8-48

What I plead for is that we not be deceived over a misunderstanding or by misrepresentation of this issue or fall into the crushing embraces of those who are either the third or the fourth parties means Dewey and depression—nothing less—nothing more.

Don't be deceived by those who cry wolf against Truman but who also just as loudly cried wolf, wolf, against Roosevelt, once or twice or maybe even three times. Many of whom today behind false slogans and exaggerated issues have bolted our party in your state and in mine and many other Southern States as they did in 44, in 40, or maybe even in 36.

You know that in those elections many men with a lot of corporation clients and big business support in the South voted against Roosevelt behind the false facade of States Rights. They did not want the Federal Government to give the public cheap public power. They did not want the Federal Government to help Southern workers get fair wages. They did not want the Federal Government to protect the little investor or the farmer against northern speculators with whom they were tied in. So they used the sword of States' Rights against the shield of the public welfare. The South needs more of what it has been getting—Federal Aid

Jn-10-8-48

The South needs more Democracy in America—not less. A government that will fight against monopoly, not a government which will make it more dominant. Let us beware my fellow men of false prophets and of false leaders. Remember the words of the Scripture "where your interest is there is your heart also." And when you hear those voices clamor against the old Democratic faith and party ask where are their interests. Then you will know why their hearts and their mouths are where they are.

Remember "He who's bread I eat, his servant am I." When you hear these voices raised against these old Democratic principles ask whose bread they eat. Then you will know whose servants they are.

Hence I do speak to you of the historical, political and economical enemies of the South.

You know how the South has grown under 16 years of Democratic Administration. You know what Franklin D. Roosevelt did for Southern industry, agriculture, labor, for the aged, for welfare, for women, for children, for the physically handicapped, for public power—for the whole South. You know how those were in the South before Roosevelt came in, under the Hoover Administration. I don't need to remind you of those sad days—the bank failures, the bankruptcys, the farm and home foreclosures, the long lines of unemployed—of a South as prostrate almost as when Lancelot of the Confederacy sheathed his shining sword at Appomatox. I don't need to remind Southern business men and farmers that when they fought for lower freight rates to Northern markets it was Governor Thomas E. Dewey, of New York.

I don't need to remind you how Republican administrations tried to steal and to strangle your Tennessee Valley and the TVA; nor how in the last Congress they refused the building of a necessary steam plant by the TVA. I don't need to tell Alabama farmers of how Republican agriculture legislation in the last Congress cut down parity and the support prices for cotton, corn and peanuts and tobacco and rice—all of which our Southern farmers produce, and that this legislation almost will take hundreds of millions of dollars away from Southern growers, farmers and live stock producers.

A Republican regime restored to national power will again lay the heavy hand of obstructionism on a flourishing South. It will put the farmers commodities again at the mercy of Northern speculators like the cotton my father used to grow in Chambers County.

Sees GOP Depression

I don't need to remind Southern labor that if the Republicans gain full national power they will drive the Taft-Hartley dagger all the way into labor's heart. It will strangle Social Security. Turn over the TVA again to the private power companies. Continue the exploitation of Southern resources by Northern absentee landlords.

Jn-10-8-48

Republican rule meant depression under Hoover. It will mean a worse depression under Dewey. Democratic rule has meant progress for the South. Republicans will mean pushing the South back down the hill. Following off after and for the South which I love. I know the simple lessons of history. I call not only upon all Southerners who have voted in the ranks of Democracy but all Liberals as well—even the erring party which is the home of the Liberal—the party of Jefferson, and Jackson, and Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, and YES, President Harry Truman, who follows in their footsteps with a courage which they should have commended.

YES—I have been a Democrat, I am a Democrat and I shall be a Democrat.

Toward my party I proudly express the sentiment of him who said:

Jn-11-8-48

"Woodman spare that tree—touch not a single bough—for in my youth it sheltered me—and I will protect it now."

My fellow Southerners, for a century and a half the Democratic party has sheltered you. I know the quality of your loyalty and that you will protect it now.

South are entitled to our commendation and not our condemnation. They are entitled to our cooperation and our support."

Quotes Booker T.

And I would quote to you the words of Booker T. Washington, the greatest educator and statesman which the colored race has yet produced: "Brains, opportunity and character for the Negro will settle the question of civil rights. The best course to pursue in regard to the Civil Rights Bill in the South is to let it alone. Let it alone and it will settle itself. Good schools, teachers and plenty of money to pay them will be more potent in settling the race question than any civil rights and investigating committees."

34

Contrary to this sound and statesman-like advice, the platforms of each of the three other parties represented here tonight advocate the enactment, by Congress, of federal laws to make the gress, of Federal laws which invade the legislative province reserved to the States to make the laws concerning marriage, segregation of the races in public places, employment both public and private, qualifications as to voting (which is a privilege, not a right), and lynching, which is no more than murder and no more requires Federal regulation in the South than gangster murders do in the North.

This proposed Federal legislation—and it amazes me again every time I realize that a president elected by the Democratic Party is advocating it—is misnamed the Federal Civil Rights Program, though the word "Federal" is often omitted or forgotten. It is, in fact, an unconstitutional, unwise, thoroughly reprehensible Civil Disturbance Program.

Jn-10-8-48

The National Democratic Party, Senator Pepper, to which we have given our allegiance for a century, will get no more votes from us until this matter is straightened out clearly and unequivocally, as it should be.

Attacks Legislation

To those who advocate such Federal measures on these subjects, I would point out—as we tried patiently to do at Philadelphia—that there is an element of timing which cannot be ignored in evaluating the progress of the Negro race toward full political stature. The Negro has made tremendous progress in the last 200 years in the United States.

He has absorbed more enlightenment and moral character in the last two centuries in this country than he worked out for himself in the 6,000 years of his known history in Africa.

Some of his race are good citizens, responsible and patriotic. They should, and often do, vote and own property. But we in the South know from every day contact and experience that the mass of ten million Negroes who live below the Mason and Dixon line are not yet prepared for, nor even interested in, participation in public affairs. That is the simple fact, verifiable by anyone who will look to see for himself. Improvement in the situation—and we in the South are more interested and more vitally concerned than anyone else could possibly be—can only come through the slow process of education, evolution and patience. Legislative fiat cannot create it, and until it comes by natural processes, legislation upon the subject is not only unwise, but vicious. Fri 10-8-48

What Is Answer

But it is not upon sectional grounds alone that I ask the support of this audience for the States' Rights Democratic ticket. I think there is a principle involved which transcends party and is of inestimable value to the nation and to the world.

Reflect for a moment: What is the most important, the most pressing problem that faces mankind today? Over the centuries, the human animal has conquered all his natural enemies; he no longer fears the giant mastodon or the sabre-toothed tiger. Man is lord of the animal kingdom, much of which he has domesticated to serve his daily needs . . . But he has not learned how to rule himself . . . .

What is the answer? Can anyone doubt that it is one rule of law for all the world; that the proper approach is to show the world that it can confederate, that it can safely yield to some central government—call it the League of Nations, the United Nations, or what you will—the powers essential to its self-preservation, certainly the war power, and perhaps others, being careful to reserve to each nation full control over its own internal affairs? Is there any other practical feasible way to do it, and in time? And how can we persuade the world that such a plan would work unless we have already made it work ourselves? If the free states of this nation are not to be allowed to retain control over the local customs and habits of their own people, if our own states are to be absorbed into the central government, how, I ask you, can we convince a Frenchman, or a Chinaman, or a Russian, or even Americans themselves that world federation is other than a booby trap leading to world domination? Fri 10-8-48

Voters Should Decide Purge, Williams Says

Montgomery Ala.

Montgomery Advertiser

Former NYA Administrator Aubrey Williams advised national Democratic leaders Tuesday to let local party members have the final say-so on purging of States' Righters.

In a telegram to National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, he said it would be a "grave violation of elemental Democratic processes" for the committee itself to undertake such action.

Williams, who is publisher of The Southern Farmer, pointed out that he was one of those in the South who supported President Truman and his civil rights proposals. Thur 11-11-48

He reminded that members of the Alabama Democratic committee were elected by Democratic voters and serve until 1950.

"If some of them have betrayed the Democratic voters," he added, "the voters themselves are the proper authority, and not the national committee, to right this wrong."

New Democrats

To the New York Herald Tribune:

Congratulations on your editorial, "South Carolina's New Democrats."

Too many sincere Northern progressives have been deluded by the self-professed "liberalism" of some Southern orators, whether they be newspaper men or ex-Governors. While this "liberalism" consists of many policies with which many can agree, it always stops being liberal the moment the race question is considered. Then a let-alone and gradualist policy is advocated.

New York, N.Y.

It is indeed fortunate that Judge Waring sits on the Federal bench in a Southern district court. It is to such a progressive that liberals must turn on the race question. It is a pity he has been so relatively unsung, while other Southern publicity seekers have received such a voluminous press.

Judge Waring's effectiveness is further attested to by the fact that the five candidates for the United States Senate are busy denouncing him, rather than discussing the problems which must be faced by South Carolinians as Americans.

Virginia Democrat Held Free to Vote Against Truman

The Post

Wed 9-1-48

Richmond, Va., Aug. 31 (AP).—A Virginia Debmocrat may vote for any of Mr. Truman's presidential rivals in the November election and still be a Democrat.

Wash D.C.

However, a Virginia Democrat voting for Robert Woods, Republican ctndidate for the United States Senate, technically would not be eligible to come back into the Dtmocratic gubernatorial primary in 19[illegible]. Wed 9-1-48

Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond reiterated the gist of an earlier opinion in which he held that a Democrat does not forfeit his party righdts by voting for any presidential candidate regardless of party affiliations.

The reason for this ies that in a presidential election he votes or electors as distinguished ofrm naminees.

Democrats Cold To Mrs. F. D. R.'s Purge Proposal

Birmingham News

Tues 11-9-48

Any Action On States' Righters Is Congress Job, Says McGrath

B'ham Ala.

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, Nov. 9—(AP)—Democratic leaders turned a cold shoulder today on the proposal by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt that States' Rights supporters be purged from the party.

National Chairman J. Howard McGrath told a reporter it will be up to the Democratic members of the House and Senate to decide who gets the prized chairmanships in the new Congress.

He indicated the national committee doesn't want to mix in any such possible fight. McGrath is a senator from Rhode Island.

He hinted further—but didn't say so flatly—that any reprisal program such as Mrs. Roosevelt suggested wouldn't fit in with current efforts to solidify Democrats behind the legislative proposals President Truman will send to Congress in January.

In a radio broadcast from Paris yesterday, Mrs. Roosevelt said she would like to see "the permanent ousting of the Southern Dixiecrats from the Democratic Party."

* * *

THE WIOW OF THE LATE PRESIDENT suggested that some Southerners who opposed Mr. Truman's civil rights program would be denied congressional chairmanships if they aren't recognized as Democrats.

She named specifically Rep. John Rankin (Miss.), dubbing him "one of the worst reactionaries," and Sen. Olin Johnston (S. C.).

She said Johnston "snubbed President Truman, campaigned against him and then was one of the first on the train at Washington to congratulate the victorious president after his election."

Johnston refused to attend the Jackson Day dinner here last Winter because of his opposition to the president's civil rights proposals but later announced he was voting for Mr. Truman. He declined comment.

But Democratic committee officials said Mrs. Roosevelt was off base on Johnston's campaign record. William J. Primm, assistant to McGrath, said: "Sen. Johnston was very helpful throughout the campaign. He has worked with the committee in every way we asked."

Johnston can get a coveted Senate committee chairmanship only if Sen. Chavez (D., N. M.), who outranks him in service, decides not to become head of the postoffice and civil service group.

Tues 11-9-48

* * *

CHAVEZ ALSO IS SENIOR DEMOCRAT on the public works committee and might elect to take that chairmanship.

Rankin, however, is top Democrat on the House veterans committee and is in line to head it.

He said at his home in Tupelo, Miss.: "The less the American people hear from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the better off the country will be."

Of 15 Senate committees, only four chairmanships will be filled by Southerners if the congressional seniority rule stands.

They include Sens. Connally (Tex.), in line to become chairman of foreign relations; McKellar (Tenn.), appropriations; George (Ga.), finance, and McClellan (Ark.), executive expenditures.

NO COMPROMISE, GOV. WRIGHT SAYS

Times-Picayune

New Orleans

Little Chance of Patch-Up Seen on 'Rights' Level

Thurs. 6-10-48

(The Associated Press)

Jackson, Miss., June 9.—Mississippi's Gov. Fielding L. Wright, leader of the states' rights Democratic movement, sees little chance of conciliation with the national party.

The Southern states' rights leaders, he told newspapermen today, would not be conciliated even if President Truman backed down on his civil rights program.

Commenting on a news report that Democratic Chairman J. Howard McGrath had predicted in Washington that there would be no occasion for a walkout at the National Democratic convention in Philadelphia, Wright said:

"We plan to ask a positive stand by the national party for states' rights and nothing less than that will be satisfactory."

Regarding the possibility that McGrath's remarks hinted a compromise between the civil rights and the states' rights supporters in the national party, Wright asserted: 6-10-48

"The civil rights issue is incidental. We want a positive declaration placed in the party platform that will insure the rights of the states as provided by the constitution."

Gov. Wright clarioned the present states' rights movement in his inauguration address last January when he proposed that the South "break" with the leadership of the national party if it continued to sponsor such legislation as the civil rights program.

PRESIDENT TELLS WALTER WHITE HE WILL PRESS RIGHTS PROGRAM

California Voice

Oakland California

WASHINGTON, Dec. 2—"President Truman expressed his determination to go straight through with his civil rights program," Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, reported after a White House conference with the Chief Executive on November 29. Mr. White was accompanied by Roy Wilkins, NAACP assistant secretary. Fri 12-10-48

No signs of compromise on the "minimum program" set forth in the President's civil rights messages of February 2 were observed during the interview, Mr. White said, remarking that the President had declared himself to be under no obligation to anyone and had re-affirmed his intention of carrying out his campaign pledges. Fri 12-10-48

Mr. White reported to the President that results of a post-election survey conducted by the NAACP revealed that Negro voters throughout the country had supported Mr. Truman three to one over his Republican opponent, Governor Dewey. The figures compiled by the Association revealed that the overwhelming Negro vote for the President in the three key states of Illinois, Ohio and California was responsible for providing his slim margin of victory in those states. Fri 12-10-48

In Ohio, noted Mr. White, President Truman won over Governor Dewey by 7,107 popular votes. The Negro vote in the city of Akron alone gave the President a plurality of 6,342 over Dewey, and unofficial statewide returns indicated that Negro voters in Ohio gave Mr. Truman a margin of approximately 60,000 votes over Governor Dewey.

Citing incomplete returns from California indicating the 40,000 plurality given Mr. Truman by Negro voters was slightly more than his 32,512 margin in the state, Mr. White pointed out that this pattern of the Negro vote was general in the South as well as in the North and West. Fri 12-10-48

With A Grain Of Salt

Journal and Guide

By ARTHUR P. DAVIS

Democrats' Firmness On Civil Rights In Philadelphia Saved The Party

Norfolk, Va.

IF THE NATION as a whole had any doubts concerning the spiritual bankruptcy of "Southern Democracy," it had those doubts dispelled by the shoddy performance which the Dixiecrats staged in Philadelphia. There the country saw in all of its starkness the utter cheapness of the southern position. It is gratifying to know that the Democratic Party was big enough for once to recognize the essential rottenness of its southern branch and to lop it off.

Sat. 7-31-48

The South took a terrible licking in Philadelphia, the worst it has had since 1865; and I believe this licking came as a surprise to the Dixie boys. In the past, the northern Democrats (and the nation as a whole) have inclined to be tolerant of the South's unreasonableness. Treating Dixie as a problem child, they have used "progressive" methods in handling her, that is, they have allowed her to throw her weight around quite a bit. And Dixie had got into the habit of having her own way.

* * * *

BUT IN PHILADELPHIA, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, facing the gravest crisis of its history, couldn't afford to be bothered with the petty whims of a spoiled and pampered South. The situation demanded firm action, and the northern Democrats acted. They gave the Dixiecrats a sound spanking and sent them home, which was all as is should be. Their firmness saved the party and it should be therapeutic for the southerners.

7-31-48

As I have often said in this column, the Negro is the "spiritual barometer" of America; he serves as a sort of index to the state of our spiritual health. Moreover, he seems to bring out either the best or the worst in American men and institutions.

In Philadelphia the Negro brought out the best in the Democratic Party. The race issue forced the party to take high ground, to live up to all of its inherent ideals. The battle for civil rights at the convention increased the moral and spiritual stature of the party tenfold. And today, because of the high stand which it took on the Negro question, the Democratic Party has been "saved;" it is far stronger than it was before the Philadelphia convention and has a far better chance of winning in November. And its severe repudiation of the South, which at first seemed a bad "political move," has given the party a new strength and life.

* * * *

IN A LIKE MANNER, THE NEGRO ISSUE BROUGHT out and accentuated all that was foolish and vicious in the southern Democrats. In Philadelphia, the South lost much of the sympathy (and it was considerable) which the rest of the nation had for the South's stand on race. There are times when the American public expects even politicians to rise and, if nothing else, pay lip service to certain ideals.

Journal and Guide

The National Democratic Convention was such a time. In the face of a world attack on the democratic way of life, the party of the common man was expected to take some position on democracy at home. But the southerners failed to rise to this challenge in any way. As a matter of fact, the Dixiecrats retreated further from light and went deeper into the medieval darkness of their regional narrowness.

* * * *

Norfolk, Va. 7-31-48

WHEN THE NATION HEARD THE PASSIONATE and fanatic ravings of the Dixiecrats, listened to their childish threats, and saw them hysterically "walking out," it realized that there was no health in that quarter; and the nation simply turned its back on Dixie. Nothing that the Dixiecrats can do in Birmingham or anywhere else will be of real importance because the South has been weighed by the American people and found wanting.

The Southern Revolt Of 20 Years Ago

The Courier-Journal

WE DON'T know what will come out of the sputtering at Birmingham. But we do know what came out of the only other Southern revolt of our time in a Presidential race, and we cannot remember it with pride. That was 20 years ago. Five States of the Solid South—Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia—voted Republican for the first time since Reconstruction days. (Kentucky likewise played a shameful role.)

These States deserted the Democratic Party in spite of the fact that its nominee, ALFRED E. SMITH, had an exceptionally notable and clean public record, and his running mate, the late Senator JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, was an able and popular Southerner. Why did they do so? Well, some people said it was because AL SMITH was a Catholic. Others said it was because he was a wet. And many thought both factors entered into it.

Sun. 7-18-48

The attack on Mr. SMITH's religion was unmitigated bigotry. The attack on his opposition to prohibition was unmitigated hypocrisy in a section whose shibboleth was States' Rights. Prohibition threw States' Rights out of the window. All in all, it was a wholly discreditable revolt. Perhaps a way will be found to clothe the present uprising with more dignity and decency. But that is not the prospect at this writing.

THE RIGHT OF 'STATES RIGHTS'

Northwest Enterprise

Every state, community or village likes to think of itself as being capable of setting up, regulating and managing its own internal affairs. Likewise, every family head likes to think along similar lines in regard to his or her own household. Under proper conditions and with morally fit management these things can and should be accomplished—thus saving higher and more exacting authorities the trouble of "stepping in" for corrective measures. A large majority of the forty eight states of our United States can boast of distinctive accomplishment along this line—including HEALTH, EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS; CONTROL OF CIVIL AND CRIMINAL AFFAIRS—etc.—etc. These are the states that never squawk about "states rights." They have such rights because they merit such rights!

7-28-48

Seattle, Wash.

Too frequently, however, corrupt and prejudiced local or state authorities ABUSE THE PRIVILEGE AND HIGH POSITION given them by all the people (supposedly), by rank discrimination, impositions and even corrupt biased legislation. This is particularly true in certain Southern states on the well known "race question" and these are the states that are now squawking for "states rights"—all because they want to LYNCH (whenever the spirit strikes them) WITHOUT INTERFERENCE and they want to make certain crooked one-way laws and administer same to suit "occasions" WITHOUT THE "MEDDLING OF OUTSIDERS."

Northwest Enterprise

The world's greatest crime (no less in America) is now—and long has been the ABUSE AND MIS-USE OF CONSTITUTED AUTHORITY! But—in our opinion—the world and even America, is growing better. We feel that there is a new determination and leaning toward RIGHT AND JUSTICE and that when LOCAL AUTHORITIES, including parents, police, governors, etc., fail to function properly in the interests of humanity and justice, they must reasonably expect interference from HIGHER AND MORE EXACTING AUTHORITIES.

7-28-48

Seattle

If Southern states want "STATES RIGHTS" they should PUT THEIR HOUSE IN ORDER and then have a regular political HOUSE-CLEANING. A few special dates with the "undertaker" or the old-folks-home might help considerably.

Dixiecrats To Center Heat On 13 Borderline States

(34a)

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 7-17-48

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 16—(AP)—Revolting Southern Democrats planned today to take their battle for anti-Truman electors into the President's home State of Missouri and at least a dozen other States.

Meanwhile, ex-Gov. Frank M. Dixon, of Alabama, was named as temporary chairman for the convention.

These moves were mapped at preconvention caucuses today by delegates to the States' rights meeting called by Gov. Fielding H. Wright, of Mississippi.

Wright led the walkout of his State at the Philadelphia Convention. A decision today by the caucus on the Missouri move also included a plan to have States' rights electors on the ticket in Kentucky, home State of Sen. Barkley.

UNIVERSITY, Miss., July 16 (AP)—Scores of students at the University of Mississippi are planning to attend the States' rights conference tomorrow in Birmingham, Ala.

Sat.

One leader of the Southern revolt predicted the man nominated here tomorrow would "carry more states than Mr. Truman."

The Resolutions Committe, headed by Horace C. Wilkinson, of Birmingham, began the draft of a statement of principles for the meeting.

7-17-48

Members of the committee included two Georgians, Charles B. Redwine, of Fayetteville, and Jim Peters, of Manchester.

Rebellious Deep South party members were angered by passage of a strong civil rights plank and by overwhelming defeat of a states' rights plank.

The leader who made the prediction concerning Mr. Truman's November chances declined use of his name "until tomorrow's meeting." He outlined, however, a plan of action for the meeting.

Alabama and Mississippi, with 20 electoral votes between them, already are committed against Mr. Truman. He named as "certain against Truman and probably for our nominee," the following states:

Georgia, 12 electoral votes; South Carolina, 8; Florida, 8; Arkansas, 9; Louisiana, 10; Texas, 23; Virginia, 11.

The Constitution

Tennessee's 12 and North Carolina's 14 electoral votes, he said, either will go for the Birmingham nominee or for Gov. Dewey, the Republican candidate.

In addition to working for anti-Truman electors from these States through regular State Party machinery, he said a full slate of States' rights electors would be placed on the ticket in such border States as Oklahoma, Missouri and Maryland.

Atlanta, Ga.

Two chief possibilities for the States' rights nomination are Gov. Wright, of Mississippi, and Gov. Laney, of Arkansas.

Sat.

Gov. Wright called the meeting "to begin the fight to save the South."

7-17-48

"It has been made clear at Philadelphia," he said, "that the greatest discrimination existing in this country today is not racial or religious, but discrimination against the South."

An Alabama delegate, still smarting from the Philadelphia defeat, said on arrival:

"We will keep the South solid—solid against Truman and his obnoxious program to deprive us of control of our domestic affairs."

He was Albert Stapp, Birmingham business man and delegate at large.

"The South feels like a mother who has been kicked out of her own home by upstart in-laws," Stapp said. "We were not even given a courteous hearing at Philadelphia."

'People Not Politicians, Backing Dixiecrat Fight'

The Advertiser

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(AP)—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, Southern Democratic states' rights candidate for president, declared Friday that "if the Southern people will just stick together they have the finest opportunity since the War Between the States to gain the respect of the nation."

7-24-48

Thurmond, who goes to Atlanta Saturday to attend a states' rights campaign conference, said "the sentiment in this movement is coming from the people and not from the politicians."

Montgomery

"The rank and file of the people we come in contact with and from whom we hear seem to be unanimous in support," he told a news conference.

Ala.,

He is convinced, he said, that there is strong sentiment throughout the South for the Dixiecrat ticket which he heads. Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, is the vice-presidential choice.

Sat.

He would not comment on the Atlanta conference, saying he wished to hold back any statemnt until after it is over.

7-24-48

He plans to fly to Atlanta by private plane and expects to arrive there about 9:30 a.m. He said he would be accompanied by State Democratic Chairman William P. Baskin, State Senator R. M. Kennedy, Jr., of Camden, who walked out of the Democratic national convention after adoption of an extreme civil rights platform plank; State Rep. Charles N. Plowden, of Summerton; Robert McC. Figg, Jr., Charleston attorney, and George McNab his press secretary.

Dixiecrats Map Strategy In Secrecy

The Record

Columbia, S.C.

Sat. 7-24-48

(34a)

ATLANTA, Ga., July 24—(UP)—Rebel Democratic leaders from eight Southern states went behind closed doors today in a hotel here to map strategy and mobilize their forces against the "Yankee" element in the party.

The meeting began shortly after the states' rights Democratic party's presidential nominee, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, arrived by plane.

His running-mate, Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, already was on hand.

Press Excluded

W. W. Wright, Jackson, Miss., grocery wholesaler, excluded the press from the conference "because there are matters we have to thrash out."

The Record

However, he delayed closing the meeting to allow photographers to take pictures. A statement is expected this afternoon.

Chairman Wright emphasized to the press that everyone invited was in attendance at today's meeting.

Prominent among those attending were former Gov. Frank Dixon of Alabama, who keynoted last week's convention which "recommended" Thurmond and Wright as the nation's leaders, Frank Upchurch of St. Petersburg, Fla., who served as chairman of his state's delegation at the national convention in Philadelphia, and Atty. Gen. Tom Watson of Florida, who recently was defeated for governor and state Supreme Court justice in that state.

Columbia, S.C.

Walter Brown of Spartanburg, S. C., who was an administrative assistant to Former Secretary of State James Byrnes, was on hand as an advisor to Governor Thurmond.

Brown's 'teen-aged son accompanied him to Atlanta.

Sat.

The Dixiecrats are expected to name a general chairman and a campaign chairman to help them in their electoral college fight against President Truman.

7-24-48

Leaders Present

Other leaders at the conference were Horace Wilkinson of Birmingham, Olin Horton of Birmingham, Robert Goodwyn, Jr., of Montgomery; George McNabb, Thurmond's press secretary from Columbia, Syd Smyer of Birmingham; Judge Merritt Gibson of Longview, Tex., Everett Truly, Fayete, Miss., J. O. Emmerich of McComb, Miss., Ed S. Lewis of Jackson, Miss., George Godwin, Jackson; Robert M. Figg, C. L. Cuttino, and R. M. Kennedy, all of South Carolina; John U. Barr of New Orleans, Leander Perez and Chalin Perez of Louisiana; William Manning, Charles Plowden and Allen Legree, all of South Carolina, and John Dagett of Arkansas.

7-24-48

South's New Path

The News

To the Editor of The News:

Alabamians, even those who are unfamiliar with politics, are commendably incensed at the rude treatment accorded their delegates at the Philadelphia convention. Little do many of us know that like boorishness prevailed also at the '44 convention. A Virginia state senator asserted that he had never witnessed equal discourtesy and expressed reluctance ever to attend another national convention.

Birmingham, Ala.

Persons who applauded the legerdemain of the previous administration in cajoling these city machines, accepting their votes and honoring their choices for high office with the purpose of integrating their members with the Southern sector of the democracy, are now disillusioned. How can the two opposed groups fuse? The one is industrial, the other is fundamentally manorial; the one is without traditions, the other has a background; the one is racially diverse, while the other is homogeneous; finally the one is partial to, the other impatient of regimentation. Oil and water will not mix.

Fri. 7-23-48

The News

Now that our paths have diverged let them not again unite. We have as our leaders two vigorous executives who are likewise equal to the undertaking in their character, training and achievements. Themselves exemplars of constitutional government, they will extol its advantages. Let us then talk of them, hold up their hands, and above all vote for them. We have been overlooked, humiliated and dared. Let us assert ourselves. We have been led, let us now lead. Apathy is submission and ignorance a cloak. To vote for others is to vote against ourselves. Will a man harm himself? Our candidates are of us, among us, for us. Support them we must!

Birmingham, Ala.

Fri. H. M. MARTIN,
4320 6th Ave., South 7-23-48

MISSISSIPPI TO DECIDE ITS ELECTORS' STATUS

(34a) Dup

'Pledged Or Not' Is Expected To Be Big Question At Aug. 3 Meeting

By The Associated Press

JACKSON, Miss., July 20. — Governor Wright predicted Tuesday that the Mississippi Democratic Convention that will be reconvened here Aug. 3 will decide whether to pledge its presidential electors.

"The convention probably will decide to have its electors listed on the (Nov. 2) ballot as pledged to Gov. J. Strom Thurmond for President," the Governor said.

May Be Unpledged

"Or it may decide to have its electors listed as unpledged. In any event, the men who are chosen as the state convention's candidates for electors are known publicly as supporters of the Thurmond ticket."

Governor Thurmond of South Carolina last Saturday was recommended by the State's Rights Conference at Birmingham for president, and Governor Wright for vice president, on a States' Rights ticket.

"The main business of the reconvened convention will be to endorse or reject the action of delegates who withdrew from the Philadelphia (National Democratic) convention and went to the Birmingham conference, and then to decide what to do about listing the electors on the ballot."

The Governor explained that an act of the 1948 Legislature provides for the listing of electors on the ballot under the presidential candidate whom the electors, if chosen, would support, or for listing them as "unpledged."

Any Can Qualify

"Anybody can offer himself as a candidate for presidential elector, just by presenting himself to the Secretary of State," Wright asserted. "There will probably be a list of electors who are pledged to Truman, a list for the Republican Party which is led by George Sheldon, a list for the Perry Howard Republicans, and a list for Henry Wallace."

(Sheldon is a leader of the Independent Republican Party of Mississippi. It is an all-white group. Howard, a negro attorney of Washington, heads the Republican Party of the state. His group was recognized by the national organization of the Republican convention. Mississippi is predominantly Democratic.)

Governor Wright pointed out that technically electors cannot be legally pledged to cast their votes for a certain candidate, that they are only morally bound to support the presidential candidate under whose name they are listed on the ballot.

Empty-Handed Folsom Returns, Pledges Suit

The News

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Developments piled upon each other on Alabama's political front today as Gov. Folsom headed home from Washington, after abandoning efforts to obtain a pre-election order from the U. S. Supreme Court to force Alabama's Democratic elector nominees to vote for President Truman.

Wed. 10-27-48

But as the governor left Washington, he insisted he would file a suit the day after next Tuesday's election, in an attempt to require this state's presidential electors to support nominees of their national party.

This action would be aimed at the Democratic electors pledged to Thurmond and Wright, since these 11 nominees are listed under the Alabama Democratic Party emblem and are expected to be easy winners.

On another front, State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, one of the elector nominess, blasted a plan of Phenix City Mayor Homer D. Cobb to distribute a special ballot for pro-Truman supporters.

Wed. 10-27-48

CRACKING DOWN on the mayor of the blustery border city, McCorvey wrote him:

"I cannot see where it makes much difference how the people of your city vote, as the vote cast seems to bear little resemblance to the results as certified."

The state chairman apparently was referring to allaged voting irregularities in Phenix City in last Spring's runoff primary when results certified did not give McCorvey, candidate for Democratic delegate-at-large, a single vote. McCorvey had been nominated an elector in the first primary.

AT MOBILE, in the Democratic chieftain's home town, Republicans whaled away at both the Truman administration and the States' Rights movement, with State GOP Chairman Claude Vardaman reiterating that "the Dixiecrats are leading the people of Alabama up a blind alley."

Wed 10-27-48

The South need not fear that a Republican administration will interfere with states' rights, Vardaman and W. E. Brooks, Jr., editor of The Brewton Standard, told a GOP rally in the Gulf City last night.

McCorvey was striking back at Republican critics by calling on Alabama Democrats for a heavy vote next Tuesday "to demonstrate to the world disapproval of President Truman and his civil rights program."

Vardaman, in a plea for support for the Dewey-Warren ticket, told the Mobile rally that "in all the years that we have had a Republican president and a Republican Congress, they have never attempted to ram a civil rights issue down the throats of the South."

"The Republican Party has no desire to attempt to solve our local problems by federal edict from Washington," Brooks told the gathering.

McCORVEY SAID THAT "Alabama men and women have a grave responsibility in the general election."

"They will either vote in great numbers for our duly nominated Democratic presidential electors," he said, "and thereby demonstrate to the world their disapproval of President Truman and his civil rights program, or, by staying away from the polls, they will by their silence demonstrate to the world that they are for the vicious so-called civil rights proposals advocated by Truman, Dewey and Wallace."

Mayor Cobb had written McCorvey that Russell County would permit an unusual write-in method for voting for Truman, but he later said this plan had been abandoned for special "extra" unofficial ballot forms for the same purpose.

"I note," McCorvey replied to Cobb, "what you say about the people in Phenix City writing in on the ballot the names of candidates they wish to support.

"Unless you have in the general election a different arrangement for counting votes from that used in the recent primaries, I cannot see where it makes much difference how the people of your city vote, as the vote cast seems to bear little resemblance to the results as certified."

Wed 10-27-48

GOV. FOLSOM ABANDONED his plan to seek a pre-election mandamus writ from the Supreme Court when he encountered "unexpected legal difficulties." The governor said he and his attorneys have not decided whether to file his post-election suit in state or federal courts in Alabama.

He said the suit would be based on the claim that the anti-Truman pledges of the Democratic elector nominees violate the Bentley act passed by the 1945 Legislature.

It was Folsom who asked the Alabama Supreme Court for an advisory opinion last Spring, when the act was judged unconstitutional and the elector candidates advised they could vote as they pleased.

"I'm disappointed that this thing can't be straightened out before next Tuesday's election," said Folsom, "for the people of Alabama have a right to vote either for or against President Truman if they want to. But the lawyers tell me I'll have to wait until after the election."

* * *

THE GOVERNOR HAD said he would take his contention directly to the U. S. high tribunal this week. But his legal advisers, Col. Ira F. Thompson and Kenneth Griffith, after advising with Paul Porter and Thurmond Arnold, counsel for the Democratic National Committee, decided against it. Thompson and Griffith also conferred with Clifford Durr, former Federal Communications Commission member, who recently resumed law practice in Washington. They convinced Folsom that circumstances made it virtually impossible to obtain Supreme Court intervention in the case.

One obstacle encountered, the attorneys said, was they discovered a high court decision dating back to 1880 in which the principle was established that no state could institute a suit against its own citizens in the high tribunal.

Folsom said he was going to confer with Atty. Gen. Albert Carmichael upon his return to Montgomery to determine "just how and where to file the suit after election day."

The governor said he was confident of winning the court test and suggested it would be "wise" for States' Righters to "write in" their choices for electors on the ballot.

34d 1948 Democratic (Alabama)

34d

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE: The three-member resolutions committee for yesterday's pro-Truman mass meeting at the state capitol is shown drafting a call for Alabamians to vote the straight Democratic ticket today. They are, left to right: Eugene Wells of Birmingham, secretary-treasurer of CIO in Alabama; Pitt Tyson Maner of Montgomery, chairman of the committee, and J. Allen Tucker of Union Springs. (Staff Photo by Albert Kraus.)

Montgomery Ala.

Dixon, Sparks, Folsom Typify Paradox In Alabama Politics

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery Ala.

By LYNNE BRANNEN
Associated Press Writer

The three living men who have served as Alabama's chief executives provide an almost perfect example of the paradox in Alabama politics today.

They represent diverse schools of thought as to how loyal Democrats should conduct themselves this presidential election year.

Two of them, E-Governors Frank Dixon of Birmingham and Chauncey Sparks of Eufaula — have declared themselves flatly against President Truman.

Jun-10-16-48

Since the state's Democratic electors are pledged for the States Rights ticket, this means they favor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for president.

On the other hand, Gov. James E. Folsom is supporting President Truman, the man he campaigned against earlier this year.

Although none fit into a clean-out mould, Sparks comes nearest to being a middle-of-the-roader, Dixon is more a conservative and Folsom represents the liberals.

Gov. Folsom, coming out for the President this week, clashed head-on with States Righters. He hinted, too, of a possible court suit to put Alabama in the Truman camp.

There appears some doubt, however, that there is time enough to push a court suit through before next month's election. Jun-10-10-48

Straight Words

Former Governor Dixon has not minced words as to his position on the presidential race. He was one of those who helped organize the States Right Democrats and delivered the keynote address at their Birmingham convention.

At that time he belligerently attacks President Truman's Civil Rights program. He called it "a shame and a fraud" and a "cheap" political appeal for Negro votes in northern industrial centers.

Dixon said the proposed civil rights laws were an unconstitutional effort to "reduce us to a status of a mongrel, inferior race . . .; to crush with imprisonment our leadership, and thereby kill our hopes, aspirations . . . and future of our children."

Alabama's former bachelor governor from Eufaula has been only lukewarm to the States Rights movement even though he came out strongly against President Truman. He has had little to say about political developments this year.

In July he made this statement: Jun-10-16-48

"Harry S. Truman has shown repeatedly that the South's demand to be allowed to control its local affairs . . . in accordance with the constitution, means little or nothing to him.

He Stands Pat

"I am against his election now as I was opposed to his nomination at the Philadelphia convention. I shall vote under the rooster in November for the Democratic electors who are pledged to vote against Truman."

Sparks expressed hope that the national Democratic party will force iself of "such aliens as Truman and his satellites" so the South can return to its place in the national party "with honor and pride."

Gov. Folsom, an avowed candidate for the Democratic presidential before he lost out in a campaign for a post to the party's national convention, had this to say about the situation:

Belongs To Ticket

"The president is the titular head of the Democratic party. He belongs on the ticket as a Democrat. I will vote the straight Democratic ticket in November and I hope it will be counted for president Truman."

Folsom said he regretted that Alabama voters find themselves in a position where they cannot vote for Truman even if they want to, a situation that "has never before happened in the history of this country."

There were no Truman electors on the ballot for Alabama's Democratic primaries last Summer and none have been qualified. Jun-16-10-48

McCorvey's Idea May Make Political History In U. S.

He Desires President Who Will Consider Southern Views

Montgomery Advertiser

Sun. 5-16-48

By FRANK GORDY
Staff Writer, Mobile Press Register

An Alabamian, who has never held or sought paid political office is undertaking a political mission that will make United States history, if it succeeds.

The man is Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the Alabama state Democratic executive committee.

His objective:

To elect as president of the United States, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, or some other man free of pledges or inclination to impose on the South the anti-segregation and other "civil rights" racial programs advocated by President Truman.

McCorvey is well aware that Eisenhower has refused to be considered as a candidate for the Republican nomination to the presidency, a refusal which might apply to the Democrats as well. He knows, too, that Eisenhower has expressed interest only in being president of Columbia University.

But, in McCorvey's opinion, Eisenhower is "too good a soldier to turn down the presidency, if it is turned over to him as a duty—and handed to him on a silver platter without the expense and effort necessary to obtain the nomination of either major national political party, to be followed by a long and hard campaign."

5-16-48

This is exactly what McCorvey is trying to do—hand the presidency to Eisenhower on a "silver platter," with the expectation that the general would accept as a national duty.

Possible Under Constitution

The Alabama Plan, as it is called in Washington, is possible of attainment under the U. S. Constitution, through the workings of the electoral college system.

Although it is known as the McCorvey Plan in Alabama, McCorvey himself, working all the while for its success, takes no particular pride in authorship.

"No matter whether this program is called the Alabama Plan, the McCorvey Plan, or anything else, he says, "in reality it is a plan developed at the beginning of the United States.

"The men who wrote the Constitution were wise men. They foresaw that at some time in history there might be no candidate able to get a majority of the electoral college votes. They knew that some other method of selecting a president would have to be provided for use in just such an eventuality. In their wisdom, they decided to have the president elected by the House of Representatives, when a deadlock occurs in the electoral college. What we are trying to do is is to take advantage of this provision in the Constitution."

Montgomery

"Best Chance" For South

McCorvey reasons that with each state entitled to one vote, and one vote only, in a House of Representatives election of the president, the South would have a chance of using its votes to better advantage toward election of someone not pledged to the anti-segregation program. He believes Eisenhower would be a popular choice, under such conditions.

McCorvey realizes that the South is impotent in the Democratic National Convention since abolishing of the two-thirds rule during the New Deal. As he sees it, the South's only real hope lies in deadlocking the electoral college—hence this program, already ratified by the state's voters, for withholding Alabama's 11 electoral college votes from any candidate pledged to or advocating the so-called "civil rights" program. The Alabama Supreme Court has ruled that Alabama's presidential electors can vote for anyone they please. Advertiser

McCorvey points out that unless there is a Republican landslide and if the Southern States cast their total of some 120 to 130 electoral votes for Eisenhower, neither the Democratic nominee nor the Republican nominee will receive the necessary majority (266) of the nationwide total of 531 votes. 5-16-48

In this event, the names of the three candidates receiving the greatest number of electoral votes will go before the House. McCorvey reasons that if Eisenhower's name is placed before the House, popular demand even in Republican and borderline states will assure his election.

While fully in sympathy with objectives of the group of Southerners who have organized themselves into a States' Rights Conference, with talk of running their own presidential candidate, McCorvey feels that their efforts will have no chance of success. He has attended meetings of this group in Atlanta, Ga., and Jackson, Miss, but all the while has been plumping for his own program.

5-16-48

Already nominated a member of the electoral college from Alabama, which is equivalent to election with 10 other Alabamians of similar views to be his colleagues, McCorvey now is engaged in a runoff race for a delegate-at-large seat in the Democratic national convention. Most Alabamians are agreed that he will be a member of the state's delegation to the convention.

Of the two roles, McCorvey feels that membership in the electoral college is far more important than being a delegate to the national convention.

He says that Presidential Elector McCorvey could very well say to Delegate McCorvey.

"Gessner, I don't give a hurrah whether you go to that Philadelphia convention or not, or what you do when you get there, because I am going to do the voting for President."

Nevertheless, McCorvey does want to go to the Democratic national convention as a delegate, and with that in mind he has mapped out a program of strategy.

Sun. 5-16-48

Backs "Walkout" Plan

During the preprimary campaign in Alabama he advocated the election of national convention delegates pledged to a walkout from the convention if an anti-South platform is adopted. McCorvey still favors that course, and there are indications that when the runoff primary is over it will be found that a substantial majority of the convention delegates from Alabama are pledged to the program.

Now 64 years of age, Mcorvey always has been a Democratic party faithful, even in the days when some of his close friends and business associates found it distateful to follow the hybrid party that included such later bolters as Henry Wallace. He is in his third term as chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee and for at least 30 years has taken an active part in Democratic campaigns.

A "walkout" from the national convention, under the McCorvey program, would come only as a last resort after the Alabama delegation had joined other Southerners in exhausting every effort against adoption of an anti-South candidate. He insists that this would not constitute a "bolt" from the Democratic party since, he says, the Democratic party in Alabama is a separate entity from the national Democratic party.

"I never have and never intend to bolt the Democratic party of Alabama, to which I belong," McCorvey says. He points out that when Alabama Democrats go to the polls in November they will vote the straight state party ticket, which will include anti-Truman electors.

Montgomery

McCorvey believes that the already accomplished pledging of Alabama's 11 electoral college votes against President Truman or any other man advocating an anti-South program will provide an effective bargaining weapon at the Demorcatic national convention. "We'll be there with our guns loaded, not just to talk," he says. He believes this weapon will be strengthened if backed up by a convention delegation pledged to a "walkout" in event the party platform contains anti-South provisions.

Advertiser

At the present time, McCorvey is busy—very busy—endeavoring to line up other Southern states with his program. He has acquired support in the person of Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Democratic leaders in Georgia are interested and McCorvey considers it possible that by the time the electoral college meets in December, after the November election, the South may present a united front, which could throw the choice of a President into the House.

Folsom To Take Truman Battle To Highest Court

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Makes Declaration Before Leaving For Legion Convention

10-17-48

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 16—(AP)—Gov. James E. Folsom said Saturday he will take the question of the right of Alabamians to vote for or against President Truman to the U. S. Supreme Court.

In a statement issued as he left to attend the national American Legion convention at Miami, the governor said:

B'ham Ala.

"As I view the matter at this time, our people have been denied that right—a right that should have been preserved for them by our party leaders.

State To Vote Under Shadow Of Court Fight

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The News

10-31-48

Alabamians Unable To Go For, Against President Truman

B'ham Ala.

BY REX THOMAS

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 30—(AP)—Alabama, a pushover for the Democrats since 1872, will vote for a president Tuesday under the shadow of a threatened court fight over its 11 electoral votes.

It's the only state where President Truman isn't on the ballot—unless the U. S. Supreme Court says he is.

The Democratic candidates for presidential elector—they're sure of election—have promised they won't vote for Mr. Truman under any circumstance. Their votes are pledged to the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights ticket.

But Gov. James E. Folsom insists Alabama's electoral votes belong to the president. And he says he will file a court suit, probably next week, to force the electors to support Mr. Truman.

Folsom contends that President Truman is the candidate in Alabama regardless of what the electors say. To back that up, he has taken to the stump again—one of his favorite pastimes—in behalf of the president.

* * *

Says People 'Slicked'

THE GOVERNOR'S ARGUMENT is that a "handful of slickers" have "taken the vote away from 3,000,000 people" in Alabama. He says the voters have been "denied the right" to cast their ballots "for or against the president."

The States' Righters answer is that the voters have already spoken—in the Democratic primary last May when they nominated 11 electors who had already signed a pledge to vote against Mr. Truman. Like many others in the South, they were hopping mad over his civil rights program.

10-31-48

Folsom says that explanation isn't convincing, though. He points to the fact that the pledge was made after the deadline had passed for candidates to qualify for the primary.

What's more, the governor contends, a 1945 law says the electors must support the national party nominee. And although the State Supreme Court has said unanimously that it's unconstitutional, the statute is still in force. For this reason:

The Supreme Court's decision came in an advisory opinion, which is purely informative and not binding. The law will remain until knocked out in an actual test case.

In Truman's Favor?

WHEN THAT COMES, Folsom says the U. S. Supreme Court will decide in favor of President Truman. He tried, in fact, to get the high tribunal to rule without waiting for lower court action, but gave that up after a visit to Washington this week.

His advisers predict now that the suit will be filed in Federal Court here soon after election day even if the Republicans win a clear majority of the electoral votes. Folsom has said he wants the question settled once and for all.

10-31-48

A last-minute campaign was started by a "Calhoun County (Anniston) National Democratic Committee" to get a slate of pro-Truman elector candidates on the ballot by write-in votes, but it fizzled out quickly.

A spokesman for the committee acknowledged the move was begun "without hope of success" and merely as a protest against the absence of Truman-pledged electors from the ballot.

The Republicans, meanwhile, are trying to get their slate of electors over, too, along with the Henry Wallace Progressives and the Prohibitionists. All will be on the ballot.

In addition, the GOP has candidates up for the U. S. Senate and four of the nine seats in the House of Representatives.

* * *

Parsons GOP Hope

PAUL G. PARSONS, of Birmingham, is the Republicans' hope of getting a seat in the Senate. Parsons is in the race against Sen. John Sparkman.

In the Fourth Congressional District, Sylacauga's B. Hogan Stewart is the GOP nominee against veteran Rep. Sam Hobbs, of Selma. W. P. (Bill) Ivey, of Columbiana, is running against Edward deGraffenreid, of Tuscaloosa, the Democratic candidate in the Sixth District.

Harry J. Frahn, of Sheffield, is opposing Democratic Rep. Bob Jones, of Scottsboro, in the Ninth, and Hiram Dodd's name is on the Republican ticket in opposition to Rep. Laurie Battle in the Ninth (Birmingham) District.

10-31-48

The other five Democrats, unopposed, have clear sailing. They are Rep. Frank Boykin in the First District, Rep. George Grant in the Second, Rep. George Andrews in the Third, Rep. Albert Rains in the Fifth, and Carl Elliott in the Seventh.

Democrats are without opposition, too, in running for two places on the state Supreme Court and for president of the Public Service Commission. Justice Thomas S. (Buster) Lawson and Justice Robert T. Simpson are up for reelection on the court, and Gordon Persons for the APSC.

* * *

Others In Clear

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES likewise are unopposed for six circuit judgeships and one circuit solicitor.

Reuben Wright is alone in the Sixth Circuit race; Alta King in the 10th; Kelly Fite in the 25th; J. B. Hicks in the 26th; J. S. Stone in the 27th, and Telfair J. Mashburn, Jr., in the 28th Circuit.

Also on the ballot Tuesday will be 11 proposed constitutional amendments, three of statewide concern and the other eight purely local.

Probably most important to the state as a whole is Amendment No. 5. It would authorize any county except Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery to put on a special four-mill property tax to finance public hospitals.

Before the tax could be levied, the voters in each county would have to approve it in a referendum.

10-31-48

* * *

Two Counties Affected

TWO OTHER HOSPITAL amendments are up, but each would affect only one county. No. 2 would authorize a tax in Marion County; No. 3 in Escambia.

Another matter of statewide interest is Amendment No. 9. If it is ratified, no court of record could be abolished or located outside any county seat without the voters' approval.

Amendment No. 10, also affecting every county, would provide for appointment of National Guard officers instead of having them elected, as they are now, by members of their units. It also would raise the pay of enlisted men to the level of the Regular Army.

Most controversial of the local amendments is No. 11, which would give the Legislature power to consolidate city and county governments in Jefferson County. This may be the most hotly contested of all the proposed constitutional changes.

* * *

Others Listed

THE OTHERS on the ballot are:

No. 1—To put the tax assessor, tax collector, probate judge, sheriff, circuit clerk and register in chancery in Talladega County on a salary instead of fee basis.

No. 4—To authorize Tuscaloosa County to vote a special five-mill school tax.

No. 6—To let Jefferson County issue bonds to pay for new sewers and sewage disposal plants.

No. 7—To abolish justices of the peace and create an Inferior Court in Dothan.

No. 8—To authorize any school district in Jefferson County to raise taxes to the level of those levied for schools in the city of Birmingham.

Folsom Urges Mass Protest

The News

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 30—Gov. James E. Folsom issued an executive order Saturday calling a mass meeting in protest against absence of Truman electors from Tuesday's general election ballot.

10-31-48

The meeting was set for 11 a.m. Monday, Nov. 1 at the capitol.

The governor's executive secretary, O. H. Finney, Jr., who released the proclamation, announced simultaneously that Folsom had called an emergency cabinet meeting Saturday night.

B'ham Ala.

He expressed doubt any announcement would be made as to what takes place at the meeting.

Folsom announced at Albertville earlier Saturday. He would issue an executive order in regard to a statement by Alabama's Democratic electors that they won't obey a court order to vote for Truman.

The electors signed a statement saying "neither the governor nor the courts are going to force us to vote for Truman." They also denounced what they called Folsom's attempt "to drive votes away from the Democratic ticket in Alabama."

Voice Of The People

McCorvey And Stalin

To the Editor of The News:

The News

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Alabama, a so-called Democratic state, is run as a personal affair by Mr. McCorvey and his Democratic State Executive Committee—state politburo. Mr. McCorvey follows closely in Stalin's footsteps.

Stalin insists not on unity but unanimity. Mr. McCorvey follows suit. Stalin purges party members who stray from party directives. Mr. McCorvey says to Sen. Langan, "Support States' Rights ticket if you wish to run as a Democratic candidate in 1950."

10-31-48

Sen. Langan is one officeholder who publicly defies Mr. McCorvey. When nearly all candidates and possible candidates agree with Mr. McCorvey, there is something phoney.

B'ham Ala.

Stalin uses the bogey of capitalism. Mr. McCorvey uses the bogey of Negro domination. There is fear, graft and mismanagement of public affairs behind the iron curtain. In Alabama there is fear of Mr. McCorvey's disapproval as well as misuse of public funds and mismanagement of state affairs by governor, Legislature when in session and other state officials. Millions of state funds are poured down ratholes.

Stalin operates through a selected party with list of candidates to be okehed or else. Mr. McCorvey operates through a select party using the Boswell amendment and pledged word of primary voters to insure election of primary candidates.

Stalin wins majority approval by sending to slave labor camps those who disagree. Mr. McCorvey has for his assistance the 40-year-old non-reapportionment of Alabama, thus insuring an illegally elected Legislature.

The people of Russia and satellites do as they are told. In Alabama a vote for the States' Rights ticket is a vote for approval of continued dictatorship by Mr. McCorvey and his politburo.

W. G. KITTS.

'State's Rights' Democrats Form Alabama Organization

Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala

BIRMINGHAM, ALA. — (AP)— A permanent organization of Alabama state's rights Democrats was set up here Friday.

They were pledged by resolution to: Sat. 6-19-48

Oppose President Truman, oppose any Democratic presidential nominee who supports the Truman civil rights program, insist upon a strong state's rights plank in the 1948 party platform, and to make a vigorous fight at the Philadelphia convention against "any proposals contrary" to the first three. 6-19-48

Marion Rushton, Democratic national committeeman for Alabama, was named chairman of the executive committee of the new group. Donald Comer, Birmingham, textile manufacturer, was chosen vice-chairman.

Horace Wilkinson, a speaker at Friday's meeting, said the new **group was not one for 1948, but** would remain in being to "carry out the wishes of Southern and Alabama Democrats in future years." 6-19-48

Also Elector

Wilkinson is one of the 11 Alabama presidential electors. All are pledged against voting for Truman next November.

Ex-Gov. Frank M. Dixon, Birmingham, outlined the "plan of action" adopted by anti-Truman Democrats at the May meeting in Jackson, Miss. The Alabama group endorsed this plan.

It would warn the Democratic convention, in advance, of the anti-Truman and anti-civil rights stand of Southern delegations. These moves would be plotted at a regional caucus to be held in Philadelphia or Washington prior to the opening of the Democratic convention July 12.

If Southern delegations are seated, after the warning of the anti-civil rights stand, delegates would fight measures contrary to the states' rights program.

Scheduled In July

A Southern ~~Democatic~~ convention has been tentatively scheduled for Birmingham on July 17. The "plan of action" asserts the convention here would be held "should any of the following occur: 6-19-48

"In the event the Southern delegations are not seated; if Mr. Truman or some other person who has not disavowed the so-called civil rights program is nominated, or should the convention fail to adopt a strong states' rights platform."

Dixon explained that the July 17 date was set because of "the necessity of having names for the ballot in the Texas precinct elections July 24."

He said the Birmingham convention would "suggest names for president and vice president" to the Southern states.

In addition to Rushton and Comer, members of the Alabama states' rights executive committee are: Sat. 6-19-48

First district, Gessner T. McCorvey, state Democratic executive committee chairman, Mobile; second, Robert B. Allbritton, Andalusia; third, Wallace Malone, Dothan; fourth, Tom Abernethy, Talladega; fifth, Walker Lusk, Guntersville; sixth, Robert K. Greene, Greensboro; seventh, Charles Wiggins, Jasper; eighth, Norman W. Harris, Decatur, and Ninth, Sidney W. Smyer, Birmingham.

Hamm Concedes Clear-Cut Loss In Senate Race

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Wed. 5-5-48

Sen. Hill In Lead For At-Large Post, Folsom Is Trailing

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Alabama Democrats, voicing their protest against President Truman's "civil rights" program with ballots, today apparently had made certain the president cannot get this state's 11 electoral votes.

But unofficial returns from about one-third of the state's 2,330 boxes indicated this state would send a delegation to the Democratic national Convention made up of both those favoring and opposing a walkout.

Presidential elector candidates pledged against Truman or any other advocate of his "civil rights" proposals were running far ahead of those who refused to pledge.

Which brought this declaration from State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, candidate for both delegates and elector: Wed. 5-5-48

"President Truman's goose is cooked as far as Alabama is concerned."

Yesterday's voting also apparently had dealt a blow to Gov. Folsom's vote-getting prestige.

* * *

SEN. JOHN SPARKMAN, who returned to Washington today, had overwhelmed Folsom-backed Phillip Hamm, former state revenue commissioner, in the U. S. Senate race. Three other candidates did not figure in this race.

At Montgomery Hamm conceded defeat in the Senate race and wired congratulations to Sparkman. His telegram: The News

"The people have approved the policies you have advocated. That is democracy and you have my wholehearted support and cooperation in carrying out those policies. Please accept my congratulations."

And Folsom, running as "favorite son" presidential aspirant, was not among the leaders in the race for eight delegate-at-large places. Some had picked the governor to lead the ticket.

Sen. Lister Hill was leading the 24-candidate at-large delegate race, with Handy Ellis, former lieutenant governor and runoff opponent of Folsom in 1946, close behind Hill. Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

THE FOUR FRONT RUNNERS in the delegate race included Sen. Hill and former Gov. Sparks, who strongly opposed the walkout proposal, and Eugene (Bull) Connor and Ellis, who are pledged to walk out. Wed. 5-5-48

Rep. Laurie Battle apparently had won renomination over two opponents — former Rep. Luther Patrick and George D. Patterson, Jr., Birmingham lawyer.

But Rep. Carter Manasco, veteran Seventh District congressman, conceded defeat for his seat in Congress to Carl Elliott, Jasper attorney and World War II veteran.

Another veteran congressman, Rep. Pete Jarman, was in a close Sixth District race with Edward DeGraffenreid, Tuscaloosa, circuit solicitor. Other incumbent congressmen were ahead in their races, with the Eighth District's Rep. Bob Jones unopposed.

Winston Committee Is Against Walkout

The Advertiser

HALEYVILLE, ALA. — (AP) The Winston County Democratic Executive Committee adopted Saturday a resolution opposing a proposed walkout of Alabama delegates to the Democratic national convention. Montgomery, Ala

The resolution terms the State Democratic Executive Committee's action in requesting the pledge undemocratic. The resolution was approved by a vote of 14-1. Sun.

Former State Senator Bart J. Cowart, W. R. Gulledge and Circuit Court Judge Roy Mayhall, Jasper, all spoke in opposition to the pledge. Mayhall and Cowart are candidates for elector.

Opie Gamble, retired Haleyville business man, cast the lone vote against the resolution. 4-18-48

State Electors Called On To Pledge Support To Truman, Barkley

News

Birmingham, Ala.

Sun. 8-29-48

Presidential Backers Say They Will Go Into Courts If Plea Ignored

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Alabama pro-Truman Democrats Saturday called on electors nominated in the party primary May 4 to pledge their support to the Truman-Barkley ticket or resign.

If they fail to do this, Mobile States Sen. Joseph H. Langan, who called a statewide rally in behalf of the president here, said twin mandamus proceedings would be instituted in State and Federal Courts in an attempt to force the elector nominees to support the national Democratic Party standard-bearers. Sun. 8-29-48

Langan and his group earlier had abandoned plans to nominate a slate of pro-Truman electors and seek to get them placed on the Nov. 2 general election ballot in opposition to the party elector nominees. The latter already are pledged to support the States Rights Thurmond-Wright presidential ticket.

"What we want to do is give the voters of Alabama an opportunity to vote for presidential candidatese of their choice in the November election," Sen. Langan told a committee session of Truman supporters Saturday afternoon at the Thomas Jefferson Hotel. Birmingham, Ala

This brief meeting, attended by some 75 persons, including leaders of organized labor, preceded a Truman rally Saturday night in the ballroom. This rally was addressed by the Mobile lawmaker and Roy D. McCord, Gadsden attorney and non-walkout member of the Alabama delegation to the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia.

* * *

Reads Resolution

SEN. LANGAN READ a resolution, which was to be adopted at the night meeting, calling upon the "electors chosen in the Democratic primary to openly pledge their support" to the Truman-Barkley ticket or resign "so that said party may replace them with electors who will." Sun. 8-29-48

Guy A. Matlock, Birmingham, former Machinists Union publicity director and chairman of the Jefferson County Truman rally group, told the afternoon committee gathering that their aim was to preserve the Democratic Party.

"We are going to maintain the fight to preserve the Democratic Party," declared Matlock, "and to banish from the party those who would destroy it."

In referring to McCord, the night session speaker, Matlock said, "Mr. McCord was an Alabama delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Philadelhia and he didn't walk out like some of these modern carpetbaggers."

This brought applause from his listeners.

Sen. Langan explained before the meeting that pro-Truman Democrats had changed their minds about attempting to nominate and get a separate slate of elector candidates' names on the Nov. 2 ballot. He ponited out that such a slate, even if on the ballot, would be listed as independents. Thus, he added, they would not appear on the ballot under the Democratic Party emblem, since those attending the meeting had not been officially recognized by the Democratic National Committee.

* * *

Twin Court Actions

THE MOBILE SENATOR said that twin court actions probably would be filed in state and federal tribunals at Montgomery.

The resolution prepared for adoption stated that the Birmingham mass meeting which nominated South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright "was not composed of delegates elected by the people" and "was not a meeting of the Democratic Party." Instead, the resolution added, those attending this session had been referred as "Dixiecrats" and members of the "States' Rights Party."

The resolution went on to state that under Section 226, Title 17, Alabama Code of 1940, requires that electors shall vote for the nominees of the party under whose auspices they sought election.

A number of labor leaders attended the Birmingham pro-Truman meeting, just as they did the first "state convention" called by Sen. Langan at Montgomery two weeks ago. Among these were Carey Haigler, CIO regional director; William Mitch, United Mine Workers district president; Hugh W. Brown, executive committee chairman of the AFL State Committee for Political Education, and others.

Earlier, Sen. Langan had said the group would ask the State Democratic Executive Committee to instruct the Democratic elector nominees to cast their votes for Truman and Barkley in the electoral college.

* * *

Won't Call Committee

STATE DEMOCRATIC Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, one of the 11 anti-Truman elector nominees, said he would not call the committee together for such purpose. But he did say one member of the state committee (he intimated he was Bart J. Cowart, Haleyville) would support efforts to get pro-Truman electors on the state ballot.

McCorvey and other States' Rights leaders previously had urged that pro-Truman electors be placed on the ballot for a test of voter sentiment between the two elements of the party.

Sen. Langan named McCord chairman of the Truman group's resolutions committee. Other members appointed were Brown, Eugene Wells, Mrs. George A. O'Connell and George Trawick.

The Advertiser

Tues [illegible]

Montgomery Ala

EMPTY CHAIRS WERE PLENTIFUL Monday at the meeting held here in the Blue and Gray Room of the Whitley Hotel by a group of Alabamians who called themselves loyal supporters of the National Democratic Party. Called by State Senator Joseph Langan, Mobile, (lower left) they met here to work out a method to get on the Alabama general election ballot a slate of electors favorable to President Truman. The top view show the majority of the 30 to 35 who attended the meeting and filled only a few of the approximately 250 chairs. The lower right picture shows the second largest concentration of persons at the meeting. And most of those in the latter picture are State labor leaders. Several in the top picture are reporters who covered the meeting.

TUESDAY'S FISHERMEN

The Advertiser

Wed 10-27-48

Montgomery, Ala

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Our agreement with Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, is not what may be accurately termed habitual. But when he exhorts every eligible voter to go to the polls Tuesday we echo him. A great many Alabamians are going to "go fishing" election day. Such people ought to be ashamed of themselves. It is a sorry evasion, a default on responsibility, an indefensible weakness.

For some time it has been clear that thousands of Alabamians, not finding an entirely acceptable choice on the ballot, decided simply to stay away from the polls and let fellow citizens cast Alabama's vote.

We are entirely in sympathy with the impulse that prompts a great many of these election day fishermen. The impulse is not unworthy, but obedience to the impulse is. They wouldn't vote for Truman if they could. For this reason, that reason and Wilkinson—they simply cannot warm to the Thurmond-Wright ticket. Naturally they have no use for Josef Wallace's Progressive Party or the Prohibition Party. They actually think a Republican vote would be the sound thing, but for lack of innards and the ancient prejudice they simply cannot vote Republican. So their way out is to remain away from the polls.

There are scores of variations in the thinking and attitudes of those who plan to forfeit their bonds as citizens by fishing election day. As we say, the impulse is entirely understandable and sympathy cannot be withheld by a reasonable person. We do not hold that there are any 100 per cent attractive tickets on the ballot.

Wed 10-27-48

But as between Thurmond, Wallace, Dewey and the Prohibition candidate—one of these is a shade or a whit better alternative than the other three. Few of us would estimate the desirability of the alternatives precisely the same. But it is the duty of the self-respecting voter to wring from his mind, knowledge and conscience an opinion and vote it Tuesday though it be necessary to spit in the devil's eye en route.

To want to fish Tuesday is entirely pardonable. That takes in a lot of us. But to do so is to admit that you lack the wits to make a choice or the character and dominion over your own prejudices to register the choice.

Afterwards, when perhaps you are instructing your children in the responsibilities of citizenship or are deriding a politician for his flabbiness, you will—if you are frank with yourself—have to remember that you straddled in the 1948 presidential election.

That takes in also those who have now decided that they would prefer to vote for Truman and the National Democratic ticket, but can't because Truman won't be represented on the Alabama ballot. An overwhelming majority of Alabamians voted for that condition in May and June. But even then any 11 Alabamians who wanted Truman on the ballot could themselves have qualified and their names would be on the ballot Tuesday, the same as Wallace's. But they didn't and that's all that happened.

SHORT OF A SPECIAL SESSION

The Advertiser

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Wed 10-20-48

Montgomery, Ala

Folsom and The Advertiser are at one in wishing that Alabama was not the only state in the Union in which Truman's name does not appear on the ballot. There the similarity ends.

The peckerwood goes a-wailin' over the broad fair hummocks and savannahs of our commonwealth a-gnashin' his teeth over the shame of it all. Acting as amicus curiae of the people, he's going to have a Philadelphia lawyer enter a suit in the U. S. Supreme Court to force Dixiecrat electors to do right and vote for Truman—contrary to their oath.

He has been wallowing for four moons in his dejection over the Truman ballot obliteration. He was willing to do anything to set things right—anything but that which they did in Georgia, Florida and Louisiana—call a special session of the legislature to provide for Truman's addition to the ballot! His tears are crocodile tears both as to size and chemistry.

RIDICULOUS POSTURE

The Advertiser

Senator Lister Hill made it plain to an Alabama Journal reporter yesterday that he stands ready to join Senator John Sparkman in his questionable posture.

That is, the two Alabama senators have declared war to the knife and the knife to the hilt on President Truman, but they are at the ready to further the candidacies of Democratic congressmen and senators in other states.

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"I feel free to campaign for Democratic senators and Democratic representatives," Senator Hill told The Journal.

Senator Sparkman has declared similarly.

Wed 9-1-48

Would that, for example, take in Mayor Hubert Humphries of Minneapolis? Humphries is the Democratic candidate for senator. Humphries also happens to be the man who led the successful fight at the Philadelphia convention for the Civil Disturbance plank which caused the Alabama walkout. Humphries is the enemy.

Montgomery Ala

Would Hill and Sparkman aid Humphries to reach the Senate because he is labeled the candidate of the Democratic Party?

Consider a less spectacular example, any eastern or western state where the two Alabama senators might go to campaign for Democratic congressmen. If the senators make votes for such Democratic candidates, they will obviously also make votes for Truman. Actually the two senators would be campaigning as much for Truman as for the Democratic congressmen. Their speeches would be blanket strengthening of the Democratic ticket, which takes in Truman.

Wed 9-1-48

IT IS, THEN, a ridiculous posture to mount the stump in other states to oppose Truman and support Democratic candidates for Congress. It is like shooting into a covey of quail with the aim of hitting only the males.

Yet it is not sound to write off Hill and Sparkman in this case simply as opportunistic knaves, each seeking to retain White House favor and patronage. Only the splenetic and preordained enemies of the two senators will argue that.

In the first place. Truman has less than five months left of his tenure. In the second place, ye real strumpet opportunist would be sounding his klaxon in behalf of the Dixiecrats because that is the popular side in Alabama today.

The senators know that. Yet they have only cold showers for the Thurmond fourth party movement. Yesterday, for example, Senator Hill, who faces a 1950 reelection high jump, told The Journal:

"The South cannot isolate itself and hope to receive equal treatment in the nation's household or to play its full part in helping to obtain so many things that are vital to it."

Wed 9-1-48

Obviously Senator Hill regards the States' Rights Party as an impotent wheeze.

BUT AT the same time Hill will vote for the Thurmond-Wright ticket. He will vote for it because it is under the Rooster. He will vote for Thurmond, but he will campaign for the Democratic ticket in other states, which necessarily takes in Truman.

It has to be admitted that the apple-cheeked junior senator and the pale senior senator could have it easier in the present upheaval if they would simply lie low. But in their rather timid assertion of independence, they have assumed an ungainly if not ridiculous posture.

However, this is a political season of posture contests. For example, it is insisted that, despite Alabama's opposition to the nominee of the national Democratic Party, the state is still a stronghold of the Democratic Party. Thurmond is the nominee of the "Alabama Democratic Party," but the official name of his party and the one being used in many other states is "States' Rights Party."

After The Election

The News

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—With the Dixiecrat revolt, the old political pattern of the South has been broken wide open. The artificial alliance which kept John Rankin and Hubert Humphrey in the same party has been ruptured. The contrasting political situations in Alabama and Georgia suggest two different versions of the new pattern which, after Nov. 2, may begin to replace the old.

34d

In Alabama, a strangely muted battle is in progress. The story of this silent drama can best be told in terms of two of its chief actors, Lister Hill, Alabama's tall, genial senator, and Frank Dixon, former governor and leader of the state's Dixiecrats.

Sun 10-24-48

Although he is a mild-mannered man who has always fought Klu-Kluxism, Dixon is what the Northern liberals mean when they talk about "Southern reactionaries." On the racial issue, Dixon has recently said (and passionately believes) that the Truman civil rights proposals would "reduce us to the status of a mongrel, inferior race, mixed in blood, our Anglo-Saxon heritage a mockery." Hill has never beaten the drums for "white supremacy." But like every Southern politician, he is deeply opposed to federal civil rights legislation. Therefore the real difference between Hill and his allies and Dixon and his Dixiecrats does not concern civil rights.

B'ham Ala

* * *

Difference Elsewhere

THE DIFFERENCE LIES ELSEWHERE. To Dixon, the National Democratic Party has become, since 1933, "an unholy alliance of left-wingers, pseudo liberals and radicals of as many hues as Joseph's coat." But Hill has been a party to this wicked alliance. Throughout his career he has been that rare bird among Southern Democrats, a moderate New Dealer. Except on the racial issue, he has voted pretty regularly like the typical Northern Democrat. That is what the battle is really about.

Hill refused to walk out of the Democratic convention, and Dixon reports bitterly that he even refused to answer a letter inviting him to join the Dixiecrat crusade. There is good reason to believe that the Dixiecrats are now out to defeat Hill and everything he stands for when he comes up for reelection in 1950.

Sun 10-24-48

Hill knows this, but for a peculiar reason he cannot fight the Dixiecrats openly. Alabama law requires that a would-be candidate must have supported the candidate of his party in the previous election. J. Strom Thurmond is the official candidate of the Alabama Democratic Party — indeed, the Democratic electors are committed to Thurmond, so that it will be physically impossible for any Alabama citizen to cast his vote in November for Harry S. Truman. Thus if Hill denounced the Dixiecrats, he could be legally eliminated by his Dixiecrat enemies from the 1950 Democratic primary race.

But it is believed that once the election is safely over, Hill will come out fighting. Indeed, he must do so, for his political life is at stake. Thus what is in prospect in Alabama is a running battle which will start, not end, on Nov. 2.

The News

On one side will be those, like Hill, who generally think like Northern Democrats, except on the race issue, and want to stick with the party. On the other side will be those, like Dixon, who generally think like Republicans on national issues, and who want in effect to break all ties with the Democrats of the North. Dixon talks of a permanent regional party in the South, holding the balance of power in Congress, and thus wielding decisive bargaining power.

Sun 10-24-48

B'ham Ala

Some such open, official split between the right and left wings of the Democratic Party—in effect, a two-party system—may emerge as the political pattern throughout the South. Yet what is going on in Georgia suggests a different outcome. Georgia's next governor, Herman Talmadge, has not openly split

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THE FOLSOM-CARMICHAEL GAMBLE

The Advertiser

Five months ago Folsom was campaigning against Truman. He said there wasn't a man or woman in America that had any confidence in Truman. Now Folsom is out campaigning in behalf of Truman.

Fri 10-15-48

Among other things, Folsom said that he was worried about certain North Alabama Counties electing Republican officials.

That anxiety would apply with real force in the case of Carl Elliott, the Democratic nominee for Congress from the 7th District. Elliott may be in some trouble here, for there were times when even Speaker Will Bankhead was anxious.

34d (Ala)

The 7th District takes in Franklin, Marion, Winston, Cullman, Blount, Walker, Fayette, Lamar, Pickens. Winston is chronically Republican, whereas Cullman and Walker are intermittently sc In this G. O. P. year, it is therefore possible that Congressman-nominate Elliott is running in ploughed ground (against Walter Denton).

Montgomery Ala

No doubt, as an incident to Folsom's campaigning for the Truman Democratic ticket, he will espouse the cause of Elliott. It might be added that Elliott is campaigning for the Dixiecrat ticket.

Folsom says his speeches will be "explanatory."

"The people," he said, "are confused."

But as we were saying, five months ago Folsom ran for delegate to the Democratic convention. He ran last, receiving the most humiliating defeat in modern Alabama history. He is probably the only governor Alabama ever refused to send to a convention.

But these five months later Folsom is back seeking to peddle his wares again.

The peddling couldn't, of course, be in worse hands. For despite the forthrightness and legitimacy of the processes which led to the withholding of the state's electoral votes from Truman, it is true that the people are, as Folsom says, confused.

Fri 10-15-48

It is true that had the Truman forces been forehanded enough, they could have gotten on the ballot as did Wallace's Progressive Party and the Prohibition Party. But that is not generally understood.

What has sunk in is that Alabama is the only state in the Union where it is physically impossible for a citizen to vote for Truman, the Democratic nominee for President.

It may be that Folsom and Atty. Gen. Carmichael will be able to exploit this unwholesome circumstance in the future. Due to the confusion in the minds of the public and Folsom, the Alabama short ballot has backfire possibilities.

with the national party. He has not done so because he believes that after the forthcoming defeat of Truman, the Southern Democrats will again be able to dominate the party, and Talmadge wants to be one of those doing the dominating.

* * *

Talmadge No Fool

WHATEVER ELSE HE IS, Talmadge is no fool. But something has happened in Georgia which is paralleled, in other Southern states, and which may in the long run bode ill for such Southern Democrats as Talmadge. The Republican Party in Georgia has been showing real signs of life—so much life that Thomas E. Dewey may win a plurality in November. Even if he does not, Dewey will have at his disposal some 3,600 jobs in the state. Georgia Republicans somewhat smugly point out that these will provide a useful political base on which to construct an effective state Republican organization.

Effective Republican competition would certainly siphon off much of the conservative support which men like Talmadge now enjoy. This in turn would tend in the long run to shape the Southern Democratic Party increasingly in the Northern image, and might lead to a lasting North-South Democratic reconciliation, provided some compromise formula on tthe racial issue was found.

Whatever political pattern eventually emerges in the South, one thing seems clear. The old one-party system, which so often reduced Southern politics to the level of a popularity contest without real political choice, may not be doomed. But it is closely threatened as never before. If it dies, there will be few to regret its passing.

Big Jim Stumps For Harry Today

Governor Folsom is scheduled to deliver three speeches in North Alabama today to "explain the election" to voters and, if he can, to help President Truman.

He is to speak at Jasper at 10:30 a.m.; Hamilton at 1 p.m., and Russellville at 3:30 p.m.

Sunday he plans to leave for Washington to see, among other things, if he can file a suit in the U. S. Supreme Court to force Alabama's 11 Democratic presidential electors to support the President. They are pledged to vote for the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights ticket.

Announcing plans for his stumping campaign, Folsom said he will speak for "the straight Democratic Party" and will concentrate on counties "where there is danger the Republicans might win" on Nov. 2.

In his speeches, the governor also is expected to repeat his charges that the people "have been denied the right to vote for or against the President." Alabama is the only state where Truman-pledged electors are not on the ballot.

'Stick By Party' State Democrats Urged By Sparks

Gov. Folsom Sticking By Move To Give Alabama To Truman

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, who never joined the States' Rights movement, today called on "all Democrats in Alabama to close ranks and get behind the Democratic Party."

Sparks, who was a stay-in delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention, predicted that the "civil rights" program which so aroused the South, will be a "dead issue" after the next session of Congress.

The former governor said, "It stands to reason that the civil rights program either will be enacted into law or will have been abandoned." And he does not think it will be enacted into law.

But Sparks declared that the states "should assume their responsibilities and do something about these issues themselves."

"If we believe in states' rights, and we say we do," added Sparks, "then we should talk more about states' responsibilities as well as states' rights."

Sparks told The News he was "surprised" at the election of President Truman, "but I think his election will be better for the South." He said he did not advocate the election of Truman, adding "I voted under the rooster."

* * *

HE POINTED OUT that the States' Rights Democratic movement was started for the express purpose of fighting Truman's racial policies, but he said leaders of this movement "never had a positive program."

Sparks said President Truman, in winning the election, "demonstrated a character of leadership I never thought was in him. People now will have more confidence in Mr. Truman and he'll be a much better president because he'll have more confidence in himself.

* * *

HE POINTED OUT the election proved that the people "are thinking for themselves," and this is seplling the doom to the big political machines such as those of Chicago, Memphis and Kansas, which can only thrive on ignorance and prejudice."

Sparks, who was elected as a non-walkout delegate, served on the Democratic National Convention's platform committee and fought doggedly to work out a compromise "civil rights" plank acceptable to both South and North. He strongly disagreed with Truman's racial proposals.

State Sen. Broughton Lamberth, Alexander City, one of Folsom's lieutenants, joined his chief in promising legal action would be instituted.

Lamberth said a suit would be filed "if I have to do it in my own name," adding it would be filed before noon "if I live to sign my name."

Sen. Lamberth was chosen chairman of pro-Truman forces at a Montgomery mass meeting called by Folsom the day before election to protest against Alabamians not having a chance to vote for the president. Truman was not represented on the ballot.

Statements were issued by Gov. Folsom and Sen. Lamberth following reports that the governor's committee of legal advisers had decided against instituting court action in the squabble over the electors.

State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, one of the state's 11 electors and a leader in the States' Rights campaign against Truman and for Gov. Strom Thurmond, earlier said the governor's activities in behalf of Truman were to "gain publicity."

* * *

McCORVEY AND several of the electors have said there is no force that can make them go back on their campaign pledges not to vote for Truman.

Lamberth said proceedings against the electors would be filed in both state and federal courts.

Adjt. Gen. James S. Saliba, named chairman of a finance committee to raise funds for the litigation, announced that $600 had been raised. He said groups were being organized in cities and counties over the state to receive donations.

The Democratic ticket, which was pledged to Thurmond, won a lopsided victory in Tuesday's voting over Republicans. The Wallace Progressive and Prohibition tickets polled only a handful of votes.

Meanwhile, pro-Truman forces in Mississippi pushed ahead with plans to take over the Democratic Party in that state, which gave 80 per cent of its vote to the Thurmond States' Rights Democratic ticket.

State Rep. Philip E. Mullen, vice chairman of the pro-Truman Democratic Executive Committe, said his group is sending a representative to Washington to seek recognition from the national Democratic Party.

MULLEN PREDICTED that the national party would recognize Clarence E. Hood, Jr., Meridian, named by Mullen's group as Democratic national committeeman, after Mississippi party officials veered to the States' Righters.

Mississippi Gov. Fielding Wright, Thurmond's vice presidential running mate, has congratulated President Truman on his surprise election and pledged "full cooperation within the framework of the Constitution in your efforts to preserve world peace and find peace and happiness for our people at home."

"Our fight for States' Rights," said Gov. Wright, "was a fight to preserve the principle of local self-government and we shall fight for this fundamental precept of the Constitution whenever the need may arise."

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL amendments in Mississippi to require "a good moral character" as a voting qualification, which was aimed principally at Negroes, and also calling for annual legislative sessions, were defeated by big majorities.

Vote tabulations showed the Mississippians rejected, 71,272 to 29,565, the voting proposal and turned thumbs down on holding annual sessions of the Legislature by 75,301 to 27,038.

The Election Commission here began an official canvass of election returns at 10 a.m. at the courthouse, with the count expected to be completed late in the day. Commission members are Sheriff Holt McDowell, Probate Judge Tom Garner and Circuit Court Clerk Julian Swift.

Sparks' call for a united Democratic Party came as Gov. Folsom reiterated at Montgomery that he would file legal proceedings in an attempt to force Alabama's Democratic electors, pledged to Strom Thurmond, to vote for Truman in the electoral college.

Predicting the "civil rights" proposals will become "dead issues," Sparks asked the States' Righters:

"What will they be fighting for—a dead past? There is no value in a third party. They should get hehind the Democratic Party."

Pointing to election results, the former governor said "all Democrats of Alabama have an obligation to join ranks in support of the new four-year administration under President Truman."

* * *

"ALABAMA CANNOT isolate herself politically any more than she can industrially or commercially," Sparks emphasized. "We are a part of this great nation and we must find some way to express ourselves through channels of national scope."

Sparks, whose administration did much for schools, including Negro schools, urged "Improved standards—particularly in education—for the Negro through a program to be worked out in cooperation with Negro doctors, lawyers and educators."

He said the time has come when we must have "more and better technical training for everyone, white and black."

As for Truman's election, Sparks said: "I was rather surprised. I couldn't explain it. It was very interesting.

"We all were distracted from the real basic philosophy of the Democratic Party—the party, we must remember, that had brought us out of the wilderness, like old Moses did."

'Stamp' Plan Proposed By Truman Backer

PHENIX CITY, ALA., Oct. 9.—(AP)—Mayor Homer D. Cobb today proposed a method whereby Alabama voters could support President Truman.

In a plea for "people's rights," the mayor announced that Russell County polling places will provide rubber stamps so voters can "make" the state's electors, already pledged to presidential candidate J. Strom Thurmond, vote for Truman.

Cobb urged all Alabama to follow Russell's example in allowing voters to name Truman by the write-in method, in an open letter mailed last week to Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Under the Russell arrangement, voters will be permitted to stamp Truman's name underneath the Democratic ticket, which carries no candidate's name, and has a "white supremacy" emblem.

34d 1948

Democratic (Alabama)

Segregation Talk Inspires Bolt Threat

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

34d

Tues. 1-27-48

Party's State Committee, Meeting Here, Voices Views On 'Liberalism'

Secession Talked

Col. Rushton Says He's Disturbed By Report On These 'Civil Rights'

With Mrs. Lennard Thomas, National Democratic Committeewoman from Alabama, sounding the keynote of Southern solidarity against any move on the part of the National Democratic Party to disturb the South's segregation laws, the State Democratic Executive Committee here Monday let it be known that there "are limits to what can be endured" concerning an anti-segregation plank in the 1948 platform and brought up the possibility of a bolt. The Advertiser

Gathered here to set up the rules for the coming May and June primaries, the Executive Committee, governing body of State Democrats, unanimously adopted a resolution instructing delegates to the convention in Philadelphia in July to "resist with all their ability and power any and every attempt to insert in the ((1948 platform) any proposal that would directly or indirectly favor or allow any Federal legislation which would abolish or tend to abolish racial segregation." Montgomery, Ala.

The resolution was introduced by Tom Abernathy, editor of the Talladega Daily Home and committee member from the Fourth District. Tues. 1-27-48

Qualifying Deadline

Another resolution adopted by the committee set March 1 as the qualifying deadline for the May 4 primary in which 26 delegates to the national convention will be elected.

Also up for election at that time will be the Democratic National Committeeman and Committeewoman, 11 presidential electors, the U. S. Senate seat now held by Senator John Sparkman, all nine congressional seats, presidency of the Alabama Public Service Commission, two State Supreme Court seats (those held by Associate Justices Thomas S. Lawson and Robert T. Smpson), and several county positions.

Asking that Southern Democrats not secede from the National party, Mrs. Thomas declared that leaders in Washington were "scared" of the South because "you have got the power."

However, she chided, "you don't use it, you just sit down."

She then called on the Alabama Democrats to let the National leaders know that the South has the power, to organize and let that power be felt. 1-27-48

It is only when that happens that the South will be able to get some benefits out of the national leaders, she continued. Adding that 13 Southern States are ready to organize, she asked that that be done in an effort to get some recognition.

Such a banding together, Mrs. Thomas asserted, would not be to seceed but an effort to keep State's rights and segregation within the present party structure. The Advertiser Tues.

Col. Marion Rushton, local attorney and Democratic National Committeeman, in making his report to the committee said he was "greatly disturbed by the attitude and report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights." Montgomery, Ala.

BAD AIM

The act yesterday of the State Democratic Executive Committee was one of impoverished wisdom.

34d Ala.

It was aimless to the point of hysteria.

The committee is apprehensive that at the Democratic National Convention this summer the party will adopt an anti-segregation plank. The Advertiser

Dragooned by this anxiety, the committee unanimously adopted a resolution which tells the Democratic Party for Alabama that the state might forsake the party. Montgomery, Ala. Tues. 1-27-48

The resolution asserted that an anti-segregation plank "could but force every southerner into the undesired position of determining which is the greater loyalty, that to the South, or that to the party."

And where is it that the South has to go?

To the third party of Henry Wallace?

To the Republican Party whose congressional majority hasn't any idea of letting another session pass without enactment of an F. E. P. C. statute?

In this circumstance, the South hasn't got anywhere to go. We're not kidding anybody. Talk of bolting will be received as tiresome bluster.

SEGREGATION in the South, as in Indiana—where thousands of school children were lately out on parent-sanctioned strike because of an intermingling atempt—is going to prevail. It is a matter of personal liberty with us. No arsenal can, in our time, raze segregation. The Advertiser

But the practical means and maximum opportunity to control the assaults are from within the Democratic Party. That is where best safety lies. Montgomery, Ala. Tues. 1-27-48

FOR THE State Democratic Executive Committee, for the South, for the nation, for our ebon element and for today's Thad Stevenses—there is vast illumination in post-Civil War experiments with the race problem and bayonet compulsions from Washington.

The lesson is that, the greater the excess, the greater the reaction.

Lincoln in 1865 proclaimed an amnesty for Southern citizens. In Southern states where 10 per cent of the population took the oath of loyalty to the United States, citizens could form state governments and be re-admitted to the union.

By 1866 all the seceded states had complied. But all the time the states had been enacting severe restrictions upon the rights of the freedmen. These became known as the Black Codes. They inflamed the North until it was ripe for the vengeance of Stevens. The Advertiser

That vengeance took the form of dividing the South into five military districts, requiring ratification of the 14th Amendment and a state statute providing the vote for the Negro. Montgomery, Ala.

Alabama ratified the 14th Amendment in 1868. It did so because it had no resource with which to resist the weight of Federal authority. Tues. 1-27-48

But the Thad Stevenses, inflamed by the South's rebellious writhings, went further and submitted the 15th Amendment. The South ratified the amendment.

Extreme begat extreme. And by 1874, Alabama and most of the other Confederate States had reestablished "white supremacy," largely through the Ku Klux Klan.

THE LESSON in the history of Reconstruction Days is that the South cannot resist the weight of Federal authority, and that the Federal authority cannot sustain vengeful, extreme impositions.

This see-saw between Federal and state authority, though now carried on within the framework of law, has continued through the generations. The Advertiser

Such enactments as the Boswell Amendment and the action of the State Democratic Executive Committee yesterday solve no problems for the South. In sum, such actions only strengthen Federal determination to intervene. Montgomery, Ala.

The Constitution of the United States ratified by the Southern states, provides in its 15th Amendment: Tues. 1-27-48

> 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color. . . .
> 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

It's plain that the spirit of that provision in the supreme law cannot be indefinitely flouted. The pressures are gathering on every hand.

What is needed is abandonment of such Thad Stevens bayonets as the F. E. P. C. and abstention from such negative measures as that of the committee yesterday.

Segregation will be less of an object of assault if we would take more forehanded steps in giving the colored man his economic and civil due. The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Tues. 1-27-48

Alabama's party leadership might have spent its time more constructively had it been pointing a decisive plan for working out the waxing problem of Negro education in colleges—rather than resolving to take a walk when it hasn't any place to go.

The South Or The Party!

In declaring flatly that if the Democratic Party this year adopts an anti-segregation plank Southern Democrats may be forced to an unpleasant choice between the party and the South, the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee was giving voice to a sentiment widespread in this part of the country. There is no question that many Southern Democrats will resent any and every attempt at national settlement of a delicate regional question. Tues. 1-27-48

Birmingham, Ala. Tues. 1-27-48

Nevertheless, there is an either-or ultimatum implied in the state committee's attitude which may tend to aggravate conditions rather than improve them. The committee leaves the impression that only two choices are possible, when in truth there are many choices. The action taken is a kind of challenge, and consequently is not likely to produce that atmosphere of co-operation, understanding and compromise in which differences are most apt to find solution. The News Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

The South's best hope rests with the Democratic Party. Certainly it cannot expect the Republican Party, with its history going back to the days of carpet-baggers, to be sympathetic to regional feelings in this area. Nor would the South have anything to gain by a third party, or by refusing to vote at all. Tues. 1-27-48

The South's hope of retaining any influence in national affairs lies within the Democratic Party. There it is that this region would be most effective in trying to affect the trend of social change. The News Birmingham Ala

Deplorable, also, is some of the language used in the state committee's resolution. Jan 1-27-48 It dropped at points to the level of name-calling. Little good is done, and much harm is possible, in applying to those who disagree with you such terms as "ignorant" or to accuse them of "viciousness," or even to say that "there is no room for argument." There should always be room for argument. An arbitrary refusal to discuss a matter is undemocratic and possibly even more dangerous, in its full implications, than courses which the state committee criticizes. 1-27-48

* * *

Moreover, the character and caliber of the persons composing the president's committee on civil rights are too high to justify charges of "ignorance" and "viciousness." Wrong they may be, and this paper thinks they were in certain respects, but neither ignorant nor vicious. The state committee did its cause little good in adopting a resolution so harshly worded. It is to be hoped that a better spirit will prevail when it comes to presenting the South's wishes to the national Democratic convention. The News Birmingham Ala 1-27-48

'The South Or The Party?' Issue Threatens, State Demos Warn

348 The News Birmingham, Ala. Jan 1-27-48

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 27—(AP)—Alabama Democrats were on record today with a warning to national party leaders that adoption of an anti-segregation policy in the 1948 platform might force the South to decide between party loyalty and Southern tradition.

A resolution passed without a dissenting vote at a meeting yesterday of the state's Democratic Executive Committee declared firmly, "There are limits to what can be endured." Convention delegates, whoever they might be, were urged to "resist with all their ability and power" any attempt to write into the platform proposals which would "directly or indirectly" abolish the South's racial barriers. 1-27-48

Committee members fixed March 1 as the qualifying deadline for the May 4 primary in which 26 delegates will be elected to the Democratic National Convention.

* * *

THE RESOLUTION SAID further, "Such action by the national leadership of the Democratic Party could but force every Southerner into the undesired position of determining which is the greater loyalty, that to the South or that to the party." The News

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, of Montgomery, national committeewoman, said: Birmingham, Ala

"The Southern states should band together and tell our national leaders we have given them the Solid South in the past but we are not going to do it in the future." 1-27-48

Referring to the recent U. S. Supreme Court ruling that Negroes in Okloham are entitled to educational facilities equal to those given the white race, Mrs. Thomas declared, "We are going to keep segregation in the South regardless of any decision handed down by our wonderful justices on the Supreme Court." 1-27-48

Meanwhile, former Rep. E. C. Boswell, of Geneva, author of the Boswell amendment, which was written into the state constitution about 14 months ago as a means of checking Negro voting, said officials of four other Southern states had asked him for copies of the law as a possible pattern for them to follow.

Boswell, here for the meeting, said he had received requests from Georgia, North and South Carolina and Texas. He did not identify the persons who wrote him.

* * *

THE 1945 LEGISLATURE of which Boswell was a member, submitted the Alabama plan to the voters and it was ratified in a 1946 election following a spirited campaign. The News

Proponents admitted frankly it was designed to prevent what they termed a "flood of Negro registration" as the result of a Supreme Court ruling that Democrats in Texas could not keep Negroes out of primaries solely because of race.

The amendment requires prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" any section of the federal constitution to the satisfaction of county registrars. It also took out of the state constitution a 45-year-old provision that anyone who owned $300 worth of taxable property could vote regardless of whether he could read or write. Birmingham, Ala

Discussing the requests from other states for copies of the law, Boswell said, "they told me they had to do something about the Negro voting problem." Jan 1-27-48

State Demo Leaders Differ On Need For Party Platform

348 News Birmingham Ala

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 20—(AP) — Two Alabama Democratic Party leaders disagreed today on the necessity of calling a state convention to adopt a party platform.

Former State Rep. E. C. (Bud) Boswell of Geneva urged calling of the convention in a telegram to State Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile.

McCorvey said in a statement that he saw no need for the convention. Fri 2-20-48

Boswell said that unless Alabama Democrats adopt their own platform they would be bound by that drawn at the National Democratic Convention. He is author of the constitutional amendment which requires prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" any section of the U. S. Constitution.

THE FORMER REPRESENTATIVE previously had requested that a meeting be called of the State Democratic Executive Committee to take an official stand on President Truman's civil rights recommendations.

He suggested this meeting be held prior to the March 1 deadline for qualifying for the May 4 Democratic primary.

McCorvey answered at that time that such a meeting would be premature. He said he preferred a meeting after all candidates for the primary had qualified. These candidates, he said, could be called before the committee and asked their views on racial questions.

Boswell said in his telegram to McCorvey yesterday:

"Since our views are so different as to the time and purpose of calling a meeting of the state committee in the present emergency, suggest you call them to meet at Montgomery, Feb. 24, and let the whole committee determine whether a state convention should be called . . . to adopt a platform by delegates elected fresh from the people which Alabama Democrats can stand with confidence and pride." News

AT MOBILE, McCORVEY SAID:

"I have nothing to add to what I have already said about calling the State Democratic Executive Committee into special session.

"I have every confidence in the people of Alabama and I feel sure that in our Democratic primaries the people of our state will only elect as delegates to the national convention and as presidential electors those men who will insist upon a platform securing state's rights. Birmingham Ala

"I do not believe any of our presidential electors or any of our delegates will vote for any candidate who will trample underfoot the traditions of our Southland." Fri. 2-20-48

Boswell repeated reasons given previously for the state meeting:

1. To take an official stand on the president's proposed anti-poll tax, anti-segregation and FEPC legislation.

2. To select representatives to attend a meeting of Southern Democrats in Jackson, Miss., to consider action in opposition to Mr. Truman's proposals.

Two Surprise Entries Among Last-Minute Demo Qualifiers

348 (Ala) The News Birmingham, Ala

BY FRED TAYLOR

Tues 3-2-48

Another crop of candidates, including Philip J. Hamm's surprise entry against Sen. John Sparkman, today looked hopefully toward the May 4 Democratic primary.

Sen. Sparkman, who already faced three opponents in his race for renomination to the U. S. Senate, drew State Revenue Commissioner Hamm as a last-minute adversary. 3-2-48 Tues

Sharing the political spotlight on the last day for qualifying was another surprise development. Sen. Lister Hill, declaring his continued support of President Truman, plunged into the Democratic delegate-at-large race.

The senior senator told James Free, News Washington correspondent, his main purpose in leaping into this campaign was to "try to prevent a disastrous split in the party which would assure a Republican victory in November."

* * *

HILL'S ENTRY intensified interest in the delegates race as continued agitation over Truman's "civil rights" program generated more political heat in Alabama and other Southern states. The News

While announcing his continued support of President Truman for the Democratic nomination, Sen. Hill emphasized his strong personal disagreement with the chief executive on his "civil rights" proposals.

"I don't agree with the president on a number of subjects," said Hill, "but we ought to remember that on the supremely important subject of international peace, Mr. Truman is absolutely right. He is so right that his foreign relations program—the Marshall plan—now is a bi-partisan program." Birmingham, Ala

Sen. Sparkman did not comment directly on Hill's announcement although he earlier had proposed the senior senator as vice presidential running mate to Truman as an attempt to quell the Southern revolt.

"ANY TALK at this time of a Southern revolt in the Democratic Party," said Sparkman, "is premature. We ought to make every effort to work out within the party our admittedly serious differences over civil rights. I don't see how we can think we have made every effort to work things out until we have joined with Democrats from other states in our national convention and tried to agree on a platform that would be acceptable to all."

The 38-year-old Hamm, whose home is at Hartford, in the Wiregrass region, is very close to Gov. Folsom and is regarded as the top man in the governor's cabinet. And his last-minute entry against Sparkman reportedly was influenced by Folsom and his alter ego, Gould Beech. The News 2-3-48

The Associated Press reported Commissioner Hamm drove to Mobile to file papers with State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey. He arrived there only two hours before the midnight qualifying deadline. Birmingham, Ala

* * *

SEN. SPARKMAN'S other three opponents are Thomas F. Harlan, Montgomery; Wallace Pruitt, Chatom, and Thomas F. Maxwell, Tuscaloosa.

Beech, who had threatened to run against Sparkman, was in Mobile last night with several candidates for alternate delegate to the Democratic National Convention. McCorvey said Beech told him he had never intended making the race for the Senate. Tues. 2-3-48

Hamm was accompanied to McCorvey's office by Bill Lyerly, aid to Gov. Folsom. He said he told the governor yesterday morning he planned to make the race against Sparkman and that the governor seemed surprised. Hamm said he would resign as revenue commissioner to make the race.

* * *

ALL OF ALABAMA'S nine congressmen drew opposition with exception of Rep. Robert E. Jones, Jr., Eighth District. Birmingham, Ala

One of the last entries to get in under the wire was Miss Erma M. Appleby, Mobile social worker. She jumped into the First District race in which veteran Rep. Frank W. Boykin already is opposed by Circuit Solicitor Joe Thompson, Butler. The News 2-3-48

Two other aspirants who beat the clock to the deadline were Atty. Gen. Albert A. Carmichael, running for delegate-at-large, and State Docks Director Henry W. Sweet, Bessemer, seeking an alternate delegate-at-large post.

In the Second District, veteran Rep. George Grant has three opponents. Last to qualify was Burton C. Fincher, Pigeon Creek School principal. Frank Mizell, Jr. Montgomery attorney, and James G (Country) Oliver, also of Montgomery, entered several weeks ago.

Edward deGraffenried, Tuscaloosa, was an 11th hour qualifier against the Sixth District's Rep. Pete Jarman. Dr. H. F. Wheat, Tuscaloosa, is his other opponent.

34d 1948 Democratic (Alabama)

Alabama Democrats Plan 'Walk' If National Parley Okays 'Rights'

The Constitution Atlanta Ga. 4-6-48 Tue.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 5—(AP)—The ruling body of the Democratic Party in Alabama Monday asked the State's delegates to the National Party Convention to walk out of the Convention if any part of President Truman's civil rights program is accepted there.

The State Democratic Executive Committee also formally requested that Alabama presidential elector candidates not vote for Truman or any other candidate supporting the civil rights proposals.

The Committee indorsed 21 candidates for elector who have pledged themselves not to cast electoral votes for Truman. A resolution also gave the seven electoral candidates who did not sign the pledge 10 days in which to notify Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of their stand, if they so wished.

The action was taken at a special session of the Committee here.

The resolution proposing that delegates walk out of the National Convention further urged the delegates "thereafter to take such action as in their good judgment will best protect the paramount, fundamental and constitutional rights of the several States to handle these and similar problems." Tues

Candidates for delegates were asked to notify McCorvey by April 10 whether they intended to act in accordance with the Committee's request. 4-7-48

The Governor spoke at a special session of the State Democratic executive Committee which is expected to give some indication of Alabama's choice for a presidential candidate. The Constitution

In an apparent reference to Henry Wallace, Third Party candidate, Folsom said: "I don't think anyone who bolts the Democratic Party should be nominated or elected."

He reiterated his support of States' rights and added that information he has received from other governors was to the effect the South would unit behind a program acceptable to the area. He said such a program probably would receive the support of the Southwest and West, and some states in the Midwest and East.

Referring to a proposed federal anti-lynch law, the State Executive said Alabama already has a strong anti-lynch law, and continued, "I'll enforce it." Atlanta, Ga.

He said he didn't think such enforcement would be necessary, however, because "we don't have lynching in Alabama." 4-6-48

Truman Loses State Support At Convention

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Mon. 3-8-48

34d

Observers Also Predict Selection Of McCorvey Or Sparks As Chairman

By ATTICUS MULLIN

President Truman has lost the Alabama delegation to the Democratic National Convention which meets in June, according to well posted political observers. There is only one man running for delegate, Senator Lister Hill, who is an avowed Truman candidate, while practically every other candidate for delegate has declared against Truman.

There may be one or two men who have not declared their antipathy for Truman but even if these men are elected, Truman would still be far shy of a majority in the Alabama delegation.

For Wallace

The Advertiser

Followers of Governor Folsom probably number six or eight men in the delegate race. Governor Folsom was the first public man in Alabama to attack Truman. He made his attack before President Truman made his famous civil rights declaration. If any Folsom followers are chosen delegates, and some might conceivably stand a chance, it is certain they would never go to Truman. Many think Governor Folsom is merely stalking votes for Henry Wallace. At any rate no Folsom man would vote for the man Henry Wallace hates the most, President Truman.

Revise Stand

Montgomery, Ala.

There are at least 18 States' Rights Democrats in the race for delegate. Most of these men at first supported Truman's renomination but since his civil rights stand, every one of them has repudiated Truman in public statements, and if any of them are elected, Truman would have a slim chance to persuade them that he had his fingers crossed when he advocated what he did. 3-8-48

Senator Lister Hill, a candidate for delegate at large, openly avows himself for Truman. When he announced, some thought he would, if elected, be chairman of the Alabama delegation at Philadelphia. But even if Senator Hill is chosen by the voters to go to Philadelphia, observers say he could not possibly muster three additional delegates for Truman and possibly none, and that, therefore, he would not be considered for chairman of the Alabama delegation.

Politicians believe that the chairman of the Alabama delegation will go either to Former Governor Sparks or Gessner McCorvey in the event the two are chosen by the voters in May to represent them. Mon 3-8-48

Two Leaders Request Mrs. Thomas To Quit State Demo Position

The News

34d

Birmingham, Ala.

ATTALLA, Ala., March 23—(AP)—Two persons today had requested the resignation of Mrs. Lennard Thomas of Montgomery, Democratic national committeewoman and candidate for reelection to the post.

In a letter to Mrs. Thomas yesterday, Mrs. Carolyn Coots, Attalla, vice chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, asked Mrs. Thomas to resign "unless you can explain your . . . attitude."

Brewer Dixon, Talladega, a State Democratic Committee member, also asked Mrs. Thomas' resignation. Tues, 3-23-48

Dixon said he was "shocked and disappointed" by Mrs. Thomas' statements in connection with the president's civil rights program.

(Mrs. Thomas said she was "perfectly satisfied" Democratic Party leaders are not going to try to force the South to change its racial segregation laws.)

Mrs. Coots labeled Mrs. Thomas' attitude "on again, off again."

She said "the only reason you do not have opposition for renomination . . . is the strong stand you took at the last meeting of the State Democratic Executive Committee against the so-called civil rights stand."

In Montgomery, Mrs. Thomas declined comment.

TO WHAT EXTENT BOUND?

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Fri. 3-19-48

34d (Ala)

In another place on this page there is a letter from Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee. It treats with a question every Alabama voter and candidate will have to answer for himself: To what extent is he bound to the Democratic nominee for President once he has participated in the May primary?

Mr. McCorvey and The Advertiser are not, it will be seen in his letter, in complete agreement. Of that fact The Advertiser wishes to say that it does not rate its conscience superior to that of Mr. McCorvey. Furthermore, we have a very high degree of confidence in Mr. McCorvey's judgment and admiration for his leadership in party matters. In that, The Advertiser undoubtedly speaks for the entire state.

The Advertiser directs the attention of its readers to Mr. McCorvey's viewpoint and urges sober reflection upon it. It will be seen that his preoccupation is with the freedom of presidential electors to withhold their votes from Truman. 3-19-48

MR. McCORVEY is unquestionably correct in his contention that the electors nominated in May are, if elected in November, free to vote as they wish insofar as the pledge of allegiance is concerned. However, there is something other than the pledge of allegiance to be considered.

There is an Alabama law, passed in 1945 which specifically and clearly forbids Alabama presidential electors from withholding their votes from the national party's standard bearer. The Advertiser

This law, called the Bentley Act, provides that electors shall support "the nominee of the national convention of the party by which they were elected."

If this act is valid, then electors nominated in the May primary, no matter if they pledge themselves anti-Truman, can be legally forced to cast their votes in the electoral college for Truman if he happens to be the "nominee of the national party . . ." Montgomery, Ala.

The validity of this law is questioned by some eminent legal minds. It is expected that an advisory opinion concerning it will be asked of the State Supreme Court. If the court says it is valid, then Alabama's electoral votes must be cast for the nominee of the national party no matter what the individual electors wish or have pledged to do. Fri. 3-19-48

Mr. McCorvey is one of the legal authorities who think the law is invalid. The Advertiser is inclined to agree but awaits the final judgment of the Supreme Court.

THE responsibilities and duties of the delegates to the convention are another matter entirely. Mr. McCorvey does not go into the matter extensively in his letter.

Those who offer for delegate to the national convention take the same pledge as the electors. Our elected delegates will go to the convention, first to assist in writing a platform and then to assist in selection of a man to run on that platform.

If these delegates, all or a part of them, decide that the platform finally adopted affronts a basic principle so severely that their conscience will not allow them to participate in nominating a man to run on that platform, then they can withdraw. If the platform adopted does seem satisfactory and acceptable to the temper of the Alabama electorate, then they can participate in the balloting for nomination. That nominee might be Truman because it is conceivable that he would accept the platform as a mandate to withdraw from his Civil Disturbance program. Fri. 3-19-48

Here's the gimmick. What they do in convention cannot be made to bind upon the electors. There is no clearly defined link between what actions the delegates take and what the electors must do. Even if our delegates walk out of the convention because of an unacceptable plank in the platform, their action will not bind the electors to vote against Truman or for him. If the Bentley Act is valid, the electors must vote for the national party nominee anyhow. The Advertiser

This is a confusing maze of legalisms. The confusion arises from the fact that today's impasse was not envisioned by any of the many architects and masons who have jerry-built our state party machinery. The patchwork of yesterday plagues us today. We need a whole new structure of party laws but it is too late to get them before the issue must be faced.

ONE last note:

The candidates are pledged in this fashion: Montgomery, Ala.

"I further agree to abide by the result of the primary election in which I am a candidate and to support the Democratic nominees in said election." 34d

That provision of Alabama's law was quite obviously written to insure complete and unreserved fidelity to the Democratic Party, the Truman odium of which was not foreseen. Fri. 3-19-48

To some extent Alabama is enmeshed like a man who has married the wrong woman and is seeking a legal means of annulment.

UPON WHAT MEAT?

Than Mrs. Nanna Thomas, Alabama's Democratic national committeewoman, there has been no more spirited assailant of those who wish to see segregation liquidated. For example, she recently emitted a ladylike, but lusty sneer at the U. S. Supreme Court for its indulgence of the Negro.

Montgomery Advertiser

34d

However, last week she was in Washington at a luncheon in the White House. She took the President in tow about his Civil Disturbance program. President Truman whipped out a copy of the Constitution from his shoulder holster and read. He didn't give an inch. Tue. 3-16-48

Montgomery, Ala.

Yet, after the luncheon with the President, Mrs. Thomas gave reporters a message for the South:

". . . Forget the revolt . . . get busy and raise funds for the Democratic Party. . . . Stand solidly behind Harry S. Truman."

Upon what meat did this our Mrs. Caesar feed in the White House?

AT THE TOWN MEETING THURSDAY NIGHT

The meeting was a success by any standard. But there are kinks to be ironed out. Questions from the audience could not be heard. The prolixity of the moderator was a snare devoutly to be bewared in the future. The Advertiser

That may appear a tart comment on a professor who did us the honor to come here from the University to preside. But the Town Meeting is a public facility the

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same as a City Lines bus. Fit moderating is a matter of the public's necessity and convenience the same as tacks in a bus seat. Montgomery, Ala.

On the stage of the City Auditorium were Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, former Gov. Chauncey Sparks and Senator John Sparkman. Sat. 3-27-48

They are all thoughtful, knowledgeable and seasoned politicians. But neither among them nor the rest of Alabama's political figures is there a political talent such as Folsom's. Each lacks color, wit and ability to put on a show. 34d

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The fourth man on the platform, Aubrey Williams, a lend-lease item from Henry Wallace to the Democratic Party, had the best speaker's voice and delivery.

One gentleman in the audience who looks like Happy Easter was the only one who was able to make Williams stammer. He reminded Williams that recently at State Teachers College, Williams, in the company of Wallace, said he would never address a segregated audience. His tormentor wanted to know why he was making the present exception. Williams lamely said he didn't know the audience was segregated. But he had his glasses on.

The audience was inflamed when Williams said he enjoyed having cultivated Negroes in his home.

But what should have inflamed the audience was his unscrupulous argument against Universal Military Training. He said he oposed UMT because men were to be put to doing squads right instead of working in factories, etc., where wars are won. Sat. 3-27-48

The truth is, Williams was arguing in a left-handed manner against arming this country against the bloody world marauder, Russia. He left the inference he opposed the method and not the direction of UMT. That's not true. The Wallace gang —Williams called him a "great man"— wants our breast bare to Russia. At a time like this that is, to us, unforgivable.

One thing Williams did for which gratitude is not lacking in this quarter. He bracketed the interests and purposes of Folsom and Wallace in a documentary way and in a manner which will facilitate

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such debate as may presently occur

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Letters to the editor must carry complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names may be used at the editor's discretion. Letters of less than 200 words are given preference. All letters may be cut.

Fri. 3-19-48

A Statement By Mr. McCorvey

EDITOR, The Montgomery Advertiser:

Please pardon me for taking issue with a part of the statements or conclusions contained in your editorial headed "Hill and Folsom Oppose Revolt." Your editorial states:

"The tumult of the revolt is such that neither candidates for delegate nor voters have even surmounted the legal barriers to desertion. Every candidate who has qualified has taken an oath that he will support the party's nominee, no matter if it is Truman.

"Every Alabamians who casts a vote in May will take an oath that, if Truman is nominated, he will vote for him in November. That's Alabama law. Put that oath to the rack and thumbscrew of yes—but reasoning as you will, it's still your undistorted oath.

"The Advertiser does not note that fact with satisfaction, but it upraises the fact as an unresolved and practical problem of revolt." 34d Dem

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S name will not be on the ballot in our primary election, but the ballot will only contain the names of candidates for presidential elector.

Each candidate who enters our primary takes an oath to "abide by the result of the primary elections in which I am a candidate and to support the Democratic nominees in said elections."

The ballot which you and I will cast has printed on it this pledge: Fri.

"By casting this ballot I do pledge myself to abide by the result of this primary election and to aid and support all the nominees thereof in the ensuing general election." 3-19-48

Our candidates for presidential elector are nominated in our primaries. As chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, I will certify to the secretary of State the names of all candidates who were nominated in our primaries for Federal, State, circuit and district offices, including presidential electors, and likewise the county chairmen will certify to the respective probate judges the names of all candidates who were nominated in our primaries for county offices.

THE names so certified by me and by the respective county chairmen, will go on the ballot in the ensuing general election "Under the Rooster"—the emblem of our party—and you and I and all other good Democrats are going to the polls in November and put a crossmark "Under the Rooster," thus voting for the entire list of candidates nominated in our primaries, and when we have done this, we have carried out our pledge and discharged our full duty under our primary election law above referred to, and under the resolution of our State Democratic Executive Committee calling our primaries. 3-19-48

Then, what our presidential electors do is another matter. If the men whom we nominate in our primaries for presidential electors are elected in the general election in November—and I am confident they will be—these electors are the ones who elect our president. With every candidate for presidential elector telling the people of Alabama, prior to May 4, just what he stands for, I can see no objection to those electors refusing to vote for the nominee of the Northern wing of the Democratic Party, if those folks nominate for president a man who would wreck all of our Southern traditions and practically destroy our civilization.

THERE are ways by which we can protect our presidential electors from having to vote for a man for president, who they were elected by the people of Alabama to defeat, but I will not discuss his phase of the controversy in this letter, but will confine this letter to a correction of the statements in your editorial. The Advertiser

If after considering this letter and the thoughts herein set forth, you agree with me, I would appreciate it greatly if you would come out in a clear and unambiguous statement to the effect that no Democrat violates any pledge when he participate in our primary elections and casts his ballot for candidates for presidential elector who have announced that they will NOT support Truman for President in the electoral college, even though he be nominated in the July convention at Philadelphia.

Of course, if these voters should go into the general election in November and vote for an independent slate, or a Republican slate, of presidential electors, then they would violate the pledge they took when they participated in our primaries. Montgomery, Ala.

However, when our voters go into the general election in November and vote for all the candidates nominated in our Democratic primaries, then they have not only carried out their pledge of supporting the nominees of our primaries, but two years hence, if any of them wish to seek the democratic nomination for public office, they can, with an entirely clear conscience, make the necessary oath as to party regularity and become a candidate in our 1950 Democratic primaries. Fri. 3-19-48

I THINK it important for you to make this correction because of the tremendous influence of your splendid paper throughout Alabama. Fri.

I am going to take the liberty of sending copies of this letter to some others who are greatly interested in this proposition and I am sure you will have no objection to this, as we certainly wish every Democrat in Alabama to clearly understand that he can still remain a Democrat and participate in our Democratic primaries without having to aid and abet in the election of anyone as president whose thoughts and ideas are as obnoxious to our people as are those of President Truman. 3-19-48

GESSNER T. McCORVEY, Chairman,
State Democratic Executive Committee
of Alabama. Mobile. Ala.

CENTURY OF CUSTOM VS. THE LAW

The Advertiser

34D

Whether Alabama's electoral vote goes to President Truman may finally be decided by the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Advertiser by no means makes that prediction, but there is a demonstrable possibility.

Dem. (Ala.)

Nor does The Advertiser broach this consideration to diminish the ardor of the Alabama revolt, for, basically, it believes in the merit of swinging back at the South's tormentors. But that is no warrant for ignoring the possibilities. Montgomery, Ala.

Three years ago the Alabama Legislature enacted a statute compelling presidential electors to cast their vote for the nominees of the national party. Oregon, Massachusetts and California have a similar law. Twenty-four other states, unlike Alabama, run the name of the candidate for president on the ballot. Fri. 5-14-48

Three years ago there was no foresight of a Truman revolt. A few weeks ago the Alabama Supreme Court found the 1945 act invalid: The revolt could go on, electors could vote for whom they pleased in December.

There the matter rests. Alabama is certain to have 11 electors pledged to withhold their vote from Truman, candidate of the Rooster Party. As things appear today, there is little likelihood that the election will be close enough for Alabama's 11 electoral votes, or even those of a considerable part of the South, to matter a hoot below. But should Truman come close, or possibly even if he doesn't, any Alabama voter can start mandamus proceedings to compel the electors to deliver Alabama's vote to the party under whose emblem they were elected.

Should the Alabama withholding ever be assailed in the courts, it would likely be along certain easily visible lines. Foremost among these would be the fact that for a century electors have been one thing only—messenger boys. The courts have repeatedly ruled that custom must be given great weight in such decisions.

The Advertiser

THE system of the Electoral College was devised in response to conditions and anxieties that seem fantastic in modern America. As explained in The Federalist papers of Hamilton, Jay and Madison, electors were endowed with discretion to vote the "sense of the people." An independent and temporary body such as that of the electors was depended upon to resist corruption by foreign powers wishing to influence the choice of the American president, or of yielding to domestic conspiracies of this kind or that. It was thought that the electors being so widely scattered and isolated, they could be depended upon to be elected and serve their purpose before any group could work their will upon them.

Hamilton wrote:

Montgomery, Ala

> Nothing was more to be desired than that every practicable obstacle should be opposed to cabal, intrigue and corruption. These most deadly adversaries of republican government might naturally have been expected to make their approaches from more than one quarter, but . . . How could they better gratify this than by raising a creature of their own to the chief magistracy of the Union?

Fri. 5-14-48

But for more than a century custom has perverted and frustrated the original design of the Republic's founders. In arguing the case before the Alabama Supreme Court. Atty. Gen. Carmichael quoted the Encylcopedia Britannica to this effect:

> . . . Almost since the beginning of the government, candidates . . . have been nominated by the great political parties . . . in advance of the choice of electors . . . The electors are only registers of the already pronounced party choice in candidates, and accept the office under a tacit pledge to act only as such. . . .

At this point defenders of the Alabama withholding would interject that the electors ran on an announced platform that they would not vote for Truman. A counter objection would be that the elector candidates took their stands after March 1, the qualifying deadline for candidates.

THE U. S. Supreme Court has never ruled directly on the question, but the attorney general made this citation in his brief for the Alabama Supreme Court:

The Advertiser

> In the April (1912) presidential primary for the Republican Party, the voters of Nebraska were allowed to express their choice for the party's presidential candidate. . . . Their choice was overwhelmingly in favor of Theodore Roosevelt.
>
> At the same primary election, Republican presidential electors were nominated together with delegates to the national convention. When the national convention was held, Mr. Taft was nominated by the Republicans instead of Theodore Roosevelt. Those presidential electors who had been nominated in the Nebraska Republican primary publicly announced their intentions to vote not for the party nominee, Mr. Taft, but to vote for Theodore Roosevelt. Montgomery, Ala.
>
> In the meantime and before the general election, a third party had been organized known as the Progressive Party which had nominated Roosevelt.
>
> The Nebraska Supreme Court in this case held that those presidential electors nominated in the Republican primary were honor bound to support Taft, the party nominee; that since they had publicly announced their intention to support another candidate, namely Mr. Roosevelt, who was running under the auspices of the Progressive Party, they had vacated their offices as Republican electors, and further that the Republican Party organization of Nebraska was authorized to appoint presidential electors who would vote for Taft Fri. 5-14-48

Legal considerations beyond this are a maze into which the layman cannot safely venture. In essence, it appears to be a century of custom vs. law.

As we said it is highly unlikely that Truman will run well enough to care whethe

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MANDATE

The Advertiser

EDITOR, The Advertiser: Well, since my last epistle to you the election has come and gone, that is, partially gone, and Big Jim has got his mandate from the voters to get back to the governor's office and do some of the things he was elected to do. They elected him governor of Alabama and not to the U. S. Senate or an international envoy. Hill and Sparkman will look after that. Two of the best the state has ever had.

34D Dem. (Ala.)

The Governor just misinterpreted the meaning of those landslide elections. So maybe he'll get on his job now and at least repair some of the roads Bibb Graves built so that we can get over them safely.

I see by the papers that that States Right gang has headed right where I thought it would, for the Republican Party.

They are going to ask old Senator George of Georgia to lead them. If that isn't the blind leading the blind I don't know what is. Everybody knows who old Senator George is and what he stands for. He fought everything that F. D. R. ever tried to do for the people. 5-14-48

If you will just notice the names of those who are taking the most active and loudest part in this civil rights mess you will see that it is the same old gang that has voted with the Republicans in defeating or triyng to defeat everything that the Democrats have tried to put through for the common men and women who pay the taxes. Montgomery, Ala.

I had a letter from Mr. McCorvey just before the election explaining in very minute detail the difference between the revolt he is maneuvering and the one for which Tom Heflin was barred from the Democratic party in 1928. After reading his learned dissertation I have discovered that there is a vast difference 'twixt tweedle dum and tweedle dee.

Ozark, Ala. Fri. T. B. McDONALD

In The Nation

The Times

Some Who Don't Believe in the Bolt

New York, N.Y.

Fri. 5-7-48

34D

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, May 6—What the Democratic voters of Alabama decided at their primary yesterday was sensational by every political test. They nominated eleven candidates who are sure to become electors in November and are pledged to cast the state's vote against President Truman if he is the Democratic nominee. There is an implied reservation—that they will vote for him if the President abandons his "civil rights" program and it is not endorsed in the party platform. But such a retreat would be stultification.

Despite the sensational nature of this development in Alabama, however, the White House and the managers of Mr. Truman's bid for the nomination are outwardly unworried. This apparent lack of anxiety may be real, although the event is extraordinary.

Only Twice Before

The Times

Only twice before in peacetime American history have electors declined to cast the entire vote of the state for the regular nominee of the party on whose ticket their names appeared in the November election. In 1824, the end of the period in which an elector felt freely commissioned by the voters to let his individual judgment serve as his guide, one ignored the result in his state. In 1912, after the South Dakota delegation to the Republican National Convention withdrew as a protest against the refusal of the majority to seat contesting delegations pledged to Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican candidates for elector in that state announced that if chosen in November they would cast the vote of South Dakota for T. R. They were chosen and did so. These are the only instances comparable to the current project in Alabama, which is being advocated in at least four other Southern Democratic states.

5-7-48

New York, N.Y.

A Showdown Looms

The Democratic voters of Alabama went through with this plan in the face of mounting certainty that Mr. Truman will be nominated by the national party convention without retracting or modifying his "civil rights" program and that thus there will be a showdown. They may believe their Sena- ors can engineer a "draft" of General enhower to which the General will though how this could be squared

utation for honor is very difficult to see. And the decision of the Chief Justice Monday on restricted land covenants has already silenced some Southern Democrats who have been saying he would be an acceptable substitute for Mr. Truman.

Fri.

Unlike the Republican candidates for elector in South Dakota in 1912, the Alabama nominees have not named the Democrat for whom they will cast the state's electoral vote. If other Southern states follow the lead of Alabama this choice can be expected, but probably not until the national convention has adjourned. 5-7-48

Why So Unperturbed?

In view of all this, why is the Administration seemingly so unperturbed? Inquiries by this correspondent today produced this general explanation:

(1) When the Democratic National Convention meets, the Republicans will have nominated their national ticket and the President's opponents will be dealing with "a condition and not a theory." The Democratic convention

will proceed to nominate Mr. Truman on the first ballot—his managers already count a minimum of 900 pledges—and the stark alternative of bolting or not bolting will materialize. The question the Southerners must then decide is whether to put beyond any possible doubt the election of the Republican ticket, also strongly committed to a "civil rights" program. That will produce sober second thought which intervening events will crystallize into a decision to cast the electoral votes for Mr. Truman. The Times

Peace Overtures

(2) The White House is hearing less and less about the "Southern revolt," Alabama to the contrary notwithstanding. Democrats in Congress have been quietly sounding state leaders in the South and report peace overtures from that section for the first time since the uproar began. The sources of these approaches lead Mr. Truman's friends to believe that possibly only one other Southern state will follow the lead of Alabama, in which case the project will surely disappear by November.

Such is the explanation for this singular display of unconcern, though it may be merely wishful thinking.

New York, N. Y.

Another Difficult Problem

The Alabama Democrats have not yet settled another difficult problem, however: at what point their delegates to the national convention shall walk out in the expected circumstances. If they remain to participate in the selection of a national party ticket and platform their state party will not support in November, they will be outright bolters. If they walk out before that they will retain their regular party standing at home but will be classified as bolters by the national party. Their dilemma may be complicated by a plan, now being discussed, to choose the convention ticket before the platform is adopted. This would force the Southerners to walk out before they knew what the platform on "civil rights" would be; or become outright bolters by taking part in the nominations and then refusing to support them—a grave and dangerous political sin. Tu. 5-7-48

Late Vote Count Shows Up Revolt As Pronounced

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Thurs. 5-6-48

Sen. Hill Lengthens His Lead Over Field In Delegates Race

(340)

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Alabama's ballot uprising against President Truman and his "civil rights" program became more pronounced today with tabulation of four-fifths of returns from Tuesday's Democratic primary. (Ala)

Voters in cities, hamlets and branchheads alike expressed preference for presidential electors opposed to Truman or any candidate favoring his proposals.

While all delegate and elector candidates were opposed to the president and his civil rights plans, late returns showed Alabama's delegation to the Democratic National Convention would be made up of men both favoring and opposing a walkout at Philadelphia.

Sen. Lister Hill, strongly opposed to a walkout as the best method of combatting an anti-South program, lengthened his lead over the field of delegate-at-large candidates.

Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, who waged a vigorous campaign against the McCorvey-led walkout proposal which brought bitter fighting within the party, was running third. Atty. Gen. Albert A. Carmichael, another walkout opponent, was in sixth place among frontrunners for eight delegate-at-large places.

* * *

BUT THE OTHER FIVE LEADERS in this race, paced by former Lt. Gov. Handy Ellis, all were pledged to a walkout, if any of the "civil rights" measures are written into the platform. The News

Gov. Folsom, who was running in 10th place behind the leaders and whose vote-getting prestige was dealt a blow by the overwhelming defeat administered to candidates backed by him in other races, concede "certain policies and candidates have won in Alabama's first

The governor's defeat was so stinging as to cause some observers to wonder if he had sought solace in marriage. Folsom was married to Miss Jamelle Moore, pretty Birmingham brunet and employe of the State Highway Department, in a surprise ceremony at Rockford, Ala., yesterday afternoon.

Before his sudden wedding, the stunned and "humble" governor hinted at Montgomery that he would support the European Recovery Program, which both he and his badly beaten candidate for U. S. Senate—Phillip Hamm—had opposed in the campaign.

"Certain policies and candidates have won in the first primary," said Gov. Folsom. "I want to congratulate every one. I am more humble and grateful than ever."

Birmingham, Ala.

THE GOVERNOR, who has consistently opposed the Marshall plan and other of the nation's foreign policies, indicated he would be willing to abide by the voters' wishes in such matters in the future. In other words, if the people of Alabama are for the Marshall plan, he's for it. Thurs. 5-6-48

Sen. John Sparkman won lopsided renomination to a full six-year term in the U. S. Senate over Hamm, former state revenue commissioner, and three other opponents who figured even less in the race.

(340) Dem

Two of Alabama's nine congressmen had been unseated. Rep. Carter Manasco, veteran Seventh District congressman, was decisively defeated by Carl Elliott, Jasper attorney and World War II veteran. The News

And another Congress veteran, Rep. Pete Jarman, apparently had been defeated in the Sixth District by Edward deGraffenreid, Tuscaloosa attorney and circuit solicitor. Virtually complete returns showed the other seven representatives had been renominated, with the Eighth District's Rep. Bob Jones having been unopposed.

Tabulation of 1,833 boxes of 2,358 in the state gave:

Birmingham, Ala.

Sparkman	**[illegible]1,389**
Hamm	**42,355**
Thomas H. Maxwell	**5,713**
Wallace Pruitt	**3,139**
Thomas F. Harlin	**2,457**

Democratic National Committeeman Marion Rushton was reelected in a runaway race over State Sen. Broughton Lamberth, with returns from 1,680 boxes, giving:

Rushton	**103,994**
Lamberth	**57,499**

Thurs. 5-6-48

INDICATIONS WERE Sen. Hill, Ellis, Sparks and Birmingham Public Safety Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor, leading in that order, would win delegation places without a runoff.

Tabulation of 1,842 boxes in the delegate-at-large race, in which eight are to be elected, gave:

Hill	95,302
Ellis	84,772
Sparks	82,283
Connor	81,605
J. M. Bonner	70,884
A. A. Carmichael	66,289
Albert Stapp	65,454
Hardy Riddle	65,273

Thurs.

For the first time in the tabulations, State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, who spearheaded the walkout movement, trailed the first eight candidates, with Folsom running behind McCorvey in 10th place.

THE DELEGATE-AT-LARGE race tabulations showed further:

McCorvey	64,240
Folsom	54,306
John H. Pinson	53,368
Joe Money	47,144
A. L. Patterson	45,678
John C. Walters	43,775
Charles G. Dobbins	39,757
Jerome Phillips	33,123
J. A. Ayres	33,108
Dan J. Baker	31,692
Carl Griffin	28,484
James A. McCollum	24,538
Clarence Horton	23,691
S. J. Colpack	23,564
John D. Morris	22,571
Swann Colwell	17,901

5-6-48

* * *

FRONTRUNNERS IN THE PRESIDENTIAL elector race, in which 28 candidates sought 11 places, all are pledged against Truman or any other "civil rights" candidate.

Tom Abernethy, edittor of The Talladega Daily Home and member of the State Democratic Executive Committee, was leading the elector aspirants, witih Gadsden Atty. John A. Lusk, Jr., running second. McCorvey, who was in third place, was running much stronger in this race than in that for delegate.

Tabulation of 1,490 boxes showed:

Abernethy	**80,959**
Lusk	**75,193**
McCorvey	**72,014**
Robert A. Albritton	**71,246**
Horace Wilkinson	**69,760**
Ben Bloodworth	**68,912**
Walter Givhan	**67,774**
Norman Harris	**64,683**
Edmund Blair	**63,905**
Tully A. Goodwin	**54,498**
W. R. Withers	**52,272**
Roger Snyder	**51,382**
Thomas H. Maxwell	**49,408**
Verdo Elmore	**49,181**
Walter F. Miller	**48,407**
Roy F. Parker	**45,074**
J. J. Rodgers	**44,876**
James A. McCollum	**43,495**
Forrest Castleberry	**41,982**
Guy Hanna	**41,869**
Ralfe Searcy	**38,728**
Roy Mayhall	**38.572**
Herbert Meighan	**37,404**
Bart J. Cowart	**36,574**
J. A. Carnley	**35,774**
Elvin C. McCary	**34,631**
J. E. Bains	**30,395**
A. M. Simmons	**29,498**

The Public Service Commission president race saw Incumbent Gordon Persons leave his two opponents far behind. Tabulation of 1,680 boxes:

Persons	**147,624**
M. J. Williams, Jr.	**19,734**
Mack Heatherly	**10,082**

Tabulations in the congressional races:

First District (214 of 270)—Rep. Frank W. Boykin, 15,894; Joe Thompson, 8,180; Miss Erma Appleby, 509.

Second District (226 of 325)—Rep. George Grant, 15,515; James G. (Country) Oliver, 3,013; Frank J. Mizell, Jr., 2,360; Burton C. Fincher, 1,152.

Third District (184 of 229)—Rep. George Andrews, 18,784; John E. (Boozer) Pitts, 2,925.

Fourth District (163 of 235)—Rep. Sam Hobbs, 9,934; Kenneth A. Roberts, 6,661; Tom Graff, 247.

Fifth District (222 of 290)—Rep. Albert Rains, 23,529; Theo Steed, 11,487.

Sixth District (210 of 215)—Edward deGraffenreid, 13,535; Rep. Pete Jarman, 12,077.

Seventh District (241 of 305)—Carl Elliott, 17,377; Rep. Carter Manasco, 10,560; J. H. Kelly, 1,441.

Ninth District (250 to 256)—Rep. Laurie C. Battle, 23,628; Luther Patrick, 10,227; George D. Patterson, 8,660.

* * *

RETURNS IN THE district delegate races:

First District (138 of 270)—John E. Mandeville, 8,461; Joseph J. Langan, 6,449; John L. Moore, 4,973; John M. Coxwell, 2,123; Earl C. Bassett, 2,071; Miss Kakt Ehspard, 2,344; J. T. Lott, 1,996; A. I. (Lynn) Kilgore, 1,434; (Mandeville, Moore, Bassett and Miss Shepard pledged walkout).

Second District (201 of 325)—Jeff P. Beeland, 13,512; Jimmy Faulkner, 9,196; Wilbur B. Nolen, Jr., 6,097; Ralfe Searcy, 4,397; Nesbitt Elmore 3,097; J. E. Yeaman, 710. (All except Nolen pledged against walkout.)

Third District (159 of 229)—L. A. Farmer, 7,455; E. C. (Bud) Boswell, 6,248; John W. Gentry, Jr., 3,957; L. H. Adams, Jr., 3,935; Waldo E. Ard, 3,359; C. C. Bush, 2,618. (Boswell, Farmer and Ard pledged to walkout.)

Fourth District (110 of 235)—Graham Wright, 4,895; Tom C. King, 3,740; Walter C. Givhan, 4,143; Winston Stewart, 1,840; A. L. Hanks, 1,201; W. Carvel Woodall, 1,179; Cecil W. Hastings, 1,087; Tom Graff, 645. (Wright, King, Givhan, Stewart, Woodall pledged to walk out.)

Fifth District (173 of 290)—Olin C. Hearn, 10,130; Roy Davis McCord, 10,884; E. L. Roberts, 10,732. (McCord and Roberts pledged against walk out, Hearn non-committal.)

Sixth District (85 of 214)—Henry J. Mayfield, 3,921; Thomas H. Maxwell, 3,541; Fred W. Nicol, 2,859; H. Coleman Long, 2,174; Cohen E. Stapp, 1,205; H. B. Giles, 1,706; Richard A. (Dick) Thompson, 875; Max Shiller, 647. (Long, Maxwell and Stapp pledged to walk out, Nichol, Thompson, Shiller opposed.)

Seventh District (207 of 305) — J. M. Miller, 9,684; Kenneth E. Griffith, 8,010; W. Burgess Mahan, 6,634; Harry Strange, 4,193. (Miller and Strange pledged against walkout, others non-committal.)

Eighth District (178 of 256) — W. W. Malone, 12,155; Carl A. Morring, Jr., 7,784; Knox McRae, 12,132. (McRae pledged to walk out, others non-committal.)

Ninth District (249 of 256)—H. M. Abercrombie 17,161; J. K. (Jess) Edwards, 15,562; Wallace C. Johns, 10,882; Raymond Weeks, 7,403; H. H. (Babe) Askew, 7,326; Robert W. Gwin, 7,207; Guy W. Hanna, 4,547; Frank L. Eddens, Jr., 2,963; Roy E. (Jack) Williams, Sr., 2,613; Roy J. Grimmett, 1,978; William R. Gibbs, 1,612; W. L. (Jack) Jarrard, 1,067. (Abercrombie, Edwards and Williams pledged to walk out; all others except Jarrard pledged against walkout).

Face to Face

The Story of the Alabama Magnolia Who Went to Washington

The Worker, New York. N-14.

34D

By Benjamin J. Davis
Member New York City Council

IT TOOK Mrs. Leonard Thomas, female of the unreconstructed rebel species, from poll tax Alabama, to go to Washington where, with a minimum of effort, she bearded the ferocious presidential lion in his own den. But decisively!

She did not denounce him, this Magnolia blossom from the South. She twitted his whiskers and made him denounce—or to be more accurate, expose—himself! The White House lion was already toothless after willingly submitting to a series of extractions performed upon him by the Rankin poll-taxers.

Mrs. Thomas had gone to Washington to protect "her beloved South" from the dam-yankee President who hails from—mind you!—the Jimcrow state of Missouri. What she meant by protection of the South, practically everyone knows is: No interference with the anti-Negro lynch system of the sunny south. The Alabama Magnolia, it seems, was mad enough to again fire the first shot from Sumter, S. C., or from Montgomery, Ala., the former capital of the slaveholding confederacy—which, incidentally, is her home town.

Instead, she found Harry to be a pushover. When she encountered him at a luncheon tete-a-tete in the White House, where undoubtedly mint-juleps were served, she merely turned on her slow Southern drawl and her soft charm and the big bad defender of civil liberties wilted.

AFTER putting a few impish questions to Honest Harry, she then issued an undenied statement to the press, in which she declared that the President did not intend by his civil rights message to "ram anti-segregation legislation down the throat of the South." Further, she declared, "He has proven to me that he has no intention of upsetting the social structure of the South." This, of course, is the notorious fascist slogan of the Ku Klux Klan, shouted to the acompaniment of the rebel yell, as they draw the noose tighter around an innocent Negro's neck. Sun. 3-21-48

The actual words of surrender which the President spoke to the Alabama Magnolia were mercifully unquoted by the reporters. But one of the White House correspondents—who has maintained his sense of humor despite the numbing experiences of a Truman press conference—did point out that as the President was whispering away the rights of the Negroes into the cultured ear of Mrs. Lennard, he clasped under his arm a typewritten paper inscribed with the foreign and un-American statement, "All men are created equal."

Such were the results of the pitched, all-out battle which the President of the United States waged in defense of the rights of 15 million Negroes, in defense of the Constitution. And this, by the way, is just about the limit of his militancy toward Ku Klux incitation to violence against Negro citizens, against American constitutional democracy.

But of course, against the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the Chinese democrats, the Greek patriots—his militancy soars to white heat. All of these people who are fighting for peace and bread and freedom must, according to Honest Harry, be wiped out as abominable Communists. It must be difficult at times for the President's attaches and majordomos to restrain him, for fear big bad Harry might jump into the Sacred Cow and bravely fly over to Czechoslovakia and exterminate every single Czech with one of his own carefully preserved atomic bombs.

Sun: 3-21-48

IT WAS just two days before the virtuous Harry was politically seduced by the Magnolia, that even without the irresistible provocation of a Southern female colonel, he issued a statement that he was not going to introduce any of his civil rights proposals into Congress, because the introduction of legislation is Congress' business. But the President had no such inhibitions about introducing a fascist measure to draft strikers into the Army. Sun. 3-21-48

The utter cynicism of the President's latest mint-julep betrayal is revealed in the fact that he told the Magnolia that he now stood on the 1944 platform of the Democratic Party—in a word, the President has advanced backwards four years, and, in the advance, has transformed Roosevelt's platform into its opposite. With the GOP running in 1948 on Lincoln's speeches of 1860, it is clear that only Wallace and the Third Party will stop this march backward and carry the country forward.

'Tis a pity that the Negroes and poor whites during the progressive Reconstruction days didn't get a chance to reconstruct all rebels. Three weeks ago Walter White, Secretary of the NAACP,, wrote in his column that Truman on civil rights is a very sincere man. How long will it take Walter White and those Negro leaders of his point of view, to dump the "sincere" Truman and find their way to the Wallace mainstream?

Mrs. Thomas was introduced by George Cleere. Montgomery Ala.

Osgoode P. Willis and Henry Meacham were accepted as new members of the club. Fri.

Among the guests were Mrs. Henry McCorkle, Earl P. Andrews, Clarence Small, and A. C. Rankin. 3-26-48

Hinting that those near Eisenhower say he will accept the presidency if both the Democrats and Republicans desire his taking the position, she said she felt he was "one man who could unify the nation." The Advertiser

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Write-In Votes Are Barred, Thomas Critic Is Informed

The Advertiser Montgomery Ala.

34D

Thurs. 3-25-48

A critic of Mrs. Lennard Thomas sought Wednesday to oppose the democratic national committeewoman at the polls, but the outcome was doubtful.

Mrs. Brooks Whitton of Birmingham, announced she would be a write-in candidate against Mrs. Thomas in Alabama's May 4 democratic primary. Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey at Mobile said, however, it can't be done.

McCorvey said write-in votes in the primary would violate party rules. Candidates, to be eligible, must file declarations with McCorvey and the secretary of state and pay a qualifying fee to the party chairman before the official deadline.

Informed of McCorvey's comment, Mrs. Whitton said she was studying the matter, and added: "I certainly wish to comply with any rules and regulations."

Mrs. Whitton said she considered entering the race before the March 1 closing date, but decided against it. No one else qualified for the committee office besides Mrs. Thomas.

The Birmingham business woman's attempt to get her name on the ballot highlighted the day's political developments.

Dr. Wheat Withdraws

In the scramble for Congress, the situation was just the reverse. Instead of trying to get new names on the ballot, the Sixth District race lost one when Dr. H. F. Wheat, Tuscaloosa dentist, withdrew as a candidate.

Because of a poll tax mixup, Dr. Wheat said he "apparently" is not a legal voter and therefore disqualified from running for office. Thurs. 3-25-48

Explaining her decision to oppose Mrs. Thomas for reelectio Mrs. Whitton said the nationa committeewoman's position o the civil rights dispute "has mad many people in the state doub her firm allegiance to thei cause." Thurs 3-25-48

(After talking with Presiden Truman recently, Mrs. Thoma said she was convinced part leaders would not force anti-segregation laws "down ou throats" in the South. She said later she meant national committee officials such as Chairman Howard McGrath.) 34D

Mrs. Whitton's attempt to get on the ballot came less than 48 hours after two members of the State Democratic Executive Committee asked Mrs. Thomas to resign as national committeewoman and withdraw as a candidate for reelection. They were Mrs. Carolyn P. Coots of Attalla, vice chairman of the committee, and Brewer Dixon of Talladega. Montgomery Ala

Dr. Wheat's withdrawal from the congressional field was the second since the March 1 deadline. Dr. J. Sam Snoddy of Russellville got out of the Seventh District race 12 days ago because of ill health. The Advertiser 3-25-48

The Tuscaloosa dentist said he "understood" he was exempt from poll tax payment because of physical disability and that poll tax lists carried his name for veral years.

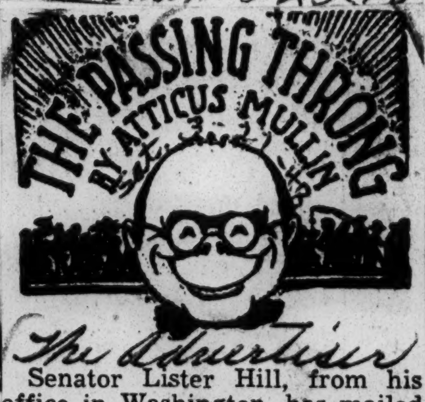
Records in the Probate office show Wheat was granted an exemption in 1927, but an attorney general's opinion has held that such exemptions must be renewed each year. The Advertiser

A squabble over delegates to the Democratic National Convention centered around Charles G. Dobbins of Montgomery and Police Commissioner Eugene Connor of Birmingham. Both are seeking election from the state at large. Montgomery, Ala

Connor wrote Dobbins and the other 23 candidates asking them to sign a pledge to walk out of the convention if the presidential nominee and platform are not acceptable to the South. 3-25-48

Dobbins, editor of the weekly Montgomery Examiner, replied he is opposed to President Truman but will not "deposit my vote in anybody's pocket."

The Birmingham commissioner retorted that the statement "fails to make clear just where he stands." Thurs. 3-25-48



Sat. 3-27-48

The Advertiser

Senator Lister Hill, from his office in Washington, has mailed this column an explanation of his political position as it differs now from his radio speech to the people of Alabama on March 11. His statement is interesting and should be read by the voters of Alabama. It follows: 34d

"In my radio speech to the people of Alabama on March 11, I told the people of Alabama that I knew how much Alabama and the South would suffer if the Democratic Party was split and Republican victory insured. I told them that I became a candidate for delegate to the Democratic National Convention that I might do all in my power to preserve the unity of the Democratic Party and secure full recognition and fair treatment for Alabama and the South. Montgomery Ala

"The situation in Alabama and the South today makes clear that that there cannot be Democratic Party unity with President Truman as the nominee of the Party.

"If the people of Alabama send me to the Democratic National Convention I shall work for a platform recognizing the rights of Alabama and the South. I shall work for the nomination of a man who will insure the unity of the Democratic Party and who in these critical times will best unite our country for the preservation of peace." Sat. 3-27-48.

Mrs. Thomas Denies Support Of Truman, Plea For Funds

The Advertiser 3-17-48

Montgomery

Renewing her denials that she had endorsed Truman or called for fund-raising campaigns to back him, Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Alabama's National Democratic committeewoman, told Kiwanians Tuesday afternoon that "I did represent you. I fought our battle (in Washington)." 34d

Mrs. Thomas, who had denied earlier Tuesday that she made the statements in question, was quoted in Washington news reports last Saturday as having said, "My advice to the South is to forget the revolt, to get busy and raise funds for the Democratic Party, and to stand solidly behind Harry S. Truman."

In her denial, she said she had been "misrepresented and misquoted." The Advertiser 3-17-48

To Save Party

The Alabama committeewoman said she knew Alabama's stand in the civil rights battle after talking to Alabama Protestants, Jews and Catholics, whites and Negroes, and labor leaders. She said she told Howard McGrath and other committeemen in Washington, "We can never accept the FEPC in the South. I am here without malice. I have to speak with angry words but they do not come from an angry heart. All I want is to save the Democratic Party." Montgomery, Ala.

Mrs. Thomas said she asked Democrat leaders McGrath, Gael Sullivan and Les Bipple the question, "Did you advise Mr. Truman on the civil rights program" and each answered, "No." She said that when she asked President Truman personally about his civil rights program, he said, "I stand on the constitution of the United States of America." After that, Mrs. Thomas said, "he read to me from the Constitution, the part guaranteeing equality to all races, creeds and colors.

When she came out of the President's office, Mrs. Thomas said, she was surrounded by "25 or 30 newsmen," all questioning her so fast that her statements were misrepresented. "One Alabama newsman tried to protect me (from their tactics)," she said. She did not identify the newsman. 34d (Ala.)

"I did not back Truman," she said emphatically, "and I did not say that we should raise money for him." Demo

Afraid of South

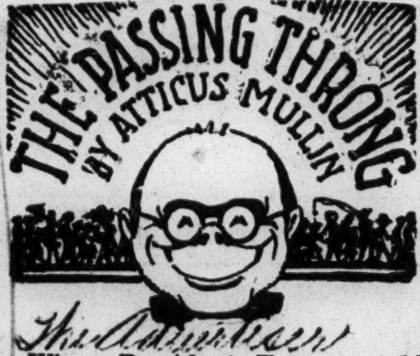
"They are afraid of the Solid South," she continued. "We must work together and we must lick Wallace." The Advertiser

The Alabama committeewoman also touched on the dangers of Henry Wallace and Communism. Saying that she talked with Secretary of State Marshall and top military leaders, Mrs. Thomas said, "We are so near war it is pitiful." Montgomery, Ala.

On Wallace, she gave credit for the fact that "Wallace is preaching peace." So many mothers, she said, don't want their sons to go to war again. Therefore, they back Wallace by virtue of his "peace" platform. Wed.

"We have a terrible threat in Henry Wallace," she concluded. "We must band together and keep on fighting to save the Democratic Party. Southerners can do it by staying together." 3-17-48

Mrs. Thomas, who had pointed out early in her speech that she was unopposed for re-election to her post, spoke briefly immediately before the main address at the Kiwanis luncheon, Jefferson Davis Hotel, which was delivered by the Rt. Rev. C. C. J. Carpenter, Bishop of the Diocese of Alabama, Episcopal Church. (See story elsewhere in this issue.) 3-17-48



The Advertiser

When President Truman told Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Democratic National Committeewoman from Alabama the other day that he would stand pat on everything he had said and done about civil rights and racial equality, the Washington Post quotes her as saying: 34d

"My advice to the South is to forget the revolt, to get busy and raise funds for the Democratic Party and stand solidly behind Harry S. Truman.

Now isn't that something? "Stand solidly behind President Truman! Raise funds to get him re-elected so that he can carry out his pledge to change life in the South.

I feel constrained to say, after talking with hundreds of Alabamians in the last month or two, that Mrs. Thomas won't find many Alabama Democrats forgetting what has happened and she will not find them putting up money for the man they have come to regard, if their talk means anything, as their bitter enemy. Montgomery, Ala.

It appears that Southern governors don't think Truman is the friends of the South nor do Southern senators and congressmen with three or four notable exceptions, Pepper of Florida and some others. Fortunately, no doubt, for Mrs. Thomas she has no opposition for the post she now holds. Tues 3-16-48

Declares He Cannot Back Party's Head

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Tues. 3-23-48

BY JAMES FREE

News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 23—U. S. Sen. Lister Hill, following the lead set by his Alabama colleague, Sen. John J. Sparkman, today asserted he could not support President Truman as the Democratic nominee for president.

"The situation in Alabama and the South today," Sen. Hill said, "makes clear that there cannot be Democratic Party unity with President Truman as the nominee of the party. 34d

"If the people of Alabama send me to the Democratic National Convention, I shall work for a platform recognizing the rights of Alabama and the South. I shall work for the nomination of a man who will insure the unity of the Democratic Party and who in these critical times will best unite our country for the preservation of the peace."

* * *

THE SENIOR ALABAMA senator did not—as did Sen. Sparkman last week—directly call upon President Truman to withdraw as a candidate for renomination. Hill made it crystal clear, however, that he no longer backs Truman. Tues.

"In my radio speech on March 11," Sen. Hill said, "I told the people of Alabama that I know how Alabama and the South would suffer if the Democratic Party was split and Republican victory insured. I told them that I became a candidate for delegate to the Democratic National Convention, that I might do all in my power to preserve the unity of the Democratic Party and secure full recognition and fair treatment for Alabama and the South."

The senior Alabama senator's statement must have come as a severe blow to the White House and national party leaders.

Until recently Hill has been one of the Truman administration's most reliable supporters.

On Jan. 2, in a nationwide broadcast, Hill reiterated his support of Truman and predicted the president would be reelected in November. 3-23-48

* * *

LATE IN JANUARY—Only a few days before Truman's civil rights message to Congress—Sen. Hill reaffirmed his backing of Mr. Truman. This was on the occasion of Gov. James E. Folsom's announcement he was a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination as Alabama's "favorite son."

At that time Sen. Sparkman also repeated his intention to support President Truman.

The Truman civil rights message, containing recommendations for anti-poll tax, anti-segregation, anti-lynching and FEPC bills, was dispatched to the Congress without consultation with any consultation with any congressional leaders. The News

Hill and Sparkman, together with virtually all their Senate associates from the South, immediately announced they would continue to oppose all such legislation. Tues.

* * *

SINCE SPARKMAN'S announcement on Friday, in which the former head of the Democratic National Committee's speakers' bureau urged Mr. Truman to withdraw his candidacy, two other Southern senators had made the same suggestion. 3-23-48

Sen. Richard Russell, of Georgia, endorsed the Sparkman anti-Truman stand on a nationwide radio program Friday night. Ala.

And on Saturday Sen. William B. Umstead, of North Carolina, followed suit. Birmingham

It is considered very probable that many other Dixie senators will take this same anti-Truman position. Twenty-one Southern senators, including the two Alabamians, have formed an organization to "fight to the finish" the civil rights legislative proposal.

Sparkman said recently that President Truman's civil rights message was delivered without prior consultation with Sen. J. Howard McGrath, chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

The Alabama junior senator said, moreover, that Mr. Truman had not consulted party leaders in either the Senate or the House before making his civil rights suggestions.

Demo Woman Leader Is Asked To Give Up Post

34d

The News

Mrs. Thomas Under Fire For Her Press Stand On 'Civil' Bill

Birmingham, Ala.

BY FRED TAYLOR

Mon. News Staff Writer

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Montgomery, today was asked by a State Democratic Executive Committee member to resign as Democratic national committeewoman and withdraw as a candidate for this post.

The request was contained in letters to Mrs. Thomas and Alabama Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, by Brewer Dixon, Talladega attorney and state committee member. 3-22-48

Dixon, who said he was "shocked and disappointed" in press statements issued by Mrs. Thomas in Washington as member of the national committee, wrote McCorvey that if she declines to resign, the state committee should act to repudiate the position taken by her. He referred to statements in connection with President Truman's "civil rights" proposals and the Southern revolt.

ASKED TO RESIGN—Mrs. Lennard Thomas

Mrs. Thomas is the only candidate seeking election as national committeewoman, a post she has held for two terms, in the May 4 primary. The News 3-22-48

The Talladega attorney proposed further that, in event Mrs. Thomas refused to resign, that the state committee either abolish the position or extend the time for qualification of other candidates.

In his letter to Mrs. Thomas, Dixon stated that if she declines to step aside "There is nothing that I see which the State Democratic Executive Committee can properly do at its next meeting other than by due steps taken repudiate the position you have taken and, incidentally, to call upon you for such resignation." 34d (Ala.)

* * *

HIS LETTER ADDED THAT the committee also should "take such other action as is necessary in order to see that the basic, fundamental interest of Alabama and the South on these race questions are properly protected." The News

After she and other members had conferred with President Truman at the White House, Mrs. Thomas was quoted by the Associated Press as saying she was "perfectlye satisfied' with th answer giver her by Mr. Truman on the controversy over his "civil rights" proposals. The report added she had been converted to the president's program. Birmingham

She was quoted further as having said "We're going to stand together and work for a Democratic victory." Ala.

Upon her return to Alabama, Mrs. Thomas issued a statement contending that what she had said in Washington concerning President Truman had been misrepresented. She said she had not "defied my home folks" and that "I stand with you—win or lose—to the end." Mon.

In his letter to Chairman McCorvey, Dixon said: 3-22-48

"I enclose herewith a copy of my letter to Mrs. Lennard Thomas. As stated therein, I feel that should she fail to resign (as I doubt she will) that at our next executive meeting the position taken by her should be repudiated in no uncertain words and that she should be called upon to resign and withdraw, and failing to do so within a time stated b ythe committee, that, in view of the situation and that her usefulness is over as a national committeewoman, that the committee either abolish the position of national committeewoman or if that is not possible, then to extend the time for qualification of other candidates for this position in order that the voters may have a chance of a choice in the primary to elect a committeewoman."

34d 1948 Democratic (Alabama)

Democratic Process At Work

The News

Wed 10-6-48

Bham Ala

For several years Radio Station WSGN, *The Birmingham News* and *The Birmingham Age-Herald* have jointly sponsored a weekly discussion program known as "Democracy at Work." It is dedicated to the democratic ideal of giving controversial subjects a full airing. On many occasions participants have presented points of view in opposition to opinions of these papers. However, the discussions have been orderly and the conflicting views have been courteously debated. The purpose of the forum has been to contribute to a widely disseminated knowledge of issues before the public.

This season the series began with a discussion Monday night of one of the livest subjects before the people of Alabama at this moment: Should there be a slate of electors pledged to the nominees of the national Democratic Party on the ballot in Alabama? The panel was composed of two thoroughly articulate upholders of the States' Rights Party; a labor leader; and a lawyer who recently has given special study to Alabama's election laws. Tom Abernethy is an elector pledged to vote for the Thurmond-Wright ticket. In the May primary he led the entire field of those who offered for the posts. Albert Stapp is a business man of Birmingham who was a delegate-at-large to the Democratic convention in Philadelphia last July. After the civil rights plank was voted into the Democratic platform, he joined other delegates from Alabama and Mississippi in walking out of the convention. Carey Haigler, a supporter of President Truman, is president of the Alabama CIO Council. The lawyer was Thomas Christopher of Tuscaloosa.

* * *

But there was no debate over the basic point for discussion. There was, however, a sharp cleavage of opinion over the place which Truman electors might take on the ballot form. Both Mr. Abernethy and Mr. Stapp said unequivocally that they believed a Truman-Barkley slate should be on the ballot. They readily acceded to the idea that the democratic process would be served if Alabama's citizens had a chance to vote for or against the national Democratic Party's candidates in November. Mr. Stapp went further. He had, he said, urged from the beginning that such a step should not only be allowed, but encouraged. But he demurred strongly against Mr. Haigler's contention that such a slate should appear under the rooster emblem. That figure should be reserved, Mr. Stapp said, for the candidates supported by the elector nominees pledged before the primary not to support Truman and elected by the voters with the understanding that they would not vote for Truman if he were nominated in the convention. Mr. Stapp would have the Truman supporters listed under the donkey, the emblem of the national party.

Both Mr. Abernethy and Mr. Stapp admitted that the pledge appearing on the primary ballot has doubtful legal validity. Although both held themselves bound by the pledge, they said they would not quarrel with the moral position of any voter who chose to ignore it. They agreed that many Alabamians did not fully realize how they were pledging themselves when they voted in May. Although they insisted, and rightly, that there was no attempt made at any time to keep the purposes of the anti-Truman electors from full publicity, they readily admitted that there is now much bewilderment on the part of many Alabama voters who find themselves without a full choice in this important presidential election.

Wed 10-6-48

Mr. Christopher, a specialist on the election laws, said that he saw little if any hope of providing a legal way by which voters could ballot for Truman in Alabama. If the governor should call a special session of the Legislature, a way might be provided. But time is short. Mr. Christopher said that when the secretary of state has officially certified the vote after the election, he sees no possibility of having it invalidated by court action.

The discussion Monday night was never acrimonious. It remained an exposition of the problem from various points of view. It served to clarify in the listeners' minds the problems, which have disturbed many of them. By helping to reduce confusion of thought it served its purpose.

SWEET PAPA IN ALABAMA

The Advertiser

34d

Sat 11-13-48

Montgomery Ala

Stephen H. Harrington, national secretary of the Truman-Barkley clubs, was in town Thursday and said that "Gov. Folsom is in complete charge of the Democratic Party in Alabama as far as President Truman is concerned."

That pronouncement reached the outside world from the Executive Mansion in the course of some fellowship. When he saw it in print, Harrington was inclined to hedge.

Well, if Harrington doesn't know who is in charge of the Democratic Party in Alabama, this newspaper is quite certain it doesn't know.

But until Harrington or somebody explains, we would say that the possibilities are Folsom, Bill Primm, Senators Hill and Sparkman. The rest of our figures are in Dixiecrat exile.

We do not doubt that Truman is willing to grant amnesty to Folsom the same as Ickes, who left but returned.

Primm undoubtedly will have no little influence in party circles if for no other reason than he was one of the few Alabamians forthrightly faithful to Truman—at a time when Folsom was asking to be invited to the Dixiecrat Convention in Birmingham and when the CIO's Carey Haigler was as silent as a nesting robin. Primm may have known what he was doing, but the minutes of the meeting show that he held fast. And he was special assistant to Senator McGrath.

As politics is played, Primm has honorably earned his seat in party councils. He is not a political force in the state, but he is an influential political agent in Washington headquarters. When the Democratic National Committee wants to know something about Alabama, it will undoubtedly consult Primm, whose brief case is a dossier.

But despite all of that, our unauthoritative guess is that Senator Hill and Senator Sparkman are going to be the ones to see about matters Democratic in Alabama. For unlike Folsom and Primm, Hill and Sparkman have something to offer Truman.

The two senators have national reputations. They are seasoned legislators with foremost influence in Congress. Civil rights aside, they are almost at one with Truman on his legislative program. They were duress Dixiecrats and that will make it possible for Truman to forgive and forget.

Barkley and McGrath are personally fond of the senators. They'll be welcome and thrice welcome. Our guess—still unauthoritative until Harrington makes his mind and his press quotes match—is that Hill and Sparkman will be sweet papa.

FOLSOM KEPT TRUMAN OFF TODAY'S BALLOT

The Advertiser

34d

Tues 11-2-48

Montgomery Ala

1. Norman Thomas, Socialist Party.
2. Claude A. Watson, Prohibition.
3. Edward A. Tiechert, Socialist Labor Party.
4. John G. Scott, Greenback Party.
6. Gerald L. K. Smith, Christian Nationalist Party.
7. Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party.
8. John Maxwell, Vegetarian Party.

The above men, together with the parties shown, are candidates for President of the United States in today's election. Their names do not appear on the ballots in this state, but they are officially lisited in many.

They are not on the Alabama ballot. Should The Advertiser deplore the fact that these candidates are not listed on the Alabama ballot and contend that we are thus disfranchised it would be more tenable than yesterday's Folsom-Truman rally in the Capitol.

Why is it that The Advertiser can contend with more logic that the Hon. John Maxwell, presidential candidate of the Vegetarian Party, should be on the ballot than Folsom can contend that Truman was illegally eliminated?

That is because Alabama has not voted on the candidate of the Vegetarian Party. But Alabama has voted on Truman.

Last Spring some 300,000 Alabamians went to the polls and voted against Truman. They elected presidential electors who took pledges they would never cast their vote for Truman. They overwhelmingly rejected six candidates for elector who would not make that pledge.

But why isn't Truman on the Alabama ballot? He isn't on the ballot for the same reason that the candidate of the Vegetarian Party and candidate of the Socialist Party are not on the ballot. That reason was the failure to qualify 11 electors.

Nobody but Folsom kept Truman off the Alabama ballot.

An overwhelming majority of Alabamians voted in May and June to use the Democratic rooster to defeat Truman.

After that it was still possible for 11 Folsom men to qualify as an independent slate of electors pledged to Truman. Had that been done it would now be possible for Alabamians to vote for Truman. But they did not qualify.

After that Folsom was the one man in Alabama who could have put Truman on today's ballot. After the deadline for qualifying to run [illegible] had passed, Folsom might—as was done in Georgia, Louisiana and Florida—have called a special session of the legislature to get Truman on the ballot.

But Folsom would not call a special session for this purpose. We cannot blame Folsom for not wanting the legislature in the Capitol with its militant curiosity about some aspects of the state's business.

Nevertheless, it is fraud when Folsom—the only man in Alabama who could have gotten Truman's name on the ballot—calls mass meetings to protest against the absence of Truman's name!

Tues 11-2-48

The Folsom-Truman rally yesterday was not without its amusements and caricatures.

There strove Pitt Tyson Maner as chairman of the Resolutions Committee which dished up the resolution that Alabamians have been denied the right of a free ballot.

Pitt was in the posture of ardent and martial party loyalty to Harry S. Truman. It's been only a few months since Pitt was managing Folsom's campaign for President against Truman and arranging a Billy Rose show for Folsom at the Philadelphia Convention—a project which aborted when Alabamians voted so heavily to keep Folsom at home.

In the lush days of last spring Folsom and Pitt were as opposed to Truman as is The Advertiser today. Pitt, indeed, wanted more deeply to defeat Truman than do we—for he so desired Truman's defeat that he was willing to do it with Folsom!

The photos of the rally yesterday show a number of notable and lugubrious countenances, made that way because Alabamians can't vote for Truman. Among these were Prison Director Frank Boswell, Ex-Legal Adviser Kenneth Griffith and General W. P. Screws, a new member of the Guckenheimer Board.

It may be assumed from their presence that they, like Jim and Pitt, are distressed over the Truman ballot blank. Why, then, did they not qualify, with eight others, as Truman electors? Why after the qualifying deadline did not Folsom call the legislature to put them on the ballot?

And what of State Senator A. L. Patterson of Phenix City and State Senator Broughton Lamberth? Why didn't they qualify as Truman electors? After all, because they were associated with Folsom, they were smashingly rejected by the voters in the spring primaries. A further defeat with Truman would not matter greatly.

The Advertiser said often and before Folsom that it was regretful that Truman's name is not on the Alabama ballot. It's Folsom's fault that he's not, but we are nevertheless regretful.

There is considerable confusion over why we have a short ballot. The confusion, as we have so often said, holds backfire possibilities. It is this confusion that Folsom is seeking to exploit.

Folsom is out to disfranchise the 300,000 Alabamians who voted against Truman in May and June. Folsom whines that Truman is not on the ballot, when Folsom alone is responsible.

Folsom charges that a "small group" (300,000 voters) excluded Truman from the ballot, and promises court action that would blot out Thurmond's name on the ballot by invalidating the 300,000 votes cast for him in May and June.

Jour. 11-2-48

In short, Folsom made it impossible for Truman to get on the ballot, and now seeks to purge Thurmond from the ballot by nullifying the expressed will of 300,000 voters.

You don't have to be a Dixiecrat to take offense at that.

The Advertiser Is Right, Yes And No

Advertiser

EDITOR THE ADVERTISER—The peope of Alabama voted overwhelmingly against Truman in the primary." This statement, in effect, has appeared many times in Advertiser editorials, articles, and Grandma column.

One point has apparently escaped attention. Twenty-one out of twenty-eight candidates for the office of elector were pledged to vote against Truman. This means simply that everyone who voted at all was forced to vote for at least four anti-Truman electors. I resented this at the time, and I resent it now.

Your best argument against the National Democrats in Alabama is that we failed to qualify electors in the allotted time. In this we are certainly at fault. We should have recognized our position earlier. The Advertiser, which has stated its desire to have Truman on the ballot, is equally at fault.

Gov. Folsom did have the last opportunity to have the National Party on the ballot—but not the sole responsibility, as you implied through emphasis in a recent editorial.

No one should resent the presence of the States Rights Party on our ballot—they should be welcomed as healthy competition. It is not right that they should have usurped the name, symbol, and position of the National Democratic Party.

Another convention time is coming. Let us hope that no Democrats will be so foolish as to have themselves elected on the States Rights ticket, appear at the States Rights convention, and then walk out in protest against the platform of the States Rights Party, leaving Alabama without representation from that party.

Clarification Of The Issues

(An Editorial In The Anniston Star)

THE ANNISTON STAR, as a general rule, does not pay any attention to unsigned letters to the editor. But there came to this office a few days ago a letter from a reader which is so intelligent and apparently sincere in its purpose that we feel it justifies consideration. The "reader" is seeking enlightenment in regard to this state's position regarding the national presidential campaign; he says he has been helped by our editorials in the past and wants further clarification. He asks:

1. What are the main points in the president's civil rights program with which the Southern politicians disagree, and what do they fear as a result of this program?

There were some 15 points covered in Mr. Truman's message to Congress, but he is being held responsible by the Dixiecrats for 41 points raised in the report of a civil rights commission he appointed. The main points at issue, however, have to do with a proposed federal poll tax law, a federal anti-lynching law and a federal fair employment practices law. It is contended that these are questions that properly should be handled by the separate states and that the president's proposals tend toward the concentration of too much federal power.

The Anniston Star, in principle, is in agreement with the Dixiecrats in these contentions, but we disagree with them as to the best way to approach a solution of the issues in question. History teaches us that rump parties are abortive and nearly always defeat the very ends that they seek. We believe that our sectional quarrel should be fought out within the framework of the National Democratic Party, on the floor of the Congress and by appeal, if necessary, to the federal courts.

2. EXPLAIN AGAIN the original meaning of states' rights—and how it is interpreted now. As I understand it, the sovereignty of a state is only on all internal matters, affecting only itself. The real sovereign power lies in the federation of states.

Under the Articles of Confederation each state was presumed to be sovereign, but when "We the people" banded together to form "a more perfect union" under the constitution by ceding superior authority to the federal government, that government became sovereign. Hence, we say the United States is a nation, not the United States are a nation. Yet, South Carolina, in 1832, objecting to a federal tariff, the use of federal funds for internal improvements, etc., undertook to upset sovereignty by act of nullification.

President Jackson very emphatically routed the nullificationists, but out of the concept of nullification there arose the idea of state-rights under the leadership of John C. Calhoun, in order that the South's vested interest in slavery might be preserved. That idea found its ultimate expression in the right of secession; and while it was believed that the supremacy of the federal government had been established at Appomattox, we have since seen the state-right idea invoked by lawyers in behalf of other vested interests, and by both the Democratic and Republican Parties.

* * *

3. IF THE PEOPLE of Alabama voted overwhelmingly for Truman, would the electoral vote be influenced in any way?

Not unless the Alabama Supreme Court should reverse its advisory opinion to the effect that electors are independent agents, or unless the electors should decide that the overwhelming voice of the people justified them in changing the pledge they have given to Horace Wilkinson, a Hoovercrat in 1928, but today a leader in the Dixiecrat movement. All Alabama electors now are committed to vote against the president.

* * *

4. WILL THE SOUTH stand to lose more than it will gain by pulling away from the Democratic Party?

Most assuredly, that part of the South that follows the Dixiecrats will stand to lose very much. When John C. Calhoun, for instance, changed from a liberal to a strict constructionist of the constitution under the state-rights program, his influence in national affairs, and to a large extent in state and regional affairs, was almost completely destroyed. Probably in recollection of this fact, it is of interest to note that both Sen. Maybank and Sen. Johnson, in Gov. Thurmond's own state of South Carolina, are now standing by the National Democratic Party.

But as far as Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina, the only states where the Dixiecrat movement has gained much headway, are concerned our senators and representatives in the Congress will stand to lose influence and the entire state will be penalized in so far as patronage is involved. It will not be forgotten that we failed to lend financial aid to the party of Jefferson, Jackson, Cleveland, Wilson and Roosevelt; for if we lose the election and most of the Democrats not under civil service lose their jobs, we will get the blame.

* * *

5. FINALLY, WOULD IT BE A good thing if the South voted for Dewey?

We think that the best interests of the South and of the nation are to be served by the National Democratic Party, especially in a time of international crisis that has brought us to the verge of war. But if we continue to denounce both the Democratic and the Republican Parties, as the Dixiecrats are doing, it is conceivable that the two major parties might unite in anger to apply against us the apportionment clause of the 14th Amendment so as to reduce the size of the South's congressional delegation.

Even now, there is considerable talk about abolishing the electoral college so as to make presidential elections determined by a national plurality of popular votes. And if this were done, the Dixiecrats would play into the hands of the so-called leftists of the North whom they want to curb. But a two-party system in the South would be a good thing; and since the Republicans do constitute a national party, it would be far better to vote for Dewey than for Thurmond, who has no influence outside the South, and only a limited influence down here.

'CLOWNING' BLAMED IN FOLSOM'S DEFEAT

New York Times

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOBILE, Ala., June 5—When Alabama failed this week to elect its Governor as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia, it did so for the first time in the state's history, it was believed. The defeated Governor is Big Jim Folsom who, in a runoff primary June 1, finished last in a field of seven.

An analysis of the cause of the Governor's defeat, according to his close friends and campaign managers, found that it resulted from the recent paternity suit filed against him and now pending, his actions in kissing women and his performances of taking off his shoes and socks on platforms from which he spoke during the first primary this spring. 6-6-48

The Mobile Press said:

"The voters of Alabama, weary of Folsom clowning and double talk, went out of their way to chastise the man who has degraded the office of Governor of the State of Alabama in the eyes of the nation. Sun. 6-6-48

"The man who had the effrontery to announce himself as Alabama's favorite son candidate for the Presidency has taken the beating of his life.

"The voters know only too well, and to their bitter sorrow, that Folsom has played the leading role in a comic opera regime and that he has made a mockery of the office of Governor of the State of Alabama." 6-6-48

Folsom Plans Stumping Tour For Democrats

The Advertiser
Fri 10-15-48
34d

Governor Asks Truman To Stop In Alabama; Extra Call Is Unlikely

Ala

Montgomery Ala.

Governor Folsom announced yesterday that he is going on a stumping tour on behalf of Democratic Party candidates in the Nov. 2 general election.

At the same time it was revealed that the governor has invited President Truman, the Democratic Party's standard bearer in the coming election, to stop in Alabama for a visit next week.

Announcing that he would take to the stump once more, Folsom said it would be to get people to vote "the straight Democratic ticket."

His speeches, he said, would be on behalf of Democratic candidates for state and local offices where there is danger of Republican candidates being victorious.

Details of the campaign have not been worked out yet, the governor continued, but he said he would do his speaking at night and on Saturdays.

Strawberry Pickers

Folsom said that his tentative plans is to carry the Strawberry Pickers, the string band that has accompanied him on three campaigns already, with him.

He told reporters at his first news conference in weeks that his schedule would be announced later and that he would be in his office every day.

Although the governor refused to tell reporters flatly that he does not intend to call a special session of the legislature to get President Truman's name on the ballot, he did infer that he would not because of the proximity to election time.

Repeating his statement of a week ago, Folsom said he still intends to support Truman, and that his name should be on the state ballot.

Fri 10-15-48

To Submit Measures

He declared that he intended submitting measures to the legislature "so such a condition as exists now can never exist again."

He was referring to the fact that Alabama's 11 Democratic electors have pledged their votes to the States' Rights ticket of Thurmond and Wright rather than the National Democratic Party nominees.

"You can't change the Democratic Party set up this late in the game," he continued. "The president should be on the ticket. I've made myself plain on that."

He asserted that he anticipated joining in any legal action that might be taken to force the state electors to cast their votes for Truman.

Fri 10-15-48

Such action would be taken after the election, he said.

When asked if it would make any difference how the Alabama electors voted in the even the Republican candidate is elected, Folsom said:

"Even if Dewey wins the action should be taken to keep such a condition as this from happening again."

Even GOP Angry

The governor said even the Republicans in Alabama are angry because Truman is not on the ballot. He said they have been telling him they have been waiting three years for the chance to vote against the president, and now they are going to be denied that privilege.

"The Republicans in north Alabama are worse than we Democrats," he stated.

The only way Truman's name could be placed on the state ballot now would be as an independent candidate, he pointed out, "and the national party doesn't want the President on an independent ticket."

He pointed out that for many years it has been customary for the Alabama Democratic Party to be affiliated with the national party.

"It's been both custom and usage," he said.

Folsomites Urge Votes For Truman

34d
Ala

Meeting Is Told Courts Will Hold 11 Electors Bound To President

The Advertiser

Lamberth Presides

Tues 11-2-48

Thurmond-Bound Group Called On To Change Stand Before Voting

Montgomery Ala.

By G. [illegible] LONG, JR.

Alabamians were called upon here yesterday at a mass meeting sponsored by Governor Folsom to go to the polls today and cast their ballots for the straight Democratic ticket—"under the rooster."

The meeting adopted a resolution deploring what it termed a "manipulation" that is keeping President Truman off the Alabama ballot.

Folsom viewed the resolution as "a protest" against the ballot being void of any electors supporting the nominee of the national Democratic Party.

The resolution approved proposed court action in an attempt to compel Alabama's 11 Democratic electors, who are pledged to vote for the States' Rights candidates, to vote for Truman. It also demanded that the electors vote for Truman.

Bates Says 500 There

Bankhead Bates, assistant director of the State Department of Public Safety, estimated 500 attended the meeting.

It was held in the hall of the House of Representatives. State employees were scattered throughout the audience. Two Negroes were in the crowd.

Pro-Truman Democrats were told at the meeting that if they wanted their ballots counted for the president, then they should vote under the rooster, because State Senator Joseph N. Langan, Mobile, said, "we believe the courts will rule in our favor"—force the electors to vote for the president.

Later, in a statewide radio broadcast in which he reported on the session, Folsom went even further than that. He said:

"When you go to the polls and vote the straight Democratic ticket it will be counted for the president."

Folsom opened the meeting by saying that "three dozen" men had met in a "smoke filled room" to bring about the present situation in Alabama and "took away the rights of 3,000,000 persons."

He renewed his pledge to go to court.

Tues 11-2-48

Lamberth Is Chairman

State Senator Broughton Lamberth, of Alexander City, who in May was defeated as a candidate for Democratic National Committeeman, was named permanent chairman of the meeting on the recommendation of a nominating committee, composed of ABC Board Chairman Frank Bunkley, ABC Board Member William P. Screws, and State Senator A. L. Patterson, of Phenix City.

After stating that the purpose of yesterday's meeting was to "show a certain group of individuals . . . that they have denied the voters of Alabama the right to vote for the President of the United States," Lamberth named a legal committee to "carry on the fight to the highest court in the land."

Named to that group were Senator Langan, chairman; Kenneth Griffith, Cullman, former legal adviser to Folsom, vice-chairman; James Mayfield, Tuscaloosa; W. C. Taylor, Mobile; Senator Patterson, and Rep. Ira Thompson, Luverne, the governor's present legal adviser.

Lamberth named Pitt Tyson Maner, who headed up Folsom's unsuccessful bid for the Democratic presidential nomination chairman of the resolutions committee. Other members were: J. Allen Tucker, Union Springs, and Eugene Wells, Birmingham.

As a finance committee, primarily to finance the cost of any court fight, Lamberth named State Adjutant General James Saliba, chairman; Jack Brock, Birmingham, state AFL head; J. B. Burkhalter, Olin Hearn, George Wilkinson, Carey Haigler, Birmingham, state CIO head; John G. Ward, Montgomery, and Francis Knight.

Folsom and other speakers said that an Alabama law passed by the 1945 legislature requires the state's electors to vote for the national party nominee.

Court Has Said 'No'

That law is still in effect, they contended, in spite of the fact that the Alabama Supreme Court held the act unconstitutional in an advisory opinion.

Tues 11-2-48

L. [illegible] Treadway, Mobile, asked from the floor how he and others who wanted to vote for Truman could be assured their ballots would be counted for the President if they voted under the rooster today.

He was told by Langan and others that "our only assurance is we believe in what the (1945) law is and that the courts will hold in our favor."

Langan added that with that assurance "it is well worth the chance" to vote under the rooster in the hope the votes will eventually go to Truman.

The resolutions committee proposal to call on the legislature to reaffirm the 1945 act was tabled when there was objection on the grounds that the persons attending the meeting had already said the law is still in effect and should be carried out.

Langan Cites "Dictatorship"

Langan declared the pledge taken by the 11 electors not to vote for Truman a "criminal conspiracy to violate the laws," and that the tactics by which the pledge was secured from the elector candidates "smacks of dictatorship."

Attacking State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, for his part in the move to get the electors pledged to the States' Rights ticket, Senator Patterson charged that the party chief had "misappropriated" executive committee funds in supporting those electors.

Meanwhile, in Mobile, McCorvey struck back by saying that the mass meeting held here was "ridiculous" and was a move by Folsom "simply to gain publicity."

He repeated the pledge that the 11 electors would "never" vote for Truman.

Wallaceites Unhappy, Too

In Birmingham, Robert Travis, Jr., state chairman of the Progressive (Henry Wallace) Party of Alabama, declared in a telegram to Folsom that "a vote under the rooster in Tuesday's general election can only be counted as a vote for fascisim in Alabama."

Tues 11-2-48

Travis called on Folsom to support Wallace and at the same time condemend tactics of the States' Righters.

The Progressive Party leader in Alabama also said that "the Dixiecrats will seek to win Tuesday's general election by stuffing the ballot boxes, mismarking ballots and voting the dead as well as the living."

He called on Folsom to prevent "fraud" at the polls, to take "all necessary action to insure a fair count of the votes."

The meeting in the House chamber yesterday got under way with the assistance of music by the Draper Prison orchestra.

Mrs. Vredenburgh Wants Democrats To All Join Hands

The Advertiser
34d

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Nov. [illegible]—[illegible] States' Rights Democrats who left the national party "will be welcomed back," Mrs. Dorothy Vredenburgh, secretary of the Democratic National Committee, predicted today.

Wed 11-3-48

"I feel that States' Rights Democrats should come back and all work for the Democratic party," the Alabama woman said in an interview shortly after her return from Washington.

Mrs. Vredenburgh called the States' Rights split a "family row."

Montgomery Ala.

"Undoubtedly we will have them from time to time," she said. "We've always gotten back together after these family quarrels and we will again."

Commenting on the election, Mrs. Vredenburgh said:

"We felt the last-minute trend gave President Truman a good chance to win, but his overwhelming victory simply bowled us over."

She said that many Dewey supporters "suddenly wanted to get on the bandwagon," after news of a Truman victory. "They literally stampeded our headquarters."

Mrs. Vredenburgh told how sorely pressed Chairman Howard McGrath and the Democratic chieftains were for campaign funds, adding that at times there was no money to pay stenographic and clerical help.

"We conducted the campaign on a shoestring and won it," she said. "But funds came pouring in after the election."

FOLSOM SHIFTS POLITICAL STAND; BACKS TRUMAN

Montgomery Advertiser

Legal Action To Hold Electoral Vote Hinted; Action Draws Attacks

34d

Fri 10-8-48

Montgomery Ala

Governor Folsom, who during the first half of this year bitterly attacked president Truman from all angles, yesterday came out in support of his bid for the presidency.

Ala

And in so doing, the governor, who at one time sought to be a favorite son candidate himself, ended a long silence on how he stood and at the same time ran head-on into a clash with States' Rights Democrats.

Folsom, in a prepared statement, said he would be for Truman in the general election and hoped that his vote would be counted that way.

He added a hint that there might be legal action to throw the Alabama electoral vote to the national Democratic Party Nominee.

As it now stands, neither Truman nor any electors pledged to him, will be on Alabama's Nov. 2 general election ballot.

Fully Pledged

The State Democratci Party electors have all pledge to cast their vote for the State's Rights nominee, Gov. J. Storm Thurmond of South Carolina."

Because of that there is no way for a voter in Alabama to cast his ballot for Truman -unless it is by writing the names of 11 persons favoranle to the president on the ticket and that is co conside~~red a~~ most ineffective method. Fri 10-8-48

Hardly had Folsom's statement been made public before reaction started coming in from Alabama's States' Rights leaders.

Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, said the voters voiced their dislike of Truman in the May 4 primary. All 11 electors had promised before the election that they would not support the president.

Montgomery Advertiser

Prefer Jail

Fri 10-8-48

McCorvey, who is one of the electors, said three out of the 11 have promised to go to jail for contempt if necessary "before violating what they consider a solemn pledge to the people.

He declined to reveal their names, explaining he is not at liberty to at this time.

In his statement Folsom said that he had been asked to call a special session of the State Legislation to get Truman's name on the Alabama ballot. he did not say whether he was considering doing that.

Another elector, Tom Abernethy, Talladega, wired McCorvey he will vote for Thurmond "if I am alive amd able to get to the polls.

Dixon, Wilkinson, Primm Charge, Countercharge

34d

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Alabama's Democratic family row flared anew today as former Gov. Frank Dixon and Horace Wilkinson lashed back at William J. Primm, Jr., for criticism leveled at them earlier in the week.

Fri 9-10-48

Wilkinson charged that the attempt by Primm, executive assistant to Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, to "purge" Marion Rushton appeared "simply a predicate for purging Sen. Lister Hill in 1950."

Primm had blasted Dixon, declaring the States' Righters should be known as "Dixoncrats" instead of "Dixiecrats" in Alabama, "because they are actually headed by Frank Dixon, Horace Wilkinson and company."

Striking back at Primm, Dixon pointed out that no less a person than North Carolina's late Sen. Josiah Bailey, Primm's father-in-law, had advocated just such a movement as the States' Rights fight to win Southern recognition.

* * *

DIXON QUOTED from a speech delivered on the U. S. Senate floor by Sen. Bailey Dec. 7, 1943, as follows:

"There can be an end of insults," Sen. Bailey said. "There can be an end of toleration. There can be an end of patience. We can form a Southern Democratic Party and vote as we please in the electoral college, and we will hold the balance of power in this country. We can throw the election into the House of Representatives and cast the votes of 16 states."

Dixon quoted Sen. Bailey's speech further:

"There is a reason why the South has voted Democratic. I will not go into that, either. But, by the eternal gods, there are men in the South, and women, too, who will not permit men in control of our party to betray or to insult us in the house of our fathers."

Replying to Primm's assertion that Wilkinson and Dixon are "behind-the-scenes manipulators" of the States' Rights movement, Wilkinson wrote him that "If there ever was a time in my life when I have attempted to stand out in front in a movement, it is the States' Rights movement."

Fri 9-10-48

PRIMM, IN A statement earlier in the week whaling away at Rushton, Dixon and Wilkinson, again called on Rushton to resign as Alabama's Democratic national committeeman. Rushton had explained he offered his resignation to the State Democratic Executive Committee, which had refused to accept it. He added he could not quit "on my own motion."

Primm cracked back:

"All Rushton has to do is simply to resign."

In his letter to Primm, Wilkinson questioned his loyalty to the Democratic Party of Alabama and called on him to state publicly whether he intended to "vote under the rooster" in November.

"If you voted in the May 4 (Democratic) primary," Wilkinson wrote Primm, "you agreed to support its nominees. I call on you to publicly state whether you are going to keep your promise."

Wilkinson's letter to Primm continued:

"It looks to me like your plan to purge Col. Rushton is simply a predicate for purging Sen. Hill in 1950, because he will vote the straight Democratic ticket in November, carrying with it electors pledged to vote for Thurmond and Wright. It looks to me like if you were not after Sen. Hill and the congressmen from Alabama you would not be interested in establishing a precedent in Col. Rushton's case.

"To be consistent, you should ask Sen. Hill to resign. You should ask Sen. Sparkman to resign. You should ask every congressman and every other Democratic nominee in Alabama to resign."

* * *

MEANTIME, the box supper rally to raise funds for the Thurmond-Wright campaign had been switched from Municipal Auditorium to the Tutwiler Hotel. John Newsome, North Alabama campaign director, said plate dinners would be served at 6:30 p.m. Saturday, explaining the change was made because of difficulties in getting food served in the auditorium.

Fri 9-10-48

The States' Righters hope to sell a minimum of 1,000 dinner tickets at $10 each to help raise a $110,000 Thurmond-Wright campaign quota fixed for Alabama. State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey and Rep. Sam Hobbs, Selma, will address the dinner rally.

Thomas E. Huey, Sr., chairman of the Jefferson County Democratic States' Rights committee, said plans were mapped at a Redmont Hotel meeting last night "to organize the county beat by beat." He emphasized that a permanent organization was being set up.

Huey said those meeting with him were Sid Smyer, Jim Simpson, Hugh Locke, Charlie Harris, Jess Edwards, George Huddleston, Jr., Leon Gilbert, Roy Johnson, Jr., M. M. Marshall, Mike Ross, Bob Billings and Dave Crawford.

ALABAMA VOTES BOLT FOR TRUMAN AND A BOOT FOR FOLSOM

Chicago Daily

Birmingham, June 2 (AP)—Alabama voters have approved a bolt from the Democratic national convention over the civil rights issue or if President Truman is nominated. Thurs. 6-3-48

They also have decided, and by a wide margin, that Gov. James E. Folsom was not going to the convention as a delegate.

Folsom was a candidate for President in the May 4 primary, when he ran 10th in a field of 24 for delegate at large. In the runoff yesterday he was last in a field of seven contesting for four places. 6-3-48

Nine of the 11 delegates chosen yesterday were pledged to walk out at Philadelphia in July if a strong civil rights plank is included or Truman is named. Five others similarly pledged were elected May 4, giving a majority of the 26 man delegation.

Alabama's 11 electors—the men who actually cast the state's vote for President—already were pledged against voting for Truman or civil rights measures.

McCorvey Lays Down Gauntlet For Lister Hill

State Demos' Rally For McCorvey Finds Fireworks A-Poppin'

34d

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Fighting among Alabama Democrats over the controversial walkout issue Saturday roared toward Tuesday's voting climax, with both sides lashing out fiercely in the intra-party struggle.

Sparked by a rip-roaring rally for State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey here last night, walkout forces battling President Truman and "civil rights" legislation pressed for a sweep in the runoff campaign for delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

The McCorvey rally, attended by an outpouring of Democrats from over Alabama, brought political fireworks as the state chairman assailed Sen. Lister Hill.

* * *

HILL, WHO CAMPAIGNED against a walkout at the Philadelphia convention to lead the field of delegate-at-large candidates in the first primary, was charged by McCorvey with "throwing brickbats."

McCorvey, an anti-Truman pledged presidential elector nominee and runoff candidate for delegate-at-large, asserted he suspected Hill of being behind an attempt to force his resignation as Democratic committee chairman.

* * *

THIS BROUGHT A STATEMENT later Saturday from Louis A. Eckl, editor of The Florence Times, blasting McCorvey as "a traitor to the cause of democracy" and saying Sen. Hill had nothing to do with a move seeking McCorvey's resignation.

Eckl said he wrote an AFL resolution criticizing McCorvey and calling for his resignation, which was adopted at the state AFL convention several weeks ago.

"Lister Hill never heard of that resolution before it was adopted," said Eckl. "I wrote the resolution at the request of some of the AFL men in the Muscle Shoals district, who detest the underhanded way in which Horace Wilkinson, McCorvey, et al, are seeking to wreck popular government in Alabama." The News Al

Wilkinson, presidential elector nominee, was chairman of the McCorvey rally.

"I have come to the conclusion," Eckl's statement added, "that it would be a fine thing if McCorvey would get out.

"He is not a Democrat—he is a traitor to the cause of democracy and progressive government."

Striking at Sen. Hill, whom McCorvey recalled had referred to a proposal by the state chairman regarding Gen. Eisenhower for president as "both stupid and ridiculous," McCorvey laid down the gauntlet for a finish fight with Alabama's senior senator.

Pointing out that he had not called for Sen. Hill's resignation when the senator at first came out for Truman, McCorvey declared:

"Sen. Hill's term has only two more years to run and I think we ought to let him serve out his two years." Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

DELEGATE CANDIDATES opposing a walkout, including Atty. Gen. Albert Carmichael and Joe J. Money, Birmingham road machinery man, were at nearby hotels, but did not attend the McCorvey rally. Neither did any of the other delegate aspirants pledged against a walkout. Sat. 5-29-48

* * *

ATTACKING THE WALKOUT movement, Money declared Saturday that "election of bolters will not only leave Alabama ineffectively represented in a crucial fight, but it will further cripple the efforts of the whole South by splitting the South on its most important issue."

He said that Texas, Louisiana, Florida, Tennessee and Kentucky already have decided to stay in the Philadelphia convention and predicted that North Carolina would do likewise.

Carmichael, who has lashed out repeatedly at the McCorvey-led walkout group, was to take to the air Saturday night in a new assault on walkout forces. He will speak at 8:30 p.m. over WSGN and a statewide hookup.

* * *

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, Birmingham Post columnist, addressing the McCorvey rally in place of Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright, declared "the revolt in the South already is a success."

"For the first time in history," Graves said, "the South is not going to the national convention in the bag. Every Southern state is going to Philadelphia ready to fight the Truman force bills and the president, who has so cruelly played politics with Southern misery." The News

Graves said Alabama's vote becomes the "mandate of the South, the warhead of the whole revolt—the core of the declaration of Southern independence. He added that in his travels into the various states over the nation he had found "new interest in the Southern view, new sympathy and understanding."

And he emphasized that the South is being advertised for its resistance, its new demands to be heard.

* * *

"THIS IS NO NEGRO-HATING movement," declared Graves. "This is not just race-hating, bigotry and despair. We have no quarrel with the Negro. We are doing better and we are going to do a lot better, if they will let us alone."

He said the movement could well be called a fight for states' rights, local self-government, crossroads democracy, as it once had so aptly been termed by former Gov. Frank Dixon. Or, to paraphrase a declaration by Gov. Folsom, it could be called home rule at the branch-heads. Birmingham, Ala.

Chairman McCorvey, in whamming away at President Truman, pictured the president as having the choice of "committing political suicide in the slums of Harlem or on the steps of the white people's homes in the South." He pointed out that Mr. Truman preferred to choose the latter.

In lashing out at Sen. Hill, McCorvey recalled that an Alabama Federation of Labor resolution urging the state chairman's resignation as party leader had referred to the "conspiratorial demands of the State Executive Committee." He added that "conspiratorial" is a "favorite word of a certain United States senator from Alabama."

"I would hate to think that my friend, Lister Hill, had anything to do with writing a resolution like that," said McCorvey, "as I have never thrown any brickbats at him, and there is not reason for him to be throwing any at me. I'm sure it was just a coincidence." Sat.

* * *

ERN REVOLT was for "America's most precious principle—the right of people to govern themselves in problems peculiar to themselves. It is especially the principle of the eternal South.

"This is a revolt," he emphasized, "against federalism gone mad, against centralization that makes no sense. It is a thing of dignity, a nationwide thing, in tune with the whole nation's revolt, associating our people not with Bilboism and a burning cross, but with Jefferson, with Woodrow Wilson, with Jackson and with George Washington." 5-29-48

Tom Aebernethy, editor of The Talladega Daily Home and ticker leader in the presidential elector race, lauded McCorvey's leadership.

As spokesman for the group of elector nominees and others of the 21 elector candidates pledged against Truman and "civil rights," Abernethy said "We pay esteem and affection to a gallant warrior, Gessner T. McCorvey. We are proud to follow your leadership."

* * *

ABERNETHY, EMPHASIZING the Southern revolt is a success, brought cheers from the gathering when he said:

"Never again, so long as there is a Democratic Party, will the South be despised, ignored and trampled upon."

Albert Stapp, Hardy Riddle and J. Miller Bonner, the other three delegate - at - large candidates grouped with McCorvey in the runoff campaign, spoke briefly.

H. M. Abercrombie and Jess Edwards, walkout pledged delegate candidates in the Ninth District runoff race, were introduced.

McCorvey was presented a leather handbag—a gift of the banquet sponsors—by Abernethy. Rep. Norman Harris, Decatur, one of the elector nominees, presented gifts to Hugh Locke, co-chairman, and Leon Nolen, executive secretary, of the "Alabama Democratic Campaign Committee." Sat. 5-29-48

Horace Wilkinson, elector nominee and rally chairman, presided. Locke brought the meeting to a close with a warning not to take the outcome of Tuesday's runoff primary "for granted" and a plea to get out the vote.

About McCorvey

The News Birmingham, Ala.

State Democratic Chairman Noted As Lawyer But Not Politician, Attack On Hill Shows

34d Fri. BY FRED TAYLOR 6-4-48

TAYLOR

Gessner T. McCorvey is not only chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee. He is an outstanding Mobile lawyer and a highly respected man. And he is an affable, likable fellow.

But he is not a politician. He proved that in Birmingham just one week ago—three days before the Democratic runoff primary.

It may be that Mr. McCorvey, who successfully led the walkout movement in Alabama to help 14 delegate candidates aligned with him get elected, wanted to get something off his chest more than he wanted to win a place for himself on the delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

The official canvass of returns in Tuesday's election may still give McCorvey a place on the 26-member group going to Philadelphia. But complete unofficial returns show he was edged out for a delegate-at-large place by Atty. Gen. Albert Carmichael.

* * *

POLITICAL IMPRUDENCE—As all now know, the McCorvey walkout ticket swept the runoff election, winning nine of 11 places at stake. One of these was won by a candidate neither publicly pledged for nor against a walkout at Philadelphia as the most effective method of opposing President Truman's "civil rights" measures. The News

If Carmichael, who campaigned against a walkout, is declared winner over McCorvey, he will be the sole victor of opposition forces in the runoff election. Birmingham, Ala.

It was nothing McCorvey said about Carmichael that resulted in the state chairman's apparent defeat. He made no mention of him. Fri. 6-4-48

It was his verbal assault on Sen. Lister Hill, who opposes a walkout and who led the field of delegate-at-large candidates in the first primary to win without a runoff, that observers agree proved McCorvey's undoing.

His attack on Sen. Hill, not even a candidate in the runoff, was regarded as nothing less than political imprudence, to put it mildly.

* * *

COULD HAVE LED TICKET—It was at a statewide Democratic dinner rally, held here last Friday night to honor McCorvey and accentuate the walkout campaign, that the state chairman let Hill have both barrels. McCorvey already had been nominated an anti-Truman pledged presidential elector.

One of McCorvey's close friends said he sought to dissuade him assailing the senior senator, notwithstanding their conflicting political views. He and a number of others close to McCorvey feel this probably not only knocked the state chairman out of the delegate-at-large race. They believe he would have led the runoff ticket on which three other walkout-pledged candidates — J. Miller Bonner, Hardy Riddle and Albert Stapp—were elected, had he not singled out Hill to lambast. Fri. 6-4-48

What McCorvey did was to lay down the gauntlet for a finish fight with Alabama's senior senator. For one thing, he told the rally crowd at the Tutwiler Hotel he suspected Hill of being behind an attempt to force his resignation as state Democratic chairman. The News

Sen. Hill, who returned to Alabama last week-end, made no comment on this. But Louis A. Eckl, editor of The Florence Times, said it was he and not Hill who wrote a labor resolution asking McCorvey's resignation.

Apparently McCorvey had become irritated over a statement attributed to the senator characterizing a proposal by the state chairman as "both stupid and ridiculous." McCorvey said he had never called on Hill to resign for any of his acts, but he hinted at further political warfare with the senator when he declared:

"Sen. Hill's term has only two more years to run and I think we ought to let him serve out his two years." Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

WORK ON McCORVEY—Sen. Hill made no comment publicly about McCorvey's remarks. But he spent the week-end in Alabama, leaving Birmingham Monday afternoon for Washington.

It is no secret, however, that the senator's lieutenants got busy and knocked a lot of votes off McCorvey.

Result was that Bonner was runoff ticket leader and McCorvey was nosed out by Carmichael in the seven-man race for four places. Fri. 6-4-48

* * *

ELLIS FOR CHAIRMAN—Walkout forces, who have a majority on the delegation, with 14 of 26 places, had planned to pick McCorvey for chairman.

Sen. Hill and former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, also a walkout opponent who won first primary election, also have been mentioned to head the delegation.

But indications now are that Handy Ellis, former lieutenant-governor and walkout-pledged first primary winner, will be chosen chairman.

The News

Delegates Vs. Electors

All of Alabama's delegates to the National Democratic Convention and the state's Democratic electors are in complete harmony in opposition to federal legislation on the poll tax, lynching, segregation and fair-employment practices, but beyond that point the divergences are wide and the resultant confusion is deep.

Developments over the week-end tended only to increase the confusion. Atty. Gen. A. A. Carmichael, who refused to sign a pledge to bolt the convention, was officially declared winner of a delegate-at-large seat over Gessner T. McCorvey, state party chairman and a leader of the bolters. But Mr. McCorvey made use of his telegram of congratulations to the winner to remind the delegates to the convention that the party's Alabama electors are pledged not to vote for Truman. Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

It is very likely that some of the 12 Alabama delegates who refused to sign the bolter pledge will prefer to accept the convention's action rather than bolt the party, even if it nominates Mr. Truman. That course will be in line with their pledge to voters to use their own judgment and discretion in their representation of the state's Democrats. Tues. 6-8-48

. Much depends on what happens at Philadelphia and what happens between now and election time. It is probable that many Alabama Democrats next November will prefer to stick with the party than to help the election of a Republican. The News

President Truman, on a semi-political trip to the West, is said to feel confident of nomination. One correspondent says the president, whose courage is beyond question, expected the Southern dissent with his civil rights program, but thinks that if Southerners took the trouble to study his civil rights message they would find they didn't have much to revolt about. Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

That comment of Mr. Truman's strengthens the contention that much of the anti-Truman fight is synthetic, that it is really anti-New Deal, anti-liberal. Much of it is not based on cold analysis of the civil rights message, but on inflamed feelings. 6-8-48

There is still the possibility, therefore, that as time brings better perspective and cooler heads, the Democrats of Alabama may be more willing to abide by the results of the Philadelphia convention, less willing to split the party. In that case, it may well be that some of the electors, whose pledge to bolt was made not to the voters as a whole but only to an individual or, at best, to a committee, will begin to wonder how they best can discharge their duties. Tues

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Arnall Rapped For Prediction On 'Revolt'

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Mon. 5-17-48

Prominent Alabama Democrats Sunday scored Ellis Arnall, Georgia's ex-Governor, for predicting a softening in the Southern revolt against President Truman's civil rights program, according to AP reports.

Eugene Connor, of Birmingham, one of Alabama's four delegates-at-large to the Democratic National Convention, said: "Arnall isn't a Southern Democrat and I don't see by what authority he speaks for one."

Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney and one of Alabama's 11 electors to the Electoral College, said: "It makes no difference whether convention delegates walk out, stay in, stand up or lie down. The 11 electoral votes of Alabama will not be cast for President Truman," 5-17-48

CLARIFICATION

Editor, The Advertiser:

In line with your invitation in Friday's Advertiser, I would like to clarify my stand as a candidate for presidential elector.

To classify me under the general heading, "Will make up mind after both conventions over," does not reveal my views as clearly as seems desirable, though I recognize the diffculty in simplifying this complex issue. The Advertiser

. . . Virtually all people believe they are voting directly for president or mean to indicate that they favor the nominee of the national party, by voting for the electors of that party. That has been true in the past and will be true this year to almost the same extent, despite any efforts that may be made to draw the highly technical line of demarcation. . . .

I could not in March and cannot now sign the Horace Wilkinson pledge to withhold my mid-December electoral vote from any man. The people of Alabama may decide in November that he is preferable to the Republican nominee or to Henry Wallace. Montgomery, Ala.

It is clear to me that I had no moral right to make such a pledge. The people of Alabama should have complete freedom of choice as to a president. Anything less is not much democracy. Sun.

I do pledge to cast my electoral vote for the choice of the people of Alabama as expressed in November. 5-2-48

FOREST CASTLEBERRY.
Castleberry, Ala.

A Cloudy Political Picture

The News

The post-election analysts are not having an easy time explaining all the things that happened in Tuesday's Democratic primary. There is no simple, or single, explanation. A factor that may account for the results in one race falls flat in another.

Judging by the results, several forces were at work. One was a desire to keep in the United States Senate a man who has brought honor there to the state and nation. In no other way can one account for the heartening and stupendous victory given Sen. John Sparkman over four opponents. Birmingham, Ala.

The election means a definite loss in prestige for Gov. James Folsom. In the first real personal test he has had since he was elected governor, he failed signally to hold to the strength he had previously shown. His candidates for U. S. senator and national Democratic committeeman were defeated by large majorities. His slates in the races for delegate and elector were generally beaten.

Using returns compiled up to this morning and from nearly two-thirds of the state's 2,358 boxes, it appears that of the 16 candidates for delegate-at-large expected to be in the runoff, only five bore Folsom endorsements. Although the governor gave official blessing to 13 of the 28 candidates for elector, the best any of the 13 could do, on the incomplete returns, was to rank eighth. The last seven positions early today were held by men Folsom had endorsed. Folsom will be in the runoff, but he certainly has failed to gain the prestige necessary to cut any weight at all in his presidential aspirations.

It is not possible yet to count the governor out, but he is now likely to be much less of a political power. He has a following, but he cannot command, at will, a majority. Thurs 5-6-48

* * *

The results of the election also indicate that the anti-Truman civil rights forces in Alabama won a substantial victory by concentrating on limited objectives. What good that will do them remains to be seen.

In the last few days before the election, a slate sponsored by the "States Rights-Jeffersonian Democrats" received wide publicity. It was advertised extensively, and mimeographed slips carrying the names of the candidates on the slate were distributed freely among voters. The concentration of effort was successful. Of the eight candidates on the slate for delegate-at-large, the lowest placed 14th at the halfway mark in the count. The slate's candidates for elector fared even better at the same stage of the tally. They appeared to have captured 10 of the top 11 places, losing only the ninth. Their 11th man placed 15th. The News

This concentration sent down to ignominious defeat candidates who followed the same general line of the "States Rights-Jeffersonian Democrats." For example, just as the top 10 positions in the elector race seemed to have been won by bolters, so also the last four positions appeared to be theirs.

Another point to be noted is the evident popularity of Sen. Lister Hill. Mr. Hill probably was under fire more heavily than any other man in the delegate-at-large race. Yet unofficial returns from more than half the state show him leading the ticket. Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

Although the June 1 runoff will be necessary to determine matters finally, it seems likely that Alabama will send to the national convention a delegation composed of both bolters and non-bolters, with the former in the majority. If the unit rule is enforced, Alabama may lose representation in the convention at a crucial time. The electors may all be pledged to vote against Truman in any circumstances. The hope of the bolters in that case will be to throw the election into the House of Representatives, where they might effect a stampede for some popular hero like Eisenhower. That is a rather forlorn hope. Thurs. 5-6-48

In a post-election radio interview, Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of the State Democratic Committee, implied that he was prepared for a Republican victory this year. In that confession one reads the full force of the desperation of many of the bolters. They would carry their hostility to Truman to the extent of preferring a Republican administration, with the GOP record of caring little for Southern feelings or attitudes.

Voice Of The People

Folly Of 'Revolt'

To the Editor of The News:

Alabama party leaders are asking candidates to sign pledges that they (if elected as delegates to the convention) will bolt the Democratic convention if it adopts a civil rights plank or if Mr. Truman is nominated by the convention. The News

I would like to know why the men who now holler "revolt" were silent when the 1944 Democratic convention adopted a similar plank? Which way are the "walking" delegates headed? If they organize a new party, it will certainly rank along with the present "third party" as a minority party. Its nominee cannot hope to be a serious contender for the presidency. Birmingham Ala.

No candidate then will likely receive a majority in the electoral college and the choice of a president will go to the House of Representatives, which happens to be predominantly Republican. The result is obvious—the inauguration of a Republican president in January, 1949. Mon. 4-19-48

Republicans believe, as Hamilton did, in a strong centralized government. Democrats follow Jefferson and Jackson and believe in states' rights. Seems that we need a Democratic (states' rights) Congress more than anything else.

But if voters are to have no choice except the Republican Party in November, then why must we take the devious trail behind bolting delegates?

J. G. SHELBY.
905½ South 12th Street.

The Constitution

Alabama Shows Way to Real Revolt

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—As affecting the ultimate selection of the next President of the United States, the most decisive event so far is the seemingly sure nomination in Alabama's Democratic primary, Tuesday, of 11 presidential electors solidly pledged against President Truman. By this action Mr. Truman is excluded from the regular Democratic column on the Alabama ballot and this almost certainly means that he will lose the electoral vote of that State. 5-7-48

And because there had been more resistance to the anti-Truman movement in Alabama than in most other Southern States, its popularly voted determination to bolt is taken to indicate that at least five other States—South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas and Virginia—will go the same way. Altogether, these States cast 60 electoral votes. Fri. 5-7-48

After a decision of the Alabama Supreme Court, that State's presidential electors are not committed to vote for the national nominees of their party, a group of candidates for Democratic elector, including every one of the 11 now chosen, signed a public manifesto, as follows:

"First—We will not cast our electoral votes for Harry S. Truman for President.

"Second—If the Philadelphia convention adopts a program hostile to the fundamental principles on which our civilization is based or nominates a candidate for President who advocates such hostile principles, we will not cast our votes for the nominee of that convention but will cast our electoral votes for some Democrat who understands and sympathizes with the peculiar racial problems of the South.

". . . If the Philadelphia convention fails to disavow the Truman so-called 'civil rights program' or if the candidates nominated by that convention fail to disavow that program, such nominees should not be regarded as the nominees of the Democratic Party of Alabama and we shall not be obligated in any way to vote for such candidates."

In addition to choosing electors thus committed, most of the candidates for convention delegates leading in the State primary are pledged to walk out if a platform plank favoring the "civil rights program" is adopted. Final returns on that phase must await a run-off primary on June 1. The Constitution

Sen. Lister Hill, running ahead for delegate-at-large, opposed President Truman but argued against bolting the Party on the ground that this might throw Alabama to the Republicans. But running next after Hill is Eugene (Bull) Connor, the Birmingham Police Commissioner who arrested Sen. Glen Taylor, vice presidential running mate of Henry A. Wallace, for defiance of the city's race segregation rules.

Leaders of the Southern movement against Truman are divided as to whether to bolt the convention over the platform plank, or to remain to cast their votes against nomination of President Truman. In Alabama this issue will be decided by the rank and file of Democratic voters in their final selection of convention delegates. Atlanta, Ga.

Either way the Southern States are expected to name in some fashion a candidate —perhaps Sen. Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia, or Sen. Walter F. George, of Georgia—to be voted for by their electors in lieu of Mr. Truman. Fri. 5-7-48

While only the six States above named are enlisted so far in the anti-Truman drive, its effects are expected to extend farther. Texas probably will join the movement fully, and Louisiana and Florida may do so. Many politicians from Tennessee and Virgina are predicting that, whether or not these States list the Southern anti-Truman candidate on their ballots, they are likely to go Republican on account of the Party split.

In 1944, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey polled 39 percent of the votes in Tennessee and 38 percent in Virgina. Entry of Henry Wallace already has divided the Democratic presidential vote in these States.

Birmingham News

Edwards, Kendrick, Alta King And Abercrombie Win

34d

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Alabama Democrats today had approved the walkout movement and administered another jolting defeat to Gov. Folsom.

But State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, leader of the walkout plan to combat President Truman and his "civil rights" measures, appeared in danger of defeat for a place on Alabama's delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

Birmingham News

FOLSOM SICK, ABED

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 2—(AP)—Gov. James E. Folsom, apparently defeated in his race for delegate to the National Democratic Convention, remained at home today nursing an infected throat.

Mrs. Folsom said the governor woke up about midnight with a high fever and sore throat. He was ordered by his doctor to stay in bed today and rest, she said.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Gov. Folsom, who opposed a walkout and who ran poorly in the first primary, took a severe drubbing in yesterday's runoff to come in last in the seven-man delegate-at-large race.

Walkout-pledged Candidates J. Miller Boner, Hardy Riddle and Albert Stapp were leading in that order and apparently had won three of the four at-large places on the delegation. Wed. 6-2-48

Atty. Gen. Albert Carmichael, who is committed against Truman and "civil rights" but who opposed a walkout, was running in fourth place ahead of McCorvey.

Latest returns, however, had narrowed Carmichael's margin over McCorvey to only five votes to make this a neck-and-neck tussle.

Joe J. Money, who opopsed a walkout, was in sixth place, with Folsom trailing him.

Jefferson County voters gave lopsided majorities to H. M. Abercrombie and Jess Edwards, favoring a walkout, for the two Ninth District delegate places.

AND IN THE JEFFERSON RACES for County Commission president and Circuit Court judge, W. D. Kendrick and Judge Alta King won decisive margins.

Returns from 1,882 of the state's 2,368 boxes in the delegate-at-large race showed:

Bonner	100,252
Riddle	97,281
Stapp	96,251
Carmichael	91,686
McCorvey	91,681
Money	77,005
Folsom	64,427

6-2-48

THOSE OPPOSING a convention walkout centered their fire on McCorvey as the spearhead of this movement.

Observers were inclined to the belief McCorvey's attack on Sen. Lister Hill, who opposed a walkout and who led the field of 24 candidates May 4 to win a delegate-at-large place without a runoff, is likely to cost the party chairman a place on the delegation.

Are The Bolters Hesitating?

Birm.

At the week-end meeting in Montgomery of walkout delegates to the National Democratic Convention there was growing talk, as noticed by Reporter Hugh Sparrow, to the effect that the bolters might be weakening in their resolution to leave the convention if President Truman is nominated, on a platform acceptable to them. It was also hinted that even the state's electors, now sworn never to vote for Mr. Truman, might reconsider if a favorable civil rights plank is adopted. Tues 6-15

Thus there are additional signs of a steady deterioration of the walkout position. Ever since it became obvious that only a minority of Democratic delegates from the South would carry their opposition to Truman to the bitter end, the bolters have been faced with the problem of how to make their protests most effective. They have failed to make the revolt Southwide. They must content themselves with partial victories.

6-15-48

In view of the disaffection in the South with the Truman civil rights proposals, it is very probable that the 1948 civil rights plank of the party's platform will be so worded as to be acceptable to all but the most irreconcilable of the bolters. The 1944 plank violated few Southern feelings. It is hardly to be expected that this year's platform would prove so wholly obnoxious as to justify a general desertion of the national party.

Already the bolters among the delegates are asking themselves what they will do if an acceptable platform is adopted but Mr. Truman is nominated. Will they walk out immediately, thereby leaving to alternate delegates or to an incomplete delegation the duty of representing the state in the choice of a vice presidential candidate? The indications are growing that at least some of them will stay.

34d

Thereby they would be giving a measure of acceptance to the nomination of Mr. Truman. They might find themselves in a position where for the sake of national party harmony it would seem better to abide by the results of the convention.

Birmingham News

In a way that might look like going back on a promise, but a promise made in the heat of a campaign, under special stresses and pressures, might not be considered absolutely binding in the light of changed and unforeseeable conditions. It was very evident in the primary elections that voters were influenced to a considerable extent by personalities rather than by issues. Voters marked their ballots in large degree for men they thought they could trust to do the wise thing when the time for action came. That confidence remains.

One may still hope, therefore, that Alabama's delegates at Philadelphia will take a sane and sober and moderate and realistic view of the political situation and will not follow the extreme course advocated by some of them.

Delegate Race Shapes Up

Birmingham News

Ten days from now Alabama Democrats must again go to the polls to complete the selection of delegates to the national party convention. That election on June 1 will provide a more clear-cut evidence of sentiment than was obtained from the May 4 balloting. Fri

Here is how matters stand at present:

Already elected, 15 delegates, five pledged to walk out if the Truman civil rights program is included in the platform, six who refused to sign the pledge, and four noncommittal.

Candidates for delegate to be voted on June 1, 21 (one candidate dropped out). Of these 21, 11 are pledged to walk out, eight refused to pledge, and two are uncommitted. From these 21, 11 must be selected.

Birmingham, Ala.

Thus it is possible for Alabama to send to the convention a delegation having a majority pledged to walk out or one having a majority that refused to pledge. Or there could be a delegation in which the balance of power was held by those not committed. June 1 will tell the tale. 5-21-48

Although in most cases the runoff candidates who got the most votes in the first primary are "bolters," it does not follow that their election June 1 is absolutely certain.

That uncertainty is illustrated in Jefferson County. There were three "bolter" candidates from this district. Two led the ticket. The other ran far down. The rest of the vote was scattered among six candidates who refused to pledge a bolt and one who was noncommittal. The two top candidates got 40.3 per cent of the vote. They will hold their strength, presumably. Whether they will do more is a question. Certainly the votes of the great majority of those objecting to the plan to walk out of the convention will be cast for the other two delegates. Supporters of the two non-bolters in the runoff, Wallace C. Johns and Robert W. (Bob) Gwin, consider they have a good chance to win.

Fri. 5-21-48

Similar situations may be found throughout the state. In the race for the remaining four places of delegate-at-large the non-bolters include State Atty. Gen. A. A. Carmichael, Gov. Folsom and Joe J. Money, Birmingham. Carmichael lacked only about 9,000 votes of being elected in the first primary and is considered almost a certainty for election on June 1.

Thus there are good chances of electing a delegation which will be dominated by Democrats who believe in fighting the South's battles in the convention to the very end.

SO THEY PLAYED IT

The Advertiser

The election in Alabama, which constituted the first official act of Southern rebellion, was prominently displayed on the first pages of papers in other states.

The Stassen-Taft vendetta in Ohio broke at the same time and in most cases was accorded tophead play. The Alabama election, of course, was secondary.

The New York Times gave it a two-column play beneath the fold under a head—"Anti-Truman Candidates Leading in Alabama Voting For Delegates."

Other papers: Montgomery, Ala.

The Washington Post, two column tophead—"1st Alabama Returns Indicate Split on Convention Bolt Issue." Sat.

The Memphis Commercial Appeal, above the fold—"Alabama Votes Split on Party 'Walkout'—Sparkman Holds Early Lead Over Opponent Backed by Folsom."

The Nashville Tennessean, above—"Alabama Voters Back Party Bolt—Truman Foes Take Big Lead in Early Returns in Primary." 5-8-48

The Arkansas Gazette, two column, top—"Alabama Split On Revolt Over Truman's Plan—Jim Folsom's Move For Backing Fizzles."

The Atlanta Constitution, top, three columns—"Folsom Trails In Alabama As Taft Leads Ohio Vote."

The Chattanooga Times, top, four columns—"Taft Leads In Ohio Voting; Alabama Gives Sparkman, Anti-Truman Bloc Margin—Folsom Runs 11th—Returns In Race To Select Delegates To Democratic Convention Mixed—Hamm Is Overwhelmed—Senator Aspirant Backed By Governor Is Running Far Behind Incumbent."

In all, the Alabama primary received about the same amount of space as the door bolt and caboosing of Senator Glen Taylor. Sat. 5-8-48

"IF WALLACE IS A COMMUNIST"

Editor, The Advertiser:

A few hundred people who believed formly that citizens of Alabama have a right to vote for or against Henry A. Wallace and everything he stands for have joined together to form the Progressive Party of Alabama, in accordance with the laws of Alabama. 5-8-48

The names of 11 electors pledged to Wallace and Taylor will appear on the November ballot, and those who join the Progressive Party will do what they can between now and then to present the issues for which Wallace stands as they are seen by those who believe in them.

Nothing less than this is fair. Nothing less than this is right. Nothing less than this is democratic. The Advertiser

Every conceivable effort has been made by those who oppose Wallace to smear him as an impractical dreamer, as an appeaser in the Chamberlain tradition, even as that most unsavory of all political creatures, a Kremlinized Communist . . .

If Wallace is an appeaser, he is an appeaser in the tradition of the founders of the great religious faiths. Wallace believes that if our actions, national and international, are based on compassion, tolerance, understanding, and adherence to the rules of fair play, lasting world peace can be achieved. He further believes that the American people are capable of a better, fuller expression of these virtues than is being shown in the actions of the present administration, or by the actions and policies of the Democratic or Republican parties . . .

If Henry Wallace is a Communist, then we have had several glorious figures in our history who were—of all things—Communists. But Henry Wallace is not a Communist. A Communist—in the now generally accepted usage of the term—is a man who believes in the overthrow of the government of the United States by violence, or in objectively, willfully betraying the United States into the hands of the Kremlin. . . Montgomery, Ala.

If Henry Wallace is a Communist because Communists will vote for him, then Truman is a Fascist because Fascists will vote for him, and Roosevelt was a Japaness because Japanese voted for him. The argument is unworthy of the minds of sensible people, and is typical only of the minds of people who have been stampeded into a state of hysteria. The government of the United States will never be overthrown by negligence, or panic, the fundamental principles upon which that government stands. Sat. 5-8-48

This is not a time to think quickly or casually of what sort of behaviour the principles of democracy and of our different faiths in God demand of us. It is a time for careful thinking, for deep self-analysis. We have won the right to one more chance for permanent peace. We may not have another.

Finally, it is my own deep personal conviction that if under the conditions which exist today in the world, with the present background of efforts at compromise, negotiation, plan, and connivance, men bring upon themselves another great war, God will never forgive us, and our civilization will surely be destroyed.

LAWRENCE L. PERSONS.
Montgomery.

Voters And Electors

The News

Candidates for presidential elector in next week's Alabama Democratic primary are finding themselves in somewhat of a predicament. Here, as in the campaign for delegate seats in the party's national convention, the issue springs largely from President Truman's civil rights proposals.

Eleven electors are to be named. There are 28 candidates. Of these, 21 more than a month ago gave their pledge to Horace Wilkinson, one of their number, not to vote for Truman in any case, should he be the party's nominee, nor to vote for any candidate who may approve of the Truman position on these issues. There are only seven who are unpledged. Birmingham

Since the 21 elector candidates made these promises to Mr. Wilkinson in the middle of March, there has been much change in the political situation. It is certain now that some, perhaps most, of the state's delegation to the convention will be composed of unpledged delegates. The only promises which bind them are the promises they have made to the voters to oppose in the convention any plank calling for federal legislation in the civil rights issues and to work for the nomination of that man most likely to be sympathetic to the special interests of the South, while not forgetting the welfare of all the nation. Tues. 4-27-48

Suppose the state's Democrats send to the convention an unpledged delegation.

And suppose Mr. Truman is the nominee. Suppose also that a majority of Democrats want to vote for the party nominee. What then? Especially if there are only seven elector candidates not pledged against Mr. Truman.

* * *

To avoid any such dilemma, candidates would do well to withdraw their pledge of March. They can do so in all good conscience. Many candidates for delegates who had first surrendered their freedom of action have withdrawn their commitments. Candidates for elector can still do so, and should. The News

As matters stand now, there are only seven candidates for presidential elector who are free to carry out the expressed wishes of the voters. But 11 must be picked. Voters, therefore, who desire to name electors who have not been pledged, can now do no better than vote for seven sure candidates and then pick out four others from the rest of the list. It is to be hoped that enough of the 21 candidates will have the courage to withdraw their pledges to permit freedom-loving Democrats a complete choice. Birmingham

Here, however, are the seven who may be voted for for elector in free conscience. They are, alphabetically: Ala.

Forrest Castleberry, Castleberry.
Bart J. Cowart, Haleyville.
Guy Hanna, Birmingham.
Roy Mayhall, Jasper.
James McCollum, Tuscaloosa.
Herbert Meighan, Gadsden.
Ralfe Searcy, Greenville.

Tues. 4-27-48

Plan Write-In Election To Beat Die Hard Dixie Rebels

Defender

Chicago, Ill.

MOBILE, Ala.—Alabama Democrats were urged last week to rally behind President Truman and join in a write-in movement whereby voters who favor the party's nominee could have their ballots counted for him.

The plan was offered by State Sen. Joseph N. Langan of Mobile, with the hope of defeating the scheme of the rebellious Dixie political demagogues who gathered in Birmingham, Saturday. Sat.

The gang which met in Birmingham, announced plans to select presidential electors in 15 Southern and border states opposed to President Truman because of his civil rights program. Those now pledged to Truman will have their status changed. 7-24-48

Alabama presidential electors are already pledged to vote against Mr. Truman.

Sen. Langan proposed that party members who favor the President hold a convention in Montgomery, Aug. 16, to name a slate of 11 electors pledged to the nominee of the national Democratic convention.

The move may be the forerunner of a South-wide campaign to oust Negro-hating recalcitrants who are primarily responsible for the South's plight as the nation's number one economic problem.

One prominent Alabaman who does not want his name mentioned said that the Fielding Wrights, James Eastlands, the Horace Wilkinsons, the Ben Laneys, the Frank Dixons, the Gessner McCorveys and their ilk, have embarrased the South throughout the nation and the world. Sat.

Wright, governor of Mississippi, Eastland, U. S. Senator from the backward state, Laney, governor of Arkansas, Wilkinson, ex-Ku Klux Klan lawyer, Dixon, former Alabama governor and McCorvey, head of the Alabama Democratic party, are leaders in the secession movement from the national Democratic party. 7-24-48

Sen. Langan said that the Truman-pledged candidates to oppose the bolters in the November election would run under the banner of the national Democratic party.

The movement already has the support of U. S. Nix, CIO labor leader at Gadsden, Ala. He urged the selection of 11 presidential electors who will support President Truman as the nominee of the Democratic party.

The South's Gains

The News 8-8-48

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

In a recent letter to the "Voice of the People," one of your correspondents questioned what the Democratic Party had done for Alabama and the South. Without entering into the present political controversy I think it might be well to remember just what nearly 16 years of Democratic administration in Washington has meant to Alabama and the South.

Birmingham, Ala.

Has your correspondent forgotten the millions of dollars that went into the Tennessee Valley Authority? Does he have no realization of what the TVA means to Alabama and the South in dollars and cents? Is he unaware of the tremendous amount of industry brought to the South by the inexpensive power generated there? Does he know nothing of the tremendous gains made by the farmers in that district as a direct result of the soil conservation service of the TVA? Does he believe for one moment that the Republican Party would have ever built the TVA? If he talked with the farmers and business men of that area I think he might change his mind.

Does your correspondent who questions what the Democratic Party has done for the South realize that nearly every school building built in Alabama during the last 16 years was built partly with Yankee dollars appropriated by a Democratic Congress? Is he aware of the city streets and highways built in large proportion by federal funds appropriated by a Democratic Congress? Is he aware of the tremendous amount of money spent in the South for soil conservation and reforestation appropriated by a Democratic administration? Is he unaware of the great material benefits received by Alabama farmers, both large and small, from the AAA and the FSA? Has he any realization of the great increase in per capita income which has come to the South in the last 16 years? 8-8-48

The above list only skims over the top. A real report on the advantages the South has gained from 16 years of Democratic administration would consume many volumes.

Does your correspondent realy believe that the Republicans would have treated us half so well? I don't see how he can. Sun.

University, Ala. R. Z. JONES.

Montgomery Advertiser

Alabama States Rights Group Maps Long-Range Program

Sat. 7-3-48

34d

Expansion Plans Drafted, Rushton Presides At Meeting Here

By ATTICUS MULLIN

The Alabama States Rights organization meeting here yesterday, determined to spread into every one of the 67 counties of Alabama, and to raise funds to "protect the civilization of the South wherever attacked." Jesse M. Williams, Jr., of Montgomery, was named treasurer at a meeting and Col. Marion Rushton presided.

The Alabama States Rights committee is composed of Col. Rushton, chairman; Donald Comer, vice-chairman; and a district chairman from each of the nine congressional districts of Alabama. Meeting here Friday were all of these men with the exception of Donald Comer, of Birmingham, and Tom Abernethy, of Talladega, whose automobile broke down on the way to the meeting. In addition to committee members, former Gov. Frank M. Dixon and Robert Goodwyn, of Montgomery, representing the Southern States Rights organization, were in attendance.

Members from the districts present included Gessner McCorvey, of the Mobile First District; Robert Albritton, of Andalusia, of the Second District; Wallace D. Malone, of Dothan, of the Third District; Walter Lusk, of Guntersville, of the Eighth District; Judge Robert Greene, of Greensboro, of the Sixth District; Charles Wiggins, of Jasper, of the Seventh District; Norman Harris, of the Eighth District; and Sid Smyer, of the Ninth District.

The unanimous decision at the meeting was that the State Rights

COL. MARION RUSHTON

movement is a long range movement. "We intend," said Chairman Rushton, who is also Democratic national committeeman, "to raise money to fight for our Southern rights whether in the Democratic National Convention, a state convention, in the courts, in Congress, or wherever we are attacked. Our meeting had nothing to do with opposition to Truman, which seems to be unanimous in Alabama. We intend to fight in the future and to be organized to fight because we are going to be attacked from now on." 7-3-48

The sentiment at the meeting was that the people of Alabama are 90 per cent behind the States Rights movement and no trouble in raising funds is anticipated.

Birmingham News

Truman Loses And Wins

34d

Alabama Democrats Tuesday voiced again their strong opposition to President Truman, but elsewhere in the nation the possibility of stopping the president's bid for nomination grew slimmer.

While Alabama Democrats were piling up a substantial although not overwhelming majority for "walkout" delegates, Democrats in Maryland, California and North Dakota were choosing delegates pledged or instructed to support Mr. Truman. This gives Mr. Truman a total of pledged or claimed votes of 597, just 21 short of the 618 needed for nomination.

Birmingham, Ala.

The stop-Truman movement has not succeeded nationally. There is still a slim hope that a stampede for some popular hero like Eisenhower might sweep over the convention, but that hope has been rather steadily waning as more and more states selected Democratic delegates favorable to Mr. Truman.

Not even all the South can be counted in the camp of those who will oppose Truman to the end. The delegations from Tennessee and Texas have been instructed to stay in the convention and to support its nominees. Maryland, a border state, is for Truman. Kentucky's uninstructed delegation contains some Truman supporters.

Thu. 6-3-48

What, then, will the Alabama delegation do? A majority of its members are pledged to walk out of the convention if Truman is nominated. But others were elected on a non-walkout pledge. In view of the fact that the whole delegation will not likely walk out, what will be gained if some of them do?

The divided character of the Alabama delegation will be a sign of the divided sentiment behind them. The state is broadly united in opposition to federal legislation on the controversial issues in President Truman's civil rights program. But it is not united on the manner and degree of that opposition. Tuesday's campaign should not be indicated as showing unanimity.

Appeals to Ala. Democrats To Save Dixie Traditions

(34a)

Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa

Sat. 1-31-48

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—In session here Monday, the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee heard appeals from its chairman, Gessener T. McCorvey, of Mobile that delegates be elected to the National Nominating Convention who would oppose the core features of the Civil Rights Report and make a determined stand on issues affecting the traditions of the South.

McCorvey, one of the architects of the "Boswell Amendment (which requires that a prospective voter understand and explain any portion of the Federal Constitution to the satisfaction of the board of registrars)," aimed many of his blows at Gov. James E. Folsom who is understood to be leading a quiet campaign to select a slate of liberal delegates.

SHOOK NEGROES HANDS

Criticism was voiced against Folsom for shaking hands with Negro listeners in the Black Belt and other South Alabama counties during his successful campaign against the "Self-Starter" amendment which would have permitted the Legislature to call itself back into session. Sat. 1-31-48

Folsom won the campaign despite the injection of the "Negro vote" issue and the "higher education for Negroes" question into the campaign.

Pictures were made of Folsom shaking hands with Negroes but were not reproduced when Folsom said he did not have any objections to the publication of them.

McCorvey, in his letter to committee members calling the Jan. 26 meeting, said that it was necessary to select stand-by-the-South delegates to the July 12 convention in Philadelphia "in view of the unwise and anti-Southern report of the President's Committee on Civil Right."

SCORES COMMITTEE

He further outlined his ideas of the duties of pro-segregation delegates as:

1. To fight to the limit to prevent inclusion in our platform of any theories of government recommended by this committee appointed by the President.

2. Make clear that "in the South two entirely different races have lived together side by side, in peace and harmony," is by virtue, of our segregation laws.

3. Wage a "miiltant fight to prevent our party in national convention asembled from adopting resolutions or planks in the platform of our party which will be practically unbearable to those of us living in the South."

Hill, Sparkman Laud Primm On His Civil Rights Stand

Montgomery, Ala. - Advertiser

(34a)

William J. Primm, Jr., of Washington and Montgomery, who was appointed as assistant by Chairman J. Howard McGrath of the Democratic National Committee Wednesday, asserted he was opposed to Congress enacting into law the president's civil rights program. Fri. 5-28-48

At the same time, on a telegram to The Advertiser, Alabama Senators Lister Hill and John Sparkman praised Primm's appointment and said he stood "squarely with the people of Alabama in their opposition to the so-called civil rights program."

Accepting the appointment as assistant to Chairman McGrath, Primm stated:

"I am very happy to accept the responsibility of the assignment and of being placed in a position to do whatever I can for my party. I highly appreciate the confidence which Senator McGrath has placed in me through my appointment, and I have assured him of my wholehearted support and cooperation in his efforts to unite and organize our party for victory in November."

Shoulder To Wheel

Earlier he was reported as saying that Democrats must put their shoulders to the wheel "to insure that the record of progressive liberalism made by Democratic administrations since 1932 will be continued." 5-28-48

In their telegram commending the appointment of Primm, Senators Hill and Sparkman said:

"Mr. Primm as a prominent official of the Young Democrats has done much work with the Democratic National Committee in the past. He has demonstrated his ability and devotion. He stands squarely with the people of Alabama in their opposition to the so-called civil rights program. We are happy that he is to have such a responsible position with the Democratic National Committee and that Alabama has been given this recognition."

Primm was asked now he stood on the president's civil rights program, and he replied that he was opposed to the enactment by the United States Congress of any laws pertaining to such matters, as he considered such methods a direct infringement upon the constitutional rights of the states. Advertiser

He said there were some things in the civil rights program which he agreed upon, but that in his opinion such matters should be handled by the legislative bodies of the several states rather than through the National Congress.

For instance, Primm said that he was opposed to the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting in Alabama, but he strongly believed that it is up to the people of Alabama and their legislature to repeal the poll tax themselves rather than to have it forced upon them by the National Congress.

(34a)

Tax Repealed

Most of the states in the South have already repealed the poll tax, he said, and the others, he thinks, would do likewise if they were let alone. 5-28-48

When asked if his political thinking was liberal or conservative, Primm stated he did not know what the meaning of the term liberal or conservative was, as applied nowadays, but he said that he was for progressive government and was opposed to reaction of any kind wherever it might be found. 5-28-48

Primm was appointed an assistant to McGrath in what the committee chairman called a reorganization of the executive division of the Democratic National ommittee. 7-21

Several other assistants will be appointed, McGrath said, and they will take over the duties formerly handled by Gael Sullivan, who recently resigned as committee executive director.

Results Of The Runoff

Birmingham News

Returns from the runoff primary indicate clearly that opposition to proposed federal intervention in state affairs still runs deep and strong in Alabama. Although all the candidates for Democratic National Convention delegates were on record as vigorously opposed to the Truman program of federal legislation on a number of civil rights issues, the voters favored, on the whole, those candidates who carried their opposition to the Truman program to the point of pledging to walk out of the convention if any part of the program is incorporated in the party's 1948 platform or if President Truman is nominated.

Birmingham, Ala.

34a

There were 11 delegate places at stake in yesterday's voting. Nine of the winners, on the basis of returns from 73 per cent of the precincts, are pledged to walk out. One is uncommitted. The other place may have been won by Atty. Gen. A. A. Carmichael, who refused to sign the pledge to bolt. Only a small margin, however, separated him from Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey at this writing. Wed. 6-2-48

Of the state's 26 delegates to Philadelphia, 14 probably will be for a walkout, seven will be against it and five are not committed, if Carmichael keeps his lead over McCorvey. If the latter eventually wins out, the delegation will be made up of 15 bolters, six against and five not committed.

Thus it is not possible for the bolters to claim that an overwhelming preponderance of Alabama Democrats are willing to split with the party if things go against them. The most that the bolters can claim is that a majority of the voters e definitely so willing, at present. 6-2-48

There may be some significance also in the fact that Mr. McCorvey has either been defeated or has won by a close vote. Mr. McCorvey was the leader of the bolters' group. He has been the spearhead of the Alabama opposition to the Truman program. He has failed, in any case, to get an overwhelming endorsement of his position.

Wed. 6-2-48

Perhaps the most definite result of the election is the repulse given Gov. Folsom. Mr. Folsom ran last, and a poor last, among the seven candidates for delegate-at-large. The voters have rejected his bid for leadership of the state's delegation at Philadelphia. The results also prove that there are limits to the vote-pulling power of Mr. Folsom's personal appeal. One wonders if Mr. Folsom won or lost any votes by his election eve broadcast in which he talked pleasant trivialities and missed altogether an opportunity to assume a bold and constructive leadership.

And so now Alabama Democrats will send to the national convention a delegation minus the governor and probably also minus the state party chairman. The leadership almost automatically falls upon Sen. Lister Hill and former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, who ran first and second in the first primary. Men of their qualities, supported by the knowledge that they were so widely favored among the candidates for delegate, may be able to give some coherence and harmony to the state's delegation, which now stands divided and confused.

Negro Leaders Score Republicans' Failure

Daily World (34d) Atlanta, Ga.

Tues. 6-22-48

PHILADELPHIA -(NNPA)- Failure of the Republican party to carry out representatives who appeared before the civil rights subcommittee of the Resolutions Committee seeking the inclusion of stronger planks in the 1948 platform.

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the subcommittee that "we would be less than honest if we did not say frankly that the members of our organizations have been dis appointed by the complete failure of the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress to enact any of the civil rights legislation pledged in the 1944 platform.

Mr. White recalled that the previous platform "unequivocally pledged enactment of fair employment practice, antilyuching and anti-poll tax legislation." He added that "responsibility for action" had been misarably evaded.

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, of New York, representing the Social Action Committee of the CME Church warned that "The Negroes of this country mark my word, are a solid line such as you've never known before. I'm just not speaking through my hat." Daily World

Mrs. Vita Gates, of Hopkinsville, Kentucky, a committee member, interrupted too ask if that was "a considered statement or a threat."

Dr. Tobias replied that it was his considered statement but that "it may be interpreted as a threat." He added that "never before in the history of this country has there been such unity and determination on the part of the colored people to make American citizenship, in all that the word connotes, apply to them as well as to other people."

OPINION UNANIMOUS 6-22-48

W. C. Meekins of Ashland, North Carolina, another committee member remarked that the acts against colored people, of which Dr. Tobias complained, were largely committed in statts controlled by Democrats. Atlanta, Ga.

Orville Bullington, the six-foot Texans who wanted to serve on the civil rights subcommittee because of the importance of the civil rights 'ssue, interjected: "And I've heard no condemnation of the Democrats here today." Atlanta, Ga.

This later remark brought Mr. White to his feet with a statement that colored leaders will testify concerning the Democratic platform later. Daily World

Chief Justice George W. Maxey of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, chairman of the civils rights subcommittee, wondered how a fair employment practice law would be enforced--he compared it to prohibition--but hastily told Mr. White and Dr. Tobias: 6-22-48

Don't think we're antagonistic, Nobody in the world could be any more in favor on equal rights than I am, When a colored man is lynched, the whole United States Army ought to protect that man." Tues.

Mr. White and Dr. Tobias said they were representing twenty-one national colored business, church, professional, labor and civic organizations, with a total membership of 6,084,000.

The Runoff And The Walkout

The walkout issue remains in the runoff Tuesday, but much of the heat and point seems to have gone out of the controversy. Birmingham, Ala.

Alabama's elector nominees are all pledged against voting for President Truman and any candidate supporting a civil rights program similar to that advanced by the chief executive. Those elector candidates who did not receive outright majorities in the first primary, but were among the first 11, became nominees by the withdrawal of the others who qualified for a runoff. As all were pledged against President Truman, there was no great issue among the candidates. So the 11 electors have been chosen and they are committed.

Just what they will do when the electoral votes are cast is a question still to be answered. Much can happen politically between now and November and events will doubtless have their influence on Alabama's electors. Sun. 5-30-48

34d

* * *

But Alabama still has to choose 11 of its 26 delegates to the national convention.

Four at-large delegates have been chosen, four still are to be picked. One of the eight who qualified for this runoff withdrew. Of the seven in the race, four gave the so-called walkout pledge, State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, J. M. Bonner, D. Hardy Riddle and Albert Stapp; and three did not, Gov. Folsom, Atty. Gen. Carmichael and Joe J. Money.

Eleven district delegates have been selected, seven are to be chosen Tuesday.

Of the 15 delegates in all named already, five are pledged against Mr. Truman, six refused to give the pledge and four took no definite position on this issue.

Of the 21 candidates for the 11 places to be filled Tuesday, 11 are pledged, eight refused and two made no commitment.

It is obvious, then, that the delegation will be split insofar as the original walkout issue is concerned. That fact in itself raises further doubts about a walkout, whether any will come at all, whether it would be worth while with only a part of the delegation participating.

It has been suggested that pledged delegates may merely remain in their seats, without taking active part in the convention, if an unacceptable civil rights platform plank is adopted and Mr. Truman is nominated. Otherwise alternate delegates might take the seats of walkers.

* * *

Obviously, then, much of the point in this walkout business now has vanished, but nevertheless non-pledged delegates will be in the best position to serve their party, state and nation. The News

Robert W. Gwin and Wallace C. Johns are the unpledged candidates for delegate from the Ninth (Jefferson County) Congressional District. Birmingham, Ala.

It still seems highly likely that President Truman will be nominated, despite the opposition of many Southern delegates. Thus the projected walkouts may turn out to have little significance in the convention. Sun. 5-30-48

And, of course, if high Republican hopes are fulfilled, the GOP presidential nominee may be elected, regardless of the votes of Southern electors. If a Democratic victory should hang on whether or not anti-Truman Democratic electors from the South bolted the party nominee, these electors would, of course, face a very difficult decision.

Alabama Walk Voted For Rights, Truman

(34d) The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 6-3-48

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., June 2—(AP)—Alabama Democrats voted Tuesday for their delegates to walk out of the National Convention if President Truman is nominated or if the Party adopts a strong civil rights platform.

The voters also repudiated Governor James E. (Kissing Jim) Folsom, who once was a self-announced "favorite son" candidate for the nomination.

Only one delegate race remained unsettled Wednesday night, with the bulk of returns tabulated from the runoff. The Constitution

Folsom, who withdrew his presidential bid after placing 10th in a field of 24 in the May 4 primary, ran last in a field of seven seeking four places as delegates at large at stake Tuesday. Atlanta, Ga.

Still in doubt was one of the delegate at large places. In this contest only a handful of votes separated State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey and Attorney General Albert A. Carmichael. McCorvey was a leader in the walkout campaign. Carmichael opposed the proposed bolt of the convention. 6-3-48

Three other at-large and six district delegate places were won by candidates pledged to walk out. These nine and the five elected in the May primary give the walkout forces a majority of the 26-man delegation. Thurs.

Also Alabama Democrats

News Birmingham, Ala.

Alabama Democrats are by no means following unanimously the action of their State Executive Committee in breaking with the national Democratic Party. In fact, the number of those who have not joined the bolters is considerable. And the dissenters include Democratic officials.

34d

Among those who prefer to support the Truman-Barkley ticket instead of the Thurmond-Wright ticket named in the Birmingham "convention," are several elected Democratic officials of Randolph County. Included are Judge of Probate H. M. Brittain, Circuit Court Clerk J. B. Taylor, Tax Assessor Walter J. Bartlett, Sheriff T. C. Kirby, Tax Collector W. Y. Chewning, and A. C. George, the county's representative in the Alabama Legislature. Wed. 7-21-48

The statement of purpose by these officials also expresses their belief "that all people who were candidates or voters in the May or June primaries during 1948 will support the nominees of the Democratic primaries and the Democratic National Convention." That statement presents, in part, an impossibility. The nominees of those primaries include the electors who are pledged not to support the results of the Democratic National Convention. It is impossible, as matters stand now, for Alabama Democrats who wish to cast ballots for the ticket named at Philadelphia to do so. They can vote only for electors who will vote for Thurmond and Wright. It is an impossibility in Alabama to support all the nominees of the Spring primaries and also the national ticket.

Wed. 7-21-48

Many Democratic voters in the state are troubled by this dilemma. It may be possible to find a way out of the situation.

State's Rights Issue Argued By Delegates

Montgomery Advertiser

Conflicting Views Range From 1944 Plank To Open Slap At Truman

Sat. 6-26-48

By The Associated Press

Alabama delegates to the Democratic national convention differ on strength of a proposed state rights plank in the national platform.

Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, a delegate at large, had requested opinions from members of the delegation on the platform. Sparks, who opposed a proposed walkout of the convention, has been named to the pre-convention platform sub-committee.

Former Lieut. Gov. Handy Ellis, pledged to walk out, replied that he believed the 1944 civil rights plank should be adopted, with this addition: 6-26-48

"Federal legislation should in no event interfere with the rights reserved to the states and never ceded to the federal government, among which are the regulation of voting, lynching, segregation and employment practices.

"These are recognized as rights reserved to the states."

Connor Emphatic

Birmingham Public Safety Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor, also pledged to walk out, said he opposes the 1944 platform plank, and also "any reference to Truman's so-called 'civil rights' program."

He advocated adoption of the 1928 state's rights plank, which said:

"We demand that the constitutional rights and powers of the States shall be preserved in their full vigor and virtue. We demand a revival of the spirit of local self-government, without which free institutions cannot be preserved." Advertiser

Others replying to Sparks's request were Talladega Probate Judge Hardy Riddle and Albert Stapp, Birmingham, both pledged to walk out of the convention if a strong "civil rights" plank is adopted or President Truman is renominated.

Our Lost Privileges

Riddle said federal "infringement upon the rights of the states should not only be stopped, but some of the powers recently taken away from the States should be returned to them."

"Any platform," Riddle said, "with ambiguous words and phrases who necessitate the withdrawal from the convention of all persons who believe as I do that we are threatened with another carpetbag-scalawag rule."

Stapp said "I want all powers not delegated to the federal government by the Constitution to be preserved for individual states." Sat. 6-26-48

Sparks said he had not yet received the letters on platform suggestions. He said he would comment after receiving them.

State Reminded Trumans' Tabu To 11 Electors

Montgomery Advertiser

It Was Decided May 4, McCorvey Declares In Open Letter

Fri. 6-25-48

In an open letter, addressed to the Alabama delegates and alternates to the Democratic convention, and to the presidential electors, Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, observed:

"I sincerely hope that our delegation to the Philadelphia convention will not mince words in giving that convention to understand that the Democrats of Alabama are simply not going to support Harry S. Truman, or any other candidate who runs on an anti-Southern racial platform.

"I believe that if the convention definitely understands that we are not just bluffing, but that we mean what we say, that there is some chance of Southern rights and traditions being respected, although I realize that our delegates are going to have a difficult task, as in recent years those of us in the South have gone along apparently blindfolded, and taken whatever was handed out to us from Democratic National Headquarters. Naturally, the people at the Democratic National Headquarters have come to think of the South as 'in the bag,' no matter what indignities they wished to heap upon us. 6-25-48

"In our Democratic primary of May 4, participated in by over 300,000 Alabama Democrats, every candidate for presidential elector who even intimated or hinted that he might support Truman if he was our party's nominee was absolutely snowed under by our people.

"If the Philadelphia convention should be so unwise as to nominate Truman, or anyone else advocating his diabolical miscalled civil rights program, then there is no chance for such nominee to receive a single, solitary electoral vote from Alabama. As to that, may I add that 'I know whereof I speak'."

Attached to his letter was the complete list of Alabama delegates, alternates, and electors.

Let's Nominate Ike Ourselves, Boswell Urges

Montgomery Advertiser

He Opposes Alabama's Yielding To Anybody In Roll Call Of States

Sweet Wants 'IN'

Sat. 7-3-48

Negro Democrats For Convention Delegation To Root For Truman

By the Associated Press

An Alabama delegate to the Democratic National Convention proposed Friday that the delegation nominate Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower itself.

E. C. (Bud) Boswell, of Geneva, told reporters at Birmingham he opposes yielding to Texas, Kansas or any other state at the start of the roll call of states at Philadelphia.

"Instead, we should nominate Eisenhower ourselves," he said.

He predicted the general would be chosen on the first ballot.

Boswell, a former state representative, is one of the 14 delegates pledged to walk out of the convention if a strong civil rights plank is adopted or if President Truman is renominated.

Ex-Lieut. Gov. Handy Ellis, choice of the 14 pledges for delegation chairman, has proposed that Alabama yield to another state for the nominating speech.

He said however he would be "tickled to death to make the speech myself."

Differ Only In Method

Boswell said he would seek to have the 26-man delegation vote as a unit. The delegation, he said, is together on the major issues of opposing Truman's nomination and the civil rights program. He added:

"We differ only on the method of combatting Truman and his proposals." 7-3-48

In another development, State Docks Director Henry W. Sweet said at Mobile that he and several other alternate delegates were ready to step in if any of the regular delegates walk out.

"If any of the delegates walk out, some of us who want to see Truman defeated are going to walk in and complete the job," he said.

State Democratic Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey said he did not believe that alternates could take over places of delegates who quit under such circumstances. He added, however that a ruling on the question would be up to the convention parliamentarian.

McCorvey was a leader of the campaign to pledge delegates to the proposed walkout, but was defeated himself in the race for a place on the delegation.

Negroes Organized

Meanwhile, Alabama Negro Democrats organized a delegation to attend the convention as "observers."

Arthur D. Shores, Negro attorney, was elected chairman at a Birmingham meeting. Ed W. Cain, Birmingham, was named vice chairman, and Emory O. Jackson, editor of The Birmingham World, secretary.

The four-point program was drawn up. It requires the delegation to support the nomination of president, urge a strong civil rights plank in the party platform, oppose any states rights plank, and to "team with other progressive Democrats in fighting for New Deal democracy."

Shores said headquarters would be set up in Philadelphia.

Other members of the delegation include E. D. Nixon, Montgomery; Norman Thomas, Muscle Shoals area; K. J. Sullivan, Gadsden; Arthur Geeter, Wetumpka; Joshua McDaniel, Clanton.

Shores said there are more than 7,000 Negro Democrats in Alabama.

TWO ALABAMA CASUALTIES?

The Advertiser

Montgomery Adv.

Thurs

Henceforth, the headquarters staff of the Democratic National Committee will be a mixture of Negroes and whites. Chairman McGrath announced this yesterday. He added that, as a matter of fact, he was going whole hog and would engage a Negro assistant for himself.

All of which is of more than passing interest to Alabamians because it may occasion the resignation of two Alabamians.

One is Mrs. Dorothy Vredenburg, of Vredenburg, Ala. She is secretary of the national committee. She is the first to hold this recently created post of party honor and has received national notice therefor. She has been an Alabama adornment.

During periods of election and convention operations, Mrs. Vredenburg occupies an office in the national headquarters.

The other is William J. Primm, Jr., of Montgomery, who was appointed as assistant to McGrath this summer as part of McGrath's Southern limp appeasement effort. 8-5-48

We would guess that these two Alabamians will, as did National Committeeman Marion Rushton, decide in the face of the new policy of non-segregation, that it's time to turn in their badges.

The thoughtful Southerner, however, will not conclude his speculations with so simple a thing as the resignations of Mrs. Vredenburg and Primm. What of the future? Is it not a fact that the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia this summer was non-segregated? In the convention hall there were colored people to the front and to the rear of the Alabama delegation as any member will tell you. They were the officially elected delegates of other sovereign states. Negro congressmen and Negro divines addressed the convention. This was not a new condition. The same was true of the Republican Convention. Nothing is likely to change that.

The Advertiser trusts that in calling attention to this that it will not be accused of "stirring up" anything. Systematically we decline to print letters which inflame an unwieldy circumstance. On other occasions we have abstained from these speculations. But the paper is puzzled and baffled by what it sees in Philadelphia and in scores of other instances. What is the rational view to take of what irremediably exists and its implications? 8-5-48

SPARKS' PLAN

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

If Mr. Sparks had a plan that he thought would be acceptable to the voters of Alabama, why didn't he suggest it before the meeting of the State Executive Committee? The State Executive Committee is the controlling agent for state candidates just as the national committee is for national candidates, and to me it seems that a state candidate refusing to obey the mandates of the executive committee is as much a bolter as one who refuses to obey the national committee, after these instructions are issued.

The State Executive Committee made several recommendations to the candidates, and Mr. Sparks, after waiting some time refused to observe them, and has brought forward a number of abstract suggestions, in speeches at various places over the state. Not one of these suggestions will materialize at the convention, and no one knows this better than does Mr. Sparks. Sun.

His first suggestion is to get some strong Southerner on the subcommittee; another is get men on the convention floor who will let our stand on the subject be known; another is, if these two fail, to go to both the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, and failing there to go to both the Congress and the Supreme Court. These points are too ridiculous to discuss! 5-2-48

The wonder is how are all these things going to be accomplished? No presidential and vice-presidential candidates are going to listen at such time as this, and as for Congress and the Supreme Court, they have done everything the Negroes and their kind have asked for, although they know they are violating the famous 14th Amendment. Montgomery, Ala

The South has always been the backbone of the Democratic Party regardless of what has been said to the contrary. All this blubbering about bolting is nonsense. In recent years the national party has bolted every Democratic principle known; the so-called "New Deal" was a slightly hidden Communist party. Sun

Mr. Sparks seems to regret that his money is being used to defeat him. I wish it were possible to return it to him, but did he ever consider how much money was spent on those court trials he was rendering null and void by all those reprieves and commutations he was granting?

We do not need any of those abstract tries. We need positive action—"Yes or No!! No more of those "Please Let Us"!!

If the national party prefers the Harlemites to us, let it have them, and we will walk out. Then see how far they will get without us. 5-2-48 EPPES JONES.

Samson, Ala.

Sparkman Far Ahead

John Sparkman was leading Phillip J. Hamm in the senatorial race by more than four to one early this morning, with more than 100,000 votes counted. From the start Mr. Sparkman had maintained an overwhelming lead. This was as it should be; it was as this paper expected. There is no doubt that he has been given a great vote of confidence, that he has won a resounding triumph. It is well deserved. He has been an outstanding member of Congress for a dozen years. For 10 years he was one of the ablest members of the House. Although having served in the Senate only little more than a year, he already is well established in its forefront.

It was scarcely conceivable that such a candidate would be in any danger of losing out in the primary, particularly against the relatively unknown and untried opposition he faced. Birmingham, Ala.

Besides Mr. Hamm, there were three other challengers, all of whom were trailing far behind. There appears to be no likelihood of the need of a run-off. Obviously the smashing defeat of Hamm is both a great tribute to Sen. Sparkman and a blow to Gov. Folsom, who also was having difficulty in his race for delegate-at-large and was suffering another conspicuous setback in the poor showing made by his candidate, Broughton Lamberth, in his challenge of Marion Rushton in the contest for Democratic national committeeman.

* * *

Folsom's Poor Showing

The poor showing of Gov. Folsom and his leading candidates was an outstanding result of yesterday's primary. Wed.

Evidence of the depth of the resentment against President Truman's civil rights program was another conspicuous aspect of the results. 5-5-48

In the voting for delegates and electors, many voters cut entirely across the lines of the civil rights disputes and voted for persons or names familiar.

Although final results will await the run-off primary in June, Gov. Folsom is well down in the list of delegates-at-large. It is customary to send the governor of the state to the national party meeting if he desires to go. Many Alabama Democrats apparently do not lean to the idea of letting Folsom head their representation to Philadelphia. The returns are all the more significant because Folsom campaigned for the post throughout the state. Although later returns may boost Folsom's standing, it is almost a certainty that he cannot lead the ticket.

Results in the race for electors clearly indicate victory for those pledged to vote against President Truman should he be the Democratic nominee. Here also a runoff will be necessary, but the top positions are all held by the anti-Truman group. The results show the effectiveness of a statewide campaign in behalf of a particular group of 11 electors. The News Wed.

But when one comes to the race for delegates-at-large, how can one account for the results except that no intensive campaign was waged in behalf of any slate and that voters selected outstanding men regardless of their positions? How else can one explain the presence of such anti-bolters as Sen. Hill, former Gov. Sparks and Atty. Gen. Carmichael placing among the leaders along with such bolters as "Handy" Ellis, Gessner McCorvey and J. M. Bonner? 5-5-48

The anti-Truman campaigners, realizing that they could not be entirely successful in the delegates' election, concentrated their efforts more on the elector race. Apparently they expect to make their last-ditch fight against Mr. Truman in the electoral college. Birmingham, Ala.

Reports are slow coming in regarding the election of district delegates. In the Ninth District (Jefferson County) bolters have the two top positions, but two anti-bolters are expected to be in the runoff. In some other districts anti-bolters are certain to be named.

Collapsing Campaigns

Some of the ideas conspicuously and heatedly advanced in the primary campaign in Alabama have by now undergone a severe deflation, if not even a complete collapse.

One of these ideas, advanced by Folsom followers, was that an outstanding senator, a man of proved ability and distinguished record, a man of truly national influence and stature, should be replaced in the United States Senate by a man little known, inexperienced, generally untried. Birmingham, Ala.

Another idea was that delegates should be pledged to bolt the Democratic convention if a plank on civil rights not entirely acceptable to them was adopted. Sat.

Still a third idea was that of all-out, in-any case opposition to the nomination and election of President Truman. 5-1-48

* * *

How the voters of Alabama could be induced to reject the excellent services of so competent, so fair, so well informed, so devoted a man as John Sparkman was a question that the Folsomites, in their grab for power, do not seem to have given much consideration. Else they might not have risked the heavy blow that seems certain to come to them in a decisive victory for Sen. Sparkman.

But the politically ambitious often are subject to great delusions. Sometimes their desire for power becomes so intense that it blinds them to plain realities. At any rate, what seems a very poorly conceived challenge to Sen. Sparkman was launched. By now its weakness seems quite apparent, whatever the personal vote-getting power of Gov. Folsom. 5-1-48

The governor may find that even he may have lost some of that power, as a result of this challenge — and other things — many other things. The News

Sen. Sparkman now appears assured of the handsome victory he so clearly deserves.

There was much feeling, but there never was sound reason in the pledge movement directed at tying up the votes of convention delegates and presidential electors. Obviously a changing political situation makes pledges of the kind sought—and in some cases obtained—very unwise.

Democrats of Alabama do not want their delegates at the convention put into a position where they may have to walk out—with no place to go except to the Republicans, the Wallace movement or to a retreat that would be a wholly futile and silly gesture. Consequently it is no surprise that the convention walkout movement appears on the verge of collapse. The News

* * *

This paper strongly opposes President Truman's civil rights proposals. It recognizes the president's limitations. It has found reason to criticize a number of administration policies and moves.

But it also respects the office of President of the United States. It recognizes that Mr. Truman, whatever his shortcomings, has many good qualities, too—and that there are some excellent things in his record. Birmingham, Ala.

It is certainly not prepared to commit itself against him regardless of what kind of situation may arise. It regards Mr. Truman as president as less undesirable than many other possibilities for nomination and election. Sat. 5-1-48

In this situation, again, it is manifestly very unwise to make all-out commitments against Mr. Truman. Growing sentiment of that kind is puncturing the idea too.

* * *

Alabama stands to gain much if all three of these conceptions collapse.

Racist Fanatics Take Over Alabama Democratic Party

The Worker New York, N.Y. 348

Sun. 5-23-48

By Mary Southard

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The results of the May 4 Democratic primary in Alabama have been heralded by the press services as proof that grass roots opinion here is solid against any civil rights program, and that the people of Alabama are strongly behind the Southern politicians' revolt.

This judgment overlooks two essential facts:

- **First, the majority of citizens of voting age in Alabama do not have the vote because of the polltax and undemocratic registration procedures, buttressed during the past two years by the Boswell amendment.**

The total qualified electorate in Alabama numbers close to 360,000 in a state of over two million people. There are nearly a million persons of voting age — so nearly two-thirds of the people are disfranchised, and had no say in the primary election.

- **Second, the voters were faced with not real choice on the question of the civil rights program. All candidates for Senate, for the nine congressional seats (with the one exception of Miss Appleby in Mobile), all candidates for delegates to the Democratic national convention, and electors, stood solidly against any federal law to strengthen the civil liberties of the people of the state.**

★

FOR THE FIRST TIME since 1932—the beginning of the Roosevelt era — the Democratic Party proved itself completely bankrupt before the need to offer any way out to the people of Alabama. The only fight was a tactical one between the more conservative politicians like Senators Hill and Sparkman who opposed civil rights legislation in a more "gentlemanly' way and the rabid white supremacy gang headed by Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham lawyer, and Eugene Connor, notorious Birmingham police commissioner.

Gov. Folsom, who had set himself up as a favorite son candidate, made a poor showing, placing tenth in a field of 24 candidates for eight delegate-at-large positions. His candidates both for the U. S. Senate (against Sparkman) and for national committeeman, were both badly defeated, Sparkman polling over 214,000 votes to Hamm's 55,000.

Folsom's alliance with the southern governors' revolt early this year was the fatal compromising step. He can no longer come before the people of this state as their champion against the Mr. Gotrocks when he is standing side by side with them on the same platform, and knuckling under to their white supremacy disguised as state's rights.

Both he and his candidates attempted to win the voters by attacks on the current foreign policy, shouts about the brass hats and Wall Streeters in control of the State Department. But they had no postive program on foreign policy to offer, and their campaign degenerated into crossroads demagogy, and a cynical playing around with the deep concern of the people over the danger of war.

The Worker

THIS SHALLOWNESS is shown best in Folsom's post-primary remark that if the people of the state were for the Marshall Plan, then he, Big Jim, was for it too! The starch wilted in 24 hours.

Folsom has suffered the fate of every would-be progressive southerner in politics who bares the Achilles' heel of anti-Negro prejudice to the white supremacists. Under the southern revolt fire, he wilted with the failure either to realize or fight for the first principle in southern political life: **that the white working people can advance their interests only in so far as they join in the fight for the democratic rights of the Negro people. Now Folsom is doing a lamentable job eating humble pie, all nearly eight feet of him.**

The alarming thing in the primary vote is not, however, the desertion of Folsom from the democratic camp in Alabama. **It is the considerable showing of the most rabid white supremacy candidates. In the Presidential elector race, 10 top placers of the 28 candidates are "bolters"—pledged to walk out of the Democratic convention if any section of a civil rights program is adopted there. These include a number of Black Belt legislators, McCorvey, reactionary state committee chairman; Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham's most brazen white supremacist. They topped other candidates who declared themselves against Truman and of like mind on civil rights, but pledged to stay within the Democratic Party.**

New York, N.Y. Sun. 5-23-48

IN THE DELEGATE RACE—26 places, of which eight are at-large, in a field of 84 candidates—14 of the top 26 men are bolters. And two among the top four in the delegate-at-large race are bolters: Handy Ellis, reactionary former lieutenant-governor, polling over 120,000 votes, and Eugene (Bull) Conner, notorious Birmingham police commissioner, polling over 95,000 votes.

Connor, who has previously been only a local Birmingham figure, emerges from this primary as a statewide menace. He was known to the people of the state mainly for two actions—his banning of the Freedom Train in Birmingham because of his brazen insistence on segregated lines, and his vicious police attack on the Southern Negro Youth Congress in April, culminating in the arrest and manhandling of Sen. Glen Taylor. New York, N.Y.

It is clear that without effective opposition and exposure of their poisonous prejudice-peddling, the white supremacists made a considerable dent on the electorate, and that they have captured the Democratic Party in Alabama. It is true that Sen. Hill, a man with a New Deal record, topped the delegates list, but Sen. Hill has proved himself to be no dike for the white supremacy flood.

The Worker

THE ONLY EFFECTIVE ANTIDOTE to this seizure by the worst anti-labor, anti-New Deal, anti-democratic, anti-Negro clique of the political life of the state is the emergence and fighting organization of the third party movement.

The Progressive Party filed its emblem, its name and 11 Presidential electors for Wallace and Taylor with the Secretary of State on May 4. They have not yet been certified. The primary success of the white supremacy political gangs means that every effort will be made to stop the Progressive Party, and keep the voters of the state hamstrung in November.

The success of the McCorvey-Wilkinson gang is in large measure due to the failure of the labor movement here to stand up against the spurious states rights, anti-civil rights campaign. Both the AFL and CIO endorsed Sparkman, in spite of his anti-civil rights stand. This endorsement is especially flagrant because both labor bodies have taken positions in favor of a federal anti-polltax law and against the Boswell amendment.

The recent capture of the state CIO convention by the Marshall Planners, the red-baiters and the anti-third party cliques was a considerable aid and comfort to the white supremacy, labor-hating clique that captured the Democratic primary. 5-23-48

On the other hand, the Democratic Party of the state stands exposed before the labor movement and the working people, white and Negro, of the state in all its KKK bankruptcy. The only alternative is the fight for the third party and the building of the Wallace movement among the rank and file of the labor movement. Sun.

'Bolters' Lead In Alabama

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 6-2-48

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., June 1—(UP)—Candidates pledged to bolt the Democratic Party if it embraces civil rights took a wide lead Tuesday night in the Alabama runoff primary for National Convention seats. The State is certain to send a strong bolt-minded delegation to Philadelphia.

Gov. James E. Folsom, his political popularity at stake after a setback in the original primary, was trailing badly in his bid for one of the delegate-at-large seats.

Eleven delegate jobs were at stake in the runoff—four at large and seven from the congressional districts. With the vote-counting approaching the half-way mark, the leaders in ~~10~~ 9 of the 11 races were signers of the pledge not to go along with President Truman or any other civil rights nominee.

If the lead remained unchanged, Alabama would send 15 bolters, seven non-bolters and five uncommitted candidates in its delegation to Philadelphia. If the civil rights plank is adopted, the bolters presumably would "take a walk" to the "Dixiecrat" convention in Birmingham scheduled immediately after the Philadelphia parley.

Alabama For Eisenhower

The Examiner Montgomery, Ala. Thurs. 4-22-48 348

Multiple denials notwithstanding, the name of Dwight D. Eisenhower looms larger and larger each week as the Democratic Party's best bet for President

Washington reports indicate a definite belief that President Harry S. Truman at the proper time will withdraw his name from the running.

Whether there be truth in this or not, there is a very broad and solid Democratic support for Eisenhower North, South, East and West. He is the one man who could unify nearly all the elements in the Democratic Party. With his name heading the ticket, the current defeatism of Democrats would be converted overnight into a fighting will to win. Victory would be not only possible, but probable.

This newspaper would like to see Eisenhower nominated, for we believe a live, unified, progressive Democratic Party is the best hope of America. Without Eisenhower the prospect is definitely bleak for a Democratic victory.

Senator Lister Hill projected the name of Eisenhower in Alabama some weeks ago. We heartily approve the steady trend toward adoption of that proposal.

Alabama, standing at the head of all the 48 states in the convention, may well have the honor of placing Eisenhower's name before the assembled delegates. Should this take place, there would be no question of the genial General Ike's nomination, and very little doubt of his election.

Whither, Alabama Democrats?

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Sat 4-3-48

In a special session of the State Democratic Executive Committee at Montgomery Monday, Chairman McCorvey will ask that group to make recommendations as to what Alabama delegates to the national convention and presidential electors should do "in the current political situation."

"I do not think our state Democratic committee should compel these delegates to the National Democratic Convention and the presidential electors to follow any course of action," Mr. McCorvey said. "However, these officers are elected by the same people who elected us, and I think it would be proper for us to make recommendations."

To what extent the committee should undertake to advise the elected delegates and electors is a debatable issue. Certainly the committee could not compel them, even if it desired to do so. To what extent officials chosen for the particular purpose of nominating a Democratic presidential candidate and electing a president should have the advice of members of the executive committee seems to us a pretty delicate matter. Surely any attemp tat domination would be resented. Sat. 4-3-48

But we do see that all concerned are in certain need of the best available thinking on party problems and confusions.

* * *

Some things are plain. One is that many Alabama Democrats (what proportion we do not know) now regard themselves as irreconcilable opponents of President Truman's nomination and election if he is nominated. But it is equally evident that these and other opponents of the president do not have a strong candidate upon whom they are united and who would consent to run.

Apparently it is being recognized more widely that the chances of changing Eisenhower's mind are relatively slight. Only a great national emergency, in which there would be a united demand for him, would offer much chance of bringing that about.

There is some talk of Marshall. But there are many doubts as to his availability and his qualifications for unifying the party and the country, great leader that he is.

It is evident that conditions may change very drastically by Summer—or by November. Such a change might greatly affect Mr. Truman's political strength. Despite the great weaknesses that have developed in the president's candidacy—weaknesses that now seem to offer some threat to his nomination—he still has great advantages. These advantages may grow. 4-3-48

A Christian Science Monitor Washington correspondent writes that the Republicans are becoming so confident of victory that some leaders are pressing "for the nomination of a candidate who normally would be regarded as a poor risk because of his domestic or international views." The News

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State Party Group Called By McCorvey

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Democratic Executive Committee Will Meet In Capital On April 5

To 'Stop Truman'

Fri. 4-2-48

Chairman Asserts Unit Can Handle Problems; Welcomes Court Ruling

By ATTICUS MULLIN

The Alabama Democratic Executive Committee has been called to meet at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery Monday, April 5, and, at that time, plans will be completed to assure Alabama's electoral vote against Harry S. Truman if he persists in becoming the candidate of the Democratic Party.

Chairman Gessner McCorvey, of the committee, issued the call from Mobile Thursday night. "Naturally" said Mr. McCorvey, in a conversation with the writer, "I am gratified at the Supreme Court's decision handed down Thursday, at the request of Governor Folsom, to the effect that the Bentley act requiring Presidential electors to vote for any certain party nominee is unconstitutional. I knew in my mind that it was unconstitutional. The action of the court leaves it to the Democrats of Alabama, through their electors, to see to it that the vote of the Senate is never cast for the man who has gone back on us."

Cooperation Needed

Mr. McCorvey, in his letter calling the committee, will make it plain that the committee will have before it the problem of co-operation with other Southern states in a "stop Truman" drive. But Mr. McCorvey, personally, does not favor a south-wide convention of Democratic Delegates to the National convention before the National convention is held. Fri. 4-2-48

To Handle Problem

Mr. McCorvey did not hesitate to say that he had been in touch with Democrats of Mississippi and other states and he talked about the Jackson south-wide meeting on May 10th. He thought the state committee could handle that problem. And he thought the State committee would handle it.

WHY?

Editor, The Advertiser:
Dear Sir:

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

The sentiments and attitude of Mrs. Thomas are absolutely disgusting to all true Southerners and especially Greenvillians.

We folks from Butler County would have bet our last dollar on "Miss Nanna." We thought she would have been true blue and loyal to state rights, the principle for which our fathers gave their place in society to protect and save.

I can't imagine a woman of her graciousness forgetting her duty to her people—to seek favor from a puppet.

I wonder why she don't move up North. up North. Tue. 3-16-48

R. H. PIPPIN.

Panama City, Fla.

SIT THE NEXT ONE OUT

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Thurs

This is a time of clarifications.

Senator John Sparkman, who is a candidate for a full term, has sought to clarify his position with respect to Truman. Sparkman says:

"I shall certainly not run as a Truman Democrat. I greatly deplore his so-called civil rights program. . . . I will await the action of the national convention before I say more." 3-18-48

Last week our Democratic national committeewoman, Mrs. Lennard Thomas, had lunch with President Truman in the White House, talked things over with him and emerged to encounter 25 to 30 reporters.

The reporters quoted Committeewoman Thomas as saying the South should stand solidly behind Truman and raise money for his campaign.

Mrs. Thomas, in an effort to clarify, says she was misunderstood and misquoted. Both The Journal and The Advertiser have now carried extensive interviews with her about her misquotation charges. She blames it on the confusion of being interviewed by some 25 reporters simultaneously. She says one Alabama newspaperwoman tried to protect her from these "tactics."

"Tactics"? They're getting a worse name all the time. Folsom complained of "political tactics" in connection with his paternity suit. Mrs. Thomas complains of "newspaper tactics."

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

But be that as it all is and was, Mrs. Thomas says she has not and does not indorse Truman. That settles that. It appears a fair inference then that Mrs. Thomas elects to sit it out with Senator Sparkman, awaiting "the action of the national convention before I say more." Thurs 3-18-48

EVERY ONE

EDITOR, The Advertiser: Now that Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee, has explained that no Democratic voter need hesitate to vote in the May primary because of opposition to President Truman's force bills, I trust there will be an outpouring of Democratic ballots in the May primary.

Alabama has taken the lead in opposing the President and his anti-South program and as one of those candidates for presidential elector pledged to vote against him, I am proud of the part my State has played and is playing in the fight against further encroachment upon states' rights.

However, the hands of our convention delegates and presidential electors would be strengthened by a tremendous vote in the primary. We need to show to all of the nation that we are in earnest in our fight to preserve what is left of states' rights and that we stand as a united people against any and all who undertake to override Southern traditions for the sake of a few Negro votes in doubtful States.

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Alabamians are carrying on this fight entirely within the framework of the Democratic Party. Our party primary in May is wide open to every Democratic voter of the State. Surely with the issue so important, every Alabama Democrat should take part in the selection of those who will represent the State in the party convention and in the electoral college.

I respectfully urge every Democratic voter to go to the polls May 4 and cast a ballot. I feel that anything the press, the radio and other public forums can do toward recording a full expression of Alabama's sentiment through the ballot box would be an important public service.

BEN BLOODWORTH,
Editor, The Decatur Daily
Decatur, Ala.

It's Time For A Second Thought

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Wed 3-24-48

Twelve days ago Senator Lister Hill counselled Alabama to stick to the Democratic Party—Truman notwithstanding. Yesterday Senator Hill, like Senator Sparkman before him, demanded that Truman abdicate.

"The situation in Alabama and the South today makes it clear that there cannot be Democratic Party unity with President Truman as the nominee of the party," Senator Hill said in a formal Washington statement.

Senator Hill's statement is a considerable development in the national party's politics. It is a jagged message that Truman cannot ignore.

The most stubborn of men could not fail to observe the hopelessness of the situation in the face of such messages as Truman has received from Alabama, first on the roll call of states.

The state's electoral votes are to be withheld from Truman. The state's two senators, outstanding and powerful figures in the national party, have been forced to recant their support of Truman.

In the last four elections the National Democratic Party has not needed the Solid South to win. Victory would have been attained with the no-Southern elements of the party, for which elements the South in its current wrath has developed a rather startling disdain. But Truman never had a chance without the South. Presumably he has lost that. Wallace's growing strength is a devouring cancer in states such as California and New York.

Truman cannot be blind to the demonstrable fact that his candidacy is rigor mortis for the Democratic Party.

Not the least evidence of that is the Alabama evidence. The two Democratic senators were forced to flop in their support of Truman. They did so, even at the probable cost of depriving themselves of all Alabama presidential patronage from Federal judgeships to VA clerks.

Wed 3-24-48

We would admire Harry Truman's courage in playing the game out if that courage were matched with ability. It is not. The Advertiser has a better opinion of Truman than is common these days, but it believes his usefulness has been destroyed beyond his ability to re-establish it. For him to force himself upon the party as standard bearer is to booby-trap the party.

WHAT of Lister Hill?

The Advertiser will begin by saying that Lister Hill faces a sea of hostile faces in Alabama. His political standing is undoubtedly at its lowest.

The Advertiser

Having said that as bluntly as Hill's best enemy can say it, we ask Alabamians to suspend their resentment of Hill's initial willingness to stick with Truman long enough to have a second and sobering thought.

Montgomery, Ala

The Roosevelt haters and the Perpetual Anti-New Dealers of this state are panting like a frying egg over this presumed opportunity to rend Lister Hill.

Wed 3-24-48

But let it not be forgotten in the tumult of the time that this state is faced with the effort of Henry Wallace madams to capture this state politically.

Let us not be so fixed on washing-up the already washed-up Truman and punishing those tarred with Truman pitch that we allow Henry Wallace and his madam, James E. Folsom, to take political dominion over Alabama.

Is the threat there?

In 1944 Folsom, a member of the Alabama delegation at the convention, stuck it out with Wallace in his bid for the Vice-Presidential nomination. Since then Folsom has gargled consistently with the Wallace preparation: "Tea-sipping fancy pants" like George Marshall are "dumping billions" in Europe to inflame the branchheads of Russia. Just give in to Stalin, and everything will be felicity. It's probably Wall Street and the Washington brass-hats that really brought about the extermination of Czechoslovakia.

The Wallace line and the Folsom line are party lines. The phones are different, but the line is the same. Compare their statements.

THERE are obvious signs that Folsom is trying to take over this state politically, as Huey Long took over Louisiana. He is openly and all at the same time offering his candidates for state and federal posts.

He is trying to put his former revenue commissioner, Phillip Hamm, in the United States Senate to displace John Sparkman. He has appeared on the stump with Hamm.

He has indorsed an upstate candidate for Congress.

He is having his appointee, State Senator Broughton Lamberth, run against National Committeeman Marion Rushton.

In the 4th Congressional District, at Wetumpka, Folsom Agent Gould Beech yesterday was holding the hand of his candidate against Congressman Sam Hobbs.

Folsom, a candidate for president, has candidates for delegates to the convention. He has candidates for the electoral college.

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Those he doesn't have before election, he will try to work on with blandishments and patronage afterwards.

Alabamians would be well-advised to abate their Truman frenzy long enough to ask what Folsom would prevail on his delegates and electors to do.

Wed. 3-24-48

TWO YEARS from now Lister Hill will be running for re-election to the United States Senate. He knows that Folsom, his mysterious campaign fund and his gang will be after him.

Hill knows that. It is one reason why he originally decided to come in now and break a lance with Folsom. The Truman Civil Disturbance pronouncement intervened to distort the issue.

The Advertiser has repeatedly chided Hill for consorting with the Folsom gang. The Hill excursion was opportunism. It is difficult to understand how Hill could have failed to discern that Folsom would ultimately turn on him, as he did on Col. Richard T. Rives.

Hill, away in Washington and a key figure in the Senate's concern with war with Russia, made a very costly blunder in his March 11 loyalty speech. He has been forced by Alabama reaction to take it back.

Now Hill has repudiated Truman. He has, as they say, been in touch with his constituents.

If the South is serious about trying to turn the situation about in the Philadelphia convention, it is going to need such seasoned and nationally influential figures as the senior senator from Alabama.

The Advertiser

Those Bourbons who are so vengeful in their lust to get at Hill's jugular will be prudent to fan themselves and think of what's to the left of Lister Hill.

Montgomery, Ala

Wed 3-24-48

They had better recognize both the present and future dangers of the Folsom-Wallace gang.

Now and in the future we're going to need the likes of Sparkman and Hill around to protect us.

ASSURED

Mon. 3-15-48

MRS. LENNARD THOMAS (above), Alabama's Democratic national committeewoman from Montgomery, told reporters Saturday that President Truman assured her that "he isn't going to force anti-segregation down our throats" in the South. "We're going to stand together and work for a Democratic victory," Mrs. Thomas said. A few hours later Gov. Folsom of Alabama agreed with five other Southern governors to oppose Truman's renomination. (AP Wirephoto).

Mon. 3-15-48

Birmingham News

Alabama Press

The South And Gov. Dewey

From The Roanoke Leader

Long before anyone could say with assurance who would be running for president in November, Democratic electors were chosen in Alabama on the proposition that they would never vote for Truman or any other Democrat favoring civil rights legislation or running on a civil rights platform.

Barring a miracle, this method of revolt cannot result in the election of a man after the revolters' own heart. It can only increase the chances for a Republican victory.

The Republicans have spoken. Their platform offers no comfort to rebellious Southern Democrats. Neither does their candidate for president. Gov. Dewey is recognized as "Mr. FEPC" himself.

Wed. 7-7-48

Withholding Alabama's electoral votes from the nominee of the National Democratic Party will help to put Gov. Dewey in the White House. Is that what our "Democratic" revolt leaders want? Perhaps we misunderstood them when we thought they said something about promoting the principle of states' rights!

34d 1948

Democratic (Alabama)

Session Of Party Committee Termed Urgent By Boswell

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Alabama Participation In Southwide Call Is Advocated

Sun. 2-15-48

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Not only should the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee be called into session prior to March 1 but it should take cognizance of any southwide call for Southern Democrats and send representatives to that conference to cooperate with other Southern States whose voters have been insulted by President Harry Truman. Sun.

E. C. Boswell, of Geneva, author of the now famous Boswell amendment, made these suggestions to The Advertiser in a long distance telephone conversation late Saturday. 2-15-48

"Like other Democrats," said Mr. Boswell, "I am at sea about qualifying for delegate to the Philadelphia Democratic convention. I don't know but what we ought to qualify as delegates to a Southern Democratic convention. I intend to qualify as a delegate but, when I do I intend to make it plain that I am not going to Philadelphia to take part or give assistance and color to other insults to the South from President Truman and the gang machines of the big cities of the North and East.

"Go Our Way"

"If they think more of the votes of the Negroes in the big Northern cities than they do of the Democrats in 13 Southern States, I say let them have them and we will go our way. Montgomery, Ala.

"I have talked to Chairman McCorvey about the matter. I feel deeply that we should join with other Southern Democrats in refusing to 'lie down and take it' forever. This revolt is coming from the rank and file of Democrats and not from the politicians.

The Advertiser

Only Authority

2-15-48

"The only party authority we have now is the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee. This committee was elected by Democrats to speak for them. This committee can send delegates, legally, to any convention it desires. It sent delegates to the Philadelphia Democratic convention in 1936. It can send delegates to a southwide convention. I think we should send representatives, not delegates, to any conventtion called in Jackson by Democrats. Then we could return and report to the full committee for such action as the pary in Alabama might desire to take. This is no time for further pussyfooting.

"We have mistakenly said many times that the governor of Alabama was the titular head of the party in Alabama and that the President of the United States was the titular head of the party in the nation. This is untrue. The head of the party in the State is the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, the representatives of the people, and the head of the party in the nation is the Democratitc National Convention. In other words, the mass of Democratic voters constitute the head of the party and their voice is the voice of the party. The Advertiser 2-15-48

Mr. Boswell told The Advertiser that he talked Saturday with Frank Covington, veteran member of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee from Henry County, the third district, and that Mr. Covington, like himself, thought the State Democratic Executive Committee should be called into session before March 1, the deadline for candidates to qualify. Montgomery, Ala.

Bonner's Platform—'White Supremacy'

J. M. Bonner, candidate for delegate to the National Democratic convention, said in a written statement to The Advertiser Saturday that he would "bow his head in shame if even one Alabamian casts a vote for Truman or Folsom in Philadelphia," and added that, if elected, he would favor Gessner T. McCorvey as Alabama's Favorite Son.

In referring to a recent editorial comment in The Advertiser, Mr. Bonner said:

"In your editorial of 11th inst., captioned 'Abstainer,' you said: 'We own confusion over the statement made by J. Miller Bonner.' "You said further: 'He (referring to me) would vote for all Democratic nominees—except Truman.'

"I request that you read again my statement to which you refer, published on Feb. 8th. In it I said: 'I will never vote for the nomination of Truman for president. However, I will abide by the result of the primary election in which I am a candidate and will support the Democratic nominees in said election. There was and is no exception.

"You also said: 'The Advertiser feels safe in saying without consultation with Bonner that he would not vote for—hail to the chief—Folsom.' The Advertiser

"Courage is the rarest of all political virtues, truthfulness next. It took no courage to say that I would not vote to nominate Truman. It was plain then, and much plainer now, that I sounded a popular note when I made that statement—the first Alabama candidate to so state. But it does take courage to declare against Folsom. The man who does not recognize his political power in Alabama is simply ignorant. Yet every candidate for delegate to the Democratic National Convention should be called upon to say whether he is for Folsom or against him. I now answer with this pledge: I will never vote to nominate Folsom for president or vice-president. Montgomery, Ala.

"I was proud to be one of the Alabama group who cast 24 votes for Underwood for 103 ballots in 1924. I shall bow my head in shame if even one Alabamian casts a vote for Truman or Folsom in Philadelphia next July.

"For whom shall I vote if elected? Sun. 2-15-48

"I give you as my choice for Alabama's Favorite Son, a real Democrat, a great Democrat, Hon. Gessner T. McCorvey.

"My platform is summed up in two words: "WHITE SUPREMACY."

Wallace Also Blasted By Chauncey

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

EUFAULA, Ala., March 23—(AP)—Alabama voters should shun both the "Truman Democrats" and "those who furnish a smoke screen for Henry Wallace," says former Gov. Chauncey Sparks. Tues

"I would follow neither leadership," said Sparks, who is seeking a delegate's post to the Democratic National Convention in the May 4 primary. 3-23-48

"On the one hand, the Truman Democrats threaten the very roots of our Southern civilization with the so-called civil rights program," the ex-governor said at his home here.

"On the other hand, those who furnish a smoke screen for Henry Wallace . . . would lead us to an equally ruinous fate."

He declined to mention names.

The time has come for "all real Alabamians to . . . separate the wheat from the chaff; to join together to bring democracy back to Alabama and to defeat these threats to our way of life," he added.

Governor's Plan To Control State Demo Voice Gets Slap

Sun. 1-18-48

The News-Age-Herald

Birmingham, Ala.

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 17—Recently-hatched plans by the governor to control Alabama's Democratic National Convention voice through the election of a so-called "governor's slate" received an indirect, but none the less sharp slap Saturday.

It came from the sturdy hands of Gessner McCorvey, State Democratic Committee chief. It was in the form of a letter to state committee members who are to meet here Jan. 26 to prescribe rules for the Democratic primary.

McCorvey, among other things, declared that although the renomination of President Truman is assured, regardless of who represents Alabama at the national convention, the state, nevertheless, has a great stake in the convention. 1-18-48

Because of that stake, Alabama should choose well the state's 26 delegates, he pointed out.

"I am very hopeful that Alabama will send a strong delegation to our Democratic National Convention," McCorvey's statement declared. "I would not be at all surprised but that it will be necessary for Southern delegates to make a strong fight to prevent the more radical elements within our party from taking action which could be most detrimental to the Democratic Party in our section of the country." The News-Age-Herald

There appeared to be little doubt McCorvey was referring to the governor—still regarded as leader of the so-called "Wallace faction" in Alabama—who wants to elect a "liberal" slate of convention delegates, including himself.

The governor likewise is seeking to elect his own Man Friday—Sen. Broughton Lamberth — as Democratic national committeeman. Reportedly he is also anxious to have a strongly pro-labor plank inserted in the party's national platform.

Birmingham, Ala.

McCORVEY'S LETTER SAID it is all the more important at this time to elect delegates who will stand true to Southern traditions "in view of the very radical, unwise and anti-Southern report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights." The News-Age-Herald

"It will be necessary for our delegation in the next Democratic Convention to fight to the limit to prevent inclusion in our platform of any theories of government as have been recommended by this committee appointed by the president," McCorvey added. Sun. 1-18-48

"Those of us in the South know that the only way in which two entirely different races have lived together, side by side, in peace and harmony, in the South, is by virtue of our segregation laws."

The President's Committee on Civil Rights, McCorvey reminded state committee members, advocates the withholding of federal aid or grants to states having segregation laws. Birmingham, Ala.

"I am very fearful," McCorvey continued, "that it is going to take quite a militant fight to prevent our party in national convention assembled from adopting resolutions or planks in the platform of our party which will be practically unbearable to those of us living in the South."

* * *

ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS during the recent self-starter amendment campaign the governor shocked many persons, especially those in the Black Belt and South Alabama, by shaking hands with Negro listeners at his meetings.

A picture of the governor shaking hands with a Negro admirer was snapped at one of his meetings but it was not reproduced. The governor later said he did not care whether or not the picture had been reproduced or published.

McCorvey took another slap at the governor in the same statement. He heartily recommended the work of Marion Rushton, Montgomery attorney and Alabama's Democratic national committeeman, in the high councils of the Democratic Party.

Rushton qualified only this week for reelection, a few days after Sen. Lamberth announced his candidacy and insisted he has the backing of Alabama's two U. S. senators.

Her Truman Stand No Softer She Holds

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Thurs. 3-18-48

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 18—(AP)—Mrs. Leonard Thomas says she hasn't softened a bit in her opposition to President Truman.

Alabama's Democratic national committeewoman said yesterday she was "misinterpreted" in her remarks after a recent conference with the president and other party leaders. The News.

She was quoted as saying she was "satisfied" Mr. Truman "isn't going to force anti-segregation down our throats" in the South.

What she actually said, Mrs. Thomas related in a statement, today, was that leaders of the Democratic National Committee convinced her that they were not trying to force the civil rights program on the South. Thurs.

She said she referred to National Chairman Howard McGrath and other committee officials. 3-18-48

The committeewoman also said it was the preamble to the Constitution and not the civil rights message which Mr. Truman read to her during the conference, and that he told her "I stand on the constitution." 34d Thurs. 3-18-48

"I asked him if states' rights were not still in our constitution," her statement continued, "and he said 'yes'." Birmingham, Ala.

Alabamians Ask Wright To Demos' Mass Meeting Here

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Mon 2-23-48

Bolting Democrats Chip In $61,500 At Jackson Rally; Arrange Protest Session On Civil Rights Bill In March

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BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Plans were afoot today to bring Mississippi's fireball Gov. Fielding L. Wright to Birmingham to address a mass meeting of Alabama Democrats in protest against President Truman's "civil rights" program.

This was learned after several Alabamians, who attended the revolt rally of Mississippi and other Southern Democrats at Jackson Sunday, had conferred with the Magnolia State's chief executive.

Gov. Wright, spearheading the revolt movement in the South, was one of the speakers at the Jackson session when $61,500 of a $100,000 goal was raised to fight the Truman leadership in the Democratic Party.

Plan is to bring Gov. Wright here early in March for a statewide rally at Municipal Auditorium. Candidates for delegates to the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia, and other party leaders, as well as the general public, would be invited. 2-23-48

* * *

AMONG ALABAMIANS attending the Mississippi meeting were Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney, and Olin Horton, business man here; Barrett Shelton, editor of The Decatur Daily, and Maynard Layman, of that newspaper; Sam Johnson, Mobile, former president of the Alabama Bar Association, and Mobile Circuit Judge Claude Grayson; Judge W. M. Rayburn, Gadsden, and W. C. Rayburn, Guntersville. The News

They gathered with some 250 others from eight Southern states to raise funds and map strategy to dislodge national party leaders. Birmingham, Ala.

Wilkinson said only Mississippians were permitted to contribute to the fund raised at Jackson, with representatives from other states requested to conduct their own fund-raising campaigns in their respective commonwealths.

"Mississippi and the whole South are on fire," declared Wilkinson, in citing the fact that the Mississippi Democrats raised $61,500 within a few minutes. "I never saw people shell out money so quickly and anxiously." Mon 2-23-48

* * *

GOV. WRIGHT WAS quoted at Jackson as saying the Democratic Party must be purged of leaders not in accord with the "principles of true white Jeffersonian Democrats."

"We want to kick out these birds who stole the party from us," declared Gov. Wright. "We want to see the South revive the conservative Democratic Party."

Those gathered at the Jackson rally heard Wright denounce present party leadership as "radical" and urge that conservative and radical parties be formed. He predicted the movement very probably will lead to realignment of the major political parties. 2-23-48

Contributions at the Jackson meeting ranged from $5 to $5,000, with Wright's staff of civilian colonels pledging $25,000. Dem (Ala)

* * *

WILKINSON SAID one of the significant things about the Mississippi meeting was that telegrams pledging support to the movement were received from numerous persons in Northern and Western states. Among these states were New York, Nebraska, Minnesota, Iowa, Ohio and Illinois. News

Some of these messages, the attorney said, deplored the national party's program to crush the South and recalled fights waged by the late Sen. Borah, of Idaho, and other Northern and Western leaders, to prevent just such a thing from happening. Birmingham, Ala.

The attorney said delegations at Jackson from South Carolina and Texas emphasized that Truman would not get a single delegate vote from either of those states. And he said it was readily apparent that the president, if renominated, certainly would receive no support from Mississippi.

Wallace White, chairman of Sunday's meeting, said strategy of the snowballing movement is "top secret." The News

Gov. Wright is expected to fix a date for his Birmingham appearance, after he fills a speaking engagement at Little Rock Wednesday night. 2-23-48

* * *

A NUMBER OF OTHER ALABAMA DEMOCRATS were invited to the Jackson meeting, but were unable to attend. Among these were Birmingham Public Safety Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor and State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, both of whom are candidates for delegates-at-large to the national convention.

At Mobile over the week-end, Chairman McCorvey said that unless the National Democratic Party "changes its attitude of hostility, I hardly see how we Southerners can continue following the party's leadership." The News

"You can rest assured we are making plans to combat this situation and the National Democratic Party either will have to give a different sort of recognition to the South or we are going to have to part company." Birmingham, Ala.

The Southwide revolt started last Jan. 20 when Gov. Wright, in his inaugural speech, attacked the administration's "civil rights" program as "anti-Southern." The program calls for anti-segregation, anti-poll tax and anti-lynch laws.

Aside from Alabama, South Carolina and Texas, other states represented at the Jackson meeting were Georgia, Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas and North Carolina. 2-23-48

Another meeting of "true white Jeffersonian Democrats" will be held at Jackson at a date to be announced. Meantime, similar meetings were being planned in the various other Southern states.

The Coming State Primary

Birmingham, Ala.

Although the issue of how best to deal with the problem of civil rights will be outstanding in the primary campaign now getting under way in Alabama, many important choices will be made.

342

A United States senator and nine congressmen will be nominated. Sen. John Sparkman is hardly expected to have any great trouble, but apparently he will face an active opposition.

Sat. 3-6-48

Dem

Only Rep. Robert E. Jones, Jr., of the Eighth District, is unopposed among the candidates for the lower house of Congress. Some of the other incumbents may win renomination quite easily. But in other cases, including the Birmingham (Ninth) District, there apparently will be a vigorous fight.

Two justices of the Supreme Court, Thomas S. Lawson and Robert T. Simpson, are unopposed for renomination. But Gordon Persons, president of the Alabama Public Service Commission, has two opponents.

There are long lists of candidates for delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention. In most of the congressional districts, too, there are a good many aspirants for convention seats. A considerable number have qualified for presidential elector.

In six circuits candidates for judge are to be qualified and in one circuit a solicitor is to be chosen. There are, of course, many important county races.

Marion Rushton, of Montgomery, is opposed by Broughton Lambert, of Alexander City, for Democratic national committeeman. Mrs. Lennard Thomas, of Montgomery, is unopposed for Democratic national committeewoman.

Although this campaign does not seem likely to produce any spectacular statewide personal battles, some intense issues will be involved, and there will be plenty of hot campaigning. Enough of it, in fact, to make it necessary for voters to apply themselves very carefully and thoughtfully to a number of questions in making their decisions. Sat.

With Sen. Hill and Gov. Folsom both having declared they will stand by the Democratic Party even though they may not accept all platform decisions, it hardly seems likely that a sizable actual "rebellion" will grow out of this campaign. However, the general political situation continues to be very fluid and surprising turns and developments may come. 3-6-48

* * *

The News and The Age-Herald already have expressed their conviction that Southern Democrats do not stand to gain anything by a large-scale defection from the party simply because of the civil rights recommendations of President Truman. Pressures inevitably will be exerted and strenuous efforts made to prevent federal action of the kind asked by the president. It is possible that such efforts will be successful, that federal action will be largely or altogether blocked in this connection. But in any case, Southerners should make their decisions on a broad basis of national, as well as regional, interest. The News

Such consideration is likely, as usual, to hold the great majority to the Democratic Party. Birmingham, Ala.

'I Was Made The Bullseye' At Parley, Mrs. Thomas Says

348 Dem (Ala)

The Advertiser

Explaining that "I was made the bulls' eye" in a recent meeting of Democratic leaders in the nation's capital, Mrs. Lennard Thomas, national Democratic committeewoman from Alabama, told members of the Exchange Club Thursday that she was "not making apologies for anything" she said or did at that meeting.

She declared that since she was the only Southerner appointed to attend the gathering, "the blue-bellied Northerners" were anxious to misrepresent her every statement to the advantage of the Republican party.

"In ridiculing me they were also ridiculing you, and you and every other Southerner," she challenged. Montgomery, Ala.

She declared that Truman made his civil rights address because "the northern Negro and labor vote is now largely for Wallace. The run of Negroes down here don't want segregation—we protect our Negroes instead of exploiting them down South," she added. Fri

Stronger Laws

Mrs. Thomas advocated strengthening registration laws for voting instead of "giving away our vote as they have done up North."

Truman, she said, felt safe in making his civil rights address because he believed that although the South might be temporarily offended, it would "come back to the fold." 3-26-48

"I am going to do all I can to keep the South solid for the Democratic party, but I have never said we had to be solid for Truman. I would have been a conceited mule, though, if I had come out of the committee meeting blasting Truman, for I am too insignificant to say whether or not Truman should be the party man."

Alabama Vote Recalls The Record of 1860

The Courier-Journal 34d

Louisville, Ky.

DEMOCRATIC Party leaders were watching the Alabama primary election intently for a measure of the Southern Revolt. They saw plenty. They saw the party split, with Alabama hellbent to vote against HARRY S. TRUMAN where the vote counts, in the electoral college, even if he is nominated. It is 1860 all over again, with only slight variations.

As the ballots stand, yet incomplete at this writing, they show the opposition to the President and his civil-rights program to be triumphant. Presidential electors appear to have been named who are pledged to vote against TRUMAN or any other Democratic candidate for President who may approve the program. If others among the Southern States follow this example—and there is a fair prospect now that this will happen—the country may witness a major political revolution. Thurs 5-6-48

The probable result will be a re-shuffling and re-alignment of parties and policies. The Alabama vote could portend the end of political solidity in the South. Many a rank-and-file voter, offended by the electoral-college trick, which foreordains action no matter how the people vote next November, will be marking their ballots, perhaps for the first time, under the symbols of other parties. Negroes, newly enfranchised in the Old South, will hardly be voting to support the States' Rights, white-supremacy opponents of legislation for civil rights.

And so the temporary victors may have their pride and their vengeance for their pains as did their forebears who 88 years ago left STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, flocked to JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE on the States'-Rights issue and assured the election of ABRAHAM LINCOLN. There can be no reconciliation on terms such as the Deep Southern State organizations would dictate today. The times and the world have gone beyond that. The Courier-Journal

However, if Alabamans were positive as being against TRUMAN, a study of their vote shows a bit of uncertainty in other aspects. It is always like this, as if a sense of guilt were prodding, when people rush impulsively under the lash of prejudice. The incomplete vote shows that several moderate leaders, who have been counselling against a bolt of the Democratic convention in Philadelphia if the South isn't given what it demands, are running well in the front as delegates. Louisville, Ky.

These include Senator LISTER HILL and former Governor SPARKS. Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, who is in this group of stick-with-the-party advocates, seems to have beaten the man whom Governor FOLSOM, recently grown dizzy with power, trotted out against him. And Big JIM himself seems faring poorly in the race for a place as delegate to the national convention. He probably will squeeze in when the votes from down the creek are counted, but not as the leader. If the FOLSOM bubble is pricked, and demagogery, administrative ineptness and personal misbehavior are rebuked, the day is not completely lost in Alabama. Thurs. 5-6-48

Fight Within The Party

In the language of its chairman, Hugh A. Locke, the newly formed "State Democratic Campaign Committee" will "wage a fight within the party in Alabama for the preservation of the party itself." It is to be assumed that he speaks for the 21 candidates for presidential electors who are on record as pledged not to vote for President Truman. The 21 spearhead the committee.

It is encouraging to get this sign that the anti-Truman leaders in the state do not wish to split the Democratic Party in Alabama. Whether their course can avoid a split in the party nationally, if not on the state level, is another matter. The block headed by Judge Locke is naturally seeking to solidify control of party matters in the state. The voters, however, have not yet spoken. Birmingham News

It should be noted that some of the leaders of this movement have had experience in party rebellions. Judge Locke was one of those Democrats who in 1928 refused to vote for the Democratic nominee, Al Smith. The State Democratic Committee said any Democrat who voted for Hoover could not seek office in the Democratic primary of 1930. But Judge Locke ran as an independent for governor in the general election that year. He was defeated by the regular candidate, Judge B. M. Miller, 155,000 to 95,000. Birmingham, Ala.

It is more than of casual interest that some of the men who led the revolt against the Democratic nominee in 1928 should be in the forefront of the present fight against Truman. There are broad similarities in the two movements. The 1928 opposition to Al Smith made use of prejudices against the Catholicism, the background, the Tammany connections and the anti-prohibition views of Al Smith, but there was a deep and important undercurrent of feeling that in nominating the liberal governor of New York, the national Democratic Party was injuring and threatening established race relations in the South. Wed. 3-31-48

The same sort of fear is appearing now. But instead of having other pegs on which to hang their fight, Southern opponents of a liberal Democratic Party are pitching it directly on the race issue. The tune is changed, but the same men are doing a lot of the piping. Wed. 3-31-48

Will they be able to keep the fight within the party, as Judge Locke says? He was not able to do it in 1928. This time he and others have wide support within the party organization. They have been able to arouse a lot of highly vocal backing. The voters, however, have not yet spoken. And we suggest, again, that it would be democratic to give the voters a chance to be heard before the leaders of the revolt commit themselves and the party too far.

'Bolters' Challenged

34d

To the Editor of The News:

Horace Wilkinson would have us believe that when the majority nominates a so-called anti-Southern candidate or passes an unwelcome law we Southerners must fight such a dastardly deed with every trickery we can think up. In plain words, this means Southern Democrats believe not in democracy, majority rule, but totalitarianism, minority rule. Southern states—one-third of the nation—must, like a dog's tail, insist on directing the dog—the nation—instead of the dog directing the tail. Why not cooperate? The News

Mr. Wilkinson says, "Protecting our civil rights is more important than protecting the prestige of the presidency in a time of international uncertainty." What a farce this civil rights agitation has become! More than 80 years ago the Civil War ended Negro slavery. Very few Negroes vote in Alabama, though the federal constitution says they have the right to vote. Birmingham, Ala.

If 80 years failed to give voting rights to Alabama Negroes, why worry over an anti-poll tax law which is clearly unconstitutional, non-segregation which can be enforced only in interstate travel, and FEPC, which, like anti-poll tax law, requires a federal constitutional amendment? Fri 4-23-48

Southern bolters should remember that those who support not majority rule are advocates of totalitarianism, which is world disorder. When the tail, the minority, refuses to cooperate we are advocates of a police state, which Mr. Wilkinson claims to dislike.

Backing up our president is not agreeing with everything Truman says and does. Mr. Truman is the head of a government which is the embodiment of an experiment in human freedom. This freedom is the fulfillment of Christian idealism—the brotherhood of man. Let us all think about this before we destroy our experiment in human freedom.

1216 Woodland Avenue. W. G. KITTS.

GOAT JUDGING

Editor, The Advertiser: 4-29-48

Is it possible that for once you agree with Horace C. Wilkinson? If so, I must be wrong but I don't know how to get right.

Last Saturday I started a series of letters to all candidates for party office and to the candidates for United States senator and congressman in which I asked them to answer this question:

"If the Philadelphia Convention nominates a candidate for president who advocates civil rights or puts a civil rights plank in the party platform, will you advocate standing by the platform and supporting the nominee of that convention?"

And you come along in an editorial in Sunday's Advertiser and say:

"It is high time we separated the sheep from the goats."

I wonder what rational mind was guiding the editorial pen when that sentence was written. The Advertiser

The Democrats of Alabama are not worked up over whether our delegates remain in the convention or walk out. What they want to know is where their leaders will be after the convention nominates Truman or puts a civil rights plank in the platform. Montgomery, Ala

Gessner McCorvey and those pledged to walk out will be against Truman after that happens. The other candidates have not said what their position will be if that happens. Thurs. 4-29-48

Alabama needs leaders who are not only against Truman and his program now, but who will be against Truman and his program after the convention steam rollers our delegates and undertakes to make us like it.

You should find out how many candidates for delegates are figuring on coming back home and telling us that they fought a good fight but they were outnumbered so now the only thing to do is to stand by the platform and support the nominee of the civil rights party. The Advertiser

Why not smoke them out. The Advertiser might, with some assistance, qualify as a judge of goats.

HORACE C. WILKINSON.
Birmingham, Ala. Thurs. 4-29-48

The Advertiser has judged Mr. Wilkinson on occasion.—Ed.

TRUMAN QUITTERS AND TRUMAN SITTERS

Columnist John Temple Graves has raised a point in the following: The Advertiser

A . . . proper question is what gentlemen like Chauncey Sparks and Lister Hill, who have led the ballot for delegate because of their personal influence, will do about the mandate which gave them their big votes when the second primary confirms it. Dem (Ala)

Never was the voice of our people more positive, or loud, than this one for going to the convention free, which is to say, willing to repudiate the convention at one time or another if the convention repudiates the South.

Will Senator Hill and Chauncey Sparks accept the will of the majority of Alabama's Democrats and the majority of Alabama's elected delegates, or will they go on with their untenable proposal to stay there and fight the janitor at Philadelphia?

Montgomery, Ala.

As for Hill and Sparks, they have a right to do precisely as they wish. They told the voters of this state squarely that they did not promise to walk out. The voters put them first on the list. That's their warrant. Wed. 5-12-48

It was not so simple a matter as the renown of the two names that placed Hill and Sparks foremost. The vote was Hill, 161,629; Sparks, 143,065; Handy Ellis, 137,601.

If it were purely a matter of names, why should Hill have led Sparks by nearly 20,000 votes. And second, if it were simply a matter of names, why should Ellis, pledged to take a walk, have run nearly 30,000 votes behind no-walk Hill and nearly 10,000 behind no-walk Sparks?

The voters cast ballots in only one name sense. They skipped the fine points of the strained walk and non-walk issue and, from among the body of anti-Truman candidates, voted for those in whom they had faith as public figures.

The walk and non-walk issue is a nagging bagatelle in comparison with that clean axe-stroke that is the withholding of the electoral vote from Truman.

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Every Alabamian will want to see the Alabama delegation bellow and cavort with spirit and skill to block that which is unbearable to us. But many of us have some uneasy recollections of the impression Senator Cotton Ed Smith of South Carolina made at the 1936 convention when he walked out because a colored chaplain was allowed to pronounce the invocation.

Nevertheless, Mr. Graves had made a point. We are to have a delegation of the Truman quitters and Truman sitters. Sooner or later, we take it, they will have to get together and decide to do this or that as a bloc. There is also the matter of electing a chairman. Wed. 5-12-48

Alabama Group Forms to Fight Civil Rights Plan

The Post

Birmingham, Ala., June 19 (AP).—A permanent organization of Alabama State's Rights Democrats was set up here yesterday.

They were pledged by resolution to: Washington, D.C.

Oppose President Truman; oppose any Democratic presidential nominee who supports the Truman civil rights program; insist upon a strong States' rights plank in the 1948 party platform, and to make a vigorous fight at the Philadelphia convention against "any proposals contrary" to the first three. Sun.

Marion Rushton, Democratic national committeeman from Alabama, was named chairman of the executive committee of the new group. Donald Comer, Birmingham, textile manufacturer, was chosen vice chairman. 6-20-48

Horace Wilkinson, a speaker at today's meting, said the new group was not one for 1948, but would remain in being to "carry out the wishes of Southern and Alabama Democrats in future years."

Dixon, Goodwyn Named To States' Right Group

The Advertiser
Montgomery

MOBILE, ALA.— (AP) —Former Gov. Frank M. Dixon, of Birmingham, and Robert T. Goodwyn, Jr., of Montgomery, clerk of the House of Representatives, were named Alabama's members of the campaign committee of the States' Rights Democrats. Ala.

The appointments were made by Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of the Alabama Democratic executive committee.

McCorvey said each of the Southern States in on the fight against Truman's civil rights program, were to name two members. Mon. 5-17-48

The committee will meet at the call of Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, "to plan to secure the aims and objectives established by resolutions at the conference of States' Rights Democrats in Jackson, Miss."

One of the committee's duties will be to plan for a meeting in Birmingham, in July, if the National Convention does not name a presidential candidate acceptable to the South.

THE PASSING THRONG
BY ATTICUS MULLIN

The Advertiser

I had a hard time down in Florida last week explaining to delegates to the National Peanut Council—and they came from several states—just what Alabama did in the May primary.

Finally I had to get down to hard tack and tell the whole truth and that was, that to all intents and purposes, Alabama not only voted in a State primary but also voted in a national election and in that election voted for presidential electors who were pledged against the re-election of President Truman or any man running on a platform which contains the Truman civil rights plank.

Then I immediately had to explain my explanation. They all agreed with me that Truman would be renominated on the first ballot and that the platform would contain a civil rights plank. I told them in that event the Alabama electoral vote would not be cast either for Truman or the Republican nominee. And, of course, Wallace was out. Then they wanted to know for whom it would be cast. I told them Alabama's vote in the electoral college would be cast for some great man not nominated by any big group of voters and right now Eisenhower was the choice. Mon.

I found that Florida, although votes for delegate had not been completely tabulated, seemed to have gone in a recent primary for delegates to the Democratic national convention pledged to Governor Wright, of Mississippi. Florida wants none of Truman and none of his civil rights, either.

We, in Alabama, can certainly look on the forthcoming national election without getting unduly excited. Our electoral votes are not going to be cast for either Truman, the Republican candidate or Wallace. We have already spoken. 5-17-48

Praising The Alabama Plan

John Temple Graves

The Record

"And read their history in a nation's eyes..."

Columbia, S.C.

Of Gessner Thomas McCorvey, chairman of the Alabama State Democratic committee, history will say that he gave dignity, drama, and direction to a move which began in the grass roots of the South and, by one device and another, with Alabama most boldly leading, voiced again for America her long dream of government at home, free of distant force and uncomprehension. Mon. 5-31-48

Some of the other southern states will name free electors, too. All the southern states will name delegates opposed to the federal force proposals and prepared for battle at Philadelphia. But in Alabama alone the southern revolt has been put to the supreme test of popular voting. And from that vote has come a mandate which is the southern people's mandate. Here, where our Democrats have spoken, they have said the South is more precious than the national party, and so is the great basic principle of America. Without Alabama's unstinting stand there still would have been a revolt. But because of what Alabama has done under Gessner McCorvey's lead, the revolt in the South has told the nation in utmost drama that these states must be considered, and that their philosophy, which is America's philosophy, must be restored.

And the nation has listened. Not since the War Between the States has southern opposition weighed so much in national estimate as at this moment. Not since Appomattox has the South been so wooed and accounted for as in these months since the revolt began. If these states hold true to their course, a new place for them is certain in the political respect of a nation.

Editor W. R. Smith, of The Macon News, puts both President Truman and the South on the spot by proposing that Mr. Truman "talk to Southern Democrats about a positive program of civil rights that our (southern) leaders know can be presented and made acceptable to our people...ask southern Democrats to present to you such proposals for a civil rights program as they know are needful and as our people would accept and support...Give us the ball. Let us run with it a while. We might surprise you—and ourselves." Mon. 5-31-48

The trouble is that no matter how pleasantly surprised the President might be or the South might be, Walter White would veto. We do need a civil liberties program of our own in the South, but we could never hope to have it acceptable to the paid professionals and politicians above the Potomac.

There I go saying above the Potomac again when my friend Lloyd T. Everett, of De Land, Florida, a native and unceasing Marylander, has just reminded me that "Mason and Dixon should not be spelled P-o-t-o-m-a-c." He well-says that I do his native state an injustice when I "continue to class her with Northern States and their inter-meddling in our Southern affairs—she has stood staunchly, time out of mind, with us in such matters." It is the truth, and I am ashamed of my slip. Especially when the South is in the front of battle for the great American principle of states' rights and local self-government. Not for nothing do they call it "the Maryland Free State." Mon. 5-31-48

Hill Against Bolting

Sen. Lister Hill took a very strong stand for the Democratic Party in his speech before the assembled Alabama State Federation of Labor. He repeated with emphasis his statement of some days ago that he would not pledge himself to bolt the convention in July, and he rested his reasoning on the sound grounds that to do so would help materially to elect a Republican president and Republican congressmen.

Sen. Hill has always stood for the principle of states' rights and against the so-called civil rights bill. He believes that such matters should be settled within the individual states, a conviction with which this paper thoroughly concurs. He also believes that to walk out of the convention should a civil rights plank be voted into the national platform would be a disloyalty to the party he has served so well for so long.

For a split in the party would mean that it would lose the election to whomever the Republicans nominate. "It is not necessary for me to tell you what a Republican victory would do to organized labor," he said.

Birmingham, Ala.

The senator did not mince words in his comment on the action of the State Democratic Executive Committee. He does not, he intimated, intend to be its stooge. He charged the committee with dictatorial practices. Wed. 4-21-48

In the light of hard common sense one finds it impossible to see what could be accomplished by a bolting delegation. It is known to everyone at home and in other sections what the united attitude will be toward the insertion of an objectionable plank. Mr. Hill does not believe that a nationally imposed FEPC bill would work, and he will exert all his considerable influence against it. He understands the impossibility of legislating against a prejudice widely held. He knows that the North must be educated as well as the South in methods of better race relations. But he also knows that there is no hope for the South's point of view to prevail through a Republican administration. Whatever is accomplished must be done through the framework that already exists. To destroy it is to act as Samson did in the temple, and worse problems for the South would then ensue. Wed.

The News 4-21-48

As this paper has always held, much will happen between now and the convention. The Republicans meet in June, and by the time the Democrats assemble there will be a Republican nominee committed to a Republican platform. The whole strategy of the Democrats will have to be largely evolved thereafter. Sen. Hill is concerned over the possibility of a party disaster. His refusal to bolt is founded on his deep conviction such action is the only feasible way in which to serve and protect the party.

34d 1948 Democratic (Americans for Democratic Action)

3—Old New Dealers

(34D)

Newsweek - N.Y., N.Y.

President Truman had reason to expect that, although his recent attacks on Wall Street, his reaffirmations of the New Deal, and his civil-rights program might irritate conservatives and Southern Democrats, at least they would earn him the active support of those New Dealers still devoted to Franklin D. Roosevelt's memory.

Mar. 3-1-48

Last week end Americans for Democratic Action, the anti-Communist counterpart of Henry A. Wallace's Progressive Citizens of America, held its first annual convention in Philadelphia. On hand were such longtime New Dealers as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, former Price Administrators Leon Henderson and Paul Porter, former Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Berle Jr., former State Department counsel Benjamin V. Cohen, former Housing Expediter Wilson W. Wyatt, Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis, and three Democratic senators,* as well as more than 600 delegates from 40 states. Mar. 3-1-48

The upshot: Violent denunciations of Mr. Truman and pointed, vociferous refusal to endorse him for the Presidency.

Paradoxically, the platform which the convention adopted was almost identical with Mr. Truman's program, though written in sharper, more insistent language. One notable exception: a plank opposing Universal Military Training, in which the delegates reversed a favorable stand taken previously by ADA leaders. Otherwise, the platform called for the reinstitution of price controls, denounced race discrimination, and warmly backed the Marshall plan. Moreover, the delegates made it clear they had no use either for such Republicans as Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio or for Henry Wallace's third party. They cheered loudly when Wyatt denounced the "dismal 80th Congress" and when he branded Wallace's candidacy as "dangerous and irresponsible."

The Fainthearts: However, even Wyatt, who declared that "I am a Democrat with a capital D," had no warm words for Mr. Truman. Neither did Mrs. Roosevelt, though she praised the Marshall plan and urged passage of Universal Military Training. And when Democratic Sen. Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania called for support of Mr. Truman in the 1948 campaign, not one delegate applauded. They sat in glum silence. Mar. 3-1-48

A conference to consider the convention's campaign resolution showed why. Delegate after delegate angrily declared that Mr. Truman's actions belied his New Deal words. The President was denounced for appointing Wall Streeters to Administration posts even while attacking Wall Street. He was charged with having abandoned Wyatt's housing program "under pressure from real-estate interests." Berle cited the long and growing list of New Dealers ousted from government posts under the Truman Administration, asserting: "The President takes his orders from the rotten, corrupt, reactionary Democratic machines." Others assailed the embargo against shipment of arms to Palestine.

As originally drafted, the resolution merely declared that ADA would hold off endorsing anyone for the Presidency until after the Democratic and Republican conventions. At the demand of the delegates, it was rewritten to point up the reasons.

Privately, the delegates admitted they would finally end by voting for Mr. Truman, but they weren't going to like it and, unless something unexpected happened, they weren't going to work for him.

Ark. Democrats Make Improvement Demands

Pittsburgh Courier - Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat. 6-5-48

34d

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—(ANP)—Support of President Truman and his civil rights program and demands for more rights in Arkansas were pledged at the meeting of the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association at the Tabarian Building last week.

In their program they did the following:

Asked for the appointment of "a qualified Negro superintendent to head the Negro Boys Industrial School."

Requested the legislature to investigate the training program at the boys' industrial school, as it is understood that no literary training is being given the boys."

DEMANDS STATE PARK

Demanded a $100,000 fund "immediately" for a State park for Negroes.

Requested funds sufficient "to make Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanial and Normal College at Pine Bluff an accredited institution through the proper accrediting association, and that the same actions be taken with regard to all of the high schools in the State of Arkansas."

Demand full citizenshiup for all American citizens.

Pledged support to the national Democratic party;

COMMITTEES NAMED

Endorsed a news article entitled "Women Voters Oppose Revolt by Democrats."

Heading the various resolution committees were state of democracy, Dr. Leroy Williams; parks and recreation, Harry Bass; health and sanitation, Dr. J. B. Woods; education, C. H. Jones, and nomination, E. C. Dyer.

Sat 6-5-48

The following were re-elected to office: Dr. J. M. Robinson, president; P. H. Jordan, vice president; Frank A. Snodgrass, treasurer; I. T. Gilliam, executive secretary, and G. C. Gray, recording secretary.

Race Dems In Ark. Support "Old Line"

Journal & Guide

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—(ANP)—Seven delegates, elected by the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association to attend the Democratic national convention at Philadelphia, will demonstrate "evidence of good faith in the regular old-line Democratic Party," it was announced here last week by Dr. J. M. Robinson, president. The delegates, though having no legal status at the convention, "will attend its sessions harmoniously, in good faith."

They will represent 25,000 Negroes in the state who are qualified and "ready to vote" in the Democratic primaries and the general election. Dr. Robinson also said that if "insurgent delegates vacate their seats in a rebellion, Negroes will be ready to offer their services."

"Arkansas Negro Democrats don't want any Wallace stuff or any third party stuff," he said.

He revealed that the state committee had been petitioned to name two Negroes as alternates-at-large, but that the request was received at a time when "the hullabaloo arose" over President Truman's civil rights proposal. The rebellion is expected to come at the convention over the same issue.

ARKANSAS FACING ELECTORS' FIGHT

Times-Picayune

Thur 9-23-48

Battle Sighted at State Convention Today

New Orleans, La.

34d

(The Associated Press)

Little Rock, Ark., Sept. 22.—A bitter fight between Truman Democrats and States' Rights Democrats for control of Arkansas' presidential electors was signaled today. Thur 9-23-48

The States' Righters announced they would press an effort to get the Democratic state convention opening here tomorrow to pledge the party's electors to the States' Rights ticket rather than to President Truman and Sen. Barkley, national Democratic nominees.

The announcement was made by John L. Daggett, of Marianna, a member of the States' Rights executive committee, after Democratic gubernatorial nominee Sid McMath had rejected a "compromise" proposal by the States' Righters. 34d

McMath, titular head of the Democratic party since his nomination last month, offered an alternate method for selection of the Democratic presidential electors.

1. Electors from the seven congressional districts of the state be chosen in district caucuses;

2. Two electors at large be named by the Democratic state convention opening here tomorrow;

3. No attempt be made to instruct any of the electors on how to vote in the electoral college, leaving them free to vote individually as they choose—for President Truman and Sen. Barkley, the national Democratic nominees or the States' Rights ticket of Govs. Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright. Thur 9-23-48

Electors named in the district caucuses would have to be approved by the state convention.

The States' Righters' "compromise" proposal was that the state convention name no electors and that both States' Rights and regular Democratic electors appear on the general election ballot by petition, thus allowing the voters to make their own choice.

Regular Democrats seek to qualify a slate of electors pledged to vote for President Truman and Barkley.

Fear Showdown On Convention Floor

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Tues. 7-13-48

By LOUIS LAUTIER

PHILADELPHIA—(NNPA)—The question of a civil rights plank in the 1948 Democratic platform is the paramount issue at the Democratic national convention. This issue apparently may not be settled without a fight on the convention floor when the Resolutions Committee makes its report Wednesday.

There is talk of Dixie delegates walking out of the convention if the committee reports a strong civil rights plank.

If the plank contains no specific commitment on antilynching, anti-poll tax, fair employment practice and other points in President Truman's program, northern liberals threaten to carry the issue to the convention floor.

Senator J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, at a press conference Sunday afternoon declined to answer a question as to whether he expected the civil rights fight to spill over on the convention floor. He said he would have to know how successful the Resolutions Committee was in ironing out differences.

He said he expected the committee to come out with a civil rights plank that will be acceptable to the South. He added that the plank on civil rights in the 1944 platform was acceptable to both the North and South.

EYE 1944 PLANK

While he has not discussed the specific language of that plank with Senator Francis J. Myers, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Senator McGrath said, there was considerable speculation that the civil rights plank this year will be similar to the one in the 1944 platform.

Earlier Sunday afternoon, Senator Myers told a press conference that the seven-member platform drafting committee had skipped over a civil rights plank.

Daily World

The drafting committee went to work Saturday and worked until 2:30 a. m., Sunday, went back to work at 1 o'clock Sunday afternoon, recessed around 5 o'clock and returned to work about 9 o'clock Sunday night. Atlanta, Ga.

It was working against time to complete its draft of the platform in order to have it in the hands of the 17-member subcommittee. Senator Myers was hoping to have the draft of the platform in the hands of the full committee sometime Monday. Tues. 7-13-48

LAST ON AGENDA

He said the civil rights issue would be left until the last. When the drafting committee reached civil rights Saturday night or Sunday morning, he said, it decided to pass over the issue rather than have a lengthy discussion. He added that there had been some "conversation" in the drafting committee about civil rights, but nothing had been reduced to writing.

Senator Myers declared he had heard nothing about threats of Dixie delegates to walk out of the convention over the civil rights issue.

Told that Representative Emanuel Celler, of New York, had announced that liberals on the Resolutions Committee had held a rump session and decided ot fight to the last ditch, on the convention floor, if necessary, for a strong civil rights plank, Senator Myers said he had heard nothing about it.

Daily World

"My record in the Congress is as liberal as Emanuel Celler's," he declared. "I do not know why there would be a rump session.

Nothing has occurred that would necessitate a rump meeting, North, South, East or West."

Atlanta, Ga.

Asked whether the telegram sent to President Truman and Senator McGrath by Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York, indorsing Mr. Truman's civil rights program, had come to his attention, Senator Myers said it had. Tues.

TRUMAN CONSULTED 7-13-48

Asked whether he had received any "written suggestions" from the White House, Senator Myers replied that he had reecived suggestions from everywhere. "I won't say the White House," he added.

"It doesn't exclude the White House," a reporter persisted.

"Certainly President Truman, who is going to be the candidate of the

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Civil Rights Split Preludes

The Post

Fight on Floor

Washington, D.C.

By Robert C. Albright

Post Reporter

Tues. 7-13-48

Philadelphia, July 12.—The Democratic Party's civil rights split tonight appeared headed for a convention floor row as a compromise built around the 1944 plank failed to meet intersectional differences.

The first full draft of a platform calling for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and a return to "New Deal" principles meanwhile went to a preliminary showdown in an 18-man drafting subcommittee.

Neither faction in the party-breaking fight appeared satisfied with the 53-word proposed civil rights settlement.

Civil Rights Text

It read: Tues.

"The Democratic Party and the Democratic Administration are solely responsible for the great gains in recent years made in the continuing effort to reduce and eliminate unfair and illegal discrimination based on race, creed or color. 7-13-48

"We have implemented our often expressed belief that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens, and to share the rights guaranteed by the Constitution."

"It don't suit," said former Gov. Chauncey Sparks of Alabama, one of the leaders in the Dixie rtbellion. The South wants "States Rights" language written in.

Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis, leader of liberal wing demands for a much stronger plank, retorted by calling a strategy conference of all interested in a more explicit statement.

Decision Demanded

Up to a late hour tonight, the 18-man group had not reached a showdown vote on the proposed compromise. The members met in a nineteenth-floor suite of the Chateau Crillon Hotel. Determined to reach at least a preliminary platform decision before adjournment, Resolutions Chairman Francis J. Myers (Pa.) refused to recess at the dinner hour. A snack was served in the suite.

Regardless of the vote, Mayor Humphrey predicted the fight would go to the floor.

"If we lose, we will want a convention decision," said the Minnesotan. "If we win, the Southerners will take it to the floor."

Convention Parliamentarian Clarence Cannon (Mo.) was consulted by both factions in readiness for the battle. Cannon said House of Representatives debate rules may apply to what may be the first pdatform contest to go to the floor since 1924. Cannon's ruling means speeches on any proposed amendment would be limited to five minutes. The Post

Must Be Explicit

Humphrey's group wants the plank to spell out the President's Committee on Civil Rights recommendations for antipall tax, antilynching and FEPC legislation and nonsegregation in the armed forces. Washington,

The Southerners had called on the party to "reaffirm and pledge strict adherence to States rights." D.C.

Subcommittee differences broke out also on an eight-point Palestine plank adopted in all night session by an inner circle group of seven platform blue-printers. Tues,

Representative Emmanuel Celler (N. Y.) said it "won't do" unless two of the points are strengthened to call for immediate recognition of a "permanent" Israel government, and for shipment of arms to Palestine whether or not the United Nations clears it.

Points in Israel Plank 7-13-48

The text of the subcommittee's proposed Israel plank:

"1. President Truman by granting immediate recognition to Israel, led the world in extending friendliness and welcome to a people who have long sought and justly deserved freedom and independence.

"2. We look forward to extending full and prompt recognition to the permanent government of Israel as soon as it is established.

"3. We affirm our pride, too, that the United States, under the leadership of President Truman, played a leading role in adopting the resolution of November 29, 1947, by the U. N. General Assembly for the creation of a Jewish state. Tues.

"4. We approve the claims of the State of Israel to the boundaries het forth in the United Nations resolution of November 29 and consider that modification thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the State of Israel. 7-13-48

"5. We look forward to the admission of the State of Israel to the United Nations and its full participation in the international community of nations.

"6. We pledge appropriate aid to the State of Israel to secure in the United States and elsewhere the arms and equipment necessary to defend itself, subject only to the decision of the United Nations. Subject thereto, we favor the lifting of the arms embargo to accord to the State of Israel the right to defend itself.

"8. We continue to support within the framework of the United Nations the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the holy places of Palestine."

On domestic issues, the preliminary blueprint not only calls for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, but for a 75-cent minimum wage law, public housing and slum clearance legislation, Federal aid to education, health insurance and social security expansion. The Post

In addition to differences over civil rights, the Israel plank and Taft-Hartley law repeal, slowing down a platform decision was a coastal versus inland state row on the tidelands oil issue. Tues,

The Supreme Court ruled the Federal Government holds sway over submerged coastal oil lands, but the GOP platform urged a quit-claim to the States. The Democrats are debating whether to keep silent on the issue or declare flatly for Administration proposals to hold the oil lands and divert royalties from them to irrigation and other purposes beneficial to other States. 7-13-48

Negro Leaders Press For Strong Civil Rights Plank

Daily World

By EMORY O. JACKSON

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — (SNS)— Alabama Negro Democrats made history when members of the nine-man delegation of observers attended the National Democratic Convention here Monday. Tues.

Also on the scene were two different groups of pickets in front of Convention Hall as the meeting opened and the anger and indignation over civil rights and jim crow in the armed forces appeared destined to be carried to the convention floor. Atlanta, Ga.

The Alabama observer delegation, which has asserted it would walk-in the convention if the regular delegation bolted, listened from outside of the Hotel Bartram window to the heated caucas of the 26-man Alabama delegation as it voted 13-12 in favor of a walk-out. The caucus refused to seat an alternate who was opposed to the walk-out.

A. D. Shores, W. H. Hollins, Lorenzo Cates of Birmingham and Norman Thomas of Tuscumbia were at the hotel window, along with other spectators including newspaper reporters. Shores had brought the observers to the Alabama Democratic headquarters to pick up seven convention seats promised to him by Alabama National Committeeman Marion Rushton of Montgomery, who evidently changed his mind. 7-13-48

DELEGATES GET TICKETS

Congressman William Dawson of Illinois, worked out a plan to get the observers into the convention. James Fields of Montgomery, through a contact, received tickets. Judge King and C. E. Colston and other Alabama delegates were guests at the Pennsylvania press lounge.

It was here that Senator Sparkman said in answer to a question that he does not intend to attend the States' Right Conference in Birmingham. Tues.

recognition to Atty. A. D. Shores as they passed each other at the Bellvue-Stratford Hotel.

STIFF PROTEST Daily World

Meanwhile, a stiff protest against segregation in the armed forces was evident in the action of "The League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation" headed by A. Phillip Randolph and "The Non-Partisan Committee for Civil Rights". Atlanta, Ga.

Groups numbering more than 20 marched and sang down jim crow, the poll tax, and other forms of discrimination. Both were mixed

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groups of young and old persons.

The pickets drew considerable attention from the delegates at the

7-13-48

D. C. Unit Demands Civil Rights Law

The Post
Washington, D. C.

By Edward P. Ryan
Post

Tues. 7-13-48

Philadelphia, July 12.—A civil rights law for the Nation's Capital was demanded today by the District delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

The proposed civil rights law for Washington was listed as one feature of a resolution approved by the 12-member District group calling for a "liberal" civil rights plank in the Democratic platform.

Segregation practices in Washington were sharply scored in the report of the President's Commission on Civil Rights. Action of the District group in calling for a civil rights law for Washington thus reinforced the group's stand for nomination of President Truman, and against the Southern coalition fighting the President on the civil rights issue.

The District civil rights resolution was adopted at a closed caucus in the Penn Sheraton Hotel. The action was announced by John Wattaway, chairman of the delegation. He said the civil rights stand was taken unanimously.

Six Points Stressed

The District resolution said the liberal civil rights plank in the Democratic campaign platform should put the party on record as favoring: Tues.

1. A fair employment practices law. 7-13-48
2. Antipoll tax legislation.
3. Antilynching legislation.
4. A ban on racial discrimination in the armed forces.
5. The civil rights law for the National Capital.
6. Exclusion of any tie-up between States' rights demands and the civil rights program.

The District delegation also voted support for a Washington home rule plank identical to the one included in the 1948 Republican campaign platform. It says: "We favor self-government for the residents of the Nation's Capital."

If that is not to be adopted by the Democratic platform writers, the District group agreed that it would accept the 1944 Democratic platform declaration in support of District suffrage.

1944 Plank Less Specific

The Post

The 1944 Democratic plank said: "We favor the extension of the right of suffrage to the people of the District of Columbia."

The caucus formally ratified the following District delegation officials previously chosen in Washington. Washington, D.C.

John Wattawa, chairman; Arthur Clarendon Smith, vice chairman; Mrs. Kathleen Louchheim, secretary; Brig. Gen. Albert L. Cox and Mrs. Ernest K. Lindley, members of the resolutions committees; James Francis Reilly, credentials committee; William L. Houston, rules committee; A. L. Wheeler, committee on permanent organization; Mrs. Estelle Pearce, committee to notify the presidential nominee; and Edward Williams, committee to notify the vice presidential nominee. Tues.

Four honorary convention officials were chosen: William L. Houston, honorary president; Tilford E. Dudley, honorary assistant vice president; A. L. Wheeler, honorary secretary; and Arthur Clarendon Smith, honorary assistant secretary. 7-13-48

Republican Congress Hit by Barkley In Appeal to People of Nation

The Post
Washington, D.C.
Tues. 7-13-48

By Mary Spargo
Post Reporter

Philadelphia, July 12.—With a slashing attack on the Republican "wrecking crew" in Congress, Senator Alben W. Barkley tonight keynoted the thirtieth national convention of the Democratic Party with an appeal to the people of the Nation to support the forward march of progress under his party's leadership.

With the first ballot nomination of President Truman assured, party managers here aimed at a fast windup on Wednesday night.

National Chairman J. Howard McGrath said there is a "strong possibility" that President Truman may come here Wednesday night to accept his nomination in person.

Appeal to People Planned

The Post

Weary of what they term the "hari-kari" preconvention tactics of Southern Democrats and a few left-wing splinter factions, party managers pressed for a speed-up convention that will end in three days. If they are successful, the convention which opened here today will be one of the shortest Democratic conclaves in history.

Party managers are anxious to carry their case to the country in the belief that the dissident voices raised here are those of politicians rather than of the people.

That appeal to the people to support the Democratic Party as the force which will achieve a "progressive, dynamic democracy" was sounded today by Chairman McGrath at the opening convention session. Washington, D.C.

The Democratic Party, said Barkley, has an obligation to "march forward on the highway of human advancement, both here and throughout the world." Tues.

Barkley Quotes Jefferson

7-13-48

In an oblique reference to the civil rights fight which has been keeping the Democratis Party in a turmoil, Barkley referred to the "immortal words of Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence—"we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

Jefferson singled out no creed or color, Barkley pointed out, but included all men.

"The equality which he proclaimed was equality in the right to enjoy the blessings of free government in which they may participate, and to which they have given their consent."

Barkley, seasoned veteran of many a bitterly fought campaign, outlined for the Democrats and major ground of attack on the Republican Party during the coming campaign.

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13 Delegates Set For Walk In Rights Rift

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

No Acceptable Plank Given Consideration; 'Reservations Made'

Wed. 7-14-48

Truce Is Rejected

Remaining Group Likely To Nominate Russell As Anti-Truman Man

By Leroy Simms

PHILADELPHIA — (AP) — Thirteen of Alabama's 26 vote delegation were ready Tuesday to walk out of the Democratic convention if any of the suggested civil rights planks are adopted.

J. Miller Bonner of Camden, a member of the platform committee, said prior to Tuesday afternoon's executive session that no "acceptable civil rights plank" has been given serious consideration.

Bonner, E. C. (Bud) Boswell of Geneva and Ex. Gov. Chauncey Sparks of Eufaula were in the platform session Tuesday.

Boswell and Bonner both are pledged to leave the convention hall over the civil rights issue.

Looks Bad

Sparks, leaving the committee session for a moment, said "it looks bad," in reply to questions from reporters. The Advertiser

Asked if he meant it "looks bad for your side," Sparks answered "that's right." Sparks is a member of the anti-walkout group, all anti-Truman and anti-civil rights but pledged to remain in the convention.

An effort was made Tuesday to get the walkouters to remain in the convention long enough to cast votes for Arkansas' Gov. Ben Laney for president. Members of the delegation refused, however. Montgomery, Ala.

They listed as the reason this statement of their stand, used in their campaigns by the state executive committee: Wed.

"Our delegates to the Philadelphia convention will walk out of the said convention without further participation therein if the convention adopts any part of the impossible, obnoxious and unthinkable provisions of the so-called civil rights program of Harry S. Truman." 7-14-48

Several members of the walkout group planned to leave here Wednesday. Others made travel reservations for Thursday.

Choose Russell

With the walkout group apparently certain to be outside the convention by that time, it appeared certain that Alabama's remaining delegates would nominate Senator Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, as their anti-Truman choice. The Advertiser

Roy D. McCord, of Gadsden, has been at work on a nominating speech. Since Alabama is first on the list of states, Russell's name thus would be the first placed before the convention. Montgomery, Ala.

Alabama delegates rejected overtures for a settlement of their differences with party leaders Tuesday. Boswell and Handy Ellis, delegation chairman, said the group turned down a proposal from National Chairman J. Howard McGrath. They said this proposal would have included a return to the two-thirds rule on presidential nominations—a regulation dropped at the 1936 convention. Wed. 7-14-48

In return, Boswell and Ellis said, the Southern delegations would have accepted civil rights and Taft-Hartley repeal planks.

Members of both factions of the Alabama delegation planned full attendance at convention hall Tuesday night and for Wednesday's day session. Ellis said all members want to be on the floor when the platform is brought up.

White Rights Advocate Assailed by Southerners

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

PHILADELPHIA

Southern members of the Democratic platform drafting committee, who sat in imperturbable silence Thursday, when colored spokesmen demanded that President Truman's civil rights proposals be included in the party's program, became clamorous with rage Friday, when a white Southerner voiced the same demands. Sat.

Aubrey Williams of Montgomery, Ala., former head of the National Youth Administration, moved the Southerners to give vent to their spleen when he said it was mainly Southern Democratic leaders who opposed the Truman program—not the people. 7-17-48

Immediately Chauncey Sparks, former Governor of Alabama, heatedly declared that Williams represents nobody but himself and does not carry any weight, adding that he "spoke for about 1% of the intelligent people in my State."

Hurls Communist Charge

Williams, who is the publisher of The Southern Farmer and is president of the Alabama Farmers Union, said that when white people keep colored ones in an inferior position they "brutalize every decent instinct of mankind."

Sparks then rejoined, "When you use the word brutalize I think you are going a little too far." He then asked Williams if members of the Senate did not charge him with being "more or less" of a Communist when he was nominated for the post of Rural Electrification Administrator. Sat.

Williams replied: "Oh, yes, but I am more hated by the Communists than you are." He added that he was against any kind of segregation. "A man is a man to me, regardless of the color of his skin," he stated. 7-17-48

Tells of Ballot Injustices

When Sparks sputtered that colored people in Alabama were treated fairly and properly and were content to be by themselves with their separate institutions, the New Dealer told the ex-Governor: The Afro-American

"You know perfectly well if a colored person tries to register in Montgomery his chances are about one-tenth of that of a white man. A colored man told me he stood in line in Mobile for two weeks. Let's don't pretend."

Relations Tense, He Charges

When Sparks insisted that the relationship between people of the two faces was "friendly" in Alabama, Williams flatly contradicted him, saying, "There is great tension." Baltimore

Charles E. Shepperd, Florida legisator, was stirred to interject, shouting loudly: Md.

"We do not propose to tolerate any further interference in States' rights in the South. We and the colored man understand each other. 7-17-48

er. We don't want any Federal bayonets forcing him down our throats.

UNPOPULAR WITH ANTI-TRUMAN FORCES

Sunday Continues Quiet After Pepper Announcement

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga

Mon. 7-12-48

By RALPH McGILL

PHILADELPHIA, July 11—A quiet Sunday evening received the news that Sen. Claude Pepper, of Florida, had determined to campaign for the Democratic nomination in opposition to President Harry S. Truman. After the news had been received, the Sunday evening still was quiet. It was, in fact, quieter than ever.

The Pepper announcement was received largely with laughter, as even Henry Wallace is about as popular with the established anti-Truman forces as is Claude Pepper. From the Truman viewpoint, the campaign by Pepper is a fortunate one. There is no leadership behind Pepper and his claims tonight that 22 States are backing him are not believed.

There was speculation that the forces seeking to draft Douglas had switched to Pepper. At any rate, the Pepper campaign had not got off the ground at a late hour Sunday night and was not expected to have any altitude by Monday.

The Constitution

No one is cooking with gas at this convention but in a dozen or more hastily-improvised kitchens, a lot of pots were swung and some of them had garlic in them.

Over in the Ben Franklin Hotel some of the revolting delegations from the South were putting on an act which made the scene with the three witches from Shakespeare's Macbeth where there are three crones cooking up a pot of trouble for Macbeth look very polite indeed. When I looked in on it they were putting in a leg of Gen. Lee's horse and the hip bone of a Yankee soldier killed at Gettysburg.

Atlanta, Ga.

There were those from Louisiana, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina and Florida, including quite a few from Alabama, who were trying to make sense of it and organize some sort of fight against Harry S. Truman which is what they think the South wants. But they were having so much trouble with the whoopers and shouters they couldn't even agree to support Georgia's Sen. Richard B. Russell for the nomination or, for that matter, anyone else. The crazy ones kept talking about Lee and Jackson and so the South again was deprived of a constructive, sensible anti-Truman program.

Mon. 7-12-48

That was one pot that was boiling over.

Both CIO and AFL were having trouble with cooking up their political stews. They don't care much for Truman. So far they haven't been able to get a repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act in the platform.

They frankly are withholding endorsement so as to have greater trading value. The Democrats know it. Both are playing a waiting game.

Meanwhile, a thousand conflicting reports swirled about the hotel lobbies like the little dust whirls that one sees along country roads in the hot Summer time when a heat storm is about to blow up. They whirl frantically, blowing dirt in the eyes of the traveler, and then subside, only to spring up again at another place.

The vice presidential pots are cooking and some of them are very smelly.

I still think that Sen. Barkley and Sen. Scott Lucas are the best bets. But this is Sunday night and it will be tomorrow some time, and maybe Tuesday, before the decision is made.

This morning Sen. Barkley, the grand person from Kentucky, was asked, by a very important person on the Committee, if he would take it. He replied that he didn't want it and thought he would be of more value in the Senate if he were not tagged with having been a candidate.

He then made a remark which is the only one that has been generally received with open arms in a convention which has produced little to amuse.

"If the White House asks me," he said, "I will take it out of loyalty to the Party and because of the honor of it. But, if they want to they had better hurry because I don't want any warmed-over biscuits."

This afternoon Francis Myers, of Pennsylvania, Chariman of the Platform Committee, said the civil rights plank had not been discussed save to bring it up and agree to pass it over until the other and less controversial platform planks had been written.

There are some on the Committee who are trying to have written a general plank such as the one the Republicans wrote and to put in also a general and rather meaningless states' right plank.

It is sure to go to the floor.

If it doesn't contain the full platform of civil rights, such as Dewey personally pledges for Republicans, the minority report will be brought to the floor.

So the convention will have those fireworks and there are some of the Southern delegations who have brought old English walking shoes here and who will wear them that day so they may walk out in style.

It is no secret at all that some of the Committee at top levels are angry because they can't get any direction from the White House. Of course, if they got it there would be others screaming about White House pressure. So it doesn't really matter.

I had dinner last night with Sen. Barkley at a down-town restaurant. He is easily the most popular Democrat here. He is a grand person and one whom the Democratic Party owes a lot. It really is wrong to ask him to accept the Vice Presidency spot in a year such as this.

We could hardly get out of the hotel for people stopping him to shake his hand. At the restaurant the people came over in throngs so that we could hardly eat. One visitor put on a show. Slightly drunk and very large, so that the Senator said, "Son, you are big enough to be five or six ordinary constituents." The South Carolinian put a lamb-like hand on the Senator's head and shook it, saying, loud enough for the whole restaurant to hear: "Folks, I love him like a daddy." He continued to shake the Senator's head and said, "I love all Southern people." He brooded on it a moment and then said, "Yes, that's right. I do. All Southern people."

The Senator was the center of attraction from Northern groups as well, some delegates from Rochester insisting on sending for a photographer and being photographed with him. Barkley is one of the great Americans.

The argument against him is that he is from an adjoining state and that the Party, facing almost sure defeat, is in no condition to compromise, but must get Douglas on there to appeal to the liberals and to the labor vote so as to help carry state tickets and keep the Party in the East together.

So, the long day drew to a close and the cooks kept the political pots boiling in every hotel and on almost every floor.

No one knew much for sure. The sure things were few indeed. Truman will be nominated. That is sure. The South missed its chance to put forward a progressive platform of opposition which would have enough substance and dignity to attract the anti-Truman support, when too many of its leaders, chiefly Mississippians, South Carolinians and Arkansans who want to put themselves in as the nominee, would not agree on anyone else.

The tidelands oil case was dragged in by Texas. The South again gave itself a black eye by appearing unable to agree on even the manner of its opposition.

There are real reasons to oppose some of Harry Truman's policies. But they have not been gathered together and presented with sense and force.

Also sure is the fact there will be a floor fight on the civil liberties platform plank.

Georgia is sure to oppose Truman, but the Georgia position is that they will fight Truman as long as they can and then leave it up to the Georgia people to determine by their November votes what they want to do about his nomination. That is an honest position. However anyone may differ with it. It is not a cry-baby selfish act and no one from Georgia is trying to elevate himself at the expense of the South as are some of the great leaders from Mississippi, Arkansas and South Carolina, plus a few from Alabama, who have put self above the South's interests, and above the interests of those who sought—as did Georgia, to find someone on whom to agree on as the anti-Truman candidate.

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Progressive Democrats Get National Support For Their Fight Against White Party

Columbia, S.C.

The Lighthouse and Informer

Sun. 7-4-48

National support for Progressive Democrats when they appear for seats at Philadelphia July 12, appeared certain in a letter state chairman John H. McCray made public Monday.

The letter came from James E. Williams, eastern vice president of the National Council of Negro Democrats, of Jamaica, N. Y., who wrote partially:

"For the past few days Mr. Emmett S. Cunningham (of Detroit, Mich.), our national president, has been in conference with several of the key men of the Council, and we have agreed that your fight in th convention to seat your delegates in Philadelphia is a just fight; we have agreed to join the fight with you and other states in the South whose plight you also represent."

Mr. Williams said that a pre-convention caucus on this battle has been scheduled for 7 p. m., July, at the Hotel Chesterfield in Philadelphia, which will serve as headquarters for the Council which will serve as headquarters for the Council, which is meeting simultaneously with the national party.

PUTS HEAT TO SOUTH

The announcement of this national backing by Negro Democrats for full recognition of southern members puts the proverbial heat behind the lily-white delegation from South Carolina. It also puts the party leaders on notice and perhaps gives more concern than the recent so-called southern revolt.

The Lighthouse & Informer

Clearly, the national party will have to run the risk of recognizing South Carolina's Progressive Democrats as part of South Carolina's seated delegates and irked segments in the South, or reject them and incur the displeasure of northern Negro delegates in important and decisive states.

Unless there is atonement and a backing down on one or both sides somebody is going to walk away from Philadelphia and take with them many sorely needed votes for the all-important November elections.

Columbia, S.C.

In 1944, Progressive Democrats went to the convention arguing that it was the obligation of the national party to amend its rules so as to make it impossible for units practicing racial discriminations on membership to be recognized. This is the basic contention again this year, but with more weight backing.

7-4-48

SOUTHERN STATES TO HELP

In addition to the powerful northern bloc behind them, the Progressive Democrats will have also the support of delegations from Arkansas, Alabama and possibly Georgia, though the last named hasn't yet committed itself. But since Negro Democrats in that state also belong to the national Council, it can be expected that Georgia will also line up with and behind the South Carolinians.

Sun.

Moreover, indictions were that key party members throughout the country were also behind Progressive Democrats this year and, a contingent of white Democrats in South Carolina who are opposed to the anti-Negro policy the state maintains, even after Negroes have legally achieved the right to party participation.

7-4-48

The Progressive Democrats will probably entrain for Philadelphia the latter part of the coming week. They will number 28 delegates and a few alternates. Final details for their trip were to be worked out during conference in Washington by this week-end.

Demo

The Walkout Now

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Sat. 7-16-48

Let there be no doubt of the depth and extent of Southern feelings on the civil and states' rights issues. Though only Mississippi and half of Alabama delegates actually walked out of the Democratic National Convention after adoption of the amended civil rights plank and failure to include a strong states' rights declaration, Southern delegates generally showed how strongly they opposed this outcome of the deliberations. They will not be readily reconciled.

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Many Southern Democrats will continue to support the Democratic Party, if only as the less unpalatable choice. But the Republicans seem likely to make substantial gains in this region. And the voting conceivably may be so close in the country as a whole that Southern states may have a decisive voice in the outcome.

* * *

If the final choice seemed to be between a Democratic victory with Truman and Barkley and a Republican victory with Dewey and Warren, practical political considerations and traditional sentiment still would keep many Southern Democrats within the party. But it is too early yet to judge what that prospect may

The News

Meanwhile, the projected convention of the walkout movement in Birmingham Saturday raises many questions. The candidates of such a group obviously would have no chance of election. These Democrats who are so much concerned about the civil and states' rights issues can find no comfort in Dewey. It is very doubtful that they will be able to swing behind them any large proportion of the regular Democratic organization leaders in other states of the South.

Just where the walkout will go, what it can accomplish, then, continues very hard to see.

Birmingham, Ala.

Yet Alabama Democrats, on the face of the present situation, have no way of casting effective votes for Truman, if they wish to do so. That is going to disturb many of our people. It may react sharply against the walkout movement. Doubtless efforts will be continued, however hopeless they may seem, to alter this situation. 7-16-48

'Rebel Yell' Walkout By South Reported

By JOHN B. HENRY

The Commercial Appeal

International News Service Writer

PHILADELPHIA, July 10.—Irate Dixie leaders Saturday night reportedly laid plans to proclaim the Southern States' Rights case on the Democratic Convention floor, then walk out amid Rebel yells and the strains of music from the era of the War Between the States.

International News Service learned that key men in the so-called Southern revolt feel that, as far as actual results in the convention are concerned, their cause is lost and their strategy must proceed accordingly.

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Governor Laney of Arkansas, chairman of the States' Rights group, told INS:

"I doubt if even adoption of our plank could stop the walkout. These folks won't vote for Harry Truman."

Memphis, Tenn.

Preliminary strategy is said to call for the States' Rights plank to be presented first to the party's Platform Committee, and then to be read from the convention floor as a means of "clearly stating the South's case."

Sun. 7-11-48

At this junction, according to these plans, the Arkansas delegation will lead the States Rights' "bolters" out of the Convention Hall. There appeared to be no ready estimate of how many state delegations would be ready to follow through in the walkout gesture.

See Adoption Of President's Rights Plank

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 7-11

Southerners Firm In Opposition To 10-Point Program

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—A variation of the issue that ripped the Democratic party 60 years ago and allowed the then new Republican party to capture the national election is the chief barrier to complete party harmony facing delegates to the 1948 convention that got underway here Monday.

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Sixty years ago the big question was slavery.

This year it's civil rights, specifically the 10-point civil rights program outlined by President Truman in February of this year.

Issue Explosive

It advocates equal racial economic opportunity, federal legislation against poll tax and lynching, and the end of racial segregation in the armed forces.

Because of the explosive nature of the issue every effort is being made to reach agreement on the civil rights plank behind closed doors to preclude a fiery floor debate that might prove damaging to the party at the ballot box.

VOTE TO SECEDE

PHILADELPHIA—A rump convention in Birmingham, Ala., next Saturday was planned by delegates from eleven southern states who voted in a caucus here to bolt the Democratic party if President Truman is nominated.

Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida declared he would seek the presidential nomination.

Democratic chieftains, however, declared President Truman would not be stopped by the threatened secession of the Dixie rebels.

Russell Nominated After Southern Revolt

Daily World

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(Special To The World)

PHILADELPHIA — (SNS) — Georgia's delegation to the Democratic Convention here last night prolonged its (Civil War) fight against President Truman's Civil Rights proposals by nominating as a candidate for the presidency, Senator Richard B. Russell.

Atlanta, Ga.

The nomination of Sen. Russell by Charles Bloch, of Macon, came after the Alabama and Mississippi delegation walked out of the convention hall in heated resentment, resolving steadfastly that they would have no part of the Civil Rights resolution passed by a majority of the delegates earlier in the afternoon.

Thurs. 7-15-48

Mr. Bloch's nomination of the Senator appeared more as an inflamatory denouncement of the party's espousal of Civil Rights rather than a nominating speech. His reference to the Senator's qualifications were far and few in between his haranguing against proposals of civil liberties.

MAKES WARNING

"The Democrats can no longer take the South for granted," the speaker warned. He claimed that the party cannot elect a president without the Southern vote. "You shall not crucify the South on the cross of Civil Rights," the speaker went on to say. "We do not propose to return to the Era of Reconstruction."

Thurs. 7-15-48

As if by mere chance, the speaker did cite briefly why he thought Sen. Russell should carry the majority of the convention votes. He termed the Senator an outspoken opposer to Civil Rights legislation.

During the mass demonstration which followed Russell's nomination, other Southern states were seen to join the Georgia delegation, but the hand writing was clearly visible that in the end Georgia would find few states willing to stand pat on Sen. Russell's nomination over and against the Truman bandwagon expected to rally later.

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Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

When the Alabama delegation walked out, alternate delegates replaced them, pledging their support to the Georgia nomination.

Thurs. 7-15-48

N. J. Delegation Backs Plank on Full Civil Rights

New York Herald-Tribune

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Thu. 7-15-48

State Banner Leads Way for Demonstration After Speech by Humphrey

PHILADELPHIA, July 14 (AP).—New Jersey Democrats today threw their thirty-six convention votes enthusiastically in favor of a broadened civil rights plank in the party platform and helped push it to victory.

Archibald S. Alexander, chairman of the delegation, who has often expressed himself strongly in favor of full civil rights, said he and the delegation were "tickled pink" with its approval and inclusion in the national party platform.

The New Jersey banner was hoisted high by Mr. Alexander when the report spelling out President Truman's civil rights program was introduced.

At the conclusion of a speech by Minneapolis' Mayor Hubert Humphrey presenting the report, fifty-eight-year-old delegate Joseph T. Conroy, of Elizabeth, snatched the New Jersey signpost from its socket and advanced to the platform—first of the demonstrators to pluge the sign into the air before the rostrum. Other states' banners joined.

"He was a real hero," Mayor Frank H. Eggers of Jersey City commented.

One of his Union County associates remarked that Mr. Conroy, a former postman, "was a good man to walk around—he's had experience."

It was pointed out by Mayor Eggers that as the total vote count was 651½ to 582½ and New Jersey's thirty-six votes—if cast for the other side—would have defeated the report. A majority of 618 votes is needed to carry a motion.

Thu. 7-15-48

On the rollcall for the Texas "states' rights" minority report, Mr. Alexander announced: "Mr. Chairman, New Jersey casts thirty-six votes nay."

Earlier in the day, the delegation formally approved its choice of the Truman-Barkley ticket.

Placards with President Truman's picture were distributed to the delegation in the afternoon in preparation for the night demonstration after the nominating speech.

Floor Fight Set On President's Right Plan

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Mon. 7-12-48

WalkoutLooms

Ritchie Asserts Slap At South Too Dangerous

By FRANCIS M. LEMAY

PHILADELPHIA —(AP)— Platform committee supporters of President Truman's civil rights program decided at a "rump" session Sunday to carry their fight to the convention floor. Many Dixie delegates promptly threatened to walk out of the convention if they succeed.

The Democrats' fight over the race issue boiled up to the point where Southerners, if they take a walk, may nominate their own candidate for president and write their own platform at a later convention down South.

Substitute Plank

Rep. Celler of New York announced that "a rump meeting of liberals" from the platform writing subcommittee had organized to present a substitute civil rights plank to the convention if the committee does not present language backing Mr. Truman's program. The Truman proposals call for anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, fair employment and "anti-discrimination" legislation.

Among those attending the meeting, Celler said, were himself, Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey, Jr., of Minneapolis, Mrs. Esther Murray of California, William Ritchie of Nebraska and former Senator Hugh B. Mitchell of Washington — all platform committee members.

Celler said the "rump meeting" also discussed platform planks that would call for repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor law, federal aid to education, a federal housing program, and a revision of the arms embargo to permit shipment of arms to the new state of Israel. Mon. 7-12-48

New Deal

Senator Myers of Pennsylvania, platform chairman, told a news conference "I think the platform will follow generally in outline the philosophy of the New Deal and the Roosevelt program and the Truman program." Montgomery, Ala.

He said it in general would advocate what Mr. Truman has advocated in his messages to Congress, but he declined to say how specific it will get on civil rights. Mon. 7-12-48

Myers told the reporters he had not heard of the rump meeting and said "there has nothing happened so far that would justify a rump session."

Celler had complained that all the members of the 108-member platform committee, except the five-member writing group, are "being kept in the dark" on what is going on. Myers said the small group is only getting some words together for the larger group to work on and revamp as it sees fit.

He said the drafting group which labored nearly all night probably would work througout Sunday night in an effort to produce a preliminary document by Monday.

When reporters asked if Mr. Truman had submitted platform suggestions in writing, Myers said "I'm getting suggestions from everywhere." He said he had talked with Clark Clifford, White House counsel.

While the party rift on civil right appeared to be widening, the element of compromise still showed itself.

Avoid Slap

Ritchie of Nebraska told reporters he attended the "rump" meeting but "I did not go so far as the others in insisting upon the details of the President's civil rights program. I told them that we cannot slap the South in the face." The Advertiser

The Nebraskan said the group was in unison in urging a plank to permit arms shipments to Israel. Montgomery, Ala.

The outlook for a slam-bang convention floor flight widened Sunday as Dan Moody, former Texas governor and a platform committee member, issued a statement declaring "so-called civil rights" advocates aim "to take the South through a new reconstruction era—this time by federal law rather than federal bayonets." Mon. 7-12-48

Meanwhile, some of the five-member platform-writing group despaired of harmony efforts as they returned to a secret huddle after working until 3:30 this morning.

1944 Plank

One source said the group tentatively had approved a restatement of the 1944 racial plank that recognized that "racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our constitution."

This may be accompanied by a declaration against federal interference with states' rights.

Some Southerners regarded the 1944 plank as too strong.

On the other hand, mayor Hubert H. Humphrey, Jr., of Minneapolis, a platform committee member, laid down a direct threat of a convention floor battle if the party's document of principles fails to come up with a strong stand for the basic points in Truman's civil rights program. Mon.

The 1944 plank was too weak, Humphrey said. 7-12-48

It was the President's civil rights message to congress—calling for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, fair employment and "anti-discrimination" legislation—that caused the intra-party rebellion in the South.

BATTLE TO FLARE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The Times-Picayune

Backers to Take Fight to Convention Floor

Times-Picayune

(The Associated Press)

Philadelphia, July 11.—Platform committee supporters of President Truman's civil rights program decided at a "rump" session today to carry their fight to the convention floor. Many Dixie delegates promptly threatened to walk out of the convention if they succeed. New Orleans, La.

The Democrats' fight over the race issue boiled up to the point where Southerners, if they take a walk, may nominate their own candidate for president and write their own platform at a later convention down South.

Rep. Cellar of New York announced that "a rump meeting of liberals" from the platform writing subcommittee had organized to present a substitute civil rights plank to the convention if the committee does not present language backing Mr. Truman's program. The Truman proposals call for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, fair employment and "anti-discrimination" legislation. Mon

Taft-Hartley Repeal Topic

Among those attending the meeting, Cellar said, were himself, Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey, Jr., of Minneapolis, Mrs. Esther Murray of California, William Ritchie of Nebraska and former Sen. Hugh B. Mitchell of Washington—all platform committee members. 7-12-48

Cellar said the "rump meeting" also discussed platform planks that would call for repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor law, federal aid to education, a federal housing program, and a revision of the arms embargo to permit shipment of arms to the new state of Israel.

Senators Myers of Pennsylvania, platform chairman, told a news conference "I think the platform will follow generally in outline the philosophy of the New Deal and the Roosevelt program and the Truman program."

He said it in general would advocate what Mr. Truman has advocated in his message to Congress, but he declined to say how specific it will get on civil rights.

Myers told the reporters he had not heard of the rump meeting and said "there has nothing happened so far that would justify a rump session."

Cellar Complains

Cellar had complained that all the members of the 108-member platform committee, except the five-member writing group, are "being kept in the dark" on what is going on. Myers said the small group is only getting some words together for the larger group to work on and revamp as it sees fit. The Times-Picayune

He said the drafting group which labored nearly all night probably would work throughout tonight in an effort to produce a preliminary document by tomorrow. New York, N.Y.

When reporters asked if Mr. Truman had submitted platform suggestions in writing, Myers said "I'm getting suggestions from everywhere." He said he had talked with Clark Clifford, White House counsel. Mon.

A CIO political action committee spokesman said delegates to the convention who are members of the CIO would support in the convention a move to substitute a strong civil rights plank, if such a plank is not presented by the platform committee. 7-12-48

Blast from Moody

The outlook for a slam-bang convention floor fight widened today as Dan Moody, former Texas governor and a platform committee member, issued a statement declaring "so-called civil rights" advocates aim "to take the South through a new Reconstruction era—this time by federal law rather than federal bayonets."

Meanwhile, some of the five-member platform-writing group despaired of harmony efforts as they returned to a secret huddle.

One source said the group tentatively had approved a restatement of the 1944 racial plank that recognized that "racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution." 7-12-48

This may be accompanied by a declaration against federal interference with states' rights.

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On the other hand, Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey, Jr., of Minneapolis, a platform committee member, laid down a direct threat of a convention floor battle if the party's document of principles fails to come up with a strong stand for the basic points in Truman's civil rights program.

Too Weak, Says Humphrey

The 1944 plank was too weak, Humphrey said.

Georgia's platform committee members were urged to present in the convention a substitute plank if the proposed civil rights declaration is unsatisfactory to the South. The Times-Picayune

Not all Southerners were unhappy, however, at the idea of adopting the 1944 civil rights plank. New Orleans, La.

George D. Key of Oklahoma City, member of the platform committee, predicted the 1944 language would be used again and added that he believes it would be satisfactory to the uninstructed Oklahoma delegation as well as to the similarly unbound Texas group. Mon.

Moody of Texas took a blast in his statement at "misguided people" who he said seek to return "reconstruction" to the South. He said the Negroes he knows down South are "not in sympathy with the program these so-called leaders are sponsoring."

Moody is the only Southerner on the five-member group now drawing the first draft of the platform. 7-12-48

"The issue of civil rights has been presented on the basis of conditions that do not exist," he said. "The people of the South are as much opposed to mob violence as the people of the North are opposed to riots and gang wars among rival criminal elements in the populous centers of the North and East.

"The only difference is that we in the South have been more effective in putting a stop to mob violence in the South than our equally well intentioned good citizens of the North have been in curbing gang violence there."

Here's Text On Minority Plank

PHILADELPHIA, July 15—(AP)—The text of a minority plank on states' rights which was defeated yesterday after debate by former Govs. Dan Moody, of Texas; Chauncey Sparks, of Alabama, and Sen. Clyde Hoey, of North Carolina:

Birmingham, Ala.

"The Democratic Party stands for the principle that the constitution contemplated and established an indestructible union of sovereign states and that the general federal government and the several states under the constitution have their separate fields of power and permitted activities.

"Traditionally it has been, and remains, a part of the faith of the Democratic Party that the Federal government shall not encroach upon the reserved powers of the states by the centralization of government or otherwise.

"Firmly embedded in the American ideal of government is the principle of equal rights to all persons regardless of race or creed, and the Democratic Party repeats its adherence to this principle. Within the limitations imposed by the 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution upon their powers, the states have the right to control their internal affairs and enforce police regulations." 7-15-48

THE TEXT OF a second minority plank on states' rights, filed by Cecil Sims, delegate from Nashville, Tenn.:

"The Democratic Party reaffirms its complete adherence to the fundamental principle of states' rights as reserved in the federal constitution and pledges that it will oppose any attempt, by legislation or otherwise, to invade the exclusive jurisdiction of the states in their domestic affairs." Birmingham

South Defeated On Civil Platform Indorses Truman

Courier-Journal. Louisville

Thu. 7-15-48

States'-Rights Proposal Beaten

By the Associated Press.

Philadelphia, July 14.—The South went down in overwhelming defeat on the racial issue today. The Democratic convention rejected its States'-rights plank and then slapped into the party platform an indorsement of President Truman's civil-rights stand.

Alabama delegates frantically waved their State flag, seeking recognition to announce that 13 of the 26 were ready to walk out of the convention. But the shouting delegates recessed before the Alabamans could be heard.

The crucial convention action came in the face of a solemn warning from one Dixie spokesman that it would mean destruction of the Democratic Party in the South.

Separate Convention Planned.

Some Southern delegates quickly made plans to call a separate convention, nominate their own candidate for President, and write their own platform.

The history-making political development, that may determine whether Democrats will be one party or two, rocked the convention just before a majority of delegates shouted approval of 5,000-word, 1948 "Roosevelt-Truman" platform.

First the convention refused, 925 to 309, to put a States-rights plank in the platform. This plank, offered by former Governor Dan Moody of Texas, would have declared that States have the right to run their own internal affairs and police powers. Thus the South had sought, while joining in support of a general civil-rights plank, to have the convention declare that the States have jurisdiction over the legal processes governing those rights.

Plank Is Strengthened.

(It was President Truman's civil-rights proposal—for antilynch, antipoll tax, antidiscrimination and fair-employment-practices legislation—that split the party early this year.)

Then, to rub it in, the convention adopted an amendment to the platform sponsored by Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis and former Representative Andrew Biemiller of Wisconsin, indorsing the President's civil-rights stand. The vote was 651½ to [illegible].

The amended and strengthened

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The platform's text is on Page 4

civil-rights plank, as finally approved, declares:

"The Democratic Party is responsible for the great civil-rights gains made in recent years in eliminating unfair and illegal discrimination based on race, creed or color.

7-15-48

"The Democratic Party commits itself to continuing its efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination.

Truman Is Commended.

"We again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution.

"We highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights.

"We call upon the Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental American principles—the right to full and equal political participation; the right to equal opportunity of employment; the right of security of person, and the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation."

Representative John Bell Williams, Mississippi delegate, issued a statement saying, "It drives a knife into the heart of the party and reads the South out of the party."

Chairman James S. Peters of the Georgia delegation said, "It is even more than the well-known Truman civil-rights program."

Former Governor Maurice Tobin of Massachusetts was one of those speaking against the States'-rights plank.

The deep South and Texas stood solid for States' rights, but the border states—including Maryland, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Oklahoma—opposed it. Dixie got only a scattering of votes outside its boundaries.

Boos and Cheers Heard.

The South was overwhelmed by the votes from heavily populated Northern states.

Voting came after resounding debate, punctuated by cheers, catcalls, and boos.

Mayor Humphrey shouted to the convention that the words, "All men are equal," in the declaration of Independence mean equality without regard to race. He demanded a "new emancipation proclamation" with a party declaration on "human rights" instead of States' rights.

Texas' Moody, author of the states'-rights proposal, strode to the microphone and told the convention he never had bolted a Democratic convention and "I never will." He said he did not want to deny anybody the rights guaranteed by the Constitution—but he wanted the States to have their guaranteed rights, too.

Courier Journal Louisville Ky.

Warns of Party Breakup.

Cecil Sims of Tennessee offered another states'-rights proposal, but it was shouted down. While some Southerners talked of walking out, Sims said, "We came here as Democrats and we expect to leave as Democrats." But he declared, "If we are defeated, then I say to you here today that you are witnessing the dissolution of the Democratic Party in the South."

Thu. 7-15-48

Southerners pleaded in the name of Thomas Jefferson for approval of the states'-rights plank.

Thu. 7-15-48

The 1948 Democratic platform echoes Truman's bitter attacks on the Republican-controlled 80th Congress, blaming it for most of the nation's ills at home and abroad.

Would Curb Inflation.

Along with its politically sizzling racial plank, the platform calls for many far-reaching policies to meet the challenge of the G.O.P. Dewey-Warren ticket. It calls for:

Courier Journal

1. A curb on the "Republican inflation" by adopting Truman's program to manage living costs with limited price controls and rationing, if necessary.

2. Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act and a boost in the legal minimum wage for labor from the present 40 cents an hour to 75 cents.

Louisville Ky.

3. A "continuing" vigorous international policy; an international police force for the United Nations; curtailment of the U.N. veto; all-out "humanitarian" financial support for the Marshall plan for European recovery.

4. Action against communism; the maintenance of an Army, Navy, and Air Force strong enough to defend America under all circumstances; effective international control of the atom bomb.

5. Revision of the arms embargo to permit shipment of war materials to the new State of Israel.

6. World press freedom as the "foundation on which freedom can exist in every nation."

Here's Vote On Proposal For States'-Rights Plank

Philadelphia, July 14 (AP)—Here is how the delegations voted on a Southern proposal to include in the Democratic platform a States'-rights plank (an "aye" vote is for the plank, a "no" vote against it):

Alabama—26 ayes.
Arizona—12 noes.
Arkansas—22 ayes.
California—1½ ayes, 52½ noes.
Colorado—3 ayes, 9 noes.
Connecticut—20 noes.
Delaware—10 noes.
Florida—20 ayes.
Georgia—28 ayes.
Idaho—12 noes.
Illinois—60 noes.
Indiana—26 noes.
Iowa—20 noes.
Kansas—20 noes.
Kentucky—26 noes.
Louisiana—24 ayes.
Maine—10 noes.
Maryland—20 noes.
Massachusetts—36 noes.
Michigan—42 noes.
Minnesota—26 noes.
Mississippi—22 ayes.
Missouri—34 noes.
Montana—12 noes.
Nebraska—12 noes.
Nevada—10 noes.
New Hampshire—12 noes.
New Jersey—36 noes.
New Mexico—12 noes.
New York—98 noes.
North Carolina—32 ayes.
North Dakota—8 noes.
Ohio—50 noes.
Oklahoma—24 noes.
Oregon—3 ayes, 13 noes.
Pennsylvania—74 noes.
Rhode Island—12 noes.
South Carolina—20 ayes.
South Dakota—8 noes.
Tennessee—28 ayes.
Texas—50 ayes.
Utah—12 noes.
Vermont—6 noes.
Virginia—26 ayes.
Washington—20 noes.
West Virginia—20 noes.
Wisconsin—24 noes.
Wyoming—3 ayes, 3 noes.
District of Columbia—6 noes.
Hawaii—6 noes.
Puerto Rico—6 noes.
Canal Zone—2 noes.
Virgin Islands—2 noes.

Totals—Ayes 925; Noes 309.

How Convention Voted On Civil-Rights Plank

Philadelphia, July 14 (U.P.)—Following is the roll call on the Biemiller proposal for a stronger civil-rights plank in the Democratic platform. "Aye" votes are votes for approval of the plank:

Alabama—26 noes.
Arizona—12 noes.
Arkansas—22 noes.
California—53 ayes; 1 no.
Colorado—10 ayes; 2 noes.
Connecticut—20 ayes.
Delaware—10 noes.
Florida—20 noes.
Georgia—28 noes.
Idaho—12 noes.
Illinois—60 ayes.
Indiana—17 ayes; 9 noes.
Iowa—18 ayes; 2 noes.
Kansas—16 ayes.
Kentucky—26 noes.
Louisiana—24 noes.
Maine—7 noes; 3 ayes.
Maryland—20 noes.
Massachusetts—36 ayes.
Michigan—42 ayes.
Minnesota—26 ayes.
Mississippi—22 noes.
Missouri—34 noes.
Montana—1½ ayes; 10½ noes.
Nebraska—3 ayes; 9 noes.
Nevada—10 noes.
New Hampshire—11 noes; 1 aye.
New Jersey—36 ayes.
New Mexico—12 noes.
New York—98 ayes.
North Carolina—32 noes.
North Dakota—8 noes.
Ohio—39 ayes; 11 noes.
Oklahoma—24 noes.
Oregon (After Poll)—7 ayes; 9 noes.
Pennsylvania—74 ayes.
Rhode Island—12 noes.
South Carolina—20 noes.
South Dakota—8 ayes.
Tennessee—28 noes.
Texas—50 noes.
Utah—12 noes.
Vermont—6 ayes.
Virginia—26 noes.
Washington—20 ayes.
West Virginia—7 ayes; 13 noes.
Wisconsin—24 ayes.
Wyoming—4 ayes; 2 noes.
Alaska—2 ayes; 4 noes.
District of Columbia—6 ayes.
Hawaii—6 ayes.
Puerto Rico—6 ayes.
Canal Zone—2 noes.
Virgin Islands—2 ayes.

Totals—Ayes 651½; noes 582½.

Rankin Implies Party Harmony On Civil Rights

Herald Tribune New York N.Y.

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Thurs. 6-24-48

Says After Seeing Truman Democrats' 1944 Plank Would Satisfy the South

By Robert J. Donovan

WASHINGTON, June 22.—A clew as to how the Democratic National Convention may try to soften the friction over President Truman's civil rights program emerged Tuesday from a meeting between the President and Representative John E. Rankin, Democrat, of Mississippi.

The clew, was supplied by Mr. Rankin, who, in a statement prepared after he left the White House, said: "If that convention adopts the same plank on this question that was inserted in the platform of 1944, I am assured that it will be adhered to."

When Mr. Rankin was asked, "adhered to by whom?" he said that the statement would have to speak for itself. One plausible interpretation was that the 1944 civil rights plank, if reiterated, would be acceptable and "adhered to" by Southern Democrats who since last winter have been threatening a revolt against Mr. Truman over the issue.

As a result of this dissension in the South, it has been generally believed that the handling of the civil rights plank would be one of the toughest and potentially most explosive problems at the Democratic convention, which opens July 12 in Philadelphia.

Thurs.

Mr. Rankin has been one of the bitterest foes of the President's program, but after leaving the White House Tuesday he said: "I am not without hope that the Democratic convention will reach a satisfactory agreement on the civil rights issue."

Herald Tribune

He said that if the convention re-adopts the 1944 plank "it would be far less offensive to the people of the South than the plank on this subject inserted in the Republican platform of 1944 and which I understand is being inserted in its platform at Philadelphia now."

The Democratic platform of 1944, after asserting that mankind believes in the "four freedoms" and that the Democratic party believes that the nation with the greatest measure of social justice is capable of the greatest achievement, aid: "We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full Constitutional powers to protect those rights."

The 1944 plank was thus phrased in general terms, whereas the President's program is specific and includes such proposals as anti-poll tax legislation, anti-lynching legislation, anti-Jim Crow legislation and other measures to bar discrimination.

The 1944 Republican platform specifically favored anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation and a fair employment practices commission and pledged a Congressional investigation into segregation of Negroes in the armed forces. Mr. Rankin said Tuesday that insertion of the civil rights program in the 1948 Republican platform "must be a disappointment to decent Republicans throughout the nation."

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
7-15-48

As We See It

What The CIO's Policies Mean To The Negro People

By Abner W. Berry

SOMEWHERE on the floor of the Democratic Convention near the Alabama standard sits a man named Eugene Connor. From his post as Public Safety Commissioner of Birmingham, Connor helps direct the white supremacy campaign throughout the state. In Birmingham the Safety Commissioner has charge of the police force, a fact which makes Connor's activity in behalf of white supremacy more effective—he can enforce his undemocratic beliefs. For the past few months his cops have maintained a death-to-Negroes average of about one-a-week, a gruesome detail which the Democratic convention is not likely to discuss.

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Like the other seven delegates-at-large from Alabama, Connor won his seat with the slogan "Safeguard Segregation!" The ballot on which he ran has a picture of a Plymouth chicken at the top. Above the chicken are the words: "For the Right." Directly below the chicken are the words: "White Supremacy." I leave it to the readers to figure out the logic and sanity of this trademark used by one of our great sovereign states.

•

The platform committee of the Democratic convention has already indicated its readiness to appease those in the convention who, like Connor, have the blood of Negroes on their hands. The Honorable John W. McCormack, Democrat of old Abolitionist Massachusetts, in a radio interview, said he thought the South would continue to be loyal and follow the platform and candidates of the party. 7-15-48

This utter lack of principle, decency and elementary humanism on the part of capitalist politicians—both Democratic and Republican—betrays the dry rot in our leading political institutions that is an ingredient of fascism. In a bid for power so-called Democrats are willing to shake the bloody hand of a Connor and sell out democracy and the rights of 14,000,000 Negroes for his vote. Even more—Democrats like Sen. J. Howard McGrath, who heads the Democratic National Committee, and Republicans like Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York are willing to grant the killers federal immunity through the device of states' rights.

It is the same moral bankruptcy which is exposed in the Democratic and Republican unity on foreign policy. They allow themselves the privilege of exercising their predatory instincts against each other for the right to rob America. But in order to be able to gobble up great hunks of the global wealth, applying their Jim-crow system throughout, they must unite against the peoples of the world.

7-15-48

EUGENE CONNOR is a part of this global struggle, although he may not be aware of its full implications as he sits and sweats under the glaring kleig lights in Convention Hall. He has contributed his share to its success. But, whereas Connor may not be aware of his complete role, the same cannot be said of labor leaders like CIO President Philip Murray and Emil Rieve, head of the CIO Textile Workers.

Murray may not know Connor, but they stand strangely on a similar platform. Connor is anti-Truman. He is for the Marshall Plan. He hates the "reds" in a way that makes Murray's anti-Communism no more virile than a Churchillian rebuke of Bevin. Although Murray may not know Connor, he nevertheless bears a responsibility for him. Murray's Alabama man, Carey Haigler, head of the State CIO Council, saw to it that no fight was put up against Connor and his white supremacy associates. Haigler, last April, pushed through a CIO endorsement of Connor's Senatorial candidate, John J. Sparkman. Another Murray man, Ben Gage, head of the Jefferson County (Birmingham) CIO Council, is a crony of Connor's. Both of these CIO officials are members of Murray's Steel Workers Union.

7-15-48

IT IS REPORTED from Philadelphia that the 75 CIO delegates are in a gloomy mood as they view the election prospects. But Jack Kroll, national CIO Political Action Committee head, should know that in Birmingham, Ala., the local PAC has done next to nothing to get the Negro vote registered. The fight of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against the Boswell Amendment has go on unsupported by the CIO-PAC headed by an official from Muray's union.

Murray's underlings in Alabama could act without fear of being called to account by their chief because they were holding the Marshall Plan, anti-Communist line. It is known that there is great sympathy among the Alabama Negroes for the Wallace movement. It is equally certain that they weren't any too hot for the Marshall Plan. The NAACP was called "Communist" by Connor. The Southern Negro Youth Congress was called the same. How, then, could Murray's men fight for civil rights for groups so designated? Of course not!

Under cover of this red-baiting barrage the KKK is growing as a threat to labor and the Negro people. The **Alabama Magazine**, mouthpiece of Big Business in the state, announced uncritically in a recent issue that there were 8,000 Klan members there.

Behind the gloom of CIO men at the Democratic National Convention are acts by labor men which bear examination and open discussion. Connor, the leader of killer-cops in Birmingham, and the destroyers of democracy he represents, have nothing to be sorry for in the pro-Marshall Plan, anti-Wallace, anti-Communist position of CIO leaders. But

to the membership who built the organization it is time to ask for an about-face from certain disaster.

Walkout Protests Civil Rights Plank

New York Star—New York, N.Y.

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7-15-48

Platform Lists Minority Rights

By Alexander H. Uhl
STAR Convention Bureau

CONVENTION HALL, Philadelphia, July 14—The Democratic National Convention late today dramatically amended its official platform to salute President Truman for his courageous stand on civil rights and to spell out four basic rights for minorities:

¶ The right of full and equal political participation.

¶ The right to equal opportunity of employment.

¶ The right to security of person.

¶ The right to equal participation in the service and defense of our nation. 7-15-48

The vote was 651½ for strengthening the civil rights plank and 582½ against it.

Committee Defeated

It came despite efforts of the resolutions committee to have its milder civil liberties plank accepted and it came against the frantic efforts of some of the southern states to get adoption of a states' rights plank which, in effect, would have nullified the civil liberties stand of the party.

The southerners were overwhelmed on their amendment, 925 to 309. 7-15-48

The vote represented a sharp victory for northern liberals who had felt that the drafting committee plank was an advance over the 1944 plank, but that it did not spell out issues such as anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, FEPC and non-segregation in the armed services as specifically as they wanted.

Even as it was, the language finally approved by the full convention was circuitous, but there was little doubt in anyone's mind what was meant. At any rate the Southeenrrs had no doubt about its meaning and fought bitterly to the end.

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Fight Anticipated

For the first time the hot and sweat-lined faces of the delegates, tired after two days of oratory, lit up in anticipation of the coming struggle as Sen. Francis J. Myers, chairman of the resolutions committee, finished his reading of the platform and minority reports.

Former Gov. Dan Moody of Texas, in behalf of 15 southern delegates, demanded an amendment to the platform which would have assured the states the "power to regulate and control local affairs and act in the exercise of the police power." 7-15-48

Moody made a strictly constitutional appeal and got applause and some boos. It was his amendment, milder than three others presented by southerners, that represented the test vote on the strength of the South. But already it was clear that the South was licked.

Cecil Sims of Tennessee then presented a much stronger states rights plank which would have pledged the party to oppose any attempt, by legislation or otherwise, to invade the exclusive jurisdiction of the states in their domestic affairs." Sims said he entered the convention as a Democrat and would remain one and that the Tennessee delegation would accept the verdict of the convention. But, he added:

"Your votes will determine whether the Democratic party is to be destroyed. If we are defeated, then I say to you that we are witnessing the dissolution of the Democratic party in the South."

Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks and Walter Silvers of Mississippi, joined in the southern demands for states rights, but the convention by now was tensely waiting for the liberal position and when that came, burst into one of the liveliest demonstrations of the past two days.

It began when Andrew J. Biemiller, of Wisconsin, presented the amendment for the northern liberals. He got his first big break of applause and the first indication of how the convention felt when he read: 7-15-48

"We highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights."

But it was Mayor Hubert Humphrey, Jr., of Minneapolis, spokesman for Americans for Democratic Action and a member of the drafting committee, who sounded the liberal keynote. And he got a striking demonstration from the crowded convention hall.

"We must testify in our platform," he demanded, "that we will support a spelled-our program for civil liberties. It is time for the Democratic Party to get out of the saddle of states' rights and into the saddle for human rights. Now is the time for us to follow the cour-

ageous stand on this issue that has been taken by our president, Harry S. Truman."

Roll Call Vote

Whatever the personal feelings of the delegates toward the President, this appeal touched off a demonstration that lasted for more than 15 minutes. Northern states, including New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, Connecticut and New Jersey, shouted and cheered, paraded through the aisles, waved their banners and, with difficulty, finally were persuaded to come to order.

Shortly after, the vote began. On vote of the convention a roll call was held on the amendment by former Gov. Moody for a states rights' plank. It got support only from southern states with small and scattered backing from such states as Colorado and Wyoming. Alaska, which is seeking statehood,

split 3-to-3.

RALPH McGILL

Atlanta, Constitution

The South Must Understand---

Atlanta, Ga.

Fr. 7-16-48

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PHILADELPHIA—For a long time we had known that President Harry S. Truman was in the Convention Hall in Room 205 where an air-conditioned unit was at work. But when at last the weary, hot hours of convention were done; when Truman was nominated and Sen. Barkley, too, there was the drama of their appearance.

It was almost 3 o'clock in the morning.

An era had ended a few hours before. It is easy to say that phrase and sometimes it is said lightly, but this time there was little doubt about it. It was not so much that when the President did come there would be no one sitting in the rows of seats assigned to Mississippi. It was not that in the Alabama section half the seats were empty. Nor could one look out there and see the tired faces of the other Southern delegations and see that an era had ended.

But, it had.

Ultimatum The high-pitched angry voices had died out. The anger and the bitterness had been revealed and ignored. The South had not been read out of the party, but told in unmistakable words that they could stay or go, as they pleased. It was hoped they would stay, but if they wanted to go then they could go.

The East and West had joined to do that. When Mississippi's delegation had walked out none had called "come back." Instead there was loud and derisive booing and laughter. So it had been for the half of Alabama's delegation departure. There was apparent nowhere any regret or desire to appease the South. I say this thus coldly and plainly so that the South may understand and know it.

Atlanta, Ga.

Change What happened was that the industrial States of the nation, the big Eastern ones and those in the West, had taken over the Democratic Party and had begun to reshape it according to their own needs and desires. The Democratic Party of Wednesday morning was gone by Wednesday night.

But, on the surface, there was no sign of this as the big lights came on and the committee escorted the President of the United States and Sen. Alben Barkley, nominated to run with him, and their families to the platform.

For some unknown reason someone loosed a basket of pigeons. What the symbolism was none could explain. The poor, frightened, silly birds flew about the brilliantly lighted hall and dipped into the crowd where hands tried to catch them. It was a stupid thing to have done and for a time there the crowd was about to laugh itself into another mood.

Constitution

Greeting It had been asked that there be no long demonstrations, because of the lateness of the hour. But there was a good, sincere greeting for the nominees, although it did not have in it any of the deep, confident bellow that used to greet Franklin Roosevelt.

You got the feeling of the new era as the President talked. Looking at the tired, weary faces in the crowd, one found it a little difficult to realize it was 3 o'clock in the morning and that a President was speaking, saying he was going to call back a Republican Congress and ask it to go to work on its own party platform of promises.

You felt, too, the fact that a new era was at hand as the President accented the platform which called for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, and for legislation which ends for all times the theory of States' rights. Only the Supreme Court can determine how much of States' rights remains as it will test in the future laws which the Republicans will pass and which the Democrats will pass if they should, by some quirk of political fate, be retained in office.

Fri. 7-16-48

Future The Democratic Party of the future is going to be more unified than it ever was when it contained the conservative Southern leadership and policy, requiring some great personality to hold that force the big city masses together. It will be, within eight years or less, a unified party directed by the city masses of the East and those of the West. It is going to become an urban party and a party of the political left devoted to the policies such as this platform expresses. The thoughtful person will not fail to note what has happened in the rest of the world and will note that this follows the pattern.

All this will not happen at once, although much of it already has happened here in this steaming, bitter convention. The Democratic Party, the old jerry-built one of Southern conservatisms and big-city pressures, now is the party of the cities and of the industrial working masses. This may, eventually, be a good thing for the country to have a two-party system which is more clearly defined.

Out But, for the time being, the South must not fail to know that when the new leaders of the party in the East and West had to decide between their policies and the South, they let the South go coldly and without hesitation. How much of the South will be with the Democratic Party of four or eight years from now no one may say. Some of it will. The South, too, has cities and it will be well for the South to keep that in mind as it seeks to evaluate its political future.

It is not a time now for hot words. They were said here in plenty. It is a time for evaluation.

MATTER OF FACT

New York Herald Tribune

By JOSEPH and STEWART ALSOP

New York, N.Y., Thurs. 7-15-48

The Twilight of the Gods

PHILADELPHIA.

In the long run, the final, open split between the Northern and Southern Democrats is likely to prove a more important event of this convention than any mere nomination of candidates. The passage yesterday afternoon of the strong civil rights resolution of Mayor Hubert Humphreys of Minneapolis leaves a split far more embittered, far more difficult to heal, than the splits of the Northern and Southern Democrats of the '20s. Then the issues were merely rum and romanism. Now they are civil rights and social change.

The convention's action was, of course, the result of the mounting rage of the Northern Democrats against the Southern shouters for white supremacy. Some of these have gone so far, at this heartbreaking convention, that one began to expect the Mississippi delegation to propose repeal of the anti-slavery amendments of the constitution.

The general odor of the Southern bloc was not improved, either, by its almost equally impassioned advocacy of the Tidelands oil grab, no doubt not unconnected with the reported financing of the forthcoming Southern rump convention by the oil interests. In the passion of the moment, men more representative of the real South, like Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, were rendered powerless. And in the passion of the moment, the Northerners became infuriated with all Southernes and hit out with little regard for immediate consequences.

The background of this great event is dramatic. President Truman had desperately hoped to patch up a compromise. By his instruction, his few faithful henchmen like Senator J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, and Senator Francis Myers of Pennsylvania, tried frantically to pass the resolutions committee's weasel-worded civil rights plank.

But the plans of the insurrectionists had been well laid, mainly at a meeting of the Americans for Democratic Action, for whom this is a big score. John Shelley, of California, was prepared to lead his men in a march on the platform if convention chairman Sam Rayburn tried to gavel the rebels down. The A. D. A. had men in every Northern delegation, ready to demand delegation roll calls if delegates tried to go along with Truman. And the big city leaders—Ed Flynn, Paul Fitzpatrick, Ed Kelly, Jake Arvey, David Lawrence—formed part of the combination. They had the votes, and they won. 7-15-48

The melodrama is stirring. But the melodrama of the moment is less important than the great process of social change which has transformed the big city leaders of the North from rigid conservatives to progressives. The split in the Democratic party is so much deeper now, for a very simple reason. This vital change has already affected the North, while the Democratic party in the South has largely remained in the hands of the obligarchy which has always controlled it. Formerly planters, the leading oligarchs are now industrialists and bankers. 7-15-48

Different interests predominate in different states. Textile mill owners are strong in the Carolinas. The power people carry great weight in Georgia. In Mississippi the cozy relationship between Governor Fielding Wright and the Mississippi Power and Light Company is a beautiful example of mutual affection. And so it goes.

Meanwhile, although the oligarchy still rules, the same social change that has altered the Northern big city organizations has been going on more slowly in the South, as a result of diversification of agriculture and industrialization. The effects can already be seen in Congress. There are fewer and fewer moderate Southern conservatives in the great tradition of Senator Joseph T. Robinson and Secretary of State James F. Byrnes. There are more and more Southerners like Senators Hill and Sparkman and Representative Kefauver, who are strongly progressive on all questions but the race question. Unfortunately, there are also more and more Southerners of the type that used to be classically represented by Senator Theodore Bilbo.

The advent of social change has, in fact, rendered the position of the oligarchy insecure, as the emergence of the Hills, Sparkmans and Kefauvers suggests. Thus the oligarchys are being driven more and more to support Bilbo-like candidates (as big business is supporting the revolting Herman Talmadge) because these candidates insure the submergence of social issues in the race issue. This tactic hits, in turn, at the Hills, Sparkmans and Kefauvers, who, being civilized men, will not go to the extremes of the Bilbos.

In the end, one suspects that the old fashioned Southern conservatives of the Byrnes type will disappear. Where the oligarchy is defeated, there will be Southern leaders like Kefauver. And where the oligarchs triumphs, there will be such denials of all the guaranteed, constitutional rights and liberties as will confront the Federal government with a real problem of making the constitution stick. For the short run, it is not a happy prospect. 7-15-48

For the dong run, it must be added, the prospect makes the tactics of the Northernehs at this convention seem a little less politically unwise than President Truman, thinking of the campaign only, no doubt believes. The issues had to be faced sometime. It was probably just as well to face it now, whe nthere is almost

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No Veto For The South

The refusal again of the Democratic convention to revert to the old two-thirds rule for nominations was a disappointment, even though expected, to many Southerners. Had it been restored, the South, with just a little help from the outside, would have been able to exercise a veto over a simple majority action of the convention. It would have had more influence in opposing an undesirable candidate, as in the 1948 convention.

But the South had no hope of getting the two-thirds rule at this convention. The proceedings of the convention clearly have indicated that the North also has a grievance against the South. There appears to be some feeling that the course of some Southern states this year has blocked what little hopes the Democratic Party has of victory in 1948. Hence the rest of the delegates were in no mood to listen to the South in the matter of the two-thirds rule. The South's own course this year has made more remote the chances of its ever regaining the power it had under the two-thirds rule.

certainly going to be a epublican administration in Washington. Control of the Federal government by the epublicans ought to give the Southern progressives their chance, iw anything ever will.

UNITY TRENDS GAIN

The Times

President Accedes to the Voice of Convention on Second Place

New York, N.Y.

Wed. 7-14-48

HARMONY TALKS SPREAD

34d

Rayburn Assails Dewey and Wallace—Wind-Up Set Today by Continuous Sitting

Text of the speech by Representative Rayburn, page 8.

By W. H. LAWRENCE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, July 13—Pinning their November election hopes to a Truman-Barkley ticket, Democratic National Convention delegates heard more campaign oratory tonight while, offstage, efforts were undertaken to heal party wounds and reduce the intensity and scope of a Southern rebellion.

While delegates sweltered under the fierce television lights which sent the temperature in Convention Hall up close to 100 degrees, the party leadership set in motion a speed-up schedule to end the convention tomorrow night. The wind-up will include an acceptance speech by President Truman, who will fly here from Washington after he has been nominated on the first ballot.

Senator J. Howard McGrath, national chairman, formally announced that the convention would assemble at 11 A. M. tomorrow and remain in continuous session until it had adopted the platform, nominated the ticket, and head the two acceptance speeches.

Speed Program Is Cheered

The delegates cheered his desire to get the meeting over by tomorrow night.

The Times

With the White House's belated capitulation to the demonstrated preferences of the delegates for Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky as the Vice-Presidential nominee, the two remaining potention sources of friction lay in Southern efforts to restrict the civil rights platform pledge and to reinstate the two-thirds rule governing party nominations.

From the South came a display of party regularity tonight when Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas, former Speaker, took over as permanent chairman of the convention with a fierce attack on the Republican party and its ticket. He called Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York and Gov. Earl Warren of California "fronts" for a "party of privilege."

New York, N.Y.

He had sharp words, too, for the third-party movement of former Vice President Henry A. Wallace, whom he dubbed "the Pied Piper of Politburo."

Wed.

Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, came up at the first session of the day with one of the convention's best lines, a reference to Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, Speaker Joseph W. Martin Jr., Representative Charles Halleck of Indiana and Representative John Taber of New York as "the Feudal Four."

7-14-48

The resolutions committee, which expected to work far into the night at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, held the key to early adjournment and whether there would be a violent fight on the issue of race relations.

If the civil rights pledge is too strong for those who believe in poll taxes and "Jim Crow" laws they can be expected to run screaming to the floor waving the flag of "white supremacy." President Truman's lieutenants, however, cannot go too far in watering down the plank in the interests of party unity without risking serious counterattack by Northern Democrats. These Northerners do not expect the President to win, but they need the Negro vote to save their local tickets.

Some Trend Toward Unity

In other phases of party activity there were real signs that unity efforts were paying off. Some of them were:

Acceptance by President Truman of Senator Barkley as his running mate. The Kentuckian is popular with New Dealers and Conservatives, and, hailing from a "border" state, is well qualified to promote harmony between the North and South as "caretaker" of the possible minority party awaiting its chance to get back into the White House in 1952.

The withdrawal by Senator Claude Pepper of Florida of his candidacy for the presidential nomination. He had sought to be the beneficiary of delegate strength stirred up for Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and left leaderless when the Columbia University president flatly refused to run. He said that party unity had not developed behind him and "our continued efforts can only make a bad situation worse."

The Times

The announcement by Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas, the "states' rights" candidate for the presidential nomination. That he did not think there would be a Southern revolt against President Truman in the election. He conceded defeat by President Truman for the nomination here, estimating his own strength at 150 votes on the first ballot. Observers figured even that figure as high.

New York, N.Y.

James Roosevelt in Line

A harmony session between James Roosevelt, eldest son of the late President, and Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democratic chairman, Senator McGrath said that Mr. Roosevelt told him that, while he had made an honest fight against President Truman's nomination and lost, he now wanted to help the national ticket in his capacity as Democratic national committeeman from California. There will be more such "love feasts" in the days just ahead.

Wed.

Resisting the unity trends, however, was announcement that part of the Alabama delegation—probably 13 of its 26 members—were ready to bolt the convention as soon as the platform is adopted tomorrow. It will be interesting to see how many southerners follow them then, or after President Truman bowls over Governor Laney's candidacy on the first ballot.

7-14-48

Mississippi, South Carolina and Arkansas had been counted the best possibilities to walk out with the Alabama group, but Gov. Laney's announcement that he foresaw no Southern ticket, although still unwilling to vote for President Truman, cast doubt on whether the Nebraskans would join the convention defection.

It is confidently predicted that Florida, Georgia, Virginia, Texas, North Carolina, Louisiana and Tennessee will stick with the party and receive the rewards which go with party regularity.

3 Delegations Challenged

The right of the South Carolina, Virginia and Mississippi delegations to sit among regular Democrats in view of their anti-Truman position was challenged before the rules committee today. South Carolina and Virginia won handily in the test, but the margin to seat the Mississippi group, which proclaimed its continued unwillingness to vote for the nominee in November, was only 15 to 11. That fight was to be carried to the floor.

That the South's fight to reimpose the two-thirds rule can be no more than a losing gesture was clearly indicated in the Rules Committee when a motion to wipe out the majority rule was defeated 24 to 6. Southern members of the committee prepared a minority report.

7-14-48

Weeks, Eddens Change Minds About 'Walk'

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Thurs.

34d

McCorvey Refuses AFL Adbication Demand; Awaits Voters' Rule

4-22-48

The list of candidates for delegate to the Democratic National convention who have pledged to walk out if any part of the president's civil rights program is put in the party platform dwindled Wednesday when two Ninth District candidates backed up on previous statements.

In the meantime, State Democratic Executive Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, has begun circulating to State Democrats a list of candidates who have pledged not to stay at the convention if the civil rights program is put in the platform.

The Advertiser

Along with the list, which will be found on another page of The Advertiser, is McCorvey's explanation as to why Alabama Democrats sent to Philadelphia as delegates cannot stay in the convention if the civil rights program is included in the platform.

In a move that lessened the number of candidates pledged to bolt the convention, Frank L. Eddens, Jr., Birmingham, candidate from the Ninth District, announced he was withdrawing his pledge to quit the convention.

Eddens said he has written McCorvey: "I hereby retract my pledge to you."

Raymond Weeks, another Ninth District candidate from Birmingham who had previously signed the pledge, also modified his position.

Montgomery

"This idea of walking out seems to me too extreme at this time," Weeks said in a statement. "It's like striking at a ball before it is pitched.

Ala.

To Whip Rights

"We delegates in Alabama and all over the South are going to the national convention and whip any plan on 'civil rights,' including Mr. Truman. There won't be any need to walk out."

McCorvey announced last Saturday that 30 delegate candidates, including himself, have pledged themselves to the walkout. He said 24 were opposed and 30 uncommitted. He announced Tuesday he had inadvertently omitted the name of Tom C. King, Anniston, from the list of those pledging the walkout.

29 On List

Eddens and Weeks were included on that list. Their withdrawal would leave 29 names on the list of those signing the pledge.

Thurs 4-22-48

Included among those opposing the proposed walkout are U. S. Senator Lister Hill, Governor Folsom, former Governor Chauncey Sparks, State Attorney General Albert A. Carmichael and all the candidates for delegate from the Second Congressional District.

S. J. (Steve) Colpack, Bessemer, another candidate opposing the pledge, urged Tuesday that all such pledges be nullified. He wired McCorvey:

"Suggest you notify the press that you will release all candidates from pledges made to bolt the Democratic Party and admit your mistake in advocating bolting the South's party."

Meanwhile, McCorvey engaged in an exchange with the state federation of labor (AFL) over the proposed walkout.

Herald Tribune

South Beaten, 651½-582½, on Civil Rights

New York

Thu. 7-15-48

Committee Is Upset In Fight on Floor

34d

Plank Lauds Truman for Stand, Urges Poll-Tax, Anti-Lynch, F. E. P. C.

By Robert J. Donovan

PHILADELPHIA, July 14.—The Democratic National Convention, dealing a crushing defeat to the South, indorsed President Truman's civil-rights program today in a dramatic fight on the convention floor that led to the bolt of half of the Alabama delegation of twenty-six and all the twenty-two Mississippi delegates.

In another blow to the South the convention overwhelmingly defeated three Southern resolutions proposing a strong stand in support of states' rights. The South wanted this as protection against Federal interference in the handling of racial problems.

Smarting under this double humiliation, the Alabama and Mississippi delegates walked out of the convenion hall, followed by jeering and boos from the other Democrats.

Overrules Committee

In an action unprecedented in recent Democratic history, the convention overruled its resolutions committee and by a vote of 651½ to 582½ wrote into the 1948 platform a declaration praising President Truman for his "courageous" civil rights stand and calling on Congress to carry it out.

New York

In language which scarcely could have been more galling to southern delegations, the declaration said:

"We highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights.

"We call upon the Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental rights:

"1. The right of full and equal political participation.

"2. The right to equal opportunity of employment.

"3. The right of security of person.

"4. The right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation."

Reduced to legislative language these four points implied abolition of the poll tax, a fair employment practices bill, anti-lynching legis-

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Dixie Bloc Threatens Own Candidate in Fall Election

Times Picayune

Choice Likely Within 24 Hours, Says Alabaman

(The Associated Press)

Philadelphia, July 11.—A rebel band of Southern Democrats threatened tonight to run a candidate of their own in the November presidential election.

Shouting opposition to President Truman's civil rights program, the Southerners also called on the Democratic national convention to adopt a platform leaving civil rights legislation to the states.

Mon. 7-12-48

But their meeting broke up without naming any standard-bearer—either to oppose Mr. Truman for the Democratic nomination, as a protest gesture, or to run against the president, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Henry A. Wallace in November.

Marion Rushton, Democratic national committeeman from Alabama, said a committee now at work would pick a Dixie candidate within the next 24 or 36 hours.

Roosevelt Attends

And Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney told the Southerners they would be called together again before the convention opens at 10:30 a. m. (EST), tomorrow.

James Roosevelt, son of the late president and a leader in the California Democratic delegation, attended the meeting but took no active part. He said he was there "as an observer."

Roosevelt sat with Sen. Olin Johnston of South Carolina, leader in the recent anti-Truman drive.

Johnston, like Roosevelt, supported Gen. Dwight Eisenhower for the nomination until Eisenhower emphatically withdrew.

After tonight's session Gov. Laney told reporters that some of the Southern delegations "may walk out" when, as they and everyone else expects, President Truman is nominated. He said it is undecided whether the Arkansas delegation may or may not quit the convention.

Meeting in the Benjamin Franklin hotel, the Southerners responded with rebel yells of approval when Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina said they should unite behind a candidate of their own.

7-12-48

"We must defeat any man who has attempted to stab the South in the back as has Harry S. Truman," Thurmond told a protest meeting attended by about 400 persons in the Benjamin Franklin hotel.

7-12-48

Senator John McClellan of Arkansas said national convention delegates from at least 12 states south of the Mason-Dixon line were among those attending.

Dixie leaders conceded that Mr. Truman's first ballot nomination can not be prevented. But they went ahead with the meeting as a demonstration against the president's civil rights program.

Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas, presiding, said the caucus was called to "register our protests."

Amid cheers and stamping of feet, Laney declared:

"We are a states rights group.

"We do not come here with any abuse. We come regretting that such a meeting is necessary."

From somewhere in the crowd came the shout: "But it is necessary."

Charles Sheppard, an alternate delegate from Saint Augustine, Fla., told the caucus he was "in sympathy with everything Gov. Laney said."

Emmerich Secretary

J. O. Emmerich of Mississippi was elected secretary of the caucus.

The Southerners approved a resolution calling for a platform leaving enactment of any civil rights legislation to the states.

Specifically, it recommended the following plank:

"The Democratic party reaffirms and pledges strict adherence to those fundamental principles of constitutional government laid down by Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the party, private initiative.

"And the party declares that the several states shall exercise, free from federal interference or encroachment by legislation, directive or otherwise, all the rights and powers reserved to them by the constitution, among which is the power to provide by law for the qualifications of electors, conduct of elections, regulation of employment practices, segregation, and to define crimes committed within their borders and prescribe penalties therefor."

The resolution pledges Southern members of the platform committee to work for adoption of this plank by the committee itself.

7-12-48

If they should fail within the committee, the Southerners are directed to file a minority report bringing the dispute to the convention floor.

St. Louis Argus

Alabama, And Mississippi Delegates Revolt Over Support Given Liberal

Friday 7-14-48

Atty. George L. Vaughn Of St. Louis Starts 'Firework' In Appeal For Action Against Rebels

President Nominated On First Ballot

340

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., July 14 (Special)—The Southern anti-Truman and anti-civil rights fights were defeated in the Democratic National Convention, Tuesday and Wednesday. The stage was set for the historical victory of liberals over reactionaries by St. Louis' Atty. George L. Vaughn, veteran lawyer and party campaigner

The unsuccessful upheaval reached its climax when the Alabama and Mississippi delegation walked out at the start of the roll call of states for the nomination of the party's candidate for President of the United States.

Tuesday night Atty. Vaughn touched off the expected showdown struggle when he offered a recommendation that the Mississippi delegation be denied seating because of anti-Truman and anti-civil rights resolutions adopted at their state convention. He spoke for adoption of a report by a minority of the Credential Committee of which he was a member.

St. Louis

Not since the early post Civil War era, had a Negro ever faced a National Party Convention in the U. S. and attacked party leaders of a deep South State. It caught most of the delegates unaware and when he launched into his remarks, the convention was fired with excitement [illegible] as has seldom been rivaled. The situation grew tense as he went on as Chairman pounded with his gavel and appealed vociferously for order.

With force and power that raised with intensity as he progressed, Atty. Vaughn made a stand that will rank with that of great statesmen of history.

After presenting the findings of the committee and offering the recommendation, the speaker completed his ten-minute address with an appeal for upholding the principles of Democracy.

"Mr. Truman comes from my state. I know him quite well," said Atty. Vaughn. "In his civil rights program he has asked nothing but for what the Constitution of the United States provides."

St. Louis Argus

The speaker then cited applications from the Bill of Rights and the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments.

After the St. Louis alternate delegate's appeal, the house was in an uproar. When voting by a voice vote was possible, Senator Barkley recognized the opponents to the minority recommendation as victors.

Fri. 7-16-48

The repercussion of the fight hed started a spirited contention rolling among the liberal Truman supporters amandant throughout the remaining actions of the convention however. The efforts of the South to win a two-third majority vote for nomination of the party's presidential candidate failed.

In The Nation

Times

An Impression of Size by Contrast

New York N. Y.

By ARTHUR KROCK

PHILADELPHIA, July 12—President Truman, humiliated by many of the most important Democratic leaders and battered by Congressional majorities which included a large group of Democrats, is emerging at the national convention here as the only figure of continental size in his party.

In part this can be attributed to the fact that he is the President of the United States; and when delegates who are composed mainly of Federal officeholders and regular machine politicans assemble in one place, this fact seems larger and more compelling on action than when they are scattered and being played upon by local emotions. But the new measurement Mr. Truman has taken on here is even more the consequence of a comparison between him and his challengers.

Tues. 7-13-48

Ignoble Showing

That comparison in the President's favor began Saturday when Jake Arvey, the Chicago machine boss; Frank Hague, the Jersey City machine boss, and James Roosevelt, who aspires to the same hierarchy, began their attempt to neutralize the political effects on their local interests of their combination to reject Mr. Truman in the convention. In the effort to maintain their party machines and their appointees on the Federal payroll these politicians had risked the national Democratic prospect on the gamble that General Eisenhower did not really believe in the principles he asserted. Having lost, they were returning to the President's standard as their only hope, and they looked very ignoble while doing so.

Mr. Truman at once took on larger proportions in the party assemblage when the minuscule stature of this group was revealed. But a succeeding event made him look like a titan among pygmies. This was the press conference last night at which Senator Pepper of Florida announced he would oppose the President for the nomination, and added with as straight a face as he could manage that he has a very good chance of success.

The Pepper Faction

The only following this Senator can have is made up of irregulars affiliated with the Democratic party who did not venture to leave with Henry A. Wallace, but sympathize with his attack on the bipartisan foreign policy toward Soviet Russia and believe Mr. Pepper feels the same way. Add to these a handful of the Senator's henchmen in his own state, where he has distributed Federal patronage, and there is the Pepper faction in this convention.

7-13-48

There are very few delegates here who have any enthusiasm for the President as a candidate, and fewer who feel for him any personal devotion. But his course while the quarreling pack of politicians abandoned their own dogfights long enough to try to pull him down, and his calm and unshaken certainty that the attempt would end as it has ended, have won for him a considerable new measure of respect. If he decides to address the convention after he has been nominated this will be demonstrated, which did not seem likely until the tactics and type of his so-called "liberal" opposition were fully revealed.

Guilt by association is a verdict disputed in many quarters. But growth by contrast is more than an optical illusion in politics: it is first cousin to a fact.

The Southern opposition to Mr. Truman and to a platform based on his professions and his record has proved as futile as the self-designated "liberal" revolt. It is true that, if weasel vocabularies are inadequate to the task of making certain sections of the 1948 platform mean whatever the warring factions over "civil rights" and labor legislation choose to make them mean, there will be a platform battle on the floor and "walk-outs" on the part of two or three Southern delegations. Also, more than this number will never vote for Mr. Truman's Presidential nomination.

Tuesday

Dignity the Only Difference

But unless several of these delegations decline to make his choice unanimous, and unless more Southern states than Alabama cast the vote of their Presidential electors against Mr. Truman, this much-advertised revolt will retain only dignity to distinguish it from the shabby surrender of the Northern and Western bosses. The situation with respect to the Democratic organization of Virginia illustrates the strength of the national party symbol.

7-13-48

Virginia Democrats were the first to supply machinery to make the anti-Truman movement in the South effective in electoral terms. At the request of Governor Tuck, the Legislature provided a means whereby the Democratic candidates for elector, who were sure to be chosen, could cast their votes irrespective of whom the Democratic National Convention names as the standard-bearers of the party.

But, now that the test has come, the Virginia Democracy—like that of Texas, Georgia, North Carolina and other Southern states—(while its delegates here will vote against Mr. Truman and the probable platform) will set up no independent ticket in the Old Dominion. If the President should carry the state the Democratic electors will vote for him. And, by deciding not to walk out here in any circumstances, and thus to participate in the choice of national candidates, the state organization is bound to the regularity it legislated to evade.

Dixiecrats Looking To Wright, Laney

Birmingham News

Birmingham Ala.

May Lead Ticket For Southerners If Truman Gets Bid

Wed. 7-7-48

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright, or Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney was seen today as likely ticket leader of a Southern states' rights bid for the presidency, if President Truman is nominated by the Democratic National Convention.

Former Gov. Frank Dixon, member of the Southwide States' Rights Committee campaigning against Truman, said he believed either the Mississippi or Arkansas chief executive would be nominated for president at a separate Southern convention date set tentatively for July 17.

News

This prediction came as leaders of the last ditch stop-Truman movement sought desperately to block the expected first-ballot nomination of the president at Philadelphia next week.

B'ham, Ala

BUT INDICATIONS were that wind had been taken out of the sails of even the most hopeful "draft Eisenhower" plumpers by the general's statement he would not accept the nomination.

7-7-48

Gov. Wright, spearhead of the fight being waged on Truman and his "civil rights" program, said today at Jackson he would not heed a reissued call by James Roosevelt for a Philadelphia caucus Saturday night. The Mississippi executive, like Sen. Lister Hill, State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey and other Alabama party leaders, had received a telegram from Roosevelt expressing hope that Gen. Eisenhower might still accept nomination by the Democrats.

The Mississippi keynoter of the states-righters has not been among those booming Eisenhower for president. Reason he has not, Gov. Wright said, is because Eisenhower has not declared himself on states' rights and other principles for which the South is fighting.

Wed. 7-7-48

"Not knowing how Gen. Eisenhower stands on these principles, we would not participate in a caucus to draft him or any other man until his views are known to us (Mississippi delegates)," Wright said.

News, B'ham, Ala.

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REVOLTING SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS, under a plan of action adopted at the Jackson conference, contemplate holding a separate convention in Birmingham if either of two things happen at Philadelphia: Nomination of Truman or adoption of his "civil rights" measures.

They are hopeful the race equality proposals will be discarded, but they now have little hope of blocking Truman's nomination.

However, Roosevelt and a member of others, including Handy Ellis, McCorvey and Dixon, still think there is a chance to draft Gen. Eisenhower.

* * *

ELLIS, AT-LARGE DELEGATE, who has been picked to head Alabama's delegation, thinks the general might change his mind. Dixon says the war hero's statement has not changed the situation but rather "left a crack in the door."

McCorvey, one of the state's 11 anti-Truman pledged presidential elector nominees, has insisted all along that Eisenhower would accept the presidency, if the election were forced into the House of Representatives.

McCorvey's fellow townsman, Delegate John Mandeville, said he did not consider Eisenhower's statement as a positive refusal and believed the general yet might be drafted.

Sen. Hill said it appeared that Gen. Eisenhower "very definitely has taken himself out of the presidential picture." The senior senator, who has been among those plumping hardest to persuade Eisenhower to accept the nomination, said "We'll have to look elsewhere for a nominee."

Sen. Hill and Mandeville wired Roosevelt they would attend the Saturday night caucus.

Some think that if either Wright or Laney sehould be nominated to head a sperate Southern presidential ticket, the other likely would be chosen as running mate. Others mentioned include Virginia's Sen Byrd and South Carolina Gov Strom Thurmond.

The Southerners know they would have little chance, if any, of electing such a ticket. It would be principally a protest gesture.

In his telegram to Southern leaders, Roosevelt said Gen. Eisenhower might consider being a "national candidate," since his statement "clearly indicates he will not serve as a partisan president but will answer a call to national duty."

* * *

WITH REGARD TO THIS, Gov. Wright said:

"As a delegate to the national convention acting under instructions of the state of Mississippi, I will not cast my vote for any man as nominee for president until he has publicly taken a stand for states' rights.

"The fight made by the Southern states has been a fight for a principle—a principle in which we believe—and for constitutional government. We are not interested in personalities.

"Not knowing how Gen. Eisenhower stands on these principles, we would not participate in a caucus to draft him or any other man until his views are known to us."

The Mississippi governor said he would attend a caucus called by Gov. Laney, chairman of the States Rights Campaign Committee, to plan action of states' rights delegates. This huddle is set for 4 p.m. at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel. The Mississippi delegates are obligated by state convention resolution to withdraw if Truman is nominated or the convention fails to repudiate his "civil rights" program.

South Clings to Dead Past

Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Is it not funny we can see the mote in the other fellow's eye, overlooking the beam in our own optic? That's what it looked like from long range as we observed the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia last week.

Sat. 7-24-48

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The Southern delegates wanted to hark back to the two-thirds rule for no other purpose but to get control of the convention. The South has always believed in the rule of the minority. That is why it suppresses the Negro and allows the blacks no voice in government. If the two-third voting rule had been adopted as a rule of procedure in Philadelphia then a handful of Southerners could have controlled the selection of a president. Under such procedure all the South would have to secure would be one vote above one-third and it could tie up the convention and brow-beat the delegates until its choice was accepted.

In other words, the South wanted to be placed in a position where it could veto any legislation it did not like. Americans think it is wrong for Russians to veto legislation they do not approve, although the Russians are using a tool insisted upon by President Roosevelt and Churchill. If it is wrong in principle for the veto to be used in international parleys, why does not the same rule apply with equal moral force in national affairs? The South wanted the right to veto all discussion of civil rights, labor legislation, housing, and a half dozen other controverted subjects. There is after all nothing Democratic about the rule of the minority. The filibuster in the senate is often used by Southerners to effect the same end.

7-24-48

'Tis a long hark from the day when Negroes, likened to social lepers, sat behind a hog-wire screen in the Democratic National Convention in Houston, Texas, some twenty years ago, to the day when Attorney George Vaughn, of St. Louis, presented a resolution on the floor of the convention in Philadelphia which all but ousted the Mississippi delegation. That's progress in liberalism. The Mississippi delegation had already openly pledged itself not to be bound by the will of the majority. The attitude of the delegates was sound when they severely censured with their votes participants in the parley who showed open defiance to democratic procedure.

It was also stimulating and inspiring to note that when the vote came on the question of civil liberties, Oklahoma, along with Maryland, Kentucky and Delaware, broke away from traditional southern moorings. Oklahoma for the past twenty years has been leaning towards liberalism until today enacted statutes are all that stand between minority groups and full equality. It is not strange to see delegates attending a political convention from Oklahoma act as did the delegation headed by Governor Turner, from Oklahoma.

On the other hand, the presence of "Cucklebur" Bill Murray in Birmingham at the call of the Dixiecrats who oppos fair play and decent treatment to Negroes, is well understood. It was Murray, while governor, who drew an arbitrary line across Oklahoma City, dividing whites and blacks, and announced to assembled blacks, "I don't have the law but I have the power" to force acceptance of this order. This in essence is what state righters seek to inflict upon minority groups: force, power and violence unsupported by constitutional law. The fact that the revolting Southerners were presided over in Birmingham Saturday by "Bull" Conner, the vicious police court judge who sentenced and lectured Senator Glenn Taylor for attending a meeting in a Birmingham Negro church, shows that water seeks its level and that Oklahoma's former governor Bill Murray was Saturday in the right church and the right pew.

Sat. 7-24-48

Perhaps Alben Barkley, keynote speaker at the convention, delivered the most significant and forthright admonition when he warned the Southerners, "For what shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world and lose his own soul?" Barkley represents a large and growing number o Southerners who realize we have a "white," not "black" problem down in Dixie. Barkley knows the hypocritica South, in unholy desire to cling to the dead past, has crushed freedom and liberty, has uttered untruths about justice and has made a shambles of democracy. Senator Barkley knows that every evil has within itself the seeds of its own destruction, and the able Kentuckian sought to head off the evil consequences of the South's age-old folly.

But even the astute, beloved and understanding Barkley could not save the South. After centuries of loot and pillage of Negro rights, labor and human dignity, the South just as the Biblical and immoral Samson of old, unwilling to give us its accesses, lust and power, has reached up with its own strength to tear down the temple it builded. In the meeting at Birmingham last Saturday the South has stuck a dagger into the body of the Democratic party.

The Black Dispatch does not think the Democratic party will die resulting from the suicide pact in Birmingham Saturday. We would rather feel that the Saturday meeting purges the authentic Democratic organization of its Bilbos, Talmadges and Fielding Wrights. It means that the Democratic party will in finality become the truly liberal party in America and a two-party system will emerge down in Dixie where men may become politically free from the old ante-bellum traditions that have weighted down and well nigh ruined the Southland.

Negroes Help Open Demo Convention

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Black Dispatch

PHILADELPHIA. — (ANP)—Miss Carol Brice, luscious brown contralto, singing the Star Spangled Banner on Tuesday morning; the Rev. Marshall L. Shepard, pastor of Mt. Olivet Baptist church, delivering the morning prayers Wednesday, and Congressman William L. Dawson, active as assistant to the chairman, represented the outward and visible signs of Negro participation as the Democratic convention got down to business here, in Convention hall.

Less under the floodlights but in historic position was Mrs. Mildred Casey of Chicago, reputably the first Negro woman ever to be a full-fledge delegate at a national political convention.

Sat. 7/24/48

No complete list of delegates was available as the convention opened and it is not known how many Negroes are included. Noticed so far have been Andrew Bradley from Harrisburg, Pa., and Alexander Moorehead, chairman of the municipal council of St. Croix, Virgin islands, USA. The Virgin islands has four delegates.

A large number of local women have been serving as official hostesses.

Dixie States Set To Pick Truman Foe

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala

Caucus Scheduled Today To Name Candidate To Oppose President But Ranks Close

Sun. 7-11-48

Chief Executive Picks Up Still More Support; Running Mate In Dark

PHILADELPHIA—(AP)—Southern Democratic leaders laid tentative plans Saturday to nominate jointly an opponent to President Truman in the party's convention opening here Monday.

A committee was named to select a possible candidate to offer at a caucus of anti-Truman delegates today.

The Southerners, representing seven states, also named a committee to draft a states' rights plank to be offered if the majority report of the convention's platform committee does not suit them.

A third committee was named to draft plans for a possible southern Democratic convention at Birmingham.

States represented at the meeting were: Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas and Texas.

Named to look over the field of possible candidates upon whom Southerners might agree and directed to report to today's caucus were: Sun. 7-11-48

Governors Laney, of Arkansas; Thurmond, South Carolina; Wright, Mississippi and Tuck, Virginia, and Palmer Bradley, Texas; Frank Upchurch, Florida, and W. W. Wright, Mississippi.

Selected to seek drafting of a states' right plank agreeable to the South were: Walter Sellers, Mississippi; George Warren, South Carolina; J. M. Bonner. Alabama; W. H. Talbot, Louisiana; Miss Hortense K. Wells, Florida, and Senator McClellan (D), Arkansas.

Selected for arranging the possible Dixie convention at Birmingham were:

Governors Laney, Wright, Thurmond and Tuck, and Herman Pressler, Texas; G. W. Godwin, Mississippi; J. D. Emmerich, Mississippi; Robert Goodwin, Alabama, and C. E. Shepperd, Florida.

But the Democratic clans, after feuding fiercely for months, closed ranks almost solidly behind Harry Truman for President. The Advertiser

But they held the vice presidential contest wide open for the national convention beginning Monday and ending, it may be, as early as Wednesday.

First the running mate swing was toward Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois. Then it moved toward Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, and then toward Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming.

Douglas said in Oregon that he would not quit the bench for the vice presidential nomination.

But there wasn't any doubt about the presidential nominee. The Democrats are going to place in the willing hands of Mr. Truman the banner Franklin D. Roosevelt carried to four victories in a row. Montgomery

If any clinched was needed, the eldest son of the late F. D. R. supplied it. James Roosevelt announced Saturday night he was cancelling a caucus he had called with the idea of lining up power behind Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower for president. Ala.

Huddle Backs Truman

Up to that point, there had been some suggestions that the caucus might go on anyway, to look over other possibilities than the general. Eisenhower knocked the props from under the campaign for him with a statement Friday that he wouldn't accept the nomination under any terms. 7-11-48

A big huddle of midwesterners—from 13 states with around a fifth of the 1.234 convention votes — agreed unanimously to back Mr. Truman. Heads of 12 of the 13 farm belt delegations then voted also to push O'Mahoney for vice president. Iowa wouldn't go along with that.

O'Mahoney is the only vice presidential possibility out in the open. He has set up a campaign headquarters here. The Advertiser

But the talk for Douglas still was strong Saturday night. Chicago Democratic Chief Jacob M Arvey and Illinois State Chairman George D. Kells put in plugs for him. Kells said also, however that Lucas would be a fine compromise.

Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath said Douglas, who has disavowed any eagerness either for first or second place on the party ticket, had asked him months ago to try to prevent the justice's name from going into nomination for vice president

McGrath said he was keeping hands off any effort to boom Douglas. Montgomery, Ala.

Both McGrath and Leslie L. Biffle said so far as they knew, Mr. Truman had not decided whom he would prefer for a running mate. Sun. 7-11-48

Biffle is a close friend of the President and convention sergeant-at-arms.

"Personally," Biffle told a reporter, "I am for Senator Barkley of Kentucky. He would make a fine candidate. But that does not mean that the administration is supporting Barkley."

Fellow Missourian Lauds Him As 'Of The People'

The Advertiser

On First Ballot

Montgomery, Ala.

Arrives At Hall For Acceptance Speech

Thurs. 7-15-48

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL
And ED CREAGH

CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA—(AP)—The Democrats nominated Harry S. Truman for President Wednesday night on a strong civil rights platform that threatened a deep north-south split in the Democratic Party.

President Truman's nomination came on the first ballot. The national convention immediately nominating Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky for vice-president—its last order of business before closing down for good.

Mr. Truman arrived from Washington to address the convention in its final hours and to fire the Democrats first official campaign gun in the coming struggle against the Republican ticket of Governors Thomas E. Dewey and Earl Warren.

The harsh echoes of a north-south floor fight over party principles were still resounding when the delegates gave Mr. Truman the campaign banner last held aloft for them by the late Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, stepped out of the picture as the "white hope" of southern rebels against Mr. Truman for the nomination. The Southerners immediately began rounding up the votes for Senator Richard Russell of Georgia instead.

Mere Formality

But choice of the Truman-Barkley ticket was boiled down to mere formality by weeks of heated pre-convention battling and three days of meetings in this steaming hall.

On the showdown, there wasn't any substantial opposition left to letting President Truman have the No. 1 spot.

Big city delegations, which were beckoning to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower last week, long since had swung into line for Truman. The Advertiser

As for the Southerners, the question bothering party leaders was not in their revolt in this convention but what may come later—what may develop out of talk of bolting the party, or refusing to support the Democratic ticket. Montgomery, Ala.

Gov. Phil Donnelly of Missouri put Mr. Truman's name in nomination as "the man of the people." Just as he finished, the President arrived by special train from Washington to accept the nomination that was certain in spite of all the South could do.

And as for his running mate, the choice was Senator Alben Barkley from border-state Kentucky. Thurs.

Praises President

Donnelly praised his fellow Missourian as "soldier, patriot, and statesman," a man "whose splendid courage never faltered, in war or in peace, and who is today leading this nation to a new and greater destiny."

And then the Truman version of bedlam broke out in this vast, super-hot hall. It was bells, horns, whistles, a siren or two, band and organ, just plain hollering and whooping. 7-15-48

There had been one for Russell, too. Twenty minutes of it. The folks from Dixie struggled through the aisles, with Trumanites using huge pictures of their man as barricades.

And this is the convention the delegates and spectators had been calling dead and dreary.

At least in equipment, the Truman demonstrators outstripped the anti-Truman crowd. They trotted out a live donkey who blinked in bewilderment at an Indian doing a war dance.

Up the platform came a five-foot liberty bell of flowers, a gift of local florists to the chief executive.

The flower dealers weren't taking sides. They had given Republican Thomas E. Dewey an American flag just as big.

Hails Party's Frank Stand On The Issue

St. Louis Argus

Tells Of Close Vote On Miss.

Fri. 7-23-48

By Geo L. Vaughn

The National Democrat Convention at Philadelphia is now a matter of history—but what an item of history! From an ordinary, drab affair, the meeting suddenly developed into a dynamic, seething mass of delegates, yelling and gesticulating in their efforts to get a hearing on the vital issues stemming out of the question of civil rights. Until the presenting of the minority report of the Credentials Committee, the meeting had followed the usual lines of such gatherings, except that the statesman-like fighting speech of Senator Barkley, the temporary chairman, had inspired new hope in the hearts and minds of the delegates, and had challenged the Republicans in such a sharp and logical manner as to lay bare their shortcomings before the country.

From the beginning, it was apparent that certain followers of F. D. R., certain big city bosses who felt that the President had not consulted them as much as they liked, and the anti-civil rights block from the South had joined forces to defeat the nomination of President Truman as the standard bearer for 1948. But one by one the other two groups left the fight, leaving the Southerners alone to oppose the nomination of the President. In fact, after the fight over the seating of the Mississippi delegation had been waged, the so-called lieberals of the Roosevelt regime and the city bosses joined hands with the Truman following and helped to defeat the anti-Truman Southern block. This rapid switching of sides during a convention is unique not to say unprecedented.

Civil Rights Issue

But all of the controversies in the convention, whether the seating of the Missisippi delegation, the attempt to restore the two-thirds rule for nominations, the struggle to adopt a state's rights plank, or the substituting the minority report of the Platform Committee on civil rights for the majority report, stemmed out of the civil rights program of President Truman. It turned out that there was a mjority of the delegates present who were determined to spell out in no uncertain terms the measures which the President advocated in reference

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2 Dixie States Call for Ike

Star
New York, N.Y.

Democratic conventions in two Southern States yesterday called on Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower to become presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. Sun.

These were the first official steps in the renewed movement to draft Eisenhower and "dump" President Truman: 7-4-48

¶ The Virginia Democratic convention told its 26 delegates to work for Eisenhower's nomination and to oppose naming anyone proposing a Federal civil rights program.

¶ Georgia Democrats voted unanimously to call on Truman to step down and appealed to Gen. Eisenhower to run.

South Handed Double Blow At Convention

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Thurs. 7-15-48

It Slaps Down Proposal For States' Rights Plank, Okehs Civil Rights

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By FRANCIS M. LEMAY

CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA — (AP) — The Democratic National Convention handed the South a double-barreled defeat on the race issue Wednesday. It slapped down Dixie's states right plank and then amended the platform to stamp endorsement on President Truman's civil rights program.

The repercussions came loud and fast, as:

1. The Mississippi delegation and half of Alabama's 26 delegates stalked out of the convention—taking a walk.
2. Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas, bitter foe of Mr. Truman's civil rights program, withdrew as a Southern bloc's candidate for President, saying if nominated he could not run on the platform ratified Wednesday by a majority of the Philadelphia convention.

The crucial convention action on the race issue came in the face of a solemn warning from one Dixie spokesman that it would mean destruction of the Democratic Party in the South.

Bans States' Rights

First the convention refused, 925 to 309, to put a states' rights plank in the platform. This plank, offered by former Governor Dan Moody of Texas, would have declared that states have the right to run their own internal affairs and police powers. Thus the South had sought, while joining in support of a general civil rights plank, to have the convention declare that states have jurisdiction over the legal processes governing those rights.

Thurs.

Then, to rub it in, the convention adopted an amendment to the platform sponsored by Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis and former Rep. Andrew Biemiller of Wisconsin, endorsing the President's civil rights stand. The vote was 651 1-2 to 582 1-2.

The amended and strengthened civil rights plank, as finally approved, declares:

7-15-48

Here It Is

"The Democratic Party is responsible for the great civil rights gains made in recent years in eliminating unfair and illegal discrimination based on race, creed or color.

"The Democratic Party commits itself to continuing its efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination.

The Advertiser

"We again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the constitution.

"We highly commend President Harry S. Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights.

Montgomery, Ala.

"We call upon the Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental American principles — the right to full and equal political participation; the right to equal opportunity of employment; the right of security of person, and the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation."

Thurs.

Rep. John Bell Williams, Mississippi delegate, issued a statement saying:

7-15-48

"It drives a knife into the heart of the party and reads the South out of the party."

Chairman James S. Peters of the Georgia delegation said: "It is even worse than the well-known Truman civil rights program."

Montgomery Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

Matter Of Fact

By Joseph And Stewart Alsop

"HE'S stopped trying to be president. He's being Truman now." A close observer of the President made the remark a little sadly in the ghastly early hours of this morning while the President was shouting his defiance of the Republicans before the sweating delegates to the Democratic convention. The most striking thing about the President's speech was his final abandonment of the rather stilted, elevated tone which he has thought suitable to his office. He was campaigning for re-election as a county sheriff in the Ozarks might campaign.

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The drama and interest of the whole episode were more genuinely intense than is usual in politics. There was first of all the inescapable feeling that the President was venting on the Republicans some of the resentment which he feels against the Democrats who opposed his re-nomination. It was known that his congratulatory telephone call to Senator Alben Barkley the previous evening had been rapidly transformed into a philippic against his enemies within the party.

From the rear steps of the convention hall where the President waited for hours to speak, word kept coming back of the sharpness with which he still felt this resentment.

Fri. 7-16-48

THERE were, secondly, the circumstances of the stirring decision to call a special session of Congress, which was being bruited about hours before the President at length spoke. The decision was taken at the White House without consultation with any of the congressional leaders. Even the President's running mate, Senator Barkley was not informed of what was afoot, at least until late in the afternoon, before the convention's final session.

Here in Philadelphia, Robert Hannegan, James Roosevelt and a group of representatives of the big city leaders had agreed the previous evening that there ought to be a special session and had passed their view to the White House. But very probably the President himself was not informed of this meeting, since a good many of those present had played leading parts in the abortive anti-Truman coaltion.

Truman and his advisers—most conspiciously Clark Clifford—took the decision by themselves, to all intents and purposes.

Then there were also the decision's motives. The President beyond question sincerely believes in the social and economic objectives which he set forth in his speech.

It is also important to note that he and his advisers have sincerely convinced themselves, as threatened politicians so often can, that the victory of their opponents will inevitably usher in a total triumph of reaction and perhaps of Fascism. These two beliefs provided the atmosphere of the decision.

In this connection, it is vitally important to distinguish between the effects of the call for a special session and the motives for the call. The Republicans in Congress richly deserve what they are getting.

The President was entirely correct in almost every word he said about their handling of social and economic measures, no matter what you may think of the tone in which he said it. The Republican platform may, and probably does, represent the views of Governor Dewey and Governor Warren but the platform's kind words for enlightened social policies do not correctly represent the congressional majority.

7-14-48

IT WILL be incredibly costly and dangerous to have the whole country set by the ears, and all the dirty linen of our politics publicly washed, in a time of dreadful danger abroad. But it will also be useful to have the wide difference between the Republican candidates and the Republican Congress aired during the campaign. And certain badly legislation may even be passed before the special session ends.

So much for the effects. As for the motives, no one who is not very naive can suppose that securing passage of needed social measures was a predominating influence in the President's decision to call the session. The decision was taken with the clear knowledge that tremendous risks were involved. Yet the real reasons for the decision were obviously political.

First, a special session provides the President with an inexpensive form of electoral campaign. Second and more important, holding the session, which is helpful in view of the present state of Democratic Party finances, will be a much more effective way to campaign than a straight debating match against such a powerful adversary as Governor Dewey.

All these assorted facts, so complexly inter-related, in turn say something about the President himself. Even the majority of his oldest and closest friends now agree that he is a man, who, although decent, patriotic, honest and courageous, has been terribly over-burdened by the responsibilities of the presidency in such a time as this.

7-16-48

At first, he seemed to hate those responsibilities. Then he began to cling to them, as men in such positions will. And now that the campaign is ahead, and defeat looms up, he is "being Truman now." in the sense that he is fighting for re-election on a sort of no-holds-barred system, without any of those claims to the grand style which he used to try to make.

It would have been better if he had fought for his program in this manner from the first. As matters stand, one must admire the President's course. One must hope that those who deserve to be shown

After The Convention

PHILADELPHIA, July 15

AFTER the convention here in Philadelphia the facts and implications begin to grow clearer. The South is faced with a political urgency now that demands axe-stroke action. And it's important that the action of the convention be fully understood.

One thing above all must be understood by Alabamians. It must be remembered. And that is that the writing of that unbearable plank providing for a phase No. 2 of Reconstruction was the work and will of the rank and file members of the Democratic Party.

We Alabamians, in our traditional and ancient attachment to the party, would wish to believe that it was a cynical and opportunistic political device of the vote-craving party leadership.

Montgomery Ala.

But that it emphatically was not. It is entirely the reverse of that.

The mocking fact is that President Truman, National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, and the others upon whom Southern wrath and bitterness have cascaded were actually the advocates of a watered down, appeasing plank.

It was the common people of the convention—that is, the delegates representing a cross-section of the party—that vehemently overrode Truman and scornfully voted the plank.

Fri. 7-16-48

THE plain and indisputable fact is that Truman-McGrath and Co. have been trying to appease the South for some weeks.

For example, there was the appointment of William J. Primm, Jr., of Alabama, as special assistant to McGrath. Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky was chosen keynoter and Congressman Sam Rayburn of Texas was made permanent chairman of the convention. Examples might be multiplied.

And finally, as Chauncey Sparks will tell you, the platform committee offered the South a comparatively watered-down civil rights plank. Certainly it was no worse than the 1944 platform which caused no stir with Roosevelt standing upon it. And most certainly it was toothless compared with the sabre-toothed plank that the convention finally adopted.

McGrath even went so far, it is competently reported, as to offer the South restoration of the two-thirds rule in conventions if it would accept the watered-down plank. 7-16-48

Alabama and associate states declined this even-steven compromise and went on to prosecute the war with a walkout.

The answer was a crushing defeat by the rank and file of the Democratic Party.

On the basis of this undisputable array of remarkable facts, you could argue that McGrath and Alabama were overruled.

7-16-48

WE ARE now in this position. We threatened to leave the party. The answer was an inflamed "Get the hell out then and good riddance."

Furthermore, we have got to recognize that the Southern border states voted against the deep South.

All of this has got to be understood, and understood well, before we can intelligently seek our wilderness path.

We have an idea that in Alabama there will be some distracting agitation and opportunistic thrusting between the Ellis-Hill factions over the act of walking and non-walking.

No Alabamian should allow himself to be bamboozled with an empty, aimless controversy over that.

The enormous fact is that the rank and file of the Democratic Party is unsympathetic and intolerant of Southern viewpoint.

In a choice between the Southern electoral votes and the Negro power balance votes of the North, the convention found its choice easy.

Fri. 7-16-48

THE compromise rejected. The all-out plank adopted. It is entirely understandable that Truman moved swiftly to interpret the convention's act as a mandate for him to capitalize the situation. He therefore summoned a special session of Congress.

Thus the issue of civil rights is maturing ahead of any predicted schedule.

We shall have the spectacle of a Republican Party with a comparatively mild civil rights plank and a Democratic Party with the strongest possible civil rights plank.

In this one regard and on paper at least, the Republican and Democratic Parties have swapped the roles they assumed in Civil War days.

The presidential campaign then will open in Congress this month. Truman will dare the Republican Congress, with doubtful states in the balance, not to enact the Democratic Party's civil rights plank. The pressures for enactment will undoubtedly be greater than ever in the past.

7-16-48

It seems this afternoon in Philadelphia that Alabama and some, but not all, Southern states are homeless.—G. C. H.

Matter Of Fact

By Joseph Al

The Advertiser

IN the long run, the final, open split between the Northern and Southern Democrats is likely to prove a more important event of this convention than any mere nomination of candidates. The passage of the strong civil rights resolution of Mayor Hubert Humphrey, of Minneapolis, leaves a split far more embittered, far more difficult to heal, than the splits of the Northern and Southern Democrats of the '20s. Then the issues were merely rum and Romanism. Now they are civil rights and social change.

The convention's action was, of course, the result of the mounting rage of the Northern Democrats against the Southern shouters for white supremacy. Some of these have gone so far, at this heartbreaking convention, that one began to expect the Mississippi delegation to propose repeal of the anti-slavery amendments of the constitution.

Montgomery, Ala.

The general odor of the Southern bloc was not improved, either, by its almost equally impassioned advocacy of the Tidelands oil grab, no doubt not unconnected with the reported financing of the forthcoming Southern rump convention by the oil interests. In the passion of the moment, men more representative of the real South, like Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, were rendered powerless, and in the passion of the moment, the Northerners became infuriated with all Southerners and hit out with little regard for immediate consequences. Thurs.

The background of this great event is dramatic. President Truman had desperately hoped to patch up a compromise. By his instruction, his few faithful henchmen like Senator J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, and Senator Francis Myers, of Pennsylvania, tried frontically to pass the resolutions committee's weasel-worded civil rights plank.

BUT the plans of the insurrectionists had been well laid, mainly at a meeting of the Americans for Democratic Action, for whom this is a big score. John Shelley, of California, was prepared to lead his men in a march on the platform if Convention Chairman Sam Rayburn tried to gavel the rebels down. The A. D. A. had men in every Northern delegation, ready to demand delegation roll calls if delegates tried to go along with Truman. And the big city leaders—Ed Flynn, Paul Fitzpatrick, Ed Kelly, Jake Arvey, David Lawrence—formed part of the combination. They had the votes, and they won. 7-15-48

The melodrama is stirring. But the melodrama of the moment is less important than the great process of social change which has transformed the big city leaders of the North from rigid conservatives to progressives. The split in the Democratic Party is so much deeper now, for a very simple reason. This vital change has already affected the North, while the Democratic Party in the South has largely remained in the hands of the oligarchy which has always controlled it. Formerly planters, the leading oligarchs are now industrialists and bankers.

Different interests predominate in different states. Textile mill owners are strong in the Carolinas. The power people carry great weight in Georgia. In Mississippi, the cozy relationship between Governor Fielding Wright and the Mississippi Power & Light Company is a beautiful example of mutual affection. And so it goes.

Meanwhile, although the oligarchy still rules, the same social change that has altered the Northern big city organizations has been going on more slowly in the South, as a result of diversification of agriculture and industrialization. The effects can already be seen in the Congress.

There are fewer and fewer moderate Southern conservatives in the great tradition of Senator Joseph T. Robinson and Secretary of State James F. Byrnes. There are more and more Southerners like Senators Hill and Sparkman and Representative Kefauver, who are strongly progressive on all questions but the race question. Unfortunately, there are also more and more Southerners of the type that used to be classically represented by Senator Theodore Bilbo. Thurs.

THE advent of social change in the South has, in fact, rendered the position of the oligarchy insecure, as the emergence of the Hills, Sparkmans and Kefauvers suggests. Thus the oligarchs are being driven more and more to support Bilbo-like candidates (as big business is supporting the revolting Herman Talmadge) because these candidates insure the submergence of social issues in the race issue. This tactic hits, in turn, at the Hills, Sparkmans and Kefauvers, who, being civilized men, will not go to the extremes of the Bilbos.

In the end, one suspects that the old-fashioned Southern conservatives of the

Byrnes type will disappear. Where the oligarchy is defeated, there will be Southern leaders like Kefauver. And where the oligarchs triumph, there will be such denials of all the guaranteed, constitutional rights and liberties as will confront the federal government with a real problem of making the constitution stick. For the short run, it is not a happy prospect.

7-15-48

For the long run, it must be added, the prospect makes the tactics of the Northerners at this convention seem a little less politically unwise than President Truman, thinking of the campaign only, no doubt believes. The issue had to be faced some time. It was probably just as well to face it now when there is almost certainly going to be a Republican administration in Washington. Control of the federal government by the Republicans ought to give the Southern progressives their chance, if anything ever will.

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At The Convention

PHILADELPHIA, July 14

THIS day in Philadelphia has been so long, so gruelling and turbulent that its clear outlines are lost to the editor's view. One thing stands out like a jagged iron pike—the South asked this Democratic convention for understanding and forbearance, and received a savage blow on its face in return.

The Advertis

This convention dealt Alabama and the South a brutal and contemptuous blow.

Montgomery, Al

It was not an act of any sinister leaders, any opportunistic big city sewer voices or New Deal pinks—it was the rank and file of delegates from all over the country.

340

The West no less than the East was responsible for adoption of the Truman civil rights plank. This was jarring, for in other days and climates the West was the ally of the South. This afternoon the three corners of the nation came down upon the South.

Thurs. 7-15-48

It is clear that we of the South are alone, quite alone with our oppressive and gathering problem. We stand alone somewhat as England did in 1940.

The attitude of this convention towards Alabama and the South this afternoon was cold, forbidding and contemptuous.

Of the road ahead for us, of the response that she shall make to this coldness and contempt—of all that, more in season.

UP until this afternoon the question in the Alabama delegation was the proper time to walk.

It was taken up anew this morning at a caucus in the John Bartram Hotel. People on the street stuck their heads in the first floor window to see and hear Alabama at work.

This morning—which tonight seems a remote and almost unrelated time—members of the delegation were involved in family strife. Senator Lister Hill began by saying "We're all against Truman," and all chorused after him.

But presently John Mandeville, a mercurial young Mobile politico who is being groomed to inherit the mantle of Congressman Frank Boykin, suddenly accused Senator Hill of desiring to vote for Truman after the walk-outers had departed.

It was an unfair and insulting charge by the young man.

Senator Hill's pallid face flushed. He arose with considerable dignity and said in a subdued, grave voice: "The gentleman does me a very great injustice. . . . I am as unalterably opposed to the nomination of Harry Truman as any man in this room. . . ."

In the fullness of his regret, Mandeville apologized, they shook hands and the fratricide was resumed in other departments.

In the end, Senator Hill said that if nobody else made a nomination to prevent Truman from being first, he himself would nominate Sen. Dick Russell of Georgia.

7-15-48

WHEN the delegation took its seat in the convention hall — without clearly defining its course as to walk-out time or nominations—the word had spread among the nation's newspapers and radios that Alabama was getting ready to walk.

The delegation sat hot and huddled in the steaming convention pit. The stifling heat and humidity were unforgettably punishing as the newsmen crowded about to ask questions of Alabama's second historic break with the Southern mother, the Democratic Party.

To questions about when his half of the delegation would walk, the imperturbable Chairman Handy Ellis would say:

"Oh, we want to see as much as we can. . . . I told you, brother, I don't know yet . . . probably when the platform is adopted."

The photographers wanted to know whether the walking element would take the Alabama standard with it. Ellis said, No, that was convention property. They would turn in their badges and leave it to the durationalists.

The Advertiser

A 240-pound Michigan lawyer, delegate in the Michigan delegation, just in front of the Alabama section, turned to Ellis and several of us newspapermen. This rotund gent, sweating in his yellow sweat shirt, jested:

"We ain't gonna let you out."

"We have some husky men in the Alabama delegation," joked the serene Ellis, "but none as big as you."

J. MILLER BONNER, who looks like Uncle Sam, sat suffering on Ellis' left because a colored woman was allowed to sing the national anthem and Negro congressmen address the convention. The more thoughtful Probate Judge Hardy Riddle, of Talladega, sat close by and wondered what would ever become of us.

Congressman Frank Boykin, not a member of the delegation, was in the middle of everything, and even in this convention hall, was certain that "everything is made for love." He bragged on Alabama and invited half the convention to an Alabama hunt this fall.

"When do you want to walk?" Ellis asked "Bud" Boswell.

"When they adopt the platform—right then," answered the purposeful Boswell.

Montgomery, Ala.

They gave Jimmy Roosevelt an ovation, after his speech. Delegate Henry J. Mayfield tried to have Alabama's standard join in the Roosevelt ovation. Inflamed, Bonner grasped the standard and bellowed, "Over my dead body—to hell with Jimmy Roosevelt."

The afternoon wore on. A radio man brought the microphone to Birmingham Police Commissioner "Bull" Conner, a lovable clown whose antics were winning but grotesque in such a time. He roared that they should stop worrying about the colored man's lot and do something about the disgracefully cast-off and downtrodden American Indian.

Thurs.

A lady came by with Truman buttons. Bonner declined: "No thank you, lady. Getting ready to fly out of here."

Convention Chairman Rayburn ignored Alabama's frantic motions for recognition to uncork its walk-out demonstration. The convention adjourned for an hour and now we're all back.

7-15-48

All of this was somewhat droll and whimsical until the three corners of our country pressed down upon us with cold savagery.—G. C. H.

RALPH T. JONES

Atlanta Constitution

It'll Be Long Time Before Ideals Win

Atlanta, Ga.

Well, the Democratic convention adopted the strongest civil rights plank offered for its platform. Over the opposition of the South, the enthusiastic supporters of President Truman's civil rights program succeeded in having their view on the issue incorporated in the party platform.

7-16-48

It has always seemed to me that the South, while fundamentally correct in its opposition to that program, because it places in Federal control matters which properly should be decided only by the individual States, has been wrong in assuming that the sole question involved is the question of race as between white and Negro. While that is the spotlighted issue in this part of the country, in actual fact the civil rights program seeks to secure the basic rights of all minority groups, regardless of race, religion, or other differentiation.

Further, it has seemed to me that Southerners, in accusing supporters of the Truman program of a direct attack on the South—of using unfair political tactics for sordid political reasons—do an injustice to many of those Truman program supporters.

Undoubtedly, many of the civil rights champions have been motivated by coldly practical political reasons. They have looked with covetous political eyes on the large blocs of Negro voters in some of the Northern States and have assumed, it now seems erroneously, that the Southern States will remain in the Democratic column, when the votes are counted next November, no matter how the party treats them.

Some Idealists But not all those who voted for the civil rights plank at Philadelphia did so from political or other less admirable motives. Some, beyond question, feel deeply on the issue from none save idealistic motives. They see in every instance of religious or racial bias a violation of the ideals on which American democracy is based and they consider themselves champions of a noble cause. They are, most of them, impractical and unaware of conditions in the South. But they are determined that, in enjoyment of the basic rights of an American citizen, neither Negro nor Jew, Oriental-American, Indian or other, shall be penalized because of race. Their championship is rooted in idealism and, in their view, is essential to the continuance of the American concept of human equality and democratic government.

It is these who contend that, if America continues to treat some of her own people as citizens of the second class only, America is merely a hypocrite when she urges democracy upon other nations of the world.

Atlanta Constitution

A Long Way Off Just an example of how other differences than those of race affect public opinion, consider what chance of election to high State office would a Catholic candidate have in Georgia? Why, I can remember the days, not so long ago, when it was common saying that only a member of the Baptist Church need expect to win a Georgia election. That was, of course, exaggeration, but it had sufficient basis in truth to be widely quoted. I dare say, too, circumstances are different today and it could be that a Presbyterian or a Methodist could be elected Governor. But not, you will agree, a Catholic. (Remember when Al Smith, a Catholic, ran for the presidency? Remember that mythical party that flourished in the Protestant South that year? The Hoovercrats?)

7-16-48

Idealists would champion the cause of the submerged Baptists of Boston as well as that of the submerged Catholics of Georgia.

Maybe there will come a day when idealism will become reality. A few centuries hence, perhaps. When that day does come the Truman program, too, may be realized. But one other condition will have to be met first. That is, the scheming men who have, this year, made political capital out of the emotional reactions to the civil rights issue, will no longer carry any weight in party affairs. For sordid schemes for unscrupulous political gain can have no place alongside idealism triumphant.

Politics may make strange bedfellows—but not that strange.

Vote on the Rights Issue

New York Times New York, N.Y.

PHILADELPHIA, July 14 (AP)—Roll call votes of the Democratic Convention on the civil rights and states' rights platform planks:

7-15-48

Civil Rights

	Yes.	No.
Alabama	..	26
Arizona	..	12
Arkansas	..	22
California	53	1
Colorado	10	2
Connecticut	20	..
Delaware	..	10
Florida	..	20
Georgia	..	28
Idaho	..	12
Illinois	60	..
Indiana	17	9
Iowa	18	2
Kansas	16	..
Kentucky	..	26
Louisiana	..	24
Maine	3	7
Maryland	..	20
Massachusetts	36	..
Michigan	42	..
Minnesota	26	..
Mississippi	..	22
Missouri	..	34
Montana	1½	10½
Nebraska	3	9
Nevada	..	10
New Hampshire	1	11
New Jersey	36	..
New Mexico	..	12
New York	98	..
North Carolina	..	32
North Dakota	..	8
Ohio	39	11
Oklahoma	..	24
Oregon	7	9
Pennsylvania	74	..
Rhode Island	..	12
South Carolina	..	20
South Dakota	8	..
Tennessee	..	28
Texas	..	50
Utah	..	12
Vermont	6	..
Virginia	..	26
Washington	20	..
West Virginia	7	13
Wisconsin	24	..
Wyoming	4	2
Alaska	2	4
District of Columbia	6	..
Hawaii	6	..
Puerto Rico	[illegible]	..
Canal Zone	[illegible]	2
Virgin Islands	[illegible]	..

States' Rights

	Yes.	No.
Alabama	26	..
Arizona	..	12
Arkansas	22	..
California	1½	52½
Colorado	3	9
Connecticut	..	20
Delaware	..	10
Florida	20	..
Georgia	28	..
Idaho	..	12
Illinois	..	60
Indiana	..	26
Iowa	..	20
Kansas	..	16
Kentucky	..	26
Louisiana	24	..
Maine	..	10
Maryland	..	20
Massachusetts	..	36
Michigan	..	42
Minnesota	..	26
Mississippi	22	..
Missouri	..	34
Montana	..	12
Nebraska	—	12
Nevada	..	10
New Hampshire	—	12
New Jersey	..	36
New Mexico	..	12
New York	..	98
North Carolina	32	..
North Dakota	..	8
Ohio	..	50
Oklahoma	..	24
Oregon	3	13
Pennsylvania	..	74
Rhode Island	..	12
South Carolina	20	..
South Dakota	..	8
Tennessee	28	—
Texas	50	..
Utah	..	12
Vermont	..	6
Virginia	26	..
Washington	..	20
West Virginia	..	20
Wisconsin	..	24
Wyoming	½	5½
Alaska	3	3
District of Columbia	..	6
Hawaii	..	6
Puerto Rico	—	6
Canal Zone	..	2
Virgin Islands	..	2

The Party Changes Hands

Atlanta, Ga.

PHILADELPHIA—What has happened now is that the Democratic Party has made a decision and a gamble. ~~Faced with~~ the issue of the Southern revolt, it sought to compromise, but only a little. When the issue of States' rights reached the floor of the convention which ended about 3 o'clock Thursday morning, the big Eastern city political leaders, joined by the Western States, took over the party.

Atlanta Constitution

7-16-48

It is necessary that the South understand this cold and realistic fact. These Party leaders had determined they could not continue themselves, and they believed the Party could not continue without a strong civil rights plank. They were not sure about the future. They could not know how much of the Party success in the past 16 years was the success of Franklin D. Roosevelt and how much of it was the success of the program. This was the gamble they had to take. It meant ignoring the South. They had won in the past four elections without the South. So, they took the gamble. Only the future will determine how right or wrong they were and are.

7-16-48

The South must understand something else, as it contemplates this just-ended convention in the reality of the cold gray dawn of the morning after. And what the Southern people, for their own good, and the good of their region, must know is that an era is ended. The Democratic Party has chosen to shake out of it the one element which was always incongruous anyhow—the conservative Southerner who always voted Democratic, but who never believed in much of the program. The South, for example, will not at all agree with the plank calling for repeal of the Taft labor law.

7-16-48

The Eastern cities have become the owners of the Party for the time being, and perhaps for the future. But it is important for the Southerners, seeking to evaluate that future, to keep in mind that the Western States joined the East in the gamble to ignore the South.

So, on the one issue to which the South most objected, there is little difference between the Republicans and the Democrats. The South, which was mother and nurse to the Democratic Party, has been told, very, very plainly, it is not longer welcome with its ideas. For the time being there is no place to go. The next years will see the slow change as the new Democratic Party evolves based on the large cities of the nation, and as the Republican Party moves slowly into the South. An era is ended. 7-16-48

For the moment, the South must not misunderstand what has happened. There was here no consideration for the deep South position from either the East or the West. It is a time for evaluation and decision.

—R. M.

Name Contesting Delegates To Philadelphia Confab; 'To Stay'

(34) The Lighthouse & Informer

Columbia, S.C.

The already entangled picture of South Carolina Democrats moved deeper into confusion when a brand new Democratic party, led by liberal white forces, launched itself in the State Tuesday. 7-4-48

This new or third Democratic party picked twenty delegates to the Democratic National convention, convening on July 12, three of them being Negroes, named in their absence. Simultaneously, a spokesman announced the new organization is "in South Carolina to stay."

Judge Richard I. Foster of the Greenville of the Domestic Court and state president of Labor Democrats, lashed out at the regular party as the "politicians' party" in a key note address. Judge Foster declared that state leaders now opposing civil rights were in support of these during the administration of the late President Roosevelt and raised no objections as they waxed fat on patronage. He charged that the May 19 convention of regular Democrats was but a "scheme to defy the Supreme Court's ruling on the right of Negroes to vote in primaries." 7-4-48

The new party adopted resolutions which outlawed the obnoxious oath adopted May 19, set membership limits to persons holding registration certificates; opened membership rolls to citizens of both races and voted to sponsor a general election presidential elector slate committeed to the Democratic party. They also favored legality of voting for persons between 18 and 21.

34d

SELECT OFFICERS

Dr. A. L. Fletcher of Leesville was elected state chairman and W D. Amis of Newberry, secretary and treasurer. Delegates elected include: W. H. Harley, Laurene; Mrs. Agnes Macaulay, Chester; Mrs. Richard Allison, Columbia, Rev. A. C. Griffith, Gaffney; Proctor Fletcher, the Rev. Maxie C. Collins, E. L. Garity and Ms. T. B Stackhouse of Columbia.

Also Earl R. Britton, Columbia; Mrs. Eugene Spearman, Newberry, Dave Baker, the Rev. F. Clyde Helms, Judge Richard Foster, Ben T. Thornton of Greenville, Amis, Miss Rebecca Reid, Sumter, Miss Laura Ebaugh of Greenville, and three following Negroes, Dr. M. F. Whittaker, Orangeburg; Lt. Colonel Charity E. Adams, formerly of Columbia and President E. H McClinney of Voorhees Institute at Denmark. The Lighthouse & Informer

None of the Negro delegates was present at the meeting however.

The new party repudiated actions of the older party and elected to allow its delegates freedom to use their own judgment at Philadelphia. Columbia, S.C.

STATE PARTY WILTS

There were indications late Tuesday that state Democratic leaders were wilting; Governor J. Strom Thurmond, for the second time within a week, urged a state convention all over again to iron out difficulties the party set before itself. Sun 7-4-48

And this was being done while delegates from half a dozen counties, defying state party rules, were reported to be in secret session at Goldville, where a strategy for possible court and other action was beng worked out in the event the state party should attempt to invalidate their primary votes. All of these counties permitted Negroes to enroll in violation of party rules.

BEFORE HE WALKS OUT

Editor, The Advertiser:

With reference to a resolution adopted by the State Democratic Committee, I have attempted to make my position clear and in addition to submitting a definite "No" to the questionnaire sent out by Mr. McCorvey. Montgomery Advert.

I am against the incorporation of any part of the so-called civil rights program in the platform of the Democratic Party. As a delegate to the convention I will cast my vote against any such program. I am also against the nomination of President Truman and as a delegate to the convention, I will not vote for his nomination. I have previously stated my position on both of these issues. Sun. 7-11-48

On the other hand, I do not propose to tie my hands by promising in advance to walk out of the convention at any particular stage of the proceedings. Before I walk out of the Democratic Party, I will want to know what I am walking into. Montgomery Ala.

If I am elected as a delegate to the National Democratic Convention, I expect to exercise my own "good judgment," to use the words of the committee resolution, in meeting the problems of the convention as they arise.

JEFF P. BEELAND.

Greenville. Ala. 7-11-48

The Democrats Defy Custom

The Constitution

CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA—Democrats of the United States of America will go before the people in November with a Presidential ticket unusual in at least two aspects. Atlanta, Ga. (34d)

It will include a Southerner, Sen. Alben Barkley, of Kentucky, as the Vice Presidential nominee. It also will present two men from adjoining States, thus defying the accepted custom of taking candidates from separate areas of the nation on the theory that such an arrangement attracts more voters. There might be included a third factor. Missouri itself is almost a Southern State and is so regarded by many Americans. Indeed, one of the reasons for some of the Southern anger, now expressing itself in the platform fight and in the opposition to President Harry Truman, is the fact that some of the Truman opponents regard him as a Southerner who, as they claim, sold them out. Wed 7-14-48

Certainly it is a most unusual ticket. After Sen. Barkley's great keynote speech, there was nothing else to the argument about who would be nominated for the second place.

He gave the convention its first enthusiasm, its first confidence. He may not attract much following in the East. That remains to be seen. But he will help the Southern cause, although he will not assure it. Mississippi is the focal point today. The general opinion is they would not be satisfied with less than a repeal of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. They are actually holding out for no plank at all on civil rights but instead a strong State's rights plank. Other than with Mississippi, Sen. Barkley will help, even in the next strongest bolt-minded States, Arkansas, South Carolina and Alabama. He will also hold the border States, which were in jeopardy. The Constitution

He is a great American, and the South, as well as the nation, can have confidence in him. Atlanta, Ga.

What this ticket will do remains to be seen. It will pick up some strength. But as of now the Republicans remain far in front in the outlook for November. Wed 7-14-48

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3 Groups Primed For Convention

Columbia Record

Columbia S.C.

Some For, Some Against Truman

Wed. 7-7-48

Three groups of delegates were ready today to attend the National Democratic convention in Philadelphia Monday.

The regular South Carolina Democratic party delegates are pledged to oppose President Harry S. Truman for nomination, and to oppose the civil rights platform.

The Progressive Democratic Party (Negro) is pledged to support Truman and the civil rights program.

And, a third group which claims membership in the regular party, will send a slate of delegates to "assure South Carolina of representation at the convention."

These two second groups have meetings scheduled today to outline plans for their participation in the convention.

James M. Smith, secretary of the South Carolina Democratic party, said that some of the delegates will leave the state Friday to participate in the pre-convention caucuses presumably to "draft" Gen. Dwight G. Eisenhower for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Gov. Strom Thurmond, one of the delegates who will arrive in Philadelphia early, has announced that he would release the South Carolina delegates in favor of Eisenhower. The state's regular Democratic delegates are instructed to support Thurmond for president.

Dissension Prevails

Meanwhile, as the Democrats plan to enter the national convention, dissension continues to prevail on the home front. James M. Hinton, head of the South Carolina National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, announced that his organization will seek court action against the party.

The NAACP plans to sue the Democratic groups of 40 counties which, abiding by the state party rules, refused to permit Negroes to enrol.

7-7-48

An attorney for the group will ask Federal Judge J. Waties Waring of Charleston for an injunction tomorrow.

John McCray, chairman of the Progressive Democrats, said today that his group would seek "at least 40 per cent representation" in the Democratic convention.

Delegates from the South Carolina Democratic Party named by the May 19 convention are:

At large—Chairman William P. Baskin, Governor Thurmond, Mrs. Kitty McCravey Willson, State Sen. George Warren of Hampton, Lt. Gov. George Bell Timmermon, Jr., of Lexington, State Sen. Edgar A. Brown of Barnwell.

State Sen. J. D. Parler of Dorchester; Robert McC. Figg of Charleston, R. A. Jolley, Edwin B. Boyle of Sumter, C. Bruce Littlejohn of Spartanburg, Rep. S. Lewis Wallace of York, William G. Morrison of Charleston.

Mayor Frank C. Owens of Columbia. United States Sen. Olin D.

STATE'S RIGHTS PLANK LOSES 925 TO 309

Daily World
Atlanta, Star

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. (SNS)—A badly-split Democratic Party showed furthur evidences of cleveage over the civil rights issue when the convention voted 651½ favoring a resolution approving President Harry S. Truman civil rights legislation and 589½ against.

Thurs. 7-15-48

Earlier the convention had rejected a fight for a states' rights plank by a 925 to 309 vote.

After a riotous floor fight by embittered Southerners who were anxious to eliminate any reference to the race question a roll call vote was held also on the suicidal civil rights resolution.

Even the South split over the states' rights question with Kentucky, West Virginia and border states voting its rejection.

THE DESERTIONS

Yet, the civil rights questions caused even the president's home state, Missouri to vote against the resolution. Kentucky, even deserted its favorite son, Alben W. Barkley on the race question. Surprise votes against the civil rights resolution came from New Hampshire and Rhode Island, who joined reactionary Southerners in an attempt to defeat the resolution.

Mayor Hubert Humphrey, of Minneapolis, started the offensive for the minority civil rights report, with a withering blast against opponents of the measure.

Perhaps, the most dramatic appeal for civil rights came Tuesday night from George L. Vaughn. Negro delegate from St. Louis, who survived determined Southern boos and catcalls as he spoke, to demand that Mississippi delegates pledged to walk out if Truman is nominated or the civil right program be included in the party's platform, be ousted.

Thurs. 7-15-48

He labeled the Mississippi delegates "botters" and insisted the people of the state had not authorized them to leave the party. He told the convention between boos and cheers, that the civil rights program contained nothing not already guaranteed by the United States Constitution.

Vaughn sppech caused the convention to border on pandemonium as Temporary Chairman Alben Barkley called for a voice vote and ruled the minority reported offered by Vaughn defeated.

Daily World

Wednesday, the platform-writing committee headed by Sen. Francis Myers brought what some had hoped would be a compromise on civil rights in stating that the Democratic party believes everybody, regardless of race or color, should enjoy equal rights under the Constitution.

Atlanta, Ga.

MINORITY REPORT

But a group of Southerners led by Dan Moody of Texas, Chauncey Sparks of Alabama, both ex-governors, came out with a minority report.

Thurs, 6-15-48

Mayor Humphrey of Minneapolis demandd a more specific declaration for civil rights and the fight wan on. Tempers flared, and angry argument broke out but it was evident long before the vote reached Ohio that the delegates were determined to bid for a stronger civil rights plank. The same was true regarding states' rights.

Immeriately after Temporary Chairman Alben Barkley announced the official vote on the civil rights issue, Alabama delegates stormed to their feet to demand the floor, but Barkley ignored them and hastily adjourned in order to give tempers a chance to cool.

SOUTHERN WING OF PARTY GIVEN REBUKE

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. —(SNS)— Northern Democrats handed the Southern wing of the party a stinging rebuke by an emphatic endorsement of President Harry S. Truman's civil rights proposals.

Thurs.

Cheering delegates to the 30th Democratic convention riveted into the platform a resolution that which bolstered the revamped 1944 civil rights plank reported out by the Platform and Resolutions Committee. It read: "We highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on civil rights.

7-15-48

"We call upon the congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental American principles—the right of full and equal political participation; the right of equal opportunity of employment; the right of security of person, and the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation."

SOUTHERNERS LOSE

The Scutherners were flamed by even the compromise over civil rights. Northerners said there should be specific backing for the Truman program. The North had superior voting strength and the North had its way.

The final vote was 651 1-2 to 582 1-2. Only 618 were needed.

However, in another controversial issue—states' rights, Northerners and Southerners rode roughshod over a recommendation that states have "the right to control their internal affairs and enforce police regulations" within the limitations imposed by the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution.

At the opening of the night session Alabama delegates angered by the Convention's actions on civil rights walked out. They were followed by the Mississippi delegation. Their seats were taken by 13 alternates who remained.

This move had been foreshadowed by the action of Birmingham's Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor, who a few minutes before the recess before the balloting sought vainly to get the folor, when the civil rights balloting was announced so that the delegates could announce they were leaving, but Chaiman Sam Rayburn did not recognize him. Frantically screaming, with the Alabama sign in his hands, the Alabaman got nowhere.

ARGUED HUMAN RIGHTS

Prior to this Mayor Humphrey of Minneapolis had argued that human rights come before states' rights. He told the convention that no watered down civil rights plank would do. He said the choice was between the shadows of states' rights and the brightness of human rights.

Daily World

The civil rights debate which lasted over an hour gave the convention one of its liveliest sessions. The victory was a resounding defeat for the South and a glorious triumph for liberalism. It is not clear yet what the course of the South will be.

Atlanta, Ga.

Charlie Block, spokesman for the Georgia delegation nominated Sen. Richard Russell, but it was plain this was an empty gesture since Truman forces were well in command. Even President Truman had already left Washington for Philadelphia so strong was his belief that he would be nominated.

7-15-48

But several speakers said the Convention was watching the smashup of the party. Robert Figg of South Carolina called for the furor "the funeral of the Democratic Party."

Daily World

Congressman William Dawson of Chicago was one of the afternoon speakers. Rev. Marshall Sheppard offered prayer.

Atlanta, Ga.
Thurs.

Delegates who walked out were in addition to Connor, J. Miller Bonner of Camden, Alabama; Handy Ellis of Columbiana, Ala.: Albert Stapp, Jes Edward, H. M. Abercrombie, all three of Birmingham, Thomas King of Anniston, John Mandeville and John Moore of Gadsden, Thomas Maxwell of Tuscaloosa, E. C. Boxwell of Enterprise, Graham Right and Albert Riddle, of Talladega.

6-15-48

GOP. Convention Delegates Named By Tucker Group

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga
Wed.

Extreme Harmony Prevails In Atlanta Meeting

5-19-48

A high note of harmony prevailed at the one-day State Convention of the Tucker faction of the Georgia Republican Party Tuesday when Negro and white delegates from 10 congressional districts packed to the overflowing one of the second-floor courtrooms at the Fulton County Courthouse.

PARTY LEADERS UPSET

Middle-Of-Road Civil Rights Program Ditched By Big Northern Delegations

Commercial Appeal

(See Alsop Column, Page Six)

By GEORGE E. REEDY JR.
United Press Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, July 14.—The Democratic Convention Wednesday rode roughshod over the protests of angry Southerners and adopted a "Roosevelt-Truman" platform that included a sharp-toothed civil rights plank.

To the consternation of party leaders, the delegates accepted a plank drawn up by the New Deal wing of the party. It called in unmistakable terms for antipoll tax, antilynch, antidiscrimination and fair employment practices legislation.

Memphis, Tenn.

Regular Democrats Upset

The New Deal wing was led by Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, who tossed in the racial rights plank at the last moment. His move was a complete upset to regular Democrats who thought they were in control of the situation.

They had presented a compromise plank carefully worked out by a handpicked group of seven headed by Senator Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania. It was clear that that declaration would have voided a deep split in party ranks.

Thu. 7-15-48

The party leaders successfully beat back a Southern attempt to weaken their plank with a strong "states' rights" declaration. It was offered by former Gov. Dan Moody of Texas.

Moody's amendment was turned down by the convention on a state-by-state roll call vote of 925 to 309.

The crucial racial rights issue overshadowed every other controversy in the party platform.

O.K. Taft-Hartley Repealer

A plank calling for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act was passed without a dissenting voice or vote.

The delegates hurriedly riffled through a long series of planks pledging strong aid to Palestine, a nationwide minimum wage of 75 cents an hour, a strong foreign policy, and firm opposition to Communism.

Their primary interest was in the civil rights question.

Party leaders had hoped to steer a middle course between North and South on the burning civil rights issue.

7-15-48

Humphrey came up with a substitute for the civil rights plank drafted by a hand-picked group of

high-ranking Democrats. It was adopted by a vote of 651½ to 582½. A majority of states opposed the amendment, but the big delegations from Northern States brought about its passage.

Southern Bolt Loses Power As 'Regulars' Force Issue

The Times New York N.Y.
Wed. 7-14-48

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By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, July 13—**The hand of party authority began today to fall in heavy rebuke upon those irreconcilable Southerners still threatening to bolt President Truman in November. There were signs that this campaign was having its effect and that the bolting faction was losing some heart and strength.**

Dem.

The tactic of the "regulars" was one of seeking to isolate the most active prospective November rebels, a plan first developed last night by the Texas delegation, and of forcing them to the fullest public disclosure of their intentions.

In a sharp test case, the Mississippi delegation, which under questioning bluntly proclaimed "with no apology" its intention not to support the President in November, was able to cling to its right on the convention floor only by a 16-11 vote of the credentials committee.

Wed.

This was the most clear-cut issue thus far raised in the Democratic National Convention on the great question as to what the South would do, not now, but in November. The victory of the anti-Truman delegates was so narrow that the opposition prepared a minority report to resume the fight on the floor. 7-14-48

The Mississippi group headed by Gov. Fielding Wright, which was challenged by other Mississippians pledged to back Mr. Truman if nominated, was opposed solely on the bolting question and no legal or technical question was raised by its antagonists.

The credentials committee, which had just rejected less fundamental challenges to the Virginia and South Carolina delegations, fought over Mississippi in closed session for two hours. At one time, it was learned, the committee stood tied and it was only after much pulling and hauling that those favoring the Wright group were able to bring in a slender majority.

Senator Carl Hatch of New Mexico, for example, at length supported the Wright delegation, but declared that he thought it not entitled in principle to a seat and would have so voted had there been any clear existing rule against those who threatened to bolt.

He not only proposed such a rule for future conventions but successfully carried through another resolution for a new policy by which the national party would speak out against discrimination against Negroes in making up future southern Democratic delegations.

Two-Thirds Vote Plea Rejected

The Times

The Rules Committee for its part refused by 24 to 6 an old Southern demand for the restoration of the principle by which it once required a two-thirds vote to nominate a candidate.

Outside the convention and the committee rooms, matters were going badly for the extreme Southern rebels. Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas, the "states' rights" candidate against President Truman, was slow in picking up strength and at a press conference he declined to predict how many votes would go to him. Finally he accepted a reporter's suggestion of "about 150." He asserted also that he had "never" said that he would "actively oppose" the President. A decision on this point, he added, would be made only after the present convention.

New York N.Y.

The Governor, one of the original leaders of a Southern group that tentatively had scheduled some time ago an anti-Truman rump convention in Birmingham, Ala., likewise refused to say whether this meeting would be held after all. Again, he implied, it was too eary to tell; he did say, however, that he had at present "no definite plans" to go to Birmingham.

Tonight, he had in prospect for the first ballot, barring threatened Southern "walkouts" ahead of time which could greatly reduce his score, an aggregate of 114 votes for certain and 139½ in all likelihood of a convention total of 1,234.

Wed.

Georgia Has Favorite Son

Some Southern delegations which he badly needed, for the strong gesture of protest which is the South's aim, remained severely aloof. Georgia, for example, prepared to stay entirely away from the Laney movement, because of its bolt complexion, by putting up as a favorite son Senator Richard B. Russell. 7-14-48

Some in the Arkansas delegation itself, which was bound under the unit rule to support Governor Laney, were nevertheless not happy with his candidacy. One of these, Lee Seamster, asserted:

"If Laney intends to stay home on election day he should stay home from this convention."

Former Representative Claude Fuller declared:

"I can tell the world that the State of Arkansas will stay Democratic in November in spite of this man's bolt."

As for the credentials committee, the contests settled there, apart from that of Mississippi, involved disputes implying possible bolts but having none of the defiance showed by the Mississippi anti-Truman faction.

Decisions on Credentials

South Carolina's delegation was challenged by two other factions, made up by Negroes for the most part, on the contention that the party in that state had excluded all negroes from any effective participation. This protest was rejected by 25 to 2. 7-14-48

Virginia's delegation, under the command of Senator Harry F. Byrd's organization, was attacked on the claim that it was a prospective bolters' group. Unlike the Mississippi leaders, however, the Virginia spokesman, John J. Wicker Jr., strongly rejected this accusation in behalf of his state.

Wed.

The effort was not actually to unseat the Virginia delegation, but only to exact from it a pledge of party loyalty. The committee declined unanimously to demand such a commitment, holding that there was no precedent for it and no precedent for applying to Virginia sanctions that were not being applied to other states.

Truman Pulls Ace; Dares Show By GOP

Atlanta Daily World

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Fri 7-16-48

Atlanta Ga.

CONVENTION HALL, Philadelphia —(SNS)— President Truman in his acceptance speech as the 1948 Democratic presidential candidate here Thursday morning showed the Republicans that he plans to live up to his ole home state adage - I'm from Missouri, you'll have to show me!

Mr. Truman made known his ace in the hole when he told convention delegates that he's going to give the Republicans a chance to do less talking and more acting on their proposed 1948 platform when he called a special session of Congress on July 26.

Terming the 80th Republican Congress as the worst in history, Mr. Truman accused the majority Republican Congress of defeating all measures proposed to help the common man.

"Let us see then what those Republicans will do," the President remarked as howls of approval reverberated throughout the hall.

CONFIDENT

With a voice of confidence, the president shouted:

"We'll win this election and make the Republicans like it."

Mr. Truman told how he had advanced several worthwhile measures for congressional consideration which were met with either an attitude of indifference or hostility at the hands of the Republicans.

Nominated as the vice-presidential candidate is Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky.

With such a running mate, Truman declared that the Democratic party can't lose the 1948 election.

7-16-48

Dressed in a natty white suit and accompanied by his wife and daughter, President Truman climaxed the three day convention with his acceptance address.

Meanwhile, the Southern anti-Civil Rights-faction of the party saw a revival of Sherman's march to the sea when they were repeatedly defeated in attempts to get a States' Rights foothold.

They suffered their first defeat when party delegates overwhelmingly voted down a proposed resolution to taint the party platform with a States' Rights plank. They tasted defeat again when the party strongly approved the inclusion of a Civil Rights plank. And last but not least, they suffered a do or die defeat when their States' Rights champion, Senator Russell, of Georgia, was defeated in the nomination of the presidential candidate.

Daily World

Fri 7-16-48

Their forces shattered beyond repair, Alabama delegates tried to recall the remnants by nominating Sen. Russell as a vice-presidential candidate. This also crumbled with no less disintegration when it was made known by Georgia delegates that their stalwart son desisted in the vice-presidential offer.

Atlanta, Ga.

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"RUN OUR STATES"

Among the rebels who walked out of the convention were the Alabama and Mississippi delegates who avowed steadfastly that "we'll run our states as we see fit."

Licking their wounds, they boarded the fastest train South with their "tails curled under," thinking perhaps that a proposed caucus meeting in Birmingham tomorrow might in some way alleviate their despair. The special caucus of the "Dixiecrats"—as they have been so rightfully named is being called by Mississippi's Governor Fielding Wright. Other Southern states are also expected to be represented at the caucus.

Governor Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, harangued at length why States' Rights should be the foremost concern of the party delegates. He, like the many others who wasted their eloquence, was shown that safeguards of individual liberties are the true roots of any democratic organization.

Sen. Barkley was nominated unanimously, after Chairman Sam Rayburn, of Texas, waited in vain for changes in the Southern vote and finally accepted a motion which was approved and gave unanimity to the lone nominee.

FORMAL CALL

Daily World

Thursday noon Mr. Truman issued a formal call for the special session. His proclamation did not outline reasons for the call, but merely directed the members to assemble to receive such communication as may be made by the executive.

Fri 7-16-48

Two reactions were seen to Mr. Truman's call for the special session. however, the Republican presidential nominee, Gov. Dewey, of New York, withheld any comments, it was said.

Atlanta Ga

Some Southern Democrats believe that the Republicans will waste no time in putting a Civil Rights Bill before the Senate, while some Republicans regard Truman's dare with hilarity in the prospects of another Southern Democratic filibuster.

Whatever the results, speculations are that Mr. Truman's maneuver will be a boon to his popularity, especially among Negroes and labor.

Truman's maneuver was the first pulled since 1856 when another Democratic President, Sam Pierce, issued such a call. Meanwhile the nation awaits with bated breath the outcome of the session.

Congressman Is Winner

The Afro-American

Baltimore, Md

Defeats Detroit Man for Party Leadership

CONFUSION REIGNS

Sat. 7-17-48

Fight Centers Around Civil Rights Plank

By RALPH MATTHEWS

CONVENTION HALL, Phila. — Harry S. Truman is the Democratic nominee for President.

His selection by the perspiring delegates was a foregone conclusion after the stop-Truman movement, headed by Jimmy Roosevelt and Southern delegates, collapsed with the announcement by Gen. Ike Eisenhower and Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas that they would not be available.

The delegates chief fight now is to choose Truman's running mate and to write a civil rights plank in the platform acceptable to both liberal and Southern delegates.

At the same time President Truman was winning, Cong. William L. Dawson of Chicago was emerging victorious in his quadrennial struggle for leadership in the party.

Detroit Man Loses

Challenging Dawson's supremacy was Emmett L. Cunningham of Detroit, president of the National Council of Negro Democrats. Cunningham's idea is to form a separate organization of colored Democrats. Dawson holds to the plan of integration on the local level.

7-17-48

"There was confusion" was the best phrase to describe the City of Brotherly Love as the various factions and delegates began jockeying for position at the opening of the convention.

This confusion was not only evident around the convention headquarters at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel where the huge paper-mache donkey has replaced the inflated rubber elephant of the GOP, but it was also dominating the influence around the Chesterfield Hotel and the Pyramid Club where colored delegates held their pre-convention caucus.

At the main headquarters the confusion centered around the selection of a running mate for President Truman and the possible verbage of the contraversial civil rights plank.

Struggle for Power

At the Pyramid Club the confusion revolved around a struggle for power between Emmett Cunningham, Detroit and William L. Dawson, Chicago, who is chairman of the colored division of the Democratic National Committee.

The big issues, at a special meeting Sunday night were who would dictate the writing of the civil rights plank and who would carry the ball to expedite the seating of the South Carolina delegation whose attempt to be recognized was turned down by the credentials sub-committee Saturday.

The Afro-American

Mr. Dawson, titular head of colored Democrats, was not present at the session attended by approximately 100 delegates, alternates and observers, but he was there in spirit through the booming voice of one of his Illinois proteges, State Legislator Charles Skyles.

Dawson Not Present

Mr. Dawson was not present for the simple reason that he has never placed his official blessings on the National Council of Negro Democrats, whose activities he views as subversive and a studied attempt of the Detroit faction to undermine his national leadership.

Mr. Dawson also resented the equally studied snob by which he was not invited as an official of the Democratic National Committee, but was merely sent a form letter to be present.

As a result, the meeting ended on a note of dissatisfaction and split loyalties.

To get a clear picture of what is going on behind the scenes in the "little convention" it is necessary to recall some of the history of our participation in Democratic circles which is at best fairly recent.

Baltimore, Md.

Thompkins Was First

Long before the arrival of the New Deal which brought colored voters into the Democratic fold in numbers sufficiently large enough to be felt, the late Dr. William J. Thompkins, former Recorder of Deeds and a few scattered Democrats from all parts of the country organized what was known as the National Negro Democratic Association.

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It was their practice to meet a few days prior to the regular convention and draw up petitions which were presented to the regular convention in an "advisory" capacity.

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With the death of Dr. Thompkins, Mr. Cunningham, aware that without Thompkins's leadership the field was wide open, organized the National Council of Negro Democrats, which he called the successor to the Thompkins movement.

Many, however, have tried to keep the old NNDA functioning and have refused to admit that it is dead in spite of Cunningham's funeral pronouncements.

Recognition Refused

In the meantime, Congressman Dawson as a member of the regular Democratic National Committee, has refused to recognize either group, but has fought for recognition of colored personalities who win their leadership within the framework of the regular Democratic machine in their respective communities.

Dawson's philosophy is that each leader be recognized by his county, city or State Democratic organization and that the cause of the race cannot be advanced by these individuals separately themselves from their white compatriots and attempting to bring pressure by affiliating themselves together as a "colored bloc."

He opposes any attempts at racial isolation although he thinks they should have a oneness of purpose without resorting to the technique of jim crowing, themselves.

The Afro-American

Cunningham, on the other hand, believes all colored Democrats should pool their strength in pre-convention caucuses and gibe a physical as well as a spiritual manifestation of their combined strength.

Baltimore, Md.

Here Are Stakes

This is the behind the scenes struggle that took shape as the convention opened and here are the stakes.

Sat

If Cunningham succeeds in binding the delegates, alternates and others together in a solid block he will be able to put himself forward as the popular leader of colored Democrats and insist that Dawson is the hand picked leader of the white party bosses.

On the other hand, Dawson in his strong position inside the "Smoke-filled rooms" can approve or veto jobs and appointments and can keep those who lean toward Cunningham from getting patronage for their workers and supporters.

7-17-48

Delegates Divided

That's why most of the delegates were torn between two loyalties. Most of them are uncomfortable in their peculiar and admittedly lonesome marriages to their State delegations where they have little chance to blow off steam and participate in the convention proper.

7-17-48

By attending the Cunningham meetings they make speeches, pass resolutions, serve on committees and have a heck of a good time in spite of the fact that all they do must in turn be submitted to the main convention for ratification or rejection through emissionaries.

Willard Townsend

The Other Side

Defender
Chicago, Ill

I AM FOR HARRY S. TRUMAN

AS this column goes to press, I hope to be in the City of Brotherly Love as an alternate delegate to the National Democratic Convention. Since it is generally known that I am taking a great interest in national politics these days, many queries have been directed to me asking whom I would support in the nomination for president of the United States. Without equivocation, I have said Harry S. Truman, and will continue to say Harry S. Truman.

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7-17-48

It seems to me that those of us who come from minority groups and those of us who serve in the ranks of organized labor certainly would fail dismally if we did not recognize the great contribution that Harry S. Truman has made, not only to the labor movement and to the minority groups in this country, but to the world at large.

7-17-48

Truman's stand on civil rights, to which he has steadfastly clung, has never been equalled by any president in the history of our nation. Not only has he advanced the theory of civil rights in a very practical way, but has gone about making it an actuality. Certainly, Thomas Jefferson did not go this far, neither did Jackson. Lincoln had his reservations and FDR applied it when expedient; but Truman, who had all to lose and not too much to gain, gamely stood out in defiance against the forces of bigotry in behalf of disposed Americans, and has continued to do so.

Not only this, but he fought for price controls as he did against the Taft-Hartley Act and the fraudulent tax reduction act, all of which were defeated by a reactionary Republican Congress who are now saying to us, "Give us your suffrage and in turn we will give you a better administration and a land of milk and honey."

The adroit talk and the zealous fence straddling of Speaker Martin in addressing the National Republican Convention is an indication of what to expect should the Republicans succeed in placing Tom Dewey in the White House. Mr. Martin, in so many words, says that the Republican Party is going to give to the American people a constitutional government. Well, the Republicans have had many years to give us a constitutional government but somehow or other, the Republican Party seems to have been of the opinion that the civil rights section of the Constitution was more or less an appendage to be considered lightly.

Defender

No less adroit and zealous is Henry Wallace, who now comes before the minority groups and certain sections of the organized labor movement with preachments of justice and equality for all, and yet, by his own record, there appears a grave contradiction.

Chicago, Ill.

If we really believe in constitutional government and we are sincerely interested in the welfare of our country, we will not permit ourselves to be misled by the usual political acrobatics that seem to permeate every nook and corner today, but rather will look into the record of those that seek office.

Herb Graffis, in his weekly column of the Chicago Sun-Times a month or so ago stated that the "trouble" with Truman is that he would rather be right than president. He continues by saying, "FAIR-MINDED MEN AND WOMEN, WHEN YOU TALK TO THEM ABOUT WHAT'S THE TROUBLE WITH TRUMAN, NOW ARE BEGINNING TO THINK THAT HE'S BEEN TOO RIGHT IN WORKING FOR THE COMMON INTERESTS OF THE NATION AND NOT GRANDSTANDING ENOUGH FOR THE MANY GROUPS THAT DIVIDE US."

Sat

Thus it is I am prepared, if the occasion warrants, to l it be known that there are some of us in this country who fully appreciate the integrity and the sincerity of those who labor so diligently to make this nation of ours the democracy it should be; and as one member of the Illinois delegation, I INTEND TO BE IN THE CORNER OF HARRY S. TRUMAN UNTIL THE BITTER END.

7-17-48

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Georgia Solid for Russell

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 7-14-48

Pepper Withdraws From Race With Party Unity Plea

By M. L. ST. JOHN
Constitution Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, July 13—Georgia's delegation will ask the Democratic National Convention tomorrow to nominate Sen. Russell for President of the United States. The delegation will not walk out of the Democratic Party.

Meanwhile, Sen. Pepper, in stepping out of the race, spoke gravely of what he called the "splintering of the Democratic Party . . . which is about to be consummated in the Convention."

All in one statement, Pepper called for party unity, heaved bricks at President Truman and the Republicans, and pledged himself to support and work for the Convention nominees.

"The present leadership of the Democratic Party," he said, "has proved incapable of holding the Party together."

Because of "bungling and ineptitude by the present leadership of the Party," the Senator said, Southerners were about to form another party.

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He said such a split would not lead to a war between the States as it did in 1860, but:

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"It most certainly would contribute to a divided world and might mean World War III."

The Georgia policy formally was ratified by the delegation at a caucus this afternoon when it unanimously voted:

1. To place Russell's name in nomination if another State doesn't do so before Georgia's name is called, and keep voting Georgia's 28 votes for Russell until the final gavel falls, and,
2. Against joining any "fourth party movement," which supporters of Arkansas' Ben Laney are planning if they walk out of the Convention.

National Committeeman - Elect Robert Elliott, of Columbus, pointed out that the delegation was not committing Georgia to support President Truman in event he is the Democratic Party's nominee. He said the caucus did not mention a nominee's name at all when it said it would not walk out of the Party.

The Constitution

State Chairman James Peters, of Manchester, said that how Georgians voted in the general election was a matter that addressed itself to each individual Georgian. The only thing the delegation could do, he said, was to fight for the nomination of Russell and fight against the nomination of Mr. Truman and against a civil-rights program in the platform and then go home.

Atlanta, Ga.

National Committeewoman-Elect Iris Blitch, of Homerville, described Chairman Peters' action in walking out of the recent Jackson, Miss., meeting of "States'-rights" Democrats when they wanted to bolt the Party as "the greatest thing that has been done for the Southern wing of the Democratic Party."

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Mrs. Blitch said the South formed the core of the Democratic Party. If the Party were defeated, it would be rebuilt around the Southern core and around States' rights, she predicted.

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Shelby Myrick, of Savannah, reported that the National Party's Credentials Committee came near eliminating delegations from Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia because of their threats to quit the Party. He warned against Georgia, making any threats which would jeopardize its position.

He also said a move was on foot to force all States to pledge to support Mr. Truman after he was nominated.

B. D. Murphy, of Atlanta, made an unsuccessful fight in the National Party Rules Committee to re-establish the two-thirds rule. He said the States opposing the rule always had been "doubtful" States, and he warned that the South now was "doubtful" for the first time.

Charles Bloch, of Macon, was selected in a resolution presented by Spence Grayson, of Savannah, to make the nominating speech for Russell. Sol. Gen. Randall Walker, of Blackshear, introduced the resolution to nominate Russell.

George Googe, of Atlanta, AFL leader and Truman supporter, said he would go along with Georgia's delegation on Russell.

A. L. Henson, of Atlanta, and H. G. Bell, of Bainbridge, called for Georgia to remain Democratic, stating it was the only State never to leave this party.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, of Athens, and Judge T. Hicks Fort, of Columbus, were in high dudgeon early today over reports that the national party's Platform Committee had met without notifying them. Later they learned that it was a subcommittee which met. They were to attend a session of the full Committee later today.

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Truman Williams, youngest delegate at the convention, declared he had been misquoted by a newspaper stating he would vote for Dewey in the general election. He said the paper did not carry his full quotation and that it also jumped at a conclusion.

The 18-year-old Notre Dame student from Douglas, Ga., said he had declared he did not want Truman or Wallace or Dewey, but that the paper (not The Constitution) failed to add the "or Dewey" and jumped at the conclusion that he would bolt the Democratic party. Williams said he would not leave the party.

Sen. Pepper Sails Hat Into Presidential Ring

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Mon 7-12-48

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

PHILADELPHIA, July 11—(AP Revolt flared up from the South and parts of the North tonight—but the Truman-for-President bandwagon rolled on with hardly a jolt.

And the Democratic high command opened the door wide to Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas for the Vice Presidential nomination. But Douglas wasn't talking and the race stayed wide open.

Justice Douglas

These were the top developments as the Party's national convention got ready to open tomorrow:

Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida added spice to the hitherto dullish proceedings by proclaiming that he was bowing to a draft and would run against Mr. Truman for the Presidential nomination. There were few votes behind him.

Rebellious Southerners threatened to pick a third candidate, or even to run a man of their own against Mr. Truman and Republican Tomas F. Dewey in November.

They hollered their approval of caucus jabs at the President and his civil rights program, and then they decided to let a committee see what can be done about selecting a Dixie standard bearer in the next day or two.

Frank Hague, New Jersey leader, called on the State's Democratic Convention Delegation to vote for Harry Truman for the Presidential nomination.

Hague is one of those who was calling last week for a draft of Gen. Eisenhower.

The meeting of the Delegation and State Democratic leaders adjourned without action.

Southern leaders were saying what nearly everybody else was—that Mr. Truman is going to be nominated on the Convention's first ballot.

Americans for Democratic Action gave up on Justice Douglas for the Presidential nomination. They were late, because most delegates had done so long before.

ADA Chairman Leon Henderson announced that "we will accede" to Douglas' wishes that ADA stop its drive for him. Henderson said "it has been widely reported President Truman wants Douglas to run for the Vice Presidency" and that the organization hopes the Justice now "will make himself available" for the Vice Presidential spot.

And tonight Douglas looked like as good a bet as anyone, and a better bet than most, for second place on the ticket.

Top men in the Party and Convention were flirting with the idea of Douglas for Vice President. But the Justice himself was being coy and having "no comment."

The Pepper people moved into a headquarters once used by backers of the abortive boom for Gen. Eisenhow. They pulled down Eisenhower's picture but left up the signs saying "People's Choice for President."

A seven-member committee of Democrats who wanted somebody other than Mr. Truman announced late today they had settled on the Florida Senator who has the reputation of being one of the most leftish men in the Party.

The committee included William Ritchie, Nebraska State Chairman; Joseph M. Baird, of New York; Harry Carlson, New Hampshire National Committeeman; William W. Shayne, of Florida; Robert George, Kansas; Joseph DeSilva, California, and August Scholle, Michigan.

Then Pepper turned up with his "I accept" pronouncement at a news conference in his new headquarters.

Seated at a table behind a battery of microphones, his pretty wife beside him, the Senator said he came to Philadelphia with the belief "the one man to lead this nation was Dwight D. Eisenhower."

But since Eisenhower refused to be drafted, Pepper said:

"Many delegates have been looking for someone to present the principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt. They have been looking for a man to express these principles. I accept."

He said he had a "good hope" of winning, that liberals in the convention would flock to him.

Pepper has long been a favorite of the CIO. Today Jack Kroll, Director of the CIO Political Action Committee, said in reply to a question that Pepper's entering the contest would be a "healthy thing." But an aide of Kroll said this should not be interpreted as a flat CIO-PAC indorsement.

At any rate, Mr. Truman's critics had no hope of stopping him from getting the nomination.

Even the Dixie Democrats conceded he will be nominated on the first ballot along about Wednesday, and that all they could do at this time was lodge a protest against it.

While Douglas has disclaimed any interest either in the presidential or vice presidential nomination, it became clear that he was officially sounded out once again for second place on the 1948 ticket.

A prominent party member who didn't want his name used said as much.

Then National Chairman J. Howard McGrath supplied what looked like confirmation. He told a news conference it was "a fair assumption" Douglas hadn't made up his mind yet about becoming the vice-presidential nominee.

He said friends of the justice were consulting both himself and Douglas, who is out in Oregon.

Would Douglas be acceptable to Mr. Truman for a running mate? A reporter inquired.

"I am sure," the national chairman said, "the President will accept as his running male any man the convention chooses to nominate."

He said yes, that meant the vice-presidential contest still is wide open.

McGrath said the chances are increasing that Mr. Truman will appear at the convention before it adjourns.

The Southerners made plenty of noise and stirred up plenty of enthusiasm at their conference. But there wasn't much real action after the speeches.

Sen. McClellan, of Arkansas, said delegates from an even dozen Southern states were among the 400 people at the caucus. But many were spectators or reporters.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, asked the Southerners to place a candidate of their own in nomination against Mr. Truman. He accused Mr. Truman of stabbing the South in the back. He called Mr. Truman's civil rights program "damnable."

And the delegates stomped and broke into rebel yells.

Sitting in but taking no part was James Roosevelt, son of the late President and chairman of the California delegation. Roosevelt was one of the leaders in a deflated boom for Eisenhower.

Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, who presided, said after the session that some Southern delegates may take a walk when Mr. Truman is nominated.

McGrath told reporters he didn't think that was right.

Earlier, Chairman W. H. Talbot, of the Louisiana delegation told a reporter it would "not bolt" the Convention.

In the vice presidential picture, James A. Farley stood out against Douglas. He told reporters:

"I don't think Douglas would add as much to the ticket as the others. And there would be considerable opposition to him in the Convention."

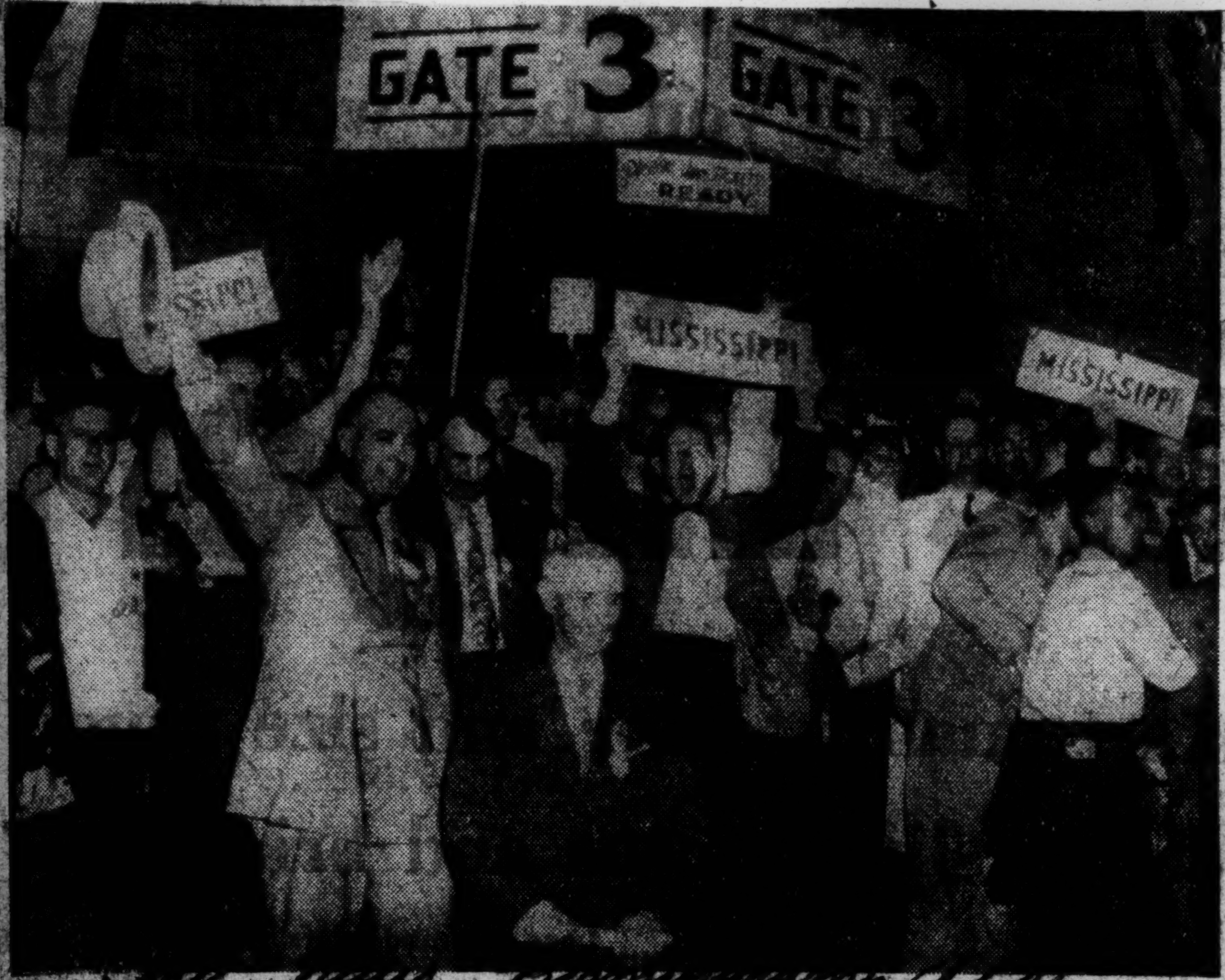
The man who master-minded the first two victories of Franklin D. Roosevelt listed five men he thought would be better:

Senators Barkley, of Kentucky; O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, and Tydings, of Maryland; Atty. Gen. Clark and House Democratic Leader Sam Rayburn, of Texas.

The outlook for a slam-bang convention floor fight widened as Dan Moody, former Texas Governor and a Platform Committee member, issued a statement declaring "so-called civil-rights" advocates aim "to take the South through a new reconstruction era—this time by Federal law rather than Federal bayonets."

President Truman is a shoo-in for the presidential nomination. And the top man on the ticket always has the big say about second spot.

Postmaster General Jesse Donaldson told a reporter there "definitely will be no decision on the Vice Presidency for another 24 hours." Donaldson had just conferred with McGrath.



The News Birmingham, Ala.

MISSISSIPPIANS LEAVE—Members of the Mississippi walkout delegation gathered under state banners outside the Philadelphia convention hall last night after bolting the Democratic National Convention. (Associated Press wirephoto.) Thurs. 7-15-48

Ex-Gov. Sparks Grim As Battle Is Lost At Philly

The News

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, July 15—Nomination of the Truman-Barkley presidential ticket and adopting of an even stronger than expected "civil rights" plank in the Democratic platform may bring a far-reaching political revolution in the South.

That was the opinion expressed today by Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, after having watched the Democratic National Convention steamroller at work before it ground to a close in the early morning hours.

Sparks, Alabama delegate-at-large and a key man on the platform-writing committee of the convention, sat solemn-faced as he and the other thousands who packed the meeting hall watched the dramatic walkout of half the Alabama and all the Mississippi delegates.

Birmingham, Ala.

NORTHERN and Eastern liberals, who dominated the convention, rode roughshod over the Southern rebels. They treated the Dixie delegates, including those like Sen. Lister Hill, Sparks and the others who remained in the convention, as well as those who walked out, with arrogant rudeness. Thurs.

For sheer drama—many of the delegates from states in the North and West didn't believe the Dixie revolters actually would take a walk—the walkout led by Alabama Chairman Handy Ellis was a climactic moment in prolonged and stormy final day of the convention. 7-15-48

Sparks, who stayed in the convention and voted with Alabamians and other Southern delegates for Georgia Sen. Richard B. Russell, was not happy over the outcome and viewed Democratic prospects in the coming presidential election gloomily. What may happen to the South disturbed him even more.

"This convention may mean a far-reaching political revolution throughout the South," said Sparks, who worked long and hard along with other Southerners on the platform-drafting subcommittee. They tried to kill off the "civil rights" proposals by watering them down so as to be acceptable to the rebellious Southerners. 7-15-48

J. M. BONNER, Camden, delegate-at-large, and E. C. (Bud) Boswell, Geneva, Third District delegate, who served with Sparks on the platform and resolutions committee in the final day of its work, walked out with Chairman Ellis and others of the walkout faction which made up 13 of the 26 members. The News

As a result of the convention adopting the strong "civil rights" plank, regarded by the Alabamians and other Southerners as much more unacceptable than anticipated planks, together with nomination of President Truman, the former governor told this reporter:

"We've got to go home and study our situation and, in co-operation with other states, determine a policy for the South.

"We have been traditionally Democratic because of what the Democratic Party stood for. It seems to have abandoned those principles here. The South may, therefore, be forced to seek more congenial association."

By this, Sparks said, he doesn't mean that the South would go Republican, because he considers GOP political company not at all congenial.

It also was a dramatic moment for the 13 non-walkouters in the Alabama delegation who remained in the convention when Sen. Hill was handed the floor microphone by walkout Chairman Ellis. These on the evenly-divided delegation who opposed a walkout had wanted Hill chosen chairman.

Hill promptly yielded Alabama's top place on the roll call of states to Georgia for the nomination of Sen. Russell—the man the Dixie state delegates supported futilely but enthusiastically.

Birmingham, Ala.

"WE'RE GOING TO STAY in this convention and fight Harry Truman," declared Hill. They did. They not only supported the Georgian for president but also for vice president, well knowing he had no chance to win either place over the opposition of Mr. Truman and Kentucky Sen. Alben Barkley.

It had been Barkley who had revived the badly-sagging convention with his keynote speech. The final day's dramatic development climaxed by the walkout and nomination of standard bearers, gave the streamlined convention new life and vigor. Thurs.

The walkout, led by the Alabamians, had been delayed several hours because Permanent Chairman Sam Rayburn refused to recognize Ellis, Eugene Connor, John Mandeville and others of the walkout group who shouted to the chair and waved banners frantically. They had done this when the platform, with its greatly strengthened "civil rights" plank, had been adopted. Their pledges to the voters of the state were that they would walk out if the "civil rights" proposals were included in the party platform. Finally, after a recess, Ellis was recognized by the chair and he told the huge convention gathering: 7-15-48

"At this time, without hatred, without fear, but with disillusionment, we are carrying out our pledge to the people of Alabama. We bid you goodbye."

Ellis and the other walk-outers were on their way, bearing the Alabama convention banner and a state flag. A swarm of photographers and reporters had hovered around the delegation most of the day. They surged after them in a wild scramble toward the door.

Radio reporters grabbed several of them for network interviews. It was a big news story, whatever it may or may not mean to the South.

AS FOR THIS, Probate Judge Hardy Riddle, Talladega, delegation vice chairman, said: "I don't know how much good we can do with tactics we're using, but I do know the South has got to the point where it is receiving absolutely no consideration from the Democratic Party. Things are getting worse," Riddle asserted. "It has got where one district in Harlem has more influence with the party than all the Southern states." 7/15/48

State Sen. Graham Wright, also of Talladega, pointed out this was the second national party convention he had attended. He said he was becoming more convinced that results of these conventions were cut and dried not to give the South anything. The News

"I personally think it's the beginning of the end for the Democratic Party," said Wright.

Besides Ellis, Connor, Bonner, Boswell and Riddle and Wright, others who took a walk were Albert Stapp, Jess Edwards, Tom King, H. M. Abercrombie, John Mandeville, John Moore and Thomas H. Maxwell. 7-15-48

Atty. Gen. Albert Carmichael had delivered a seconding speech in behalf of Russell, whose record in Congress and in other endeavors was pointed to with pride. George Wallace, Clayton, Third District alternate, who was elevated to a regular place on the delegation because of the illness of L. A. Farmer, placed Sen. Russell's name in nomination for the vice presidency. In one of the convention's shortest speeches, Wallace described Russell as "the man who will see that the South will not be crucified on the cross of civil rights." Birmingham, Ala.

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fully supplied in every particular. With this army of 500,000 the nation could deal with its enemy while the great civilian army was being trained." 7-15-48

* * *

Barkley, O'Mahoney and McCormack Entered

Times Picayune

(The Associated Press)

Convention Hall, Philadelphia, July 12.—Democrats set their national convention going today with oratorical thunderings against the Republicans and a scramble to find the right team to run against them.

Harry S. Truman will be half the team. New Orleans

The big question tonight was: Who will be put in harness to run alongside him? Wed.

The names of three men were openly entered in the contest—Sens. Alben Barkley of Kentucky and Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming and Rep. John W. McCormack of Massachusetts. A horde of other possibilities got mention.

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It won't be Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. A beckoning finger was pointed his way but he refused to get down off the bench, even at Mr. Truman's own request.

The convention cast Barkley in a starring role tonight, a role that put him in a strategic position to win the acclaim and a following among the hundreds of delegates.

Barkley Blasts GOP

For it was Barkley to whom Democrats assigned their convention keynote speech. And Barkley poured it on, as he has done in conventions of the past that held high a torch for Franklin D. Roosevelt, and as he has done from his position of leadership of Democratic forces in the Senate.

"Our claim upon the confidence of the people," he said, "rests upon a consistent, constructive and farsighted record of devotion to the people's welfare; a record which - rescued the American economy of free enterprise from a collapse we did not foster; a record which four times the American people have overwhelmingly endorsed."

Barkley lit into the GOP especially on its record in Congress. Wed. 7-13-48

"There is the record of things promised and not accomplished," he said. "There is the record of attempted sabotage of some of the greatest programs ever inaugurated by the American government."

The senator ladled out the expected praise for the New Deal, which he said the Republicans denounced in their convention speeches and then in their platform "hugged to their political bosom as if it were the child of their own loins."

'Wide Open,' Says Flynn

As the convention headed into its second session tonight, huddles in downtown hotels were credited with setting the stage for the choice of a running mate after Mr. Truman walks away with the presidential nomination along about Wednesday.

In those huddles were some of the men who supported Mr. Truman for second place four years ago.

Edward Flynn of New York, former Democratic national chairman, meandered through convention headquarters.

"The field is wide open, evidently," he remarked to newsmen.

Barkley was in the race because Gov. Earle C. Clements of Kentucky put him there. Clements said Barkley didn't want anyone to start a campaign for him but his name was going to be put in nomination just the same.

Clements claimed a lot of delegates wanted Barkley for vice-president.

McCormack in Contest

McCormack, who had been saying he was available, came right out with an announcement of his candidacy. He said he would withdraw only on request of Mr. Truman.

"There is a growing sentiment," he told a news conference, "that President Truman's running mate should be from the East. There's a strong sentiment I'm the man who would bring the greatest strength to the ticket." 7-13-48

McCormack said he had pledges of support from Rep. Clarence Cannon of Missouri, Rep. John W. Flannagan, Jr., of Virginia, Former Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson, and A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

O'Mahoney has been in the race ever since there was one. He is the only candidate with an official headquarters. And he has some strong support from the Mid-West and Far West. 7-13-48

But support began piling up today behind other men, too. Gov. William Preston Lane of Maryland, for instance.

'Wait and See' Attitude

But that first ballot for vice-president doesn't come until Wednesday or Thursday.

So delegation after delegation took a "wait and see" stand. They left it to Mr. Truman to call the signals. One prominent Democrat said he might do so in a telephone talk tonight with his lieutenants at the convention.

The president clearly was just as able to name a vice-presidential candidate as he was to run away with the presidential nomination for himself.

Yet anti-Truman forces refused to cave in completely beneath the Truman steamroller.

Rebelling Southerners kept insisting they would cast some votes for Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas for the presidential nomination. Laney was the man they picked in the early morning hours to carry their colors in opposition to Mr. Truman and his civil rights program. Jul 7-13-48

Other discontented Democrats, tag ends of collapsed efforts to shunt Douglas or Gen. Dwight Eisenhower to the White House, tried to whip up support for Senator Claude Pepper of Florida. Pepper agreed last night to run for them.

But nobody even pretended Laney or Pepper would get any farther than preventing a clean sweep for Mr. Truman on the first roll call.

Parading onto the speaker's platform today were some party regulars who swung into the first speeches of the convention.

Blast at Republicans

Mayor David Lawrence of Pittsburgh opened the convention, 43 minutes late. But he and some others gave the delegates something to cheer about as they came out swinging at the Republicans.

"High-tariff, special privilege, duck-the-taxes, beat-down-labor, forget-the-world Republicans," Lawrence roared. Delegates roared, too.

Senator Francis Myers of Pennsylvania said that the GOP picked "their best loser" in Gov. Thomas E. Dewey. History will repeat itself in November, Myers predicted, when the Democrats will lick Dewey again.

That was the general nature of the talks—except for a greeting from Mayor Bernard Samuel of Philadelphia. He's a Republican.

For the most part, the opening session was for organization purposes, for getting things started and for giving delegates something to do.

But many of them preferred to stay away from the hall entirely. And there were thousands of empty seats in the double-decked spectator galleries.

'No Reason for Despondency'

One reason was that the big show was playing under the main tent. The real convention maneuvers were taking place a mile or so away, at headquarters in the Bellevue-Stratford hotel and in hideouts of party big shots in other hotels.

In the convention auditorium and in the hotel conferences, there was nothing like the noise and excitement of the GOP meeting last month. This time there was no clash of rival personalities in a scramble for the presidential nomination.

The contrast was so noticeable that Paul V. McNutt felt called upon to tell the rest of the Indiana delegation:

"There is no reason for this apparent despondency. We must get out and fight."

Eight years ago, McNutt was the popular choice of the Democratic convention for vice-president. But Franklin D. Roosevelt gave the nod to Henry A. Wallace instead.

Platform Troubles

The Democrats were having platform troubles, too, because of that civil rights issue.

Some of the liberals in the party want to write in a plank promising the laws Mr. Truman has recommended against lynching, poll taxes and racial discrimination in employment.

The South says it will have none of that.

And both sides threatened to fight it out on the convention floor if they didn't get their way.

Whether the platform-makers could go down the middle and please both factions was a big question.

A small committee of seven finished a first draft of the platform early this morning. It was handed to a bigger committee of 18 for inspection. Then it goes to a still larger committee of 108, and finally to the convention itself.

As it left the hands of the seven-man committee, one member said the civil rights plank was planed to about the shape of the one in 1944. That was in such general language Southerners didn't have much objection to it.

Vice-President Issue

This time, there is doubt whether such language would prevent a battle by Northerners for something stronger.

The vice-presidential ruckus took on some of the aspects of a battle royal, too.

You could name practically any Democrat you ever heard of and find somebody saying kind words about him as a second-place possibility.

Some delegates were saying it would be a good idea to get away from possibly overpublicized contenders and center on a horse of a darker color for the race.

Springing up here and there were names like:

Paul Porter, former OPA administrator and former head of the federal communications commission; Wilson Wyatt, who used to be mayor of Louisville and federal housing administrator; former Sen. Sam Jackson of Indiana, Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing, Sen. Harley Kilgore of West Virginia.

Douglas Deals Self Out

A cabinet member told a reporter that one group of Truman aids sitting in on the convention likes Sen. Barkley or Governor Lane, either of whom would probably be acceptable to the South.

He said another group rather likes Ewing. This is the group, he said, that pushed Douglas along to the point where the job was offered to him.

Douglas dealt himself out first thing this morning.

The first word that he wouldn't take the vice-presidential nomination came from convention officials. At first it was anonymous. Then Publicity Director John Redding announced it.

Douglas followed through with a statement at Portland, Ore. He recalled that four years ago Franklin Roosevelt said both he and Mr. Truman would be acceptable running mates.

"I thought then, as I think now," the justice said, "that no person while a member of the supreme court, should seek political preferment.

'Definitely Not Available'

". . . I feel deeply that my greatest service to the nation at the present time is to remain on the supreme court. . . . And so I say definitely and finally that I am not available for any public office." 7-13-48

A Democrat in a position to have inside information told a reporter he understood Douglas had held off his refusal until just before the convention began because he was trying to find some way of running and staying on the bench at the same time.

This official represented Mr. Truman as being against that.

Mr. Truman's home state, Missouri, began talking about Governor Lane of Maryland. Chicago Democratic Chief Jacob M. Arvey said he "liked" Lane.

But Arvey and National Committeeman Edward J. Kelly of Illinois both agreed Barkley would be "all right."

Barkley spoke up for himself long enough to tell a reporter he wasn't a candidate. But friends said they were sure he could be drafted.

Group for Barkley

Senate colleagues spoke up for him. Senator Ernest W. McFarland of Arizona said he thought "it's Barkley" although he had no word from the White House. Senator Olin C. Johnston of South Carolina said personally he thought Barkley would do.

Johnston has been a leader of the Southern revolt against Mr. Truman.

Kentucky's governor and delegation chairman, Earle C. Clements, announced that Barkley's name definitely will be put in nomination. He said that will be done although the senator expressly had asked that the step not be taken.

But, said Clements in a statement: 7-13-48

"It is apparent that without any effort or campaign on his behalf, a large majority of the delegates to this convention not only desire but demand the nomination of Senator Barkley for the vice-presidency."

Governor Beauford Jester, chairman of the Texas delegation, said the state could find "no objections" to Barkley as they could to Douglas.

Pickets Protesting Army Jim-Crow March on Dems

(From Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

PHILADELPHIA—A picket line, led by A. Philip Randolph, was thrown across the front of Convention Hall here just before the first session of the Democratic National Convention Monday of this week. The pickets carried signs protesting Army jim crow and urging the Democrats to take a strong stand against segregation in the armed services.

Mr. Randolph led a similar picket line during the Republican National Convention here last month. He is secretary of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training and is the originator of the projected civil disobedience movement in protest against racial discrimination in the Army.

Meanwhile, a new organization, growing out of the Committee Again Jim Crow, was formed to direct the civil disobedience campaign. It was organized following Congressional passage of draft legislation which carries no provision for the elimination of segregation.

Called the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation, this organization last week called upon Negro and white clergymen to set aside Sunday, July 25, as a Day of Prayer in behalf of all young men who violate the Selective Service law because of racial segregation. Mr. Randolph is chairman of the new organization. Bayard Rustin of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is executive secretary.

Texas, Swinging Round to Truman, Puts Squeeze On Arkansas Governor

Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.

Jul. 7-13-48

Laney Chides Mind Changers

By WILLIAM S. WHITE.

Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal.

Philadelphia, July 12.—The Texas delegation, the most powerful from the South, began tonight a counterattack against extreme Southern rebels intended to framment or destroy a possible Southern bolt against President Truman in November.

Asks Where Courage Is.

The Texas leaders, with the apparent support of a heavy majority of their associates, declined to promise Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas even so much as a token vote for the presidential nomination unless he publicly pledged that he wuold support Truman in November.

Governor Laney, in response to an extraordinary summons, went before the Texas group tonight to refuse to make such a promise. He declared he would not vote for Truman, and cried out, "Where is the courage of Texas?"

The Governor early this morning had been put forward as a "States'-rights" candidate by the wing standing irreconcilably—and hopelessly, so fas as the Democratic National Convention is concerned—against President Truman. His followers laid claim to full support only from three Southern delegations — Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina —and desperately sought the help of the larger and more influential groups, mainly Texas.

Want Strong Demonstration.

They were fully prepared to concede privately that Truman would be nominated, but they wanted to make the strongest demonstration possible.

This was actually in pursuit of what has become the only real Southern aim now—a desperate effort to exercise pressure on the convention to get the softest possible civil-rights plan.

Laney appeared before the Texans at 8:35 p.m. to give a manifesto of his position.

For hours a Texas committee had been trying to find him, and when at length he arrived he told the Texans:

"I was a little hard to find, but it was not intentional. I don't have a thing in the world to hide. I've gone too far to try to dodge this issue and I have no inclination to dodge it. 7-13-48

'No Time to Quibble.'

"The time has come when some of you had better stand on your feet and say what you think. If I a mto have a creditable vote in the convention—and I am trying only to save a situation, a party, and a country—we need Texas.

"This s no time to quibble in small matters. The Democratic Party is on the ropes tonight. The Democratic 'leadership has so handled the situation that there is now no possible unification.

Column 5, back page, this section.

"You, yourself, don't believe in the things Harry Truman has advocated and will advocate."

Laney, a leader among Southern rebels who have threatened a rump convention in Birmingham, recalled with irony that Governor Beauford Jester of Texas, head of the Texas delegation, himself had participated in the early discussions that led to the Birmingham plan.

'Trying to Put Me On Spot.'

Jester remained silent and Laney went on, his voice rising and shaking in the hot, silent room:

"You are trying to put me on the spot. All right. You want me to tell you what I'm going to do. Well, I'll tell you.

"For my part I want nothing from the Democratic Party if I have got to comprdmise principle. Let us all examine our hearts and consciences and vote as they tell us.

Jul. 7-13-48

"I shall use every measure that is legal and proper in this fight. I am going through with it. Millions of Southerners are going through with it.

Texas' Position Strange.

"I am going to do it whether you vote for me or not."

Texas was in a strange position. Its delegation had indicated 100 per cent dissatisfaction with President Truman and its civil-rights program, but nevertheless was not willing to give any sort of aid or comfort to any who might bolt Truman in November.

The state, moreover, was in a tactical position of the greatest importance. Many among the more experienced Southern politicians had conceded all along that the South, even in offering a symbolic candidate in the convention against Truman, must be united to make the gesture very effective.

Civil Rights Victory Aided By D. C. Group

Washington Post

By a Post Reporter

Philadelphia, July 14.—The District of Columbia's 12-member, six-vote delegation had a reason to cheer today when the Democratic Convention refused to compromise and backed up tre President's civil rights points.

The entire District delegation voted for Minneapolis Mayor Hubert Humphrey's spell-out civil rights points. Two members of the group figured prominently in the backstage strategy leading to the coup.

They were Joseph L. Rauh, jr., chairman of the national executive board of Americans for Democratic Action, and Tilford E. Dudley, an assistant director of CIO-PAC.

Rauh worked closely with Humphrey in some of the early planning, and both District representatives were present when a 12-State ADA caucus Tuesday night decided the resolution committee's compromise wasn't enough.

Thu. 7-15-48

As a result of the caucus, and later directions from his Minnesota delegation, Humphrey took his four-point demands to the Resolutions Committee and later to the convention.

The District, farthest south of any of the so-called northern liberal delegations supporting the change, played a role second only to Minnesota, said Dudley.

Dudley said ADA Leader Rauh was hte most active, but the entire District delegation backed him up.

A. L. Wheeler, another District delegate, said the District Democratic delegation has always plugged for civil rights just as it has pushed for District suffrage. In 1944, he said, they won on District suffrage but got a weaker civil rights plank than they wanted.

"We feel real proud tonight," said Wheeler. "We won on both counts."

Change---But Not Death

CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA—As the Democratic Convention dragged through the dreadful, wet heat of a humid, steaming July day and night with adjournment probable at some hour well into Thursday morning, a few concrete results were apparent.

One was that the Party is going to be out of office for eight or 12 years because it is finished as it was. It is by no means dead. The Republican papers have scolded this Convention and lectured it, but it has had a lot of vitality for all its record of dullness. The Party is headed for some sort of reorganization. Exactly what it will be no one may see for sure in the heat and fury of this last, strength-sapping day. But it is not a dying party. It is a party in which there are deep issues and differences which, for the first time since 1856 and 1860, are being fought out and not appeased and compromised. The Democratic Party, always a curiously composed one of diverse elements, has had unity only when some strong man came along to cause the contending elements to compromise and dull the edges of their differences.

Looking at it now, one sees that the late Franklin D. Roosevelt had other aids to Party unity in addition to his own genius for politics and persuasion. He had the compelling need to join hands to fight a depression and a great war, as forces for unity.

Atlanta Constitution

Now, paradoxically, with the country prosperous and with more men and women working than ever before in the nation's history, there is no unity.

For the first time in the history of the post-Civil War Democratic Party, bitter and deep-seated issues, involving long-established customs and traditions, are being challenged.

Thurs. 7-15-48

The Republican Convention was dull. It's side-show of rival candidates was exciting with cheese and free soft drinks and bands and special songs and great rallies. But, its actual convention was dull. This convention has been exciting since it got under way, which was Tuesday. It has tenseness and fight. It is driving toward defeat but also toward reorganization. It will be back eight or 12 years from now. And with unity.

The floor fight on the minority move to expel the delegates from Mississippi who were seated by a narrow margin of three votes by the Credentials Committee, and the following demand of the industrial states to be on record against the Mississippians, was symbolic of the deeper issues which came up today for bitter debate and a hard and fast division. Symbolic, too, is the plank for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

Rarely has any political convention had as much vitality. And also, rarely has one had so great a gulf driven between two factions. It is a gulf so wide and deep that some states float within it, like lost suns, belonging to neither of the two worlds, not yet ready or able to become fixed.

Thu. 7-15-48

So, one may say today with some assurance there will be Democratic defeat in November. That is no new deduction, but it is plainer now. Yet one now can see, also, that the Democratic Party has been in the process of change for some time and that it is going on to become a different party in which the urban centers will be its chief strength and interest. The proposal to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act will drive out many now in the Party. It is possible the rural regions, not merely of the South, but of the other regions as well, may leave it in the years ahead. But, in those years ahead, the two-party system seems sure of continuing and there will come a unified Democratic Party. Many of us will not like it. But it is coming. It will not be the Party of Cleveland, Wilson and Roosevelt, any more than the Party of their time was the Party of Van Buren, Taylor and Fillmore.

Already the oldest political party in the nation, the Democrats are not going to die. They are going to change, whether for better or worse, none may now say.

R. M.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

A Quiet Political Essay

Atlanta, Ga

Fri. 4-30-48

Certain straws in the political winds may be clutched and examined for signs. Two of them now are in the air. Both are significant.

In Alabama, where the fires of Southern revolt have been fanned the hardest by the same old anti-Roosevelt crowd so active against the President in 1940 and 1944, and against Sen. Hill in 1944, there seem to be signs of a slowing down.

Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, speaking in Montgomery, has put up red stoplights on the Philadelphia Convention exits, where the more hotheaded of his contemporaries have been trying to install a green "go" system. (Gov. Folsom weeks ago put up his own stoplight.)

"This talk of bolting the convention," former Gov. Sparks said, "is foolish and impractical. Threatening to walk out of the convention is no way to block the Truman recommendations," he insisted, suggesting instead a fight in the platform committee and on the floor.

Reversal

Alabama's candidates for delegates have gone so far it will be difficult for them to reverse themselves. They are pledged to walk out, through a stoplight, if necessary.

The pity of it is, from the South's viewpoint, that we listened to the hotheads. Calm voices were, for the most part, afraid to speak for fear there would be those who would charge them with being "for" the Truman civil rights recommendations. So, the most impractical and the most illogical voices had the stage all to themselves, with results that now are plainly seen as impractical and harmful to the Southern position. Fri.

It is disturbingly comparable to the days of 1860, when the calm voices of the South went unheeded, and the hotheads pushed us into a war we might have avoided. 4-30-48

Now, the more calm voices are being heard. One may hope it is not too late.

Georgia

In this connection, it is worth noting that Georgia's committee course has been calm and intelligent. Chairman James Peters has run neither with the hare nor hounds. He has skillfully kept the lines tight against, one may assume, the usual pressure from those who always want to stage a runaway, even if they smash the buggy against a tree.

Georgia politicians, even of the present generation, remember that Tom Watson once bolted the party. The historic lesson of that titanic struggle in which Watson's great courage and political genius could not win, remain.

The Constitution

After

The national party may be bankrupt after November, but there will be a Democratic Party long after Mr. Truman and the present issues are settled and accepted.

All over the South politicians are beginning to think of that.

Georgia is not the only State that has been calm. North Carolina, Tennessee and Florida have been relatively calm, participating in conferences more or less experimentally. As in 1860, the worst and the most dangerously unsound leadership came most vocally from South Carolina and Florida. To these, in 1948, must be added Virginia. But, even there the Byrd machine had to water down its original proposals.

There likely will be four States which will have at least some delegates who will walk out of the convention if it adopts civil rights measures even comparable with those of 1944. Others will concentrate on defeating Truman. Decision as to withholding electors will come after the election in November.

Atlanta, Ga.

National

That second straw was an announcement by Georgia's junior Senator, the able Richard B. Russell, that he would seek to line up support for Georgia's favorite son, the senior Senator, Walter F. George. Fri. 4-30-48

Some time ago it was argued here that a mild George boom would inevitably develop. The Russell announcement means that the committee seeking to find another candidate to replace Truman, which group was led by Sen. Russell, has been unable to find one.

Sen. George, who has not sought to have his name placed before the convention, but who quite understandably will not forbid it, is likely to get support from a half dozen States, not all of them from the South, in the early balloting. Should the anti-Truman campaign gain real strength, as now does not appear likely, Sen. George would benefit from that.

It now appears, however, that Truman is more assured of the nomination than before, and he always has seemed the best bet, largely because, as the Russell announcement confirms, that careful search has revealed no other candidate strong enough to replace him nationally. But his defeat in November assumes even heavier proportions. For the Democrats these be doleful days. 4-30-48

~~Atlanta Constitution~~, Atlanta, Ga.

Will the Storm Gather Force?

Fri. 7-16-48

PHILADELPHIA—(This is a dispatch that might be dropped overboard in a bottle to wash up on some of our Southern or Northern shores any time in the weeks or months hence and it may look just like one in any other bottles that might have been fished out of the sea in the last hundred years.)

It is written in a storm, not a storm at sea, but a storm on a convention floor. Angry men and women are shouting, almost snarling, at each other over an issue that still isn't settled and bobs up every so often first to plague, then to break up for a time, one of our great political parties.

It is the great issue of human rights which rises eternally in one form or another.

State placards are bobbing angrily, too, like life preservers clutched frantically by men and women tossed into a raging sea from a sinking ship, and the simile seems apt, for there is something reminiscent of a sinking ship in this episode here.

7-16-48

By the time this dispatch gets to its destination, even by our fast modern communication system, the storm now raging before the eyes of this reporter will have long since passed. The Democratic Party will have adopted its platform, the civil rights plank of which is the cause of this storm. It will have its candidates for President and Vice President in Harry S. Truman and Sen. Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky. Southerners will have hurled their last defiant rebel yell and a corps of workmen who live by their muscles honestly and not by their wits precariously like politicians will have cleaned away the debris, the posters, the campaign buttons, to make the hall ready for another convention which will nominate two more men for President and Vice President in a third party—to reveal again the turmoil and uncertainty of the times in which we live.

This great hall here has seen some history in the last few weeks as perspiring men and women have sat here in the heat under the lights. For the first time, because of television, they have done their work, made their speeches and listened to speeches, boiled up in enthusiasm and anger, lke actors on a Hollywood set—in public view. And that, of itself, is a piece of history.

Fri. 7-16-48

The Republicans were here first before the Democrats and the Henry Wallace third party comes next. The first and the last of these are not disturbed by the issue that is the cause of this storm here among the Democrats. Republicans settled it for themselves when Abraham Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation on Jan. 1, 1863, midway of the War Between the States, and therefore they can give it lip service constantly, year after year, without objection. It is accepted, too, by the Henry Wallace party.

But Democrats are still tortured with it because of their Southern wing, even though, as a number of speakers here have pointed out, their party has accomplished much in the last 16 years to break down racial and religious discriminations through the influence of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

But Harry S. Truman went the more politic Franklin D. Roosevelt one better. He spelled it all out in very specific terms and asked Congress, bluntly, to make it the law of the land. So he raised up for himself the storm that rages about him here.

As we watch, the storm rises and then abates, and all in so short a time.

But the spectacle here is timeless, as timeless as the great fight for human rights. The scene is like something out of a history book, with only the costumes different. It might have been a convention in that troubled decade before the War Between the States when earnest men searched anxiously for compromise on an issue that won't be compromised. The same bitter words were said.

The Whig Party tried to compromise it, and withered away in the process. A new party was born and became strong because it would not compromise it, and that party since has ruled periodically for long stretches and seems now on the verge of returning to power again, though not, of course, only because of that issue.

The Democratic Party finally splintered off into three national conventions in 1860 and was not able to pull itself together for a long time afterward, for this is an issue that tears men apart so they cannot work together in peace.

Again the Southerners talk of another convention of their own—of going down to Birmingham.

Why don't they go to Montgomery where the Confederate States of America was created? The cycle would be complete.

7-16-48

DEMOCRATS DECIDE ON TRUMAN-BARKLEY TICKET IN PHILLY MEET

34d

Vaughn Report Almost Ousts Revolting Mississippi Delegation

The Black Dispatch Okla.

BIRMINGHAM PARLEY CALLED SATURDAY

Sat. 7/24/48

PHILADELPHIA (Convention Hall)—Enraged Southerners, frantic because a majority of the delegates attending the Democratic National Convention voted down a state rights plank in the platform and commended the chief executive for his stand upon civil rights and nominated President Truman to succeed himself in office, called a seceding convention that convened in Birmingham, Ala., Saturday.

Take a Walk

All of the Mississippi delegation, led by Governor Fielding Wright, along with half of the Alabama delegation, left convention hall Wednesday following the overwhelming vote rejecting the civil rights proposal by delegate Dan Moody of Texas.

Negro Blasts Mississippians

The fireworks started Tuesday night when Attorney George L. Vaughn, Negro delegate from St. Louis, and a member of the credentials committee, was presented to the convention to offer a minority report for the credentials committee. The Vaughn report would have unseated the Mississippi delegation because of its pre-convention pledge to walk out of the convention if President Truman received the nomination.

Demand Roll Call By States

Noise and disorder broke out in the assembly when the full import of the Vaughn proposal leaked through to the delegation and unruly scenes broke out among the southern delegations. Temporary Chairman Barkley sought to declare the vote lost on a voice vote, but determined state delegations from the North and East halted the proceedings for almost half an hour until Barkley agreed to allow a record vote by states on the question of unseating Mississippi. Illinois, California and Michigan were pacified when allowed immediately to register their votes against offending Mississippi, and following the selection of Sam Raburn as permanent chairman, Barkley read a list of states voting against Mississippi, which barely missed being a majority for ouster.

Long Hark From Houston, Texas Shame

It was a bitter pill for Southerners to see a minority report presented by a Negro delegate almost win approval of a majority of the delegates, and convention delegates recalled it was a long hark from the day when Negroes attending the national Democratic convention in Houston, Texas, some twenty years ago were physically screened from the convention with hog-wire fence.

Dawson Speaks

The convention also heard a rip-snorting good speech from the congressman from Chicago's first district, William L. Dawson, Wednesday, which was evidence to all that the black man had his feet firmly planted in the Democratic organization and in the Philadelphia convention.

Support Civil Rights

Before the nomination of Truman and Barkeley, Democrats from the North, West and East used their strength to endorse President Truman's stand on civil rights and to down a proposal to adopt a plank endorsing state rights. Mayor Hubert H. Humphries, of Minneapolis, who led the fight for adoption of a resolution commending President Truman for his stand on civil liberties, received thunderous applause when he shouted, "The issue is not one of state rights but of human rights."

The resolution which was voted as a plank in the platform was bitter gall to the angry Southerners and resulted in the Mississippi and Alabama walkout, follows:

"We highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights.

"We call upon the congress to support our president in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental American principles—the right to full and equal political participation; the right to equal opportunity of employment; the right of security of persons, and the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation."

Cecil Sims, of the Tennessee delegation, offered another state rights plank but it was shouted down. Sims, however, refused to leave the convention with the revolting Southerners.

Nominate Truman-Barkley

The convention Wednesday night, while President Truman and his presidential entourage sat in a wing of the convention hall, proceeded to nominate the present incumbent of the White House by a vote of 947½. Two hundred sixty-three votes were c. t by Southerners for Senator Richard Russell, of Georgia. It is presumed that Russell will be the choice of the Southerners at their convention Saturday.

Oklahoma Remains Liberal

An interesting sidelight on the convention proceedings came from Oklahoma; Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware, border states, refused to follow the lead of revolters and voted for President Truman. West Virginia also voted to support a Truman ticket. The nomination of Alban Barkley for vice president was unanimous.

Daily Worker

How Negroes Were Rejected By Democrats

N.Y.

7-15-48

By Daily Worker Convention Bureau

PHILADELPHIA, July 14.—Rep. William L. Dawson (D-Ill) spoke from the platform today as Democratic leaders made a feeble effort to repair the damage to party influence among the Negro people caused by the credentials committee report yesterday. But Dawson skirted carefully around the issue of civil rights. 7-15-48

Devoting one sentence in his 2,000-word speech to this question, the Illinois Negro Congressman said President Truman had "courageously and unequivocally advocated . . . to assure to every citizen the rights guaranteed by our Constitution, that freedom, liberty and security in life and property and the right to work and the right to vote, are the sacred heritage of every person."

7-15-48

One other Negro appeared on the platform today, Rev. Marshall L. Shepard, pastor of the Mount Olivet Tabernacle Baptist Church of Philadelphia, who delivered the opening prayer.

When Dawson came to the podium, there was a short demonstration by the Illinois delegation. The Southerners stayed in their seats and ohter delegations were content to clap briefly.

When he concluded, California, New York and Minnesota joined in a demonstration.

34d

But this could not atone for the "gentlemen's agreement" by which Democratci "Liberals" and old regulars railroaded through the convention the Credentials Committee report seating the White Supremacy delegations from the South.

Rep. Mary Norton (D-NJ) chairman of the Credentials Committee, delivered the committee report, rejecting the protests offered by White and Negro Southerners against the seating of the South Carolina, Virginia and Mississippi delegations. At this point, George Vaughan, Msisouri Negro leader and member of the credentials committee, came to the platform to offer a minority report.

Vaughan limited himself to challenging the credentials report on only one delegation, that of Mississippi. He explained that in this contest, the committee vote was 15 to 11 and he felt there was a better chance of winning. However, in his speech, Vaughan went beyond the legal technicalities involved in the Mississippi issue and demanded recognition by the party of the rights of the Negro people in the South.

7-15-48

There was heckling from the Southern delegates and here and there on the floor there were brief fist fights.

BARKLEY RAILROADS VOTE

As soon as Vaughan concluded, Sen. Alben Barkley (D-Ky), who presided, rapped his gavel and put the issue to a voice vote. It was difficult to tell whether the ayes or the noes were louder but Barkley announced the majority report had carried. Immediately there was turmoil on the floor. Former Mayor Ed Kelly of Chicago said the Illinois delegation wanted to be on record as supporting the minority report. 7-15-48

Barkley tried to proceed to the next business but all over the floor there were shouts of delegations clamoring to be heard. At length he consented to permit the delegations in opposition to be recorded.

When the names were all in, it was clear that the opposition had 503 votes definitely. These included Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Connecticut, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, Washington, Wisconsin, District of Columbia and California. Had there been a roll call, the majority report would have been defeated.

But Barkley, irritably made the admission that there had been an agreement among members of the credentials committee that there would be no roll call on the minority report. In other words, leaders of the delegation now demanding to go on the record as opposed to the seating of the White Supremacy groups, had agreed not to make any kind of fight which could have won.

None of the so-called Liberal leaders took the floor to speak in support of Vaughan's minority report. Newsmen who observed the fracas commented that had Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis, Jimmy Roosevelt of California, or Mayor O'Dwyer of New York spoken up, victory would have been virtually certain. 7-15-48

A few minutes later, the convention voted by voice vote to support the Rules Committee report which refused to restore the old two-thirds rule under which the Solid South formerly held the balance of power in the party convention.

Second Walkout of Southern Democrats the First In 1860, Led to Election of Lincoln!

34

Philadelphia. — (ANP) — Tonight's walkout of Dixie delegates at the Democratic convention was sump'n, but the really colossal walkout of the party's history came 88 years ago.

The Democrats met at Charleston, S. C. in that ominous year of 1860.

They split apart with a crash so shattering that the brand-new Republican party easily elected its very first President, name of Lincoln, and the Democrats didn't get back into power for 24 years.

Then, as today, the feud was between Democrats of the North and of the South. Then, as today, the fight had to do with racial issues. It was over the question of whether to extend slavery.

At Charleston, Southern Democrats wanted the platform to say that a slave owner could go into any new territory of the West and be fully protected by the Federal government in his constitutional right to own slaves.

The Resolutions Committee upheld this view. But a minority report was presented to the convention—just like today. The minority report ignored the slavery issue. July 7-12-48

After a terrific fight, the minority report was adopted. Eight Southern delegations walked out. The party was so shaken that it adjourned without nominating any candidates.

Later it met again at Baltimore. Three more Southern states bolted. The remaining delegates at Baltimore nominated Douglas for the presidency.

Douglas believed that the people of each territory should decide for themselves whether to allow slavery.

The bolting Southerners held a convention at Richmond and nominated John C. Breckenride, of Kentucky.

The Republican party was solidly united under Abraham Lincoln and although he didn't get a majority of the popular vote, he was elevated to the White House and an immortal place in history.

Mississippi, Half Of Alabama Quit

By Willard Shelton
STAR Convention Bureau

CONVENTION HALL, Philadelphia, July 14—The Democratic national convention tonight nominated Harry S. Truman for a full presidential term after 35 delegates from Alabama and Mississippi bolted the session in angry protest against the civil rights program adopted this afternoon.

Handy Ellis, chairman of the Alabama delegation, announced the bolt as Alabama's name was called on the roll call for nomination of presidential candidates.

Speaking for 13 members of the 26-member Alabama delegation and all 22 Mississippi delegates, Ellis dramatically declared that his state would "never vote Republican, never vote for Truman, and never accept the civil rights program.

"We therefore bid you goodbye," he said. 7-15-48

The convention reconvened for its final uproarious session only 15 minutes late. The climax was delayed as Gov. Herbert B. Maw of Utah and Sen. Brien McMahon of Connecticut went through the paces of their scheduled speeches. McMahon uttered an appeal for international ~~control of~~ atomic energy and urged that the "Iron Curtain" of the Soviet Union could be broken if our people continued to recognize the dire necessity of an agreement.

Preface to Explosion

The explosion followed. McMahon's atomic energy theme seemed an appropriate preface.

Sen. Lister Hill, leader of the 13 Alabama delegates who refused to bolt, yielded to Georgia for the purpose of nominating a Georgia candidate against Truman—Sen. Richard B. Russell.

Russell's name was offered by Charles J. Bloch, vice chairman of the Georgia delegation, who studded his speech with warnings that, although they had not walked out, Georgia's Democrats were determined that "the South will no longer be the whipping boy of the Democratic Party."

July 7-15-48

The Band Plays Dixie

"You shall not crucify the South," Bloch hoarsly warned, "upon the cross of civil rights."

In the tumultuous 22-minute domonstration which followed, the band played *Dixie* and Confederate flags waved in the air as South Carolina, Texas, Arkansas, and other southern state placards were paraded through the aisles behind the standard of Georgia.

Gov. Phil M. Donnelly of Missouri next placed Truman's name in nomination as Arkansas yielded its place on the roll call in support of the President.

Resolution Carries

The long-smoldering revolt reached its climax this afternoon as the convention, amid scenes of uproar and indescribable confusion, smashed through a resolution strengthening the civil rights plank of the platform to demand congressional action on a fair employment practice law, racial segregation in the armed services, lynchings and poll taxes.

The resolution, offered by Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis, carried by the narrow margin of 651½ to 582½ on a roll call vote demanded by John H. Shelley, chairman of the California delegation. But it set off an explosion which ended with "Bull" Conner, a member of the Alabama delegation, roaring loudly for recognition as Permanent Chairman Sam Rayburn of Texas smashed through a motion to recess until 6:30.

'Walking's Too Slow

"I think it's a rotten thing," Conner shouted into a radio chain's microphone as reporters and cameramen surged about the angry, arm-waving Alabamans. "We wanted just a few seconds to tell the convention that we're on our way home." 7-15-48

"We're coming back here tonight, and we'll get recognition, and we'll tell them that we won't walk—walking's too slow. We're going to fly out."

"Why, they don't let Indians vote out in some of the Western States. We can't go home and face our people when they put a plank like this in the platform."

~~Graham Wright~~, another delegate, shouted loudly that Rayburn, the Texan, was a traitor to the South.

Handy Ellis, chairman of the Alabama delegation and former lieutenant governor of that State, vainly tried to use the floor microphone to get Rayburn's attention, but the mike apparently was dead. And though Conner's voice was plainly audible in the press seats alongside the platform, Rayburn refused to hear it.

Reported Turned Off

Leslie Biffle, sergeant-at-arms of the convention, declined to confirm a report that the floor microphones had been turned off from the platform. 7-15-48

"There was a lot of noise and confusion just then," Biffle said blandly. "We couldn't hear very well up here."

The convention began calmly this morning at 11:30—half an hour after schedule—but proceedings promptly warmed up as James A. Roosevelt of California took the rostrum for an unscheduled speech and got an ovation as he denounced the Taft-Hartley law.

Roosevelt, who was close to political limbo a few days ago because of his participation in the Eisenhower boom, was cheered back to the rostrum after his speech.

Cummings Speaks

In swift succession other speakers followed—A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen; Sen. Scott W. Lucas of Illinois; Rep. William Dawson of Illinois, and Homer Cummings of Connecticut, former attorney general who tried to push through Roosevelt's "court packing" plan 11 long years ago.

Whitney who praised Truman's vetoes of Republican-sponsored legislation, did not refer to the fact that the tax and Taft-Hartley laws could not have been passed over Truman's vetoes without the help of Southern Democratic representatives and senators.

At 1:50 Sen. Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania came to the rostrum to present the platform which had been hammered out—largely in carefully-guarded secret sessions of a seven-man "drafting" committee—in three days of labor.

Substitutes Presented

Everything went calmly as Myers droned out the report, but the fireworks exploded in technicolor as the civil rights fight began.

In quick succession the Southern "States' Righters" presented two substitute resolutions which would have had the effect of repudiating Truman's civil rights program. The first proposal was beaten so badly on a roll call that the second was dropped with merely a voice vote.

At 3:55 the real fight began with the roll call on Humphrey's substitute to strengthen the civil rights declaration. The vote teetered back and forth, and each State's vote was greeted with cheers from whichever side was favored. 7-15-48

Mountain States Vote

The vote was tied at 63 to 63; it was tied again at 194 to 194. The Mountain States of Arizona, Idaho, Montana threw the bulk of their votes to the Southerners.

Missouri and Rhode Island voted unanimously against the Humphrey resolution—a clear indication that President Truman and National Committee Chairman J. Howard McGrath did not want to push the "States' Righters" beyond their endurance.

Pepper Calls For Two-thirds Rule's Revival

Herald Tribune

New York N.Y.

In Block-Truman Move, He Suggests Return to It for First 3 Ballots

July 7-13-48

By David McConnell

PHILADELPHIA, July 12.—Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida, in a last-minute "block-Truman" move, challenged the Democratic National Convention today to return to limited use of the two-thirds rule for selecting the party's presidential nominee.

Senator Pepper, now out to get the nomination for himself, proposed that a two-thirds vote be required to nominate on the first three ballots, returning to a simple majority for nomination on the fourth ballot.

Recalling that the two- thirds rule was abolished by the cenvention over Southern protests in 1936, Senator Pepper said he did not favor complete return to the former method, but he predicted that the Convention Rules Committee might sponsor a proposal along lines he suggested. He asserted that if "President Truman is not nominated on the first ballot he never will be." 7-13-48

Senator Pepper emphasized his own "liberalism," at a press conference in which he attacked the Truman leadership in the Democratic party as "not standing for liberal and progressive government." He left no doubt that he felt the two-thirds rule would give both liberal and conservative anti-Truman elements an opportunity to block the President's nomination.

Asserting that it is "obvious President Truman cannot get unity" in the party, the Senator said he does not believe "the present leadership trusts an open convention." He said that a group of Federal employees were sent here by President Truman to "blitz this convention by putting the steam and power of the government of the United States behind the present leadership."

"They dare not let the delegates choose the nominees," Senator Pepper said.

Senator Pepper said he had "serious doubts" that Mr. Truman would win on the first ballot.

He said the Truman administration had "bungled" and had made the Democratic party "cease to be the people's party." He added, however, that he would support the nominee of the convention in the November election. 7-13-48

"Will you say the same things in the campaign if President Truman is nominated?" Senator Pepper was asked.

"I've tried to be careful not to say things I will have to swallow," he replied. "But I am not going to stultify my integrity by saying the Democratic party leadership is better than it is."

Senator Pepper was asked to state his stand on a strong civil rights plank in the party's platform. He said he favored handling civil rights along lines used by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. 7-13-48

He repeated previous assertions that a compromise should be sought between the "idealistic and practical on civil rights." Referring to President Truman's demands for a strong plank, Senator Pepper said he would "not make a political football of the problem, but handle it with the idea of getting something done."

Senator Pepper continued to refuse to name backers of his candidacy, other than to say he had conferred with representatives from numerous states, with Jack Kroll, of the Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee, and with American Federation of Labor representatives.

Discussing his Southern support, Senator Pepper said many of his own Florida delegation were pledged to the candidacy of Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi. He said he felt they would swing to him after the first ballot. Asked if he considered Governor Wright a "liberal," the Senator replied, "No." 7-13-48

13 Alabamans, Mississippi Quit; Sen. Russell Put In Nomination

Washington Post

Thu. 7-15-48

By Edward T. Folliard
Post Reporter

Philadelphia, July 14.—A wildly-enthusiastic Democratic National Convention was preparing tonight to nominate President Harry S. Truman for a full, four-year term.

Thereafter the convention was to nominate Senator Alben W. Barkley for Vice President.

But before this Mr. Truman was to make what was expected to be a rip-snorting speech of acceptance.

In advance of the balloting, Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas withdrew as a candidate. The Southern foes of Mr. Truman had planned to rally to Laney, who last winter said that the Chief Executive was "politically, a dead Missouri mule."

The first man placed in nomination at tonight's session, was Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, offered as a "States' rights" candidate.

Thirteen Alabamans Walk Out

Just before this, as the night's session opened, 13 of the Alabama delegates took a walk from Convention Hall, their leader carrying a Confederate battle flag.

The Mississippi delegates, angered as the Alabamans were, by the liberal civil rights plank adopted by the convention, also walked out.

Gov. Phil M. Donnelly of Missouri placed Mr. Truman in nomination and touched off an uproarious 40-minute demonstration.

President Truman arrived in Philadelphia at 9:20 and went immediately to Convention Hall. He remained in the office of National Chairman J. Howard McGrath while the oratory was on in advance of the actual balloting.

Laney Explains Withdrawal

Governor Laney of Arkansas had not, of course, expected to defeat Mr. Truman for the nomination. His candidacy was supposed to serve merely as a rallying point for the embittered Southerners.

Laney, in withdrawing, said he could not permit his name to be submitted to the convention in view of the civil rights plank which liberal Northern forces hammered into the platform.

He suggested that the Arkansas delegates give their votes to Senator Russell. Washington Post

Hall Is Crowded

Convention Hall was crowded for the first itme when permanent Chairman Rayburn called tonight's session to order.

Rayburn had hardly rapped his gavel when Handy Ellis, chairman of the Alabama delegation, arose on a point of personal privilege. He explained that Alabama, in its Democratic primary election, chose 11 presidential electors who were under instructinos never to vote for a Republican and never to vote for Harry S. Truman.

He explained further that, in that primary 13 of Alabama's 26 delegates to the Democratic National Convention were under instructions to take a walk if the convention adopted a civil rights plank in line with Mr. Truman's ideas.

He stated, therefore, that the 13 deleagtes were under the "painful necessity" of leaving the arena. A roar of mingled cheer sand boos—the cheers coming from other Dixie deleagtes but the much louder boos coming from the Northerners and from the galleryites—greeted Ellis' statement. Thu. 7-15-4

Carry Confederate Flag

Ellis and his dissenters marched from the hall with a Confederate battle flag.

They tried to tie it to the Alabama standard, but one of the remaining Alabama delegates hung on to it.

With the departure of Ellis, Senator Lister Hill took over the chairmanship of the Alabama delegation. This remnant was likewise opposed to Mr. Truman, but was not in favor of a "walk."

Hill yielded to Georgia and that State sent Charles J. Bloch of Macon to the rostrum to put in nomination the name of Senator Russell for President.

Bolch termed President Truman's civil rights program a violation of the constitutional guarantees of States rights. In a paraphrase of William Jennings Bryan's famous "cross of gold speech," he said, "you shall not crucify the South on civil rights."

South's Votes Stressed

"The South," he concluded, "is no longer going to be the whipping boy of the Democratic Party and you will learn that without the votes of the South you cannot elect a President of the United States."

He said that if it hadn's been for the South four years ago, Henr Wallace would be sitting in the White House today.

As Bloch finished, the band struck up Dixie, rebel yells arose, and delegates began marching through the aisles carrying the standards of Tennessee, Alabama, Texas, South Carolina, Florida and Georgia.

One delegate waved the State flag of Arkansas.

A man in the gallery shot off a pistol, using blank cartridges.

Truman Forces Take Hand

The Truman forces staged a demonstration of their own during the Dixie uproar, and this angered old Sam Rayburn. He rapped his gavel, ordered that the Southern forces be allowed to blow off steam in their own way, and once again the band struck up Dixie.

The Russell demonstration lasted about 15 minutes.

Arizona yielded to Missouri, and that State's tall, gray-haired Governor, Phil M. Donnelly, strode to the rostrum to put Mr. Truman in nomination.

Governor Donnelly said that the Chief Executive had "earned the undying gratitude of the Nation." He described his fellow Missourian as "a man of the people."

"He understands the problems and speaks the language of the average man and woman," Donnelly said.

The Governor drew cheers when he said that Mr. Truman was "the first President of the United States who is a member of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars."

He said that the Nation, after 16 years of Democratic rule, "is enjoying the greatest prosperity in its history" and has "assumed a world position never enjoyed before."

Governor Donnelly concluded his speech at 9:20. The inevitable happened. First, the band struck up the Missouri Waltz. Delegates poured out of their chairs, bearing State standards aloft. Sirens, cowbells, shouts blended in a wild outburst of sound. Thu. 7-15-48

Placard Hits GOP

A magnificent Liberty Bell, made up of red, white and blue blossoms, was carried up to the platform. To add to the riot of color, an Indian in full war regalia popped on the scene, waving a placard of President Truman.

To such old tunes as "Happy Days Are Here Again" and "East Side, West Side," the delegates paraded around the hall, yelling and sweating.

One of the placards in the parade said, "Stop Stalin, Back Truman." Another said, "Win With Truman, Foe of Privilege." Still another read, "Not Peace in Our Time, But Peace in All Time."

The most striking placard bore a picture of former United States Senator Grundy of Pennsylvania, an arch Republican.

The legend said, "On With Truman, No Grundy Retreat."

This was a crack at those who clinched the Republican nomination for Gov. Thomas E. Dewey a few weeks back. It was the conservative Grundy forces in the Pennsylvania delegation who came out for the New Yorker and started the stampede for him.

All during tonight's demonstration, many of the Southern delegates remained in their seats, grimly holding on to their State standards lest some Truman zealot snatch them awav.

Langan Scores Fund To Boost Pledge - Givers

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Terms Action Unfair; Mrs. Coots Denies Data To National Committee

Sat. 4-17-48

By The Associated Press

A state senator protested Friday the use of State Democratic Party funds to advertise delegate candidates who have agreed to walk out of the Democratic National Convention.

"This does not seem," said Senator Joseph N. Langan at Mobile, "to be either fair or democratic to use the funds raised by and contributed by other Democrats, who are seeking nomination and election on the Democratic Party ticket to be used against them in this campaign." The Advertiser

Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks made the same criticism in a talk Thursday before the Anniston Kiwanis Club. Montgomery, Ala.

The former governor charged that the State Democratic executive committee is "taking the money which I paid to qualify to defeat me because I won't bolt the party." Sat. 4-17-48

Ark. Negro Democrats Plan To Take Seats Of Whites Who 'Walk'

Memphis World
Memphis, Tenn

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—(ANP)—The Arkansas Democratic delegation to the National Democratic Party convention in Philadelphia this summer may include Negroes if any white members walk out in protest of President Truman's civil rights program.

Whites, hostile to Negroes and civil rights legislation, are enraged by the "walk in and take over any vacated seats" instructions of the Arkansas Negro Democrats at an executive committee meeting last week. 4-9-48

The colored group plans to send delegates from each congressional district of the state and two delegates-at-large to the national convention. Each delegate has been instructed to take the place of any white representative who walks out. Memphis World

ANSWER TO CONFERENCE

These plans were made in answer to a recent southern governors' conference whicsh advocated that the South walk out of the convention if the party adopts any of the President's civil rights planks. Memphis, Tenn

The southerners then plan to hold a new party convention somewhere else. They aim to fight against any of the President's civil rights proposals, especially the one banning race segregation. Fri. 4-9-48

Negro delegates have no orders outside of taking the places of whites who walk out.

ATLANTANS ON CONVENTION:

Atlanta Constitution

Blue--But Sorta Proud

Fri. 7-16-48

By MARJORY SMITH

Atlanta's man-on-the-street—who sat up 'way past his bedtime by the radio listening to Democratic National Convention shenanigans—is just mild about Harry; he's sorta proud of Georgia and native son Dick Russell, but he's singing the Democratic Blues.

L. A. MURRAY

"I'm Still a Democrat"

REV. O. WITHROW

"Slim Chance for Democrats"

That's the consensus of a sidewalk poll conducted by The Atlanta Constitution after the Convention shouting was over.

L. A. Murray, railway clerk, of 129 Lucile Ave., College Park, yesterday afternoon summed up many Georgians' opinions: "We Democrats have a mighty slim chance in the coming election. There were just too many factions at that Philadelphia meet!"

"I'm still a Democrat!" insisted the Rev. O. J. Withrow, of Milledgeville. "It's too bad some of those Southern delegates don't feel the same way. Truman can't win unless we are united."

Georgia delegates' role in the Convention pleased—and in some cases surprised—the "folks at home." The majority of persons polled thought Mississippi and Alabama delegates "acted foolishly" in walking out.

MRS. J. BEASLEY

"I Won't Vote for Truman"

MISS E. DOWDA

"I Still Like Truman"

But a pretty young housewife, Mrs. Jack Beasley, of 66 Howard St., S. E., declared militantly: "All the Southern States should have walked out with them! It makes me furious the way they're forcing the Truman civil rights plank on us. Guess I'll have to turn Republican — I certainly won't vote for Truman."

"I like Truman," was the dissenting statement of Miss Earline Dowda, retired clerical worker, of 114 Thompson Ave., East Point.

Dabney Manning, of 185 Seventeenth St., N. E., department store employee, voiced the pride of many Georgians in Sen. Richard B. Russell's nomination. "Although it was a lost cause, it was thrilling to hear the demonstration for Russell," he said. "But I think Truman still has a chance. In the final analysis, I think most Southerners will vote the Democratic ticket."

DABNEY MANNING

Most Southerners Will Vote Dem."

TED H. MORGAN

"No Southern Vote for Truman

Disagreeing with Manning was Ted H. Morgan, Civil Aeronautics Administration employee, of Forest Park.

"It's hard to say what the rebellious Democrats will do," Morgan pondered, "but it's a sure thing they won't vote for Truman. If they hadn't split, the party would have had an excellent chance with the Truman-Barkley ticket. I hate to see it this way. . . ."

Fri. 7-16-48

W. B. Arnold, of 351 South Bend St., S. E., an assistant buyer, thought "walking" Mississippians and Alabamans "behaved like little kids playing cowboy and Indian." "A national convention should be run in a businesslike manner," he insisted, "even though the Southerners had a real grievance."

MRS. C. M. FRASER

"It Was Spirited and Interesting"

W. B. ARNOLD

"Like Kids Playing Cowboys"

The Democrats put on a better show than the Republicans, most persons polled insisted. "It was awfully spirited and interesting; I wish I could have been there to see the Confederate flag go up," sighed Mrs. C. M. Fraser, housewife, of 1449 Belmont Ave., S. W.

A native Belgian and a pretty Atlanta college girl both shook their heads over the "confusion" of the Democratic Convention.

"I understood Sen. Russell would rather not have had his name used, and although I was proud to hear other States seconding Georgia's nomination, I think the Democrats should get together," said Miss Beverly Dobbs, of 650 Bonaventure Ave., N. E.

Retired Prof. Gustave Jassee, visiting Atlanta relatives at 1755 Williams Mill Rd., N. E., thought his foreign background explained it—but he echoed native Georgians with:

"Politics here is too much for me—I don't understand it!"

The Delegate Mixup

342

The failure of State Democratic Chairman McCorvey, on the basis of complete unofficial returns, to win election as a delegate-at-large to the national convention affords additional evidence of the paradoxes and confusions in the primary campaign just ended.

The "walkout" issue dominated the delegate and elector races. Eleven electors were elected pledged to oppose the Democratic presidential nominee, Mr. Truman or anybody else, if he runs on a platform including an unacceptable civil rights plank. The pledge calls for opposition to Mr. Truman in any case.

Birmingham News

Mr. McCorvey, a leader in the pledge movement, was chosen as an elector but defeated for delegate. Sen. Hill ran first, former Gov. Sparks second in the delegate-at-large race. They opposed the pledge.

There now seems to be some question whether there will be any walkout from the convention even if Mr. Truman is nominated. A civil rights plank so generalized as to be acceptable to Alabama Democrats may be adopted. In that case, if Mr. Truman is nominated, what then?

Sat. 6-5-48

Seven of Alabama's delegates have definitely opposed the walkout pledge; five are uncommitted. Some of these, or all, may hold that they have commitments to remain within the convention. In view of the fact that they have been endorsed by the voters, they would have strong grounds for resisting a unit rule that would force them to walk out. If there is no unit rule and a part of the delegation remains in the convention, would the other delegates walk out if they are dissatisfied with the convention's action on the platform and nomination?

In view of such facts as that majorities were given in the first primary to Sen. Hill and Mr. Sparks and that Mr. Carmichael, a vigorous opponent of the walkout pledge, won the eighth delegate-at-large place over Mr. McCorvey, there seems room for question as to whether the majority of voters would want a general walkout.

6-5-48

It seems to us that it is clear that other matters, as of personality and organization, figured pretty largely in the outcome.

Perhaps the most accurate interpretation of the results would be to hold that they authorize the "walk-out" delegates to go as far as seems advisable in protesting any convention action.

But even that would leave the successful anti-pledge delegates with a mandate for remaining in the convention.

Birmingham News

It is all very mixed up and the outcome is highly problematical.

The situation emphasizes the complications that would be involved in breaking with the national party after having participated in its processes to such an advanced point as entering its convention.

There has been some suggestion that some delegates might, under certain conditions, remain in the convention simply as "observers" but that, too, would have its obvious drawbacks.

The convention itself will have to supply the answers as to what will finally come out of the confusion.

6-5-48

What will happen in the electoral college also waits for answer on important events yet to come.

A. N. Fields

The Defender

PHIL Harris, the nationally known band leader, whose belief about the South and its "fried chicken and bacon grease" is in deep contrast to what the eminent H. L. Mencken says in the Baltimore Sun.

Just listen to this: "The gallant Confederates who attempted a raid upon the late Democratic National Convention got a bad licking on the floor, but that licking did not dispose of them, nor even seriously punish them. What ails them now is a double handicap, both halves of it of southern origin. The first is to be found in the fact that when they got home all the worst frauds in the South rushed up to kiss them and have since hung about their necks. The second half springs out of the general Northern assumption, unhappily well supported by recent history, that whatever originates in the South is held idiotic, and hardly deserves to be heard.

Sat 8-28-48

"That assumption is bitterly resented by enlightened southerners but the record is the record. The South, for years past, has been a sewer of imbecility. It has supported every major aberration, whether political or social, that has afflicted the country, and it has supported most of them with a degree of enthusiasm bordering in the delirious. I name the Bryan madness. I name prohibition. I name Fundamentalism. I name the New Deal. I name anti-Al Smith and Huey Long uproars. I name two wars to make the world safe for democracy.

Chicago Def.

"But there is no need to labor the list, for it would be hard to think of any lunacy that doesn't belong on it. Time was when the South perhaps more than any other section of the country, was fertile in ideas, but even more fertile in first rate men. But at least since the '80s, nine-tenths of the so-called ideas that it has produced have been silly, and nine-tenths of the leaders shabby and preposterous fellows. When the last of its War Between the States died it went underground, intellectually speaking, and there it has remained ever since, entertaining the civilized world with such frightful burlesques of civilization as the Scopes trial, the Leo Frank lynching and the share-the-wealth hubbub.

"The result today is that the Dixiecrat movement is getting a great deal less sober attention than it deserves. It looks, from across the Potomac and Ohio, like nothing more than a pestilence of Longs, Bilbos, Tillmans, Bleases, Talmadges and Pappy O'Daniels. It is, in fact, nothing of the sort, whatever the excrescences that now burden it. It is fundamentally quite as serious in purpose, and quite as rational, as any other regional movement that has appeared in recent years, and some of its leaders are worthy of the highest respect. Certainly it would be absurd to dismiss such men as Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and former Dan Moody of Texas, as windbags of common sort. They are men of intelligence and they are men of honor and when they take to the bush it is safe to assume that they have a genuine grievance.

"The colored brother, it seems to me, is hardly more than a bystander in the combat, though he will be injured, no matter what the issue. If the embattled Confederates throw Truman and company off, he will see a halt in the process of liberation that has been going on for some years, with the best class of Southerners supporting it. And if the damnyankee politicians, with their eyes upon the Harlem vote, push their drastic "reforms" through, he will be the chief victim of the ensuing revival of Reconstruction.

"It is this threat of another dismal dose of Reconstruction that chiefly alarms the intelligent Southerners. They are painfully aware of what went on in the '70s, and they are naturally fearful of a repetition, with Northerner jobholders, most of them dishonest and nearly all of them jackasses, substituted for the carpetbaggers of the first canto. They believe that they have some civil rights, too, and they are resolved not only to protest those that remain but to regain those that have been already lost to New Deal totalitarianism. They hope to do it peacefully by an appeal to Article X of the Bill of Rights, but if that appeal fails they are willing to try stronger medicines.

"I must confess that I sympathize with them. despite my life long devotion to exposing their deficiencies. It must be manifest that if the whole program of the Yankee messiahs by the Force Bill of 1890 out of the Communist Manifesto, is put through with any vigor, life will become almost impossible in large areas of the South, and a third Bull Run will begin casting its shadows before.

Sat 8-28-48

But the position of the intelligent southerners, as I have observed, is greatly weakened by the stupidity of the South as a whole. Having supported the New Deal violently for sixteen years, and profited enormously by its reckless looting of the North, including Maryland, it can't complain now that the North is preparing to give it a poisonous dose out of the same black bottle. It is impossible to play the idiot for years on end and then suddenly turn Aristotle. It is not possible to wallow in the buncombe of Long, Bilbo, Pepper, Lister Hill, O'Daniel and the like until the stomachs of the north of the Potomac begin to turn and then appeal to reason behind a facade of Thurmonds, Moodys and Harry Byrds.

The South had its chance to come for intelligence a long while ago. Instead it turned to Bryan, Tom Watson, Prohibition, Fundamentalism and the Ku Klux Klan. It is now paying a devastating penalty. Its spavined and bedraggled chickens are coming home to roost."

Thus speaks Mr. Mencken.

BETTER VISION AND CHARTS

Montgomery Advertiser

Gov. Folsom yesterday acted as predicted—he declined to pledge that he would take a walk in the convention no matter what.

The Advertiser regrets to see that the Alabama revolt has this past week lost some of its effectiveness. It will encourage the lame duck in Washington to believe that there was more bark than bite in the rebellion.

Sun. 4-11-4

The State Democratic Executive Committee, it may be seen with a look over the shoulder, proceeded rashly. It called upon all delegate candidates to vow that they would quit the convention when it looked like Truman or his Civil Disturbance project.

Montgomery Ala.

Immediately four candidates for delegate-at-large — Senator Hill, Atty. Gen. Carmichael, Chauncey Sparks, Charles Dobbins—rebelled within the rebellion. They were against everything the Committee was, but they weren't signing any blank checks.

Six out of seven candidates for delegate in this congressional district likewise bucked.

It appeared likely then that Alabama could not send a delegation unanimously pledged to take a walk. The subsequent action in concert by Folsom makes it virtually certain that no such delegation will go to Philadelphia.

Probably even those who might at the time be inclined to walk out would not do so in order to remain and keep an eye on the rump element.

4-11-48

ALABAMA newspapers in many cases were quick to indorse the Committee's demand for a pledge, but the refusal of such men as Chauncey Sparks—an unrelenting enemy of Truman—seems to have given some a second thought.

The Selma Times-Journal said of the "revolt within a revolt":

> . . . The Times-Journal is skeptical about the political soundness of commitments thus far in advance to bolt the convention without fighting to the last, bitter gasp to regain Southern domination of party affairs. . . . The goal of Democrats of Alabama now should be to send as strong a delegation to the convention as possible, with instructions to fight hard and long to achieve Southern objectives without disruption of the national party. . . .

The Birmingham Age-Herald:

Montgomery Advertiser

> . . . There are those, however, who think that an easy solution is to be found in promising three months ahead of time to bolt the party convention if things don't go to suit them and promising now not to support the party's nominee nine months hence if it happens to be one man. It is not an easy cure for a sore finger to cut off one's arm.

The Lee County Bulletin viewed the Committee's action in a sinister light:

Ala.

> The reactionaries had a field day in Montgomery Monday. . . . Action by the Committee boiled down to this: all candidates for delegate have been called on to walk out from the Philadelphia convention even before balloting on the possible nominees. In other words, if the Southern delegations lose their fight to tone down the President's civil rights position ,that is to be a signal for a walkout. It matters not to them that Mr. Truman might be discarded and a candidate entirely acceptable to the majority of Southern voters might be nominated. . . . They clearly want the bolt to come before the balloting on candidates. . . .

NONE of these three views accords precisely with The Advertiser's view of the Committee action. The Committee did not overestimate the smouldering rage among Alabamians, but it underestimated the reflex reluctance of Democratic officeholders to divorce the party, vehicle of their careers.

Sun. 4-11-48

But if we are to have any success in purging Truman and asserting ourselves in Philadelphia, we cannot afford to swing without connecting. Further failures will make the national leadership think of Senator Claghorn instead of that pregnant shibboleth of another day, "Don't Tread On Me."

FOLSOM made an attractive suggestion in declaring that if the convention's platform and-or nominee is unacceptable to Alabama, he will foster an "elected convention" to set the future course.

Presumably a special session of the legislature will be required to authorize such an election.

The least it can do is to direct the 11 presidential electors where to deliver the favor of Alabama's 300,000 to 400,000 votes. That would extirpate one major uncertainty of the revolt.

It is, however, far from an answer to the indicated circumstance. Such a convention contemplates a fourth party candidate from the South.

But on the present face of things it is unreasonable to expect that we can throw the election into the House of Representatives. It must be remembered that Roosevelt would have been elected all four times without a single vote from the South. Presumably that will be true of the Republican Party in November if Truman is the nominee. 4-11-48

What in the end, then, will be the South's net accomplishment in denying Truman the South's electoral vote (that is, those states that don't vote Republican, as North Carolina may do)?

We will have disciplined the hapless Harry. But in the next four years of a Republican President and Congress, what will have happened to Civil Disturbance legislation?

We need rebel leaders with better vision and charts.

GOVERNOR LANEY WITHDRAWS AS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Angry Southerners Throw Support To Russell Of Georgia In Protest Of Democrats' Racial Program

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.
Thu. 7-15-48

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL
Associated Press Staff Writer

CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA, July 14. — Rebellious delegates from Alabama and Mississippi stomped out of the Democratic National Convention Wednesday night with state flags flaunting defiance of those who stayed behind and nominated Harry S. Truman.

The angered South followed up the walkout—a protest against the convention's strong new civil rights stand—by putting Senator Richard Russell of Georgia in nomination for the presidency, ahead of Mr. Truman.

Memphis, Tenn.

President Truman was nominated by Gov. Phil Donnelly of Missouri, who called him a "soldier, patriot and statesman whose splendid courage never faltered in war or in peace."

The Southerners knew they couldn't stop the President from being nominated on the first ballot. But they organized to make their civil rights protest as vigorous as they could as a prelude to what looked like a wide North-South split. 7-15-48

35 Southerners Bolt

Mr. Truman was on the way from Washington to accept the nomination. And for his running mate, the choice was Senator Alben W. Barkley from border-state eKntucky.

The South was enraged from a bad beating it took from the North in a furious civil rights fight, a fight over such things as lynching, poll taxes and racial discrimination in jobs, which the South says are purely state problems.

In protest, all of Mississippi's 22 delegates, and 13 of Alabama's 26 packed up and left. Those who stayed started lining up behind Russell.

Charles J. Bloch, vice chairman of the Georgia delegation, put Russell in nomination as "one of Georgia's most distinguished sons."

But mostly he hit at the strong indorsement of President Truman's civil rights program which Northerners jammed into the platform early Wednesday.

Georgia Won't Walk

Bloch said Georgia wouldn't bolt. But when the convention adjourns, he said:

"We shall be sitting there opposing the nomination of any candidate, be he the President of the United States or not, who advocates openly or tacitly such proposals as have been made here today in the platform of this party."

The half of the Alabama delegation that decided to stick things out gave way to Georgia so Russell's name could be put in nomination ahead of all others.

That was after the Mississippians had fought their way behind 13 Alabama delegates out the back door of the hall, hooted and booed by most of the contingents that stayed and applauded by others from the South that had had similar yearnings to bolt.

It was quiet enough when the call of states for nominating speeches was ordered. Alabama was first on the list.

Chairman Handy Ellis informed the convention that "we are faced with the necessity of carrying out our pledges to the people of the state of Alabama, not to cast Alabama's votes for:

A Republican.
Harry S. Truman.
Anyone standing on a civil rights plank such as the convention adopted Wednesday.

"Good Riddance" Shouted

So, he said:

"Thirteen of the delegates and all but three of the alternates will proceed to walk out of this convention and report to the Democratic Party of Alabama."

He was authorized to say Mississippi was tagging along.

"I bid you goodby," he said with a bow. 7-15-48

Invocation Given by Negro Who Caused '36 Walkout

New York Times
New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, July 14— In 1936, the Rev. Marshall L. Shepard of Philadelphia, Negro pastor of the Mount Olivet Tabernacle Baptist Church, offered the invocation at the Democratic National Convention here and Senator Ellison D. (Cotton Ed) Smith of South Carolina, "white supremacy" champion, walked out in protest. Thurs. 7-15-48

"Cotton Ed" died a few years ago, but the Rev. Mr. Shepard offered the opening prayer here again today. 7-14-48

Reminded of the incident today, the pastor said, "if 'Cotton Ed' walks out of here again today, I'm going with him."

Go Down Fighting

The Southerners went down fighting every inch of the way for states' rights.

Chairman Sam Rayburn of Texas hammered through a recess and denied the 13 Alabama delegates an opportunity to walk out.

The delegates were standing on their chairs waving the Alabama standard and an Alabama flag as they yelled at the top of their voices in a futile effort to gain recognition. 7-15-48

Denied recognition to make a statement announcing that they were taking a walk the Alabamians announced to the swarm of newspaper and radio men clustered around their seats that they would walk out of the night session which most of them did.

States' Rights Bloc Goes Down —But It's Swinging All The Way

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.

Northern Leaders Pour Salt In Wounds By Approving Even Stronger Civil Rights Plank Than Was Originally Proposed—Sillers, Sims Are Leaders

Thu. 7-15-48

By W. D. SISSON
From The Commercial Appeal Democratic Convention Bureau

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PHILADELPHIA, July 14.—The States' Rights Southern group suffered a double setback Wednesday when the Democratic National Convention not only turned down the States' Rights proposals, but also adopted a strong spelled out Civil Rights platform plank.

Failure to get the States' Rights proposals was not unexpected even to those most active in the movement. That vote—and it was a lopsided one—had been obvious ever since the convention started its deliberations. But adoption of the strong Civil Rights plank came as something of a surprise for even after the roll call began on the proposal the Southerners were assured by Senator Francis Meyers of Pennsylvania that his group would stand for the Civil Rights plank approved by the Platform Committee Tuesday night. However, when Pennsylvania's name was called its 74 votes were cast for the stronger antiSouth version.

B'ham Ala Sat 7-10-48

DELEGATES TO DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION [illegible] Strategy. Left to right: K. J. Sullivan of Gadsden. Emory O. Jackson of Birmingham and W. P. Offutt Jr., of New York. Sullivan and Jackson are representing Alabama Negro Democrats supporting President Truman. The group caucus will be held Sunday night in Philadelphia with other pominent Democrats supporting Truman. Attorney Arthur Shores of Birmingham is chairman of the Alabama delegation.

Sat 7-10-48

TWO STATES IN BOLT

Mississippi Delegation and Half Alabama's Stalk From Hall

SOUTHERNERS SPLIT

Majority Stay in Seats After Floor Defeat on Issue of Rights

New York Times
New York N.Y.
Thurs. 7-15-48

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

PHILADELPHIA, July 14—The entire Mississippi delegation of twenty-two and thirteen of the twenty-six from the Alabama delegation walked out of the Democratic National Convention tonight in protest against President Truman's nomination and his civil rights program.

They stalked straight down the center aisle—Mississippi in the lead and the thirteen Alabamans following in close rank and carrying head-high the Alabama state flag—and into the pouring rain outside.

They walked through a vast, rolling wave of boos from the galleries and from among many of the "regular" delegations. There were some cheers also. But these were very nearly lost in the din, as the delegates strode forward.

Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas, the convention chairman, at length ended the demonstration of hostility toward the departed Southern extremists by shouting that he was waiting to recognize Senator Lister Hill, head of that part of the Alabama delegation that kept its seat in the hall.

Alabama Yields to Georgia

Senator Hill, without preamble, yielded to Georgia so that its chairman, Charles Bloch, could make a nominating speech, of courtesy and Southern protest, for Senator Richard Russell of Georgia for the Presidential designation. Mr. Hill was joined by eleven other Alabamans in staying with the convention. One delegate was absent. 7-15-48

This tactic of using Senator Russell as the symbol of their anged had been adopted only shortly beforehand by the Southern old guard by necessity after Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas had withdrawn as their anti-Truman "states rights" candidate.

Governor Laney, in contrast to Senator Russell, had been making a serious campaign as a candidate, in attempting to typify and bring together Southern resentment against the President. The Arkansan had claimed earlier that he would get perhaps 150 votes of the convention's 1234.

Governor Laney's retirement, which he attributed to an unwillingness even to appear to stand for a little while on the civil rights plank just adopted, was accompanied by new plans among the Southern militants for a rump convention in Birmingham, Ala.

Wide Revolt Not Indicated

Such a meeting, it was said among the dissident leaders, certainly would be held; the only questions were just where and when.

The nature of its prospective action was still wholly in doubt. At all events, there was no indicated assurance of any large-scale Southern rebellion against the Democratic ticket in November. The strong pull of party loyalty was at work in thhe convention, despite the spectacular gesture of Alabama and Mississippi. 7-15-48

While the delegation of one Southern state and half of another bolted the convention, the delegations of the nine other states of the South stayed firmly in place, in spite of all their anger on the civil rights issue, and these included the largest of the mall, Texas, with fifty votes, and others which also were more politically influential than either Alabama or Mississippi. Thurs. 7-15-48

Senator Russell's name was put before the convention by Mr. Block with the declaration that the Georgia delegation was staying in the convention and would still be there when it came to an end.

Nevertheless, he shouted that the Georgia delegation so far as it was concerned "would not support" the president "or any other man who stands on the platform that has been adopted here."

Alabama, however, is the only Southern state where a November bolt against the president's election seems clearly foreshadowed. The electors there have been instructed not to vote for him.

Mandy Ellis, chairman of the Alabama delegation, recalled this fact before he led the walkout of the thirteen. He got the floor on a demand of "personal privilege" having failed earlier to get recognition. His 12 rebellious colleagues and he, he declared, had been pledged to walk out.

"We will proceed to do so," he shouted.

"I am also authorized to state," he struggled onward against the heavy sound of the boos being hurled at him, "that the Mississippi delegation is joining us."

Hostility Shown Previously

The Alabama group and Mississippi, before bolting the convention, had taken the lead also in earlier demonstrations of hostility against the President and the civil rights plan.

The far more politically important delegations, such as Texas and Tennessee and Virginia and North Carolina, and a majority of all from the South, sat cooly beneath their standards as they fought and lost the last major Southern engagement.

Alabama Ready to Bolt

This was a supreme effort, hopeless from the very start, to soften the platform on civil rights and then to prevent the acual hardening of hat plan that soon was ordered by vote of the convention floor. Thurs. 7-15-48

Once this was over, the South was through as an effective influence in shaping the work and results of the convention.

Half of the delegation of Alabama, the first State on the roll call, had prepared carefully for this moment, intending to walk out dramatically, but the maneuver was broken by a fellow Southerner, Chairman Rayburn.

The adoption of the platform had come simply by voice vote and Mr. Rayburn, well aware of what was afoot, then refused, as convention chairman, to consider any proposal save on to recess for an hour or so.

This was made and approved while the Alabama standard was being waved violently to and fro in an effort to obtain recognition.

It would in any event have been too late for the scheduled walkout by thirteen of the twenty-six Alabama delegates on the civil rights issue, but they had wanted at least to declare their intention to leave the convention.

The Southerners had come to the convention hall today in a strange mixture of moods ranging from defiance through concern and sometimes into sadness. They were united in violent opposition to the civil rights plan and almost all of one mind in their objections to President Truman.

Majority Against Revolt

But some were speaking of a final bolt and of actually deserting the party in November, while the great majority was cautioning firmly against this political equivalent in the modern Democratic party of the shots that fell upon Fort Sumter.

Anti-Walkout Delegates Ask McGrath Aid

Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala
Sun. 7-11-48

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

The great hall was filled with their dilemma and their frustrations, and the galleries here in philadelphia were not sympathetic to them. 7-15-48

Now and again, in the debate on the civil rights program, a Southerner would rise to declare that what the majority was doing would mean "dissolution" in the South of a party that had stood together for the most part through all the storms that had blown across

nearly a hundred years.

His fellow Southerners, sitting down below the platform, would applaud him, some of them with vehemence but more of them in thoughtfulness, as they looked back upon a long political tradition that had come hard and firm out of the days of the Reconstruction.

All through the Southern delegations men talked gravely among themselves and, in more than one

they asked one another if it was really true that an era of unity was ending for the Democratic party. 7-15-48

The debate typified one of the oldest divisions in American political belief, the division between the strict construction of the Constitution historically insisted upon by the South and the spirit of change so often demanded in the West and North.

PHILADELPHIA, July 10—Alabama delegates opposing a walkout late Saturday sought the aid of Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath in filling the state delegation, if the walkout-pledged group decided to abandon the convention.

7-11-48

At the same time they asked the party's chieftain to suggest a method by which Alabama voters could support the nominee of the Democratic National Convention, who is certain to be President Truman.

All of the state's 11 presidential elector nominees are pledged to vote against Truman in the electoral college. Chairman McGrath, who conferred with Fifth District Delegates Roy D. McCord and Rep. E. L. Roberts, both of Gadsden, in his Bellevue-Straford Hotel headquarters, told them:

1. There apparently is no way for Alabama voters to support the convention nominee, under the laws of that state.

2. That the convention would not attempt to read the walkout-pledged delegates out of the convention, but would promptly seat them.

3. If they walk out, then the convention would aid the non-walkouters in filling the delegation, should an expected 13-13 deadlock result in Alabama's 26-member delegation.

Sun. [redacted]

Deadlock Looms

7-11-48

SUCH A DEADLOCK appeared a certainty, with Third District Delegate L. A. Farmer, Dothan, unable to attend the convention because of illness and Rep. George Wallace, Jr., Clayton, No. 1 alternate in that district, expected to take his place.

Farmer favors a walkout and Wallace opposes this method of combating Truman and his "civil rights" program.

With all members present, the walkout-pledged group has a 14 to 12 majority over non-walkouters and those uncommitted. All five of the uncommitted delegates were sent to line up with those opposing a walkout. The addition of Wallace will make it a tie.

The conference with Chairman McGrath came almost simultaneously with a Southwide caucus of states' rights forces in the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, attended by Col. Marion M. Rushton, Montgomery, Democratic national committeeman, and Robert T. Goodwyn, Jr., also of Montgomery, one of Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney's campaign committee, seeking to block Truman and his "civil rights" program.

This caucus was called by Laney, Gov. Tuck, Virginia and Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina, and other states rights leaders planning to hold a separate convention in Birmingham to nominate a presidential ticket in opposition to Truman and his running mate as well as oppose the Republican team of Dewey and Warren.

7-11-48

Among others attending the anti-Truman states rights huddle were Jim Peters, head of the Georgia delegation: Judge Merritt Gibson, Longview, Tex., and other representatives of the Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, Oklahoma, Alabama and Florida contingents.

* * *

Douglas Picked?

WHILE ALABAMA delegates and some of the other Southerners still flirted with a plan to line up behind Melville Broughton, former governor of North Carolina and recently nominated to the U. S. Senate from that state, indications were that Truman forces had picked Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas for second place on the presidential ticket.

Sen. Lister Hill and Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, as well as all other Alabama delegates on hand, declared themselves emphatically against Justice Douglas for any place on the ticket.

Consensus among Alabama delegates was that if the national Democratic Party definitely wanted to split the South completely away from the party, a sure way to do it would be for the convention to choose Douglas to run with Truman.

Presidential Fight All Over But Shouting

Birmingham News

Birmingham, Ala.

BY DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

PHILADELPHIA, July 10—(AP)—Democrats trooped to town Saturday to hand Harry Truman the presidential banner which Franklin D. Roosevelt carried to four straight victories.

The Democratic presidential race was all over except for going through the formal motions of nominating Mr. Truman at the party convention starting Monday.

But the Democrats still have to pick a vice presidential candidate. And the talk was strong Saturday night for Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas.

Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath said he would keep hands off any effort to shove Douglas into second place on the ticket.

Sun. 7-11-48

Still to be hammered together, too, is the platform on which the candidates will stand to battle it out with the Republican team of Thomas E. Dewey and Earl Warren.

* * *

Nothing To Fight About

THERE WASN'T MUCH whoopla as delegates swarmed in from all points of the compass. But then there were hardly any good fights to stir up excitment.

A stop-Truman campaign had collapsed almost completely, even though a few of its leaders refused to admit it and kept up a hunt for somebody else to put in nomination for president.

One key anti-Truman man, James Roosevelt, even got into trouble with his own California delegation for promoting the now dead drive to draft Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. Some of the Californians wanted to rebuke the son of the late president publicly. But a maneuver for that purpose at a state caucus was ruled out of order.

7-11-48

Another stop-Truman man, Sen. Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, quietly abandoned his plan to lay before the Democratic National Committee a resolution demanding that Mr. Truman retire from the presidential derby.

* * *

Over By Wednesday?

McGRATH TOLD A NEWS conference the convention might be all over by Wednesday. That depends partly on whether Southerners stir up a fight on the convention floor over the civil rights-racial issues.

Mr. Truman may come to the convention before it quits, McGrath said. But right now, he said, the president's inclination is to accept the nomination formally in a speech at his home town, Independence, Mo., perhaps 30 days after the convention is over.

The president, McGrath said, has not decided whom he would like for a running mate. The choice will be determined largely by Mr. Truman's desires.

Earlier today the chatter centered around Sen. Scott Lucas, of Illinois, with mention of a dozen others. Then it switched to Douglas—who said again at his Oregon home that he was not a candidate for president but didn't mention second place.

To Southerners who have battled Mr. Truman, Douglas would be just as unacceptable, either as a presidential or vice presidential nominee.

Sun. 7-11-48

There was talk that maybe Douglas would be forced on the Southerners whethey they liked him or not.

* * *

Walk Threatened

SOME OF THE DIXIE DELEGATES shopped around in backstage conferences for people they might back both for first and second choice on the ticket.

Some delegations have threatened to take a walk if Mr. Truman gets the presidential nomination or the party adopts a civil rights platform plank objectionable to the South.

They even have laid plans for a separate convention of their own in Birmingham later on.

Alabama Delegate Roy D. McCord said his state would use its strategic place on the roll call to nominate "some Democrat other than Truman." He said he would do it himself if nobody else did. Alabama is first on the state list.

Ben Laney, governor of Arkansas, told a reporter he favors Sen. Alben Barkley of Kentucky for president.

Some of Deep South delegates spoke also about House Democratic Leader Sam Rayburn of Texas.

But Barkley and Rayburn will have key roles and key speeches in the convention, speeches in which they can't very well avoid saying nice things about Mr. Truman.

The South was heard from in another way today when the Democratic National Committee threw out a protest against seating the South Carolina delegation.

* * *

Roosevelt Flayed

THE BIGGEST FUSS of the day was at California headquarters.

Delegate John P. McEnery said it was a "damnable disgrace" that James Roosevelt had tried to swing the Truman-instructed delegation to Eisenhower.

He was ruled out of order once on a motion demanding that Roosevelt hand in his resignation as the man California has chosen as its next national committeeman.

McEnery tried again. This time the motion was seconded by Will Rogers, Jr., former congressman and son of the late humorist. And this time the delegation voted 40 to 7 to take no action.

MISSISSIPPI SEATED BY ONE-VOTE MARGIN

Commercial Appeal

Negro Opponent Will Present Minority Report

Memphis, Tenn.

HAMILTON LISTS REASONS

Wed. 7-14-48

From The Commercial Appeal Democratic Convention Bureau

PHILADELPHIA, July 13.—The Mississippi delegation to the Democratic National Convention came within one vote of not being seated.

That is how close the Rev. Charles Hamilton of Aberdeen came to succeeding in his fight to keep the Mississippians from taking part in the convention proceedings.

7-14-48

Negro Plans Minority Report

And the negro delegate, George L. Vaughn of Missouri who led the antiMississippi fight as a member of the Credentials Committee said he will offer a minority report when the committee makes its report to the convention. Mr. Hamilton and Vaughn based their fight on the claim that the action of the Mississippi convention in adopting the anti-civil rights and antiTruman resolutions took the delegates out of the Democratic Party.

The Mississippi delegation's case was fought by Weaver Gore, that state's member of the Credentials Committee.

His refusal in the meeting to pledge that the Mississippi electors will support the nominees of this convention gave Mr. Hamilton his opportunity.

And he was ready with a three-page, closely spaced, list of reasons why hec laimed the delegation should not be seated. These were: (1) It is not Democratic, (2) It did not vote Democratic in 1944, (3) It was not selected by Democrats, (4) It was not elected in a democratic way, (5) It does not intend to vote Democratic this year, (6) It does not represent the peopleo f Mississippi, (7) It cannot have a right to be seated in ac onvention whose nominees it refuses to support, and (8) The contesting delegation is pledged to support the nominees of this convention.

Gore Leaves Meeting

Mr. Gore said later he "got the impression" that he was being asked to leave the meeting room and walked out.

When Representative Mary Norton (D., N.J.) called for the vote on the Mississippi case it resulted in a 12 to 12 tie. She declined to break the tie. A scout was sent out to find Mr. Gore and bring him back post-haste. As soon as he returned, Mr. Gore moved to reconsider the previous vote and his motion carried 13 to 12. By the same vote the committee then voted to seat the Mississippians.

Vaughn announced to reporters the meeting broke up that his minority rport would be signed by the 12 who voted against seating the group.

Hamilton's Meeting Unknown In Mississippi

JACKSON, Miss., July 13.—(AP)—Mississippi officials here Tuesday disclaimed knowledge of any meeting on which Charles Hamilton of Aberdeen bases a claim to a seat in the Democratic National Convention.

In Philadelphia, Hamilton urged the Credentials Committee of the Democratic convention to unseat Mississippi's delegation headed by Gov. Fielding Wright unless it pledged to support nominees of the party.

Hamilton ruged that he and his delegation be seated.

Wright and his delegation are pledged to walk out of the convention if it nominates President Truman. They have voted to support the candidacy of Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas, states' rights champion.

Wed. 7-14-48

Declining to make public the names of his delegates, Hamilton told the Credentials Committee the delegation would support the party nominee, regardless fo who he would be.

Hamilton said his delegation was selected at a meeting after the Mississippi Democratic Convention which named the Wright delegation. He said delegates representing a majority of the state's counties attended his meeting.

But in Jackson, capitol newsmen and state officials said they had not heard of the reported meeting until they read about it in Philadelphia dispatches Tuesday.

Lieut. Gov. Sam Lumpkin, who is acting chief executive, Atty. Gen. Breek Rice and Secretary of State Heber Ladner all said they had never heard of the meeting described by Hamilton to the Credentials Committee

2 Dixie Blocs Stomp Out Of Conclave

Courier Journal

34d

Louisville, Ky.

Civil-Rights Stand Hit By Alabama And Mississippi

Thu. 7-15-48

From Wire Dispatches.

Philadelphia, July 14.—Rebellious delegates from Alabama and Mississippi stomped out of the Democratic National Convention tonight with State flags flaunting defiance of those who stayed behind to nominate Harry S. Truman. Thu. 7-15-48

The angered South followed up the walkout—a protest against the convention's strong new civil-rights stand—by putting Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia in nomination for the Presidency ahead of President Truman.

Beating Enrages South.

They knew they couldn't stop the President from being nominated on the first ballot. But they organized to make their civil-rights protest as vigorous as they could as a prelude to what looked like a wide North-South split.

Other pictures, stories and articles on the Democratic Convention are on Page 2, Editorial and Op Ed pages, and Page 2, Section 2.

The South was enraged from a bad beating it took from the North in a furious civil-rights fight, a fight over such things as lynching, poll taxes, and racial discrimination in jobs, which the South says are purely State problems.

In protest, all Mississippi's 22 delegates and 13 of Alabama's 26 packed up and left. Those who stayed started lining up behind Russell.

Charles J. Bloch, vice-chairman of the Georgia delegation put Russell in nomination as "one of Georgia's most distinguished sons."

Says Georgia Won't Bolt.

But mostly he hit at the strong indorsement of Truman's civil-rights program which Northerners jammed into the platform today.

His hands trembling as he clasped the speaker's stand, Bloch thundered:

"You shall not crucify the South on a cross of civil rights."

Bloch said Georgia wouldn't bolt. But when the convention adjourns, he said:

"We shall be sitting there opposing the nomination of any candidate, be he the President of the United States or not, who advocates openly or tacitly such proposals as have been made here today in the platform of this party." Thu. 7-15-48

Recalls Their Pledges.

The half of the Alabama delegation that decided to stick things out gave way to Georgia so Russell's name could be put in nomination ahead of all others.

That was after the Mississippians had fought their way behind 13 Alabama delegates out the back door of the hall, hooted and booed by most of the contingents that stayed and applauded by others from the South that had had similar yearnings to bolt.

It was quiet enough when the call of states for nominating speeches was ordered. Alabama was first on the list.

Chairman Handy Ellis informed the convention that the state delegates were faced with the necessity of carrying out their pledges to the people of the State of Alabama, not to cast Alabama's votes for:

A Republican.

Harry S. Truman.

Anyone standing on a civil-rights plank such as the convention adopted today.

Calls States'-Rights Meeting.

So, he said:

"Thirteen of the delegates and all but three of the alternates will proceed to walk out of this convention and report to the Democratic Party of Alabama."

He was authorized to say Mississippi was tagging along.

"I bid you good-by," he said with a bow.

Standing in the rain outside Convention Hall, Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi told an army of reporters that "in all probability" the bolters will wind up in Birmingham for a convention of their own. Then they could nominate some Southerner for the Presidency at a rump session.

Later Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi formally called for the meeting in Birmingham Saturday to designate a "States'-rights" candidate for President to oppose Truman.

"The Mississippi delegation is on its way to Birmingham," he told a reporter. "There will be a good many other states represented."

He said the Birmingham conference would suggest a man for the individual Southern States to nominate for President. The meeting will write a States'-rights platform, he said.

W. W. Wright, cochairman with Governor Wright of the Southern States'-rights committee, joined in the announcement.

Before the take-a-walk crowd pushed its way through the packed middle aisle, a Wisconsin delegate yelled:

"Good riddance! We'll win in November without you."

Says South's Votes Needed.

"The hell you will," Ellis yelled back. "Harry Truman won't get $5.50 from the white people in Georgia to help his campaign."

Bloch was applauded when he said, "We are not bolting."

He launched into a speech on States' rights. Throughout the first part of his speech he dealt strictly with the issue—and barely mentioned the can[illegible] he was nominating.

"The South is no longer going to be the whipping boy of the Democratic Party," Bloch shouted.

"And you know—and if you don't know you'll learn it now—the Democrats can't elect a President without the votes of the South."

As the sweat rolled off his face, he cried:

"You shall not crucify the South on the cross of civil rights.

"If it were not for the South, Henry Wallace would be sitting in the White House today."

Band Plays 'Dixie.'

Not until near the end did he launch into the typical "I-give-you-the-man-who" nominating speech.

Then started the parade. Alabama's standard was there. So was Florida's, South Carolina's, Tennessee's, Virginia's, Georgia's, Arkansas', Texas' . . .

One great handicap under which the marchers labored: the band sat silent. And then it took the hint—direct from Democratic Chairman McGrath, Truman's manager—and blared forth with "Dixie."

A Confederate flag was waved to keep time with the music.

But the Northern delegates were not all idle. Truman's picture sprang up everywhere.

Firecrackers crackled, cowbells were banged, and, over and over, and faster and faster, the band played "Dixie."

New Signs Appear.

Georgia's delegation stayed, but nominated Senator Russell to oppose Truman.

Somebody came down front and raised the flag of the Confederacy.

All kinds of new signs suddenly appeared. One carried by a South Carolina delegate said: "Let's send Harry back to the farm."

There was considerable mild struggling on the floor. Truman delegates tried to impede the Southern demonstrators.

Convention Chairman Sam Rayburn finally mixed in. By dint of hammering, he shut off the demonstration after 20 minutes.

Drive To Keep Bolters Fails At Convention

Birmingham News

Ala.

Tue. 7-13-48

They're Determined To Go If Platform Isn't Acceptable

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, July 13—Efforts to get the Alabama walkout-pledged delegates to stay in the Democratic National Convention and support Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney against President Truman failed today.

At a caucus called by Chairman Handy Ellis, walkout group members decided definitely they would go through with plans to abandon the convention if the party platform plank on "civil rights" is objectionable to the South, as they expect it to be. Strong pressure had been exerted on the 13 walkouters in the 26-member delegation to stay in the convention and vote for Laney, picked by the Southern states rights revolt leaders as anti-Truman candidate for president.

* * *

HOWEVER, the walkout delegates were dubious of remaining in the convention after adoption, possiblyy tonight, of what they expect to be a "civil rights" plank unfavorable to the South. They pledged in their election campaigns to take a walk, if this was not acceptable.

The Arkansas delegation wants Alabama to yield to that state to place Laney's name in nomination, but non-walkout members opposed this plan. In fact, Fifth District Delegate Roy McCord, Gadsden, reiterated that he was going to nominate Sen. Richard B. Russell, Georgia "favorite son" presidential aspirant, to oppose Truman. McCord has a right to do this.

While Jim Peters, head of the Georgia delegation, is friendly to the states-righters, the Cracker state delegation apparently is not going to play ball with Laney's backers, among whom is Alabama Democratic National Committeeman Marion Rushton.

Rushton, [illegible] former Alabama Gov. Frank Dixon on the Laney States Rights Campaign Committee, was instrumental in picking the Arkansas governor as a convention opponent of Truman for the nomination. Both Rushton and Robert T. Goodwyn, Jr., Montgomery, the other Alabama member of the States Rights Anti-Truman Campaign Committee who is attending the convention, want the Alabama walkout delegates to remain in the convention now and vote for Laney.

* * *

AN INFORMED SOURCE said that the Georgians definitely would not participate in the states rights convention to be held in Birmingham Saturday when a Southern presidential ticket will be nominated.

Planners of the Birmingham convention have said they expect 15 states to participate in that convention, but present indications here are that the main supporters of this meeting will be Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina and Alabama.

34d

Both Gov. Laney and Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright were proposed as likely nominees at Birmingham, but Wright bowed out of consideration. It is apparent now that Gov. Laney, whose name will be placed in nomination in Philadelphia, will be named by the states-righters Saturday to head the Southern ticket.

South Carolina Gov. Strom Thurmond has released delegates of that state who had been pledged to him, so they can support Laney.

Alabamians, after a tumultous caucus, at which the walkouters gained control by a one-vote margin and elected Ellis chairman, sweltered through two convention sessions yesterday as this dull and drab party powwow got under way.

* * *

THIS CAUCUS, marked by sharp verbal exchanges between members of opposing factions and heated debate, at first was closed to the press and public by Acting Chairman Rushton, who, in his capacity as national committeeman, had called the meeting. But the caucus was opened later upon the insistence of delegation members, called out and urged to do so by members of the press, including publishers and editors of Alabama newspapers and this reporter.

Before Rushton ordered the meeting closed at its beginning, R. B. Chandler, publisher of the Mobile Press and Register; James E. Mills, editor of The Birmingham Post, and this reporter insisted that it be kept open. Rushton refused and shouted at an Associated Press photographer to get out. Furthermore, the acting chairman had a chair placed against the door inside the caucus chamber and directed an alternate to stop any person who attempted to enter.

Other press service and newspaper men here, wide-eyed at the closing of what was supposed to be a public meeting, were amazed, with one reporter asking sarcastically if sessions of the Alabama Legislature were closed or left open to the public.

J. Miller Bonner, Camden, delegate-at-large, and E. C. (Bud) Boswell, Geneva, Third District, who were placed on the platform and resolutions committee, were helping draft a minority report opposing inclusion of a "civil rights" plank. Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, who has been serving on a convention subcommittee engaged in drafting a platform, has sought to knock out or minimize the "civil rights" proposals recommended by Truman.

CLOSED CAUCUS DOOR—Col. Marion Rushton

Senator Rips Into G.O.P., Warns South

Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

The Courier-Journal Convention Bureau.

Philadelphia, July 12.—The banner of the Roosevelt New Deal was unfurled anew tonight by Alben W. Barkley. The Kentucky senator, delivering the Democratic National Convention's keynote speech, waved that banner defiantly in the face of the victory-confident Republican Party.

Jul. 7-13-48

He waved it in the face of the conservative wing of his own party. He went down the line for the New Deal all the way from the defense of bureaucrats to a warning to his Southern colleagues that they cannot hope forever to deny the Negroes of their section the full enjoyment of civil rights.

Slases At G.O.P. Record.

It was a fighting party speech which Barkley delivered to the convention delegates. He slashed unmercifully at the Republican Party's record during the 1½ years it has controlled Congress.

He taunted the Republicans, calling upon them to say which of the New Deal legislation they are willing to admit publicly they want to repeal. Then he charged them with trying to emasculate the New Deal in secret while paying lip service to its achievements.

In belligerent mood, Barkley told the delegates that their party's record for 16 years is one they should boast about, not one for which they should apologize.

'What Is This Whipping Boy?'

He reminded them that practically every speaker at the recent Republican convention denounced the New Deal. "What is this whipping boy," he asked, "which Republican speech makers use for their lamentations at every convention and on every platform?"

Answering his own rhetorical question, he listed item by item the achievements of the New Deal. Among them he listed a farm program "which has increased farm income by 800 per cent"; a soil-conservation program; the rural electrification program; the development of power dams such as the T.V.A., Grand Coulee, and the St. Lawrence Waterway; the Wagner Labor Relations Act; the Minimum Wage Law; the reciprocal trade program; the federal insurance of bank deposits; the federal housing program; the good-neighbor policy in South America.

'Spray Forest With Froth.'

"Let us ask," Barkley said, "and let the American people ask, those who spray this forest of superb accomplishment with the froth of their vindictive lips—which tree will they cut down with their mighty ax or their puny hatchet?"

Though the Republicans are unwilling to make public attack upon these New Deal achievements, Barkley said, they tried, during the last session of Congress, to scuttle many of them.

His indictment of the recent Congress was as sweeping as anything President Truman delivered during his recent tour of the West.

7-13-48

That Congress tried, Barkley said, to destroy the Rural Electrification Administration by denying it adequate funds for its extension to the farmers of the nation.

It destroyed in part, he said, the Wagner Labor Relations Act by enacting the Taft-Hartley Labor Law. That statute, Barkley said, is a full-fledged attack upon the labor act for which a majority of Democrats in Congress voted. The Taft-Hartley Law, he said, "had its inception in a desire to destroy the right of American labor to organize."

The Republicans lacked the courage, Barkley said, to repeal the Soil Conservation Act. But, he declared, they sought to destroy it by denying it the funds necessary for its administration.

The Kentuckian excoriated the Republican Congressional majority for its refusal to enact a public housing program. He blistered it for refusing to pass legislation to provide federal funds to help the states solve their school problems. He denounced it for curtailing the social-security program after having promised to expand social security to include more workers.

7-13-48

He indicted the Republicans for failing to increase the minimum wage level. He laid directly at their feet the responsibility for rising prices because they refused to enact the inflation controls requested by Truman.

Barkley charged them with wanting to go back to the log-rolling days of tariff making because they emasculated Cordel Hull's reciprocal trade program by extending it for only one year and putting Congressional check-reins upon it.

Treading carefully upon the foreign-policy question, Barkley gave full credit to certain Republican leaders, particularly Senator Arthur Vandenberg, for whole-hearted co-operation with the Truman Administration in the Marshall plan and other foreign-policy decisions.

Fears Isolationism.

But he reminded the convention that the Republican leadership in the House shows every sign of returning to its normal isolationism when it tried to whittle away the European Recovery Program.

His choicest invective Barkley saved for the recent Republican convention, which nominated Thomas E. Dewey and Earl Warren. He pointed out that the decisive voice in putting Dewey over was Joseph R. Grundy, the high-tariff advocate from Pennsylvania. He pointed out that, as his reward for putting Dewey over, Grundy was allowed to select the new Republican national chairman.

Barkley did not call the name of the new chairman, who is Representative Hugh D. Scott, Jr., but he quoted him as saying, in 1943:

"It is time for the Republicans to take over. We are the best stock. We are the people who represent the real grit, brains, and backbone of America."

Gives Reminder to South.

To his fellow Democrats in the South who are angry about the Truman civil-rights program Barkley issued a reminder that they are the political heirs of Thomas Jefferson.

"Jefferson declared," said Barkley, "that all men are equal. The equality which he proclaimed was equality in the right to enjoy the blessings of free government, in which they may participate and to which they have given their consent. . . .

"No true follower of Jefferson is at liberty to withhold from our own people, or the people of the world, the hope that they may enjoy that life, that liberty, and the pursuit of happiness upon which our own and all free institutions have been founded and must be founded throughout the world."

7-13-48

Urges Party to Progress.

"Surely the great Democratic Party, assembled here in the shadow of the historic hall where Jefferson wrote these things, cannot foreswear its obligation to march forward on the highway of human advancement."

It was a speech full of phrases such as have made Barkley a figure of legend both in Senate debate and upon the stump in Kentucky. Defending the New Deal from the attacks made upon bureaucrats, he said:

"A bureaucrat is a Democrat who holds some office that a Republican wants. The only sort of house cleaning you will get in Washington, in the event of a Republican victory next November, will be a change in the political complexion of those who hold the offices."

Taunts Republicans.

Taunting the Republicans because they still cringe before the political power of Franklin D. Roosevelt's name, he said:

"That man rests in the peaceful atmosphere of a quiet grave at Hyde Park. Some Republican orators of questionable taste seem to fear his spirit now as they feared the force of his personality when alive."

The opening session this morning was more than a half hour late in starting, and was devoted to 2 hours of oratory extolling the Democratic New Deal and denouncing the Republicans.

The principal speakers were Seator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, Senator Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania, and Mayor David L. Lawrence of Pittsburgh.

Myers described the coming presidential campaign as a "two-front war" against the "reactionary, dominantly isolationist Republican right" and the "totalitarian Communist left."

Nominated 'Best Loser.'

The Pennsylvanian said the Republicans repeated history in this same hall three weeks ago by nominating "their best loser," Thomas E. Dewey.

The Democrats will repeat history in November, he predicted, by beating Dewey again.

McGrath, the party's national chairman, said the Democrats have provided a "record and a heritage of solid, constructive, progressive achievement in government that are unmatched in the history of our own or any other nation."

By contrast, he said, the Republicans have a record of "negativism, obstruction, and retrogression" during the past two years to go with their "dismal history of the 1920s."

Lawrence Slaps at Grundy.

Lawrence, welcoming the delegates to Pennsylvania, said Dewey was the choice of a convention dominated by Grundy.

The new G.O.P. national chairman, Representative Scott, is a "Grundy creature," Lawrence continued, and "sits in that chairmanship as a trustee for the Grundy interests in the Dewey deal."

"He will protect the high-tariff, special-privilege duck-the-taxes, beat-down-labor, forget-the-world Republicans—the dominant element in the Republican Party," Lawrence said.

'Rebels' Outline Plans To Kill Party in South

Atlanta Constitution

PHILADELPHIA, July 15—(AP)—A number of angered Dixie Democrats outlined intentions today to take the South out of the Party it has supported solidly for 75 years.

Gov. Fielding H. Wright, of Mississippi, called a meeting of all States-rights Democrats for Birmingham Saturday. There the leaders of the Southern anti-Truman movement will recommend that the Southern electoral vote be given to a man named this weekend.

The Southerners contend that the anti-discrimination proposals in the Party platform, which echoes President Truman's own Civil Rights program, invade States' rights. Fri. 7-16-48

After the Mississippi delegation and half of Alabama's walked out of the Convention, Southerners fought with grim determination the admittedly hopeless fight against Mr. Truman's nomination. For the most part they sat unsmiling through the demonstration for the President.

The 11 Alabama electors, named May 4 in a State primary, are committed against Mr. Truman or any other nominee who endorsed the anti-lynching, anti-segregation and Fair Employment Practices program of the President.

In addition to Alabama and Mississippi, representatives from Texas, Arkansas, Florida and South Carolina have announced they will go to Birmingham. All these states, in bitter opposition to the Convention majority, stood solidly against the Civil Rights platform plank and against Mr. Truman's nomination.

Alabama's delegates split on the walkout question. But those delegates who remained on the Convention floor fought the President to the finish on his nomination.

They also voted unanimously against suspension of the rules to allow unanimous nomination of Sen. Barkley for Vice President. But their protest went unheard.

The Birmingham gathering will resemble in some ways the Southern rebellion in 1860 at Charleston, S. C., and Baltimore. The deep South delegates withdrew from the regular convention, nominated a candidate of their own, and split the party vote that Fall.

Lincoln's election as the first Republican President followed, and Southern States seceded to set the stage for the War Between the States.

Since the war, the South has been the symbol of party regularity.

Tenn. Democrats Won't Instruct

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga

NASHVILLE, Tenn., April 15—(UP)—The Tennessee Democratic Convention voted Thursday to send an uninstructed delegation to the National Convention in Philadelphia. At the same time, the Convention turned down a stronglyworded resolution condemning President Truman. Fri.

The decision not to instruct delegates was taken by voice vote. It followed an hour of violent debate in which the losing forces were led by the powerful E. H. Crump Shelby County political organization. 4-16-48

MISSISSIPPI FIRM IN WALKOUT PLAN

7-12-48

Caucus Repeats Intention to Bolt Convention

Times-Picayune

(The Associated Press)

Philadelphia, June 11—Mississippi's 22-vote delegation to the Democratic convention reiterated today its intention to walk out if an unsatisfactory states' rights plank is adopted or President Truman is nominated.

New Orleans

Today's was the state's first caucus for the convention, opening Monday. Delegates already have instructions from the Mississippi Democratic convention to vote as a unit.

Gov. Fielding Wright, supported by some Southern delegates for the presidential nomination, was formally elected chairman of the delegation. He was nominated by T. H. Henry of Columbus.

Walter Sillars of Rosedale was named vice-chairman and Ed Lewis of Jackson, secretary.

Senators Eastland and Stennis of Mississippi attended the caucus. Reporters were barred.

Governor Wright told newspapermen later the delegation still is unanimous in its decision to walk out of the convention if an unsatisfactory state's rights planks is adopted, or if President Truman is the party's nominee.

While none wished to be quoted by name, the delegates generally agreed privately that President Truman will be nominated on the first ballot and that the civil rights plank will be as strong or stronger than the one to which they objected [illegible]

7-12-48

Wright [illegible] a second caucus likely will be called tomorrow.

Platform Asks Repeal Of Taft Act

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Wed. 7-14-48

By the United Press

Philadelphia, July 13.—The Democratic convention's resolutions committee tonight adopted a "middle-of-the-road" civil-rights plank which it hoped rebellious Southerners would accept without a fight.

But the committee still faced an attempt by Dixie Democrats to write in a strong States'-rights plank. The Southerners were demanding such a declaration to offset the civil-rights program.

Committee action came after the rejection of an attempt by Mayor Hubert Humphreys of Minneapolis to write an even stronger civil-rights program.

Southerners Rebuffed, Too.

Humphreys wanted to pledge the Democratic Party to the support of federal legislation to guarantee "personal safety from the brutal crime of lynching and mob violence," equal opportunity in employment, full and free political participation, and equal treatment in the armed forces.

Senator Scott W. Lucas of Illinois told reporters the Humphreys amendment was beaten by an "overwhelming" majority. He said the vote was followed by the rebuff of the Dixie attempt to weaken the civil-rights declaration. 7-14-48

Former Governor Dan Moody of Texas then offered the states'-rights amendment to the platform, Lucas said. It was taken under consideration.

Labor Plank Approved.

Earlier the committee approved a plank calling for repeal of the Taft-Hartley law and agreed to planks pledging action to control soaring living costs and to back up with dollars the nation's promise to help European recovery.

The "middle-of-the-road" civil-rights plank says:

"The Democratic Party is responsible for the great civil rights gains made in recent years in eliminating unfair and illegal discrimination based on race, creed or color.

"The Democratic Party commits itself to continuing its effort to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination.

"We again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the law, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution.

The Courier-Journal

Tidelands Plank Defeated.

"We again call on Congress to exercise its full authority to the limits of the Constitution to assure and protect these rights."

The Southern attempt to weaken the declaration was an amendment to eliminate the last paragraph. Humphreys offered his amendment as a substitute for the same language.

The committee killed a proposed plank to assert federal control over the oil-rich tidelands. It reportedly was argued that the Supreme Court had settled the issue.

Louisville, Ky

Assert Act Has Failed.

"We advocate the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act," the labor plank said. "It was enacted by the Republican 80th Congress over the President's veto. It has failed."

Wed

A majority of the Democrats in Congress voted with the Republicans to override President Truman's veto of that legislation.

7-14-48

Other stories, articles, and pictures on the convention are on Page 2, the Editorial and Op Ed Pages, and Pages 1, 2, and 6 of Section 2.

The Democratic plank on labor—which, like the rest of the platform, is subject to a vote by the full convention—stated that under the Taft-Hartley Law the number of labor-management disputes has increased.

"It has encouraged litigation in labor disputes and undermined the established American policy of collective bargaining," the plank read.

"Recent decisions by the courts prove that the act was so poorly drawn that its application is uncertain and that it is probably, in some provisions, unconstitutional.

The Courier-Journal

Substitute Rules Urged.

In place of the Taft-Hartley Law the platform committee advocated "such legislation as is desirable to establish a just body of rules to assure free and effective collective bargaining, to determine in the public interest the rights of employees and employers, to reduce to a minimum their conflict of interest, and to enable unions to keep their membership free from communistic influences."

The committee also approved planks:

1. Pledging continued support for the United Nations and efforts to bring about curtailment of the big-power veto.
2. Advocating maintenance of an "adequate" Army, Navy, and Air Force "to protect the nation's vital interest and to assure our security against aggression."
3. Pledging a "sound humanitarian administration" of the Marshall plan for European recovery.

Louisville, Ky.

Aid to Israel Pledged.

4. Reaffirming U. S. recognition to the State of Israel with a pledge of "appropriate aid" to the new Jewish state in developing its economy and resources; favoring revision of the arms embargo to accord to Israel "the right of self-defense."

Wed.

5. Pledging enactment of comprehensive housing legislation, including provision for slum clearance and low-rent housing; calling for continuation of rent control until adequate housing is provided. 7-14-48
6. Promising continuation of "those sound fiscal policies which under Democratic leadership have brought about a balanced budget" and a $28,000,000,000 debt reduction since the war's end.
7. Favoring reduction of taxes—"whenever it is possible to do so without unbalancing the nation's economy"—especially for low-income families.

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30 Candidates Ready To Walk At Convention

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 4-18-48

Publicity Is Scheduled In Face Of Protests; 26 Opposed To Action

MOBILE, ALA.—Thirty candidates for delegate Saturday night were pledged to walk out on the Democratic national convention if it adopts any part of the Truman civil right program.

State Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey announced their names and prepared in the face of protests from some anti-walk outers to give wide publicity to their stand. 4-18-48

Ranged against the 30 pledge signers were 26 candidates who refused to endorse it. Robert W. Gwin of Birmingham was the last addition to the group opposed to the move. Twenty-eight candidates remain uncommitted.

Twenty-six delegates will be elected this year, two from each Congressional district and eight from the state at large.

McCorvey listed no pledge signers from the second and fifth districts, and only one from the eighth Congressional district.

Lists Electors

McCorvey also gave the names of the 21 out of 28 candidates for presidential elector pledged to cast their votes for a Southern Democrat, if the national convention renominates Truman for President or adopts an "anti-Southern" platform.

McCorvey said in a statement accompanying the names of the pledge signers that the elected delegates will be expected "to go to the Democratic national convention and to stay there and fight to the last ditch against the adoption of a so-called civil rights plank in the party platform."

The Advertiser

"If the convention steam-rollers the delegates from the South and adopts such a plank in the Democratic platform, then the damage is done," he said.

"Gain Nothing"

"We gain nothing by wrangling over the nomination of a candidate because regardless of who is nominated he will have to run on the so-called civil rights platform pledged to impose diabolical and unthinkable measures on the South.

Montgomery, Ala

"If this happens, the Democratic party of Alabama will be unable this year to affiliate itself with the National Democratic party as we have done in former years and our delegates will have 'to take a walk.'"

Sun.

McCorvey said most of the delegates would no doubt be unwilling to participate in balloting for a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president, "when they know in advance that they would not support any nominee running on such a platform, regardless of who such nominee might be."

4-18-48

Termed Necessary

McCorvey said the pledge was necessary to help the Democratic Party in Alabama counties where Republican opposition is strong.

"Democrats will be greatly embarrassed in November to solicit

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Notables Solid For Candidacy Of Incumbent

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Georgian Hopes For Delegates To Nat'l Convention

Sun. 7-18-48

By MARK HYMAN

PHILADELPHIA — (ANP)—Over two thirds of the Negro delegates and alternates to the Democratic National Convention were present at Philadelphia's fashionable Pyramid Club last week and had an old time party rally, going down the line for Harry S. Truman for the next President of the United States.

There were "Shag" Taylor, affectionately called by Congressman William Dawson, "the mayor of Boston"; old time Democratic William L. Hueston from Washington, and with him was young Edward Williams who was attending his second convention. Joseph Brown, state senator from Michigan, and delegate to the convention, told Chairman Dawson and the other delegates that Michigan was going all out for Truman. With him from Michigan were William Booker, delegate, and alternates Harold Bledsoe, Charles W. Jones, and Mrs. Geneva Cassey. Thomas Corum, president elector from the Wolverine state and assistant sergeant-at-arms at the convention, was with the delegation.

VARIED REPRESENTATIVES

Also at the old-time Democrat pep meeting were the Rev. Russell Clayton, pastor of a non-denominational church in Los Angeles and delegates; Mrs. Mildred Casey, delegate from Chicago, the only Negro woman in the history of Illinois to attend a Democratic convention as a delegate; Sen. C. C. Wimbish, from the first congressional district of Illinois, alternate; Maj. James McClendon, second district, alternate, and Willard Townsend, labor leader, and delegate at large from Illinois, alternate; Lt. Col. Kenneth Campbell alternate.

Chicago was further represented by Charles Skyles, representative from the fifth senatorial district; James C. Martin, district leader from Chicago's 28th ward, and Robert H. Miller, elector from the first congressional district. He is also public relations man for the district.

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

From Maryland came William B. Dixon, president of the famous Monumental Democratic club of Baltimore; New York's Democratic leader Joe Ford was on hand, jovially identified with Tammany Hall by the other delegates; George R Ragland, of Oklahoma City. He is public relations man for Langston university and state supervisor of the Universal Life Insurance company; Andrew M. Bradley, alternate delegate at large from Harrisburg, Pa., and Charles Baker, honorary seargent-at-arms from Philadelphia. Both are state auditors. The Rev. Marshall Shepard, recorder of deeds in the District of Columbia and famous clergyman, was on hand to lend the spiritual side to the dynamic meeting.

Sun. 7-18-48

SEES GA. DELEGATES

Elmer Motzee, fom St. Louis, an ever ready defender of Truman, and Atty. George Vaughn, of Missouri, nationally known for his fight in the restrictive covenant cases, sparked the meeting with strong pro-Truman speeches while Atty. Austin Walden, of Atlanta, defense counsel in the Ingram case, expressed his hopes for the future when Georgia could send Negro delegates to the national convention. Felix Payne, "the man who knew Truman before the President was big enough to be a senator," was called on by Dawson. He insisted that Truman was a man who kept his word. George Murray of the CIO said the union was solidly behind the President.

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Ohio was represented at the informal gathering by Granville Reed, delegate. California came in with its second Negro delegate, Mrs Sylura Barron of San Diego.

There were no differences of option as to what Truman meant to the Negro Democrats of the country. And as the white Democrats floundered about the city, looking vainly for a leader in preference of the civil rights advocate President, Negro delegates from all over the country were agreed [illegible] it was Harry Truman.

Sun.

7-18-48

Challenging of Lily-White Delegations Held Indication of Ultimate Victory

The Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

Lautier Says Use of Wrong Procedure Cost S.C. Progressives Convention Seats This Time

Mon. 7-24-48

By LOUIS LAUTIER

PHILADELPHIA (NNPA) — Southern Democrats are cornered over the race issue, out of which they have made political capital ever since the Civil War.

Although the delegates of the regular Democratic Party in South Carolina were seated in the Democratic national convention, Southerners were definitely put on notice that the Democratic Party in the South no longer is a white man's party.

The convention seats of U.S Senators Olin D. Johnston and Burnet R. Maybank, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and 17 other advocates of white supremacy were challenged by two groups—one white and the other colored — both basing their contests on the exclusion of colored Democrats.

Attempt to Evade Ruling

It was Senator Johnston, who, while Governor of South Carolina, hit upon the scheme to disfranchise colored voters by repealing all laws on the South Carolina statute books pertaining to primary elections.

After the U.S. Supreme Court held in the Texas primary case that colored voters could not legally be barred from voting in Democratic primaries because of their color, Governor Johnston summoned the South Carolina Legislature to carry out his nefarious scheme.

Mon.

Repeal of South Carolina's primary laws left regulation of party affairs entirely up to the State Democratic Executive Committee. Party rules restricted voting in primaries to white Democrats. So throughout the State, clubs, corresponding to ward organizations in free election States, were organized.

7-24-48

The South Carolina Democratic party took the position that colored people had no more right to vote in Democratic primaries than they have "to vote in the election of officer of the Forest Lake Country Club or for the officers of the Colonial Dames of America."

Told to Rejoin Union

Judge J. Waties Waring of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern district of South Carolina, in 1947 enjoined party officials from excluding qualified colored voters from registering and voting, declaring that it was "time for South Carolina to rejoin the union."

After this decision, the South Carolina Democratic party decided to permit colored Democrats to vote in primaries if they degraded themselves by taking an oath saying they believed in racial segregation. They were still barred from the clubs.

Since they could not belong to "clubs," they were barred from participating in county, district and State conventions. They organized the Progressive Democratic Party and held their own conventions. At Philadelphia they asked for 8 of the 20 seats allotted to South Carolina Democrats on the basis of the ratio of colored people in the total population of the State.

Mon.

Hatch Proposal Ignored

On the promise that the Democratic credentials committee had no precedent by which to go, Senator Carl Hatch of New Mexico proposed, and the committee adopted, a rule for the guidance of State Conventions which would forbid discrimination in the election of delegates on account of race, color or religion.

Whether this rule was proposed to the convention's Rules Committee was not learned, but that committee did not report it to the convention and, consequently, no action was taken.

7-24-48

Nevertheless, in the light of this contest case and the fact that a number of Southern States sent colored "observers" to Philadelphia, it will be interesting to watch developments four years.

Could Have Forced Issue

The colored Democrats in South Carolina should have followed a different procedure and elected delegates to the regular Democratic county, district and State conventions, filed credentials and presented contests at these conventions, and then brought their contest to Philadelphia.

If they had done so, the situation for Senators Johnston and Maybank and Governor Thurmond would have been far more embarrassing and the credentials committee and the convention itself might have been forced to decide the issue on its merits.

AL SMITH, IN '32, TOOK FAMOUS 'WALK'

Nearing Democratic Convention Reminds of Past Political Rows

Constitution — Atlanta, Ga.

(34d)

Sun. 7-11-48

The widely publicized threat that delegates of a number of Southern States would bolt from the Democratic Convention if Truman is chosen as the Party's candidate for President, and/or the platform carries his stand on the civil rights issue may result in that action and again it may not.

A political sensation two months ago, comment and speculation were subdued by the President's transcontinental Western tour, but in the deep South hostility to Truman was augmented by the foes of his civil rights pronouncement. With the Democratic Convention date nearing, the Party is faced with a problem that is fraught with possible disaster if compromise fails. 7-11-48

The nation-wide interest developed by the threatened revolt, plus high blood pressure worry of political leaders, serves to recall several historic "take-a-walk" incidents that have occurred in connection with past presidential conventions of both political parties.

In 1896 when the GOP platform came out flatly in favor of the gold standard, Henry M. Teller, the "silver" United States Senator from Colorado, tearfully told the convention he would have to desert the Party. Whereat Mark Hanna, the GOP poobah of the period, who promoted McKinley's nomination and was principally responsible for the gold plank in the platform, said: "Let him go; we won't miss him."

BULL MOOSE UPRISING

Teddy Roosevelt fought harder at the Republican Convention in Chicago, Ill., in 1912, than he did in the Cuban War, and when he lost the nomination to William Howard Taft, he and his partisans fled from the convention hall, formed the Bull Moose Rough Riders, wrecked the GOP and insured Wilson's election.

Alfred E. Smith's famous quip: "I'll just take a walk," signalized his departure from the Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1932 when the fourth ballot of that memorabble assemblage disclosed that the Party would not nominate for the presidency the man whose candidacy in 1928 split the Solid South for the first time since the end of "reconstruction" had made it a 13-State Democratic stronghold, choosing instead Franklin D. Roosevelt, who broke all precedents for renomination and re-election.

This year's threat to Democratic party harmony has all the features of the rift that occurred in 1860 when the Convention met in Charleston, S. C., on April 23, to nominate a candidate to oppose Lincoln for the Presidency. United States Sen. Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, was the outstanding candidate, and he could command a majority vote of the Convention, but was far short of the two-thirds required for nomination. Trouble started at once over a clause in the platform, Douglas insisting on his plan of handling the slavery issue, while the Southern delegates were equally insistent on a plank which embodied the ideas of Jefferson Davis. After a week of acrimonious debate, the Douglas partisans forced a vote and won their point 165 to 138. The delegates from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, Arkansas and Georgia left the wrangling assembly, and after a caucus, decided to hold a Convention of the Southern States in Richmond, Va.

DOUGLAS NOMINATED

The Douglas partisans, together with the delegates from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and California, continued the Charleston Convention, and after 57 ballots, with Douglas unable to muster the necessary two-thirds of the remaining delegates, adjourned to meet in Baltimore June 16. Minus the delegates from the above-mentioned seven States, and the seven original bolters, the Douglas partisans, calling their assembly the Democratic party, nominated Douglas, with a platform carrying his ideas on the redhot issue of the time. Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, was nominated as his running mate. 7-11-48

The seceding delegates from 14 States, meeting in Richmond, formed the Southern Democratic party, adopted a platform embodying Davis' plank on the slavery issue and nominated John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, as its candidate for President, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for Vice President. To complicate matters, a coterie of well-meaning individuals, who desired to pour oil on the troubled political waters, got together and formed the Conservative Democratic party, nominating John Bell, of Tennessee, as its candidate for President, with a "straddle" plank on the slavery issue. This effort to harmonize the Northern and Southern divisions of the party was of no avail—the party was hopelessly split, and Lincoln's election made certain.

Will political party history repeat itself in Philadelphia when the Democrats meet in convention in "the City of Brotherly Love"? Will there be another "take a walk" by one or more eminent Democrats, or a bolt of the Dixiecrat delegates? That is a problem that is sprouting gray hairs on the domes of many leaders of the party as they seek a compromise solution that will restore party harmony.

Irrespective of whether the party meets in amity or discord, when the Democrats assemble in the same Philadelphia convention hall where the Republicans met June 21, not a GOP trace will be left—not even an echo of fervid orations, hilarious demonstrations and general pandemonium will roost in the rafters of the great building. Every corner has been carefully swept, the walls and seats thoroughly sprayed with political DDT—nothing left untouched but the electric, telephone and telegraph wires, and their voltage is believed "hot" enough to have become purified of any noxious Republican doctrines they transmitted. 7-11-48

The Democrats will eat, so trainloads of provender have been stored and more is on the way, while refreshment establishments have cut down on the Scotch and rye, but boosted the supplies of bourbon. Some have added a judicious quantity of "cawn." Republican banners have been whisked away and with Democratic insignia entwined with the nation's red, white and blue, Philadelphia is ready for the Democrats' saturnalia of hysterical, every four-years patriotic fervor.

The Dove of Peace, with an olive branch in her beak, will hover over the perspiring assembly as the convention opens in accordance with the time-honored program. A band will play "The Star-Spangled Banner," a distinguished clergyman will ask Divine guidance, a beautiful and gifted soprano will sing "My Country 'Tis of Three," and an outstanding Democratic leader will "point with pride and view with alarm" in the keynote address.

GOOD-BY PEACE

As the thunder of applause dies out following his peroration, the Dove of Peace will flit out of the hall, for the convention will immediately be compelled to consider the four-point program announced by the so-called Dixiecrats. Briefly summarized, it calls for State control on all features of civil rights, and refusal to vote for President Truman or any other candidate holding similar views expressed by him. The program announced carries an element of compromise, also a threat to "take a walk."

In contrast with the Republican Convention, with its several outstanding prospects for the nomination as presidential candidate, including a number of favorite son hopefuls, the Democrats meet, as in the past three conventions, with only one avowed aspirant for the honor of leading the party. Several outstanding Democrats, such Bailey and Connally, have been mentioned as prospective "dark horses," and any of them, as well as several others, would be acceptable to the Dixiecrats. Should several of these party leaders be offered in opposition to Truman it is possible that there might occur a battle of ballots similar to what occurred in Democratic Conventions of the past.

A memorable event was the 53 ballot scrimmage that occurred in Baltimore at the 1912 Democratic Convention, every one starting with a fog-horn voice announcing: "Alabama casts 24 votes for Oscar Underwood." After a Sunday recess, William Jennings Bryan, finally convinced that he could not obtain a fourth chance at the Presidency, gave Nebraska's vote to Woodrow Wilson, thus ending the cherished ambition of Missouri's Champ Clark to be the nominee of his party in a year when the nomination mean certainty of election.

In 1920, the year the GOP nominated Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge, William G. McAdoo, of California, and Gov. James M. Cox, of Ohio, ran neck and neck for the presidential nomination for 35 ballots before the tide began to turn in favor of Cox. But it required 44 roll calls to put the Ohio Governor in the race against his fellow Ohio newspaperman.

The 10-day battle between McAdoo and Gov. Alfred E. Smith, of New York, in 1924 set a record for political conventions of recent times. The fight was hot, the weather hotter, and in New York's Madison Square Garden wearied politicians and thrill-enhanced spectators were packed like sardines in a tin box, with perspiration substituting for olive oil.

For 70 roll calls McAdoo could not top 500 votes, and Smith could not gain above 350. Meanwhile, John W. Davis, prominent New York lawyer, plugged along with less than 100. The 71st showed McAdoo losing, but the votes were scattered among a number of "tryout" possibilities. 7-11-48

When none of these gained strength, a switch was made to Davis on the 90th. He gained votes on every successive ballot, but it took the 103rd to end the marathon contest so harrassed delegates could terminate mounting hotel bills and head for home.

"Peace—it's wonderful!"

DIXIE DELEGATES' AIMS UNCHANGED

(34d)

Stand Results in Watering Down of Proposals

Times Picayune

Thurs. 7-15-48

BY PAUL WOOTON

(The Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

Philadelphia, July 14.—As Southern delegates were prepared to make an issue over states' rights on the basis of the plank recommended by the platform committee, the overriding of the committee and the insertion of a drastic anti-states' rights plank causes no change of their original objectives.

The vote has had the effect of widening the breach between the South and the Truman Democrats, but it was fully apparent before the vote this afternoon that the South was prepared to precipitate a showdown on the whole question of party policy toward states' rights.

Unquestionably the platform committee would have put a stiffer plank in its recommendation had not delegates from the South convinced members that the consequences would be serious. As a result, the radical proposals were watered down as much as possible. However, the so-called middle-of-the-road plank was not more acceptable to the great majority of the Southern delegates than was the amendment proposed by Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis.

Thurs. 7-15-48

It is difficult for Southerners to understand why the wording proposed by minority members of the platform committee should be objected to so strongly, or why there should be any hesitation on the part of the Democratic party to go on record saying that the states should be left free from federal interference in the exercise of rights guaranteed to them by the constitution.

Responsible for Move

The left-wing element is strong in the California delegation present at this convention. It was those members of that delegation who were responsible at last night's session for the demonstration of hostility when the Mississippi delegation was seated.

Californians would have objected to the plank vociferously if it had been made specific and had referred to Negroes and Japanese. California wants no federal interference with the way it handles its Japanese problem.

In the committee Mayor Humphrey was enraged when the plank recommended by the majority left out reference to segregation, lynching, fair employment practices and poll taxes. He insisted from the first that all those matters be spelled out and that all general terms be dropped.

George D. Kells, Democratic chairman for Illinois, insisted that civil rights is the most important issue before the country and that no concessions should be made in the plan to call upon Congress to enact laws to abolish segregation, to punish lynching and to specify compulsory employment practices.

Thur. 6 15 4

Short Paragraph Asked

It is a curious development in politics when the party of Jefferson rides roughshod over the carefully defined principles under which the states and the federal government were to have their separate fields of power and permitted activities. How that party could shout down the insertion in its platform of the proposals of Mississippi's Walter Sillers is hard to understand. Mr. Sillers did not ask for a change in the language which the committee had recommended. His only request was that a short paragraph be inserted in the platform.

He spoke eloquenly to the convention today in support of that addition. It is worth repeating:

> "The several states shall exercise, free from federal interference or encroachment by legislation, directive or otherwise, all the rights and powers reserved to them by the constitution, among which is the power to provide by law for the qualifications of electors, conduct of elections, regulation of employment practices, segregation, and define crimes committed within their borders and prescribe penalties therefor."

There no longer is doubt in the minds of Southern delegates that the Democratic party will be the left wing party of the future. Many believe that today's action makes certain a fusion with the Wallace forces prior to election.

Despite the intensity of the feeling of Southern delegates in their attitude toward Mr. Truman, no disposition to vote for Governor Dewey is in evidence. In fact, they think less of Governor Dewey than they do of Mr. Truman. Unless they nominate someone else for whom to vote, it will be a choice between two evils, they say. They are glad, however, that they have been forced to take this action when the South cannot be blamed for having made possible the election of Gov. Dewey. This break has come at a time when the Democratic party was headed for inevitable defeat. That is the opinion of objective observers who have been in attendance at this convention and at the Republican conclave three weeks ago.

Three Reasons Given

What these observers have difficulty in understanding is the lack of confidence in Mr. Truman. He certainly has done everything in his words, his messages, and his vetoes that those to the left of center have wanted. It is true that he has not succeeded in making his suggestions effective, but his followers should not blame him because it was Congress which has thwarted him.

Three reasons are given why Truman is certain to lose: People do not care for alibis. They want achievement. The public feels that a change toward clearer-cut policies and firmer administration is overdue. Truman lacks popular appeal. There is plenty of evidence that the people are willing to forget Roosevelt II and his New Deal and go back to Roosevelt I and revive the square deal. They seem to feel that is what is needed both at home and abroad.

This convention has made such an outcome all the more certain.

The platform committee seemed to have lacked courage to recommend further invasion of the exclusive jurisdiction of the states in denying them control of the tidelands. No reference was made to the St. Lawrence seaway, but adequate appropriations for flood control were supported. The 80th Congress was accused of cruelty and false economy in denying emergency relief in connection with recent floods.

Southern members were glad to see the platform committee come out against discriminatory transportation charges and in favor of the repeal of discriminatory taxes on oleomargarine.

The plank advocating federal aid for education did not include the proposal urged upon the committee that the aid for schools be limited to states which do not practice segregation.

Pleased With Trade Plank

Southern members of the platform committee are pleased with the plank on reciprocal trade agreements and with the foreign policy plank. At one point in the platform a last minute thought was written in after the draft was completed. It was: "We pledge continued economic co-operation for the countries of the Western Hemisphere."

A California member of the credentials committe arrived late when the committee was deadlocked 12 to 12 over the seating of the Mississippi delegtaion. The result was about to be announced, but he was given a minute to decide how he would vote. He whispered to Mrs. Dorothy Vredenburgh, who was acting as secretary of the meeting, to ask how Chairman McGrath would want him to vote.

Mrs. Vredenburgh, a Mississippian, said Mr. McGrath would like to see the Mississippi delegation seated, so the California member broke the deadlock and paved the way for the final 15 to 11 vote which came a few minutes later. Now the delegate is in bad with his left wing associates on the California delegation. At the time he did not know California had any particular interest in the contest.

As a result of the hearing before the credentials committee in the matter of seating the Mississippi delegation a proposed new rule has been laid before the national committee. This would preclude the seating of any delegation which states in advance that it will not be bound by the action taken by a majority of the delegates. There was no pussy-footing when the Mississippians appeared before the credentials committee. They made it very clear they had no intention of supporting Mr. Truman or any platform that failed to recognize the party's obligation to respect state sovereignty.

(348)

Negroes Help Open Demo Convention

Daily World

Wed 7-14-48

PHILADELPHIA—(A N P)—Miss Carol Brice, luscious brown contralto, singing the Star Spangled Banner Tuesday morning; the Rev. Marshall L. Shepard, pastor of Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, delivering the morning prayers Wednesday, and Congressman William L. Dawson, active as assistant to the chairman, represented the outward and visible signs of Negro participation as the Democratic convention got down to business here, in Convention hall.

Wed 7-14-48

Less under the floodlight but in historic position was Mrs. Mildred Casey, of Chicago, reputably the first Negro woman ever to be a full-fledged delegate at a national political convention.

No complete list of the delegates was available as the convention opened and it is not known how many Negroes are included. Noticed so far have been Andrew Bradley from Harrisburg, Pa.; and Alexander Moorehead, chairman of the municipal council of St. Croix, Virgin Islands, USA. The Virgin Islands has four delegates.

Daily World

A large number of local women have been serving as official hostesses.

9-14-48

Believed Effective Weapon

Atlanta Constitution

(342)

Fri.

7-16-48

Should Democrats Emerge With Slight Victory in Election

By RALPH McGILL.

PHILADELPHIA, July 15—Southern leaders holding over here today for the meeting of the National Committee and also those getting out on late trains, are mapping continuation of the fight against the man nominated early Thursday morning by the Democratic Convention.

They are aware of the fact that the South was badly defeated in this Convention. The further bitter truth of it is that there is no sympathy for the Southern position and the disposition on the part of the dominant wing is to let the South stew in its own juice.

But, the Southern leaders believe they have one effective weapon left. They plan to organize a block of electoral college votes to be withheld after the November election. They believe they can develop a block of between 60 and 70 such votes. If the election should prove to be a close Democratic victory, they could withhold them and defeat Truman or exact from him and the Party concessions that they want.

Fri. 7-16-48

Only the thoughtless ones will be rushing off to Birmingham and the proposed rump convention there. Such a convention is meaningless and futile. In fact, such a convention will further damage the South. The South needs to know, to help its understanding, that the actions of the Mississippi delegation, those of Alabama and some of the wild and reckless utterances from Louisiana, did not help the South's cause. The pity of it was that Cecil Sims, the Tennessee delegate who stated the cause for the Volunteer State, could not have been the chief spokesman for the South. The position on State's Rights is not necessarily a demagogic one. It is an old plank in the Democratic Party. A great many persons sincerely believe in centralization of Federal power and fear the steady increase of it in the past several years. There is much to be said for it. And it can be said with dignity and honor.

But what we had here as the loudest voice of the South were the wild and reckless and usually ridiculous statements by the Mississippians and some from Alabama, South Carolina and Louisiana. They made no sense. The Convention crowds laughed at them. They were often so preposterous as to embarrass even their own members. They hurt the South.

Georgia did a fine job. Charlie Bloch cannot be too highly praised for the dignified and eloquent manner in which he handled the Georgia protest support of Senator Richard B. Russell. Chairman James Peters handled the delegation well and Georgia did not disgrace or hurt the South. It is to be hoped that Georgia will stay out of the Birmingham meeting. If the State does decide to participate in the group planning to withhold the electoral votes, that is a matter for the State to decide. There is no value in attending any of the self-promotional ventures by other States such as Arkansas and Mississippi staged here, only to crawl at the last moment after they had squeezed all publicity possible out of it.

If the Democrats should emerge with a slight victory withholding of electoral votes, however unethical it may be, would be effective.

Fri. 7-16-1948

What is important for the South to realize is that they really did have rammed down their throats the planks to which they objected It was done deliberately and after due consideration by the Eastern, Western and Middle Western Party leaders who determined to their own satisfaction at least their only chance of victory lay in putting such a program into effect.

McCorvey Declares Platform Heads Convention Business

The Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

Sun. 4-11-48

By ATTICUS MULLIN

(List of delegate candidates and their stand on "walkout" pledge will be found on page 8-A).

Gessner McCorvey, chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, points out to Jeff Beeland, candidate for delegate to the national convention from the Second District, that the first important business of the convention will be writing a platform, and that the nomination of a president and vice-president will come last.

McCorvey's telegram to Beeland was in answer to one from the latter. McCorvey had queried Beeland, as the committee directed him to do, in an effort to ascertain whether Beeland would stay in the convention in the event a platform was written which was unacceptable to the South. Beeland had answered the query that he would stay in the convention. Then Beeland queried McCorvey, who is also a candidate for delegate, in the following telegram:

"If elected do you intend to walk before you exert your ability in assisting to write a suitable platform? Answer 'yes' or 'no'. Do you intend to walk before you oppose the nomination of Truman and cast your vote for a suitable Democrat? Answer 'yes' or 'no'."

His Reply

To this telegram McCorvey replied as follows: The Advertiser

"Replying to your telegram requesting a yes or no answer to two questions, I beg to advise that, of course, I have absolutely no intention of walking from the convention before exerting every effort to assist in writing a suitable platform. I have been advocating this throughout all the states and urging Democrats in other sections of the country to join us in writing a platform that I and other Southerners can stand on. My answer to your first question is therefore absolutely no. Montgomery, Ala.

"To your second question I will state that if the Philadelphia convention follows the usual practice of writing a platform before nominating a candidate and the convention then writes a platform containing the damnable, obnoxious, and unthinkable provisions of the program of Harry S. Truman I certainly will walk out of the convention without staying there to oppose the nomination of Truman or anyone else, because I would not be willing to participate in balloting for any candidate when I was unwilling to support any candidate running on such a platform. Sun 4-11-48

"Assuming the platform is written before nominations come up my answer to your second question is therefore absolutely yes. I trust this makes my position clear and unmistakable but if this telegram leaves you in doubt as to where I stand, please call on me further. Best regards.

"Signed,

"McCorvey."

To Fight Platform

McCorvey's reply is clear that he will fight a platform which he regards as insulting the South but if such a platform is written he will not stay in the convention to ballot upon a candidate who will, of course, have to espouse that platform, no matter who that candidate is.

McCorvey told The Advertiser, by long distance, that at 2 p.m., Saturday, nine candidates for delegate at large had siginifed their intention of walking out of the convention "if the damnable and obnoxious", as he called it, civil rights plank was inserted in the platform. The Advertiser

Support Stand

Word also came to The Advertiser that a large number of Democrats from five counties lunched at the Demopolis Inn Friday with Winston Withers, as chairman, and by unanimous vote endorsed the action of the state committee in Montgomery last Monday favoring both candidates for delegates and electors pledging themselves not to stay in the convention and take anything thrown at them in the platform. They asked the voters of the state to cast their ballots only for men on the list of 22 for elector who have said they would not vote for Truman or anybody like him or upon his platform. Probate Judges Bob Greene, of Hale, Claiborne Blanton, of Dallas, and R. J. Westbrook, of Marengo, attended the meeting.

It was learned from Mobile Saturday afternoon that the voters of the Second and Fifth Districts will not have the opportunity of choosing a district delegate who will walk out if the South is forced to swallow a Truman civil rights platform. No candidate for delegate from either of these districts, in answer to the state committee's query, was willing to walk out if the platform was obnoxious to Alabama and the South. Sun 4-11-48

Delegate Candidates Now Stand 28 To 25

The Advertiser

MOBILE, ALA.— (AP) —Alabama's candidates for delegate to the National Democratic Convention were split almost down the middle, Saturday, on whether to walk out if any part of Truman's civil rights program is adopted.

The name of Gov. Folsom, a favorite son candidate for the party's presidential nomination, headed the anti-walkout list.

State Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey said that of 84 candidates for delegate, 28 have signed the state executive committee's walkout pledge, and 25 refused to sign the statement.

He said he would not close his books on the 21 who had not replied by noon today.

Gov. Folsom wrote McCorvey that he would fight the Truman civil rights program and oppose the president's renomination at the Philadelphia convention next July. But he said he would not take a walk.

Instead, he said that if the convention adopts a platform unsatisfactory to state Democrats, he proposes to call "an elected convention of Alabama Democracy" to set the future course of the state party.

Folsom referred to the president's program as a "national police state (civil rights) plank. The parentheses are his. Sun

McCorvey and Representative E. C. Boswell, of Geneva, author of the Boswell Amendment, were two of the most outspoken advocates of a walkout should the convention adopt an "anti-Southern" platform. 4-11-48

McCorvey said any other course for him would be "dishonorable."

Boswell said he would take no further part in the convention if it "yields to the domination of New York's East Side and Harlem, Chicago's First Ward, and Kansas City's machine," by adopting an anti-segregation plank.

Ranged with Gov. Folsom were Attorney General Albert A. Carmichael, former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, and U. S. Senator Lister Hill. Montgomery, Ala

Like Folsom, they denounced Truman's civil rights proposals as infringements on state's rights.

Walker County Group Flays Committee Plan

The Advertiser

JASPER, ALA. — (AP) — By a unanimous vote Saturday the Walker County Democratic Executive Committee condemned the state executive committee's recent resolution calling for walkout pledges from delegate candidates to the National Democratic Convention.

The county committe meeting here characterized the state group's resolution adopted at a special meeting last Monday as "an attempt to deny the right of the people of Alabama to exercise their franchise at the polls." Montgomery, Ala.

The state committe had asked candidates to pledge that they would walk out of the national conventions should it adopt any part of President Truman's civil rights program. Sun

The Walker County group, on the other hand, urged delegates to remain at the convention and "seek a candidate and program acceptable to the Democrats of the south." 4-11-48

The Walker County committee declared in a resolution that "the proper place and the only place to win a victory against the civil rights program is at the national convention."

The committee urged Alabama delegates to join with those of other states in an "agggressive and fearless fight against the civil rights program within the Democratic Party."

Kelly and Arvey Go Into Illinois Eclipse

Herald Tribune

PHILADELPHIA, July 14 (AP).—Ben Adamowski's star rose today on the Illinois Democratic horizon, apparently with a Truman-Kennelly blessing. The Kelly-Arvey leadership seemed eclipsed at least temporarily.

Mr. Adamawski, forty-one, a Chicago Polish leader who was an oratorical sensation in the Illinois Legislature when only twenty-three, was chosen to give the state's convention seconding speech for Mr. Truman's Presidential nomination.

Jacob M. Arvey, Chicago party chief, and Edward J. Kelly, Illinois National Committeeman and former Chicago Mayor, were not consulted in the selection. Mr. Adamowski said they didn't even know he went to Washington Monday to tell Mr. Truman at the White House "how things are in Illinois." Thu. 7-15-48

The development, some delegation members said, indicates that Messrs. Kelly and Arvey have lost popularity with the White House for tarrying so long in boarding the Truman-Barkley bandwagon.

Although Mr. Arvey was reported on the way out as Cook County chairman after the November election, Mr. Adamowski said he isn't aiming for the job. He told a reporter he will remain as corporation counsel under Mayor Martin H. Kennelly.

Mayor Kennelly denied any part in the caucus maneuvering yesterday which resulted in Mr. Adamowski's selection by unanimous voice vote.

At The C

The Mont

Wed 7-14-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 13.

SITTING in the convention hall Tuesday morning we read the Monday editorial in The Alabama Journal. Editor Cash Stanley wrote:

"Today in Alabama we are to hold our breath and see how representative government functions.

"Our cause is in the hands of those we have duly elected and sent to Philadelphia to speak and act for us . . . We chose some of our very ablest men to go and speak for us and act for us. They are our representatives and we are trusting them to represent us accurately, ably, unselfishly and patriotically . . ."

Editor Stanley, that genteel and knowing tribune of Black Belt anxieties and hopes, would find himself in a somber and crestfallen mood had he been here to witness the Southern and Alabama effort to articulate and implement its position. We have no doubt that Mr. Stanley would be considerably and perhaps gravely disappointed in the performance of Southern leaders and the Alabama delegation.

In confident expectation of concurrence by any observer here, we pass the sorrowing judgment that the Southern performance here has been painfully unimpressive.

And here we would like to say with all possible emphasis that this is not fashioned as a harsh and captious judgment. For it has not been demonstrated that there is any avenue of escape from the South's steel dilemma.

Thus we are saying that judgment of the failure to find relief for the South's oppressive circumstances should be made sparingly by all who themselves are unable to blaze a wilderness trail. But the effort so far of the states' rights entente and the Alabama delegation has been most unimpressive.

Wed 7-14-48

SUNDAY several hundred Southerners met in the Benjamin Franklin Hotel to make a historic break with the National Democratic Party, our Southern mother, and go it alone as in the days of Lincoln and Bryan.

Gov. Laney of Arkansas and Gov. Thurmond of South Carolina were the dominant leaders, but that was due to some extent to default. Other governors were studiedly inconspicuous. The senators and congressmen were everywhere except in the crystal ballroom of the hotel.

It fell to the lot of Laney and Thurmond to state the South's case. Their voices, countenances and cases for the South went out on television and radio.

It was a fine opportunity to render the clarion call, to give sound to a fierce tocsin, to cleave the convention ear with reason and passion.

But far from arresting the convention's attention, these speakers—neither a commanding or even a stimulating figure—failed even to stir those Southerners to whom they spoke. If Southern people were not stirred, what hope could there be of inflaming Northerners and Westerners?

Midway of the proceeding we saw William J. Primm, of Montgomery, who is National Chairman Howard McGrath's assistant and presumably in attendance as a McGrath sentinel, leave the meeting. It is difficult to believe that Primm would have left the states' rights parley had it been impressive.

Montgomery Advertiser

When it was all over we were left speculating on the poverty of leadership. Hitherto no Yancey voice has roared for the South. There was no Calhoun fire in this Philadelphia parley.

7-14-48 Advertiser

Where were the Southern leaders, the men with the ability to articulate an impressive and historic case? The South and its Virginia womb had supplied the men to create and fashion the mightiest state in the world's history and had subsequently given it its most powerful presidents.

Where were their heirs and assigns that day? Certainly Gov. Thurmond, standing there trying to explain FEPC as partly a communist device, was not of that strain. He couldn't even fire a South Carolinian.

Montgomery Ala.

THE events of the sessions of the Alabama delegation have been previously described. They may be summed up by saying that some members of the delegation are remarking a sense of shame.

All have told Alabama that this is a deadly time for "Southern civilization." Against that supposed crisis occured a spectacle of petulant jockeying for position in the 1950 senatorial and governatorial elections. In talking to them, one gets the impression that many members desire to walk out of the convention regardless of platform concessions. Some doubtless would be disappointed if deprived of a walk motive.

All is frustration and depression for all members of the party, North and South.

The acute melancholy of the situation was intensified when Senator Alben Barkley struck his reverberating keynote. He marshalled the towering case for the Roosevelt reforms and accomplishments. He contrasted it with the stagnation and inaction of the Republicans. It was an able exposition of a great case. They gave Barkley an impassioned half hour ovation, forgetting for a moment their attendance at a wake.

It was at that time so vivid—for want of a leader a great army is marching to the rear to be cut to ribbons. Even now, an adequate leader could take the Democratic case—the suffocation of the world's greatest depression and the winning of the world's greatest war—to the people with shattering effect. If only there were but a leader standing beside the Democratic standard.—G. C. H.

TEXAS BARS LANEY AS TRUMAN BOLTER

New York Times

Wed 7-13-48

Leaders Refuse Even Token Vote to Arkansas After He Says He Won't Back President

New York N.Y.

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, July 12—The Texas delegation, the most powerful from the South, began tonight a counter-attack against extreme Southern rebels intended to fragment or destroy a possible Southern bolt against President Truman in November.

The Texas leaders, with the apparent support of a heavy majority of their associates, declined to promise to Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas even so much as a token vote for the Presidential nomination unless he publicly pledged that he would support Mr. Truman in November.

Governor Laney, in response to an extraordinary summons, went before the delegation tonight to refuse to make such a promise. He declared he would not vote for Mr. Truman and cried out: "Where is the courage of Texas?"

The Governor had been put forward early this morning as a "state's rights" candidate by the wing standing irreconcilably—and hopelessly, so far as the Democratic National Convention is concerned—against President Truman His followers laid claim to full support only from three Southern delegations—Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina—and desperately sought the help of the larger and more influential groups, mainly Texas.

Truman Victory Conceded

They were fully prepared to concede privately that Mr. Truman would be nominated at all events, but they wanted to make the strongest possible demonstration.

New York Times

This was actually in pursuit of what has become the only real Southern aim now—a desperate effort to exercise pressure on the convention to get the softest possible civil-rights plan.

Governor Laney appeared before the Texans, in an intent and sweaty room, at 8:35 P. M. to give a manifesto on his position.

For hours a Texas committee had been trying to find him and when at length he arrived he told the Texans:

"I was a little hard to find, but it was not intentional. I don't have a thing in the world to hide. I've gone too far to try to dodge this issue and I have no inclination to dodge it.

Wed 7-13-48

"The time has come when some of you had better stand on your feet and say what you think. If I am to have a creditable vote in the convention—and I am trying only to save a situation, a party and a country—we need Texas.

"No Time to Quibble"

"This is no time to quibble in small matters. The Democratic party is on the ropes tonight. The Democratic leadership has so handled the situation that there is now no possible unification.

"You yourself don't believe in the things Harry Truman has advocated and will advocate."

Governor Laney, a leader among Southern rebels who have threatened a rump convention in Birmingham, Ala., recalled with irony that Gov. Beauford Jester, head of the Texas delegation, himself had participated in the early discussions that led to the Birmingham plan.

New York N.Y.

Mr. Jester remained silent and Governor Laney went on, his voice rising and shaking in the hot, silent room:

"You are trying to put me on the spot. All right. You want me to tell you what I'm going to do. Well, I'll tell you.

"For my part, I want nothing from the Democratic party if I have got to compromise principle. Let us all examine our hearts and consciences and vote as they tell us.

"I shall use every measure that is legal and proper in this fight. I am going through with it. Millions of Southerners are going through with it.

"I am going to do it whether you vote for me or not."

State's Position Strange

Texas was in a strange position. Its delegation had indicated 100 per cent dissatisfaction with President Truman and his civil-rights program but nevertheless was not willing to give any sort of aid or comfort to any who might bolt Mr. Truman in November.

The state, moreover, was in a

Aubrey Williams Assures Democrats That Civil Rights Won't Cost Southern Votes

New York Age

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Aubrey Williams, former national youth administrator under the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt told Democratic leaders here on Friday that they would not lose Southern voters by supporting President Truman's civil-rights program.

Later on during his talk, when the former NYA, who is from Montgomery, Ala., said it was mainly Southern Democratic leaders who opposed the Truman's program, the fireworks began.

7-17-48

A former governor of Alabama, Chauncey Sparks, then replied in turn that Williams was only speaking for himself, and his words should carry no weight.

State Legislator Charles E. Sheppard of Florida in the wake of Williams accusation then said:

Sat 7-17-48

"We do not propose to tolerate any further interference in states rights in the South. We and the Negro understand each other. We don't want any Federal bayonets forcing him down our throats."

Liberals Hold Rump Civil-Rights Talks

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

34d

Philadelphia, July 11.—Platform committee supporters of President Truman's civil-rights program decided at a rump session today to carry their fight to the convention floor. Many Dixie delegates promptly threatened to walk out of the convention if they succeed.

Ask Repeal of Taft Law.

Representative Celler of New York announced that "a rump meeting of liberals" from the platform-writing subcommittee had organized to present a substitute civil-rights plank to the convention if the committee does not present language backing Truman's program. The Truman proposals call for antilynch, anti-poll tax, fair-employment, and antidiscriminaion legislation.

Among those attending the meeting, Celler said, were himself, Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey, Jr., of Minneapolis, Mrs. Esther Murray of California, William Ritchie of Nebraska, and former Senator Hugh B. Mitchell of Washington—all platform committee members. 7-13-48

Celler said the rump meeting also discussed platform planks that would call for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Labor Law, federal aid to education, a federal housing program, and a revision of the arms embargo to permit shipment of arms to the new state of Israel.

Says It'll Be 'New Deal.'

Senator Myers of Pennsylvania, platform chairman, told a news conference, "I think the platform will follow generally in outline the philosophy of the New Deal and the Roosevelt program and the Truman program."

He said it in general would advocate what Truman has advocated in his messages to Congress, but he declined to say how specific it will get on civil rights.

Myers told the reporters he had not heard of the rump meeting and said "there has nothing happened so far that would justify a rump session." Mon. 7-13-48

Talks With Clifford.

Cellar had complained that all the members of the 108-member platform committee, except the writing group, are "being kept in the dark" on what is going on.

Myers said the small group is only getting some words together for the larger group to work on and revamp as it sees fit.

He said the drafting group which labored nearly all last night probably would work throughout tonight in an effort to produce a preliminary document by tomorrow.

When reporters asked if Truman had submitted platform suggestions in writing, Myers said, "I'm getting suggestions from everywhere." He said he had talked with Clark Clifford, White House counsel. 7-12-48

Adds to Committee.

Myers announced he had increased from five to seven the membership of the group drawing the first draft of the platform.

Former Governor Chauncey Sparks of Alabama and Senator Green of Rhode Island were added. Other members are Myers, Senator Lucas of Illinois, Philip S. Perlman of Maryland, Mrs. Florence M. Lynch of Iowa, and Dan Moody, former Texas Governor. 7-12-48

A C.I.O.-Political Action Committee spokesman said delegates to the convention who are members of the C.I.O. should support in the convention a move to substitute a strong civil-rights plank, if such a plank is not presented by the platform committee.

'Can't Slap South.'

While the party rift on civil rights appeared to be widening, the element of compromise still showed itself.

Ritchie told reporters he attended the rump meeting, but "I did not go so far as the others in insisting upon the details of the President's civil-rights program. I told them that we cannot slap the South in the face."

The Nebraskan said the group was in unison in urging a plank to permit arms shipments to Israel. 7-12-48

The outlook for a slam-bang convention floor fight widened as ex-Governor Moody issued a statement declaring "so-called civil-rights" advocates aim "to take the South through a new Reconstruction Era—this time by federal law rather than federal bayonets."

"The issue of civil rights has been presented on the basis of conditions that do not exist," he said. "The people of the South are as much opposed to mob violence as the people of the North are opposed to riots and gang wars among rival criminal elements in the populous centers of the North and East.

"The only difference is that we in the South have been more effective in putting a stop to mob violence in the South than our equally well intentioned good citizens of the North have been in curbing gang violence there."

Meanwhile, some of the platform-writing group despaired of harmony efforts as they returned to a secret huddle after working until 3:30 this morning.

Mississippi May Walk Out.

One source said the group tentatively had approved a restatement of the 1944 racial plank that recognized that "racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our constitution."

This may be accompanied by a declaration against federal interference with State's rights.

Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi told reporters his delegation is unanimous in its decision to walk out of the convention if and unsatisfactory State's rights or civil-rights plank is adopted.

Georgia's platform committee members were urged to present in the convention a substitute plank if the proposed civil-rights declaration is unsatisfactory to the South.

Not all Southerners were unhappy, however, at the idea of adopting the 1944 civil-rights plank. 7-12-48

George D. Key, Oklahoma City, member of the platform committee, predicted the 1944 language would be used again and added that he believes it would be satisfactory to the uninstructed Oklahoma delegation as well as to the similarly unbound Texas group.

Half of Alabama Delegates Leave; Russell's Name in

The Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.

(International News Service)

Convention, Hall, Philadelphia, July 14.—President Truman was placed in nomination at the Democratic national convention tonight as "a soldier, patriot and statesman, whose splendid courage has never faltered in war or in peace."

Gov. Phil M. Donnelly of Missouri asked the convention to nominate Mr. Truman to succeed himself as a president "who is today leading this nation to a new and greater destiny."

34d Thurs.

(The Associated Press)

Convention Hall, Philadelphia, July 14.—Mississippi's delegation and half of Alabama's walked out of the Democratic convention tonight, angry over its adoption of a strong "civil rights" platform plank. 7-15-48

Handy Ellis, chairman of the Alabama delegation, announced the walkout move. He said 13 of Alabama's 26 delegates were leaving and 23 of the 26 alternates. Mississippi's 30 delegates—with 22 votes—followed the Alabama walkers.

Senator Eastland of Mississippi told reporters that "in all probability" the protesters will hold a convention in Birmingham.

The purpose would be to name a Southern Democrat as a presidential candidate.

'Will of People,' Says Ellis

Telling the convention "good-bye," Ellis said that Alabama electors were under pledge that they would never cast their votes for Harry S. Truman.

Further, he said, the Alabama delegation to the convention was under pledge to walkout of a convention which had adopted a civil rights platform such as this convention had. He said all but three Alabamans were leaving.

Ellis said his group left—"without hatred, without anger, but with sorrow that we are faced with the necessity of carrying out the will of the people of Alabama."

Then a Mississippi delegate got up and said Mississippi wouldn't stay either.

"We bid you good-bye," he added and turned toward the door.

As members of the Mississippi and Alabama delegations went down the aisles, other delegates held Truman signs in front of them, delaying their exit.

Some of the crowd booed—others cheered—as the Southerners fought their way out of the hall.

An Alabama flag, red on a field of white, was taken from the bunting around the balconies and carried out by the departing delegates. The Times-Picayune

Ellis made his announcement when Alabama was called in the roll to nominate a presidential candidate. New Orleans, La.

Alabama Yields to Georgia

Senator Lister Hill was one of the Alabamians who stayed as the walkout came in the evening session. He announced Alabama was yielding its alphabet-top place in the roll call to Georgia so that state could nominate Senator Richard B. Russell to oppose Truman. Thurs.

Charles J. Block of Macon, Ga., put up Russell's name.

He said Georgia delegates intended to stay in the convention until it adjourned, but would never back anyone who favors the civil rights program that President Truman advocates.

Block told the convention that when Southerners demanded "states' rights" they were only asking what was guaranteed to them in the constitution. That document, he noted, reserves to the states all powers not expressly granted to the federal government. 7-15-48

'Good Riddance' Cry

Gov. Fielding Wright and Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, led their delegation out of the hall. At the head of the Alabama bolters were Ellis and Eugene Conner, Birmingham police commissioner. Thurs.

"Good riddance," shouted a delegate from Wisconsin to the departing delegation. "We'll win in November without you."

"The hell you will," shouted Ellis. "Harry Truman won't get $5.50 from the white people in Georgia to help his campaign."

When the bolters reached the front door of the hall some one grabbed the Mississippi banner and tore it from the pole.

It was raining outside, but that made no difference to the Southerners.

They let out rebel yells. They said they were "on the way to Birmingham."

Earlier the North battered the South in a furious civil rights fight and the Democratic national convention tonight rushed through more preliminaries to nominating Harry S. Truman for the presidency.

Truman on Way

President Truman himself left Washington by special train to come here to accept the honor and watch the convention go on to pick Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky as his running mate.

And the Southerners who stayed in the convention, most of them equally enraged, swiftly began lining up behind Senator Richard Russell of Georgia for the presidential nomination — in place of Mr. Truman.

This was admittedly no more than a protest gesture but the Southerners were bound and determined to make it a strong one.

Texas promised its 50 votes to Russel. Virginia came through with its 26. South Carolina declared for Russel. And the part of the Alabama delegation that wasn't walking out signed up for him.

Senator Hill of Alabama yielded to Georgia to that the Peach state could put its own man's name in nomination — before the name of Mr. Truman.

Dixie was fighting mad over a strong endorsement of the president's civil rights program nailed into the 1948 party platform by a sledge-hammer drive from the North during the morning session.

Several speakers said the convention was watching at least a partial smashup of the Democratic party. Robert Figg, a South Carolinian on the platform committee, called it "the funeral of the Democratic party."

The struggle was over an old but flaming issue—racial and civil rights, and President Truman's stand against lynchings, poll taxes and racial discrimination in employment, The South said those were things that should be left to the states.

The committee that drafted the platform proposed that the party commit itself to continuing efforts to "eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination."

Truman Stand Backed

Northerners said that wasn't enough, that there should be specific backing for the Truman program. The North had the votes and the North had its way.

Twice it beat back attempts from the South to make the platform say, in effect, that racial and similar problems are for the states to handle and for the federal government to keep hands off.

And then the voting power of the North hammered into the platform a declaration that:

"We highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights.

"We call upon the Congress to support our president in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental American principles—the right of full and equal political participation; the right to equal opportunity of employment; the right of security of person, and the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of the nation."

State by state the roll was called on that. In number, more states were against it than for it. But the big delegations from the populous North put it over.

Wisconsin clinched it with 24 votes that moved the total to 625½. Only 618 were needed.

The final count was 651½ to 582½.

Southern Bid Overwhelmed

That was fairly close. But it was a lopsided 925 to 309 against a Southern bid to squeeze into the platform a declaration that the states "have the right to control their internal affairs and enforce police regulations" within the "limitations imposed by the 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution."

Chairman Sam Rayburn banged the convention into a recess with Eugene Conner of Alabama yelling himself purple in the face demanding a chance to talk.

The Birmingham police commissioner wanted to announce that half of the state's 26-member delegation was bolting the convention. He told a reporter it would do just that when the recess was over.

"It was rotten, this adjournment," Conner stormed at an unheeding Rayburn.

He said the 13 bolters would come back later only to announce their action.

"We are on the way out," Conner said. "We are not going to walk out—we're going to fly out."

But Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama quietly remarked: "I'm not walking."

Gov. Beauford H. Jester of Texas told a reporter the action of the platform was unfortunate and:

"I believe the party has lost its sense of balance in order to get votes. Texas will string along although we don't like it."

But from parts of the South came rumblings of plans for a separate convention to pick a candidate and platform. And here tonight various Southern states were saying grimly they would try to nominate almost anyone but Mr. Truman.

During the afternoon, Louisiana had agreed to go for Governor Earl K. Long, brother of the late "Kingfish" Huey.

Georgia said it was backing Sen. Richard Russell.

It looked as if the anti-Truman protest vote might line up behind the Georgia senator after Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas withdrew as a Southern candidate. Laney said he just couldn't run on any platform with a civil rights plank like the one okayed today.

Predicts 'Dissolution'

Of course, he wasn't going to get the nomination and he knew it. But it all pointed up what Cecil Sims of Tennessee told the convention during the hour-long debate that preceded the defeats for the South and adoption of the platform.

"If we are defeated," the states' rights champion solemnly told the delegates, "then I say to you, you are witnessing here today the dissolution of the Democratic party."

And at another point he warned that the decision on states' rights "will determine whether or not the Democratic party is to be destroyed in the South."

The debate at times was as hot as the steam-bath interior of the big auditorium. Yet even for this long-smouldering, highly advertised party fight, large chunks of the second gallery were vacant.

Up there it was hotter than the 90-odd degrees beside the speakers' platform.

It was former Congressman Andrew Biemiller who submitted formally to the convention the Northern plank on civil rights. But it was young Hubert Humphrey, Minneapolis mayor, who sent the convention into a riotous demonstration that made the result of the vote obvious ahead of time.

'New Emancipation'

Well-built, dark-haired, clad in blue, Humphrey spoke with fervor that brought the sweat pouring from his face and splattering onto the stand before him.

He said the fight for civil rights was 172 years late. He was proud that Harry Truman had the courage to utter a "new emancipation proclamation."

"There's no room for "double standards in American politics," he thundered.

"The time has come," he said, "for Democrats to get out of the shadow of states' rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights."

There were other speakers for and against, many of them. Some were applauded and booed, cheered and jeered, all at the same time.

And simmering and seething underneath all the outpouring of words, or erupting into occasional riotous yells, was the evidence of tempers that brought on one of the greatest battles in party history.

Before the climactic, bare-fisted scrap began, the convention went through a show of oratorical harmony for a while.

The Truman forces controlling the convention brought James Roosevelt to the speaker's stand in an obvious effort at wound-binding. It was the son of the late president who led a futile attempt to place the party presidential emblem in the hands of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"And speaking as one of those who made the fight, and I believe for all of us," Roosevelt said, "may I say, so that it can never be forgotten, that we are good Democrats, we are Democrats with ideals, we shall fight the good fight, we shall support the nominees of the Democratic party from top to bottom."

Tremendous Hand

Delegates gave the balding, grinning leader of the California delegation a tremendous hand. Californians clambered onto their chairs and whooped it up for "Jimmy."

The platform finally was hammered together in this morning's early hours by a 108-member committee which staged its own preview of the civil rights scrap.

On the convention floor today, the Democrats put on their only speaker from the ranks of labor. And it was a moment of drama when A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway trainmen, took over the microphone.

For it was Al Whitney who, only last year, was threatening to pour millions of union funds into a fight to defeat Mr. Truman—because the president had stepped in to stop a strike. Whitney was on the other side of the fence today.

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

By Rob F. Hall

PHILADELPHIA, July 13.—Democracy with a small "d" pounded on the door of the Democratic National Convention today but it couldn't get in. The Credentials Committee voted 25 to 2 to seat the regular white-supremacy delegation from South Carolina. Two contesting delegations of Negro and white citizens of the same state were barred from the convention. White-supremacy delegates from Virginia and Mississippi also were okayed by the committee despite contests by anti-Jimcrow forces.

34d

This was a victory for Gov. Strom Thurmond and Sen. Olin Johnston, leaders of the so-called Southern revolt against the civil rights movement within the party. Earlier Thurmond defied the convention's credentials committee.

"If you seat any of these people (not members of his group) we will walk out of this convention," Thurmond shouted. To a Negro member of the credentials committee, George Vaughan of Missouri, who had asked him a question, Thurmond stormed: "I'm not answering you anything."

Wed. 7-14-48

WALLACE-BAITING

A few minutes later, Emmet Cunningham, president of the National Council of Negro Democrats, commented pointedly on the threats of the Southerners to "take a walk."

"Remember the Negroes in the North," he told the credentials group. "We have some walking shoes, too."

The remark did not set well with several members of the committee. One of them, Owen Voight of Indiana, insisted on asking each witness if he were a member of Wallace's Third Party movement. In each case the answer was no. Most of those who appeared to contest the seating of delegations from South Carolina, Virginia and Mississippi, came as loyal members of the Democratic Party who believed that somehow the party could be returned to the principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In fighting for these principles, white Southerners from South Carolina argued for the seating of Negro delegates and the expulsion of the white-supremacy crowd from the convention.

Witnesses who appeared today to challenge regular state delegations included:

- **Elliot Fletcher, of Leesville, S. C., president of the Citizens Democratic faction, who headed a delegation which included three Negroes.**
- **A. J. Clements Jr., of Columbia, S.C., representing the Progressive Democratic Party, who demanded the seating of eight Negroes as regular delegates.**
- **Martin Hutchinson, of Richmond, Va., an anti-Byrd Democrat who insisted that Virginia delegates not be seated unless they pledged support to the Democratic nominee in November.**
- **Charles Hamilton, of Aberdeen, Miss., who charged the Mississippi delegation not only was made up of prospective "bolsters" but represented that clique which "stirred up racial hatred for political purposes, something we resent very much in Mississippi."**

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

NEGRO, WHITE PROTEST

Elliot Fletcher, white, and A. J. Clements, Negro, told the credentials committee the Thurmond-Johnston delegation from South Carolina was named at an all-white convention whose delegates had been elected in a primary from which Negroes were barred.

Wed 7-14-48

Democrats Warned Voters May Flock to Third Party If Rights Action Is Ignored

The Afro-American 342 Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 7-17-48

No Halfway Measures Wanted, Leaders Tell Committee Working on Planks in Platform

By RUBY SMITH

PHILADELPHIA

A warning that colored voters might "cry a plague on both" the Republicans and the Democrats, and "flock to a new third party" was one of many handed Resolutions Committee of the Democratic National Convention Thursday morning during its civil rights hearing on the roof of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel.

The walk-out threat was voiced by Hope R. Stevens, attorney, speaking on behalf of the National Non-Partisan Committee for the Passage of Civil Rights Legislation. who insisted that "you (Democrats) must either be for freedom or against it; for civil rights or Jim Crow."

An earlier witness, Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, said his organization respectfully, but firmly insisted that "the Democratic Platform Committee can include nothing less than the full recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights."

He urged the Convention's endorsement without equivocation of the entire program "and especially those provisions to suppress lynching and mob violence, to ban the poll tax as a voting requirement, to afford equality of job opportunity, and to abolish discrimination and segregation in the armed services, education, and transportation."

White then introduced Dr. Channing H. Tobias, who served on President Truman's Civil Rights Committee, and who is chairman of the Social Action Committee of the CME Church.

"The issue is simple," Dr. Tobias said. "As Wendell Willkie said, the Constitution makes no provisions for first and second class citizens. . . . We are not disposed to look with indifference upon the fact that we are singled out for discrimination in the armed forces . . . .If there is not freedom for all, there is not freedom at all."

Further demands for "an unequivocal statement" on the issue was made by Elmer W. Henderson, newly name director of the American Council on Human Rights.

He urged the Democratic Party to promise to use its full resources on both the administrative and legislative branches of the Government" to see that every form of discrimination because of race, religion or national origin is removed from American life."

Sat.

George Marshall and the Rev. Ulas H. Mays, speaking for the Civil Rights Congress added their warning demands to the session.

They urged: 7-17-48

Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law; revocation of President Truman's "loyalty" order, withdrawal of all injunctions now pending against trade unions, immediate dissolution of the House Committee on Un-American Activities;

The enactment of strong anti-lynch legislation, outlawing of Jim-Crow and segregation, enactment of permanent FEPC, elimination of segregation and Jim-Crow in the Armed Forces, and enactment of Federal anti-poll tax legislation.

"Our primary aim," Roy Wilkins, chairman of executive committee of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, told the Committee, "and that which is subscribed to by all of our supporters, is the enactment by the Congress of fair employment legislation."

He warned that if the committee adopted the "meaningless language" of the 1944 platform, it will confess that the Democratic Party is giving "only lip service" to American Democracy, and that in this critical time in the life of our nation and the world, "the Democratic Party is unable to recognize the issues at stake or muster the courage for a decision in this fateful hour."

Equally urgent in their pleas for Civil Rights legislation were William J. Woolston, attorney, representing the American Civil Liberties Union; Mrs. Adeline Mahaney, of the Teachers' Union of Philadelphia, CIO; and Edgar Brown, director of the National Negro Council.

Members Duck Issue

The civil rights issue was left until the last by members of the resolutions committee who decided to pass over the issue rather than have a lengthy discussion.

According to Sen. Francis J. Myers, committee chairman, there had been some "conversation" in the drafting committee about civil rights, but nothing had been reduced to writing. 7-17-48

Senator Myers declared he had heard nothing about threats of Dixie delegates to walk out of the convention over the civil rights issue or of plans of the liberals, led by Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York, to fight to the last ditch, on the convention floor, if necessary, for a strong civil rights plank. The Afro-American

Specific Platform Promised

Asked whether the telegram sent by Mayor O'Dwyer of New York to President Truman and Senator McGrath, indorsing Mr. Truman's civil rights program, had come to his attention. Senator Myers said it had.

The Democratic platform, he predicted, will be much more specific than the Republican platform. He said the Democratic platform will set forth the Roosevelt-Truman doctrine. Baltimore, Md.

Members of the drafting committee were Sentor Myers, Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama, Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois, mittee were Senator Myers, Senator Green of Rhode Island, Mrs. Lynch of Iowa, and former Governor Moody of Texas. 7-17-48

Truman No FDR, Frances Perkins Sadly Admits

Louisville Courier Jour. 7-13-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 12. — (INS) — Frances Perkins sadly told the Democratic National Convention tonight that "we have to face life as it is."

She admitted that Harry S. Truman is no Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mrs. Perkins, former Secretary of Labor and first woman ever to serve in a President's Cabinet declared:

"There are thousands of people all over the country who would like to duplicate the candidate of 1932, but we have to face life as it is.

"There is no duplicate in this, or any other party."

Miss Perkins refrained from predicting the result of next November's elections.

She made convention history of a kind by speaking a kind word for the GOP.

Miss Perkins acknowledged that the Republicans should be regarded as "also manifesting truth and a desire for service."

Philadelphia Provides a Lesson In the Handling of Civil Rights

N.H. Tribune N.Y.

Rebecca West, Doing Election Research on Visit to the Williams-Beau Jack Fight, Finds a Clew to Combating Red Propaganda Against U. S.

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By Rebecca West

PHILADELPHIA, July 13. — Some of us who are correspondents covering the Democratic Convention felt it our duty to acquaint ourselves with the minds of the people who are going to vote for the President next fall, and therefore felt it a matter of conscience to attend the big fight on Monday night. That is our story and we will stick to it.

It was a lovely evening from start to finish. From the car park we walked down a pleasant little street with trees in it, where some colored families were living. The shades had not been pulled down and the people inside showed up like figures on a lighted stage.

In one room, a girl was dancing to the radio all by herself with a certain graceful, wistful frenzy, and it seemed strange that one who so loved to dance should not be out dancing to a good band with a good partner.

We left that mystery to solve itself and went over to the stadium, and there it was, the little square of bright light in the center of the great arena of darkness dimly patterned with thousands and thousands of faces. Round the square of bright light were sitting the sports writers, who are the gravest-looking set of men I know. Compared to them our House of Lords is a raffish bunch, though maybe our ecclesiastical conferences presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury match them in solemnity.

But sports writers have indeed something to look grave about. They are given more space and given it more regularly than almost any other class of newspaper writers, and if a man is given that much opportunity to write he is apt to get an itch to write well. But sports writers always have to write against time. Most of them beat this handicap, but it is a handicap. Thus, they cultivate an art under difficulties, while keeping their senses on a bird-dog level of keenness and maintaining and constantly adding to a knowledge of several complicated sporting techniques and of the vast and ever-changing population of the sporting worlds. No wonder.

They look as if they were dedicated to harder and higher things than the rest of us. If the question is raised whether their effort is directed toward a worthy object, I would say that it was. The big fight between Beau Jack and Ike Williams, which was so good that the sports writers dropped their solemnity and their faces flashed with pleasure, was a demonstration not only of the beauty of human anatomy but also of the beauty of the human brain. It was a demonstration of the primal virtue; courage: does not take one very far, but one cannot start at all without it.

Each fighter had worked out the formula which was composed by the other fighter's strength and skill, and had worked out an answer to it. Moreover, it was a beautifully controlled and civilized fight of a kind which I always admire, because I cannot imagine myself being hit very hard by any one or hitting any one very hard without getting angry. If one is in the book-writing business one knows that a crowd which follows such a demonstration of human qualities with the complete understanding of it which is revealed in their applause, they have gone through an experience which is the rough equivalent of reading a very good book indeed.

It struck me as I left the arena that it was interesting to hear a crowd largely white, registering its enjoyment of such an experience which had been provided for them by two colored men. I thought of the civil rights issue, and I thought of it again when we went down the little street and passed the house where the shades were up and we had seen the girl dancing alone. Now we saw the reason why she had stayed at home. She had a young baby in her arms and was giving it a bottle with the prim, hospital-nurse movements of the modern young mother.

She had not gone dancing because she was a responsible person who shouldered her obligations as responsible people do, of whatever race. The reason that the colored fighters and this colored young mother impressed me was that they represented a phase of American life which is continuously lied about in Communist propaganda against the United States distributed in Europe and elsewhere.

There is a steady presentation of the relations between white and colored Americans which is dishonoring to both in every publication which is under Communist influence. The Negroes are represented as a simple, almost brutish people who are helpless under the conditions which are imposed on them by white Americans, and white Americans are represented as taking no interest in Negroes except when they organize parties to lynch them.

Americans would be startled if they knew just how much space was devoted in French publications alone to articles which represent lynching as a frequent and widespread feature of American life. The existence of such Negroes as these acclaimed fighters and this highly civilized young mother could not possibly be deduced from these articles.

It would be agreeable if the civil rights issue were handled in a way that would discredit this propaganda, for it does nobody any good. Even Negroes who feel that they have a great deal still to fight for gain nothing by having the fact of the amazing flowering of their race during the last twenty-five years ignored.

ONLY DIXIE HOLDS OUT

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Vice Presidential Spot Still Wide Open—Convention To Begin Tomorrow

Sun. 7-11-48

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL
Associated Press Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, July 10.—The Democratic clans, after feuding fiercely for months, closed ranks almost solidly Saturday night behind Harry Truman for President.

Only the antiTruman Southerners kept up gestures of opposition to nominating the President for a full four-year term.

Meanwhile, the vice presidential contest remained wide open for the national convention beginning Monday and ending, it may be, as early as Wednesday.

Douglas Turns It Down

First the running mate swing was toward Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois. Then it moved toward Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, and then toward Senators C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming and Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky.

Douglas said in Oregon that he would not quit the bench for the vice presidential nomination.

But there wasn't any doubt about the presidential nominee. The Democrats are going to place in the willing hands of Mr. Truman the banner Franklin D. Roosevelt carried to four victories in a row.

If any clincher was needed, the eldest son of the late F. D. R. supplied it. James Roosevelt announced Saturday night he was canceling a caucus he had called with the idea of lining up power behind Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower for president.

Up to that point there had been some suggestions that the caucus might go on anyway, to look over other possibilities than the general. Eisenhower knocked the props from under the campaign for him with a statement Friday that he wouldn't accept the nomination under any terms.

The Commercial Appeal

MidWesterners Back Truman

A bigger huddle of MidWesterners—from 13 states with around a fifth of the 1234 convention votes—agreed unanimously to back Mr. Truman. Heads of 12 of the 13 Farm Belt delegations then voted also to push O'Mahoney for vice president. Iowa wouldn't go along with that.

O'Mahoney is the only vice presidential possibility out in the open. He has set up a campaign headquarters here.

But the talk for Douglas still was strong Saturday night. Chicago Democratic Chief Jacob M. Arvey and Illinois State Chairman George D. Kells put in plugs for him. Kells said also, however, that Lucas would be a fine compromise.

Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath said he was keeping hands off any effort to boom Douglas. Memphis Tenn.

Both McGrath and Leslie L. Biffle said so far as they knew, Mr. Truman had not deciced whom he would prefer for a running mate.

Biffle for Barkley

Biffle is a close friend of the President and convention sergeant-at-arms. Sun. 7-11-48

"Personally," Biffle declared, "I am for Senator Barkley. He would make a fine candidate. But that doesn't mean the Administration is supporting Barkley."

There wasn't much whoopla as delegates swarmed in from all points of the compass. But then there were hardly any good fights to stir up excitement. The Commercial Appeal

The biggest fuss of the day was at California headquarters.

Delegate John P. McEnery said it was a "damnable lisgrace" that James Roosevelt had tried to swing the Truman-instructed delegation to Eisenhower.

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He was ruled out of order once on a motion demanding that Roosevelt hand in his resignation as the man California has chosen as its next national committeeman.

McEnery tried again. This time the motion was seconded by Will Rogers Jr., former congressman and son of the late humorist. And this time the delegation voted 40 to 7 to take no action.

Johnston Abandons Fight

Another stop-Truman man, Senator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, quietly abandoned his plan to lay before the Democratic National Committee a resolution demanding that Mr. Truman retire from the presidential derby and leave the field clear for General Ike. Memphis, Tenn.

The National Committee threw out a protest against seating the South Carolina delegation. The protest had come from the South Carolina Progressive (negro) Democratic Party. It had complained that negroes had no part in precinct meetings which named delegates to county and state conventions. The regular delegation was seated on the motion of Senator Johnston. Sun. 7-11-48

For most delegates invading Philadelphiai there wasn't much to do. All the customary convention trappings were on display. Philadelphia exhibited the same "welcome delegates" signs it had put up with impartial foresight for the Republican Convention last month.

Philadelphia Decorated

It still showed banners and flags and lights in profusion.

But there were no rival camps for presidential car- -tes with bands, blazing lights, free refreshments, campaign buttons. You could even navigate the lobby of the convention headquarters hotel and board an elevator without fighting a mob. Sun.

But there in the lobby, beaming at the folks who meandered by, was an eight by 10-foot picture of a smiling Harry S. Truman.

McGrath said the convention might be all over by Wednesday. That depends partly on whether Southerners stir up a fight on the convention floor over the civil rights-racial issues. 7-11-48

Mr. Truman may come to the convention before it quits, McGrath said. But right now, he said, the President's inclination is to accept the nomination formally in a speech at his home town, Independence, Mo., perhaps 30 days after the convention is over.

Dixie Defeated In Two-Thirds Rule Appeal

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

By JOHN L. CUTTER

CONVENTION HALL, Philadelphia, July 13—(UP)—The Democratic Convention rolled into the cleanup stage tonight. The nomination of the Truman-Barkley ticket and at least a patchwork settlement of the Negro rights dispute practically are assured.

Adjournment is scheduled for tomorrow night. Wed.

The meeting tonight opened with a 40-minute memorial tribute to the late Franklin D. Roosevelt, with New York's Mayor O'Dwyer presiding. 7-14-48

Also in This Story:
Dixie Dissenters Seated;
Rayburn Lashes Out;
Mrs. Douglas Hits GOP;
McGrath Sets Deadline.

The convention seated the anti-Truman Mississippi delegation tonight, although a Negro delegate from President Truman's home State demanded it be barred.

The convention upheld the recommendation of the Credentials Committee by a voice vote.

The convention first howled down a minority report submitted by George Vaughn, of St. Louis. The Negro delegate, a member of the Credentials Committee, based his demand for refusing the so-called "regular" delegation of Mississippi the right to the convention floor on anti-Truman resolutions adopted by the Mississippi State Democratic convention.

The convention also accepted the recommendations of its Credentials Committee to seat anti-Truman South Carolina and Virginia delegations.

The convention howled down a Southern demand for a return to the two-thirds voting rule for Presidential and Vice Presidential nominations.

It approved continuation of the rule requiring only a simple majority of the total convention votes to nominate the ticket. This conformed with a majority report of the convention's Committee on Rules. The Constitution

Before this, it shouted down a minority report filed by six Southern States to reinstate the two-thirds requirement which was enforced by the Democrats until Franklin D. Roosevelt was chosen for his second term in 1936.

The return to the two-thirds rule was asked in a minority report submitted by Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Kansas and Texas. It was presented by Wright Morrow, of the Texas delegation. Atlanta, Ga.

Sen. Barkley, of Kentucky, whom President Truman accepted this morning as his Vice Presidential running mate, stepped down as temporary convention chairman and Rep. Rayburn, of Texas, took over. Wed.

Rayburn prompty cut loose with an old-fashioned political address calculated to blister the hides of the opposition. He denounced the Republicans' Dewey-Warren ticket as the product of a GOP convention bossed by former U. S. Sen. Grundy, of Pennsylvania. 7-14-48

The slogan of the recent Republican convention was "clear it with Grundy," said Rayburn. He predicted that "high tariff Grundy" would insist on killing the reciprocal trade program if the Republicans win in November.

He blasted Wallace's Third Party movement as "the front whitch masks the Communist Party."

Rep. Douglas, of California, picked up where Rayburn left off. She charged the Republicans at their recent convention here "danced on the grave of a dead President" instead of trying to choose their best candidate.

"The Democratic Party has been the majority party for 16 years. For God's sake let's act like it!" Rayburn pleaded.

Rayburn called Gov. Dewey and Warren, the Republican nominees, "false fronts for the traditional party of privilege."

And he declared the American people "will not let Henry Wallace exploit their yearning for peace" or follow him "into the slaughterhouse of war and Communism." The Constitution

With one of the oratorical flourishes for which he is famed, Reyburn declared:

"We are the party of the common man and the American people know it. Atlanta, Ga.

"On the right threatens the front of privilege.

"On the left threatens the Pied Piper of Politburo." Wed.

But the American people, he said, "will once again follow the middle way, our Democratic tradition of the American dream."

"For five sweltering days," Mrs. Douglas said in her prepared speech, the GOP convention "danced on the grave of a dead president." 7-14-48

"The opposition would have us believe that the dominant figure at their recent convention was their presidential nominee; in fact, they would like to believe that themselves. The dominant figure of that convention was Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and the American people know it."

The Republicans, she said, "shivered in the fear that the philosophy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt still lives in the hearts of the American people. Their fear was well founded."

Chairman J. Howard McGrath, of the National Committee, announced tonight that the Democratic Convention will adjourn tomorrow night.

He said President Truman will attend the closing session.

Tomorrow's meeting, McGrath announced, will start at 10 a. m. (EST), and will continue without halt until ended.

Walter Lippmann's Today And Tomorrow

The Commercial Appeal Memphis, Tenn.
Mon. 7-12-48

Truman And The Democratic Party

THE business of the Democratic convention is to prepare the party so that it can be the effective opposition. That is extremely important business, which can be done all the better if the leaders and bosses put out of their minds the notion that they can defeat Dewey and Warren by a political stunt—as, for example, a draft of General Eisenhower led by President Truman himself.

No doubt they will feel they must pretend that they are going to win the presidency, though, as a matter of fact, they would actually do better in the election if they were frank about it, admitted that their time is up and that it is the turn of the Republicans and asked for support on the ground that the country needs a strong opposition party. There must be a very considerable number of voters who would, in view of the record of the Republicans in the House, vote Democratic to strengthen the opposition but would not take the risk of prolonging the Truman Administration.

THERE is a serious possibility that the Democratic Party may not be able to be the effective opposition. As things are now the Southern Democrats, the New Dealers, the big urban bosses, and the Henry Wallace Democrats are all determined to wrest the control of the party from Truman and to get power for themselves in the local elections. The net result may well be such a Republican landslide, not merely a decisive Republican victory, that the Democratic Party in the House would be reduced to a negligible and discordant minority of Southern Democrats and of Northern Democrats from a few districts in a few of the biggest cities. This would be bad for the Democratic Party and bad for the country. 7-12-48

Not even Governor Dewey himself could really want to win so overwhelmingly. Opposition is essential in the American system. If the Democratic Party is devastated in most of the pivotal states, the White House will find it very difficult to lead. and to keep discipline within, the unwieldy Republican majority in Congress.

THIS dangerous tendency toward the disintegration of the Democratic Party will be aggravated if Mr. Truman is nominated and if the party machinery is used by him to wage a sharp struggle in the election. For the controlling fact in the present situation is that none of the important and divergent factions wants him to win the election and, therefore, to renew his grip upon the party machinery.

The tendency to disintegration might be arrested if, though Truman were nominated, the convention took away from him and his cronies the control of the party and of the campaign. But Mr. Truman is not likely to accept the role of a candidate whom his party has nominated but does not wish to elect. The Commercial Appeal

The real solution is not to nominate Truman. In itself replacing Truman would not reunite immediately the discordant factions. But it would prevent them from becoming even more discordant, and it would permit them to reunite eventually. For while they cannot reunite if there is a risk that they might win the presidency and have to act on the many issues about which they disagree, once it is recognized that they will not be governing the country, the issues that divide them will lose their heat and urgency. The Democrats can be united as an opposition party, not as a party which might have to govern. Memphis, Tenn

IF NOT Truman, then who could and should it be? Certainly not Eisenhower, not only for the reasons which he has stated but also because the one role he is most clearly not in a position to fill is that of leader of the opposition. The opposition can be led efficiently only by a Democratic politician who has a sure seat in Congress and a thorough knowledge of the machinery of the government, of legislative issues and procedure, and of the Democratic Party. In fact the opposition cannot be led by some one who is not a member of Congress.

THE BEST solution would therefore, seem to be the nomination of a senator who commands the respect of all the factions and will in any event be the actual leader of the Democratic opposition in Congress. Is not that man Senator Barkley of Kentucky?

His nomination would be a frank and honest acceptance of the realities of the political situation—that the Democrats are not out to win the presidency but to survive as the national party of opposition, to be critical, vigilant but good-humored about the return of the Republicans and the rise of Dewey. 7-12-48

SINCE there would be no chance of Senator Barkley's election to the presidency, the questions do not arise which would otherwise have to be asked about his age and his experience in executive office. It is enough that he is a most experienced legislator, a seasoned politician, and so well liked and so generally trusted that he could more readily than any one else be the mediator and harmonizer which the party so greatly needs.

He would obviously not be a candidate for the nomination four or eight years hence when the Democrats may again be serious contenders. Therefore, during this period of Democratic retirement, when the party will be reorganizing, recovering, and above all rejuvenating itself, he will not stand in the way of the new men who, as governors of states or as senators and congressmen, will be proving their availability. Mem.

THE MOST serious practical objection to this solution of the Democratic problem is that it may be too reasonable for a party which is so torn by factionalism, so passionate in its prejudices, that most of the factions will prefer to rule or to ruin the party's future.

Pride and stubbornness, which Mr. Truman might think is honor, may cause him to insist on exerting the power, which any President has, to force his own nomination against the manifest will of his party. In this he may be assisted by the wishful thinkers among his opponents who cling to the illusion that somehow, perhaps with Douglas, they can not only remove Truman but also win the presidency for themselves.

Truman Approves Barkley for Ticket

Senator's Decision Due Today

By ROBERT L. RIGGS
Staff Correspondent, The Courier-Journal.

Courier-Journal

Philadelphia, July 13.—This is Alben W. Barkley's hour in the history of the Democratic Party. The nomination for the Vice-Presidency is his just as soon as he says he will take it. The odds are heavy that the bigger prize, the presidential nomination, would be his if he would go after it. Barkley is waiting until tomorrow to announce his decision about the vice-presidential nomination. 7-14-48

Not too enthusiastically, and certainly not fulsomely, President Truman gave the sign today that he would accept the Kentucky senator as his running mate. He thus put his seal of approval on an action it was apparent the delegates were going to take with or without the President's consent. Louisville Ky.

Forced to Put Brakes On.

So fast has the Barkley movement been rolling since his keynote speech last night that the Kentucky convention delegates have been forced to put the brakes on it. All day, delegations from other states visited Kentucky headquarters at the Adelphia Hotel, urging them to get behind a proposal to give Barkley not the vice-presidential nomination, but the presidential spot.

This was a project which appealed to the Kentuckians, but they dared not encourage it. They knew Barkley's loyalty would

Courier-Journal

cause him to forbid a move against the titular head of the party.

They also feared such a move, if it backfired, might put Barkley in the position of having to refuse second-place nomination. 7-14-48

Barkley Enjoys It All.

As for Barkley, he was the most relaxed man in the convention. He wouldn't say yes and he wouldn't say no to the demand that he accept the vice-presidential nomination, though there was little doubt he would end up by saying yes. Louisville Ky.

The 70-year-old Kentuckian was enjoying to the full the repeated demands that he go on the ticket. Twice before he had sought the place in vain. This time, when he has no personal longing for it, it has been dumped in his lap.

Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, the national committee's chairman, gave the word that Truman—who has maintained complete silence on Barkley for three days—would "welcome" him on the ticket.

The first question asked of McGrath at his morning press conference was: "Has there been any decision on the vice-presidential nomination?"

McGrath, a deliberate speaker, meditated for 2 or 3 minutes, then said. "If the Democratic convention sees fit to nominate Senator Barkley, President Truman will be most happy to welcome him."

Aware that up to today Truman, has had no conversation with Barkley since June 3, a reporter asked:

"Has the President talked to Senator Barkley?"

"I'm pretty sure he has," McGrath replied.

"Does the President's statement to you constitute an indorsement of Barkley?"

"No," said McGrath. "The President did not foreclose any other candidate and he will accept any decision this convention makes."

Chosen By Convention.

Thus Truman has not selected Barkley in the sense that those in the No. 1 spot usually pick their running mates. There was a time, a few days ago, when Barkley was in the mood to refuse the nomination unless Truman asked for him specifically.

But since that time it has been gratifying to him to see the convention turn to him without any prodding from the White House. He can truthfully say he is one vice-presidential nominee chosen by the convention delegates themselves. The Courier-Journal

While McGrath was correct in saying Truman called Barkley this morning, the President apparently did not make the call to persuade the Kentuckian to take second place.

Left Choice to Committee.

Louisville Ky.

Truman told Barkley he was calling to congratulate him on his keynote address. Then he told the Kentuckian he had not realized that Barkley was interested in the vice-presidential nomination. Wed. 7-14-48

Barkley assured him he was not interested in the post. The President further explained that he had left the question of a running mate to an informal committee of five. That group, he said, had decided Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas would be the best selection.

But with Douglas unwilling to run, Truman said he would be glad to have Barkley on the ticket, especially since the convention showed so strongly, during last night's demonstration, that they wanted him.

Still Barkley made no commitment.

If Barkley's Chosen, He'll Inform Barkley

Philadelphia, July 13 (AP)—If Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky is nominated as President Truman's running mate who do you think will tell Barkley?

Senator Barkley.

A list of proposed committee assignments drawn up by the Democratic National Committee today listed Barkley as "chairman of the committee to notify the vice-presidential nominee."

Might Win Senate Control.

The only inducement for Barkley to go on a ticket that seems doomed to defeat is that his presence there would help the Democratic Party save something from the wreck.

With him as the vice-presidential nominee the Democrats might hope to carry Kentucky, West Virginia, and Oklahoma, where Senate seats now held by Republicans are at stake.

Barkley might help the Democratic Governor of Wyoming win the Senate seat held by a Republican. He might help Paul Douglas defeat Republican Senator C. Wayland Brooks of Illinois. He might, in fact, help the Democrats win back control of the Senate even though they should lose the White House.

Wed.
7-14-48

Hasn't Made Up Mind.

That's the argument Senate colleagues have used on Barkley to get him to take a job he did not seek. Barkley's attitude toward the vice-presidential nomination was summarized by McGrath at his press conference when he quoted Barkley as having said to him: "Howard, I did not come here as a candidate. I do not know if I am now a candidate."

Shortly after McGrath's press conference, Barkley said to reporters:

"I don't want to be evasive about it, but I've got to make up my mind whether I will accept the nomination under any conditions.

"The President merely called me to congratulate me on my keynote speech. I don't want to quote the President, but the Vice-Presidency was not mentioned. I am not going to make any statements on the subject while I am temporary chairman of this convention. After I get out from that job, I will have something to say."

Pepper Gets Out of Race For Presidential Nomination

The Courier-Journal

From Wire Dispatches.

Philadelphia, July 13.—Rivals hopped out of the way of the Truman-Barkley ticket today.

Senator Claude Pepper of Florida gave up his 2-day-old boomlet for the presidential nomination.

Louisville, Ky.

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming pulled to the side in the vice-presidential race and swung aboard the Barkley bandwagon as it thundered by. O'Mahoney announced he was releasing to Senator Barkley the "hundreds of delegates who have been supporting me."

7-14-48

Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts let it be known that he would follow O'Mahoney whenever Barkley agreed to become President Truman's running mate.

Heaves Bricks At Truman.

Pepper, stepping out of the race, spoke gravely of what he called the "spliintering of the Democratic Party . . . which is about to be consummated in the convention."

All in one statement, Pepper called for party unity, heaved bricks at Truman and the Republicans, and pledged himself to support and work for the convention nominees.

Wed.

In the presidential contest a few sore spots still bothered the convention.

7-14-48

Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas still is the candidate of the anti-Truman Southerners who don't like the way the President feels about lynching, poll taxes, and racial discrimination on jobs.

Laney has 92 votes behind him from Texas, Mississippi, and South Carolina, plus another 22 from Texas, Mississippi, and South Carolina, plus another 22 from his own state marked "probable."

7-14-48

And Georgia's 28 votes will be cast for the Peach State's own Senator Russell, Chairman James S. Peters announced today.

Ten Alabama delegates have said they would put Russell's name before the convention.

Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas said the protest votes against Truman might total 200.

Anti-Trumanites Win Skirmish, Lose Battle

The Courier-Journal

Seat Mississippi Delegation But Fail In Effort to Restore Two-Thirds Rule

Louisville, Ky.
Wed. 7-14-48

The Courier-Journal Convention Bureau.

Philadelphia, July 13.—Anti-Truman Southerners won a skirmish but lost a battle tonight in the Democratic National Convention. In a roaring struggle that often approached the brawl stage, the delegates fought out the Negro question on two front

On one front the Southerners won convention seats for a Mississippi delegation which is pledged to walk out of the hall if Harry S. Truman is nominated.

On the othre and major front, the forces from Dixie were rebuffed in a strong attempt to put back the two-thirds rule which was abolished in 1936. Instead of reviving the two-thirds rule, the convention voted to continue to require that only a majority vote be required for the nomination of presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

Boos and Shouts Resound.

Most of the noise and shouting arose over the relatively minor question of seating the Mississippi delegation. There were no boos and angry shouts throughout that debate.

The credentials-committee majority, headed by Rpresentative Mary T. Norton, New Jersey, had recommened that the Mississippi delegation be seated despite the fact it is instructed not to abide by decision of the convention unless the nominees denounced Truman's civil-rights program.

Challenging the committee report was a Negro member of that body, delegate George L. Vaughn of St. Louis. Amid both cheers and boos, Vaughn declared, "There is nothing in President Truman's civil-rights program but what is in the Constitution of the United States."

Wed. 7-14-48

Hall Thrown Into Confusion.

At that point, up jumped a delegate from Florida, shouting, "Take him down, take him down." This threw the hall into some moments of confusion, but Vaughn continued, apparently unruffled.

Wed.

When temporary chairman Alben W. Barkley asked the convention to say whether it wanted to adopt Vaughn's minority report, the noes obviously were louder than the ayes, and the Kentucky senator ruled the regular Mississippi delegation would be seated.

7-14-48

The greatest uproar arose because several states wanted the record to show that they had voted against seating the anti-civil-rights delegation. Among them were Illinois, New York, Iowa, Michigan, Washington, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the District of Columbia.

The Courier-Journal

Barkley Yields to Demands.

When Barkley tried to proceed with convention business without having acknowledged all those states' demands, they refused to let him continue. He finally agreed that every state that wanted to be recorded against the Mississippi delegation should have that privilege.

So aroused were the delegates by this time on the emotional question of Negro rights that Barkley called on the convention police to clear the middle aisle before he took up the quarrel over the two-thirds rule.

This rule for 100 years gave the South a veto over the nomination of candidates. It was abolished in 1936 at the behest of Bennett Champ Clark, whose father lost the presidential nomination in 1912 because of the two-thirds requirement.

Louisville, Ky.

Texan Leads Rules Fight.

Wright Morrow, national committeeman-elect from Texas, led the fight for restoration of the rule. He was supported by Robert Elliott, national committeeman-elect from Georgia. Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing, and chief patronage dispenser for the Truman Administration, led the fight against restoring the rule.

"The two-thirds rule was good enough for Andrew Jackson, for Grover Cleveland, for Woodrow Wilson. and for Franklin D. Roosevelt," Elliott said. "It still is good enough for us."

Opposing restoration of the rule, Ewing argued that it had almost wrecked the Democratic Party.

South's Motive Questioned.

"The two-thirds rule means rule by one third," Ewing said, "and that is not democracy. I don't know if the two-thirds rule would appease the South. I don't think the two-thirds rule is what is bothering the South."

The noes obviously were in the majority when the question of adopting the minority report was adopted, and the two-thirds rule was put back in its grave for at least four years more.

First-Ballot Nominations Assured as City Chiefs Join Bandwagon Rush

Herald Tribune
New York, N.Y.

By Bert Andrews

Wed. 7-14-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 13.—The Democratic National Convention prepared today for its crowning event—the acceptance speech at the convention tomorrow night of President Truman—after a nod from the White House had made it certain that the President's running mate will be Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky.

With the Truman administration forces so completely in control that first-ballot nominations are assured for the President and the Senator, the only major controversy remaining was that relating to the platform.

If the civil rights plank is acceptable to rebellious Southerners, a floor fight will be averted and the convention will be speeded up so the delegates can get out of Philadelphia and its heat after tomorrow night's session, a day ahead of schedule.

7-14-48

Wind-Up May Be Delayed

If the plank is such as to keep the Southern revolt churning, there may be hours of oratory that will delay the wind-up until Thursday.

As the delegates met tonight in Convention Hall to hear a memorial program in honor of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the dead of World War II, and addresses by Representative Sam Rayburn, of Texas, the convention's permanent chairman, and Representatives Helen Gahagan Douglas, of California, and Mary T. Norton, of New Jersey, they were left without much to argue about on the question of candidates.

New York, N.Y.

Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida, who had been a very willing candidate for President for just forty-eight hours, accepted the inevitable and withdrew today, saying he would support the nominees of the convention even though he thought the present leadership of the party "has proven incapable of holding the party together."

Tribune.

However, the Georgia delegation offered the dissident Southerners some one to rally about if they wanted to by saying its would nominate Senator Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, for President tomorrow evening and give him the state's twenty-eight votes on the first ballot. Governor Ben Laney, of Arkansas, candidate of another group of Senators, said he hadn't decided yet whether actively to oppose the President.

Barkley Opposition Fades

The prospects of any real opposition to Senator Barkley for second place faded just about as fast as the opposition to President Truman did.

Senator J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, National Chairman, killed the hopes of the Barkley foes by announcing that President Truman will be "most happy to welcome" the seventy-year-old Senator as his running mate.

Senator McGrath's statement came soon after the disclosure that President Truman will come to Philadelphia tomorrow by plane if the weather is good and by train if it isn't, and that he will make his acceptance speech from an outline and notes, not from a prepared text. A time mentioned for the President's arrival was 9:30 p. m.

7-14-48

South Held Facing Tough Democratic Civil Rights Plank

PHILADELPHIA, July 10—It's all here. The plastic donkey over the main entrance to the Bellevue Stratford, National Democratic headquarters; the kids passing out Douglas buttons; the fellow in the jeep who won't give up on Eisenhower; the characters in their trick uniforms and Sam Crawford, from El Dorado, Ark., who stands in the lobby and blows plaintive blasts from his fox horn which will soon have all the hounds of Pennsylvania baying. In fact, if some of them do not chase a fox right down Broad Street before the rosy-tinted dawn comes tiptoeing over the building tops, it will be a very great surprise. There are no pictures of rival candidates about the place. There is just one of Harry Truman. It is eight by ten feet and it is a good one. He is going to be it. In more ways than one.

34d Convention

I ran into an old friend, Mr. Cecil Sims, an eminent lawyer and Democrat from Nashville, Ten-o-see, who was the only Southerner called here to be on the platform consultation committee. Mr. Sims, who is a brother of Mr. Tom Sims, who does Popeye the Sailor Man, got one of those urgent telegrams saying be here at once.

Mr. Sims leaped from his bed, flung on his garments and hurried to the airport and got a plane at 5 a. m.

7-11-48

When he hurried into the meeting, still chewing his late breakfast, a fellow said, "Come on in, brother, this is open to anybody." Mr. Sims just sat there and finally a fellow came around and said, "What, are you an expert on?"

The Constitution

"Sitting," said Mr. Sims. He said that he kept sitting and after awhile a man came over and said, "We like to keep in touch with our experts. Where are you staying and what is your name?"

"My name's Sims and I am staying somewhere between here and Washington at the Tracy Hotel."

Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Sims said the man went away and finally came back and said, "Mr. Tracy, don't you worry. We will send you out to the Sims Hotel in a taxicab." Mr. Sims said that the man did not look at all like B. O. Plenty, but at these political conventions you never can tell. Mr. Sims is to be elected Chairman of the Tennessee delegation, but he will decline and suggest Mr. Phil Whitaker, of Chattanooga. After that, Mr. Sims hopes to get a hotel room somewhere closer than 40th Street, where he now is at the Tracy.

Atlanta, Ga. 7-11-48

Mr. Sims says he just sat there, but from what he gathered the South is in for a tough plank on civil rights. That is what he thinks if the plank is written by the experts by whom he was surrounded. He says they apparently are tired of fooling around with the South and if the South wants to walk out, it can. He also said they will write a plank giving arms to the new nation of Israel.

Mr. Sims was calm, as an expert on sitting should be, but he is resigned.

The Constitution

With this sad intelligence, I went over to the California caucus. It was hot in the room where they were and some of the boys were hot under the collar before they went in. They were feuding with James Roosevelt. One of those feuding was Will Rogers, Jr., son of the humorist who died in an air crash up in Alaska. They tried to get a resolution denouncing James Roosevelt, but lost. They then managed to commit the delegation to Mr. Truman.

When that was done in Room 462 in the Ben Franklin, I trudged on down to Room 252, where the Southern caucus, called by the revolting Democrats from Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina, were gathered.

The Constitution

I sat down and took out note paper, just like a movie reporter, but a gentleman said he wanted me to be on my honor not to print anything I heard.

So, I smiled and said I was after news and had hurried out to get it, and thanked him kindly and left. When it was over I asked four or five who were there and they told me about it. That proved me to be one of those efficiency experts, because while they were talking off the record, I went and sat in on an interview with Jacob M. Arvey, of the Cook County, Ill., organizations, of which, more later.

Sun. 7-11-48

The revolting delegates from Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina were joined by one man from Florida, two from Texas, one from Louisiana, and a half dozen from Alabama.

The Constitution

They were unhappy, they didn't know what to do. They debated a while and the one revolting delegate said he wanted them to agree on a candidate.

They talked about Sen. Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, and about Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi. They were going at this hard and heavy when all of a sudden a lean and very hot delegate from Louisiana got up and said profanely:

Atlanta, Ga.

"Men, what in the name of hell are we talking about? We are agreed that if the platform is offensive to us we will walk out and yet here we are trying to select a candidate to run on that platform."

34d

This threw the great minds assembled into consternation and confusion but they rallied and decided not to nominate anybody.

They talked a long time about walking out. They reached no decision. They don't want to walk out, and I will wager they don't despite all the fine oratory about it. They will, I will wager, simply say, "I pass" when they are called, but they will not walk out.

They will hold a Birmingham convention to form a Southern party, they said, if Truman is nominated. There were those who told me the companies interested in the Tidelands oil would put up any amount needed for such a convention.

Sun.

They finally ended up by naming three committees. They will report at another caucus on Sunday afternoon. There is a committee to work out an agenda for the Sunday caucus. There is another to recommend a leader for the caucus. And a third will report on plans and suggestions for the proposed Birmingham rump convention of the revolting delegates.

7-11-48

James Peters, of Georgia, who was not present, was named on the agenda committee. If I had stayed I would not have been able to present this world-shaking news and I also would not have been able to report what the Cook County, Illinois, leader, Jake Avery, said in a press conference. Boiled down it came to this:

"I believe in a government which is interested in the people and their problems. It is just as easy to elect good people as bad people.

"I was for General Eisenhower because he seemed to me to be the one man in the nation most of the Republicans and most of the Democrats wanted. He was the man the American people wanted. I believe the rest of the world would have been brought closer to peace by him and I think other nations would have had more respect for us. So, I wanted him. That's all there was to it.

The Constitution

"It is true that I believed that would help out state tickets. The way I look at it, the crowd behind Dewey is at heart coldly reactionary and isolationist. They give lip service to another attitude. If he is swept into office he will take with him a lot of reactionary and isolationist Republican Congressmen. That won't be good for the country. It is important to get good state tickets elected. So I had that in mind."

7-11-48

Atlanta, Ga.

He impressed me very favorably. It was the first time I had ever seen him. He didn't look at all like the typical political boss.

Just as I was about to close this up, a friend came panting in with the Pepper story. The Americans for Democratic Action, having lost Eisenhower and Douglas, have started a boom for Claud Pepper, one-time Red Pepper, of Florida.

7-11-48

This was bad news to Sen. Spessard Holland, of Florida, and Gov. Millard Caldwell. Acute pains. They had been trying to bring the belting elements of their delegation back in line on a plea of State unity. The Pepper report spilt it wide open. Pepper hasn't a chance to be named Vice President. And he was one of the worst candidates to throw into a situation wherein the political healers were trying to bring about a closing of wounds and ranks. It is a boom busted before it begins, but it is trouble.

34d

Well, anyhow, if a man is as old as his legs, I am pretty dadblamed old, and if Sam Crawford hasn't got the room next to mine and doesn't blow in a pack of fox hounds, I am aiming to get some sleep. There will be more tomorrow.

Sun. 7-11-48

After The Convention

PHILADELPHIA, July 15

AFTER the convention here in Philadelphia the facts and implications begin to grow clearer. The South is faced with a political urgency now that demands axe-stroke action. And it's important that the action of the convention be fully understood.

One thing above all must be understood by Alabamians. It must be remembered. And that is that the writing of that unbearable plank providing for a phase No. 2 of Reconstruction was the work and will of the rank and file members of the Democratic Party.

We Alabamians, in our traditional and ancient attachment to the party, would wish to believe that it was a cynical and opportunistic political device of the vote-craving party leadership.

34d

But that it emphatically was not. It is entirely the reverse of that.

The mocking fact is that President Truman, National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, and the others upon whom Southern wrath and bitterness have cascaded were actually the advocates of a watered down, appeasing plank.

It was the common people of the convention—that is, the delegates representing a cross section of the party—that vehemently overrode Truman and scornfully voted the plank.

THE plain and indisputable fact is that Truman-McGrath and Co. have been trying to appease the South for some weeks.

For example, there was the appointment of William J. Primm, Jr., of Alabama, as special assistant to McGrath. Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky was chosen keynoter and Congressman Sam Rayburn of Texas was made permanent chairman of the convention. Examples might be multiplied.

And finally, as Chauncey Sparks will tell you, the platform committee offered the South a comparatively watered-down civil rights plank. Certainly it was no worse than the 1944 platform which caused no stir with Roosevelt standing upon it. And most certainly it was toothless compared with the sabre-toothed plank that the convention finally adopted.

McGrath even went so far, it is competently reported, as to offer the South restoration of the two-thirds rule in conventions if it would accept the watered-down plank.

Alabama and associate states declined this even-steven compromise and went on to prosecute the war with a walk-out.

The answer was a crushing defeat by the rank and file of the Democratic Party.

On the basis of this undisputable array of remarkable facts, you could argue that McGrath and Alabama were overruled.

WE ARE now in this position. We threatened to leave the party. The answer was an inflamed "Get the hell out then and good riddance."

Furthermore, we have got to recognize that the Southern border states voted against the deep South.

All of this has got to be understood and understood well, before we can intelligently seek our wilderness path.

We have an idea that in Alabama there will be some distracting agitation and opportunistic thrusting between the Ellis-Hill factions over the act of walking and non-walking.

No Alabamian should allow himself to be bamboozled with an empty, aimless controversy over that.

The enormous fact is that the rank and file of the Democratic Party is unsympathetic and intolerant of Southern viewpoint.

In a choice between the Southern electoral votes and the Negro power balance votes of the North, the convention found its choice easy.

THE compromise rejected. The all-out plank adopted. It is entirely understandable that Truman moved swiftly to interpret the convention's act as a mandate for him to capitalize the situation. He therefore summoned a special session of Congress.

Thus the issue of civil rights is maturing ahead of any predicted schedule.

We shall have the spectacle of a Republican Party with a comparatively mild civil rights plank and a Democratic Party with the strongest possible civil rights plank.

In this one regard and on paper at least, the Republican and Democratic Parties have swapped the roles they assumed in Civil War days.

The presidential campaign then will open in Congress this month. Truman will dare the Republican Congress, with doubtful states in the balance, not to enact the Democratic Party's civil rights plank. The pressures for enactment will undoubtedly be greater than ever in the past.

It seems this afternoon in Philadelphia that Alabama and some, but not all, Southern states are homeless.—

Prayer Of Rev. Marshall Shepard At Demo Convention

340 Journal & Guide

Norfolk, Va.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—(ANP)—The Rev. Marshall Shephard, recorder of deeds in Washington, mounted the speaker's platform at Convention Hall in Philadelphia to pray for the second time before this convention in this city.

The last time Shephard prayed here before the Democratic convention in 1940, Sen. "Cotton Ed" Smith, of South Carolina, walked from the convention as the minister began. Sat. 7-24-48

In a brief and stirring prayer, Rev. Shephard said:

"O, Lord, our God, how excellent is Thy name in all the earth. Thou has been our dwelling place in all generations. Before the mountains were brought forth or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting Thou art God.

Norfolk, Va.

"Thy love divine hath led us in the past. In this free land by Thee our lot is cast. Be Thou our ruler, guardian, guide and stay. Thy word our law, Thy path our chosen way.

"We thank Thee that Thou doth inspire the hearts of men and direct the affair of men and of nations. May we of this convention avail ourselves to this leadership of spirit that will enable us to do that which is well pleasing in Thy sight. We pray for our country that we may be worthy of the great responsibility of leadership that is ours in a world that gropes for peace and freedom. We pray for our leaders in these crucial days that are upon us. We pray for the President of the United States and for his family. Sat.

"All men may be as brethren own.
Yet dare at need to stand alone.
Through Jesus Christ our Lord,
Amen." 7-24-48

Colored Delegates From 10 States At Democratic Parley

340 Journal-Guide

Norfolk, Va.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—(NNPA) Colored delegates and alternates to the Democratic national convention included the following:

California—Delegates: The Rev. Clayton Russell, Los Angeles, fourteenth district; Mrs. Sylura Barron, San Diego, twenty-third district; alternate: W. Byron Rumford, Berkeley, seventh district.

Illinois—Delegates: Mrs. Mildred C[illegible]ey and Representative William L. Dawson, both of Chicago, first district; Alternates: Willard S. Townsend, Chicago, state-at-large; Kennth E. Campbell and State Senator Christopher C. Wimbish, both of Chicago, first district; James A. McLendon, Chicago, second district; Frank M. Summers, East St. Louis, twenty-fifth district. Sat. 7-24-48

Kansas — Delegate: Cordell D. Meeks, Kansas City, state-at-large; alternate, Mrs. Gertrude B. Johnson, Wichita, state-at-large.

Massachusetts: Alternate, Silas F. (Shag) Taylor, Boston, state-at-large.

Michigan – Delegates: William Booker, Detroit, state-at-large; State Senator Joseph A. Brown, Detroit, first district; alternates: Harold Bledsoe, Detroit, first district; Charles Jones and Ernest Cunningham, Detroit, thirteenth district; Mrs. Geneva Cassey, Detroit, fifteenth district.

Missouri Alternates; George L. Vaughan, St. Louis, state-at-large; Mrs. Arlania Morgan, St. Louis, eleventh district.

New York, Delegate: L. Everett Dickens, New York, twenty-second district; alternates: A. Fay Bennett, Utica, state-at-large; Cecil E. Carter, and Samuel Davis, both of New York, twenty-first district; James A. Ross, New York, twenty-second district.

OHIO DELEGATES

Ohio — Delegate: Granville W. Reed, Dayton, state-at-large; alternates: Charles V. Carr, Cleveland, and Percy D. Jones, Columbus, state-at-large. Sat. 7-24-48

Pennsylvania — Alternates: Andrew M. Bradley, Bedford, state-at-large; Mrs. Lillian Edwards, Philadelphia, first district; Harold E. Thompson, Philadelphia, second district.

West Virginia — Alternates: Daniel W. Ambrose, Huntington, state-at-large; William Woody, Beckley, sixth district.

District of Columbia—Delegates (one-half vote each): William L. Houston, and Edward Williams, Washington.

Democrats 'Ban' Lily-Whites From Future Conventions

Lighthouse [illegible]

Sun. 7-25-48

BY JOHN H. McCRAY

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The Credentials Committee of the National Democratic Committee adopted a regulation here Tuesday, by which delegates from no state or territory will be recognized or certified if it be proven that they were elected or selectd by a machinery not accessible to citizens of all races, colors and creeds.

The Committee's action came after it had voted 24-2 against seating either the Progressive, or the Citizen Democrats of South Carolina, both of whom had filed a vigorous complaint against the South Carolina Regulars, led by Governor J Strom Thurmond.

SOUGHT IN 1944 7-25-48

The committee ruling, sought as far back as 1944 by Progressive Democrats, does not mean that all-white delegations from states and territories having large non-white populations are ruled out; it means simply that such states and territories cannot again elect delegates from an all-white or all-Negro organization and have these recognized, if contested.

Some two and one-half hours were used by the committee to settle the South Carolina case, key and pivotal issue in the entire convention. One member of the committee told me that the vote came after Senator Olin D. Johnston mis-informed the committee into thinking that the Elmore vs. Rice case was still in court, which was not fact. A second problem the committee decided against was seating our delegation on a proportional plea.

"If the Progressive Democrats and Citizen Democrats had just come before the committee as a single group," he said, "I have not the slightest doubt that they would have been seated over the others. The Committee was extremely sympathetic but was without precedent or legal support on the basis of what Senator Johnston (also a committee member) told us about the Elmore case."

Columbia, S.C.

PAIRED WITH MISSISSIPPI

From the credentials committee, the South Carolina case went before the convention Tuesday night in a minority report, made by assistant state attorney General George L. Vaughn of St. Louis, Mo., who used the all-white contest from Mississippi as focal point. This report was defeated on a voice vote, which it is generally stated, was other than what the presiding officer ruled it to be.

Attorney Vaughn electrified the convention in his presentation and several fist fights between northern and southern whites dotted the fever hot meeting. However, it set the stage for the stronger civil rights plank which was adopted the following day on a roll call, and which forced the Mississippi and a part of the Alabama delegations to stalk out.

Lighthouse

SOUTH CAROLINA STAYS

South Carolina, pledged to walk out if President Truman were renominated or a civil rights plank was adopted, failed to take the walk. A reliable source explained to me that Governor Thurmond wanted to lead his charges out behind Alabama and Mississippi, but was restrained by the advice of Sen. Johnston, who allegedly advised that to bolt in 1948 meant to be locked out in 1952. After a caucus, the delegates sided with Senator Johnston. Sun. 7-25-48

Mr. Johnston allegedly also pointed out that were the seated group to bolt, the Citizen and Progressive Democrats, who were still around, could easily walk in, fill the seats, and win by default recognition in the convention.

MISSISSIPPI WALK CERTAIN IF CIVIL RIGHTS IS ISSUE

The Times Picayune

Some Delegates of Other States May Follow

New Orleans, La.

BY EDGAR POE

(The Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

Philadelphia, July 10.—A "walkout" of the Democratic national convention early next week by some Southern delegates appears certain this afternoon. Sun

This is in the face of conflicting statements being put out by some higherups of the party that the "rebels" are swinging behind President Truman who apparently will be nominated on the first ballot. 7-11-48

Gov. Wright said Mississippi is not even willing to accept the 1944 civil rights plank.

Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, titular head of the party in that state, said flatly this afternoon that Mississippi delegates would walk out if "thev" insisted on "rewriting or embellishing the 1944 civil rights plank." That proposal, which President Truman followed up in February of this year by sending his now famous civil rights message to Congress, vowed that the Democratic party believes that "racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equaly. . ."

Dixie Caucus Today

Meantime, it is noted by many longtime political observers here that this preconvention thus far is perhaps one of the strangest and quietest since the party was founded by Thomas Jefferson.

All eyes Sunday afternoon will be on the Southern caucus of Dixie leaders at the Franklin hotel. The question of a general walkout of the convention and other strategy of the "Confederate" states will be mapped at the huddle. Although it appears certain that Mississippi will take a "walkout" at the convention, just how many other states will follow remained in doubt.

Many Alabama, Florida, South Carolina and Arkansas delegates are likely to follow Mississippi.

Louisiana, despite some dissatisfaction, is expected to go along with President Truman and the vice-presidential nominee. Times-Picayune

Alabama delegates arriving in Philadelphia this morning said that when the roll call takes place they expect to nominate someone other than President Truman. Roy D. McCord of Gadsden said he expected to make a nominating speech if none of the other solidly Alabama anti-Truman delegates did not prepare to make one.

For Separate Convention

Governor Wright said without equivocation that Mississippians were ready to go to Birmingham for a separate convention if the platform bore any civil rights issues. That the platform will carry at least as much as the 1944 declaration is a certainty, according to Sen. J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, national chairman.

A close-knit meeting of Southern anti-Truman leaders from Dixie went into a huddle at the Benjamin Franklin hotel this afternoon. They were mapping their strategy. Their idea in case of an exodus of Southern delegates from the convention hall is "not to wait too long, not to leave too early."

There was a report current that the platform may be held up until after the president and vice-president are nominated. If this is done, it could assertedly cause the Southerners some "inconvenience." New Orleans, La.

Favor Sharp Action

Sen. John McClellan of Arkansas said this afternoon that several of the delegates of his state are in a mood for sharp action designed to pave the way for more recognition in party circles. 7-11-48 The Arkansas delegates will caucus following the arrival of the delegates headed by Gov. Ben Laney, a "states' rights" Democrat.

Sen. Alben W. Barklev of Kentucky, who will be the temporary convention chairman, arrived at the Bellevue-Stratford hotel this afternoon. Told that some delegates were booming him for vice-presidential nomination, he laughed, saying: "They boom me for something every four years."

Former Gov. Keen Johnson of Kentucky during the day had a whole series of huddles with party spokesmen trying to "bust" the balloon that is being sent up for Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the supreme court for the No. 2 post.

Mr. Johnson told them that if the jurist, who was appointed to the bench by President Roosevelt, is nominated, it will be "a near-calamity to the party." He said it would be a bad thing, and that he did not believe the South would stand for it. At the same time he expressed the belief that Kentucky, "as it now stands, will be in the Democratic column" in the November 2 general election.

NO BREAK NOW UNTIL AGENDA IS COMPLETED

Enterprise Journal

McComb, Miss.

Southern Group Will Not Accept Proposed Plank With Federal Action Threatened

Hed. 7-14-48

LOUISIANA FOR LONG

Other Southern States Join Plan To Cast 1st Ballot Votes Against Truman

(By The Associated Press)

The resolution presented by the southern states calling for the inclusion of a "states' rights" plank in the platform of the Democratic Party was overwhelmingly voted down at 2:00 p. m. A total of 925 votes were registered against the proposal. Only 618 "nays" were necessary for its defeat.

Philadelphia.—The Democratic Convention is locked in a battle over the civil rights plank in the proposed party platform. It is a fight that party leaders had striven desperately to head off.

The platform was read to the convention by the platform committee chairman, Senator Francis Myers of Pennsylvania. But the Southerners, headed by Dan Moody of Texas and Chauncey Sparks of Alabama, both former governors, are demanding a clear-cut States' Rights amendment to bar any federal action on such things as anti-lynch laws.

As the argument raged on, Louisiana joined the group of southern states announcing first-ballot choices for candidates othor than President Truman. The Louisiana delegation decided to cast its first ballot for Gov. Earl Long, brother of the late Huey Long. Enterprise Journal

Truman Will Make Speech

However, President Truman's nomination seems assured, once the platform battle is ended. Arrangements have been made for the president to come to the convention hall to deliver his acceptance speech either late tonight or tomorrow.

Delegates to the Democratic National Convention are knuckling down to a marathon session that may last without recess until Thursday. McComb, Miss.

They have been told that the whole agenda must be completed without a break and that includes several speeches, adoption of a platform and nominations for president and vice-president. The delegates began arriving even before the fifth session got under way in the heavy humidity of convention hall. 7-14-48

Before the convention was called to order the Alabama delegation voted unanimously to use its first place on the roll call to make certain that Mr. Truman's name is not the first placed in nomination. Rebel growls came from Virginia—which voted to support Senator Barkley or Senator Russell of Georgia for the presidential nomination. Arkansas also held a caucus, pledging its 22 votes to its Governor Ben Laney to head the ticket.

Tennessee For Barkley

The Tennessee delegation has thrown its support to Senator Barkley. It decided not to vote for the nomination of Mr. Truman. Enterprise Journal

Today's session was opened with an invocation by a negro pastor, Rev. Marshall Shapard of Philadelphia. The band played "Darktown Strutters' Ball," which struck some of the spectators as an odd choice for a convention which might very well blow up over the long and bitter argument on civil rights. McComb, Miss. Wed.

Later, a blonde singer, Valerie Haggerty of Philadelphia, sang "My Hero" from the operetta "The Chocolate Soldier." 7-14-48

Door Is Set Ajar For Douglas But Race Wide Open

The Advertiser

Pepper Steps In

Montgomery, Ala.

Dixie Group Set To Choose Their Own Candidate

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

PHILADELPHIA — (AP) — Revolt flared up from the South and parts of the North Sunday—but the Truman-for-President bandwagon rolled on with hardly a jolt.

And the Democratic high command opened the door wide to Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas for the vice presidential nomination. But Douglas wasn't talking and the race stayed wide open.

These were the top developments as the party's national convention got ready to open Monday.

Senator Claude Pepper of Florida added spice to the hitherto dullish proceedings by proclaiming that he was bowing to a draft and would run against Mr. Truman for the presidential nomination. There were few votes behind him.

Third Candidate

Rebelious Southerners threatened to pick a third candidate, or even to run a man of their own against Mr. Truman and Republican Thomas E. Dewey in November.

The Advertiser

They hollered their approval of caucus jabs at the President and his civil rights program, and then they decided to let a committee see what can be done about selecting a Dixie standard bearer in the next day or two.

But Southern leaders were saying what nearly everybody else was — that Mr. Truman is going to be nominated on the convention's first ballot.

Already Done

Americans for Democratic Action gave up on Justice Douglas for the presidential nomination. They were late, because most delegates had done so long before.

Montgomery, Ala.

ADA Chairman Leon Henderson announced that "we will accede" to Douglas' wishes that ADA stop its drive for him. Henderson said the organization hopes the justice now "will make himself available" for the vice presidential spot.

7-12-48

And Sunday night Douglas looked like as good a bet as anyone, and a better bet than most, for second place on the ticket.

Top men in the party and convention were flirting with the idea of Douglas for vice president. But the justice himself was being coy and having "no comment."

Mon.

The Pepper people moved into a headquarters once used by the backers of the abortive boom for Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. They pulled down Eisenhower's picture but left up the signs saying "People's Choice for President."

Most Leftish

A seven member committee of Democrats who wanted somebody other than Mr. Truman announced late Sunday they had settled on the Florida senator who has the reputation of being one of the most leftish men in the party.

The committee included William Ritchie, Nebraska state chairman; Joseph M. Baird of New York; Harry Carlson, New Hampshire national committeeman; William W. Shayne of Florida; Robert George, Kansas; Joseph DeSilva, California, and August Scholle, Michigan.

Then Pepper turned up with his "I accept" pronouncement at a news conference in his new headquarters.

Seated at a table behind a battery of microphones, his pretty wife beside him, the senator said he came to Philadelphia with the belief "the one man to lead this nation was Dwight D. Eisenhower."

Mon 7-12-48

But since Eisenhower refused to be drafted, Pepper said:

Justice Declines To Quit High Court

Barkley and O'Mahoney Are Both Put Forward for Vice-Presidency

Herald Tribune

New York, N.Y.

By Bert Andrews

PHILADELPHIA, July 10.—The stop-Truman drive faded into nothingness today as Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the Supreme Court, last major hope of the would-be stoppers, all but eliminated himself from the 1948 Democratic political picture.

Sun.

At La Grande, Ore., Justice Douglas said: "I am not a candidate, have not been a candidate and do not plan to be a candidate. I do not plan to resign from the Supreme Court."

7-11-48

Justice Douglas said he wanted it made clear that he had exerted no effort to obtain either the Presidential or Vice-Presidential nomination when the Democratic National Convention opens here on Monday. He said he plans to release the Oregon delegation early next week. It was bound to vote for him for the Vice-Presidential nomination when he topped other write-in names in the primary with 5,635 votes.

Justice Douglas indicated he would issue another statement if circumstances made it necessary. The inference reporters drew was that it would be stronger.

Only Three Problems Left

Herald Tribune

With President Truman assured of a first-ballot nomination, the national convention is left with only three problems of any importance to cope with after sessions begin.

New York, N.Y.

The remaining matters, which will have to be stretched over three and possibly four days, are:

Not long after Justice Douglas's action, Leslie Biffle, secretary of the Senate Demorcatic Policy Committee, predicted that Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, would be Mr. Truman's running mate. He said he believed the Kentuckian would be acceptable to the President and would "certainly" be placed in nomination. Mr. Biffle observed that Senator Barkley would give "great strength" to the ticket. The Barkley choice others said, might appease Southerners who oppose Mr. Truman.

Right on top of Mr. Biffle's prediction came Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, with word that his name would be tossed in for the Vice-Presidency by Governor Lester C. Hunt, of Wyoming.

Sun.

1. Selection of a Vice-Presidential candidate. This race is still "wide open," according to Senator J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, national chairman. However, President Truman will probably decide by Wednesday what man he'd like to see get second place.

7-11-48

2. Wording of the controversial civil rights plank in the platform—the plank that will have to contain assurances of states' rights if rebellious Southerners are to be mollified.

3. How to head off an anti-Truman demonstration or walkout by the states' rights advocates if the platform doesn't suit them.

Truman Plans Uncertain

On this point, Senator McGrath said President Truman is presently leaning toward having a notification ceremony at Independence, Mo., in about thirty days, rather than making an acceptance speech here. Senator McGrath said the President's attitude was tentative and subject to change. Some of the President's advisers favor the Independence ceremony plan, since it would eliminate all possibility of the President being the personal target of an "anti" outbreak in Convention Hall here.

"Isn't one reason for suggesting the Independence plan the fact that the President is fearful of an unfriendly reception?" a reporter asked Senator McGrath at a press conference.

"I don't think that is even a factor in his thinking," Senator McGrath replied. "We talked over the acceptance problem a week ago and at that time he was thinking in terms of Independence."

"Don't you think the convention needs a lift such as might be provided by the President's appearance here?" another reporter asked.

Herald Tribune

Senator McGrath joined in the mass laugh that followed, thus concurring with the reporters who are unanimously agreed that the convention is in the doldrums even before its opening and that any sort of lift would be welcome.

Most of the slim chances that had remained for arousing excitement and fervor disappeared as the evidence grew stronger and stronger that there will be a first ballot nomination for President Truman on Wednesday night.

Some of the anti-Trumanites still huffed and puffed but their efforts weren't strong enough even to threaten to blow the Truman house down.

New York, N.Y.

For one thing, a caucus of Truman foes scheduled for tonight was called off because of the positive "no" from General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, now president of Columbia University, the one man around whom the Truman enemies wanted to rally.

James Roosevelt Gives In

James Roosevelt, arriving with the fifty-four-ote California group, was the last to give in. He said the caucus wouldn't be held. Later there was a tidy little fight within the California delegation.

Sun.

John P. McEnery, delegation vice-chairman, moved at the caucus that Mr. Roosevelt be discharged from his post as chairman, charging he had cast President Truman in "disrepute and disgrace" and had weakened the President in California and the nation by joining the "stoppers." The motion was tabled by a vote of 40 to 7. Mr. Roosevelt "passed." Another motion to support President Truman was withdrawn. The delegation decided to think things over until another caucus at 9 a.m. Monday.

7-11-48

On another front, Senator Olin D. Johnston, of South Carolina, changed his mind about presenting a resolution to the national committee asking President Truman to withdraw as a candidate. Senator Johnston, who had been strong for General Eisenhower, would have no part of the campaign to get the nomination for Justice Douglas. He said South Carolina would nominate its own candidate.

"South Carolina cannot vote for President Truman," Senator Johnston said, renewing his criticism of President Truman's ten-point civil rights program. "I don't know about the rest of the South, but we hope that other states will follow along with us. I don't know how it will be done, but we've got to find a candidate."

One man who still hoped against hope to stop President Truman with Justice Douglas was Leon Henderson, president of Americans for Democratic Action. He said, after a meeting of his executive, but before Justice Douglas made his announcement:

"The situation is unchanged. We propose to continue our fight for Justice Douglas."

Senator McGrath, at his press conference, said the convention might end Wednesday night, despite the fact it is scheduled to go through Thursday. He said the controlling factor will be the time it takes to discuss the platform and the number of men placed in nomination for Vice-President.

"Will President Truman express a preference for Vice-President?" Senator McGrath was asked.

"I would rather say that up to now he has not expressed a preference," Senator McGrath said.

All Senator McGrath would say about Justice Douglas was that the jurist had asked him some time ago to use influence against a Vice-Presidential boom. Senator McGrath told reporters he would not do that, any more than he would use his influence to get someone to place Justice Douglas or anyone else in nomination.

Herald Tribune

Doubts Douglas Proposal

"I don't think Justice Douglas will be placed in nomination unless he consents," Senator McGrath said.

New York, N.Y.

However, Edward J. Flynn, National Committeeman from New York, said to reporters: "I'd bet a dollar that if anybody could talk Douglas into taking it, the convention would nominate him." That also was prior to the announcement from Oregon.

Many names figured in the Vice-Presidential talk.

7-11-48

Clinton P. Anderson, former Secretary of Agriculture, was reported to have told friends that President Truman told him a day or so ago that he favored three men. They were Representative John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts; Eenator Scott W. Lucas, of Illinois, and Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, of Wyoming.

Sun.

Other names mentioned for the job included Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky; Senator Millard F. Tydings, of Maryland: Governor Mon C. Wallgren, of Washington; Governor William Preston Lane of Maryland and Robert C. Wagner jr., son of the senior Senator from New York.

Southerners Set To Choose Leader Today

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Montgomery, Ala.

Convention Requested To Leave Civil Rights Legislation To State

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And Arkansas Governor Ben Laney told the Southerners they would be called together again before the convention opens at 10:30 a.m., EST, Monday.

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Signs Of Democratic Virility

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Herald Tribune
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[The United Press reported from Washington that an A. F. of L. survey in a six-month poll showed that rank and file members have voted 15 to 1 against the Taft-Hartley act.] New York, N.Y.

Asks Check or Inflation

Mr. Green also asked for a Democratic plank urging a strong voluntary program to check inflation by calling into consultation a "co-operating committee of business men, labor, agricultural and other groups to develop a joint plan."

Herald Tribune

He said the A. F. of L. favors strengthening the U. N. by abolishing the veto power of the five permanent members of the Security Council and substituting majority rule on all matters within the council's jurisdiction. Mr. Green also condemned universal military training in peace time as a "breeder of war," and called for "vigorous prosecution" of the European Recovery Program. He asked for a $1 minimum hourly wage and assailed Congress for cutting functions of the Department of Labor by its removal of the Conciliation Service, the Children's Bureau and administration of Federal Workmen's Compensation.

Leon Henderson, appearing as chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, told the committee his organization indorsed President Truman's requests for a strong civil rights plank. He asserted that Americans are turning toward recognition "of the evil or segregation and discrimination in our society."

"We condemn," he said, "the retrogression which has characterized the conduct of the 80th Congress with respect to civil liberties, the infringement of the political rights of labor unions, the revival of the old evil of the labor injunction, which has been accomplished in the Taft-Hartley law, and the unconstitutional assault on freedom of speech attempted in the Mundt-Nixon bill."

Ickes Speaks on Oil

During the morning session, Harold L. Ickes, former secretary of the Interior, told the committee that one platform plank should urge the Federal government to hold all tide lands and set up oil reserves to support educational institutions. He criticized the Republican plank, which urged restoring tideland oil properties to the states, as an "Achilles heel."

Herald Tribune

"It is utterly worthless to give property to people who don't need it," he said. "We ought to educate our children. We ought not to compete with Russia to see who can have the most illiterates."

A delegation of women headed by Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, of Pennsylvania, Republican leader, spoke for more than an hour urging a strong equal-rights plank.

Meanwhile, a tentative draft of a plank on atomic energy has been prepared by officials in Washington for prior approval by Senator Brien W. McMahon, Democrat, of Connecticut, and later by the Resolutions Committee. In preliminary form, it follows:

Sat

"Through the foresight and bold leadership of the Democratic Administration, atomic bombs were produced in time to shorten the war decisively and save tens of thousands of American lives.

"After the war the Democratic Administration and a Democratic Congress met the challenge of the revolutionary new discovery by passing the McMahon Act. Faithful to the American tradition, that act established efficient, nonpartisan civilian direction of our atomic energy program under conditions fostering private enterprises and free scientific inquiry; atomic weapons of improve design have been produced and successfully tested in effective collaboration with the armed forces thus maintainin gour pre-eminence in their manufacture and use; the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes has greatly advanced; and the by-products of atomic energy have been made widely available for the benefit of science and industry.

7-10-48

"These achievements have been attained despite Republican efforts to deprive our atomic energy program of ssential funds and to inject partisan political considerations into the choice of men responsible for our atomic security.

New York, N.Y.

Baruch Proposals

"Sponsored and supported by the Democratic Administration, the Baruch proposals to the United Nations placed before the world a plan for the international control of atomic energy to prevent its use for destructive purposes and as a major step toward control and reduction of all armaments. These proposals attracted the support of the vast majority of nations of the world and have firmly established the moral leadership of the United States in the cause of peace.

"The Republican party asserts that in these times the occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew."

"The Democratic party alone has a record of thought and action equal to the occasion of atomic energy, equal to the determination of the American people that our nation shall use this new force to strengthen our security and to enrich the lives of men everywhere.

"We reaffirm the policy of the Democratic party:

Sat.

"To continue non-partisan, civilian administration of atomic energy.

7-10-48

"To promote the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes through private enterprise and free scientific inquiry.

"To maintain the superiority of the United States in atomic weapons while continuing unremittingly the efforts in the United Nations to bring about the ultimate adoption of the Baruch proposals; and

"To lead the way to a program of reduction and eventful abolition of all armaments under effective, enforceable international safeguards."

Hearing Held On Protests Of Two Groups

The Record

Columbia, S.C.

Citizens Party, Negroes Out

Tues. 7-13-48

By HENRY CAUTHEN

PHILADELPHIA, July 13—The credentials committee of the Democratic National convention early this afternoon voted again to seat the delegates of the regular Democratic party in South Carolina.

The decision came after a long hearing at which two other groups from South Carolina vigorously sought to be seated. One was the body of delegates representing the Citizens Democratic party, headed by Dr. L. A. Fletcher, of Leesville, and the other was the Progressive (Negro) Democratic party's group of delegates.

Following the hearing, the credentials committee went into executive session, even pulling the curtains on the glass doors leading into the meeting room at the Bellevue-Stratford hotel.

The regulars, whose chairman is Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, heard themselves attacked as "illegal" and "not representative" of the majority in South Carolina. Then they read their own record. An hour and a half later, the committee voted to seat the regulars.

The hearing was one not without its tensions, including the refusal of Governor Thurmond as he completed his statement to answer a question by a Negro member of the credentials committee, George L. Vaughan, who is assistant secretary general of the state of Missouri.

Won't Answer

"I will answer you nothing," Thurmond declared and moved on to his seat.

The Record

Just prior to that, Thurmond, answering a question from a committee member as to what his position would be on the plea of A. J. Clement, Jr., of Charleston, representing the Progressive Democratic (Negro) party that the Progressives be given eight of South Carolina's twenty seats in the convention, had said:

"If they (the Progressives) are seated, we will walk out of this convention."

Columbia, S.C.

A few minutes later, Senator Olin D. Johnston, of South Carolina, a member of the committee, in answering a question put by Vaughan, the Negro member, said:

Tues. 7-13-48

"I have no doubt that other Southern delegations would not like that." Johnston had said that in the event the Negroes were given the proportional representation of eight seats South Carolina would caucus and "decide it."

With Mrs. Mary T. Norton, member of the National House of Representatives presiding, the committee first heard Dr. L. A. Fletcher, of Leesville, S. C., urge the seating of his delegates of the Citizens Democratic party of South Carolina.

Says Group Has Support

Dr. Fletcher told the committee that his group had the support of church and labor segments of the South Carolina population.

"South Carolina stands today at a crossroads. The question is who will tell who what to do."

He said his group was contesting the seating of the regular Democratic group on two grounds: (1) That the regulars are an all-white group and (2) That they have thrown at us a thought-control voting oath, in which we are compelled to support a segregation.

"We stand here today and say they don't represent the true sentiment in South Carolina" Fletcher said.

The Record

Fletcher said the regular delegation was illegally constituted and at this moment facing court action in South Carolina.

He was followed by David Baker, of Columbia, whose appeal to the committee for the seating of the citizens delegation was along the same lines.

Columbia, S.C.

"We claim the regulars have bolted the party by its actions," he said, and went on to maintain that his group represented the rural Democrats of the state. He said "reactionaries" rule politics in South Carolina.

Tues.

Then, with many Negroes present, and sitting on one side of the room, came the petition of the Progressive (Negro) Democrats, presented by A. J. Clement, Jr., of Charleston, who had been the keynoter at the Progressives' state convention in Columbia.

7-13-48

Want To Be Regulars

"We have the highest desire to be regular Democrats, but they have denied this to us," Clement said.

He then outlined his party's plea for "proportional representation on South Carolina's delegation—eight of the twenty seats in the convention.

Clement then went into the "charges" his party has against the regular Democrats.

First, he told the committee that the regulars' delegates had been elected illegally. Then he said the regulars do not, in fact, represent a majority of the people of South Carolina. He added here that "our delegates here are backed by our people," apparently meaning the Negro people of the nation, since he pointed to Negro strength in "key" states.

Clement then said his party had followed the "pattern" of the national party in holding precinct meetings, county conventions and the state convention. He reminded the committee that at Chicago four years ago the national party had told the Progressives to form an organization meeting the requirements of the national party's pattern.

7-13-48

He then cited this new adherence to pattern, and the Waring court decree, followed by its affirmation by higher courts.

Then Clements charged that officers of the regulars had "brazenly" gotten around the new law in their rules of 1948. He said a majority of the white persons in South Carolina do not favor this situation.

Quotes Waring

Senator Johnston, Clement said, had "erroneously" told the national committee that Negroes can vote in South Carolina. He spoke of "court-decision-evaders." And quoted from the Waring opinion.

Answering questions of committeemen, he said thirty-seven counties were represented at the Progressives' state convention. Answering another question' he said his party was open to all races.

Here Senator Johnston sought to show that the Progressives were in the position of actually being another party, seeking to get into the Democrtaic party.

Clement admitted his party had entered a candidate for the Senate against Senator Johnson, but declared that only as his party now functions could it function at all, since the regulars will not accept Negroes as members.

John McCray, of Columbia, editor of the Lighthouse and Informer, then spoke for the Progressives, citing the Waring court opinion as being "in our favor." He read from the regulars' rules their requirements for membership in the party and voting.

The Record

States Case

It was then that Governor Thurmond rose to state the case of the regulars. He read from the records on the party to show it represented the whole state, had been duly formed and administered from precinct meetings on up through all the required processes.

"No state in the union has been truer to the Democratic party than has South Carolina." he declared.

"Now regularly-elected delegates constitute the real representatives of the people of the state," he added.

Columbia, S.C.

Replying to Dr. Fletcher's and Mr. Baker's contentions that the citizens' Democratic party really represents the church and labor groups of the state, Thurmond said "this is mere poppycock."

Tues.

"Nobody in South Carolina contested the delegates elected to this convention," he told the committee. "We feel we are the proper delegates.

7-13-48

As to the Waring decision, Thurmond said all the issues in that case have not yet been settled. "We are following the decision of the court," he testified.

Would Walk Out

Just here Thurmond answering a question on the Progressives' plea for eight seats, said South Carolina would walk out if the eight Negroes were seated. Later, answering questions of a Negro reporter, he said, "I would recommend that we walk out if such would be the result—that is, if the Negroes were seated."

Senator Johnson rose here and pointed to the traditional recognition of the delegates of the regulars from South Carolina year in and year out. Johnston quetsioned the whole validity of the pro rata idea of the Progressives.

"Can we say that in New York so many seats shall go to the Italians" he asked.

Tues.

Johnston then defined the responsibility of the credentials committee in this situation. "It is the committee's duty to pass on the credentials — and nothing else. All else is not relevant or within the scope of this committee," he declared.

7-13-48

The meeting was held on the nineteenth floor of the Bellevue-Stratford hotel, as nearby rooms buzzed with a meeting of the platform committee and a full dress press conference held by Chairman Howard McGrath of the national committee.

Here was South Carolina, high above this old city, in a swank hotal, fighting it out over an old issue. It was the old fight all over again in new surroundings—and before a new jury.

The Negro press was heavily represented by reporters and cameramen. Two delegates from Hawaii were spectators.

A Break In the Wave Of Southern Revolt

34D

The Courier-Journal

IT LOOKS now as if the do-or-die Southern rebellion against the leadership of the Democratic Party has been stopped in its tracks. Texas Democrats have voted to go along with the party's nominee whoever he is, meaning whether he is HARRY S. TRUMAN or anybody else. This action follows a similar course taken last week by the North Carolina Democratic convention.

Louisville, Ky.

Here is a change in the pattern of suicidal intent, which appeared a few months ago as likely to spread over the Solid South. It is the acceptance of a new pattern, based on determination to fight out the issue of civil rights legislation, as well as the issue of nominating Mr. TRUMAN, within the party itself.

These two important States thus have answered the hotheads of Mississippi, South Carolina, Arkansas and Alabama, who talk of throwing their electoral votes against the old party's ticket if they lose in Philadelphia.

Thurs. 5-27-48

Of course, the Texas and North Carolina delegations, like others from the old Confederate States, will go to the national convention with their fighting clothes on. They will demand a plank declaring for States' Rights and against the President's proposal of laws against lynching, poll taxes, discrimination in jobs and segregation in public carriers. They probably will vote for other nominees than TRUMAN, although they are not instructed to do so. At least in the case of Texas, they will work to restore the old rule for two-thirds majority for nominations, which went out in 1936. But it will be a fight among Democrats.

It means a decision to stick with the party, which after all is the only decision for and by Democrats that has any meaning. On the face of their declarations, the so-called States' Rights Democrats who met May 10 in Jackson, Mississippi, were obviously groping for a solution that wasn't there. They insisted on staying in the traditional party while announcing an intention of getting out of it, nominating their own candidates and opposing the national Democratic ticket, if the latter includes President TRUMAN or anybody with a like mind on civil rights. It is plain that they cannot do both. They must be either Democrats or followers of a fourth party. They would commit a moral fraud by binding their electors to vote against Democratic candidates in the electoral college; and at that they could not absolve themselves of the charge of bolting.

North Carolina and Texas followed the more courageous course. They accepted a fight on a point of principle (both showing that they dislike the civil-rights proposal as much as Mississippians and South Carolinians). But they refused to rig the fight in advance by entering the combat only on their own terms. As Democrats, the convention members decided to remain Democrats, rather than cling to the title while repudiating its obligations.

Tennessee Democrats Reject Sharp Slap At President

34D

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala. Fri. 4-16-48

NASHVILLE, TENN. —(AP)— The Tennessee State Democratic Convention rejected a sharply-worded anti-Truman resolution Thursday in favor of a milder one leaving delegates to the national convention in Philadelphia uninstructed on the presidential nomination.

4-16-48

The convention, meeting in musty old Ryman Auditorium here, adopted the resolution on a voice vote after an hour of debate. The resolution instructs the delegation of 40 to vote as a unit at Philadelphia.

The action of the convention, which was closely divided on the anti-Truman measure, was a defeat for Shelby County (Memphis) Democratic Leader E. H. Crump, whose county delegation of more than 400 supported it.

The convention, however, selected Crump—who has announced his opposition to Truman both in the national convention and the general election—as one of 16 delegates at large to the July 12 national confab.

The anti-Truman resolution, presented by Roane Waring of Memphis, a former national commander of the American Legion, as the minority report of four members of a 10-man resolutions committee. The resolution would have pledged delegates against Truman in the convention and pledged the party's presidential electors to vote against him.

It would have put the state party on record as saying "we shall never cast our votes for him, but, on the contrary, will vote for a true Democrat representing the best interests of the people of Tennessee, the South and the nation."

The Advertiser

Waring, who as resolutions committee chairman announced both the majority and minority reports, insisted on adoption of the minority resolution after attacking the President and his 10-point civil rights program.

He declared the national party head "does not represent the true Democratic Party" and that he had "forfeited" his right for consideration as a Democrat. "For such a man I have the most supreme contempt," Waring added.

Montgomery, Ala.

4-16-48

The convention went on record opposing Mr. Truman's civil rights program and the proposed FEPC bill. It pledged the state's delegation to fight for restoration of the two-thirds rule.

Tennessee's 40 delegates at Philadelphia will cast a total of 28 votes.

Walkout Weakness

Thurs

From the beginning it was evident that the movement in behalf of obtaining all-out anti-Truman and conditional convention walkout pledges from Democratic delegate and elector candidates in Alabama was very poorly thought out. That realization now seems to be broadening steadily. It will not be surprising if the whole movement ends in collapse.

Many candidates refused to give such pledges from the start. Some are now withdrawing them, which they can do in good faith so long as the voters to whom they are responsible are fully informed of their changed positions. It is probable that there will be more withdrawals as the weakness of the pledge movement becomes increasingly manifest.

Birmingham, Ala

Advocates of this anti-Truman program never did make clear to the people just what they had in mind themselves. Many apparently were not themselves clear. Was Mr. Truman to be opposed as against any other candidate, Democratic or Republican?

Was opposition to the civil rights proposals of the president to be best served by a course which might take many Southerners out of the Democratic Party and into the Republican Party?

4-22-48

In the first heat of opposition to the Truman proposals and in the growing criticism which the president had evoked in other respects, many were swift and ardent to center on an extremist plan. Some had their own special purposes. Some long have been deeply opposed to the general spirit and to many of the endeavors which have marked the national administration under Democratic leadership for the last 15 years. This seemed to some of these the great opportunity to gain control of party leadership in some of our Southern states.

* * *

The hope of nominating Gen. Eisenhower as the Democratic presidential candidate was put at the head of this revolt movement. But Gen. Eisenhower has refused to respond. There still seems little chance that he will. Moreover, many are now wondering just what his views are on the Truman civil rights proposals.

The News

Questions began piling up. Suppose the choice was between Truman and Douglas in the Democratic convention, for example. Would opponents of the civil rights proposals prefer Douglas to Truman on this count? Suppose the choice in the national election was between Truman and Dewey. Or Truman and Taft. Would Mr. Truman be the worst conceivable choice?

Birmingham, Ala

Many Southern Democrats, strongly opposed to the civil rights program advanced by the president, nevertheless have realized that for them he would be preferable over other conceivable choices.

Thurs.

Besides, it has become plainer that the chances of blocking the nomination of the president are decreasing. Sentiment in his behalf seems to be now somewhat on the upswing again.

4-22-48

The ineffectiveness of scattered "walkouts" is obvious. There won't be solid walkouts by state delegations. There may be none at all.

Two Borderline Dixie Men To Direct Democratic Parley

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

PHILADELPHIA.—Two borderline Southerners were chosen Thursday to direct the Democratic national convention.

But Senator J. Howard McGrath, the party's national chairman, insisted the selections were not desgned to appease Dixie Democrats revolting against President Trumn's civil rights program.

Fri

The 16-member executive committee of the Democratic National Committe chose Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky as keynoter or temporary chairman and Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas, for the permanent chairmanship.

5-21-48

A short time later, Barkley said in Washington, "I appreciate the honor, which comes to me wholly unexpected. I'll do the best job I can."

Rayburn said he considers it "a high honor, and I shall accept the post."

McGrath termed Barkley and Rayburn "very liberal men who supported in every way the program of President Roosevelt and Truman. Recognition is due both for long and valiant service to the Democratic Party."

Barkley has taken no stand on the controversial civil rights program but in his capacity as minority leader in the Senate has been a staunch supporter of the administration.

Montgomery Ala

He was keynoter of the 1932 and 1936 conventions, served as permanent chairman of the 1940 conclave and in 1944 placed President Roosevelt's name in nomination.

The Advertiser

Rayburn, former speaker of the House and now minority leader of that body, has come out against the civil rights program but has not been vigorous in his objections. He has had no previous high convention post.

Fri.

McGrath came from the two-hour meeting to speak with newsmen. He said Mr. Truman's election prospects were not discussed at the meeting but that the committee members had talked them over privately.

5-21-48

Regarding the President's chances of re-election, McGrath said "I am the greatest optimist in the United States when it comes to that."

Asked to amplify his remark, McGrath said:

"Draw your own conclusions."

1944 PLANK HELD 'NOT ACCEPTABLE'

The Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.

'It Goes Too Far,' Says Governor Wright

Tues. 7-13-48

BY PAUL WOOTON
(The Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

Philadelphia, June 12.—In the hope of placating the South the platform committee is said to be bringing out a civil rights plank that goes no further than did that in the 1944 platform.

This brought the immediate rejoinder from Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi that whatever mistakes the long-suffering South may have made in the past in regard to this matter it intends no longer to temporize with it.

"The 1944 plank will not be acceptable," Gov. Wright declared. "It went too far then and it goes too far now."

To create the impression that the South is acquiescing in a proposal that would undermine the sovereignty of the state, he is convinced, is unprincipled, even if it is intended only as a gesture.

Sillers' Proposal

If questions of civil rights could be discussed on their merits at this convention, it would be difficult to establish, it is pointed out, that the proposed platform plank, drafted by Walter Sillers of Mississippi is not in accord with the constitution.

The Sillers' plank, which was laid before the Southern caucus, reads as follows: "The several states shall exercise free from federal interference or encroachment by legislation, directive or otherwise, all the rights and powers reserved to them by the constitution, among which is the power to provide by law for the qualifications of electors, conduct of elections, regulation of employment practices, segregation, and define crimes committed within their borders and prescribe penalties therefor."

Contrasted with the Sillers' proposal is the plank advocated by Leon Henderson, head of the organization known as Americans for Democratic Action.

ADA for Strong FEPC

That plank says these are the necessary steps to achieve the goal of maximum liberty:

A. Abolition of the poll tax through federal and state laws.

B. The enactment of a strong federal fair employment practices act. The Times Picayune

C. The enactment of a federal anti-lynching law. 7-13-48

D. Vigorous enforcement of existing civil rights legislation.

E. Abolition of segregation and discrimination based on race, color or creed in the federal service and in the armed forces.

F. Maintenance of fair procedures and legal safeguards in loyalty investigations in the federal government, and abolition of the present House un-American activities committee as a proved threat to freedom of political opinion. New Orleans, La.

G. Rejection of proposals to outlaw any political party however abhorrent its activities may be. We favor systematic and constitutional procedures to reveal the source of funds and sponsorship of all political groups without discrimination.

Free Trade Unions

H. Reaffirmation of the rights of free trade unions proclaimed in the Wagner act and repeal of punitive legislation against labor unions, including the Taft-Hartley law. The Times Picayune

The plank that will be evolved by the convention may not go as far as does Mr. Henderson, but it will bear no resemblance to that of Mr. Sillers. New Orleans La.

The fundamental objection being made by Southerners to the Henderson plan is that it is a plan for circumventing the constitution. If the constitutional conditions as to the rights of the states have become outmoded, the procedures provided for amendment should be put in motion. Tues.

The reason that is not undertaken is because Mr. Henderson and those who think like him know that the individual states are not ready to vote away their sovereignty. As a consequence, Mr. Henderson proposes to take away those rights by majority votes in Congress, where political expediency would influence the vote. 7-13-48

NEAR 200 VOTES SEEN

The Commercial Appeal

Tennessee Joins Campaign To Pit Arkansan Against Truman As Protest

Memphis, Tenn.

(Picture on Page 22)

By W. D. SISSON
From The Commercial Appeal Democratic Convention Bureau

PHILADELPHIA, July 12.—The states' rights "revolt" became a full-fledged Truman states' rights protest movement Monday as headquarters opened for Gov. Laney of Arkansas, the group's candidate for President. Tues. 7-13-48

By Monday night, indications were that Governor Laney, who has played a leading part in the movement since its birth last January, would receive close to 200 votes on the first ballot.

Tennessee Backs Laney

Tennessee joined the parade by pledging its 28 votes to the states' rights candidate on the first ballot "at least."

Other votes will come from Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, with a smattering from Texas, Louisiana, Florida and other Southern states. Tues.

Although headquarters was opened in the Betsy Ross Room of the Benjamin Franklin Hotel with Deane Allen, Little Rock publicity man, in charge and pretty girls much in evidence, the leaders of the movement still were not attempting to fool themselves into believing Governor Laney can win the nomination. It becomes more obvious each hour that President Truman will win the nomination for a try at another term in the White House. 7-13-48

"Ours is a protest candidate and a protest vote," Oliver Emmerich, director of the states' rights group, said Monday night. "We are going to make a strong protest against President Truman and the policies he has advocated. We are sure our candidate will get a surprisingly large vote but we are not making any victory claims."

Thurmond Is Peeved

The Commercial Appeal

Governor Laney emerged as the presidential choice of the Southerners at 1:30 Monday morning after an hour-long meeting of the committee named to pick a candidate. Taking part in the meeting were Governor Laney, Governor Wright of Mississippi and Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, along with members of the committee. Memphis, Tenn.

Reports seeping out of the meeting were that Governor Thurmond was "burned up" because he was by-passed in favor of Governor Laney. Reports were that members of the Selection Committee felt Governor Laney had been so closely identified with the movement that he would serve as a ready rallying point for those delegates who do not want President Truman. Tues. 7-13-48

No one seems to be interested in the candidacy of Senator Claude (Red) Pepper of Florida, who Sunday night became the willing candidate of the Congress for Industrial Organization, or Leon Henderson, former Office of Price Administration head and now chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action.

Reports were that the committee offered to make Governor Thurmond its vice presidential candidate, but that he promptly turned the offer down. The result was that the group tentatively agreed not to offer a vice presidential candidate but to concentrate its efforts behind Governor Laney.

However, the South Carolina delegation, at Governor Thurmond's own suggestion, agreed to "go along" with other Southern delegations in supporting Governor Laney.

Governor Thurmond said he would be "glad" to release the delegates from their pledges to him.

Meanwhile the fight to get a straightforward states rights plank into the party platform continued to share limelight with the fight against President Truman.

The first convention session was hardly underway before Cecil Sims, Nashville attorney and principal Tennessee advocate for a strong states rights plank, received word that the Platform Subcommittee was planning to hold a "secret" meeting at an address on Rittenhouse Square. Mr. Sims immediately turned his seat over to his alternate and "lit out" for the secret meeting. Tues.

A meeting of the full Platform Committee was scheduled for 4 Monday afternoon on the 18th floor of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, but after hundreds of delegates and reporters had sat sweltering for a half hour, the word was passed along that the meeting had been postponed until 10 a.m. Tuesday. There was no explanation for the postponement, although it was reported that the committeel eaders were loath to meet the states rights question head-on, and still were hoping to work out a compromise acceptable to both the Southern states rights group and the factions demanding a detailed spelling out of President Truman's civil rights program. 7-13-48

McClellan Due to Speak

Mr. Sims ~~and~~ Senator John McClellan of Arkansas were on hand for the meeting, prepared to offer the states rightsp lank and fight vigorously for its adoption.

Mr. Sims has been designated by the Southern group to present the states rightsp lank as a minority report when the platform cocmes up on the convention floor for adoption. This is expected to precipitate about the hottest fight of the entire convention.

Senator McClellan is expected to make the speech nominating Governor Laney. He is expected to hold his speech to about 10 minutest and devote practically all of it to a strong, straightforward presentation of the South's states rights stand in an effort to get across to the country that the South's fight is not based on an antinegro feeling.

Talk of Southern delegates taking a walk when they lose their fight to get a state's rights plank in the platform was being soft pedaled Monday. But leaders of the movement still called attention to the fact that instructions given Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina delegations made it imperative for them to walk out when the convention turns down their state's rights proposal.

The Commercial Appeal

PHILADELPHIA, July 12.—(AP)—Chairman W. H. Talbot of Louisiana's delegation to the Democratic National Convention said Monday "we want to see the party platform" before deciding how to vote for a presidential nominatee.

"After the platform comes out, I'll take the matter up with the delegation," Talbot said. "If the platform is not satisfactory we may go for Governor Laney."

Memphis, Tenn.

PHILADELPHIA, July 12.—(AP)—The Virginia delegation to the Democratic Convention appeared Monday night to be lining up behind the presidential candidacy of Governor Laney of Arkansas, although there was no official action. Tues. 7-13-48

Governor William M. Tuck, delegation chairman, said it is "the natural assumption" that the Old Dominion's 26 votes will be cast for the Arkansas chief executive if he has substantial support from other Southern states.

Compromise On Civil Rights Foreshadowed

Daily World
348
Atlanta, Ga.

Platform Makers Busy On Soft Worded Note To Southerners

Tues, 7-6-48

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—(SNS) — The 1948 Democratic platform which being worded for submission so delegates attending the Democratic National Convention here in Philadelphia, July 23, reveals that the Southerners' anger and indignation over President Harry S. Truman's civil rights program seems to be paying off dividends that will result in a compromise platform.

The boiling furor over the program had caused threats by the Southern wing of the party to walk out if a strong platform on civil rights was adopted. Truman supporters in responsible quarters have indicated that one or two concessions would be made towards meeting the Southerners' demands so as to have party solidarity in the forthcoming presidential race.

The platform writers are temporizing on the platform. They are vaguely wording the platform so that it will read little different from the 1944 Democratic plank, which Southerners have agreed would be acceptable to them.

Full hearings on the Democratic Platform begin in Philadelphia, Wednesday, July 7. It is possible that the group after hearing the arguments for a strong plank on the civil rights question will simply restate the 1944 aims which declared for racial and religious minorities the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Daily World

The Democrats will compromise on the "States Rights" issue. Southern Democrats through years of successful fighting of civil rights or racial issues, have based their opposition against such measure on the grounds that such programs intruded upon the sovereign rights and traditions of the individual states. These Democrats have argued the constitutionality of civil rights program and have used this strategy and technique to defeat them via the filibuster route.

RALPH McGILL

No Second Georgia Delegation

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

By the end of the week President Harry S. Truman will have enough delegates pledged to him to give him the nomination.

That has a Georgia, and a Southern, impact.

It means first of all that by the week's end, or thereabouts, authority for the delegation will be taken from National Committeeman E. D. Rivers and assigned to the legally-constituted party committee headed by James Peters.

Tues.

It likely will be said they were never blocked. But they were.

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Secondly, it was doomed by the fact that there was no place for the revolt to go. It is bad thinking which says that if we will some year vote the Republican ticket we will thereby set up a second party and make the national party seek us out. That is wishful thinking, and erroneous thinking. The Republicans can set up a party in the South, which they have never done, and many Southerners will join them. But just voting the Republican ticket, without a Republican party in the Southern States, is an empty, meaningless gesture, in so far as the future is concerned.

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Atlanta, Ga. Sat.

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RALPH McGILL

No Second Georgia Delegation

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

By the end of the week President Harry S. Truman will have enough delegates pledged to him to give him the nomination.

That has a Georgia, and a Southern, impact.

It means first of all that by the week's end, or thereabouts, authority for the delegation will be taken from National Committeeman E. D. Rivers and assigned to the legally-constituted party committee headed by James Peters.

Tues.

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Incidentally, what the House would do is a subject for interesting speculation. The constitution says that in case of a failure of a majority of the electoral college to agree, the House is to act "immediately" in the selection of a president. That would imply that the present House of Representatives would choose, in that event, the next president. Birmingham, Ala.

Under the constitution, each state has only one vote in the House in such a contingency. In present House delegations, 29 states have Republican majorities, and two states, Montana and Utah, are evenly divided. This leaves Democrats only 17 states they could count on in the choice of a president. It is asking almost for a miracle to expect that enough Republican states would join any dissident Democratic ones to elect the latter's choice. And miracles don't happen often, if ever, in the political world.

The Democrats could not win, nationally, with Sen. George or a conservative like him. The movement to support him is a gesture of defiance that is doomed to failure. For if the South is to be heard in national Democratic circles, it cannot succeed by following a line contrary to the liberal principles of the party. George, in that respect, could be nothing more than a leader of a lost cause, a standard-bearer for forlorn hopes. Sat 5-8-48

Sparks Claims Bolt May Bring Pollywog Rule

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Fri.

Party Unity Is Sought In Civil Rights Fight; Wallace Danger Cited

4-16-48

By GEOFFREY BIRT
Alabama Journal Writer

ANNISTON, Ala. — Former Governor Chauncey Sparks Thursday made a call for unity in the Democratic party in Alabama to fight against the Truman so-called civil rights proposals in the National Convention at Philadelphia in July.

Criticizing recent acts by the State Democratic Executive Committee, he warned them they were in danger of "turning over the Democratic party in the State to pollywogs and mugwumps."

Sparks was speaking to the Kiwanis Club in Anniston. Alabama's ex-governor said he noticed that those men who were leading the campaign to get delegates to pledge themselves to bolting the convention were the same as "those pollywogs who bolted the party in 1928."

Asks Crusade

Sparks said that instead of deciding to bolt the convention if the civil rights program is written into the national platform—"before ever they get to Philadelphia—all Southern delegates should stand united in a crusade against the 'obnoxious proposals' and fight them as they were successfully fought in 1944. The

"They want me to tuck my tail between my legs and run when they whip me," said Sparks, "and I want to stay in that convention again and fight." Later he added: "If I lose, and only then, I will turn round and seek another course." Advertiser

Sparks saw something else he thought was sinister in the "bolt" move. Montgomery, Ala.

Sees Smoke Screen

He said he knew there were people in Alabama who are holding a smoke screen for Henry Wallace and asked, "Are we going to let that happen?" Fri.

Sparks also made this remark: "While you and I and other good Democrats are fighting a pillow fight among ourselves, there is someone else—and you know who I mean—who is walking in and taking charge of the political destinies of this State of Alabama. If you want that to happen then go on and make your delegates pledge themselves to bolt the convention. 4-16-48

THE PASSING THRONG
BY ATTICUS MULLIN

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Traveling extensively over South Alebama in the last two weeks, I have been struck by the utter confusion the voters are in with the election just two weeks in the future. Tues.

The confusion, I find, is caused by lack of information on the part of the voters as to the stand taken by the various candidates for delegates at large to the Democratic National Convention and for Presidential elector. It is true that 21 candidates for Presidential elector have said they would not cast their vote for Truman in the electoral college. But the voters don't seem to have a list of these men. 4-20-48

The confusion relative to delegate at large is worse than it is for presidential elector. If things continue as they are now and the voters are not educated as to the stand of each candidate for delegate at large, the candidate for delegate whose name begins with the first letters of the alphabet will have all the advantage. Candidates for delegate at large will have their names placed on the ballot in alphabetical order. This will not only favor those whose names come early but will also work to the advantage of the most widely known candidates against those less well known in spite of the fact that the voters will not know on election day just how these better known candidates stand.

SOUTH SEEMS WARY ON TRUMAN 'BOLT'

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Effect of States Rights Group's Talk of Separate Convention Is Topic of Politicians

Wed 5-12-48

By JOHN N. POPHAM
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., May 11—Politicians were busy today trying to evaluate the regional effect of the first convention of Southern Democrats who are openly hostile to the national administration and are threatening political reprisals.

Adopting the title of States Rights Democrats, they assembled in the City Auditorium here yesterday. After four hours of oratory they unanimously approved a resolution calling for a separate convention on July 17 if the Democratic National Convention opening on July 12 renominates President Truman or fails to repudiate his civil rights program.

Generally, feeling today was that the plan to call a separate convention for the avowed purpose of "taking appropriate action" had, in effect, set up the machinery for another party and the nomination of a Presidential candidate "acceptable to the South." Wed.

There were strong indications that this latest development would result in a reluctance on the part of most Southerners to join forces with the States Rights Democrats, largely because of the traditional sympathy of the South for the Democratic party. 5-12-48

There was no mistaking the sincerity and enthusiasm of the Mississippi, South Carolina and Alabama delegations despite Georgia's refusal to approve any action that would lead to a bolt. The political effects of the Tennessee, Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida delegations were minimized today. There was no floor space allotted to Kentucky at the convention and no delegates purporting to represent Virginia and North Carolina were present when the resolutions were voted upon. Wed

From enthusiastic and lukewarm groups alike it was apparent that President Truman was personally unpopular with all political shadings in the South. Every time Mr. Truman's name was mentioned with criticism the audience rose to its feet with cheers, stomps and old-fashioned rebel yells.

Three Governors, Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, Ben T. Laney of Arkansas and J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, were the principal speakers. There was considerable discussion and praise today from all groups for the address of Governor Thurmond. His talk was being described as an excellent presentation of the historical viewpoint of the Southerner who subscribes to the segregation precept of equal but separate facilities for the races. 5-12-48

Revolt Pledge Doubt Is Growing

It seems plainly evident that doubt is growing—at least the expression of it is growing—in connection with the campaign to pledge in advance candidates for Democratic presidential elector and convention delegate. Birmingham, Ala. Perhaps there has been a much deeper and widespread doubt all along than many had anticipated. Perhaps there never was as much sentiment in favor of convention walk-out and anti-Truman pledges as advocates of such action have sought to make out. 5-13-48

The action of the Walker County Democratic Executive Committee in voting unanimously to condemn the resolution calling for the pledges adopted by the State Executive Committee gave new encouragement and impetus to those Democrats who share the viewpoint that such commitments are highly inadvisable. Tues

Democrats who take this position generally join in strong opposition to President Truman's civil rights proposals. They, too, seem for the most part opposed to the nomination of Mr. Truman. But they see no warrant for the state committee's action in seeking to obtain pledges to walk out of the Democratic convention if any part of the civil rights program is adopted and to fight President Truman's election to the end.

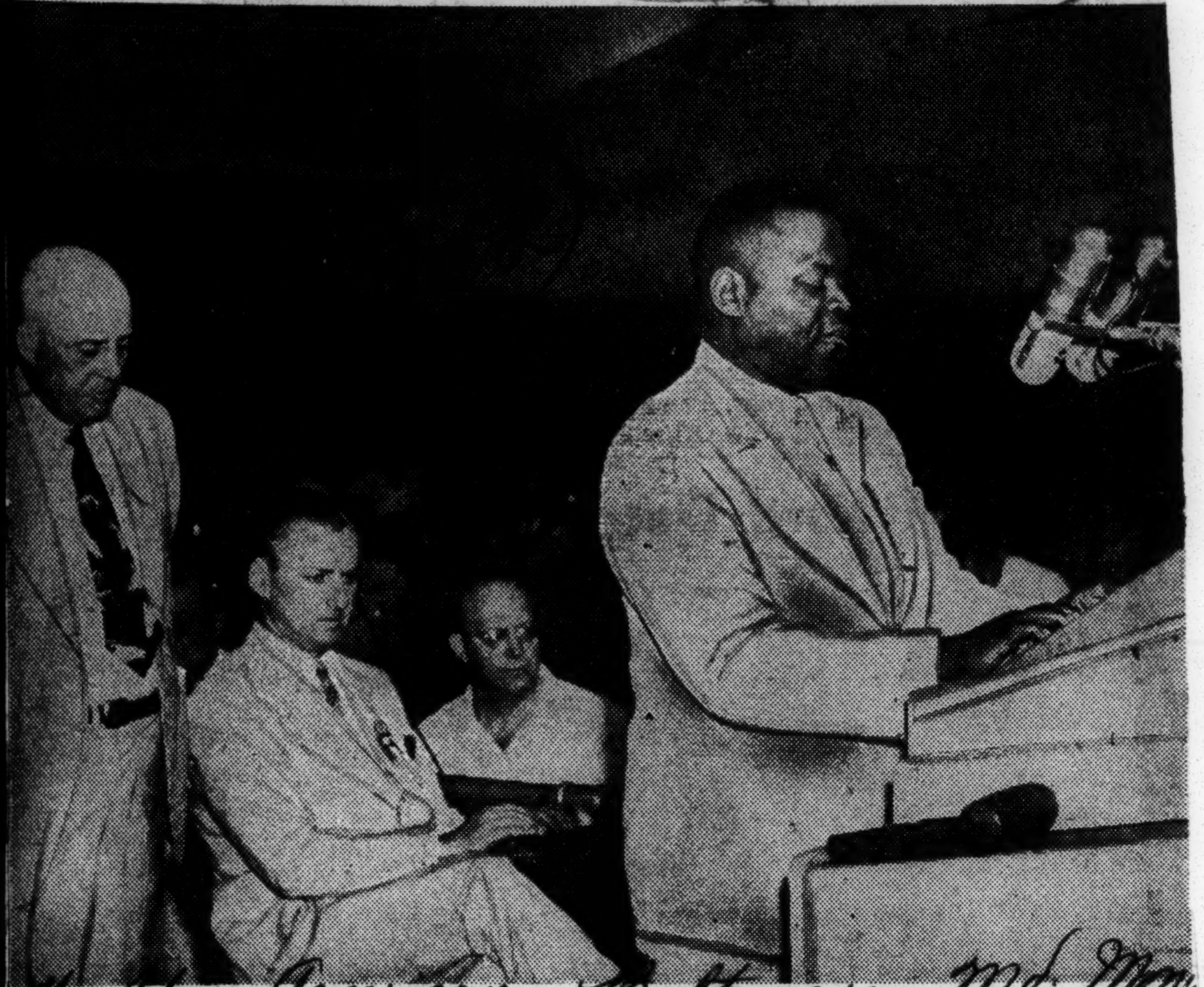
Of course these Democrats are seeing much more clearly than the pledge proponents what might be the consequences of such action. They see that nothing will be gained in behalf of their civil and state's rights view by walking out of the convention and by flat commitments to vote against President Truman under any circumstances that may develop. The News

The Walker County Committee interpreted the state committee's resolution as an attempt "to deny the right of the people of Alabama to exercise their franchise at the polls."

Suppose, for instance, that all candidates for delegate and elector were to make such pledges. What opportunity would there be under such conditions for Democratic voters who wish to fight for their convictions within the party, accepting its decisions when they have been regularly reached, to express their views? As things now stand, they can vote for candidates who oppose blanket pledges. Birmingham, Ala.

Sen. Hill, Gov. Folsom, former Gov. Sparks are among those leaders who have taken a stand against walkout pledges. The wisdom of this stand becomes the clearer as emotions subside somewhat and as implications of an extremist revolt become clearer. Tues. 4-13-48

Rev. Shepard Prays at Democratic Convention



The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Mon.

House Speaker Sam Rayburn (left) of Texas, chairman of the Democratic National Convention, bows his head during the invocation delivered by the Rev. Marshall Shephard of Mount Olivet Baptist Church, Philadelphia, before the Wednesday sessions. 7-24-48

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

This Is the Third Revolt!

Atlanta, Ga

Mon. 4-12-48

In its history there have been two revolts within the Democratic Party before the purely symptomatic one of today.

One was in 1860 when, employing almost the exact phrases and arguments of today, the Southern wing of the Party withdrew from the Northern wing and, forming a Southern party, held its own disastrous convention.

The second was the agrarian revolt in the 80s, extending on over into the 90s, and it was a revolt with hair on its chest. It grew into the Populist Party attempt to wrest control of the Party from Eastern industrial and financial interests, and it was a brass-knucks try which had the Democratic Party on the ropes two or three times.

In 1928 the Democratic National Committee strained the feudal loyalty a little too much by nominating a Catholic for President. The fact that he also was from wicked New York City, wore a brown derby and was in favor of honest drinking was an added strain. Indeed, it was so much of a strain that the voters in Texas, Florida, Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee gave majorities to the Republican nominee, Herbert Hoover. But this was not really a revolt, but a protest.

Today The present great anger against President Truman is, as I have said, symptomatic of the ever-present fear and nervousness in a one-party system. Also, it has no place to go. It is caught in a psychological trap. The frustration of being so caught has some of the captives so desperate they are seeking to get out by gnawing off the political leg by which they are held. But once out, there still won't be any place to go. 4-12-48

That explains why the revolt, which started off with the President's civil rights proposals as its objective, soon turned into an unreasoning, bitterly personal fight against Harry S. Truman himself. The Constitution Mon.

The more reasoning Democratic leaders, while angry with the President because of what they believe to be his awkward timing and stating of the proposals, caution against going outside the Party and are determined to go to the Convention at Philadelphia with favorite sons or with uninstructed delegates. They know that to unseat Harry S. Truman as the Party's nominee would be a greater confession of weakness than Truman himself, but they have had little influence. Atlanta, Ga.

History Also, the practical politicians had come to see that history had caught up with the United States and, in so doing, had caught up with the South and the Democratic Party. With a great war just concluded against human repression and the Nazi philosophy of the superman, it no longer is possible to avoid a serious discussion and at least to begin implementation of neglected human rights.

The Democratic Party politicians in the South who can see past 1890, and there are many such, also know the Democratic Party can't become a conservative party. The Republicans long ago built a better mousetrap.

There isn't much chance to elect Truman. But to drop him will not merely help the Republicans. It also will help Henry Wallace. And Southerners know what to expect from Henry.

Certainly, around neither Wallace nor any Republican in the White House will there be anyone to voice the fears, hopes and faiths of the Southern Democrats. That is why the fury against Truman is so great. Mon. 4-12-48

Facts What the ones who keep up most of the hollering and resoluting will not admit is that the President in his message to Congress rejected the more extreme proposals save for the real core of the present revolt, the unpopular and dubiously constitutional Fair Employment Practices Committee, and suggested the people themselves deal with these problems and that Federal legislation should only reluctantly follow their failure to act. In the message he recommended no overturning of segregation except where the Supreme Court already had ordered it in the field of interstate travel. He did not directly oppose segregation but "the inequalities arising from segregation." And every honest Southerner must admit that one reason for the present dilemma is that the segregation policy has been largely a fiction in so far as the promised equalities within it of education, health, housing and travel are concerned. The Constitution

Defeat of President Truman for the nomination would throw the Party toward the conservative right. Once there, it would be in competition with the most conservative wing of the Republican Party and could not long survive. It would serve, also, to push some of labor and most of the liberals not into Henry Wallace's party but in the direction of it. Atlanta, Ga.

Dilemma That would, if carried on to its logical conclusion produce something in this country we have never yet had—a choice between the extremes of left and right. Once this nation destroys the liberal middle way, which is a balance of power between the two extremes, the feeling is, among the thoughtful politicians and citizens in the South, that not only will the Democratic Party be destroyed, but that the South and the nation will be imperiled by a political problem which today plagues most of that part of Europe which still is allowed a choice. Mon. 4-12-48

So, 'midst the rockets' red glare and the bombs bursting in air, by no means everyone in the South is looking to see if the Confederate Flag is still there, even though they honor that flag sincerely.

A goodly number in the South are trying to see where they are at, so to speak. And, also to determine what is the best course for the South and the Party. Being mad with Mr. Truman isn't enough—however inadequate he may be.

Democrats Split on Strategy For Presidential Campaign

The Times New York, N.Y.

Wed. 7-14-48

One Faction Declares That Inevitable Defeat Calls for Plan Aimed at 1952 Chances

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The f

PHILADELPHIA, July 13—The Democrats are divided not only on candidates and on the principles of government, but on the strategy of the whole Presidential campaign.

Few of them think they can win against the Republicans in November. There is, however, a basic difference between those who think that, defeat being inevitable, the Democratic party should begin laying the basis for the 1952 campaign now, and those who want to fight the present campaign along traditional lines on contemporary issues.

There are not many politicians who think about any campaign but the one at hand. Those who do, however, think the Democrats should be putting new and younger men forward, particularly for the Vice Presidency and the Congressional seats, and projecting their programs toward the future along more liberal lines.

Some of those who feel this way think, for example, that party strategy should be directed now toward the 1950 race for the governorship of New York, and that Justice Robert Jackson of that state should be considered here for the Vice Presidential nomination with a view to the 1950 race in New York. 7-14-48

If Gov. Thomas E. Dewey is elected in November, his New York job will go to Joe R. Hanley, the 72-year-old Lieutenant Governor. The Democrats will then, according to this thesis, be in a good position to recapture control of the most powerful state in the union in the 1950 gubernatorial race, and should be thinking of that job in terms of a man who can be the party's candidate in the Presidential campaign of 1952. Wed.

The groundwork for such a campaign, however, should, they feel, be laid now. Looking to 1952, by which time the problem of the country may not be in inflation, but deflation, and not high wages and prices but unemployment, the argument is that the Democrats should go down now with the New Deal banners flying, not only defending the Roosevelt-Truman record, but making their policies more liberal than ever before.

Those who oppose this strategy suggest an alternate thesis, which is this:

1. Let the Republicans assume victory if they like, but let's don't count ourselves out too soon. Things look bad now, but a number of things can be made to happen between now and November.

2. The President has staged two comebacks in the past three years and may very well stage another. He has been treated so badly by members of his own party that many people are already rallying again to his support, and sympathy can be an extremely potent factor in any Presidential campaign.

3. More important, Mr. Truman has a few cards he can play himself. Specifically, he can—and he is being strongly urged by some of his closest advisers—to call the Republican-dominated Congress back to Washington to deal with some of the unfinished business and implement some of the promises in their platform.

There are certain dangers in such a call to Congress, but the Republicans would be more embarrassed by such a call than the Democrats. After an unhappy fight over civil liberties, the President could force the issue on housing, education, prices and other issues on which the Republicans are as deeply divided as the Democrats are on civil rights. Wed.

4. This might, these Democrats argue, change the whole nature of the campaign, pitch it more on issues than on personalities, and dramatize the fact that what is at stake is not only a change of men in the White House but a change of parties throughout the Government. The Times

To carry out this strategy, these advisers feel, it is necessary to maintain as much unity as possible in the party, make concessions on the platform, and accept Senator Barkley as the Vice Presidential nominee. New York, N.Y.

The latter argument is no doubt prevailing, but the problem of getting a strong Democratic opposition in Congress and preparing a way back in 1950 and 1952 remains. That is why even some of those who have the greatest respect for Senator Barkley and recognize his abilities as an opposition leader in Congress would have liked to see the fight for the Vice Presidency centering around not Justice Douglas, who is from a weak state politically, but around Justice Jackson of New York. 7-14-48

Democrats Seat S. C. Regulars

The Record

Columbia, S.C.

Negro Group Is Rejected

Sat. 7-10-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 10—(UP)—The Democratic National committee quickly tossed out a contest over South Carolina delegates today and voted to seat the delegation picked by the regular party organization.

The rejected group was composed of Negroes.

Chairman J. Howard McGrath announced at the committee meeting that there was a contest and appointed a subcommittee headed by Frank McHale of Indiana to hear the dispute over which group to seat for the national convention.

Sen. Olin D. Johnston, national committeeman from South Carolina, immediately asked "Who's contesting?" He said he would like to settle the issue at once if the rival group was not present.

McGrath told him the challenge came from a group identifying itself as the "Progressive Democratic party," which was said to be a Negro delegation. He asked if John H. McCray, head of that delegation, was present and heard no response.

Johnston then moved that the delegation chosen by the regular Democratic state convention be recognized. Sat. 7-10-48

McHale told the committee that the rival delegates were contesting "on the theory that they were barred from voting" for delegates. He added that the convention must accept delegates certified by "proper officials" and that the regular delegation was certified properly.

No Grounds For Seating

Hence there would be no grounds for seating another delegation, he said.

McHale seconded Johnston's motion and the committee adopted it without dissent.

BY ASSOCIATED PRESS

Meanwhile, members of the state delegation began arriving by train and automobile. The largest number of delegates, however, will not arrive until a short time before the delegation caucus called by state Democratic Chairman William P. Baskin for noon tomorrow.

Delegates, most of whom will be quartered at the Lorraince hotel on North Broad street, found the South Carolina Palmetto and Crescent state flag flying jauntily from an eighth floor flagstaff there.

The flag had been requested for this purpose by the hotel management.

The Hawaiian delegation and parts of the Georgia and Tennessee delegations also will be at the Lorraine.

Governor Expected

Governor and Mrs. J. Strom Thurmond were expected in before noon from New York, where they have been since Thursday.

Thurmond issued a statement yesterday calling on President Truman to withdraw his candidacy for nomination.

Walden Reports On Democratic Nat'l Confab

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 7-25-48

Alertness To Safeguard Vote Heritage Urged

BY C. LAMAR WEAVER

President Truman's Civil Rights proposals were hailed here Friday night as a new day for minorities in America— an emancipation not only for Negroes, but for whites as well.

This acclaim was vigorously pronounced by Attorney A. T. Walden, President of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic clubs, in a spirited mass meeting on Civil Rights at Wheat Street Baptist Church.

Approximately 300 citizens were rejuvinated by the rally in which several speakers painted pictures of a political renaissance looming for Negroes in the South.

Attorney Walden had attended the recent Democratic convention in Philadelphia as an interested representative of his organization. His vivid picturization of the convention, especially the accounts of the relentless fight and sweeping victory of the approved civil rights plank in the party's platform, sent a spark of renewed hope throughout his audience.

COUNSELLED 7-25-48

He explained that although he was not an official party delegate at the convention, he was accepted cordially by the committee which drew up the civil rights plank. He modestly admitted that the committee on several occasions sought his advice in drawing up the civil rights plank which was finally embodied in the platform and approved by a majority vote.

The liberals were the spark plug of the convention, Walden declared. It was their indomitable spirit which literally set the convention afire. He said that it was this determination of Northern, Eastern and Western delegates that spelled defeat for opposing States Righters of the South.

Negroes played an important part in the convention, the speaker averred, explaining that they were among delegates from the Northern Eastern and Western states.

Extolling the President's acceptance address as a masterpiece of oratory in behelf of the common man, Walden praised President Truman for his forthrightness in sticking by his Civil Rights guns.

"No other president has shown more moral courage and backbone in such matters as Truman," he declared. 7-25-48

TIRED OF DISGRACE

The liberal movement of the party showed that the people of the North, East and West were tired of the South disgracing the nation and they had to be shown that the Civil War was over, he said determinedly.

Atty Waldn looked with disdain upon any attempt by Negroes to abridge the laws of the nation. His remark was ostensibly leveled at A. Philip Randolph's advocacy calling for Negroes to refuse joining a jim crow Army.

"All the progress the Negro has gained has been through the enforcement of Federal laws," Walden asserted.. "As such, they must never attempt to buck it," he cautioned. 7-25-48

(The speaker termed the South's pattern of second-class-citizenship for Negroes the weakest link in the nation's security.

C. A. Scott, of the Atlanta World and President of the local chapter of the Negro democratic organization, served as chairman at the meeting. He said the time has come for the U. S. Constitution to mean more than mere words and that it must function for all American citizens. The movement of time calls for absolute freedom of all peoples of the world, he added. The editor leveled an attacking barrage against the evils of those who would deprive the Negro of his right to vote. He expressed the opinion that Negroes must be alert at all times to safeguard this sacred democratic principle. 7-25-48

TO AROUSE CONCERN

Warren R. Cochrane, Executive Secretary of the Butler Street YMCA told the audience that "no person can afford not to be interested" in the political trend of the times. He said the meeting at hand was conducted to create an aroused concern among Negroes to rally to their political freedom. The purpose of the meeting was not to tell one how he should vote, he explained. In light of the Federal ruling which opened the Southern Democratic primaries to Negroes, Mr. Cochrane declared it to be expedient that Negroes integrate themselves into the Democratic party. Allegiance to any other party would jeopardize that privilege and make them liable to wholesale purging, he warned.

Rev. A. L. Brewster, of Dublin, Ga. a member of the organization and described as a statewide organizer of local chapters, rocked his audience jubilantly as he championed the Negro's right to vote as a true religious concept. The Negroes must carry the fight for full equality, he stressed, while reminding his audience that they must "prove to the world they would no longer be contented with taking a back seat." The minister implored that every Negro should be a Democrat.

Friday's meeting was the first in a series planned by the Negro Political group.

Truman Lieutenants Hope For a Truly Liberal Party

Philadelphia, July 12.—President Truman's lieutenants at this convention would like to build around a corps of common-sense liberals a party of the ~~Democratic~~ center. freed of the crackpot left and the reactionary right.

They are being bitterly opposed by party leaders who would like to hold together for one more round the disintegrating Roosevelt coalition which now is united only by a common interest in the rewards of political office and the privileges of power.

This is the central struggle of which the platform fight and the vice presidential contest are separate aspects.

34d

Southern Bolt Ignored

The President's spokesmen would like to win in 1948, if possible; they are ready to lose if necessary. In any case, they want no concessions to the "white supremacy" Southern tories or the lunatic fringe of Northern radicals.

The President's efforts to get Associate Justice William O. Douglas to take the Vice Presidency nomination disclosed plainly his indifference to the threats of a Southern bolt.

So far as the Trumanites are concerned, the Southern tories can walk out if they want to do it. They will not beg them to come back. Let them walk into oblivion and leave the way open for more progressive Southern Democrats.

Historic Possibilities

The attitude toward the "Northern Bilbos" of the left who demagogue about "Heaven before breakfast" social and economic plans is about the same.

If the Truman aides who are now in control have their way, this party convention may produce some choices of action that will be historic in the record of American political party affairs.

The choice they would have this convention make might be as decisive on the immediate fortunes of the Democratic Party as the choice that the party made in 1860 when it split three ways over the slavery issue. Tues, 7-13-48

The broken pieces of the pre-Civil war party could not be put back together again for a generation. When finally these pieces were reassembled, the reconstructed Humpty-Dumpty was once more a coalition of irreconcilable sectional and class minorities bound together by opposition to the Republican Party rather than by identity of interest.

24d

Dependent on Leadership

Periodically, great personal leadership has bound this restless coalition together for a term of power. In office the party has always moved toward disintegration. American parties in office generally have tended to divide into right and left wings. But the Democratic Party always has had horizontal as well as vertical splits. The sectional divisions have made the doctrinal divisions more irreconcilable and the ideological divisions have made sectional compromise more difficult. 7-13-48

The forces that were behind the Douglas for Vice President drive are fed up with the party's split personality. They would like to act at this convention to end the intolerable drain that has been put on the party's leadership resources by the incessant internal conflict.

To make a clean break with the extreme right and the extreme left would be an act of great political courage. Whether it would be an act of great political wisdom would remain to be seen. It might be as suicidal as the Douglas and Breckenridge split of 1860.

~~Lust-for-Office Factor~~

The Past

Lust for office is the most powerful cement of political parties. It has bound into transient unity many diverse elements. The temptation to try to do it again is very great. Washington, D.C.

The practical and historic virtues of such a program have been urged upon the President and his lieutenants here in Philadelphia. They have been urged to appease the South and prompted to conciliate the left. They are against it.

This is how they have reasoned it out. Tues, 7-13-48

Any American political party that would stand for the things that the Southern anti-Truman forces stand for could not now, or in the foreseeable future carry a State outside the South, they say. Moreover, they think such a party, in another generation, might not be able to carry even the South. They are convinced that the demonstration that the Bourbon South has conducted here in Philadelphia is the last gasp of Southern reaction.

Bolt Might Be Salutary

They are persuaded that the appeals to race prejudice, sectional bias, emotional hallucinations and provincial depravity that have marked such gatherings as the "States' Rights" caucus brand the current crop of cracker leaders as the vestigial remnants of a dead political past. They feel certain that it is only the charitable indulgence of these leaders by the Democratic party of the North that has kept them in power. If these leaders bolt, it may be a good thing.

Their bolt, the party leaders feel sure, will be followed by their elimination from public life—just as the 1928 bolt was followed by the wholesale exodus of Southern politicians who had outlived their usefulness. Tues

In any case, the Truman men believe that the Democratic Party has never needed the South to win the elections in which the South might have been decisive.

The Roosevelt Administration was not dependent on the electoral votes of the South, they point out. Yet, in order to get them, it helped keep in power Southern politicians whose social and economic views have put the Democratic Party in jeopardy in Northern industrial centers. 7-13-48

To yield to the Southern anti-Truman faction, they contend, would be to perpetuate in office men who are now a generation behind their people, to maintain at points where they can imperil the Democratic Party's appeal to common-sense liberals, Southerners who have had a rule or ruin attitude toward the pary for decades. The Past

This new Democratic leadership has steeled itelf to grasp a nettle that no previous Democratic Administration has dared touch with fire tongs. Washington, D.C.

It is not an act of foolhardy recklessness. They have contemplated the cost of a Southern walkout. They do not think they are too high a price to pay to rid the Democratic Party of an incubus that has been a handicap in the past and that is likely, in the more liberal future, to be a fatal drag on the party. Tues,

The bitterness of some of the party chieftains must be almost as great as the rancor that accompanied the historic split on the slavery issue. The President's aides are fed up with reactionaries they have been compelled to court in the South and apologize for in the North. They are not only ready to run the risk of losing the Rankins and Wrights and Thurmonds and Talmadges. They hope to so manage the Democratic Party as not to run the risk of keeping them. 7-13-48

And the Left Wing?

And what of the left wing?

They are about as impatient with it. They do not hope to get the New Party associates of Henry Wallace back in 1948 or thereafter. They have written them off. They are ready to write off some pseudo liberals along with them. One of the men who are trying to shape the new Democratic machine put it this way: "Liberals," he said, "are men who seek to achieve all that is possible for the good of the great masses of the people, by all practical political means of conciliation, compromise and accommodation."

"Demogogues," he contended, "are those who are indifferent to practical results and intent upon holding up for popular approval objectives that clearly are impossible of achievement." The kind of liberalism to which this particular spokesman would like to commit the Democratic Party is a liberalism of solid achievement in the public good, pursued quitely and effectively with a minimum of sound and fury.

Position of Labor Unions

The "self-serving" position of the labor unions has disillusioned these party leaders about the relation of union chiefs to political organization. It is felt that organized labor has a vital stake in the gains that the Democratic Party has fought for in the last 16 years. Yet, the Democratic leadership knows that many of these union chiefs have been busily preparing for a transfer of power by maneuvers designed to protect vested positions as labor bosses, whatever the consequence in terms of the social and economic philosophy of a Republican regime. Tues,

As the new leaders see it, a party of the Democratic center is going to have to count on an appeal over the heads of the Southern politicians to the sense and liberalism of the Southern people, and over the heads of the labor politicians to the sound sense of the working masses of the North.

Can such a party win in 1948?

Some of them think so. Many think it can not. 7-13-48

The President is the first to believe that win, lose or draw, this is the way the fight must be conducted. He has been seeking a liberal vice presidential candidate whose reputation and record would make it clear that a different kind of Democratic Party is in the making. He courts no compromise that expediency might dictate.

Planning for ~~a Future~~

The Past

Many officials of the Democratic committee see eye to eye with Harry Truman. They are ready to go down the line. They are not dismayed. They will be sorry if some of their friends abandon the party for right or left splinters. But they do not intend to be influenced by sentimental weakness.

This Democratic leadership is out to give the party something more than an election victory in 1948. **It is determined to give it** a future—whatever happens in the present.

If the party that came into office in 1933 gets rid of its extreme left and its extreme right the middle residue may not be big enough to constitute a majority. It is a mark of the realism of these party managers that they realize this and have the courage to face it. They hope, however, that a broadening center in the political structure will make the middle into a majority in time. The Past

They are trying to start here in Philadelphia a party of the middle way. They have no appetite for muddling through another election with a quarreling alliance of incompatible faction stretching clear across the political scale. They would like to have the party make a "great decision" at Philadelphia. Washington, D.C.

Decision Would Be Bold

At any rate, it would be a bold decision. It might give to this Philadelphia convention a brighter place in history than any observer would have dared predict two days ago. It was then just a gloom-infested conclave distinguished only by the melancholy of politicians overfed on political favor sadly approaching the imminent loss of their prerogatives.

In the light of such a decision, the whole funeral scene would take on another aspect. The grim certainty that an old political party is dying here would be relieved by the bare prospect that a new political party was being born here. Tues, 7-13-48

The nomination of Justice Douglas for Vice President would have signalized the triumph of the venturesome group that is ready to lay the foundations of a new Democratic Party here in Philadelphia. They appeared to have the power to enforce this choice over the bitterest sort of opposition by dissenters. But Douglas turned them down. The Douglas rejection did not come, however, until President Truman had disclosed that he is bold enough to attempt this course and that he has on his side powerful leaders who are prepared to cut the party loose from past encumberances.

The President, in this episode, emerged as collaborating architect in a design for a new middle-of-the-road Democratic Party.

Negro Delegates at Democratic Convention

The Courier
Sat 7-17-48

(From Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

Pittsburgh Pa.

PHILADELPHIA—Negro delegates and alternates on hand for the Democratic National Convention include:

Congressman William L. Dawson and Mrs. Mildred Casey of Chicago, Frank Sommer[illegible] St. Louis, and Willard Townsend of Chicago, full delegates; James McClendon, State Senator Christopher C. Wimbush and Col. Kenneth Campbell, alternates; Robert H. Miller, Presidential elector, and Assemblyman, Charles M. Skyles, doorkeeper. (Mrs. Casey is the first Negro woman delegate in the history of the Democratic party.)

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Alexander Morehead, Legislature chairman, and Oswald Harris, alternates. (The two full delegates for the Virgin Islands are white: Joseph Alexander and Ralph Paewonsky. The Virgin Islands have been recognized by the Democrats for sixteen years, but were only this year granted convention seats by the Republicans.)

MISSOURI

George L. Vaughn, St. Louis, alternate at large, and Mrs. Adenia Morgan of St. Louis, alternate. (Elmer Mosee of St. Louis is one of the convention's sergeant-at-arms; Mr. Vaughn, well-known attorney, is a member of the powerful credentials committee.)

NEW YORK

Everett Dickens, delegate; James E. Ross, alternate.

PENNSYLVANIA

Andrew Bradley, Harrisburg, Pa., elected as an alternate but who served as a full delegate in place of Phil Murray, CIO head, who could not be present.

OHIO

The Rev. Granville Reid, Dayton, delegate; Charles Carr, Cleveland, and Percy C. Jones, Columbus, alternates.

MICHIGAN

State Senator Joseph H. Brown and William Booker of Detroit, delegates; Emmett S. Cunningham, Mrs. Geneva Casey, Harold P. Bledsoe and Charles W. Jones, alternates, aand Thomas B. Oram, Presidential elector.

WEST VIRGINIA

Daniel J. Ambrose, delegate.

In addition to orthodox delegates, a fifteen-man all-Negro South Carolina delegation, listed elsewhere, arrived to contest the lily-white delegation from that State. Colored delegations from Georgia and Alabama also came to the convention.

Sat 7-17-48

These delegations were not elected in State primaries and could not contest the white delegations from these two States. However, they were on hand in case the white delegations bolted the convention over the civil rights issue, in which case they planned to take the seats and protect President Truman's civil rights program.

The Alabama delegation, headed by Emory Jackson of Birmingham, included A. D. Shores, L. Catis, Mrs. Lucille Douglas, N. Judge King, James Fields, E. B. Cal

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The South and the Issue of States' Rights

N.Y. Times Tues. 7/20/48

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, July 19—There were delegates to the recent Democratic National Convention from the former Confederate states and from other sections who attended the party gathering of 1932 in a similar capacity. In both conventions a states' rights issue was posed over which there was division. Survivors of 1932 who voted both times on the same side may claim consistency in their position on this historic and disputed doctrine, but the prevalence of the unit rule makes it impossible to determine how many were Southerners.

A strong minority of the Southern Democrats at the 1932 convention were Federalists on the issue which divided that gathering—national prohibition and its Federal enforcement through the Volstead Act. In 1948 the Federalist minority of 1932 disappeared on the new point in dispute—the right of the central government to supervene the police powers of the states and to outlaw local provisions for racial segregation, etc.

The fact that the language of the Constitution and legal precedents support the position taken by the Southern Democrats against the legality of some sections of the President's "civil rights" program does not alter other facts. These are that the same language and precedents could be, and were, cited against the act by which national prohibition was enforced in the states, and that the prohibition amendment itself was repugnant to the long-standing states' rights principle. Therefore the conclusion cannot be denied that the nature of the intended abuse of this principle, and not the principle itself, is the true cause of the explosion.

Tues. 7/20/48

At the 1932 convention, over the protest of some of Mr. Roosevelt's Southern spokesmen, a majority of the platform committee voted for a plank that called for outright repeal of the national prohibition amendment. It also urged "immediate modification of the Volstead Act." The minority, represented by Cordell Hull, proposed a plank which omitted mention of the Volstead Act and merely proposed that the question of repealing the amendment be submitted to the people without recommendation.

Speaking for the majority, Alfred E. Smith said among other things:

> Since when has it become any violation of fundamental Democratic party creed to declare emphatically in favor of the rights of the states?

Tues. 7/20/48

This is how the states of the former Confederacy voted on the attempt of the majority to restore to the states all power over the liquor traffic:

For the Al Smith plank—Alabama, 3; Arkansas, 5; Florida, 13; Georgia, 0; Louisiana, 17; Mississippi, 0; North Carolina, 8; South Carolina, 18; Tennessee, 18; Texas, 46; Virginia, 11; a total of 139.

Against the Al Smith plank—Alabama, 21; Arkansas, 13; Florida, 1; Georgia, 28; Mississippi, 20; Louisiana, 3; North Carolina, 18; South Carolina, 0; Tennessee, 6; Texas, 0; Virginia, 13, a total of 117.

Last week at Philadelphia the Southern Democrats, through former Governor Moody of Texas, sought to add to the platform a reassertion of the states' rights principle, declaring that, subject only to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, "the power to regulate and control local affairs and act in the exercise of the police power" was reserved to the several states and is a tenet of Democratic faith. On this the states of the former Confederacy voted as follows:

Tues. 7/20/48

For—Alabama, 26; Arkansas, 22; Florida, 20; Georgia, 28; Louisiana, 24; Mississippi, 22; North Carolina, 32; South Carolina, 20; Tennessee, 28; Texas, 50; Virginia, 26, which represented the unanimous votes of all these delegations, a total of 298.

The application of the principle of states' rights in this instance struck at a far more acute problem than prohibition. In the South, especially prohibition was privately violated by its public advocates. But local observance and approval of the Southern laws and customs affecting the social status of the Negro are general. This accounts for the fact that, though Governor Smith and Mr. Moody similarly stated the basic issue, there was a Federalist group in the South on the previous occasion and none last week.

As a majority, however, the Southern Democrats were consistent on both votes, and any members of it who were delegates to both conventions have that very rare distinction in American politics.

The same cannot be said of the Democrats of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi and North Carolina, whose delegations cast all or most of their votes against the 1932 states' rights plank which Al Smith so eloquently advocated. And a further demonstration of how much more the application of the principle means in the South than the principle itself were the walkouts of the Mississippi delegation and a majority of those from Alabama, after last week's convention called for legislation in detail of the President's "civil rights" program.

This comparison of 1932 with 1948 writes an explanatory footnote to the revolt of the Southern Democrats against the party ticket and platform this year. The exclusion of the Negro as such from his political rights and guarantees is disappearing; the poll-tax in many states disenfranchises numerous white citizens, and rarely is lynching condoned, even in the most backward localities. But to the South segregation is an essential barrier against amalgamation of the races. And the only visible source of materials to maintain that barrier is the doctrine of states' rights.

BERSERK

EDITOR, The Advertiser: Your charge in Thursday's Advertiser that I am notoriously berserk in political philosophy does not disturb me.

My political philosophy is that our delegates should attend the Philadelphia Convention, and if that convention insults the South, dishonors our ancestors and betrays our race by adopting a plank in the platform advocating Truman's civil rights program our delegates should walk out, come home and report to the Democrats of Alabama through the State Executive Committee who should ascertain the sentiments and wishes of the Democrats of Alabama and make them known. The electors would then endeavor to comply with the wishes of the Democrats of Alabama. If that be berserk political philosophy make the most of it.

Montgomery Advertiser 4-11-48

What I do resent is your attempt to associate me with a liquor salesman by virtue of "a Poole-Folsom campaign deal" and "a political gent who drove Folsom's sound wagon" in his first political campaign for governor. These two candidates did not sign a pledge not to vote for Truman or any one sharing his views on civil rights. They are not aligned with me politically or otherwise. I am trying to make it my business to see that no candidate who is free to vote for Truman or his civil rights program ever sees the convention hall.

It does not make any great difference whether I am elected or defeated. It is important that the 11 electors pledged to vote against Truman and all others sharing his views on civil rights be elected.

The reason it gives you "goose flesh" to think that I might play a leading part in the distribution of this state's electoral vote is because you know if I have anything to do with it the votes will be cast in such way as to insure the preservation of white supremacy. You have been praised and lauded by Negroes, Negrophiles and equalitarians until it is difficult sometimes to understand why The Advertiser is any longer circulated among white people.

Montgomery Ala.

Your charge that the revolt is weakend is the most ludicrous piece of propaganda that has ever disgraced the columns of The Advertiser. If Alabama wants delegates that will sit in a convention that might nominate a Negro for vice president and take any other insult that may be tendered the South, all it has to do is follow the leadership of The Advertiser.

The most certain way for the South to renew its influence in the councils of the nation is to send a delegation to Philadelphia who will make it known that we can't be kicked around. Of course, The Advertiser would like to have a bunch of politicians who can be manipulated and kicked around because it would give The Advertiser a chance to get in on the kicking.

HORACE C. WILKINSON.
Birmingham, Ala. Sun. 4-11-48

Mr. Wilkinson's letter is a more eloquent commentary on Mr. Wilkinson's philosophical serenity than the editorial.—Ed.

FIRST BALLOT NEAR

Gov. Donnelly Makes Speech Naming the President

RUSSELL SOLE RIVAL

New York Times

Georgia Senator Is Put in Nomination as a Protest by South

New York N.Y.
Thurs 7-15-48

By W. H. LAWRENCE
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, July 14—President Harry S. Truman was placed in nomination for a full four-year term tonight amid scenes of wild tumult in a strife-ridden Democratic National Convention from which thirty-five angry Mississippi and Alabama delegates already had bolted.

His selection on the first ballot was assured and the President had arrived in Philadelphia from Washington to deliver his acceptance speech before the convention.

The only opposing candidate for the nomination was Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, who was to receive the votes of the non-bolting Southern delegates. These delegates, while equally dissatisfied with the President's nomination and the party's strong civil-rights platform pledge, decided to remain "regular" in the convention and party. 7-15-48

Teeth Voted Into Plank

Party leaders, acting on behalf of the President, had sought to mollify the South by restricting the civil rights platform pledge to a generality, but the delegates, sparked by ex-New Dealers who had the support of big city machine bosses, insisted and won a floor fight for a plank with real teeth in it. Their margin was narrow—651½ to 582½—but earlier they had overwhelmingly rejected Southern demands for a state's rights plank by a vote of 925 to 309.

The platform was so strong that Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas, who had planned to have his name presented as a candidate for President, said he could not accept the platform. He and his Arkansas delegation did not leave the convention, however.

Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky was slated to be the vice presidential nominee. He was the overwhelming favorite among delegates and the White House capitulated to their demonstrated attitude after trying and failing to persuade Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas to take a place on the ticket.

Senator Barkley also was to deliver his acceptance speech before the convention.

Walkout Is Dramatic

The Southern walkout was dramatic, coming as it did just as Sam Rayburn of Texas, permanent chairman, ordered the roll call of states for the Presidential nomination, but it lacked the numbers and spirit that Southern politicians had predicted. 7-15-48

Loud boos followed the mass walkout by all of the Mississippi delegates and alternates, and half the Alabama group. And they had the bad luck, too, to walk from this steamy, hot convention into a pouring rainstorm.

ADA Spearheads Fight

New Dealers, organized under the auspices of the Americans for Democratic Action, led the fight to expand the civil rights pledge and got the votes to put it over from Northern big city machines which realize they must hold the Negro vote if their state and local tickets are not to go down in defeat in the prospective Republican landslide this November.

What the convention did was to make specific the directive to Congress to carry out President Truman's civil rights program—but the manner in which it was done could not have failed to displease the President because it created additional hostility in the South, increased the prospects of a convention bolt and thus defeated the harmony moves which the Administration has initiated in recent days.

The President's lieutenants here had sought a milder, more generalized declaration.

Specifically, the convention directed Democrats in Congress to guarantee "these basic and fundamental rights: (1) the right of of full and equal political participation, (2) the right to equal opportunity of employment, (3) the right of security of person, (4) and the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation." 7-15-48

In the fifty-eight-minute debate covering the civil rights and states' rights minority reports, the issue of race relations, as such, was never tackled. Thurs.

Southern orators warned that a failure to reaffirm the constitutional rights of the states was essential to Southern confidence in and support of the party.

Cheers and Some Boos

The Northern bloc, through Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis as its principal spokesman, said that the country was 172 years behind the times in meeting the issue of equality. Mayor Humphrey won loud cheers and a scattering of boos for his praise of President Truman's "courage in issuing a new emancipation proclamation" and his assertion that "it is time for the Democratic party to get out of the shadow of states' rights and walk forthrightly in the bright sunshine of human rights."

Lacking either band or organ music, which were kept silent by the control of Southerners in authority on the main platform, delegates led by the ADA group nevertheless staged a long demonstration for Mayor Humphreys when he closed his speech and kept it going for nearly ten minutes.

The delegates, who had sweltered listlessly through two and one-half days of campaign oratory while waiting for the real business of the convention, adoption of the platform and nomination of candidates, were spoiling for a fight when the preliminaries for the day finally were completed.

The galleries, crowded for the first time, were in general agreement with Northern demands for stronger civil rights measures and joined in cheering the domonstrations on the floor. 7-15-48

The debate was less torrid than might have been expected and nobody waved the flag of "white supremacy," although Southerners warned earnestly that if the states' rights amendment were rejected "you are voting down the Constitution of the United States."

CIVIL RIGHTS RIFT FLARES AT LAST

New Orleans
Times-Picayune

Southern Backer of Move Sharply Answered

Philadelphia, July 9.—The fight over civil rights within the Democratic party finally exploded into the open tonight when a southerner, Aubrey Williams, told Democratic leaders they would not lose Southern voters by supporting President Truman's civil rights program.

Southern members of the Democratic platform drafting committee had kept calm and silent while Northern Negroes demanded that the party platform contain the president's proposals for laws against lynching, poll taxes, and discrimination in employment.

But when Wiliams, who is from Montgomery, Ala., and former national youth administrator, said that it was mainly Southern Democratic leaders who oppose the Truman program—and not the people—the fireworks broke loose.

Sparks, Shepperd Answer

Former Alabama Governor Chauncey Sparks snapped that Williams represents nobody but himself and should not carry any weight. Sat. 7-10-48

Charles E. Shepperd, Florida state legislator from St. Augustine, declared heatedly:

"We do not propose to tolerate any further interference in states rights in the South. We and the Negro understand each other. We don't want any federal bayonets forcing him down our throats.

Williams, who now publishes the Southern Farmer and is president of the Alabama Farmer's Union, said the white people "brutalize every decent instinct of mankind" when they keep the Negro in an inferior position.

Sparks shot back:

"When you use the word brutalize I think you are going a little too far."

Blast Republicans

Earlier two Roosevelt New Dealers let loose a blistering attack on the GOP and urged the Democratic party to pledge government curbs on living costs and to save rich oil resources for the people.

The first, Wartime Price Administrator Leon Henderson, termed inflation a Republican-made "time-bomb" under prosperity and told Democratic platform drafters they should pledge immediate action to avert another round of price and wage increases.

He called for price, allocation, inventory and credit controls.

The second, former Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes, using sarcastic tones reminiscent of political battles of the thirties, charged the Republican party would "give away" vast underwater oil resources and "enhance the riches of the Rockefellers and Pews."

Appearance of Henderson and Ikes featured final hearings of a 18-member resolutions subcommittee of the party's national convention opening Monday. Tomorrow a five-man subgroup will get down to the task of writing a draft of the party's 1948 statement of principles. Another Truman policy came under attack. A spokesman for the American council for a Democratic Greece told the subcommittee that the "Truman Doctrine" in Greece should be abandoned.

Asks Armes for Israel

Further, the American Zionist council pleaded for a modification of present embargo on shipments of arms to Israel. Louis E. Levinthal of Philadelphia, spokesman for the council, said Israel "must be enabled to defend itself" against new attacks by the Arabs.

Henderson's proposal for government controls to curb inflation ran counter to recommendations offered by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

Green urged a voluntary attack on prices by industry, labor, agriculture and other economic groups under sponsorship of the government. He suggested that the president's board of economic advisers consult with committees representing these groups in development of a "joint program."

In contrast, James Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, urged government economic controls.

However, like Carey, Green demanded repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor act, terming it a "complete failure."

In The Nation

New York Times

Even Grant Left Them Their Horses

New York

By ARTHUR KROCK

PHILADELPHIA, July 14—The South arrived today at its second Appomattox. The non-Southern majority in the Democratic National Convention first rejected its proposed reassertion in the platform of the principle of states' rights and then specifically endorsed the Federal "civil rights" legislative program of President Truman.

This double defeat was followed by surrender on the part of most of the delegations from the states of the old Confederacy in so far as that is represented by not walking out of the convention. But since, unlike General Grant at Appomattox, the Northerners today did not even leave the Southern leaders with their side-arms and their horses, some of the latter are predicting a guerrilla war in the South against the party ticket that will cost it from twenty-five to seventy-five electors in that section.

The "Civil Rights" Compromise

The "civil rights" plank as presented by the platform committee was an effort to hold in line all the disputing elements on this issue. It generally endorsed the full extension of such rights and "called on Congress" to assure them within "constitutional limits." This was to enable the Northern and Western politicians to go home and claim that the plank ratified the President's ten-point program for Congress on this reasoning: Mr. Truman obviously holds that his program is constitutional for Congress to legislate; otherwise he would not have "called" on it to do so.

But the authors of the plank, acting by direction of the President and the Administration—as the second roll-call plainly revealed—carefully excluded mention of any of the measures urged by Mr. Truman. This was to enable the Southern politicians to go home and claim that his program remained unendorsed. 7-15-48

The Southern Amendment

It was the usual slick political compromise of principle, the usual expedient of seeming to face both ways. But why urge a "call on Congress," the Southerners demanded, unless Federal legislation was intended in general and the President's program in particular? On their construction of the rights reserved to the states in the Constitution, Congress could legally do no more than pass resolutions on the subject, not laws. Hence they offered their amendment that reasserted the principle of states' rights. And this, as opposing orators truly said, would wholly nullify the rest of the plank, which would be plain to the most primitive intellect.

On that ground the amendment was overwhelmingly beaten, not even a third of the convention voting in its favor. This imperiled a walkout by one or two Southern delegations if they carried out their threats. But it offered hope that the rest would remain regular and could maintain the strength of their organizations at home.

Coup of the A. D. A.

It was at this point that the Americans for Democratic action seized their opportunity. They had been badly beaten in their effort to nominate for President a substitute for Mr. Truman and to get a Vice Presidential candidate of their choice. But by offering a specific plank on "civil rights" they believed they could force the large delegations in the East and Middle West to support it.

That happened. It became a question for the New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Illinois politicians whether, as they thought, to assure the loss of their organizations as well as of their states by opposing the A.D.A. amendment, which the Administration implored them to do, or save their local interests at the expense of the national ticket in the South.

They answered the question by voting for the specific amendment. The Administration leaders, fleeing from the deep blue sea toward the devil and then reversing their direction, could muster only a minority against the amendment, even with the aid of the South.

Thurs. 7-15-48

Ironies of Politics

As the clerk called the roll of states a Confederate flag hung from the balcony to his right. But this was not the only irony of the occasion. A sharper barb was supplied when the delegation from the President's home state, Missouri, voted with the Administration against an amendment that began as follows: "We highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights. We call upon Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental rights." And it named the key legislative items he had urged upon Congress.

With Missouri, the Administration was able only to control the bulk of the votes from these states outside the South: Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Utah and West Virginia.

Cynical politics was never better served than today. The President's spokesmen tried to reject specific endorsement of him and his program in an effort to prevent total revolt in the South. The spokesmen for the majority of the Southern leaders, by prefacing their amendment with the assurance that they would stay in the party, made it plain their "fight" was only for home consumption, since that pledge obviously doomed their amendment. And Kentucky, where in 1798 Jefferson's famous states' rights resolutions were proclaimed, voted against the assertion of the principle today.

Party Turns Its Back

Commercial Appeal

Memphis, Tenn.

CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA.—The Democratic Party turned its back on States' Rights Wednesday. Smarting under the refusal of the Platform Committee to include a States' Rights plank, delegations from the South were defeated in an attempt to get indorsement from the convention. Then a coalition of Eastern and MidWestern states put through a resolution approving the TRUMAN program and the rout was complete.

Tenn.

Southern dissenters insist they are going ahead with plans for the Birmingham meeting Saturday, but they are going to have difficulty breathing life into States' Rights as an issue. Within their own ranks there are many who oppose creation of a fourth party. The lack of enthusiasm for their cause evidenced at the convention of the party that so long kept alive the illusion of States' Rights was hardly encouraging.

Thu. 7-15-48

It was not the end of an era. It was more like finally recognizing a condition that had existed since the New Deal took over. The liberal elements were in control and they overrode the compromisers who thought to pacify the States' Righters with the same double talk that was used in the 1944 platform. They are going all out with TRUMAN.

Abroad

New York, N.Y.

The Big Paradox of the Party Conventions

Times Times

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

The setting, the music, the script and the pattern were so much alike that a spectator falling asleep in the Republican convention and waking up in the Democratic could not tell the difference. There was the same tropical atmosphere, the same effect of static in the stale political oratory that nobody listened to, the same restless shuffling among the delegates, the same thumping and whistling and parades of cardboard faces. The Republicans were more complacent and less contentious, at least on the floor. The Democrats arrived in the slough of despond, but in the melting pot of contact and friction they worked themselves up at the end into a mood as cocky as that of their rivals.

The delegates looked alike, as they do at all American conventions. There were more foreign accents, more Southern accents (perhaps for the last time) among the Democrats. Apart from the South, they were predominantly a city crowd. The Republicans were more upstate, Middle West, small-town. Women were more prominent among the Democrats and youth among the Republicans. But each gathering was a mixture of all the strains, sections, classes and shades of opinion that make both parties typical of the fluid society of the United States.

Doctrines and Differences

To look at the representatives of the two parties in close sequence is to understand why the American two-party system mystifies the foreign observer. These are not parties as he understands them, united by one doctrine. They are composites of a dozen parties, united in a way by lack of doctrine, so that the Republicans may easily become the advocates of states' rights as the Democrats abandon them. The secession of the South would only complete the picture of almost identical twins, since a South split into two parties would become more like the rest of the country. Even the divisions are similar; in point of stability there is little to choose between the omnibus which carries the Old South and the newer citizens of the big cities and the combination of Old Guard and Young Republicans.

Sat 7-17-48

Nevertheless there are differences—of outlook, emphasis, temper and background. There is the great difference between "ins" and "outs," between the party that stands on its record and the party that runs on its promises. The distinction showed up in the conventions and the platforms as clearly as the similarities. On paper both parties advocate the same things, but on nearly every issue the Democrats go farther than the Republicans. On foreign policy, for instance, both support the United Nations and curtailment of the veto, but the Democrats advocate a loan for the construction of a United Nations headquarters, and not only give full backing for the Marshall Plan but adopt a phrase the Republicans omitted and propose to "implement with appropriations the commitments which are made in this nation's foreign program." The Republicans pledge support of the "system of reciprocal trade," but the Democrats promise full restoration of the Hull program. On the other hand, the Republicans are for a "military manpower act," while the Democrats confine themselves to advocating "adequate" armed force.

The paradox of the conventions was that practically all the discussion of foreign policy took place in the Republican session. For the first time in the memory of most convention-goers, foreign policy was not an issue among the Democrats. Except in rhetorical periods, international affairs were hardly mentioned in Philadelphia this week. The platform glorified the party record in this field, took all the credit, indeed, for the bipartisan policy, but that was the end of it. In his militant acceptance address Mr. Truman concentrated on domestic to the exclusion of outside events, and so did the convention.

7-17-48

Civil Rights and Foreign Policy

The only hot issue for the Democrats was domestic. The historic decision they took on civil rights, which rang the bell on states' rights as a party slogan, absorbed all their attention. It marked a parting of the ways for the Democrats, a divorce of incompatibles which may not be final, since the rebels have nowhere else to go, but which foreshadows changes in party alignments that cannot yet be measured.

That human rights was an impassioned issue is not strange. In no roundabout way it linked the convention with the great conflict that divides the world. But there was no explicit recognition of the connection among the angry delegates, North or South. This does not imply, however, that the party has receded from its traditional position as the internationalist party. On the contrary, the Republicans fought over their foreign policy plank because it was strongly opposed by the residual isolationists, and the Democrats did not debate theirs because it roused no opposition. Democrats are unified on foreign policy. As the party responsible for leading the country through the greatest transition of our history, its course is charted. It cannot retreat.

And reality dictates that the Democrats cannot digress into partisan politics when the transition is in its most dangerous phase. The world war is on; and many observers who watched the convention close with a revival of party spirit, inspired by the President's fighting speech, were troubled by the vista it opened of an embittered campaign, staged under the resounding dome of the Capitol, which would exaggerate the differences between the parties at the one moment when it is essential that they appear and act as all-American as they really are.

34d 1948

REBEL DEMOCRATS GET MIDWEST BID

The Times

13 Conference States Offer Bloc-Vote Olive Branch in Mailed Fist to Southerners

New York, N.Y.

34d

By **WILLIAM M. BLAIR**

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

DES MOINES, Iowa., April 11—Midwestern Democratic leaders resolved today to recommend that the delegations from thirteen states vote as a unit of the Democratic National Convention. While the action is not binding on the states, it represents a strong opinion that the time has come to serve notice of the unit voting potential of the Midwestern states as a protective measure. Mon. 4-12-48

Coupled with a re-endorsement of President Truman, the unit voting resolution serves notice that the Midwestern leaders are willing to go along with the President as the party candidate, but on their own terms.

The resolution also was directed at the rebel Southern Democrats who meet tomorrow and Tuesday in Atlanta. Greetings to the Southerners urged them to "pledge themselves, as we hereby pledge ourselves and to accept the result and unite behind our platform and candidates for the good of our country and party."

Continuing the resolution said "We strongly urge that our Southern associates in the party resolve to send their delegates to the National Convention and join in writing a platform stating our party principles and select a nominee to lead our party to victory."

Eight States Represented

The resolutions were adopted at a meeting of the board of directors of the Midwest Democrat Conference. Members of the board are the national committeemen and women, and the state chairmen and vice chairmen, of the region. Eight of the thirteen states were represented at today's meeting, while Oklahoma, Colorado, Montana, Wyoming and Missouri (the President's home state) did not have delegates attending.

While thus extending an olive branch to the Southern rebels, the Midwestern leaders revealed an implied threat when they pointed out that thirteen states have 244 delegates. The Southern group in this picture has 242 votes.

The state leaders present today were from Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. James C. Quigley of Valentine, Neb., was chairman, and Jake More of Haran, Iowa, who was Henry A. Wallace's floor manager at the 1944 national convention, was secretary.

The decision to seek a voting unit, while not surprising, was considered significant in the light of the conference sidestepping the same issue at Omaha, Neb., last December. At that time, the Southern revolt had not developed and the Midwest leaders had not felt the full effect of what is now considered some politically unwise moves by President Truman.

Patronage in the Picture

Also, there has been much resentment in some of the states over patronage, particularly where Republicans have been appointed to posts in Washington by Mr. Truman. The Times

Carl D. Rice, national committeeman from Kansas, and a member of the resolutions committee, speaking for the unit-voting resolution, said that it "called attention that we, too, have a bloc," although "we are not proceeding on the theory that it is to be used." New York, N.Y.

In sustaining the pledge made at Omaha to stand by President Truman, the Midwestern leaders noted that "the times in which we live call for the abandonment of election year 'politics as usual.'"

Calling attention to problems which "self-seeking politicians hate to act upon in an election year, "the resolution pointed out the President had remained steadfast in seeking anti-inflation measures, civil liberties and other programs "without regard to political consequences." Mon.

Further, the resolution pointed out that "our President has steadfastly sought to work within the United Nations for peace * * * regardless of the so-called political consequences." 4-12-48

A fear of the "Henry A. Wallace Menace" was evident at the meeting, but almost all of the leaders predicted freely that President Truman would pile up a larger vote in 1948 than he did for President Roosevelt in 1944.

E. Cyril Bevan of Detroit, national committeeman from Michigan, saw the "Wallace cry" as applying to industrial centers. But, he added, "more people are realizing that a vote for Wallace is a vote for Republicans."

Mr. Rice declared that the Wallace move "won't cut any ice in Kansas."

John R. Franco, Michigan state chairman, said the Democrats expected to "deliver" his state to Truman by a greater margin than it did in 1944 to Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. Rice told reporters at the meeting that the Kansas Democrats were aware that the candidacy of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower would be of great value to the Democratic ticket, but said "we accepted his statements at their face value."

Democratic (Convention)

South Protests Civil-Rights Stand In Prelude to What Might Be Wide Party Split

Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

Thu. 7-15-48

34d

From Wire Dispatches.

Philadelphia, July 14.—The Democrats nominated Harry S. Truman for President tonight on a strong civil-rights platform.

President Truman's nomination came on the first ballot. The National Convention immediately began to nominate Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky for Vice-President—its last order of business before closing down for good. Thu. 7-15-48

Truman arrived from Washington to address the convention in its final hours and to fire the Democrats' first official campaign gun in the coming struggle against the Republican ticket of Governors Thomas E. Dewey and Earl Warren.

Laney Steps Out.

The harsh echoes of a North-South floor fight over party principles were still resounding when the delegates gave Truman the campaign banner last held aloft for them by the late Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas stepped out of the picture as the "white hope" of Southern rebels against Truman for the nomination. The Southerners immediately placed in nomination Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia instead.

A lone-wolf Florida delegate, speaking only for himself, so he said, offered the convention the name of Paul V. McNutt, former Governor of Indiana. McNutt could have had second place at the 1940 convention had he not, at Franklin D. Roosevelt's request, stepped aside for Henry A. Wallace.

When the Southern demonstration for Russell had subsided, Governor Phil M. Donnelly of Missouri put Truman in nomination.

Demonstration Ear-Shattering.

The well-organized Truman demonstration which was turned upon the convention when Donnelly had concluded showed how hopeless was the effort to take the nomination away from Truman.

The carefully tailored outbreak for Truman was ear-shattering in volume. It made it appear that this convention, instead of accepting the Missourian reluctantly and sullenly, was full of zeal for his renomination.

So thick were Truman placards upon the floor and in the jammed aisles that it was impossible to see the delegates.

Every noise - making device known to man was utilized in the Truman demonstration. So thick was the crush of people carrying banners, blowing horns and shaking rattles that they finally gave up the effort to march and simply stood in one spot.

Even a Siren Used.

The heat didn't seem to bother the demonstrators. They cut loose with all they had, which seemed to be plenty. Just at this time the Truman family arrived by train from Washington.

In convention hall it wasn't exactly a parade. Everyone seemed to move in every direction. Signs resembling a donkey read:

"Great in '48 with Truman" and "All 48 in 48 for Harry."

Some fiend had brought along a siren. If you listened closely, you could hear it above the din.

The band warmed up on "Missouri Waltz" and finally played "Oh, Them Golden Slippers" at a breakneck pace.

One sign read "He is human, our Harry Truman."

A live donkey was led in and seemed properly astounded at the goings on. Courier-

An Indian in full dress did a war dance in front of the speakers' rostrum. Journal

The organist cut loose, too, to add to the confusion.

A five-foot Liberty Bell made of flowers was lugged onto the platform, the gift of the Allied Florists of Greater Philadelphia. The florists said it contained 8,000 flowers and 48 white doves.

Not content with his war dance on the floor, the Indian climbed on top of the speakers' platform and did a dance in the middle of the microphones, and water glasses. Louisville, Ky.

Two women fainted in the intense heat. Both revived, but one had to be helped from the hall by a policeman, who finally picked her up and carried her. The thermometer now read 95.

Truman Waits For Cue.

When Truman arrived he went to Chairman McGrath's office behind the platform until time to come on the sta g.e

This was quite a change from four years ago when he was nominated for the Vice-Presidency in Chicago. Then Truman sat on a platform rail and nibbled a sandwich during the speeches nominating him.

After 40 minutes of assorted bedlam, the Truman demonstration ended.

In placing Truman's name before the convention, Governor Donnelly called the President the country's "strongest guaranty of peace." Courier-Journal

Formally kicking off the nominating drive for his fellow Missourian, Donnelly read the record of the Democratic Party's 15 years in power and of Truman's contribution as senator, Vice-President, and President.

The economic and social legislation enacted during that span, he said, "are a part of our social and economic structure and are here to stay." Louisville

"The Republican leaders can contemptuously refer to the New Deal, and call it any iniquitous name they wish, but I challenge the Republican Congress to repeal a single one of those great and humanitarian laws," he said.

Donnelly told the delegates Truman had carried forward the Democratic program during the past three years "in spite of the opposition of the Republican Congress."

"Our party and the nation need such leadership," he said.

Tells of Important Decisions.

He stressed Truman's experience in foreign affairs and his drive for a strong national defense program.

He recalled that the President stepped into office in the closing months of World War II, and credited him with taking "decisions of the greatest historical importance in those months."

"In these vital requirements (of national defense and international affairs), the record of the President of the United States stands out clear and unquestioned," he said. Courier-Journal

"His conviction that a prepared America is a safe America has been gained not only by the knowledge acquired as President, but also through his own war experience," he added, referring to Truman's World War I service in France. Louisville, Ky.

"The policies he has advocated since the close of World War II are our strongest guaranty of peace." Thu. 7-15-48

He reminded the delegates of the President's sponsorship of the Marshall plan for European recovery and asserted that his stop-communism program "has the overwhelming support of the American people and of every freedom-loving nation on earth."

"His handling of the great international problem of control of the atom meets with the unqualified approval of the people of our country," Donnelly went on. "They agree with him that this progress must be continued.

"They concur in the position that the secrets of the atom will be shared with other nations only under safe and fair conditions proposed by the American delegates to the United Nations."

Donnelly also called attention to Truman's role in fostering the growth of the United Nations and his long experience in legislative affairs, saying:

"It is no fault of his that a Republican Congress has not seen fit to make use of that experience for the benefit of the nation."

Jackson Gets In Picture.

During Donnelly's speech a man carrying a huge sign reading "Sam Jackson for Vice-President" stood directly in front of the rostrum, shutting off the view. Chairman Rayburn finally ordered him to leave.

Jackson is a former Indiana senator. He was chairman of the 1944 Democratic convention.

When Donnelly wound up, "I present to the convention Harry S. Truman," the Truman version of bedlam broke out.

By now, it was 94 degrees in the hall and so humid it would have rained if someone had tossed up a couple of ice cubes.

After the Truman demonstration had ended, Will Rogers, Jr., son of the late great humorist, went up to second Truman's nomination. 7-15-48

Rogers, a former California member of the House, said:

"They say Harry Truman is a man of small stature. But he has given us one of our largest conceptions.

"Tonight, in Berlin, in Frankfurt, in France, and in Italy, free men can look forward with hope because of Harry S. Truman."

Rayburn left the platform to visit Truman. Representative John McCormack of Massachusetts took over as chairman.

Mrs. Marguerite Peyton Thompson, national committeewoman from Colorado, also seconded the nomination of Truman.

"Harry S. Truman," she said, "in the finest tradition of the Democratic Party, has fought and still fights for a richer world for all our people, for a democracy at home which would enfold and encompass every man and woman and child."

Thomas J. Dodd, Lebanon, Conn., made the next seconding speech for the President. He said:

"He has faced some of the greatest problems that have faced any man in all history, and he has faced them squarely and honestly. There are no tricks in Harry Truman."

One of Truman's greatest friends, Governor Mon C. Wallgren of Washington, came up for another seconding speech.

"The most important thing to mankind today is world peace," Wallgren said. "President Truman has properly advocated that we must not starve only for peace in our time, but peace for all time."

Idaho yielded to Pennsylvania for another Truman seconding speech. John J. Kane of Pittsburgh, president of the Pittsburgh Printing Pressmen's Union, made the speech. He seconded Truman's nomination for Vice-President in 1944.

The next Truman seconding speech was by Benjamin S. Adamowski of Illinois.

New York kept the chorus of Truman seconds going. North Carolina, with much anti-Truman sentiment in it, passed. North Dakota not only seconded Truman, but took occasion to urge Alabama and Mississippi to come back home to the party.

Julian Withdraws.

Ohio, through former Senator Robert J. Bulkley, went into the routine of nominating William Alexander Julian, treasurer of the United States, who was on the primary ballot under that State's law. But Julian promptly withdrew in favor of Truman.

Oklahoma seconded Truman. So did Oregon, in compliance with the outcome of its primary election. Rhode Island did likewise.

The boom to nominate Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas for the Vice-Presidency fell flat tonight when her own state, California, decided not to support her. The Democrats' glamour girl, being groomed to step into Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt"s shoes as the No. 1 woman of the party, had support from outside her delegation. G. R. Evans of the Kansas Young Oemocrats said her name would be placed before the convention if California would stand by her.

Maw Says West to Back Him.

Governor Herbert B. Maw of Utah told the convention that "tens of thousands" of Western Republicans would vote for a Democratic President this fall because of what he termed the Republican threat to destroy the economic and social gains of the last 16 years.

"The only hope of large sections of the West is in a President and a Congress that will deal with it on merit and not according to the dictates of strong groups who would rather exploit it than develop it," Maw said, adding:

"Tens of thousands of Western Republicans had made up their minds that if the Republican Party had no more to offer than the outmoded doctrines that threw us into a depression, the only hope for the West was a Democratic victory."

Four Demo Candidates Refuse To Pledge Bolt

342 The News

Birmingham, Ala

Four Alabama candidates for delegate to the Democratic nominating convention have refused to pledge themselves to bolt the convention if it writes any part of President Truman's civil rights program into the party platform.

Such a move was recommended Monday by the State Democratic Executive Committee. The committee asked the delegates to take a public stand on the matter.

Those objecting yesterday to the proposed walkout were Sen. Lister Hill, former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, Atty. Gen. Albert A. Carmichael and Charles G. Dobbins, editor of The Weekly Montgomery Examiner. Wed

They all released copies of statements sent to Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, who personally favors the walkout.

"This pledge is asked more than three months before the Democratic convention meets and almost three months before we know who the Republican nominee is and what the Republican platform will be," Hill said. 4-7-48

* * *

HILL SAID HE opposed the nomination of President Truman and the civil rights measures. He said, however, there are other matters the convention will consider.

"There is the question of whether we shall have war or peace," he said, "there is the question of whether we shall go forward with the great programs of the Democratic party. . . ."

Sparks said flatly he would not bolt the convention if the civil rights program was adopted, but added:

"I shall do everything in my power as a delegate to prevent the party from declaring for the Truman civil rights program and from nominating Mr. Truman or any other person who proclaims this civil rights doctrine."

The attorney general said he would fight the adoption of the civil rights program and the nomination of a presidential candidate not acceptable to the South. Declaring he would stay with the convention until it adjuorned, he asked: The News

"How else could I represent the Democrats of Alabama. . . ? Certainly, I could not represent them if I walked out and was not even there." Birmingham, Ala

* * *

EDITOR DOBBINS SAID, "In a time so crucial for our nation and the peace of our time, I am unwilling to pledge my desertion from the Democratic Party." 4-7-48

Dobbins said he would oppose the president, but added that "a hog-tied Alabama delegation, which has virtually deserted the party before the Philadelphia convention even begins, would be in position to wield little influence for the state and the South."

The News 4-7-48

* * *

H. M. ABERCROMBIE, Birmingham, candidate for delegate to the Democratic Convention, stated yesterday he would walk out of the conventaion if it adopts the civil rights proposals of President Truman. Birmingham, Ala

"It would grievously hurt Southern Democrats to be thus forced to break with the national Democratic organization," declared Abercrombie.

"On the other hand, we are all true Southerners and loyal Democrats. We cannot take the kind of treatment which President Truman advocates."

Abercrombie said "it goes without saying" he is against President Truman.

It's The South Vs. Negro Vote

The Courier

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Sat 7-17-48

By JOHN L. CLARK

(Courier Political Analyst)

PHILADELPHIA—One of the most important events relating to the Democratic convention so far as Negroes are concerned had taken place before the convention formally opened. The battle to include the entire civil rights program of President Truman in the platform was fought by a score of witnesses before the Resolutions Committee—and the result appears to be a stalemate between Negroes and the South.

Pittsburgh, Pa

After the withdrawal of General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas for the Presidency, Truman's nomination became a certainty, and the convention was confronted with only two important issues—the civil rights plank for the platform, and the selection of the Vice Presidential nominee.

The civil rights plank in the platform became even more important than the choice of Vice President, for it was important that Negroes and liberals of the North be convinced that the National Democratic party was not under the domination of the Southern element.

Although President Truman had declared for civil liberties, nowhere had the Democratic party fully declared for these rights and liberties. This was true of Democratic members of the Congress, and it was also true of the National Democratic party.

It was therefore important that the party, in its national convention, either declare that it fully sustained the position of its standard bearer on the issue of civil liberties, or that it repudiates him on these issues.

ONLY ONE WAY

It would be taken as repudiation even if the platform remained silent, or couched its reference to civil liberties in general terms. Negroes and liberal forces pointed out that the only way the Democratic party could retain its position as the liberal party of the Nation was to incorporate the President's entire civil liberties program into the platform.

Sat 7-17-48

This was the position of the score or more Negro leaders, racial, and interracial organizations which were represented before the resolutions committee. More Negroes and interracial organizations appeared before the Democratic resolutions committee than appeared before the Republican platform committee, because they sensed the greater importance of the inclusion of a civil liberties plank in the Democratic platform than in the Republican platform. The Republican party is the party of the North, while the Democratic party is a national party, including the South. And the Northern Negro's fear of Southern domination must be allayed if they are to remain in the Dembcratic party.

FIVE FROM SOUTH

The nineteen-man resolutions committee consisted of Democratic bigwigs from all parts of the Nation—five of them came from the South. The serenity of the hearing rooms belied the intense emotion engendered by the issues presented.

It had leaked to The Courier that the committee had agreed that no questions would be asked of the various witnesses appearing before the committee to urge the adoption of recommendations concerning civil liberties. This agreement was faithfully observed, and the Southern membership of the committee took an unprecedented beating from a score of witnesses who characterized the South as the land of lynching and bigotry.

WHITE'S TIRADE

A quotation from Walter White's tirade before the committee was more or less typical of the denunciation indulged in by most of the speakers:

"The Democratic party," he said, "has been too much dominated by those who have attained and held power through disfranchisement, lynching and racial discrimination."

The Southerners on the committee remained quiet when such charges were hurled at them by a score of Negro witnesses. But it was more than they could bear to be denounced by a fellow-white Southerner. When Aubrey Williams, former head of the NYA, spoke in favor of including President Truman's equal rights program in the platform, he drew a fiery reply from ex-Governor Sparks of Alabama, a member of the committee.

Our Gravest Domestic Issue Is Faced Up To At Long Last

Sat. 7-24-48

Journal and Guide

AN EDITORIAL

WHATEVER one's political allegiance, there is no escaping the recognition that at their Philadelphia convention the Democrats made history. For the first time one of the two major parties realistically faced up to the gravest domestic issue which has been plaguing this nation for decades. There have been in the past only weasel words and political double talk with respect to the treatment of minorities and, specifically, with respect to civil liberties and rights. The Dixiecrats, with the exception of the implacable and impossibly bigoted Mississippians and the to-be-pitied 13 Alabamans who bolted the convention, let it be known that they'd accept Mr. Truman as the candidate, however unwillingly, if the platform included only an innocuous and meaningless plank on civil rights. The party machine leaders, reportedly, prevailed upon the President to accept such a watered down plank in the interest of harmony.

But there are forces on the move in this nation, at long last, which are tired of playing footloose with human rights. Those forces made known their strength when they achieved the almost impossible, the revision on the floor of the convention of the civil rights plank, a revision which threw out the committee-proposed version, intended to mollify the Magnolia Belt dissidents, and substituted in its place one which spelled out the essentials of the proposals made to Congress in February by President Truman. The Democrats may have failed to achieve party "harmony" and party "unity" thereby, but they certainly gained moral stature. As the New York Times commented, "The Democratic Party, came out with fire in its eye, in place of the glazed look of a week ago."

Norfolk, Va.

The action of the rank and file of the delegates is all the more significant when it is remembered that the party bosses, with the reported reluctant acquiescence of Mr. Truman, favored appeasing the South. Under the circumstances, for the delegates to have rewritten the plank in a floor test and to have gone further in doing so than any other convention of any major party ever has, is a development which will be marked by history as the turning point in the domestic history of the republic.

The Democratic Party's action tells the South, in unmistakably firm tones, that the rest of the country, roughly two-thirds of the other states, regard it as being out of step with the times. The courts have long been implicitly driving this lesson home. And the jurists have not been primarily damnyankee judges either; in fact, quite the contrary. Some of the most ringing and statesmanlike legal decisions have been written by such judges as Hutcheson of Virginia, Parker of North Carolina, Chestnut of Maryland, Waring of South Carolina, and Black of Alabama.

Sat. 7-24-48

The South has been condemned, further, by the most representative elected body in the country, the lower house of Congress. The House of Representatives has passed anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, and FEPC legislation more than once, only to have it filibustered to death in the Senate by the Bourbon South's spokesmen, aided, abetted, and guided in tactics by less demonstrative and vocal, but nevertheless effective, "conservatives" as Virginia's Byrd.

It might be noted for emphasis in passing that while the Virginia machine boss seldom filibusters himself, he helps mastermind the more rambunctious southerners and offers his office for strategy meetings.

We have the grim picture, therefore, of a section emphatically reprimanded by the Administration, the courts, the party to which it offers "solid" fealty, the majority of the representatives in the Congress, and many potent voices within the region itself, but still unwilling to adjust itself to realities or to pay more than lip service to its obligations under the Constitution. Sometimes we think it would have been better had the South made its secession from the Union stick.

Perhaps we ought to create some Forty-Ninth State to which all the rabble rousers who contend they speak for the section might migrate, and set up an epitome of fascist rule, barring anyone of non-white, non-Protestant, non-Caucasian, non-nativ born origin. Then they wouldn't have to contend blindly for states' rights or passionately oppose civil rights.

Demo Suicide Seen As Dixie Dictates On Labor, Negroes

The Worker

New York, N.Y. Sun. 7-18-48

By Joseph North

PHILADELPHIA. — The Democratic convention of 1948 may very well be described as the picture of a party in its death throes. The few gasps of life that could be heard were aroused by the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt which the orators used like medicine men mumbling some magic incantation. But the Truman people need more than dark magic.

7-18-48

For the spirit of FDR is not here, despite the fervid assurances of Jimmy Roosevelt and the pretty oratory of Helen Gahagan Douglas. It is elsewhere and this fact weighed heavily on the seating delegates in Convention Hall. I talked to many of them and it cropped up in nearly everything they said.

They know Henry Wallace's forces will be under this same roof within a week and this fact had much to do with the brawling that emerged on the civil right issue, the gestures toward labor on the Taft-Hartley Act, the tortured resolution on Israel. You could almost see the wire jerk as the delegates staged an "ovation" for Congressman William Dawson, Negro representative from Illinois, and for A. F. Whitney, president of the railway trainmen, the only labor notable who could be lured onto the platform. You could almost hear Less Biffle, of the Senate inner circle, pass word around to give the boys a great big hand. "We need the Negro and labor vote, boys." But despite such frenzied pleas the Dixicrats sat heavily on their hands.

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IT IS NOT EASY to persuade anybody to commit suicide, and so the galleries saw some few sparks of life such as flared up when George L. Vaughn, Negro delegate from St. Louis, urged the adoption of the minority report of the Credentials Committee. This demanded the exclusion of the Mississippi delegation because it pledged unalterable opposition to Truman's candidacy for his civil rights gestures. What happened here is worth recounting in detail because I believe it reveals most clearly how wires were pulled behind the scenes. You can see the yawning gulf between word and deed.

The Worker

As Vaughn got going and vigorously reminded the delegates that civil rights of the Negro people were already guaranteed by the Constitution and the 14th Amendment, violent heckling started on the floor. When he mentioned the Mississippi delegation a roar of boos came up from the Bourbons.

Sun 7-18-48

The atmosphere, hitherto as quiet as Tamerlane's tomb, suddenly grew tense, and angry knots of Southern delegates formed in the aisles. Sen. Barkley, of Kentucky, then at the chair, appeared flustered and alarmed. He called for a voice vote, and from where I sat, near the platform, it was impossible to tell whether the roars of 'No' were louder than those of 'Aye'. But the Kentuckian promptly ruled that the majority of delegates favored the resolution to seat the Negro-hating Mississippi delegation.

WHEN INDIVIDUAL CRIES arose from the floor for a roll call, the chairman divulged that a "gentleman's agreement" had been reached in the Credentials Committee that a voice vote would suffice.

The Worker

By this time the galleries which had filled by late evening were stormily applauding Vaughan, the Missouri Negro, because he demanded the Negro people be given their Constitutional guarantees. A number of delegates clamored for the right to speak; particularly those from the big states where the Negro vote is decisive.

New York, N.Y.

John F. Shelley, chairman of the California delegation, stood on the table, shouting for recognition. At this moment Barkley announced the microphone had broken down. Shelley jumped to the platform and after a few words with gavel-pounding Barkley, the Kentuckian announced that California wanted it recorded that it opposed the majority report to seat the Mississippians. In rapid order the following states did likewise: New York, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Iowa, Minnesota, Nevada, Washington, Wisconsin, District of Columbia. Their votes would have totalled over 500—about 40 percent of the 1,234 delegates here. But it never came to a roll call.

Sun. 7-18-48

It did not because the leading figures here had decided in advance to go through this rigmarole, give the anti-Truman Mississippians a pounding, allow the big states with the big Negro vote to go on record against the Bourbons, but not to push the issue to the point where the Dixiecrats could be defeated. For defeat them, they could—many observers felt—had any recognized leader put up a fight at this point.

But where was Helen Douglas? Or Jimmy Roosevelt? Or any of the ADA people? The convention rules provide a roll-call vote if one-fifth of the delegates wanted one. And had the Democrats really been in earnest about civil rights they could have licked the ranting Mississippians. But no leader emerged from his corner fighting like Hell to get a roll call vote and stir up enough delegates to defeat the Bourbons.

★

THE ROARING CROWDS in the galleries would have welcomed it—as would millions of Americans

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ported by men whom they labeled "Hermorphrodites" and "Aunt Nancy men." Some of the 100 signers of the declaration wilted under the barrage of ridicule and abuse. But the Women's Rights Movement, dubbed by scornful editors "A Petticoat Revolt" was dramatically launched.

Revolutionary Uprisings

The Worker

The path ahead was rough and stormy. These young pioneers were to grow old in the struggle. Mrs. Stanton and Mrs. Mott died at the age of 87. Susan B. Anthony, who came to leadership after the Civil War, died at 86. Not one of them ever had the joy of voting in her native land, in fact Miss Anthony was arrested in Rochester in 1872 for attempting to do so. Not until 1920, 72 years after Seneca Falls, was the right to vote finally won by all American women, when the 19th Amendment passed.

New York, N.Y.

The year 1848 was one of turbulent political struggles on a world scale—with revolutionary uprisings in Germany, France, Italy and Ireland. Here the struggles for the rights of labor and for the freedom of the slaves were assuming ever larger proportions. Many working women were involved that year in strikes to enforce the 10-hour day. Sarah Bagley, the first woman organizer, went before the New Hampshire legislature in 1847 to secure the first 10-hour law.

In 1848 Maine and Pennsylvania passed similar laws, which employers tried to evade by special contracts. They threatened to fire and blacklist workers who refused to sign. Workers signed counter-pledges to work only 10 hours. Women, especially textile workers of whom there were then 78,000, were extremely militant. In Philadelphia, in 1848, women weavers attacked the system by which those who toil most receive least and those who toil least receive most, and resolved to see labor organized on the basis preached by St. Paul: "If anyone would not work neither should he eat." This admirable thinking of a century ago is written today into the Soviet Constitution.

Sun. 7-18-48

A Pittsburgh paper described how women strikers drove out scabs with "true Amazonian vigor." They crashed the gates with axes, rushed the scabs out. Girl leaders, Mary Fulton and Elizabeth Haggerty, were arrested. "We went there to get our right!" was their defense.

The Civil War threw thousands more women into industry to be overworked and underpaid, and at its conclusion the issue of women's rights arose more acutely than ever before. In 1853, Harpers' Magazine called the movement "this female Socialism—equally opposed to nature and the established order or society founded upon it." All the forces of big business and entrenched politics were against votes for women.

The Fight For Enfranchisement

The Worker

Progressive men and women rejoiced when slavery ended. But they were outraged at a contemptible trick resorted to by the politicians, when the 14th Amendment was adopted, in 1868. It correctly defined citizens as "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." The 15th Amendment of 1870, stated: "The right of citizens to vote shall not be denied on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." Suffrage should have then been the right of all the Negro people and all women. This the women had worked for; this would have been a complete victory. But in 1868 the qualifying word "male" appeared in the U. S. Constitution for the first time.

After the Civil War all women who believed in universal suffrage for men and women had joined the Equal Rights Association. In 1869, under the leadership of those two valiant fighters, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the National Women's Suffrage Association was organized to work exclusively for one purpose—votes for women. For another 51 years they spoke, wrote, organized in every corner of America.

When they began, Wyoming, a territory, had suffrage. It took 24 years to win the next state—Colorado. Utah and Idaho came along in 1896. After another 14 years women won in Washington, California, Oregon, Kansas and Arizona by 1912, Montana and Nevada in 1914, and New York, the only Eastern state, in 1917.

7-18-48

While the suffragists campaigned in the states, they carried on simultaneously annual conventions in Washington, demanded hearings from Congresional committees, and pressured the two major parties. In 1868, the Republicans, angered because the women had criticized the 14th Amendment, sarcastically referred them to the Democrats. Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony went to Tammany Hall on July 4th, and were grossly insulted by the plug-uglies there. The Republican and Democratic conventions alike turned deaf ears, year after year, and refused to put planks in their platforms for woman suffrage. By 1900 they were allowed 10 minutes by a chilly Republican platform committee and were denied a hearing by the Democrats.

The only Party candidate who campaigned for woman suffrage was Eugene V. Debs—the Socialist. The two old parties did nothing to help women get the vote. It was finally won in spite of the Democratic Party, over the stubborn opposition of President Woodrow Wilson, "the great liberator."

The Worker

Support From Labor and Negroes

After the Civil War the suffragists turned to the growing labor movement as an ally. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were accepted as delegates by the National Labor Union convention in 1868. Considerable objection was overcome by the spirited remarks of President William Sylvis, who was a strong advocate of women's rights. He said "the root of the matter lies in giving the ballot to all workers, regardless of sex, color or nationality.

"Terence V. Powderly, President of the Knights of Labor endorsed and spoke for suffrage in the '80's. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor followed suit later.

New York, N.Y.

How to Honor Them Today

Sun. 7-18-48

Organizations of the Negro people likewise endorsed woman suffrage. In a list of outstanding Americans who favored it at the turn of the century are Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and Mrs. Mary Church Terrill, President of the National Association of Colored Women. In 1894, ex-Senator Bruce of Mississippi, the second Negro to be elected to the Senate, spoke at the national suffrage convention. A great bond of solidarity existed between the Negro people and the suffragists, who had fought together in the abolitionist movement and were now together struggling for full and equal suffrage. Sojourner Truth, the great Negro woman orator, had spoken for both, as far back as 1852, with Garrison Phillips and Douglass.

Only on the eve of victory did suffrage become "respectable" and rich ladies rush to capture its leadership. Through the long years of struggle the suffragists' position was very similar to that of the Communists of today. A question to Mrs. Stanton by a heckling congressman was: "Will voting women be willing to go to war." She replied, "They would decide if there would be war."

The Worker

Foremost among suffrage workers was the Communist, Anita Whitney, who was president of the College Equal Suffrage League in California, and second vice-president of the national organization for suffrage. She led her state to victory and helped to win other western states. Ella Reeve Bloor, now 86, was active in the suffrage movement, especially in Connecticut and Ohio, speaking from town to town. Maude Malone, who handled The Worker library, was the first militant suffragette in America—parading Broadway with posters.

New York, N.Y.

This courageous and inspiring struggle of bygone generations made it possible for women to vote in 1948. Will we do them honor by using our ballots effectively? Will 1948 measure up to that grand and glorious year of 1848—a century ago?

If those eloquent voices of yesterday could speak again they would surely stress peace, security, happiness for the people of the world, as the aims for which they won votes for women. To best celebrate the anniversary of Seneca Falls is to fight harder for these ends, against the forces which they fought yesterday.

Sun. 7-18-48

The old parties failed the woman for a century. We owe them nothing. They were tried and found wanting for all that women need and hold dear. Rather, we owe it to the memory of these brave pioneer women of yesteryears to be pioneers in 1948, as they dared to be in 1848. Today, this means to mobilize the woman's vote against the forces of greedy exploitation and brutal war-mongering, represented in the two old parties. To build a new people's party, with women equally represented as members, organizers, candidates and voters—this is to build a living and loving memorial to the great women of the past.

Flag of Walkout Event Preserved

Times-Picayune

Sat. 7-31-48

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

Jackson, Miss., July 30.—The state flag of Mississippi which was taken down at the National Democratic convention in Philadelphia when the state's delegation walked out will be placed in the state archives, it was learned today.

The flag, which was taken from the row of state flags at the convention by Dr. H. M. Faser of Jackson, member of the Mississippi delegation, will be presented to Dr. W. D. McCain, state director of archives and history next week.

New York, N.Y.

On Tuesday, when the state Democratic convention reconvenes here, the flag will be on exhibition at the convention hall in city auditorium here.

Cheered and Booed

Vaughn Touched Off Dems' Powder Keg With Blast at Dixie

Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 7-24-48

By MARK HYMAN

PHILADELPHIA, (ANP)—The long-smouldering resentment to President Truman's civil rights proposal burst into the open on the Democratic convention floor when Atty. George L. Vaughn, veteran fighter, and famous for his winning of the nation-wide restrictive covenants battle, protested the seating of the Mississippi delegation on the grounds that the delegation had promised to bolt the convention if Truman were nominated, or anyone who favored civil rights. Sat.

From the time Vaughn started speaking, there were boos, catcalls from delegates from the deep South and cheers from the Northern delegations. There was pandemonium; yet Vaughn went on. He went into civil rights and the stand taken by America's 14,000,000 Negroes. He blasted lynching, unfair employment and all of the various violations of American rights. Through the jeers and cheers, he spoke with force and determination, making history at one of the most confused Democratic conventions of all times.

7-24-48

CRIES OF "VOTE"

At the end of his speech, the cries of "vote" went up. Demonstrations on the floor and among the spectators in the balcony grew into mounting chaos. Sen. Alben Barkley, temporary chairman and Vice Presidential favorite, tried to restore order, but to no avail. When Rep. Mary Norton came to the platform to give the decision that the delegation be seated, she was hardly audible. The aisles were jammed with Northern delegates shouting "vote." They were yelled at by Southerners who booed and jeered.

Sen. Hatch did no better with his presentation of the majority report which overrode Vaughn's minority report. Still the cries of "vote, vote," mixed with rebel yells swelled the confusion. The divided Democratic party was seeing history; it was looking confusedly into a new era.

DIE WAS CAST

Temporarily there was a victory for the South; yet the far-reaching effects of this historical outburst could be detected in the faces of both Northerners and Southerners. The die was cast.

The North scored the second victory when the two-thirds majority rule was voted down. This was proposed by the South in an attempt to sidestep the nomination of President Truman. Still the convention did not compose itself from the first outburst, proving its deep significance.

The Northerners who favored the speech and proposal made by Vaughn continued their demonstration throughout the evening. Although Barkley halted the meeting for order, there was no order. The day for bolting had come, if there were to be any; this was the day of secession, if such were to happen. The following speeches by Helen Gahagan Douglas, Congresswoman from California, and Rep. Mary Norton from New Jersey were lifeless sidelights. The ball was now rolling. The die was cast.

Advertiser Thu

SOCIALISTIC MOB

Editor, The Advertiser:

Notably, the recent so-called Democratic Convention in Philadelphia was controlled largely by states which normally are not Democratic at all, but Republican, and "convention" votes are very different indeed from national election votes. Such distant states as Minnesota, Idaho, Oregon, Vermont, etc., had much to do with snubbing the South; going deliberately beyond the regular committee report on platform; "rubbing it in" by using H. S. Truman's bid for colored votes, and refusing to permit any reference to "the rights reserved to the states by the Constitution." By machine arrangement they overran any plea or reasoning, by the Southern representatives, on any such time-honored plank of real Democracy.

Montgomery Ala

The time for the emancipation of the South from ruthless tramplers in the North—piratical exploiters of the name of "Democrats" has come. We have endured too much already from both wheedling and bulldozing, and we have nothing to gain by submitting to further snubs, jeers and insults by the wild socialistic mob calling themselves Democrats, but trampling underfoot the principles held sacred by Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Grover Cleveland and multitudinous other real Democrats.

Midway, Ala. 7-22-48 M. GLENN.

POLITICAL PARADE

Examiner
Los Angeles, Calif

By GEORGE ROTHWELL BROWN

(Special to the Los Angeles Examiner)

PHILADELPHIA, July 15.

SOUTHERN conservative Democratic leadership has committed two major strategic campaign blunders in Philadelphia this week which may cost Dixie dearly in the years to come.

Dem.

7-16-48

The South should have supported Truman, to the extent of electing him if possible, and concentrated upon holding or strengthening its conservative lines in Congress with a view to resistance within the party to the impending drive for a new Northern policy of full racial equality in this country.

Southern leaders made another costly mistake when they let out a roar of protest against President Truman's first choice for second place on his ticket, Justice William O. Douglas.

The wise course for the South to have pursued would have been to seize upon the opportunity offered to them to oust a left-wing New Dealer from the United States Supreme Court, thus opening the way for the eventual reorganization of that tribunal through the gradual replacement of a bunch of Roosevelt "liberals," who now make this high bench as lopsided as a

stage some sort of a rump convention at Birmingham, and still further play into Republican hands.

7-16-48

Why has Southern strategy here been a great sectional blunder? The answer is to be found in the two men, Truman and Dewey.

Fri.

The former, a Southerner from

ed upon drafting Douglas, whether or no.

It let this golden opportunity, like the sunbeams, pass it by!

In trying to fight Truman outside the breastworks, instead of within the party citadel, the South suffered disastrous defeat in the platform committee, and was left no alternative but to Gilbert and Sullivan elliptical billiard ball.

IF the Southern leadership here had been shrewder than it has proved to be, divided as it is in divergent and bickering groups, it would have whooped it up for Truman's favorite vice presidential nominee. and insist-

Missouri, has given lip service to the so-called civil rights program. If reelected, his own party could have balked him in Congress, and the racial issue would have been relegated to the area of the theoretical for at least four years.

But Dewey has already put an FEPC law, full of bristling teeth, on the statute books in New York. The South may rest assured that if Dewey is elected the new Republican President and Senator Ives will spearhead a determined drive to enact a federal FEPC law, on the lines of the Ives bill which in the present Congress finally reached the Senate calendar.

Examiner

IN trying to defeat Truman in July the South has made more probable a Dewey landslide in November, which if strong enough will sweep an increased number of Republicans into House and Senate.

So far as the other aspect touched upon here is concerned, the Supreme Court in the long run is of more vital importance to the South, and conservatives generally, than is Congress or the presidency itself.

This tribunal is the final court of appeal. It has been heavily slanted leftward by Roosevelt—packed if one likes that word better.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Many people in this country believe that New Deal Congresses during the past 16 years slanted many statutes in favor of bureaucracy and minority groups, such as organized labor, that are not in conformity with the Constitution, and that the Court itself has exercised legislative functions in this direction.

In the last analysis it is the Supreme Court which determines what the Constitution is.

If Douglas had resigned to run for the vice presidency a Court vacancy would have been created. It would have been a starter!

Fri. 7-16-48

If the South insisted upon getting rid of Truman it should have insisted also upon putting Douglas on the slate with him, thus, so to speak, killing two birds with one stone.

Post-whole
34d
Dem.
(Conv.)

DELEGATES

DELEGATES FROM THE STATE AT LARGE:

J. M. Bonner,	Camden
Eugene "Bull" Connor,	Birmingham
Handy Ellis,	Columbiana
Gessner T. McCorvey,	Mobile
John D. Morris,	Elkmont
John H. Pinson,	Geiger
D. Hardy Riddle,	Talladega
Albert Stapp,	Birmingham
John C. Walters,	Troy
DISTRICT DELEGATES, FIRST DISTRICT	
Earl C. Bassett,	Mobile
John E. Mandeville,	Mobile
John L. Moore,	Mobile
Miss Kate Shepard,	Mobile
THIRD DISTRICT	
Waldo E. Ard,	Ozark
E. C. (Bud) Boswell,	Geneva
L. A. Farmer,	Dothan
FOURTH DISTRICT	
Walter C. Givhan,	Safford
Tom C. King,	Anniston
Winston Stewart,	Rockford
W. Carvel Woodall,	Tallassee
Graham Wright,	Talladega
SIXTH DISTRICT	
H. Coleman Long,	Uniontown
Thomas H. Maxwell,	Tuscaloosa
Max Shiller,	Marion
Cohen E. Stapp,	Clanton
EIGHTH DISTRICT	
Knox McRae,	Decatur
NINTH DISTRICT	
H. M. Abercrombie,	Birmingham
J. K. (Jess) Edwards,	Brighton
[illegible]	Birmingham
Roy E. (Jack) Williams, Sr.	Birmingham

WHITE SUPREMACY

FOR THE RIGHT

ALTERNATES

ALTERNATE DELEGATES FROM THE STATE AT LARGE:

Mrs. Carolyn P. Coots,	Attalla
Lawson Gambill,	Birmingham
Robert Linn O'Neal,	Huntsville
Wallace P. Pruitt, Jr.	Chatom
ALTERNATE DISTRICT DELEGATES, FIRST DISTRICT	
Jesse L. Jordan,	Chatom
Carroll T. Prince,	Mobile
SECOND DISTRICT	
R. T. Goodwyn, Jr.,	Montgomery
R. D. (Peg) Park,	Montgomery
THIRD DISTRICT	
W. Perry Calhoun,	Dothan
J. J. Rodgers,	Tuskegee
FOURTH DISTRICT	
Edmund Blair,	Pell City
J. B. McKinney,	Talladega
FIFTH DISTRICT	
Paul M. Hodgens,	Albertville
SIXTH DISTRICT	
Nelson O. Fuller,	Centerville
Marcus E. McConnell, Jr.,	Livingston
Mrs. A.E. (Bud) Norwood,	Calera
SEVENTH DISTRICT	
Gilbert E. Davis,	Gordo
Miles C. Dobbs,	Fayette
NINTH DISTRICT	
G. N. (Nat) Hamilton,	Warrior

THE FOLLOWING LISTED PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS SIGNED THE SAID PLEDGE:

Tom Abernethy,
Robert B. Albritton,
Edmond Blair,
J. E. Bains,
Ben Bloodworth,
J. A. Carnley,
Verdo W. Elmore,
Walter C. Givhan,
Tully A. Goodwin,
Norman W. Harris,
John A. Lusk, Jr.,
Elvin C. McCary,
Gessner T. McCorvey,
Thomas H. Maxwell,
Walter F. Miller,
Roy F. Parker,
J. J. Rodgers,
A. M. Simmons,
Roger Snyder,
Horace C. Wilkinson,
W. R. Withers.

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Thurs

LIST OF CANDIDATES FOR DELEGATE and alternate delegate to the Democratic National Convention who have pledged to bolt the convention if any part of President Truman's civil rights program is put in the platform is shown here. The names were released by State Democratic Executive Committee Chairman Gessner T McCorvey, Mobile. At a recent meeting the Executive Committee voted to have all candidates for delegat pledge they would bolt if the civil rights program were put in the party platform.

6-3-48

Truman Speech Cheers Maryland Delegation

Philadelphia, July 15 (AP).—The Maryland convention delegation today expressed itself as "very much heartened" by President Truman's "fighting mood" in accepting the Democratic nomination for the Presidency.

Typical delegate comment on the President's speech were: "Splendid," containing much "pep and vigor."

34d

The delegation, although disappointed by passage of the strengthened civil rights platform plank, will actively support the Truman-Barkley ticket in November, a spokesman said. The delegation voted "no" on the roll call on the issue.

Marylanders joined enthusiastically in the demonstration for President Truman.

Gov. William Preston Lane, jr., delegation chairman, became separated from his demonstrating delegation—by a tuba and a cornet. He became sandwiched in a musical aggregation at the front of the hall, as two opposing columns of marchers met.

Senator Tydings of Maryland delivered one of the seconding speeches for nomination of Senator Barkley for Vice President.

The delegation originally had been pledged to Truman and Tydings, but was released by Tydings in favor of Barkley.

In the ballot on a proposal for a strong States' right platform pledge Maryland cast its 20 votes in the negative.

Walden Reports On Democratic Nat'l Confab

The Lighthouse and Informer
Columbia, S.C.

Alertness To Safeguard Vote Heritage Urged

Sun. 8-1-48

BY C. LAMAR WEAVER

ATLANTA, Georgia — (SNS) — President Truman's Civil Rights proposals were hailed here Friday night as a new day for minorities in America— an emancipation not only for Negroes, but for whites as well.

This acclaim was vigorously pronounced by Attorney A. T. Walde, President of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic clubs, in a spirited mass meeting on Civil Rights at Wheat Street Baptist Church.

Approximately 300 citizens were rejuvinated by the rally in which several speakers painted pictures of a political renaissance looming for Negroes in the South.

Attorney Walden had attended the recent Democratic convention in Philadelphia as an interested representative of his organization. His vivid picturization of the convention, especially the accounts of the relentless fight and sweeping victory of the approved civil rights plank in the party's platform, sent a spark of renewed hope throughout his audience.

COUNSELLED

He explained that although he was not an official party delegate at the convention, he was accepted cordially by the committee which drew up the civil rights plank. He modestly admitted that the committee on several occasions sought his advice in drawing up the civil rights plank which was finally embodied in the platform and approved by a majority vote.

The liberals were the spark plug of the convention, Walden declared. It was their indomitable spirit which literally set the convention afire. He said that it was this determination of Northern, Eastern and Western delegates that spelled defeat for opposing States Righters of the South.

The Lighthouse + Informer

Negroes played an important part in the convention, the speaker averred, explaining that they were among delegates from the Northern Eastern and Western states.

Extolling the President's acceptance address as a masterpiece of oratory in behelf of the common man, Walden praised President Truman for his forthrightness in sticking by his Civil Rights guns.

"No other president has shown more moral courage and backbone in such matters as Truman," he declared.

Columbia, S.C.

TIRED OF DISGRACE

The liberal movement of the party showed that the people of the North, East and West were tired of the South disgracing the nation and they had to be shown that the Civil War was over, he said determinedly.

Sun.

Atty Waldn looked with disdain upon any attempt by Negroes to abridge the laws of the nation. His remark was ostensibly leveled at A. Philip Randolph's advocacy calling for Negroes to refuse joining a jim crow Army.

8-1-48

"All the progress the Negro has ained has been through the enorcement of Federal laws," Wallen asserted.. "As such, they must ever attempt to buck it," he cautioned. .

(The speaker termed the South's pattern of second-class-citizenship for Negroes the weakest link in the nation's security.

C. A. Scott, of the Atlanta World nd President of the local chapter f the Negro democratic organizaon. served as chairman at the meeting. He said the time has come or the U. S. Constitution to mean ore than mere words and that it must function for all American citiens. The movement of time calls or absolute freedom of all peoples f the world, he added. The editor eveled an attacking barrage against he evils of those who would derive the Negro of his right to vote. He expressed the opinion that Negroes must be alert at all times to afeguard this sacred democratic rinciple.

O AROUSE CONCERN

Warren R. Cochrane, Executive ecretary of the Butler Street YMCA old the audience that "no person an afford not to be interested" in he political trend of the times. He aid the meeting at hand was conucted to create an aroused conern among Negroes to rally to their olitical freedom. The purpose of he meeting was not to tell one how e should vote, he explained. In ght of the Federal ruling which pened the Southern Democratic rimaries to Negroes, Mr. Cochrane leclared it to be expedient that Negroes integrate themselves into he Democratic party. Allegiance to any other party would jeopardize that privilege and make them liable to wholesale purging, he warned.

8/1/48

Rev. A. L. Brewster, of Dublin, Ga. a member of the organization and described as a statewide organizer of local chapters, rocked his audience jubilantly as he championed the Negro's right to vote as a true religious concept. The Negroes must carry the fight for full equality, he stressed, while reminding his audience that they must "prove to the world they would no longer be contented with taking a back seat." The minister implored that every Negro should be a Democrat.

Friday's meeting was the first in a series planned by the Negro Political group.

PEPPER WITHDRAWS TO AVOID BOLT TIE

The Times
New York, N.Y.

He Attacks Party Leadership, Urges Fellow Southerners Not to Combat Rights of Any

Wed. 7-14-48

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, July 13 — To keep himself from being identified with a possible southern bolt, Senator Claude Pepper of Florida withdrew late this afternoon as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President.

"I release all promises of support and request that I not be nominated for any office within the powers of this convention," Senator Pepper told reporters at his headquarters. The Florida Senator, who seemingly had gained very little support for his candidacy, said he would support any candidates named by the Democratic national convention.

In a 600-word statement, Senator Pepper attacked the leadership of the Democratic party. He declared that his efforts and those of his associates had failed to bring about party unity and said that those who fought for party peace have determined that continued efforts could only make a bad matter worse.

"A Republican victory in November would not lead to a civil war but it most certainly would contribute to a divided world and might mean World War III," the statement read. "Certainly such selfish and ruthless forces as now command the Republican party would by their insatiable striving for power and for profit for the few at the expense of the people hasten the curse of a depression which would threaten the nation and the world with the utter collapse of economic and political democracy."

Senator Pepper declared that he was one of the many Democrats who, since the death of President Roosevelt, had sought to stave off the splintering of the Democratic party, and added:

Wed

"The present leadership of the Democratic party has proven incapable of holding the party together. Their failure is not alone due to its inability to follow in the footsteps of President Roosevelt, an impossible task for any living person, but to an unwillingness to accept and carry out with real fidelity the high principles and purposes to Franklin D. Roosevelt."

7-14-48

Saying that he had sought by his candidacy only to unite the party after the hope of nominating Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower failed, Senator Pepper said he had appealed to all factions of fellow delegates to gather on the Roosevelt policies. In an appeal to delegates not to divide on a Civil Rights plank, he said:

"I, as a Southerner, whose roots stretch back over two centuries in the South's proud past, have appealed to my fellow Southerners not at this critical period for human freedom to array themselves as their forefathers did in 1860 against human rights for any part of our people."

Sen. McGrath Reelected Party Chief

Philadelphia, July 15 (AP).—Senator J. Howard McGrath, who engineered the nomination of President Truman by the Democratic Convention here, today was given the job of electing him in November.

Without opposition and after he declared that the Democrats can win, McGrath was reelected chairman of the National Committee for a four-year term.

McGrath told the national party leaders that if they can "keep the team together," he is confident they can elect President Truman and Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky, the No. 2 man on the ticket.

Praising the personal courage and confidence of the President,

Angry Democrats Plan To Seek Own Candidate

Angry Southern Democrats, defeated at Philadelphia convention, are moving on Birmingham to consider putting up States' rights candidate for Presidency. Story on Page 15.

the national chairman said he has "no doubt" about the national election this fall.

Some Southern States failed to send their national committeemen and committeewomen to the session but McGrath reported this the best attended session of the top party leaders in many years.

Swept into office with McGrath were his entire staff and other national committee officials. They promised a "fighting campaign" in step with the fiery acceptance speech of Mr. Truman early today at Convention Hall.

Northern and Western Democratic leaders joined in saying that McGrath had done a fine job as national chairman. They promised to get in and fight the Republicans.

Joe L. Blythe of North Carolina reported that the party's campaign chest "is solvent and we expect to stay solvent.".

He did not list any figures and made no reference to the fact that some Southern States have refused to contribute because of the split with Persident Truman over civil rights.

Blythe said the convention had cost "a great deal of money but we still can pay off."

Mrs. India Edwards of Maryland, executive director of the women's division, said every woman party member is going "to get out and work her damnedest to elect President Truman and Senator Barkley."

The veteran Edward J. Kelly, former Mayor of Chicago and longtime Illinois national committeeman, referred to McGrath as a "dynamic personality."

Kelly added that President Truman had been the victim of a "whispering campaign."

"He's no great grammarian, he's nan that many of our great Presilents have been."

Kelly said he regarded Mr. Truman as the "saviour of the world."

James Roosevelt, son of the late President and newly elected naional committeeman from Caliornia, also pledged complete suport for McGrath and the Truman-Barkley ticket.

Young Roosevelt drew a laugh vhen he referred to himself as "a oyal rebel of the past."

This was a reference to his paricipation in the drive to make Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower the residential nominee, instead of Ir. Truman.

The News

Hot For Pepper

Dixiecrats After Florida Senator's Scalp; Lister Hill Obviously In Line Of Fire, Too

BY FRED TAYLOR

34d

Florida political pulse-feelers tell this column that if the presidential election had been held four or five weeks ago, the Dixiecrat Thurmond-Wright ticket might have carried the Gator state.

Even now, they say, the States' Righters pack a wallop, which they intend to use in an attempt to knock out ultra-liberal Sen. Claude Pepper, come 1950.

TAYLOR

They point out the States' Rights Democratic plumpers have been losing ground in Florida for some four or five weeks. As of today, my Palmetto-land informants are convinced, the presidential race is a nip-and-tuck affair between Truman and Dewey, with the GOP candidate probably having the edge.

This confirms a recent NANA report by Jay G. Hayden, veteran Washington analyst for The Detroit News, after a tour through the sunshine peninsula.

* * *

HILL'S SCALP—It has been apparent from the beginning of the Dixiecrat movement in Alabama that most of the States' Rights chieftains have their political knives out for Sen. Lister Hill. In fact, they had their blades out for him long before the Dixiecrat campaign was launched. Hill also comes up for re-election in 1950.

Alabama's senior senator, although not nearly so liberal as Pepper, is too liberal for many of the States' Rights leaders.

Frank Dixon, former Alabama governor, States'' Rights national committee member and one of the Thurmond-Wright ticket's main speakers, is the real head of the Dixiecrat movement in this state. Many feel Dixon would like to take over Hill's Senate seat, but he insists he's not going to run for U. S. Senate, for governor or for any other office.

* * *

HORACE WILKINSON, Birmingham lawyer, one of the state's 11 Democratic elector nominees, pledged first against Truman and next for Thurmond and Wright, is another of the Dixiecrats' big wheels. He has been making speaking forays into other Southern states. And he is anything but a Hill booster. It is no secret that Wilkinson would be tickled to see Hill get the bounce.

As for Marion Rushton, chairman of the States' Rights executive committee in Alabama, who announced his resignation some months ago as Democratic committeeman, what he thinks of the state's senior senator is well known. Rushton has been carrying on a political vendetta with Hill for years.

10-22-48

And there are others who are after Hill's political scalp.

* * *

LOOK TO FUTURE—Not even the most naive observers doubt that the States' Righters have big plans for future political campaigns.

And these planners envisage more future presidential races. Unquestionably the States' Righters hope to elect U. S. senators, governors and other state officials, as well as county and municipal officeholders.

Dixon told this column that this Sunday's strategy meeting of Dixiecrat chieftains in Memphis is primarily to set up a permanent organization. For it to be effective, it must be strong throughout the states, counties and cities.

In other words, it must have strong and willing men in office from top to bottom.

Planning to journey to Memphis with Dixon were John Newsome, North Alabama States' Rights campaign director; Sidney W. Smyer, Jefferson County States' Rights spearhead, and Wilkinson.

VIRGINIA BLITZ — Several Alabamians flew to Texas last week to help campaign squads of Mississippians, Louisiana and Arkansas Dixiecrat plumpers blitz Lone Star State voters for the Thurmond-Wright ticket in the closing days of the presidential race.

10-24-48

Among them were Bob Albritton, Andalusia attorney and Democratic elector nominee; O. P. Lee, Opelika lawyer, and George Huddleston, Sr., former Ninth District congressman.

Dixon, who went stumping for Thurmond and Wright through Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana last week, will journey to his former state of Virginia this week to help wage a campaign blitzkrieg in the last days of the tussle there.

The former governor, who spoke at Little Rock, says things look good for the Dixiecrats in Arkansas, but the situation in Texas, he says, is none too promising. Pollsters give Texas to Truman, with Dewey strength there on the upsurge.

Dixon considers Louisiana just about as securely in the bag for Thurmond and Wright as is Alabama.

The state's former executive, who grew up in Gloucester County, some 40 miles from Norfolk, has three speaking engagements in the Dominion State. He takes the stump at Charlottesville Monday, at Danville Tuesday and at Winchester Wednesday.

* * *

GOP MAZUMA — Alabama's biggest Republican wheel is Lonnie Noojin, Gadsden business man and national committeeman.

He is one of this state's most influential citizens and is well liked by both Democrats and Republicans.

To him fell the task of raising the heavy dough in Alabama for the Dewey-Warren campaign. The total GOP quota for the state was $25,000.

Noojin told this column he already had collected more than $21,000. This, plus funds raised by the state GOP headquarters, has put Republican collections well over the quota.

Most of this money has been sent to national headquarters for Dewey-Warren and senatorial campaigning in doubtful states.

Our Governors

John T. Graves

Co

"Is it true what they say about—California?"

34d Dem

JACKSONVILLE, Florida—Governor-Designate Fuller Warren, who is a bachelor, is going to California before his inauguration to meet California's Governor Earl Warren and study the citrus and tourist problems there in relation to Florida's. The last Southern bachelor governor to visit California went a-wooing, and came home without the girl and with a snub from the young lady's father, Governor Warren. We have all sorts of governors in the South. It is a land where statesmanship and demagog rival each other in greater incidence per capita than anywhere else in the civilized world.

Thurs. 6-10-48

Congressman Ed Gossett of Texas, author of the bill to reform the electoral college, writes me: "The electoral reform resolutions, H.J.R. 9, by me, and S.J.R. 200, by Senator Lodge, would go through this Congress easily if given the green light by the Republican leadership, i.e., Joe Martin and Senator Taft. We are trying to get the green light from them but have not yet been successful."

Columbia S.C

Contrary to some impression, this bill would not have Presidents elected by straight popular majority. It would retain the electoral vote principle, with each state given as at present a number of votes equal to the whole number of its representatives in the two houses of Congress. The bill would merely divide each state's electoral vote on the basis of the popular vote in that state.

6-10-48

Today the whole electoral vote goes to the nominee winning the popular majority, no matter how slim. The twin advantage of the Gossett-Lodge bill is that (1) it would make it worth-while for Republicans to try harder in the South and, therewith, encourage the two-party system there, and (2) it would take away the excessive power now in the hands of minority groups in doubtful states—the power which let Walter White boast last winter that the Negroes control the balance of power in 17 doubtful states of the East and North and would name the next President.

Columbia, S.C

It is surprising that Florida, with fewer Negroes and more Northerners than other Southern states, should be ranking with the most all-out in Southern revolt. Floridians have repudiated the leads of both Senator Pepper and Governor Caldwell to name a delegation with a clear voting majority for Governor Wright of Mississippi and for bolting if need be. That certainly does sound like grass roots, incidentally. One reason may be that contact with more outsiders from the North and East than most Southern states enjoy has taught Florida not to be fatuous about the Democratic party and not to be so impressed either with "nation-mindedness" as are some of the publicists and politicians in my native Georgia. The revolt in Florida could be a sign of cosmopolitanism.

6-10-48

The complete route of Jim Folsom of Alabama, in the run-off for delegate-at-large last Tuesday, is not to be compared with the repudiation of Pepper and Caldwell in Florida on the sole issue of revolt. Even though Folsom was against bolting and the voters of Alabama were obviously very much in favor of it if need be, that cannot be taken as the reason for his amazing defeat. Senator Hill and former Governor Sparks, also against bolting, were easily elected to the delegation nevertheless, and Hill led the ticket. The Folsom defeat goes deeper. It is the voice of the Alabama branch-heads saying they are sick and tired. Frivolously, because he was entertaining, vital and young, they elected him. But even though farm people can be frivolous when there is no crying issue, they are not stupid, and they are not wanton. Their repudiation of Folsom proves it.

FALLING BAROMETER

34d

WASHINGTON (NR correspondent) Mon. 3-8-48

The political barometer at Democratic headquarters has fallen so rapidly since the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner that it now stands dangerously close to the storm-warning area. Two weeks ago there was a flourishing crop of vice-presidential aspirants on the Democratic side. Today you can cover miles of Capitol corridors without finding a single shy candidate for second place on the Truman ticket.

"What's happened in the last two weeks?" one puzzled Senator asked. "Everything is changed. Everyone believes we're going to get licked."

A canvass last week of the top Democratic leadership in the two Houses and representative state chairmen, national committeemen and committeewomen turned up no one who thought Harry could win.

What caused the decline in faith in Harry? Some said it was his poor performance in his party-celebration speech that did it—coming right on top of Henry Wallace's Bronx victory and the mounting Southern troubles. Others said not even all that would have set off this psychological slump unless there were a secret conviction in most Democratic hearts that the Truman cause had always been doomed to failure.

Mon. 3-8-48

If not Harry? Whatever the case, a few top Democrats are actually thinking of doing something about replacing Truman as the party candidate. The first name that pops up when they discuss the question is still that of General Dwight D. Eisenhower. His statement certainly removed him from the Republican picture, but, the Democrats ask, must that close the door on us, too?

For the liberal-minded ones, there is Bill Douglas. Though he definitely removed himself as a possibility for Vice President with Truman some time ago, some of his friends feel the Justice would not refuse the number-one position if it were available under proper conditions. Of course, his views on civil liberties are even less acceptable to "white supremacy" Southerners than Truman's. So those who support him think he has a chance only if the Southern revolt comes off.

34d

At this point, we enter the field of what sounds like pure fantasy. For example, it is suggested that if a fourth party, the anti-Truman Southern Democrats, took the field, an attempt should be made to persuade Henry Wallace to give up his candidacy in favor of an amalgamation with the Northern liberal Democrats behind Douglas. Alternatively, there is a Southern scheme to force the nomination of an acceptable compromise between Truman and the present anti-Truman forces, in the person of James F. Byrnes. While all this may appear highly unrealistic, it is so serious that many important Democrats are determined to tell President Truman, at the earliest possible moment, how bad things look. Up to now, he remains undismayed. The last words Washington heard him say as he took off for vacation were, "I'm just as happy as I can be."

Mon. 3-8-48

DEMOCRATS HOPE FOR PARTY UNITY

~~N. Y. Times~~

Leaders Look to 2-Day Talks of New National Executive Body in Capital Next Week

N. Y. 34d

By CLAYTON KNOWLES

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 4—The top leadership of the Democratic party, eager to restore party unity, is looking ahead hopefully to next week's two-day meeting of the next national executive committee.

Named just a week ago, the new committee includes four Representatives from the Deep South and two others from the border States of Arizona and Oklahoma. Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democratic National Chairman, expanded membership in the committee from twelve to sixteen and, in addition to inceasing Southern representation, spotted other members from other good geographical areas.

The coming meeting assumes a larger importance in Democratic national affairs because it will be held on the two days immediately preceding the March 13 Washington gathering of the Conference of Southern Governors. The special session of the Governors has been called to determine what course the South will take in view of President Truman's unwavering stand for civil-rights legislation.

The Southern revolt, however, is but one facet of the over-all problems that will confront the executive committee, though there is no other single issue of greater importance. Fri. 3-5-48

The committee, ostensibly called together to plan for the national convention in July, will consider also other big domestic and international issues with particular attention being given to the Palestine situation, source of deep distress among certain Democratic elements, and the whole European Recovery Program.

Looking forward to the pure mechanics of the campaign, the committee must deal also with the matter of finances. The Democratic national organization, lacking a treasurer for months now, was not in as good financial condition at a corresponding time in either the 1940 or 1944 campaigns. The party treasury, which stood at $119,000 on Jan. 1, now runs to about $500,000.

Despite rebellious talk south of the Mason-Dixon Line, proceeds of most of the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners in that area will find their way into the party till, according to usually reliable sources. North Carolina and Tennessee, it is said, will set the lead in this direction.

A new treasurer is to be named, and the committee may decide how additional funds up to the $3,000,000 Hatch Act limitation can be raised.

As plans now stand, executive committee members will be locked in session all day Thursday. That evening they will get together with Democratic members of Congress at a reception at the Mayflower Hotel. The next day, apart from other business, they will visit at the White House with President Truman.

34d Dem.

Seven members of former National Chairman Robert E. Hannegan's committee have been called over to the new one. They are: Mrs. Lennard Thomas of Alabama, Mrs. Edward Heller of California, Edward J. Kelly of Illinois, Representative Mary T. Norton of New Jersey, David L. Lawrence of Pennsylvania, Senator Theodore Green of Rhode Island and Myrc

G. Blalock of Texas. N.Y. 3.5

New members represent Arizona, Colorado, Indiana, Kentucky, Nebraska, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma and Wyoming.

MAKING TRUMAN THE "SCAPE GOAT"

The Lighthouse Fri. 6-4-48

When Truth gets a hearing, it will reveal that all this fighting against President Truman by certain people in the South and their Northern ilk, is just the old trick of "Whipping the Devil Around the Stump." The real issue is the Constitution of the United States, and the Bill of Rights. Of course, because he is President of the United States, Mr. Truman had the courage to defend the purpose of that sacred document. They, the reactionaries would destroy it while hiding their purpose under the cloak of States Rights. These people do not hate President Truman, but they despise the Constitution of the United States, because it offers equal rights for all. They are using Harry S. Truman as a "Scape Goat" upon whom they can vent their spleen.

There is so much being said nowadays about loyalty, and we are glad to have this question more and more and more to the front. Why not put on a campaign to ascertain who are the loyal citizens, or the so-called loyal citizens; those who believe in the constitution, or those who refuse to accept it. You most assuredly will not find the loyal Americans among those who are ready to say "To Hell with the constitution!!! We don't want it if it protects one and all." You don't have to put on the Witch-hunt to find this crowd. In times like these they are plentiful. It looks like open season for them in the halls of Congress. They are there. They openly damn the Bill of Rights, and call the President of the United States a hyprocrite and traitor because he has had the courage to defend the constitution against its traduces. This is the crowd that needs watching.

6-4-48

Progressive Demos Not To Disband Chairman Says

34d

The Progressive Democratic Party has no intention of disbanding following the decision and order of Judge J. Waties Waring at Charleston on Friday, John H. McCray, state chairman, said Tuesday.

The PDP, in a special state convention July 16, 1947, voted to continue the organization as a medium of education, organization and instruction for its members, but to work within the framwork of the Democratic party.

Lighthouse

This, the chairman said, will be the procedure from now until further changes are made. In its new role, PDP will function much like the Labor Democrats, the Citizen Democrats, both in South Carolina, who work not as separate parties but as parts of the state party organization. Sun. 7-25-4

"This change in status will not affect our organization materially," chairman McCray said. "It will ismply mean we are inside and will work there, whereas before we were on the outside and had to work more orlessasan independent unit."

He said also that the organization had done too much good work to be dissolved at a time when somebody must help these newly enfranchised people prepare themselves and exercise their rights.

Howevver, he said, he would request of the state executive com--mittee that the name "party" be dropped from the title of the organization, and that it be known henceforth as simply, "Progressive Democrats."

Good For South

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: So much has been written lately about the "death" of the Democratic Party that I thought I would like to have my little say.

I am a Democrat only so long as its platform and leaders uphold the ideals on which the Party was founded, and I draw a definite line there. Now that they have thrown the South overboard to satisfy other interests in the East and West, I am a free lance voter and expect to vote for the best man be he Democrat or Republican. Mon. 7-26-48

Truman was certainly not picked as a running mate with FDR in 1944 for his ability to be a good Chief Executive, but he was picked because it was thought that he would do the least harm to the ticket. This reflected a weakness in the Democratic Party at that time. Truman, as President, has not been too wise in his selection of cabinet members and his proposals for checking inflation and other economic ills have carried no suggestions from him as to how this was to be done, other than go back to wartime controls which do not go over so big in peacetime.

A political party is no stronger than its Chief and with Truman as the Chief we might as well start all over again and maybe in about 20 yea a new Democratic Party will come out of he growing South with a platform that appeals to the masses and not the special minority inter

The breakup of the Democratic Party co be a God-send to the people of the South becau now they can vote for whom they please a this should encourage a two-party system. Whe the time comes that the South is not taken for granted in its politics, it will be a new day for everyone in it.

Hapeville. BRANDON KNELLER.

McGrath Admits Truman Civil Rights Plan Phony

Daily Worker

New York

WASHINGTON, May 2.—The Democratic Party's national chairman, J. Howard McGrath, admitted in substance yesterday that President Truman's civil rights program was phony. Mon. 5-3-48

He admitted this when he said that the President was not trying to invade the "states' rights," abou which Southern white supremac Democrats are so much concerned.

These Southern Democrats have protested that the President's references to anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and anti-Negro discrimination were invasions of "states' rights."

Replying to these complaints, McGrath said in a broadcast today:

"The people simply don't realize that the President has never said a single word about invading states' rights. There is not, and never has been, any intention to upset or invade the rights of the states under our Constitution."

McGrath said Wallace's candidacy might cause the Democrats to lose New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California. 5-3-48

Best Asks For Preliminary Demo Meeting

Atlanta Daily World

Sat. 7-3-48

Atlanta, Ga.

INDIANAPOLIS—(ANP)— Frank E. Best, race baiting local business man and a self avowed candidate for the Democratic party presidential nomination, has issued a call for a "Preliminary Democratic convention" to be held at the Hotel Lincoln in Indianapolis on July 2 The convention will be climaxed by a banquet at 7 P. M. His convention call contains an outline of his anti-labor anti-Negro, anti-woman, and anti-semitic and Nazi like views.

The Party Will Not Disintegrate

The News

BY E. L. HOLLAND, JR.

SCRATCH THE "AVERAGE" MAN on the street and you will find an amateur politician. At least he has opinions. They may not be well defined; his beliefs may seem shallow; he may find it difficult to keep his mind on one aspect of the present political situation. But he is thinking about what is happening to the Democratic Party. 34

There are exceptions to that, of course.

Tuesday this writer spent several hours passing through Birmingham streets — and into a few offices—to ask two basic questions:

1. What do you think of the future of the Democratic Party?

2. What do you think of the convention system for nominating a party candidate?

Answers to the second question, obtained from a number of persons, indicated that few had gone so far as to consider any other system. We have conventions, and that's that.

Birmingham, Ala.

Too Many 'Deals'

AT LEAST TWO willing to talk politics briefly did say this: That while we probably will long continue to have the convention system, it is faulty in that too many "deals" are made. Said one citizen: "The thing is all right until they get to the convention. Then there's a lot of trading and principles go out the window." Fri. 7-16-48

Both were particularly critical of the Dewey-type dealing at Philadelphia, when much attention was paid by Dewey men to each "possible" delegate.

None questioned, except one federal officeholder, indicated any belief that Harry Truman could win the November election. On the other hand, none indicated belief that Dewey had anything to offer the South.

A man who turned out to be a minister replied to a question about the Democratic Party's future with: "It's shot to hell." He went on to say that "the man from Missouri" just didn't have what it took to lead the party. He added that he himself had come from Missouri, and he remembered the Pendergast situation.

This citizen suggested that if the Republicans take over, and then there is a panic or other national economic trouble, the Democrats might have a chance to resume national leadership.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Letters to the editor must carry complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names may be used at the editor's discretion. Letters of less than 200 words are given preference. All letters may be cut.

The Advertiser 34 Montgomery, Ala.

Demo

Why Not The 'Constitutional Democratic Party'?

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER: Now that we have "disaffiliated," we should make the name conform to our views.

We have several times changed the name of the party. Jefferson called it the Republican Party. Jackson called it the Democratic Republican Party. Cleveland and Wilson called it the Democratic Party. But the leaders of the present national setup do, not reflect the political philosophy of the great Democrats of the past.

Dixiecrats and Southern Democrats connote sectionalism. A New York Democrat may be as proud of his native land as a Southern man is of his—if that be possible. One is reminded of the Virginian who advised his son: "Never ask a gentleman where he is from. If he is from Virginia he will say so. If not, why embarrass him?"

In reverse, it may embarrass a New York State Democrat to be called a Dixiecrat. There have always been, and I believe still are, good Democrats outside the South.

8-11-48

THE Northern Democrats maintained the party organization during the entire period of the Civil War. In 1864, Gen. McClellan, the Democratic nominee for president, received 1,800,000 popular votes in the northern states. President Lincoln's popular vote for re-election was less than 500,000 more than McClellan's. The Northern Democrats solidly opposed the adoption of the 14th and 15th Amendments and the Reconstruction Acts. Appreciation of this loyalty is one of the reasons of the South's traditional devotion to the national party.

State's Rights is perhaps first in the Democratic creed. But we also believe in federal rights. We insist, though, upon the federal government confining its activities in those subjects delegated to it by the states, and keep its nose out of affairs not so delegated. We believe in human rights as superior to property rights, when the two conflict.

8-11-48

JEFFERSONIAN is not sufficiently comprehensive. Great as he was, he did not originate all the Democratic doctrines. Ronssean, Voltaire and other Frenchmen who antedated Jefferson, fought and suffered for some of the things we believe in.

Even the dictator Napoleon had an idea we endorse—"The tools to him who can use them," and Mr. Lincoln, the first among Republicans, was a firm advocate of "white supremacy."

Perhaps Constitutional Democrats (suggested by Gov. Dixon) would be an appropriate name.

8-11-48

YOU may not be very good in the definition of words, such, for example, as "bolter." Be that as it may, you—and the Hudsons—are maintaining the "fine tradition" set by your predecessors, one of whom, Col. Thomas C. DeWolf, who occupied your chair about 100 years ago, was a near relative of my maternal grandfather, Samuel H. DeWolf, a member of the Mobile Bar of that period. The Advertiser is more than a mere newspaper to me.

MASSEY WILSON.

Oakhill, Ala.

RALPH McGILL

Always of Diverse Elements

The Constitution

The present predicament of the Democratic Party is neither new nor strange.

It always has been a party of diverse elements. As its success in the four consecutive Roosevelt terms was due to an alliance of the Southern and Western agricultural interests with those of labor and the city masses in the East, so the victories of Cleveland and of Wilson were due to similar forces. Cleveland was opposed by some of organized labor for his previous use of troops in the railway strike. But it was the great mass of immigrant laborers, particularly the Irish, which gave strength to the Democratic State machines in the East.

In all its victories, the two by Cleveland, the two by Wilson, and the four by Roosevelt, the victories have come about because of the presence of the explosive "protest" force in the social status of the country. Atlanta, Ga.

Protest The Democratic Party has never been productive of a surplus of leaders. The "politics of protest" usually have created the leader. This was true all the way back to the time of Jefferson and his creation of the party in his social and economic contest with Hamilton. Jackson took the raw new discontented strength of the West and the frontier States and broke the control of the Bank of the United States and the money power. Only Buchanan, product of party maneuvering over the issue of slavery, slid in as a compromise candidate. He was picked because he was weak. Tues. 5-25-48

It has been said of all the Democratic Presidents, as it was of Roosevelt, "that he never let any other leader develop."

This is not true. Explosive political protests which have catapulted the Democratic Party into power have inevitably been built about one man.

Two Parties There was a Democratic Party before the War Between the States. It called itself "The American Democracy.' This came in time to be simply "The Democracy," and later on, the Democrats.

The party which grew up after the War Between the States more or less attached itself to the promoters who thronged through through the South after the failure of Reconstruction.

Reconstruction was all that has been said of it, cruel and stupid, corrupt and mean. It was an armed occupation, not a series of political events as some of the commentators try to make it. It was corrupt and degrading in its influences, and it matched with its cruelties anything any occupying army has done save the concentration camp butcheries of Hitler.

But, once the economic promoters in the East saw Reconstruction would not make them rich, they abandoned it and allowed the South itself to smash it and to drive out the scalawags and thieving carpetbaggers of the time. Tues. 5-25-48

This Democratic Party, called "The New Departure Democrats," aligned itself with the promoters in the name of progress and the "New South" began to emerge.

Toombs Not everyone was happy about this turn. Not all the old Democratic leaders of the prewar and the war years joined it.

There were many former Southern leaders who stayed clear of it.

One of these was Georgia's famous Robert Toombs. It was he who had helped smash Reconstruction and it was he alone, with his great oratory and his courage, who "locked the door of the State Treasury and threw the key away." The looters have done well, but because of Toombs they have never been able to steal the State white. The Constitution

But, in 1872, looking at the party in Georgia, Toombs wrote his old friend, Alex Stephens, who also was withdrawn from "The New Departure" Democrats:

"The mongrel crew who call themselves Democrats apparently want Tilden elected for the same reason that Falstaff rejoiced at Prince Hal's reconciliation with the old King . . . 'Hal, rob me the exchequer.'" Atlanta, Ga.

Again Ten years later he had not changed his mind. Interviewed at the Kimball House in Atlanta, he said:

"The South is ruled by as cowardly and venal a lot of politicians as ever lived . . . like putrid bodies in the stream, they rise as they rot . . . they grovel in the dust before Northern money."

He did not like the sight of former Confederate generals serving the ends of the promoters. Tues.

Georgia's Tom Watson was to take this same growing discontent, the politics of protest, and put it into the Populist Party. He split Georgia. He all but overcame the Democratic Party. The Populist revolt swept the nation, to be sold out in 1896. It never came back. 5-25-48

The Democratic Party has never been one big happy family.

It is united only when abuses of power build up a protest strong enough to bring out the votes behind some leader able to take the force of protest and make them articulate.

G.O.P., Democrats In Red; Wallaceites Are Solvent

The Courier-Journal

Washington, April 28 (AP)—The Republican and Democratic National Committees ran into the red in financing operations in the first two months of this campaign year. Louisville, Ky.

But the National Wallace for President Committee, the C.I.O. Political Action Committee, and Americans for Democratic Action said they spent less than they took in. Thurs 4-29-48

The financial records are on display in the office of the clerk of the House. All political organizations are required by law to report periodically to Congress on contributions and expenses. This was the picture for the first two months of 1948:

The Republican National Committee reported contributions of $90,834.41 and expenses of $129,492.64, a difference of $38,658.23.

The Democratic National Committee said it received $16,022 and spent $190,861, a difference of $174,839.

The Democrats said their bank balance dropped from $315,367 at the start of the year to $221,529. They reported debts of $20,063 and $95,000 out on loan. Biggest outstanding loans were $50,000 to the New York State Committee and $30,000 to the California Committee.

The G.O.P. did not report its bank balance or debts—that information is not required by law. The Wallace group said it took in $65,647 and paid out $55,417, leaving $10,230 in the war chest.

Americans for Democratic Action said they collected $38,139 and spent $18,379, leaving them $19,760. The C.I.O.-P.A.C. reported $117,468.54 in contributions. Sales of literature raised its income to $118,541.84. Expenditures were $60,640.25, leaving a $57,901.59 balance. Thurs. 4-29-48

What Is The Democratic Party?

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee appears to have solved his own dilemma as far as loyalty to the party goes this year, but he has not solved it for all Alabamians. Mr. McCorvey draws a distinction between the national Democratic Party and the Alabama Democratic Party. Primary allegiance, he says, is to the state Democratic Party. Alabama Democrats, he counsels, can refuse to support the national ticket and still be true to the party.

That statement leaves many questions. What is the Democratic Party in Alabama? Is it the State Executive Committee, or is it the voters in the Democratic primary? What will Mr. McCorvey advise if the side he advocates loses in the May 4 primary election? Sat. 4-17-48

Democratic voters in that election may send to the national party convention delegates who have promised to walk out of the convention at several points in the proceedings if they think the South is being mistreated, or they may send delegates who have said they would battle for the South and its ideals to the very end of the convention.

Suppose, next May 4, Democratic voters clearly indicate they prefer their delegation to go uninstructed. They may well do that, since that course is being advocated by such stalwart Democrats as former Gov. Chauncey Sparks, Sen. Lister Hill, Atty. Gen. Albert Carmichael, Gov. Folsom, and more than a score of other candidates for delegate. In that case, will not the Democratic Party in Alabama be those who have thus voted, instead of Mr. McCorvey and those who believe like him? The News

Is the Democratic Party of Alabama the majority of the Democrats of the state as they indicate their attitudes on issues now, or is it the members of the state committee elected two years ago when no such issue existed? We would suggest waiting until May 4 before deciding what the Alabama Democratic Party believes.

There is the major question, too, of whether the national Democratic Party is a party composed of Democrats throughout the country, or whether it is, as Mr. McCorvey believes, a collection of state Democratic Parties. Do Democrats owe primary allegiance to the state party and only secondary allegiance to the national party? Or do they owe loyalty to the national party through their state organizations? Which comes first, the nation or the state? Birmingham, Ala.

It is not easy to answer all these questions. One's conscience is often the deciding voice. But it may be suggested that, in some respects, the answer was indicated as far back as 1865. Sat. 4-17-48

Transformed Party

The Post

Washington

As a Negro voter, I was prepared to go Republican last week. Today, I'm not so sure. It's not that I think the Democrats can win; it's the way that opposition to Southern die-hards made me feel. It's the way people near the microphone at the convention told the gentleman from Alabama goodby when he bade them farewell. It's the way someone explained why there was no answer to the roll call: "Mississippi's gone home." It isn't even what I think the Democratic Party is at the moment; it's what it showed Wednesday afternoon that it is capable of becoming.

The trouble with the South is that it lives in the past. Like my aunt in Alabama says when she thinks your dress is not becoming, "Looks like South before the War." I've been in the South all my life, and know Southern whites as well as they think they know Negroes, but even I did not believe they would let the Democratic Party walk into the twentieth century and leave them holding a cardboard Confederate flag that came apart in the parade. 7-21-48

MEDELLA MARIE MORRIS.
Washington.

Wed.

Labor, Negroes Ask Firm Plank On Civil Rights

Herald Tribune

New York, N.Y.

Warn Democrats Against Another 1944 'Straddle'; Back Full Truman Plan

Fri 7-9-48

By Jack Steele

PHILADELPHIA, July 8.—Powerful labor and Negro groups served warning today on the Democratic National Convention's resolutions committee that they would not accept another platform "straddle"—like that of 1944—on the crucial civil-rights issue.

Representatives of more than a dozen such organizations, rubbing salt into the party's sorest wound, demanded that the 1948 Democratic platform give "100 per cent" indorsement to President Truman's civil-rights program, the source of the threatened Southern revolt against Mr. Truman's nomination.

Their demands, which apparently enlisted the support of a majority of the eighteen-member platform drafting subcommittee, promised to upset the carefully laid plans for a compromise civil-rights plank patterned after that of 1944—which simply promised minority groups "the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution."

Stand by Agreement

The anticipated public battle over the civil-rights issue failed to develop at today's platform hear-hearing when Southern members of the drafting committee adhered scrupulously to a prearranged agreement not to cross-question witnesses who castigated Dixie Democrats for their opposition to civil-rights legislation during the day-long session. Herald Tribune

The Southerners told reporters, however, not to be misled by their silence today, which they said was merely based on the strategy of holding their fire until the committee meets in executive session on Saturday to begin actual platform drafting. New York, N.Y.

They declared that they would then demand not only the platform not to go an inch beyond the 1944 declaration on civil rights, but include a strong states' rights plank to reassure the South against any attempt to enact Federal legislation aimed to enforce

Most of the Northern members of the committee, on the other hand, were equally emphatic in their assertions that the 1948 civil-rights plank must go beyond that of 1944, with some insisting that it include specific indorsement of the President's proposals for anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, anti-Jim Crow and fair employment practices legislation.

The Southerners responded that in such an event most of the Dixie delegates would carry out their threat to walk out of the convention and nominate their own Presidential ticket at a rump session.

Decision Up to Truman

There the civil-rights battle hung tonight, but with every indication that the final tough decision will be left to President Truman himself. Senator Francis J. Myers, of Pennsylvania, the committee chairman, has promised to submit the platform to the President for final approval.

Whatever the committee's final decision on civil rights may be, Mr. Truman will be put squarely on the spot. If it is a compromise plank like that of 1944, he in effect will be called upon to repudiate his own program. If it indorses his program, he will be forced to brave the full ire of the South in the midst of a convention at which his nomination is at stake. Herald Tribune

The Congress of Industrial Organizations touched off the civil-rights controversy today by issuing the first demand for complete platform indorsement of the President's program.

James B. Carey, C. I. O. secretary-treasurer, called for adoption of a "Roosevelt platform" with the Truman civil-rights program as one of its key planks.

"We must not seek to evade responsibility for this minimum program of civil rights by placing blame on a small minority of willful men," he declared in a shaft aimed at the Southern Democrats. New York, N.Y.

Asks Repeal of Taft Act

Mr. Carey also was the first to raise the second most perplexing issue facing the Democratic platform writers when he called for repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, which he denounced as a "weapon for union busting" and "for economic aggression against the working people." Fri. 7-9-48

The plaform committee is similarly split on this act, which the President vetoed only to have the

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DEMOCRATIC PARTY RULES OUT BOLTERS

The Times

National Group Seeks to Drive Wedge Between 'Fourth Party' and Rank and File Voters

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 2—The National Democratic organization moved today to drive a wedge between the Dixiecrat movement and rank and file Southern voters, offering its blessing to any state Democratic committees pledged to support the Truman-Barkley ticket in the November election.

Fri 9-3-48

New York N.Y.

The action was aimed directly at the situation in South Carolina where a split developed yesterday in the Democratic Executive Committee over the naming of a slate of Presidential electors pledged to vote for the Thurmond-Wright ticket of the States Rights party.

Inquiries from the dissenting minority to Democratic National Headquarters here prompted a statement by the party's controlling agency today that it would "recognize and support an officially organized state committee pledged to support the National Democratic ticket.

Minority Action Hailed

In a telegram to the dissenting group, William J. Primm Jr., acting for National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, said that when the "regular Democrats" of South Carolina had been officially organized "there can be no course for the Democratic National Committee to take but to recognize the group as the official Democratic party of South Carolina."

Mr. Primm hailed the action of the minority at the Columbia, S. C., meeting as "the beginning of a repudiation by the people all over the South of the bolters who rule the Dixiecrats."

First reports of the minority action at Columbia hinted at a party purge of the bolting Dixiecrat elements. This, however, would be out of the question as long as the state controls the election process. At most, the national organization, through the dissenting minority, could present a rival slate of electors pledged to vote for the Truman-Barkley ticket.

The minority of the South Carolina Executive Committee asked the national committee specifically what its position would be in event it formed a party organization to replace the one it felt had left the national party by abandoning the ticket designated at the national convention.

Fri 9-3-48

Prim Sends Telegram

Mr. Primm sent the group the following telegram:

"The Democratic National Committee appreciates the action of loyal Democrats of South Carolina in standing by the regular Democratic party and its nominees headed by President Truman and Senator Barkley.

"The committee approves of the program you have stated to assure that the regular Democrats of South Carolina have an opportunity to vote for the regular party nominees.

"When you have officially organized the regular Democrats of South Carolina through proper procedures there can be no course for the Democratic National Committee to take but to recognize the group as the official Democratic party of South Carolina.

"The group now organized under the name of States Rights party, or Dixiecrats, has bolted the Democratic party. Neither they nor their leaders can be recognized as Democrats any more than Henry A. Wallace and his Progressive party can be considered Democrats. Both the Dixiecrats and the Wallaceites have one thing in common—the aid and comfort they are giving to the Republican party. The Dixiecrats are a fourth-party movement, deliberately designed by their leaders to aid the Republican party."

Fri 9-3-48

Stassen's Role Emphasized

Meanwhile, Chairman McGrath took notice of reports that President Truman's Labor Day speech at Detroit would be answered at the behest of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey by Harold E. Stassen, his unsuccessful opponent from the Republican Presidential nomination.

He charged that the Republican "affection for silence" on the party's record had caused Governor Dewey "to turn over the task of wooing the voters to a roadshow troupe of John Aldens." He criticized Mr. Stassen's Albany proposals for dealing with high prices, labeling them "rationing by high prices."

Senator McGrath said under the system proposed by Mr. Stassen, "there is more food for the rich because the poor cannot afford to buy as much as they need."

"Meantime using Stassen as his John Alden in the opening visit of the Republican courtship of the voters gives Dewey more time in which to duck the issue by running for the Presidency on hearsay," said Senator McGrath.

Fri 9-3-48

1950 IS COMING

The Advertiser

Editor, The Advertiser:

I am very glad to see a few more Democrats that dare [illegible] their neck to speak out for the best interest of our state. We have everything to lose and nothing to gain in tearing down the Democratic Party. Our able senators will fight every attempt to pass a civil rights bill. They have always been our bulwark against such legislation, and they will continue to be. I have full confidence in them.

Thurs 9-9-48

However, if they are restrained by a change in Senate procedure in case of a Republican victory, then we can expect the [illegible] personally not in favor of F. E. P. C. in any form in our state. It would call for two whites, one Negro approximately. This we do not want.

Montgomery, Ala.

However, at this time there is a greater number of Negroes per hundred thousand employed than whites. This has been true for a long time for reason of wages and ability to stand strenuous tasks.

In the skilled field, Negro labor doesn't fare so well, due to unions and protective labor laws.

If the Republicans succeed in killing labor protection, you will see almost immediately Negro mechanics and other skilled forms of labor flocking into industry and on construction jobs at cheaper wages than whites are willing to work.

They will eventually set the wage scale and whites will be required to meet it or go unemployed. If these conditions come about industry throughout the South will welcome F. E. P. C It will be their one excuse to hire cheaper labor and "[illegible]." They have this figured as they go about financing this bolt against the Democratic Party.

Date 9-9-48

The sad picture about these things is the dragging of the Negro skeleton across the board, stirring up hatred among the very class that needs this protection; thus, causing them to vote their only hope of a continued decent standard of living out of their hands. The small business man and farmer rises and falls with labor. A few "disgruntled" politicians will have made political gain; the common people will be the losers. We still have a chance. What are we to do about it? I would like to see more good Democrats like Senator Hill and Atty. Gen. Carmichael speak out. 1950 is coming.

Equality, Ala. D. E. SHANER.

Washington Calling

Democratic Party May Be On Way Out

By MARQUIS CHILDS

34d

WASHINGTON.

WE MAY well be watching, without thus far having caught its true meaning, the liquidation of one of the two major political parties. What is happening in Democratic ranks is more than a temporary break between the two poles of the party in the North and in the South.

It is more than the accident of a presidential candidate with whom various groups are dissatisfied. Mr. Truman is not the cause of the crack-up. He merely happens to find himself at the climactic moment when bitterly contending forces are seen to be irreconcilable.

What is happening in the South is obvious. What is happening in the North is not quite so clear, but it is just as significant of the revolution that is taking place.

Last week I spent two days in Detroit and I talked with a good many people who are directly or indirectly in politics. Even a glimpse of the pattern of change in that great key industrial center seemed to me to reveal the kind of splitting-off that can mean the end of the Democratic Party as we have known it in recent decades. The Advertiser

It is not that Michigan will almost certainly go Republican this Fall. After all, Wendell Willkie carried that state by a narrow margin in 1940 and Franklin Roosevelt took it in '44 by a margin almost as small. It is traditionally a Republican state. Montgomery, Ala.

The new and striking factor is the direction in which the labor vote in the industrial centers is moving. These voters are going down a road that leads away from the Democratic Party.

FOR A variety of reasons, Henry Wallace's third party seems likely to poll a substantial vote in November in Detroit and in the other automobile cities. One reason is the large number of Negroes, particularly in Detroit, with an acute new consciousness of injustice and discrimination and a militant new political awareness. Tues. 3-9-48

Walter Reuther, who is now solidifying his remarkable victory over the Communist faction in the United Auto Workers, is dead set against Wallace. The UAW executive board last week denounced Wallace's candidacy as a "Communist party maneuver to advance the foreign policy interest of Soviet Russia."

But the same resolution called for the formation of a new "Progressive" party after the 1948 elections. An invitation was extended to CIO, A. F. of L., the Railroad Brotherhoods, farm and white collar groups to join in creating a new party. Reuther has several times recently pronounced a plague on both the old parties, plainly hinting his desire to see a third party started that would be free of the Communist taint. The Advertiser

It takes no great political genius to see where this leads if it continues. The Wallace party, if only because it is a convenient front for the Comunists, is certain to remain in being after '48. That is one splinter party. Montgomery, Ala.

A Reuther party built around the non-Communist labor-left would be another. So would the remnants of the old Democratic Party. With the South pulling out, still another party would be created—a Southern splinter dominant in the poll-tax states. So far as national elections are concerned, these splinters would break against the solid mass of the Republican Party. That realization is deeply disturbing to some who feel that the third-party road is a dead end. Tues. 3-9-48

THEY URGE as an alternative the necessity for new forces to take over and rejuvenate and revivify the Democratic Party. They argue that new parties in this country have always come into being by building on the foundations of the old; while third parties have sprung up, flourished briefly and then withered away.

From 1932 through 1944, the scrambled elements of the Democratic Party were held together by the political genius of President Roosevelt and the idea of the New Deal. Even when he attempted a "purge" of Southern reactionaries, as he did in 1938, he carried the South along with him. In the same way he carried the great urban centers, where labor-left voters returned the scorn and distrust of the Southern bourbons a hundred-fold.

Those who argue that the Democratic Party should be refashioned in a new form point to the Roosevelt heritage. On this foundation, they insist, a new beginning can be made. They believe that even in the South, as industrialization increases there, a new Democratic Party will evolve with genuine ties with the North. This is the kind of debate which will be heard increasingly as the tide of change cuts deep into the Democratic Party of tradition. Tues. 3-9-48

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LONG AND TALMADGE

34d

New Republic

N. Y., N. Y.

Return of the Long and Talmadge machines to power has given a new boost to the Southern Governors' efforts to rule or wreck the National Democratic Party. Earl K. Long, brother of "The Kingfish," and Herman Talmadge, son of Eugene, have gained legal control of the Democratic Parties in Louisiana and Georgia.

Earl Long, not so effective an orator as his brother but just as ambitious, was chosen as the next Governor of Louisiana in a runoff primary with Sam Houston Jones. Jones had defeated him in the 1940 race, so the victory a few days ago ended Long's eighth politically lean year. He managed to weather attacks connecting him with the "Louisiana Scandals" which sent Governor Richard Leche and several other political bosses to prison in 1939.

In Georgia, young Herman Talmadge won legal control over the state's Democratic machinery when the Georgia Supreme Court voted unanimously to vest party power in the Talmadge faction. Mon. 3-8-48 This ended ten months of contest and confusion and probably ended also the political career of Governor M. E. Thompson. The Thompson group, which has been tacitly recognized by national Democratic officials, was declared to be without any official standing. Each of the groups had held its own convention and branded the other as "rump Democrats" and "bolters."

Uninstructed. Another important development has just come in Virginia. Its Governor, William M. Tuck, has requested the state legislature to rewrite the law to permit selection of uninstructed presidential electors. At the same time, he asked Virginia's General Assembly to pass a bill that would remove the names of candidates for President and Vice President from ballots in that state. The law would put only party labels on the ballots and would bar the name of any party unless it had been listed in the last presidential election, or unless its candidates polled 10 percent of the vote at some general election within the last five years. Mon. 3-8-48

Such a law would knock out Henry Wallace's third party, as well as any move by Truman to enter Virginia's election with some new modification of the Democratic Party label. The Mississippi and South Carolina state legislatures, the only other two in the South meeting this year, are expected to follow Virginia's lead in freeing their electors to oppose Truman if and when the time comes.

Why Not Cooperation?

To the Editor of The News:

Birmingham, Ala.

This is written by a non-partisan who is fully aware of the crucial situation this and other freedom-loving countries are now confronted with, and is addressed to those who proclaim their partisan affiliations, sometimes loudly and oftentimes "too long." The occasion demands that the plain, unvarnished truth be spoken in understandable Americanese. The News Fri

At a time when Western European countries, in order to save themselves and what's left of their shattered civilization, have decided that their only hope for survival is to form a union and look to the U. S. A. for inspiration and material assistance, we here in the U. S. A. see at least one of our major political parties falling apart like a jalopy held together by nothing more substantial than chewing gum and haywire. 4-2-48

On the other hand, the party that hopes to benefit from the disassembling of its opposition's party machinery is in little better condition to serve the common interest. This fact alone should cause those who put the national welfare ahead of party loyalty to demand an answer from the politicians they elect to represent them, as to why, at a time like this, they have chosen to present an exhibition of disunity, the like of which the U. S. A. has been free of for almost a century.

Is it because insufficient time has elapsed that neither of the two parties have been able to solve the civil rights issue which is amply provided for in our Federal Constitution, or because they just couldn't get around to it until now at the most inopportune time in our entire national history?

In any event, it being an unsolved problem but not an insoluble one, it seems to me to be as worthy of non-partisan cooperation as the two parties' practice in foreign affairs. Fri. 4-2-48

If not, why not? Both are equally responsible for the delay, and why not insist that it be settled on the basis of mutual compromise and sacrifice? The News

Akron, Ala. BEN T. COUCHMAN.

Rivers Flaunts Dixie Revolt; Plans Fund-Raising Dinner

Montgomery Advertiser

E. D. RIVERS

ATLANTA, March 4.—(AP)—National Democratic Committeeman E. D. Rivers in a fiery statement late Thursday, flaunted a boiling Southern revolt over President Truman's civil rights program and asserted Georgia still would stage a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner.

34d

Rivers, a former governor, declared "those who are unashamed and unaffraid to stand up and be counted for the party of Jefferson and Jackson will be given an opportunity to contribute, to meet, to dine . . . and rededicate themselves to the cause of the common man. Montgomery, Ala.

"The ramparts of the Democratic party are being stormed front and rear by the reactionaries and the dreamers . . .

"If the national committeeman stands alone in Georgia on the burning deck of the party ship, let it be remembered that he chooses to remain there fighting the fires of passion that threaten to consume her." 3-5-1948

Rivers assumed responsibility for the national party fund-raising dinner after William T. Dean, former chairman of the affair, suddenly resigned last week.

Dean is a close associate of Gov M. E. Thompson. Both Dean and Thompson have been close politically with Rivers.

Rivers said a date and speaker would be announced when headquarters for the dinner are opened in Atlanta.

"There will be no quotas, no organized drive, just an opportunity for voluntary contributions to the national party," he said. "We will hold the dinner, however few there may be."

His announcement was an unexpected development on a rocky road from the beginning for the Jackson Day rally. First, Thompson announced that National Party Chairman Howard McGrath would address the Georgia dinner, March 5.

Growing Southern resentment against the civil rights program forced a change in plans and Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, was substituted as speaker.

The News

Nothing But Speculatio

If anything at all can be said with certainty about the troubled Democratic Party outlook, it is that President Truman will not voluntarily withdraw as a candidate for the nomination. The quality of stubbornness in his own character, coupled to an understandable pride, is sufficient assurance of that. His statement of Thursday was no surprise. He could not say anything else except that he expected a Democratic victory in November.

Birmingham, Ala

Mon.

There can be little more than speculation now about the party's outlook. The convention is still months away. Both domestic and international affairs are in such fluid state at this moment that no one knows with any sureness what may happen next. 3-29-48

Will the convention insert a strong civil liberties plank in the platform? If it does not, what will be the attitude of Southern revolters? We hear our best political commentators talking about dissent from the president's attitudes in important Eastern and Midwestern states. But no single Democratic leader from New York or Massachusetts or Illinois has taken a public stand. Marquis Childs, usually a calm individual not stampeded into making any wild guesses, devoted a column last week to some possibilities which do not sound thoroughly logical to all of his readers. Doris Fleeson, who may have inside sources of information, has several times hinted strongly at Northern disapproval of Truman. But neither of these writers has made statements which are far outside the gossip stage.

The News

It is even possible that the president's explanation of the Palestine stand has made headway with some of his critics on that score. In California the national convention delegates, after a four-hour meeting, announced that they are now "firmly pledged" to Truman. Sen. Murray, of Montana, says that he is "greatly encouraged" over the president's explanation of his position on Palestine. Birmingham, Ala

These are items which indicate a swing back of some into Truman's column. Nor does anyone know what effect the Russian situation may have on the party's attitude toward the president. Should Russia begin to relax her pressure as a possible result of Truman's requests for UMT and selective service, there is a possibility that his political stock will rise again. If conditions become more tense, the president's position also may be strengthened. Mon. 3-29-48

There is thus nothing sure except that no one knows. Whatever one reads at this stage of affairs is the sheerest sort of speculation.

WASHINGTON—A TEST IS SOON TO COME in the Senate that will have far-reaching political significance in this year of division. It may well determine whether the Democratic Party is to remain an effective unit or whether it is to shatter into warring fragments.

The test will come over the issue of cloture. Will a sufficient number of Northern Democrats join with Republicans to shut off Senate debate and thereby make it possible to adopt an anti-lynching or an anti-poll tax bill?

Birmingham News

Under the rules of the Senate, two-thirds of those present and voting must vote in favor of cloture—a limitation on debate which would end a Southern filibuster. Repeatedly, in the past, cloture has failed and the hated legislation has been drowned in talk.

Tues 3-30-48

There had been some expectation that this time enough Democrats, following the lead of President Truman's civil rights message, would go for cloture. But that was before the revolt within the Democratic Party threatened a breakup beyond hope of repair.

* * *

Southerners Make A Test

TODAY NORTHERN DEMOCRATS are acutely aware of the emphasis that Southern leaders will put on cloture. The Southerners may take it as the final test of whether they remain within the framework of their party.

This unhappy situation promises to produce acute political colic. On the day of the cloture vote, certain Northern Democrats will discover that they must have a long neglected hospital checkup. They will not be present and voting when the roll is called.

This is the strategy of those who feel that in the present desperation there is only one course left—to save the remnants of the Democratic Party. They would try to preserve the alliance between the Northern and Southern wings so that the present shattered forces may some day be reformed to fight another battle.

These are the same men who are talking of saving the party by side-tracking Mr. Truman. With cloture rejected, the Southerners would fall in line behind a substitute ticket and the basic structure of the party would thereby be preserved.

Powerful forces see in the present Southern revolt a heaven-sent opportunity to split the conservative Southern wing from the Northern wing, with its reliance on organized labor. To break up what is regarded as an unnatural alliance is the real goal. Birmingham Ala.

In the South, these forces are concentrated in the most reactionary wing of big business. The Southern Industrial Council of Nashville, Tenn., has sent out a flood of propaganda intended to fan the revolt.

Tues 3-30-48

The stake is, of course, the lower wage base in the South. By paying the Negro less than the white worker, a reservoir of cheap labor helps to maintain the base. Anti-discrimination laws would end all that.

* * *

Revolt Is Deep

NOT MUCH HAS BEEN NEEDED to touch off the Southern revolt, according to reports from that region. Feeling is deep and widespread.

What Southerners took more or less quiescently from President Roosevelt, they would not hear of from Mr. Truman. In part, at least, this seems to come from a sence of betrayal by one who had represented himself as their ally. A prominent Southern politician, in a letter to the president, put it this way:

"When I talked to you at the Democratic convention in Chicago in 1944, you said you were not in favor of this kind of enforced equalization. That is one of the reasons I worked in your behalf for the vice presidential nomination."

All this adds up to the likelihood that no civil rights legislation will be passed at this session. While the Republicans may shed crocodile tears at that outcome, they will not be too distressed.

They are well aware that if legislation were passed now, President Truman would deserve not a little of the credit. If, on the other hand, they wait until next year, when there will presumably be a Republican president and overwhelming Republican majorities in Senate and House, no one will have any doubt as to where credit should go.

These are the somewhat sordid realities of behind-scenes politics. They show men acting under the compulsion of swiftly-moving events that spin the wheel of fortune so fast most politicians, accustomed to the slower tempo of another day, cannot keep up with the changes. Another whirl might bring Mr. Truman's number up again, but the professionals are not counting on it.

JAY G. HAYDEN

The Constitution

All Hope of Victory Is Gone

Atlanta, Ga. Tues 4-6-48

WASHINGTON—The revolt against President Truman in the Democratic Party has reached the point where Northern city bosses have surrendered all hope of winning the Presidency and are looking only for a substitute candidate who will be least harmful to their State and local tickets.

Jacob M. Arvey, successor to Ed Kelly as head of the Chicago machine, was the first city boss to throw Truman overboard, but the movement he announced already was equally under way in a score of other big industrial centers.

It is a fairly safe bet that, in addition to the Chicago delegation, the bulk of representatives from New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Boss. Frank Hague's New Jersey cities, Cleveland and Detroit will vote against Truman. In California, Jimmy Roosevelt, Democratic State Chairman, has said he still is on Truman's side but Los Angeles and San Francisco are seething with opposition.

FIRST and foremost, the city bosses are scared to death of Henry Wallace. They frankly fear that Wallace would draw more votes than Truman in industrial sections, with a probable effect of transferring control of the Democratic Party in these areas to Wallaceites in the after-election reorganization. 4-6-48

This is the same attitude that caused Kelly, Hague, Flynn and other big-city bosses to fight so hard against renomination of Wallace for Vice President in 1944. It was touch and go then, for example, whether Kelly could hold his delegation against Wallace. In order to hold it Kelly personally entered Sen. Scott Lucas for Vice President. Kelly never got aboard the Truman bandwagon, because he was afraid that on a "unit rule" test Wallace would win the whole Illinois delegation.

The city leaders fear that Truman would carry down to defeat most of their candidates for lesser offices. With Truman and Wallace dividing the Democratic votes fairly equally, Republican nominees would be likely to win a lot more congressional seats and other local plums.

The Truman opposition right now is shouting for Gen. Dwight Eisenhower mainly because it has no other place to go. Neither the city bosses nor the experienced politicians of the South have any real hope that Eisenhower, after spurning the Republican nomination, is going to rush to the rescue of hopelessly divided Democrats. The Constitution

But talk of Eisenhower is useful to rally sentiment against Truman and hold it until the party leaders determine whom else to go for. Atlanta, Ga.

NOR DO the Democratic leaders, North or South, see any conceivable chance of reuniting these sections before next November. The difference between them is so pronounced and definite that any presidential candidate acceptable to the Northern cities would be anathema to the South and vice versa. Tues 4-6-48

What the Northern city bosses are looking for is a candidate who would come closest to holding Democratic votes in their bailiwicks against Wallace. The man most favored to that end is Justice William O. Douglas, of the Supreme Court, but it is doubtful if he will give up his lucrative lifetime job for a forlorn hope. Certainly the South would be as much against Douglas as Truman. Atlanta, Ga.

The Constitution

Boss Arvey is said to be touting Sen. Lucas as the best Northern city bet. Lucas might prove fairly acceptable to Democrats of the Southern border States, but the 10 States of the so-called Solid South would settle for him. Tues

The prospect continues to be that Democratic votes will split three ways: Between Truman or some other candidate backed by Northern Democratic regulars

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New Republic

THE BIG domestic news this week is the growing despair of the Democrats. Following the Jackson Day-dinner flop, Truman's prestige took a further giddy decline in the handling of the Palestine issue. Party leaders are at last asking themselves if it's possible to switch to another candidate. The practical answer is Yes, but it means almost certain defeat. It's a repudiation of the party's own leader and record.

Wallace, and a dyed-in-the-wool Southerner such as Sen. Harry Byrd, of Virginia, or Sen. Walter George, of Georgia. 4-1-48

The Roosevelt coalition is fast falling apart, Wallace leading off one wing, Southern reactionaries another. There's no fun in any of this for middle-of-the-road progressives.

With all Truman's mistakes and ineptitudes, they feel he's been right on social legislation, the Taft-Hartley Act, taxes, the Marshall Plan and civil liberties. Truman's position now is a good deal like that of Lincoln's successor Andrew Johnson, who managed to

alienate almost everybody in a remarkably short time, some for good reason. The Democrats ditched Johnson, and the Republicans and the money powers took over. Things look good for them today, too.

Funds Raised By Democrats To Combat Truman Proposal

34d
Advertiser
Montgomery Ala.

JACKSON, MISS., Feb. 22.—(AP)—Mississippi Democratic leaders, aided by some out-of-state representatives, began raising funds Sunday to fight the Truman leadership of the national party.

Approximately 250 of them at a meeting here pledged $61,500 toward an initial goal of $100,000.

It is to be spent not only in "advise" the people and gain their support in combatting the national party's sponsorship of "anti-Southern" legislation.

Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, spearhead of the movement to purge the party of leaders he says are not in accord with the "principles of true white Jeffersonian Democrats," asserted: Mon. 2-23-48

"We want to kick out these birds who stole the party from us. We want to see the South revive the conservative Democratic party."

Sees Realignment

If the movement is successful, he continued, it will lead to a realignment of major political parties.

"We will have a conservative party and a radical party," the governor said.

"Let's kick out those leaders and get them under the flag they ought to be under—the radical flag."

"We've got to have other states with us if we are going to accomplish anything," Wright continued. He added, however, that Mississippi will go ahead with its fight even without outside support.

States represented at Sunday's meeting, in addition to Mississippi, included Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina.

The governor said representatives of other states were invited to the meeting "to plan one program we all can get behind." An executive session followed the open meeting.

Can't Compromise

In the present fight, Wright said, "we can't go back, we can't compromise. . . . because we are fighting for a principle and you can't compromise on a principle."

"They (the national party leadership) are offering us a Southern vice-president," Gov. Wright declared. "They gave us a vice-president four years ago, and look what we've got."

He warned:

"If you fail this time, you might as well forget about making the voice of the South heard."

"Don't ever think this move-

a nationwide meeting of "True White Jeffersonian Democrats" to be held here soon.

Wallace W. Wright of Jackson,

Mississippi but in ~~other states to~~

a business man and not related to the governor, conducted the money-raising phase of today's meeting.

Pledges ranged from $25 to $5,000. After Wright had announced a total of $31,500 pledged, he received notice that the civilian colonels on the staff of Gov. Wright in Jackson would guarantee another $25,000.

"This is the people's fight," Wallace Wright told the gathering. "It is going to take money.

"We are trying to cooperate with other states representing 127 electoral votes."

He said the "fight" must be made now because, on the basis of the next census, the South expects to lose some of its seats in the electoral college.

ment is confined to the South," he continued. "It is spreading all over the United States because we are fighting on high ground, for states' rights."

He predicted that many Republicans would join in the movement "because they are disturbed about conditions."

Sunday's meeting was another development in agitation against the national party leadership that has become more pronounced since Wright's inauguration Jan. 20. Mon. 2-23-48

Break Urged

At that time he proposed that Southern Democrats "break" with the national party unless it cease sponsoring such legislation as anti-lynching and the FEPC bill—both recommendations of President Truman's civil rights committee.

The meeting is a forerunner of

'CALCULATED RISKS' SPLIT THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The Times New York, N.Y.
Sun. 2-29-48
34d

Truman Strategy to Hold Left Wingers Without Losing Southern Support Has Run Into Serious Trouble

'HALF BOLT' IS SOMETHING NEW

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28—The war-delayed crack-up of the political combination which Franklin D. Roosevelt loosely covered with the label of the Democratic party, and which Harry S. Truman inherited in damaged condition, is now showing wide and expanding rifts. These developed from the successive strain of the Feb. 17 by-election for Congress in the Bronx, where third-party forces under Henry A. Wallace were successful, and the deliberate program this week of the Virginia Democratic organization to withhold the state's electoral votes from the national party nominees. But beneath the surface the dynamic origins of the split have long been in motion. Sun. 2-29-48

Mr. Roosevelt attracted to Democratic tickets for a number of years the votes of a majority of Negro citizens, who, when they are politically solidified and other groups are divided, can determine the outcome of elections in several large states of the Northeast. The Bronx election implied that this solid pro-Democratic front is breaking for various reasons which even Mr. Truman's new emphasis on Federal legislation it has favored apparently did not remove.

Mr. Roosevelt, though he separately endorsed all the legislative items which Mr. Truman sent to Congress in one package, never pressed them at a time or in a way to persuade the Southern Democracy they actually impended, as Mr. Truman has now persuaded them. Hence, with the war emergency and then the war greatly assisting his strategy, Mr. Roosevelt held the South, whose Democratic organizations are now in arms against his successor.

Change Over Moscow

The Times

The late President also, beginning with the recognition of Soviet Russia, had public opinion with him in his fraternal dealings with Moscow which, through Hitler's attack, advanced to the war alliance with Russia against the Axis and the appeasement policy that reached its peak at Yalta. Therefore, the opponents of our current course toward Soviet Russia who form the hard core of Mr. Wallace's support stayed in the Democratic political combination from which they now have broken away. The Palestine crisis has alienated other units. Only the right and middle wings of organized labor, of the roving groups that affiliated with the Democratic party during the Presidency of Mr. Roosevelt, give Mr Truman any assurance of continued support. New York, N.Y.

The march of events since his succession having brought the Democratic party to the point of violent fission, the President felt obliged to take certain calculated risks. Last year, because he approved the advance text of a speech on foreign affairs by his Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Wallace, he had to make a choice between reversing his Russian policy and his Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, or dismissing Mr. Wallace from the Cabinet. This incident progressed inevitably into a third-party movement led by the ousted Secretary. This year, in an effort to hold the support of non-Southern groups who are pressing for Federal laws against lynching, the poll-tax and racial segregation and selection of any kind, the President proposed his omnium "civil-rights" program to a Republican Congress whose majority would be certain to add strength to it that Democratic Congresses could not to pass at least the anti-poll tax and anti-lynching items. This has led inevitably to the uprising in the South against the Presidential candidacy of Mr. Truman. 2-29-48

Two Surprises for Party

That uprising is the second surprise that has come to the managing party politicians who urged the President to make the decisions he made and assured him the calculated risks would add up to a voting profit. The first was the Bronx by-election.

The Democratic party managers, recalling that the organizations in the South have never carried through any threat to desert the national ticket, noting also that on the civil-rights program the Republicans offer only more of the same, prophesied to the President that his selected strategy would decimate the Wallace movement, hold the essential large states in the North, East and West and produce the usual crop of electoral votes in the South.

Questions Raised

Current indications, though these may change—and mounting Soviet aggression may change them—are wholly to the contrary. And the developing splits have raised these questions, as Virginia Democrats prepare to revise their laws so that the state's electors may withhold their votes from the national party ticket if the organization decides to do so and the voters approve:

(1) If the President finds no formula to pacify the Southerners on his civil-rights program, and the Democratic convention nominates him on a platform substantially including this program, will several Southern delegations walk out before the convention makes its decisions—thus leaving their state organizations normally free to withhold their electors from the ticket on the Virginia pattern?

(2) Will enough Southern Democratic electors accordingly transfer their votes to another Democrat to make doubly certain the defeat of the convention nominee, barring a Democratic landslide elsewhere (which no competent observer expects)?

(3) Are the answers to these questions so likely to be in the affirmative that the party will reverse the political precedent that began with Theodore Roosevelt in 1904 (the first time a President by succession was ever nominated for a full term), and choose another candidate than Mr. Truman—possibly on his own motion? The Times

(4) Or will the President and the convention find some means to placate Mr. Wallace and disperse his following, letting the Southern Democracy go its way and concentrate all hopes on the rest of the country? New York, N.Y.

Face-Saving Concessions

Some believe that an affirmative answer to the last question is not beyond the realm of possibility. They base their opinion on the expectation that before November, perhaps even by convention time, Russian policy will have obliged Mr. Wallace to take a stand that will break up his support and open his way back to the Democratic party. And they think this prospect may be hastened by face-saving concessions which Mr. Truman will order into the party platform. Sun.

But however these questions are finally answered, the split from the party of the Southern wing is deep and wide. 2-29-48

Differing from a bolt to the Republicans, which the Southern organizations have never led and always sent to oblivion any Democrats who have, the Southern procedure would be a "half bolt" under command of the regulars themselves. It was not envisaged when Mr. Truman made his choices among the "calculated" risks.

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

The Constitution

342

Little Hope for the Democrats?

Atlanta, Ga

WASHINGTON—One of the most influential Southern Democrats in the United States Senate takes a hopeless view of his party's chances to recapture control of Congress and retain the Presidency in the coming national election.

For that reason he sees little to be gained in the current agitation for a Southern revolt against President Truman because of controversial phases of his civil rights program. Thurs 2-26-48

It is not that he feels the South should not assert itself in affairs of the party on issues of the kind. Like most other Southerners, he has strong convictions on the subject.

But it is the futility of the situation, as regards the election outlook, that causes him to pursue a more cautious course.

As this Southern Senator sees it, President Truman and the Democratic Party are headed for a disastrous defeat in November. After remaining in power for a period of some 16 years, the Democrats, he believes, are again slated to become the minority party.

It is an opinion that is coming to be shared by a growing number of Democrats. The reasons for feeling this way are too numerous to be dealt with at the moment. They may be summarized briefly as growing (1) out of the Wallace third-party movement, (2) the inability of the President to hold diverse elements of the party in line, and (3) the general tide of political events, built on the desire of the people for a change.

It is still too early, of course, for informed sources to undertake a firm prediction on the outcome of the election that lies ahead. Many factors remained to be revealed yet. Much may depend on the candidates to be selected by the Republicans for their Presidential ticket. Also, there is still an outside chance that the Democrats may be able to bring enough pressure to bear on Henry A. Wallace to persuade him to forego his third-party plans

But the point of it is that the prospects, as they appear at the present, are none too bright for the Democrats. The Wallace candidacy could easily be a decisive factor alone. In a close election he could easily take enough votes away from the Democratic ticket to give the Republicans a comfortable victory. There are increasing signs that he will be able to do this.

If the Democrats, then, are headed for defeat in November, this Southern Senator, who prefers to remain in the background, believes it would be to the best interest of the Southern wing of the party to defer action until after the election.

The Constitution

The time for the South to assert itself in demanding a greater voice in the affairs of the party will come, he says, when the party is reorganized after a disastrous defeat. Such a reorganization will be inevitable, perhaps, if defeat does come in November. Atlanta, Ga.

Then it will be possible for Southern States to serve notice on the party just what is to be expected in the way of adherence to Southern customs and traditions. It will be time enough then for the South to talk of pulling away from the party, if its demands are not met.

With defeat staring the party in the face, nothing is to be accomplished by agitation for revolt, it is held. The Senator's thesis is that it would be far more effective for the States of the region to wait for the party reorganization that is sure to come with the return of the Republicans to power. Thurs 2-26-48

More sober-minded members of Congress from the South are not so much concerned by anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bill provisions of the President's civil rights program as they are his recommendations for legislation to eliminate segregation of the races in interstate commerce transportation.

There is a feeling on this point that the President's recommendations, if carried out to the letter, might be extended so far as to prohibit segregation of races in the public schools and even in churches. This is a point on which Southern members will never go along. Thurs

Nor are they bothered so much about the proposed Federal Fair Practices Employment Commission. It is their feeling that other sections of the country would find more difficulty with this than the Southern States.

It is the race segregation thing that counts the most. So long as that issue is raised within the Democratic Party, the South, it is declared, will have to deal with it through threats of revolt.

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Democrats Heal Some Bitterness

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON—Democratic chieftains made some progress in healing "civil rights" bitterness during their closed-door sessions last week—but not too much.

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This time some of the rebellion came not merely from the South, but from the North. Ed Flynn, boss of the Bronx and the man who had much to do with nominating Truman in 1944, declined to attend. After Truman, without consulting Democratic leaders, announced that he was a candidate, Flynn sent word that he was not coming to Washington "to play ring-around-a-rosie." Tues.

Ed Kelly, ex-mayor of Chicago and another stalwart who helped put Truman in office, also failed to show up. 3-16-48

On the other hand, homespun Ex-Gov. Bob Kerr, of Oklahoma, keynoter of the last Democratic convention in 1944, this time keynoted the drive to restore harmony.

"If we want to win the election this year," reminded Kerr, "and I know that's uppermost in the minds of all Democrats, we've got to work together as a united party. The Democratic Party is big enough to have disagreements—even big disagreements like this one—and still present a united front."

Kerr spoke after Chairman Howard McGrath had argued, implored and coaxed that Democratic factions patch up their split over Truman's civil-rights program.

"I'll admit that the president's message may not have been timed well and some may object to the manner in which it was presented to Congress," said McGrath, "but after all it is the mandate of the party. Civil rights was part of the 1944 party platform. All President Truman did was ask Congress to put into law something to which the Democratic Party already is committed."

McGrath went on to point out that Truman's message was misunderstood by many people, especially that part relating to "segregation" of races in public carriers. All the president did, in effect, was to call attention to a Supreme Court ruling that Jim Crow laws were illegal on buses and other carriers in interstate transportation, the Democratic chairman emphasized.

* * *

Republicans Have Troubles, Too

McGRATH GOT STRONG SUPPORT from his fellow Rhode Island senator, Theodore Green, and from Indiana's bulky Frank McHale. The News

"This trouble in the party has been greatly exaggerated," declared the alert 81-year-old senator from Rhode Island. "The Republicans have their difficulties too—over the question of choosing a nominee. I think that the strife within Republican ranks will become more and more bitter as the campaign wears on.

"All this talk about Truman not being a strong candidate doesn't make sense," continued Green. "We can win with him if Democrats give him their united support. There was a feeling that Roosevelt would be defeated when he ran for a third term in 1940 and a fourth term in 1944. Birmingham, Ala.

"Now, as then, we put too much stock in what the newspapers are saying. All the big papers in Rhode Island opposed Roosevelt, while 80 per cent of the Republican-controlled press in the rest of the nation was against him. He won overwhelmingly despite this editorial opposition. Harry Truman will do the same." Tues. 3-16-48

McHale belittled the "Wallace threat" to Democrat election chances.

"The people of Indiana are traditionally against third parties," said the committeeman from Indiana. "Teddy Roosevelt received only slightly more than 40,000 votes in Indiana when he ran as a Bull Mooser, and Father Coughlin's third party in 1936 was laughed at in my part of the country. That's why we're not worrying about Wallace and his Commie supporters."

* * *

Southern Ire Continues

HOWEVER, SOUTHERN SPOKESMEN asserted they were all the more incensed by the civil-rights message because Southern states were well on the way to eliminating the discriminations Truman singled out. Lynching is now practically nonexistent in the South. Some Southern states already had repealed the poll tax. Others, including Virginia, were preparing to do so. Tues.

In Alabama, Southern spokesmen said, colored workers were paid the same wage scale as whites in many industries. In North Carolina white and colored teachers get the same salaries. 3-16-48

McGrath said he was well aware of these strides, therefore understood the criticism leveled at the administration's program. That criticism, however, he contended, should not be directed personally at the president, who was only carrying out party policy, laid down by Franklin Roosevelt.

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

Courier Journal

Louisville Ky

By Drew Pearson

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348

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Tue. 3-16-48

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The Business Before Us

The State Legislature meets this morning.

The Constitution

Demo

The Acting Governor's call, which under Georgia law prescribes and limits the business of such special sessions, asks the following legislation:

34d

1. Providing for the mandatory inclusion of the individual names of candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, along with the names of the electors and party designation on the official ballot for the general election.

Mon 9-27-48

2. Providing for the electors of any political party to cast their votes only for the nominees of their party designation.

3. Providing for the repeal of that portion of the present State law, Code Section 34-1905 as amended, which reads as follows: "Provided, further that such candidate shall also file a petition for that purpose signed by not less than five percent of the registered voters in that territory or that such political party shall have cast no less than five percent of the votes in the last general election next preceding for the election of such officer."

Atlanta Ga.

4. Providing for an amendment to Code Section 34-1904, as amended, so that certification of nominees of a political party or candidates may be made not later than twenty days before the general election.

5. Providing for such other legislation as may be deemed necessary to accomplish the foregoing subject matter specifically and not otherwise.

Acting Gov. Thompson has thus given the Legislators ample leeway to work out a plan acceptable to all. We trust they will seek to do so without delay or partisanship, remembering that Governor-nominate Herman Talmadge is on record as concurring with the need for changing our general election laws to make them more democratic.

The Constitution is glad that Georgia voters are to be given the fullest possible choice of candidates on Nov. 2.

Mon 9-27-48

We are even happy that the Wallace electors are to be accorded a place on the ballot although we are sure they would rather have gone through with the pretense of presenting an illegal petition and then crying "un-American" when Secretary of State Fortson ruled against them. As it is, they will get few votes in Georgia . . . and no dollars from sympathetic suckers in Harlem and Hollywood who resent what would appear to be Georgia's high-handed decision to keep them off the ballot.

We are gratified, too, that Gov. Thurmond AND President Truman will have their names on the ballot so that Georgians may vote for either or neither, as they please.

34d

But while we welcome the news that the Dixiecrat candidate is to have a place on the ballot, we shall continue to urge thoughtful Georgians to vote either Democratic or Republican.

We shall do so because we are convinced, in the first place, that it is to Georgia's interest to remain in the party and not undermine our Congressmen and Senators, most of whom occupy powerful committee positions which enable them to represent us most ably in the national forum where the issues which concern us are to be determined.

Mon 9-27-48

We shall do so, secondly, because Gov. Thurmond has not the remotest chance of being elected and because, for once, we agree with the Savannah Morning News, which declares: "The ironical thing about the South Carolinian's complaint, that his three opponents are striving to win the votes of the minority in sections outside the South, is that the gentleman himself and his fellow Dixiecrats are striving with equal vigor to win what is certainly a minority vote of the entire country when he asks Southerners to back his own ticket."

We long have advocated establishment of a real two-party system in the South.

But we want to see it comprised of the two national parties, so that the men we send to Congress will not be political eunuchs.

If Georgia is to go for Dewey on Nov. 2 then let it be by its citizens voting for Dewey . . . and not because, by voting for Thurmond, thoughtless Georgians place the State in the doghouse with both the majority and minority parties of government.

Sticking by the Party

The Constitution

The Constitution congratulates Sen. Russell, Reps. Lanham, Pace, Brown, Wood, Camp and others of the Georgia delegation who have publicly announced their support of the Democratic Party.

34d

Fri 10-29-48

We commend their thinking and position to every voter in the State, as well as other members of our congressional delegation who have not yet been willing publicly to take a stand with their Party.

Certainly no one can accuse any of the Southern gentlemen of favoring the Federal Employment Practices Act. Indeed, in their very statements pledging support to the party and its nominees, they make it clear that they have intentions of opposing the President's so-called civil rights proposals at every opportunity.

Atlanta Ga.

But they are loyal Democrats.

They will stick with the party because they are convinced that the most effective way of preventing passage of such ill-advised force bills is to remain in the positions of prominence which are theirs by virtue of their party membership.

We were impressed, in this connection, with an example cited by the Macon News earlier in the week.

"What civilian, next to the President, was most influential in the control and direction of the United States Navy during the late war and the fateful years immediately preceding?" the News demanded.

Fri 10-29-48

"The answer, of course, is Carl Vinson, Representative in Congress from the Sixth Georgia District, who was Chairman of the powerful House Naval Affairs Committee during that period.

"And how did Mr. Vinson come to occupy that powerful position? Solely by reason of the fact that he was a Democrat, elected by a Democratic constituency in a Democratic State. Even now, since the Republicans gained control of Congress in 1946 and Mr. Vinson on that account lost his Chairmanship, he is the ranking Democrat on the Committee. And if the Democrats are victorious in the November election, Mr. Vinson will again become Chairman of this immensely powerful Committee. That is, he will if he is still a Democrat and his constituency and his State retain their Democratic status.

"But if Mr. Vinson turns Dixiecrat and Georgia gives its electoral vote to Thurmond and Wright, Mr. Vinson won't be Chairman of the Committee in the event of a Democratic victory; and in the event of a Democratic defeat, he won't even remain the ranking Democrat on the Committee, because he won't be a Democrat. Certainly the Democrats, even when they constitute the minority, are not going to reward their enemies with important congressional positions. So it will be all down the line. Mr. Vinson is only our local example, illustrative of the fact that the South's hope for influence in Congress is conditioned on its congressional leadership remaining Democratic. And it cannot remain Democratic unless it supports the nominees of the Democratic Party."

Fri 10-29-48

We are gratified that not only have several of our congressional leaders finally realized that they can best uphold Southern traditions by remaining in the party, but also that more and more voters are coming to see through the Dixiecrat fallacy.

Democratic Chiefs In Georgia Oppose Revolt

Journal Guide

(648)

2-21-48

By NNPA News Service

ATLANTA, Ga.—Leaders of both factions of the Democratic Party in Georgia were in agreement that secession from the national party is no answer to President Truman's 10-point civil rights program.

Roy Harris, Chief lieutenant of Herman Talmadge, ousted claimant to the Georgia governorship, editorialized on the proposed revolt in his political weekly, the Augusta Courier. Harris argued: "Stay in the Demicratic party and fight the rascals."

Norfolk Va

Acting Governor Melvin E. Thompson, leader of the other faction in Georgia, is on record as opposing party revolt. He believes that the President's proposals calling for anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, anti-discrimination and anti-segregation legislation can be fought best within the party. He helped fight a Mississippi-sponsored revolt at a recent meeting of the Southern Governors' Conference.

At the recent Southern Governors' Conference at Tallahassee, Fla., there was talk about the South seceding from the Democratic Party if President Truman did not back down on his civil rights program, but the conference adopted a 40-day "cooling off" period before the South takes any action to break with the Democratic Party.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

(342)

A Quiet, Political Essay

Jun 10-3-48

On Capitol Hill the tumult and the shouting have died. The captains and the clowns have departed. The Legislature is gone from us, reminding us, as the cynics say, that parting is such sweet sorrow.

The job done was, in most respects, a good one. The crackpots will have their day and a place on the ballot. The official Democratic Party in the State properly, I think, revealed its unwillingness to bolt.

Atlanta Ga

Calling the special session by Acting Gov. Thompson delighted the Talmadge faction no end. It took the Talmadge people off a spot which had its members squirming and as uncomfortable as a man at the county fair in a pair of tight shoes.

Electors who will cast their votes for the President for the people of Georgia who stay in the Democratic Party have been named. It is up to Georgia voters. Will they waste their votes on the so-called Dixiecrats and Wallaceites, or go for one of the major parties?

Dewey As it now stands, the Dewey ticket has an excellent chance in Georgia, if enough Democrats bolt the ticket to the Dixiecrats. That chance has been improved by the forthright statement in behalf of states' rights by the Dewey running mate, Gov. Earl Warren. More and more Georgians are swinging to the Dewey ticket.

I still hold the Dixiecrats to be a fraud and a folly and a dead-end political street which any Democrat will regret taking. Their use of States' Rights as a party name also is incompatible with the facts. They are not the Democratic Party as they now admit, but a bolted fourth party tied with the Wallaceites in an effort to beat the party. As a Democrat, I believe in the two-party system and I hope the Republicans willcarry the State if the party can't.

Talmadge There remains, then, the balloting on Nov. 2 and the subsequent inauguration of Herman Talmadge as Governor of Georgia. Now that relative quiet has come, let us try to analyze him factually and reasonably.

Young Talmadge, at 37, is an unknown quantity. He has not held office. His several weeks as Governor in the disputed period of 1947 when he was elected by the Legislature, an action nullified by the State Supreme Court, revealed only that he devoted himself earnestly to the job. The court decision was most fortunate for him, as the disorder which developed from hangers-on and from some members of the Legislature who had drunk not wisely but too well, plus the highly emotional overtones of the event, disturbed the people, including many who supported him. It was badly handled.

He is a graduate of the State University. He is admittedly a shrewd, intelligent young man with a personality which makes friends easily. In the 1947 Legislature it made some friends of those who came as enemies.

He had a good war record, in combat zones of the Pacific, including participation in some landing assaults in which the Navy and Marine Corps worked together.

He has had one youthful marriage which was of short duration. His second has been, and is, a happy one. His wife is a fine young lady. They have two children. It is not true, as whispered, that they have several times been separated and were waiting only for the primary results to call it quits. They seem happy with one another.

Jun 10-3-48

During the campaign his opposition first began, by innuendo, to charge him with drunkenness. Later this was brought into the open by young Talmadge himself. His opposition foolishly tried to insinuate he was in an intoxicated condition during the campaign and this boomeranged, as it was obvious no man who was speaking two or three times a day in public view could be in such condition.

Future What his conduct in this respect was before the campaign I do not know. From what I could learn he may have sown a youthful college wild oat or so. He came back from the Pacific to join often with old friends and veterans in frequent celebrations of return. These stopped well before the campaign and there is now no reason to ascribe to them serious implications, that is, for the future. With his whole political career just beginning, it would seem folly to assume that he hasn't enough common sense to exact from what appears to be an unusual and brilliant opportunity the most there is in it. He is "in" and his course would seem to indicate an ambitious plan to justify the confidence of the people so that he may ask of them additional honors.

Task It will not be easy. It is inevitable that to the winner flock all those who make their living of trying to make winners beholden to them in some degree, large or small.

Our political system of contributions inevitably creates obligations. But it is not through the major appointments that a Governor trips himself. A combine of road contractors, for example, joined to get what they could, would be relatively uninterested in naming the director of the Highway Department, or its administrator. But they would be very interested in getting a reliable man in the laboratory, another in the inspection group, and still another in the finance office.

Jun 10-3-48

There will be tremendous pressure put on young Talmadge. More, I imagine, than has been put on any Governor in a long time. He has a chance to win to him much of the leaderless group which formerly was in the Rivers camp. He has a chance, even, to win, in the years ahead, much Negro support. And more and more they will be voters. They are important to the economy of Georgia and their economic welfare is a measure of our general progress. All this he cannot fail to know. I believe he will be a good Governor if the people will let him. He himself must realize that he can be a good Governor only with increasing public support. He must earn it by keeping it. He is intelligent. Therefore, it seems to me the analysis is optimistic. Only he can change it.

Common Sense

The adherents of Herman Talmadge, ousted from control of the Democratic party organization in Georgia after Herman had failed in his attempt to seize the governorship itself, are now back in control. The Record

The Talmadge group won control in the election that re-elected Gene Talmadge, father of Herman, to the governorship. The elder Talmadge died before he could take office and Lieutenant Governor M. E. Thompson was finally made governor after a silly two-governor interval. Wed.

Thompson attempted to set up his own party organization which has been recognized by the national Democratic party. Now, however, the courts have settled the issue. The legal organization is the Talmadge group. 2-25-48

And this, of course, is plain common sense. The control of the Democratic party organization was not affected by Talmadge's death and there was no reason in logic to attempt to change it after his death. The reasons for the change were all political. Columbia, S.C.

Talmadge Turns Down Dinner For Democrats

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

ATLANTA, Jan. 23.—(AP)—Herman Talmadge turned thumbs down Friday on Georgia's Jefferson - Jackson Day dinner and thus set off a political chain-reaction of sharp charges and counter-charges. Sat. 1-24-48

Talmadge refused an invitation to attend the March 5 affair to raise funds for the National Democratic Party. He charged that Gov. M. E. Thompson and his associates had pocketed for personal political propaganda $42,000 contributed at last year's dinner.

Gov. Thompson suggested late Friday that Talmadge was placing "petty partisanship" above national democratic interests and the national welfare.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

A Quiet Political Essay

Thurs.

Atlanta, Ga.

Georgia's Supreme Court has put the State Democratic Party reins into the hands of the Talmadge faction. With that issue now resolved, it is possible to talk politics . . . as it was not before. 2-26-48

It is at once apparent that Georgia's delegation to the convention at Philadelphia will not go pledged to President Harry S. Truman.

If he finally is the nominee of the party, the Georgia delegation will hardly refuse to go along. But, until he is the nominee, one may be sure the Georgia delegation will refrain from supporting him . . . and, further, will be looking for another candidate.

The whole strategy of the Southern States, with the exception of Mississippi and South Carolina, likely will be to make the fight within the party.

This means that unpledged delegations, or delegations pledged to some favorite son, will go from every deep South State which sends a delegation. If Sen. George will permit, his name is the most likely for Georgia's 12 votes on the early ballots. And Georgia's delegation will go to any man who might have a chance of winning the nomination over President Truman.

Possibility If some person with personality could be projected before the convention, it is not at all improbable that he could get the nomination. But, in late years the Democratic ranks have been lacking in men of personality great enough to have national appeal. After Roosevelt's glittering skill at public relations, almost every political pundit has seemed as dull as the minutes of last month's meeting. Thurs 2-26-48

There will be other states with favorite sons. This means that Harry Truman will not be named on the first ballot, as seemed likely a few months ago before Henry Wallace went into his corn dance, and the Civil Rights proposals came to sit, like Banquo's ghost, at the Truman political table.

So, the big fight will be at the convention, within the party.

Electors As it now appears only Mississippi is sure to go off the reservation, with South Carolina almost sure so to do. Mississippi plans to have the Legislature repeal the statute, which all states have, requiring the electors to be on the ballot. So does South Carolina. The Constitution

Once the statute is eliminated the Legislature may give the Governor the right to name the electors, or the Legislature itself may elect them. Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 2-26-48

Platform This course is wholly unnecessary, as such electors finally would have to vote for the party nominee or go off and sulk. It already is obvious that not enough electors will be withheld to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

President Truman would have to throw more gasoline on the fire to bring about a real South-wide revolt. Thurs

What the convention likely will end up with is the Democratic platform of 1944, which Sen. McGrath said would suit him, a statement largely overlooked in the haste of the news agencies to report the protest by four Southern Governors. 2-26-48

Georgia Locally, within Georgia, the court decision definitely was helpful to the Talmadge organization. It enables its leaders to work closely with county organizations, and to name the election officials. The Constitution

More than anything else, it was a psychological boost, causing the band wagon riders to itch to sit down . . . they having been standing for some time. Atlanta, Ga

Still, it was not without relief to the Thompson faction. It was relieved of its pledge to whoop things up for Harry Truman and to go for him on the first ballot. Mr. Truman is not an asset in the South today. Thurs 2-26-48

Most pleased of all were the Georgia Representatives, and Sen. Richard B. Russell, all of whom used to have bad dreams about the possibility of two primaries.

Worthy Goals For Achievement

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

The Georgia Negro Democratic leaders, meeting in Atlanta Friday, adopted far-reaching plans calculated to chalk up the largest vote ever to be cast by Negro Georgians, mapped an all-out attack upon the pernicious purge campaign by the Talmadge forces and adopted stern measures by which their organization and its affiliated chapters can meet the challenge and sheer embarrassment from recalcitrant members, such as Larkin Marshall, who has allowed himself to be used as a "catspaw" in the hands of professed friends of the Negro supporting the Wallace third party movement. Sun. 5-23-48

For these splendid overtures in good government and forthright leadership, the Negro Democrats are to be highly commended. And we take peculiar pride in the splendid tribute they paid to President Truman, who long before the Civil Rights program was ever proposed, demonstrated his honesty and sincerity toward the oppressed minorities in America, both as president and senator. The marvel is that Negroes throughout America have been so hesitant to give similar expressions of appreciation to the man who has meant so much to us.

In another sense, it is not too early to sound a word of warning to Georgia Negroes. The ensuing months between now and September 8, may be expected to be crucial ones. Already the Talmadge forces are scheming to defeat by fair or foul means, the efforts of qualified Negroes to vote. Plans are afoot, according to testimony given before the Atlanta meeting Friday, by which the Talmadge leaders will seek to betray the Negro voters by appealing to certain of their numbers to go out and work among them to persuade Negroes to vote for him on the grounds that he will grant them equal justice and privileges as all other Georgia citizens. Sun. 5-23-48

All of these schemes, of course, will fail. Negroes will have no truck with Talmadge and his henchmen. Honeycombed words will not change their suspicions and fears of a man who believes inherently in White Supremacy. And though he and his stalwarts may change their words and their approach, sensible Georgians will not mistake these words for a change of heart

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Talmadge Denounces 'Coalition'

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

By M. L. ST. JOHN
Constitution Staff Writer

MACON, July 2—Two Congressmen attending a State Democratic Convention here today, which virtually launched the gubernatorial campaign of Herman Talmadge, quickly indorsed the Convention's boom to draft Gen. Eisenhower for President and U. S. Sen. Russel for Vice President. Sat.

More than 5,000 delegates demonstrated with roaring applause to swing the nation's first State Convention openly and unanimously behind the draft-Eisenhower boom. 7-3-48

The Convention asked President Truman to withdraw as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President; asked Gen. Eisenhower to accept the nomination and Russell to be his running mate; or, if Eisenhower refused, urged the Presidential nomination upon Georgia's Junior Senator.

Rep. E. E. Cox, of Camilla, veteran firebrand in the House, declared Eisenhower probably would have a better chance of leading the Democrats to victory than any other man on the horizon. However, he doubted if Eisenhower will accept a draft. Russell would strengthen any ticket on which he might appear, Cox asserted.

Observing that Georgia has the strongest representation of any State in the Senate, Cox added that he wouldn't be adverse to seeing the Georgia delegation honor Sen. George with the Presidential nomination.

Rep. Don Wheeler, of Alma, completing his first term as Congressman, declared he is heartily in favor of an Eisenhower-Russell ticket. If this is impossible, he would like to see the Georgia delegation fight to the last for the nomination of Sen. Russell. He said, "The Democrats have no chance with Truman," and that he would rather be defeated even with a candidate other than Truman, since he believes Truman's candidacy will destroy the Democratic Party."

Sat.

Rep. Steve Pace, of Americus, had no comment. 7-3-48

The reconvened 1946 State Democratic Convention, which originally nominated the late Eugene Talmadge for Governor, today placed its blessings upon Talmadge's son, Herman, as he enters the race for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination.

Leading Convention speakers presented Herman Talmadge as Georgia's next Governor, and Talmadge himself unleashed what was tantamount to his opening campaign speech as he delivered a blistering attack upon Acting Gov. Thompson. Atlanta, Ga.

He all but paid his entry fee. That is anticipated for tomorrow.

The Convention crowd booed Gubernatorial Candidate Joe Rabun when he was introduced. It gave meager applause to Gubernatorial Candidate Hoke O'Kelley, and then a few called, "Where's M. E.?" A member of Thompson's inner-council, Judge J. M. C. Townsend, of the Court of Appeals, was presented without incident. However, his opponent, Judge Augustus Roan, was applauded. The Constitution

The Convention erased its illegal white primary rules, but it made plans to restrict party membership in the future to "true and intelligent Democrats."

A suggestion was made by Atty. Charles Bloch, of Macon, that legislation be passed restricting participation in the Democratic Primary to Democrats. The Georgia Democratic Party would prescribe what constitutes a Democrat in Georgia. Bloch said the Republicans and Wallaceites could hold their own primaries.

Bloch's recommendations for strict educational tests, regardless of race, and for a presidential preferential primary also were applauded.

The auditorium resounded with applause as Talmadge attacked Thompson's record in office, denounced the Rivers-Arnall coalition, and lashed President Truman's civil rights program.

"Never before have we seen a private citizen take charge of the Governor's office and operate it for his personal gain and aggrandizement," Talmadge said. "The Acting Governor has been forced to sacrifice his close personal and political friends in order to install in office mere stooges who will call out the orders given to them by this former Governor."

7-3-48

"From the very outset of the present administration it has been a mixture of discredited politicians whose thinking, views and philosophy are entirely separate and apart from that of the people of Georgia," he went on. "Not since the 1860's when Federal bayonets ruled a prostrate South have we had a State administration who have so completely surrendered themselves to subversive and alien groups, representing not Georgia thinking, but views mostly in line with interests foreign to Georgia." The Constitution

Talmadge branded Thompson's purchase of Jekyll Island, "at a time when vital State services were needed," as a "betrayal worthy of Benedict Arnold."

"The present administration hopes by a controlled bloc vote, road trades and patronage to salvage this election," be charged.

Talmadge said Thompson had added 2,500 new State employees.

He said Thompson had not carried out the platform on which the late Gov. Eugene Talmadge was elected. He said everyone knew that Thompson "was not, never has been and never will be" in sympathy with the program nor platform upon which the people elected Eugene Talmadge.

Marvin Griffin, of Bainbridge, and Superior Judge T. Hicks Fort, of Columbus, other speakers, principally assailed the Rivers-Arnall-Thompson coalition, as did Frank Gross, of Toccoa.

Griffin drew a roar from the audience when he referred to them as "plug-hat political bosses who would ride to hell with the devil himself, if they could sell the tickets and collect the money."

Fort referred to the marriage of "Romeo Rivers and Juliet Arnall with 'Me Too' Thompson as flower girl." Atlanta, Ga.

Robert Elliott, of Columbus, and Mrs. Iris Blitch, of Homerville, were introduced as Georgia's next committeeman and committeewoman. Sat. 7-3-48

Mrs. Eugene Talmadge and Mrs. Herman Talmadge drew much applause when presented.

Former House Speaker Roy Harris, Floor Leader Elliott, and House Speaker Fred Hand, individually, offered the resolutions which asked Truman's withdrawal and the drafting of Eisenhower and Russell. The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

MACON NEWS

Voting for President in Georgia

Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Surely the Democratic Party authorities in Georgia are not going to name only electors for President who are pledged to vote against President Truman.

If they do, they will thereby disfranchise voters in Georgia who may want to vote for Mr. Truman. This is so because under the archaic laws for electing a President, the vote is actually for electors who will elect the President and is not for any candidate for the office.

The Constitution of the United States merely provides that each State shall appoint electors, in such manner as the Legislature may direct, and that such electors shall elect the President.

In compliance with this constitutional provision, the General Asesmbly of Georgia has directed by law that electors be chosen on the election day provided by Congress for choosing electors. This law says nothing about candidates for President and it is not even legally necessary that the name of any candidate appear on the ballot.

7-28-48

The practice has been that the Democratic Party authorities name the electors who are to be voted for and that the electors so named are tacitly pledged to vote for the Party nominees for President and Vice President, whose names have been printed on the ballot carying the names of the electors. In this way by common consent the people of the State have had a voice in the election of a President.

Defection But now, since the Southern defection from the Democratic Party on the civil rights issue, it is suggested that the State Democratic Executive Committee name electors to be voted on in the November election, who shall be pledged to vote against Truman, and that no other electors be named on the Democratic ticket in the presidential election.

The politicians in charge of the machinery of the Democratic Party in Georgia can do this thing if they want to, in which event the thousands of good Democrats in this State who desire to vote for Truman and Barkley cannot vote their choice at all. If they vote under such circumstances, their ballots in fact will be against the candidates for whom they desire to vote.

George L. Googe, American Federation of Labor head in Georgia, who was a delegate to the national Democratic Convention, suggests that these desiring to vote for Truman and Barkley be given the opportunity by the naming of a second set of electors, to be placed on the ballot with the other set.

Fair Way This is the fair thing to do. We are in favor of according to all Georgians who oppose the President the right to vote against him. But it would not be fair play, nor in accord with the system of representative democracy under which we live, to disfranchise voters in this State who want to vote the ticket nominated at Philadelphia.

Constitution

We do not believe that those in charge of the Democratic Party machinery in Georgia will tolerate such doings. We do not see eye to eye with them on many matters, but we give them credit for being fair thus far. They may deem it important to defeat Mr. Truman in Georgia. They cannot think his defeat important enough to warrant suspension of the democratic process of a fair, free ballot.

Georgia Votes Lost to Truman

Detroit

Free Press

ATLANTA—(AP)—Georgia's 28 Democratic National Convention votes lined up solidly against President Truman Monday.

A 72-member delegation was selected by the State Democratic Executive Committee. The delegates were instructed to vote as a unit. Tues. 6-1-48

Party leaders said they would fight Mr. Truman's nomination and his civil-rights program.

They emphasized, however, that Georgia Democrats would not bolt the party or the National Convention if they lose on the convention floor.

GEORGIA'S DELEGATES WILL NOT BOLT PARTY

Times

ATLANTA, Ga., May 31 (UP)—An anti-civil rights delegation will represent Georgia at the Democratic National Convention, but the group definitely will not bolt the party even if the racial program is "forced upon us."

New York, N.Y.

State Chairman James S. Peters made this clear today as the Georgia Executive Committee, meeting here, named convention delegates and alternates and chose State Rep. Robert Elliott of Columbus, Ga., as the new National Committeeman from Georgia.

Mr. Elliott, a lawyer, was House floor leader for Herman Talmadge's forces during the 1947 legislative fight over Georgia's double governorship.

Tues. 6-1-48

His selection was made informally by party leaders and is scheduled for routine ratification by the delegation.

Mr. Peters, one of Mr. Talmadge's chief lieutenants, said the delegation would keep the civil-rights fight within the party.

"If we are defeated in our civil-rights fight, we are going back to Georgia as good Democrats," he said, "and then leave the question to the Democrats of Georgia to decide." Tues 6-1-48

34d 1948 Democratic (Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs)

State Democrats Map Registration Campaign

(34 l:) Demo. Daily World

Atlanta, Ga. World 1-8-48

Sweeping measures designed to step up the registration tempo among Georgia Negroes were adopted by representatives to the biennial session of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic clubs Wednesday at Macon.

The delegates, gathered from 78 counties and 8 congressional districts, approved employment of a full-time executive secretary for the Association, voted approval of separate voting precinct in the forthcoming gubernatorial election and pledged vigorous support to the prosecution of a voters' education campaign on a statewide scale.

ROOSEVELT DINNERS

In an effort to bring about a substantial and immediate increase in the contributions from the clubs throughout the State, the delegates called for renewed emphasis upon the Roosevelt Dinner celebrations on January 30, which has been set apart as the day when Negro Democrats of the state would pay special tribute to the work and memory of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was voted that the proceeds from these dinners would be applied to the statewide campaign for registration and voters' education. All dinners, it was voted, would be held simultaneously by each of the several clubs in each county.

POLICY COMMITTEE

The one-day gathering of county and district leaders empowered the President to name a policy and procedure committee, charged with the responsibility of setting forth rules by which all clubs should be governed for the duration of the approaching campaign; authorize the release of news for public information and pass upon the acceptability of political aspirants for the several posts to be filled. This move, like that of separate voting precincts, is designed to promote harmony within the ranks among the Negroes and to minimize misunderstanding and needless friction.

Daily World

CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS

Chairmen and co-chairmen for each of the state's 10 congressional districts were named, to give complete coverage to the cultivation of Negro voters and increase of registration. Full power was vested to each congressional leader to summon such support from the various counties over which he presides as, in his opinion, he may deem necessary. These designated district workers will begin work at once. Thurs 1-8-48

PURGE CONTINUES

A surprising number of delegates reported the existence of an underhand, silent purge of Negro voters from the registration books, intimidation and veiled threats in other counties, and plain deception in other counties. One delegate told of the existence of 1300 qualified Negro voters on the rolls with only two being permitted to vote in an election in which a sheriff and two city officials were to be elected. From one of the deep Southwest Georgia counties, a delegate told the leaders that one registrar gave as his excuse for refusing to register Negroes that all the registration blanks had been exhausted. Numerous other cases of irregularities were reported. The leaders pledged to level a double-edged attack upon these devices to obstruct the registration of Negroes.

BOSWELL AMENDMENT 1-8-48

The leaders also pledged financial and moral support to Alabama Negroes and other groups in their fight against the Boswell Amendment, which is aimed specifically against the Negro voters of that state. "This amendment," declared one speaker, "like the white primary law, is unconstitutional. And I believe that all that is necessary to have the iniquitous bill invalidated is to get it into court," he said. 34 l D

City Insurance Man Rejoicing, Says Board of Education Elected Him Solely On His Qualifications

~~The Black Dispatch~~ 34 l D

By Mal Whitby

Sat 1-17-48

BOLEY. — A typical Irvin S. Cobb Negro stereotype story or 'Amos-Andy' skit, that a great mass of Negroes have objected to, was presented "in the flesh' here Saturday from 1[illegible]:30 to 2:00 p. m. in the King theatre by Mr. George R. Ragland, public relations director of Langston University and Oklahoma City insurance man with a handful of state job holders, who held a rump political [illegible] which elected the new Langston faculty man to cha[illegible]ip of his group.

The m[illegible] the result of a determined [illegible] of state job holders to [illegible] control of the Oklahoma [illegible] Democratic Association [illegible] body in special session last Dec. 6 in Oklahoma City's Chamber of Commerce hall, voted to recommend to the regular February convention, enactment of law prohibiting any job holder from serving in official capacities in the Democratic association.

Oklahoma City Okla

The state job holders immediately rebuffed and set to work to wrest control from the present chairman, J. W. Sanford, and thereby prevent passage during the February session of the bill barring state job holders.

Leading the fight for control of the Democratic Association is Mr. George R. Ragland, who presided over a meeting of state job holders on December 20 in his insurance company office on the second floor of the Slaughter building, and in the auditorium on the 3rd floor of the same building.

One chief lieutenant of Mr. Ragland's job holders crowd is O. B. Graham, who for the past year has irregularly printed an oversize handbill used as Ragland's mouthpiece. At each of their meetings Graham has reached into his pockets and brought out a well worn copy of a supposed constitution of the State Negro Democratic Association, which he has repeatedly refused to permit this reporter to examine.

Reading from the smeared, folded, fragile looking paper, Graham assured attending job holders at the Slaughter Bldg. meet and Saturday's Boley session, that the assembly was a bona fide call session, which provides, according to Graham's document, that any five counties may call a special session if the state chairman refuses to issue a call.

The state chairman, J. W. Sanford, was approached on the night of Dec. 20, following the first meeting of the job holders, relative to calling a special session, and Mr. Sanford refused, saying: "I think it down right foolish to have people coming way across the state when the February meeting is just a month off. I have not been properly approached and my last remark is, I have no comment."

Sat 1-17-48

Evidently disagreeing that their approach was not in conformity with the constitution, Mr. Ragland is said to have telephoned certain state job holders and aspiring ones to leave their positions and come to Boley Saturday morning at 10 a. m.

This reporter arrived in Boley at 7:40 a. m. and proceeded to the only place of activity on Main street, the post office in the four-story Masonic temple. Postmaster Dolphin had not heard of the meeting, nor had three carriers who were busy loading a jeep with the early morning mail.

We wandered north three blocks on main to find not a soul astir and crossed over to return down the west side of Boley's 'main drag', and back to the post office where we could see southward to the highway down the only outlet to and from the city.

About 9 a. m., W. C. Owens, Boley merchant, entered the post-office to pick up mail and said he heard there was to be a meeting, but knew no details.

Another hour passed and the first car of job holders arrived. Mrs. T. W. Grissom, Bristow politician employed at Taft, brought Mrs. Pearl Howard, Guthrie resident employed at Taft, and a third woman in a Buick sedan, and remained in the car until two other groups came.

W. A. Dobson, another Taft employee, soon arrived in a large coupe with his wife, and "Major" Walter E. Seward of McAlester. This reporter approached Mr. Dobson who was trying to find place of the meeting. No one seemed to know and soon Mrs. H .C. McCormick of the Training School, drove up and informed us that the meeting would be held at the King theatre.

Back down the street to the theatre and examination found the door to be padlocked. Soon arrived Boley city teacher L. G. Ashley and son, and Ashley volunteered to find a man with the key.

Another wait and Ashley returned, unlocked the theatre to find it uncleaned from the night before and as cold as a refrigerator.

Two big wood-coal heaters (in a theatre) were stocked up and a giant fire soon raged. The few of us decided to go to some warm place to give the King theatre time to heat up.

Everyone was out of site as we reached the street but the dirt main-drag was now active with out-of-town cars. Down to millionaire Forest Anderson's Farmer's National Bank, and here they were, packed into the lobby four deep.

This reporter pricked his ears, milled around in the large assembly and overheard pretended Ragland supporter's express almost cut-throat remarks about the new Langston Public Relations expert, and one feminine voice was heard to say, "maybe he (Ragland) turned over on the highway" and several burst into laughter.

About eleven o'clock a Boley youngster came to the bank and notified the crowd of Mr. Ragland's late arrival at the theatre and the group promptly went up main street for the meeting.

Three groups of job holders were in different corners of the theatre discussing strategy, which proceeded for ten or fifteen minutes with Ragland and E. W. Warrior, new Taft employee, arranging a card table before the movie screen and calling the group to order.

Warrior took the floor and explained that he had been made chairman to go see Mr. Sanford, "we went," he continued, "so we called this meeting . . . What is your pleasure?"

C. R. Johns, prominent civic and school worker from Seminole arose, came forward and lengthily described his activities over the past week in talking with principles of both political groups in an attempt to effect some reconciliation, which he said had proved "a failure."

Some interpreted Johns' remarks as a bid to head the organization until the February session when the entire state delegation would vote upon all reorganization proposals.

Johns' ended his appeal with the statement that he had carefully read the constitution with Mr. Sanford on Friday and had reached conclusion that "this meeting (Boley) is not legal."

O. B. Graham jumped to the floor and gruffly said, "I'll tell you, I wrote the constitution and I ought to know whether it's legal." Then pulled out the many-folded, smeared paper and began reading about "Five counties may call on the chairman to call a special session . . ."

Johns interrupted him to add, "all I say is, make sure you are legally in session," and took a seat.

Warrior then called for the committees to meet and Dobson asked "what time shall we return."

Warrior answered, "we're not going anywhere, you may not come back." Seven or eight persons went toward the entrance behind a curtain drop and were heard discussing some issues to be voted upon by the waiting group.

During the interim, Joe Johnson, of Payne county, talked for fully ten minutes in a confusing circle, one moment his hearers thinking he was throwing darts at Ragland and other job holders and the next, confusingly saying "we should not have someone to head the organization who is a job holder."

Once he said "there's just too much of this 'peacock strutting' and continued 'butting in' on some program as our representative . . if that's what you want you can have it!"

In short the group returned to their seats and Mrs. W. A. Dobson, formerly of McAlester, went to the chair and read from a paper three "charges against state chairman J. W. Sanford."

The charges read were: (1.) President called state organization to elect a general candidate; (2.) Charged with keeping references and minutes and refusing to give same to the organization; (3.) President became a 'dictator' by moving elected officers without consent of organization. Therefore, the committee moves to impeach the present president and a complete re-organization of the Negro Democratic Association.

Warrior moved that Ragland be elected to fill out the unexpired term as president and was seconded by H. W. McNamee, of Dewey.

A majority of the group stood for the motion and none opposed. Warrior then introduced George R. Ragland who began with the same re-hashed line, "If we are to keep the social gains realized under the late President Roosevelt we've got to cling to the Democratic banner," that this writer learned by memory months ago.

In referring to his reported 'political plum' appointment to the Langston faculty, Mr. Ragland branded a lie that Gov. elect Roy J. Turner had anything to do with the appointment. The new faculty member said a Mr. Patterson offered him the job of Public Relations Director, for in his own words, he said, "George, you have the ability to sell anything and I think instead of so much adverse publicity about Langston you could sell Langston to the people."

"The Board of Education named me to the job solely on the basis of my qualifications," said the Public Relations job holder. Further, said the college faculty member, "I'm not begging, I've built up a business that caused me to have to pay income tax on $8000 in earnings last year.

Ragland jumped on the Board of Regents and laid the whole plight of the state Negro school directly on their doorstep, singling out a Mr. Nash, Frank Buttram and a Tulsa member named Rogers as personally responsible for the small sums of state funds given Lankston from legislative appropriations.

Warrior took the floor at Ragland's conclusion to name him to serve what was called the "unexpired term of J. W. Sanford." O. B. Graham, Tulsa, and receiving a state job after the last state election, seconded Warrior's motion, but C. R. Johns loudly interrupted to state "NOT READY! . . . I want the record to show the fact that I am opposed to naming any man holding a state job to any position in the association."

"Major" Seward of McAlester, joined in dissent on manner of acting on the hatched-up charges, which also called for "complete re-organization of the state association."

H. C. McCormick jumped up surprisingly, the fourth man yelling from the floor, and said "the methods are entirely improper . . . impeachment of the administration couldn't be done unless charges were brought against Mrs. Grissom (Taft) and all the others."

Warrior out-talked all the muddle and blabbered, "We can do anything we want to do here today!" But in the next breath, Warrior, the man who replaced Ed Goodwin, whom Ragland has boasted he personally removed, recommended that the phrase including officers other than Sanford be stricken.

The muddle became more muddled and five men were haranguing at top voice and simultaneously, Seward said they "were childish and amateurish in trying to railroad things . . . the whole procedure is wrong," said Seward.

Warrior rapped until Mr. Ragland's office secretary's notebook jostled off the flimsy card table and yelled over other voices the motion to strike the phrase. A standing vote passed the motion.

McCormick brought a man named Johnson from Hughes county up front to make a talk. It was well past 1 p. m. by then, and the group was ready for relaxation after so much hub-bub, and this man Johnson made it pure comedy relief.

Immediately shouting and waving arms in typical Irvin Cobb mountain preacher style, the aged man had the group rolling before he completed his first statement. Some probably could not have survived another five minutes of hilarity propounded by Johnson.

Ragland followed Johnson and asked if anyone had records of the state association. Warrior brought laughter by answering in evident sincerity, "We have from today on . . . but as for committee membership, we don't know anything."

Ragland then stated, "we've got to have money to sell our program, who's the chairman of the finance committee?" Graham said McCormick was chairman and McCormick, busy inviting various folks out to dinner following the meet, straightened up to shout, "Graham doesn't know what he's talking about!"

Ragland then named John Emerson, Tulsa business man, as as finance chairman, and McCormick named to work with him.

Kenneth Johnson, Langston veteran student who has a fifteen minute Sunday morning commentary period over WKY, 9:15 a. m., entered the hall and delivered a message to McCormick. McCormick went about the hall to various job holders whispering something, and when this writer contacted Johnson, he related that a Mr. Borgman of the Board of Affairs had tried to reach the job holders by phone to order them back to their state jobs.

According to Johnson, Mr. Borgeman is said to have related over the phone that job holders can only participate in politics when in legal session, and "this approach is NOT . . . Get the hell back to your jobs immediately."

The meeting might have 'Amos-Andied' into the night, naming committees and the like, had not the Borgeman call been announced.

The writer and Kenneth Johnson were invited by Major McCormick along with others to dinner at his home on the campus of the Boys Training School on the outskirts of the all-Negro town.

A large table set for twelve was arranged and promptly Mr. Ragland headed the table and said, "I want these two young men to see what a real democratic meal is like, and , directed us to sit on his left and right.

Immediately, the new Langston faculty member related, "this time yesterday I was in Houston, enjoying fresh fried fish cooked right on the beach while my toes were trickling in the gulf . . . hours later at Dallas, I boarded a plane for Oklahoma City, and this afternoon you men have elected me to head your association. Fellows, I want to tell you . . . that's a long way to climb for a poor cotton-picking boy from the canebreaks of Louisiana."

(Ed. Note: . . . and people want to know what happened to vaudeville.")

Those registered at the affair were:

L. G. Ashley, Okfuskee; J. W. Long, McIntosh; John R. Emerson, Tulsa county; Joe S. Johnson, Payne county; Emmett Johnson, Tulsa county; R. L. Hudson, Muskogee county; W. C. Moore, Checotah, Okla.; John Scroggins, McIntosh county; L. C. Cheatham, Tulsa county; W. A. Dobson, Pittsburg county; O. B. Graham, Tulsa; Geo. R. Ragland, Oklahoma City; Maj. Walter E. Seward, McAlester; L. W. Presley, Eufaula; Tom Tippler, Lawton; Mrs. T. W. Grissom, Creek county, Bristow, Okla.; Pearl E. Howard, Logan county, Langston, Okla.; H. W. McNamee, Box 481, phone 482, Dewey, Okla.; Mrs. Gladys L. Sherrod, Wetumka, Box 1102; Mr. Charles Johnson, Holdenville, Okla.; Marie Morgan, Muskogee county, P. O. Box 276, Taft, Okla.; Paul McGlory, 540 E. Marshall Place, Tulsa; Lucille McGlory, 540 E. Marshall Place, Tulsa; M. S. Rice, Boley, Okla., P. O. Box 57; D. G. Horton, Boley, Okla.; Paul Evans, Boley, Okla.; Ellis Warnock, Boley, Okla.; Rev. C. B. Nichols, Boley, Okla., Box 307; A. G. W. Cowan, Boley, Okla.; J. E. Simmons, Nat Turner, Charlie Culberson, Boley, Okla.; J. C. Goler, Boley, Okla.; Robert Parkride, Boley, Okla.; J. L. McCormick, Boley, Okla.; Lula M. Taylor, city clerk, Taft; Hazel Allnon, Taft, Okla., and Cora Johnson, Okmulgee, Okla.

34d 1948 Democratic (Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner -- D. C.)

34d advertiser (D.C.)

Truman Issues New Battle Call Against Reactionaries; Sidesteps Friction In Party

Montgomery, Ala

Fri 2-20-48

President Takes Sly Slap At GOP; Re-Outlines His 10-Year Program; Dixie Leaders Boycott Dinner

By D. HAROLD OLIVER

WASHINGTON, Feb., 19—(AP)—President Truman called on his party Thursday night to battle against "reactionary conservatism" and the "privileged few" in the coming elections.

"This is a year of challenge," he said. "I propose that we meet that challenge head on.

"The people will again decide whether they want the forces of positive, progressive liberalism to continue in office, or whether, in these challenging times, they want to entrust their government to those forces of conservatism which believe in the benefit of the few at the expense of the many." Advertiser

The president spoke at a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner.

He avoided any direct reference to dissatisfied elements in his party. Neither did he mention the Republican Party or any of its presidential nomination contenders by name.

But, in an apparent slap at Republicans in Congress, he denounced critics of his ten-year social improvement program outlined in his January legislative message.

He called them "timid," "defeatists," "backward-looking," and "men of small vision and faint hearts."

"The timid people say that this can't be done," he said referring to his program for improving social security and justice, production, education, and housing.

'Must Dedicate Ourselves'

"I know that it can be done," he declared repeatedly, "and we of the forward-looking faith must dedicate ourselves to the proposition that it will be done."

"If anyone chooses to call this politics," he concluded, "then it is the politics of Jefferson and Jackson, Wilson and Roosevelt—and it is good enough for me."

There was only a faint indirect reference to the uprising of Southern Democrats against his "civil rights" program for Negroes, a program which caused some Southerners to boycott the dinner.

This was when he referred to Jefferson's conviction that "true democratic prograss could be attained only by extending political and economic liberty, religious freedom, and educational opportunity."

One of his civil rights proposals would abolish the poll tax in the South. Others would make lynching a federal offense, abolish Jim Crowism, and guarantee Negroes equal opportunity for work. Montgomery Ala

White House aides, when asked about the omission from the speech of the anti-segregation and other issues, said these were already a matter of record and did not require reiteration.

Party System Lauded

Listeners read only two possible though indirect references to Henry A. Wallace's third party effort. One was when the President said:

"The party system prevails in this country. I believe in it and have confidence in it. It constitutes the most effective means of presenting the issues of the day to the American people."

Another instance they cited: "Progressive liberals will rally to the Democratic Party, even though they do not happen to be members of the party, because they know that the Democratic Party is their best fighting force for the triumphant achievement of worthy goals."

Mr. Truman went to the Mayflower Hotel for his main address after dining at a Statler banquet, set up to care for an overflow audience — at $100 a plate. Dinner officials called it a sell-out, with 2,900 guests at both places. Advertiser

Television and radio carried the speeches to other dinners throughout the country.

After re-outlining his 10-year program and asserting farmers, workers, and business men had profited far more under recent Democratic administrations than under their predecessors, Mr. Truman came to the price question.

"I want business earnings to grow as our whole economy thrives and prospers," he said. "But we know from experience that profits based upon excessive prices and inflation are built upon sand. The structure will crumble if the foundation is not made firm.

10 PM

"In the interest of business as much as any other group, we must win the fight against inflation to avoid disaster. In the interest of business as much as any other group, we must make the next 10 years a period of extraordinary achievement."

No mention was made of his previous demand for standby price and wage controls, which Republicans and some Democrats oppose. Montgomery Ala.

The President drew an analogy between issues in Jefferson's and Jackson's times and those of today. He said the choice today is "between a parcel labeled progressive liberalism and parcel labeled reactionary conservatism. . .

"The parcel of reactionary conservatism may be wrapped in bright colors and gay tinsel, but when you open it, you always find party rule for the benefit of the privileged few. Fri 2-20-48

Not So Smooth

"Inside the parcel of progressive liberalism, however, you always find government for the benefit of all the people—true democratic government."

In advance of the banquet, Democratic officials predicted a show of unity through the presence of James A. Farley, former party chairman who broke with the late President Roosevelt, and the attendance of some Southern legislators. 34

However, it was not all sunshine and roses for the Truman forces as several Dixie groups announced they had cancelled their dinner plans. They want no part of the President's proposals for anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, anti-segregation, and no-color-line-discrimination-in-employment legislation.

Mrs. Olin D. Johnston, wife of the South Carolina senator, said she would not attend "because I might be seated next to a Negro." Fri 2-20-48

Gov. and Mrs. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, previously had cancelled.

Mrs. Johnston said her party of 45 had dwindled to about 30 because some of the others felt as she did. She was a vice-chairman of the dinner committee and was to have been seated at the head table. 10

Mrs. Johnston said the flare-up was "symbolic of party leaders' efforts to get minority votes through 'civil rights' proposals that led to threats of a Southern bolt."

Anti-Civil Rights Parley Set Today

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19.—(AP)—A group of Southern Congressmen, Thursday, called a meeting for Friday, to organize opposition to President Truman's civil rights program.

Representative Colmer (D), Mississippi, said representatives from "about a dozen" Southern States have indicated they will attend.

A resolution already has been drafted pledging the group to cooperate with the Southern Governors' Conference in opposing the President's program. Mr. Truman recently asked for anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and anti-segregation legislation.

The resolution already has been approved at separate meetings of some state delegations, including those from Arkansas and Alabama.

Colmer and Democratic Representatives Cox, of Georgia, and Hobbs, of Alabama, headed a group of Southerners arranging the meeting.

The purpose of the meeting, one organizer told a reporter, "is to serve notice on the administration that we will oppose the so-called civil rights program and that we will resist inclusion of any of its provisions in the platform of the Democratic party."

Dozen Empty Seats Silent Reminder Of Dixie Protests

News

34 Birmingham, Ala

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20—(AP)—President Truman headed into the 1948 campaign today with a call for the common people to rally around in a battle against "the privileged few." Fri 2-20-48

"This is a year of challenge," Mr. Truman told Democratic Party members last night, "I propose that we meet the challenge head on."

In a 30-minute Jefferson-Jackson Day speech the president never did refer directly to the challenge he faces from angry Southerners in his own party.

Nor did he mention directly the threat to Democratic presidential chances offered by Henry A. Wallace's third party.

But he spoke highly on Thomas Jefferson's attacks against "laws that restricted citizenship." And he said the Democratic Party still believes in protecting the rights of "all the groups and individuals in our nation."

* * *

BEFORE HIM were a dozen empty seats—paid for and left pointedly by Southerners protesting his civil rights program.

Mr. Truman lumped opponents of his legislative program together as the forces of "reactionary conservatism." Sat. 2-21-48

He described those who stand against his proposals for improving social security, justice, production, education and housing as "defeatists," "backward-looking" and "men of small vision and faint hearts."

He said the Democrats offer a "parcel of progressive liberalism" and "progressive liberals will rally to the Democratic Party."

"They know," he said, "that the Democratic Party is their best fighting force for the triumphant achievement of worthy goals."

But while the president was making his confident speech the Southern revolt within his own party got hotter still.

Sen. Byrd (D., Va.) asserted in a speech at Richmond that Mr. Truman's Civil Rights Commission had urged a "mass invasion of states' rights."

* * *

SOUTHERN CONGRESSMEN from at least three states called a conference today to organize against the anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and no-color-line proposals.

Rep. Colmer (D., Miss.) predicted that representatives from about a dozen states would attend. A resolution opposing the president's program was ready for adoption. The group planned to work with Southern governors in the protest.

Sen. McGrath, of Rhode Island, Democratic national chairman, told a reporter he will see governors of five Southern states on the matter Monday. He listed the chief executives of South Carolina, Texas, Arkansas, Virginia and Maryland.

Whatever they have to report, McGrath said, will be passed along to Mr. Truman. He promised nothing further.

The president talked twice last night—first impromptu to one section of the Jefferson-Jackson dinner at the Statler Hotel and then in a prepared address to the section at the Mayflower.

* * *

AT THE STATLER he struck at attempts by the GOP-controlled Congress to cut his budget and reduce federal taxes.

Conditions in the world now, he said, are "too grave" to give control of government spending to "a Congress which does not, and does not care to understand what the facts are."

In his address he sized up this year's political battle as a fight between a Democratic Party of "progressive liberalism" against a "reactionary conservative" opposition which he said is behind the wealthy and "favored few."

He didn't even mention the Republican Party by name.

But he declared that if the "common, everyday man" is truly informed, "he will not turn the government over to a bunch of reactionaries who are trying to take us back to 1896."

The empty table in front of the president as he spoke had been reserved for the party of Sen. Olin Johnston (D., S. C.). Johnston has criticized Mr. Truman's civil rights proposals.

What Truman Left Unsaid

News

When President Truman spoke at the Jefferson-Jackson Day festivities in Washington, "Table 23" of the banquet hall was vacant. The South Carolina group that had reserved the space boycotted the dinner because of the president's recent stands on a number of issues, and because there was to be no segregation in the banquet hall. But Mr. Truman matched those vacant seats with some omissions of his own. He said nothing about the civil rights controversy that has arisen in the party. He answered none of his critics. His entire speech was devoted to efforts to rally all Democrats and all liberals around the progressive principles of Jackson and Jefferson.

Perhaps the president gave the cue for

the future attitude of the party leadership. In his civil rights message to Congress he, in a sense, passed the ball to the rank and file of Democrats. It is his job, as party leader, to set forth principles and to suggest application of those principles. But when he does that, he shares with others of the party responsibility for action.

Birmingham ala

President Truman has had his say on the question of federal action on such matters as poll tax, lynching, federal employment practices and segregation. There is no necessity for his continuing to hammer away on his recommendations. In view of the reactions to his suggestions, he did well not to touch upon them again in his Jefferson-Jackson Day speech. It will be still better if he does not press the matter. News

But of course the issue is not yet settled. There is still the question of what the 1948 party platform will say. The Southern elements most aroused by Mr. Truman's earlier stand will not rest quietly until the conventions are over.

In their fight over the civil rights plank in the party platform, Southern Democrats might remember, however, that the results will be influenced by what the South does in the meantime. If we take the attitude that there is no possibility of the South's being wrong on these issues, that our way of dealing with civil rights questions is above reproach, it will be only adding force to the demands for national action. But if the South moves more earnestly and quickly to reexamine the possibility of injustices within its own states, the pressures from without will ease up.

Sat. 2-21-48

The issue is not the simple one of state's rights, or of civil rights. It is one of state's rights and civil rights. If the South blindly insists that no civil rights question is at stake, it can expect further attacks upon state sovereignty.

President Truman's silence on the issue may be construed as possibly indicating a desire to give the South a chance to take action, not in mere revolt against the possibility of federal intervention but also to lessen whatever reasons some persons may see for intervention. Birmingham Ala

But the president did have some things to say for all Democrats, Southern and Northern. He sought to fix the minds of party members upon the basic principles of liberalism, of freedom and growth for all men. Perhaps he thought that more attention to these fundamentals would cause some of the controversial issues to fall into better perspective. Sat. 2-21-48

Demo Distress Signals Hoisted By Party Chiefs

News

Southerners Snub Jackson Day Rally Account Of Negroes

Thur. 2-19-48

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19—(AP)—The Democratic National Committee raised an out and out distress signal today in the face of the Henry A. Wallace third party drive.

Chairman J. Howard McGrath said he hopes Wallace will "realize" that he can accomplish nothing but "the defeat of the Democratic Party's program of practical liberalism in 1948."

McGrath virtually appealed for abandonment of the Wallace campaign in a radio speech last night.

The address followed McGrath's frank admission that the victory of a Wallace-backed candidate in Tuesday's New York congressional election is a big danger sign for the Democrats.

In the New York race, Leo Isacson, running as an American Labor Party candidate with Wallace's support, upset Democrat Karl Propper by a wide margin.

* * *

WALLACE, ON a speech-making tour of the South, gave no indication that he plans to heed any call to "come home, all is forgiven."

Instead he announced at Miami Beach that his supporters have obtained 464,000 signatures on a petition to put his name on the primary election ballot in California. Franklin D. Roosevelt carried the state by only about 475,000 votes in 1944.

Meanwhile the row between national Democratic leaders and party members in the "Solid South" flared up again in Washington.

A group of Southerners cancelled their reservations for the big $100-a-plate Jefferson-Jackson dinners tonight where prominent Democrats will rally around President Truman.

The issue was one which has brought a chorus of rebel yells from south of the Mason-Dixon Line in recent weeks: The color line.

Mrs. Olin D. Johnstolumn 1 of the South Carolina s d she decided not to atte n- ner "because I might d next to a Negro."

She said her party of 4 had dwindled to around 30 because some of the others felt the same way.

McGrath told reporters a dozen or more Negroes planned to attend the two dinners here. He said he could not order any segregation.

Mrs. Johnston called the flareup "symbolic of party leaders' efforts to get minority votes through 'civil rights' proposals that led to threats of a Southern bolt."

* * *

McGRATH SHOWED deep concern over the Wallace threat in his radio address. He said he thinks Wallace himself is "sincere" enough, but added:

"The fact that the loudest applause for Henry Wallace comes from Communists, Communist fellow travelers and reactionary Republicans causes me to believe that the bulk of Henry Wallace's support is coming from those whose basic allegiance is not to the American way of life.

"I hope that Henry Wallace will realize that unscrupulous forces who look to Moscow for inspiration and guidance see in his candidacy a chance to disrupt the normal activities of our two-party system and bring about the chaos and confusion of splinter parties that has sent so many nations of Europe into governmental collapse.

"I hope that Henry Wallace will repudiate the supporters of his cause whose only real hope is that they can defeat the Democratic Party's program of practical liberalism in 1948 and turn the government over to reactionaries and isolationists." Times

* * *

EARLIER IN THE DAY McGrath said the Democratic Party will make a "grave mistake if it does not learn a lesson" from the New York election. He added:

"It is evident that the fight against communism on the left and toryism on the right cannot be won unless every Democrat resolves to get out and vote."

Harold E. Stassen, candidate for the GOP presidential nomination, called the victory of the Wallace man in the Bronx Democratic stronghold good news for the Republicans. New York N.Y.

It indicates, Stassen said at Spokane, Wash., that working men and women who used to vote for Roosevelt are leaving the Democratic Party. Thur. 2-19-48

However, Sen. Aiken (R., Vt.) said the American Labor Party victory showed "dissatisfaction with both the old parties." He declared:

"Many voters are disgusted with the lack of good government on the part of the Democratic administration and the lack of progressive ideas on the part of Republican Party leaders."

Aiken often differs with the GOP leadership.

SEN. LUCAS (D., Ill.), assistant Democrat leader in the Senate, told reporters the result did not mean much.

Sen. Ives (R., N. Y.) put it this way:

"I'm not surprised at the small Republican vote because they did not expect to win. "I'm not surprised at the ALP vote because they got out 100 per cent. I am surprised at the Democratic vote because they were supposed to win."

* * *

REP. SADOWSKI (D., Mich.) said "the only thing that can save President Truman is to change our foreign policy and nominate Sen. Pepper (D., Fla.) for vice president."

Pepper's political views are such that he was mentioned for awhile as a possible running mate for Wallace. He scotched those reports with statement that he intends to remain a Democrat.

With President Truman as the main attraction, the Jefferson-Jackson celebration is expected to draw around 2,900 tonight.

It was divided into two sections—at the Statler and Mayflower Hotels.

Mr. and Mrs. Truman and daughter, Margaret, will dine at the Statler, where the president will make a short speech. Then the party will go to the Mayflower, where he will make his main address.

The second speech at 10 p.m., Eastern Standard Time, will be carried by the radio chains and television.

Wallace Says He Has No Communist Advisers

MIAMI, Fla., Feb. 19—(AP)—Henry A. Wallace, third party presidential candidate, concludes his Florida tour with a speech in Bayfront Park tonight.

Wallace, who arrived at Miami Beach from Tampa and StZ Petersburg yesterday, said at a press conference he welcomed the support of anyone who is for peace.

Wallace said he did not have a 'single" Communistic adviser and would not welcome the support of Communists.

Hill To Replace McGrath At Atlanta

The Savannah Morning News

The Advertiser

FOR the student of political science who approaches his subject from a strictly objective standpoint, the arrangement by which Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, is denied the opportunity to address the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Atlanta March 9, offers some curious twists of fate, involving history as well as politics. Wed.

Instead of listening to Senator McGrath, who is a firm supporter of President Truman's civil rights program, the disciples of Jefferson and Jackson will be regaled by Senator Lister Hill, Democrat, of Alabama! Montgomery, Ala.

The idea behind the switch from McGrath to Hill is obvious. The leaders who are staging the dinner were fearful that the Rhode Island national chairman of their party might somehow, somewhere in his speech, refer favorably to the Truman program for a Federal anti-lynch law, for a Federal anti-poll tax statute and for an FEPC, while bespeaking the virtues and the statesmanship of the Sage of Monticello and while lauding the fiery progressive Democracy of Old Hickory, from the hills of Tennessee. Advertiser Wed. 2-25-48

On the other hand they know that the member of the Upper House from Alabama, with Websterian vehemence, in the name of all the illustrious sons of a bygone South, who fought from Manassas to Gettysburg, will castigate with good and hearty adjectives, the Truman program, the report of his Civil Rights Commission, and, if need be, all anti-Jeffersonians and anti-Jacksonians, whether they hail from Rhode Island or from the uppermost tip of Maine!

INASMUCH as a Senator from Alabama thus is engaged to do what a national chairman from Rhode Island might have done, had things been different, in the name of Jefferson and Jackson, it is not inappropriate to consider a few pertinent historical items regarding Alabama and Rhode Island, respectively.

Alabama is not one of the original thirteen colonies — she entered the Union in 1819—but at one time in her eventful history she was proud to boast of having the capital of the Confederacy within her borders, none other than the charming city of Montgomery, a city which to this day holds high the torch of states' rights and supports the Stars and Bars as against the Stars and Stripes when it comes to a choice between the G. A. R. and the U. C. V.!

Montgomery, Ala.

In Alabama's capital was born Senator Hill who was educated in Montgomery's pleasant environs, who attended the state university and who has been nurtured on the principles of states' rights and on the cherished manners and customs of the Old South, a gentleman and a scholar who bows to no man when forensic eloquence is wanted. The Advertiser

Rhode Island, on the other hand, is one of the thirteen original colonies, and one of the things about which her historians have boasted since the early Seventeenth Century is that she was founded by Roger Williams, a Welshman, in the year 1636.

Originally Williams settled in Massachusetts, but he was forced to flee from that colony, along with several companions, to escape Puritan persecution. (A note can be made here, with justification, by a Southerner that the Puritans were the forerunners of the abolitionists and later of the Northern brand of New Dealers!) Montgomery, Ala.

WHAT was it about Massachusetts that Roger Williams didn't like? The answer is that he disliked the same kind of thing a Southerner today dislikes who believes in states' rights and who is opposed to governmental restrictions from a national regime in Washington. In a nutshell, Williams, as Rhode Island's own historians will tell you, had absolutely no sympathy with the Massachusetts principle of controlling through the civil government the consciences of men! 2-25-48

With that philosophy in mind he was one of the organizers of the First Baptist Church of Providence, said to be the first in America, and the Baptists to this day stand for religious freedom, for freedom of conscience, and in principle for states' rights! In the Providence which Roger Williams helped to establish, Democratic National Chairman McGrath was born—but, alas, times have changed, and we find this ofifcial head of an erstwhile Jeffersonian party as much opposed to the principles Roger Williams once advocated as Williams was opposed to the New Dealish philosophies of the Massachusetts Puritans! What a strange political evolution. No wonder it will be Hill batting for McGrath in Atlanta March 9! Wed. 2-25-48

GOP Offers 'Too Little, Too Late,' Says Kerr

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 3-24-48

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Georgia's long delayed Democratic "love feast" drew an enthusiastic crowd of 900 men and women here Tuesday night to hear Oklahoma's former Gov. Robert Kerr blast the "reactionary and confused Republican leadership by offering too little and too late while Communism sweeps over Europe and Asia."

As the crowd overflowed the two civic rooms at the Ansley Hotel and sent 100 persons to eat in the Owl Room, National Committeeman E. D. Rivers, sponsor of the Jackson-Jefferson Day dinner, hailed it as the greatest gathering of Democrats in the history of such dinners in Georgia.

Democrats of many factions and State leaders of various political beliefs were present. Presented to the audience were Acting Gov. Thompson, former Gov. Ellis Arnall, former gubernatorial candidates James Carmichael, Abit Nix and Blanton Fortson, and Joseph Rabun, who, with Thompson, is a candidate for Governor this Summer. The Constitution

Conspicuously absent were Herman Talmadge and State Democratic Chairman James Peters.

Kerr said on the domestic front all measures that would provide better opportunity and greater security to more people today "are prisoners of war behind barbed wire entanglements of Republican legislative committees."

The Democratic orator called upon America to provide leadership so the freedom-loving people of the world wouldn't have to turn to Russia. He called upon the Democrats to provide leadership so the people wouldn't have to turn to an incompetent Republican Party. Atlanta, Ga.

Lashing at Republicans, Kerr said the Republican majority still argues and bickers and delays today, nearly a year after Sec. of State Marshall proposed a co-operative plan for European recovery as a basis for peace and months after the President called a special session to implement that proposal. Wed. 3-24-48

Mrs. Virginia Polhill Price, Georgia's Democratic National Committeewoman; Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Rivers and Mrs. Kerr were among the women at the head table.

Labor was represented by George Googe, of the American Federation of Labor, and George Hathawoy, of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Justices Tom Candler and T. Grady Head, of the State Supreme Court, were among the Statehouse leaders present.

34d 1948

Democratic (Kentucky)

Democrats of State Refuse To Join Southern Revolt

The Courier-Journal

(34d)

By THORNTON CONNELL.

The Democratic Party of Kentucky yesterday refused to join in the Southern Democratic rebellion against a second term for President Truman. Jus. 3-16-48

The invitation to bolt the party was extended by Herbert Holmes, chairman of the Mississippi State Democratic Executive Committee. It was turned down by J. Lyter Donaldson, chairman of the Kentucky Democratic State Central Executive Committee.

Hints of rebellion are coming from Northern Democrats now, Drew Pearson declares on the back page of Section 2.

In an answer yesterday to a telegram sent Sunday, Donaldson told Holmes: Jus. 3-16-48

"Being of the opinion that pending international problems necessitate a united front to combat foreign enemies, I do not believe it opportune to promote sectional differences within our party at this particular time. For this and other reasons I cannot join with you in calling the conference suggested in your telegram."

(34d)

Holmes had asked Donaldson to join him in calling a conference of states-rights Democrats in the Jackson, Miss., Municipal Auditorium at 10 a.m., Monday, April 12.

Ky 1

He also had asked Donaldson or some member of the Kentucky committee to "meet with us in Jackson Monday, March 22, at 10 a.m., at Heidelberg Hotel, to approve details of conference, select temporary chairman, keynote speaker, etc."

In a postscript to his telegram, Holmes said, "On Tuesday (today) I will issue call for conference jointly with other chairmen who want to go forward with this movement." Jus. 3-16-48

Clements' Stand Noted.

While Donaldson did not say so, his action in turning down the bid to secede from the Democratic Party as headed by President Truman and the Democratic National Committee is believed to be in accord with the wishes of Governor Earle C. Clements. Clements said Saturday his support of a presidential aspirant would be guided by the Democratic State Convention, expected to meet in late May or early June.

Holmes told Donaldson in the telegram that "Action of Southern Governors in Washington Saturday clears way for holding conference of States Rights Democrats. This should be done at earliest possible date to plan and approve united action. Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee has authorized me to call this conference."

Many Letters Received.

Donaldson said the telegram from Holmes is only one of many letters, telegrams, and telephone calls he has received on the Southern revolt against President Truman's civil-rights program. In Washington Saturday seven Governors of States in the South resolved they would support only candidates for President and Vice-President who hold views similar to their own on civil rights. Jus. 3-16-48

Donaldson disclosed that he also had replied in the negative when asked last week by William P. Baskin, Bishopville, S. C., for his views on the wisdom of calling a conference of Democratic leaders of the South for a similar purpose. Baskin is chairman of the South Carolina Democratic State Executive Committee.

Democrats Upheld.

Donaldson told Baskin that regardless of some of the announced policies of Democratic leaders which may conflict with the traditions of the South "and be in opposition to our concepts of local State Government," that:

"In my opinion we have the indisputable fact that from the Democratic Party and the Democratic Party alone can we expect to receive under a liberal form of government benefits such as have accrued to our people in the past, and such as we may expect in the future under the administration of our Government by the nominees of the Democratic Party.

'United Front' Urged.

After pointing out to the South Carolinian the belief that "we must have a united front to combat foreign enemies," Donaldson said: Jus. 3-16-48

"I believe the great majority of the Democrats in Kentucky share with me the opinion above expressed and such being true I do not believe we could serve our people or our country by participating in a conference, the purpose of which and the probable result of which would be to impair the success of our Party in the national election of 1948, and thereby impair the welfare of our nation."

Donaldson said yesterday that he will call the Democratic state committee to meet after adjournment of the Legislature to issue a call for Kentucky's Democratic State Convention to elect delegates to the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia July 12.

Kentucky will have 26 votes in the national convention. Presidential electors, a new state committee, state chairman, and Kentucky members of the party's national committee also will be selected at the state convention.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR, THE LIEUT. GOVERNOR, AND THE LEGISLATORS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF KY. AND THE HON. J. LYTER DONALDSON, CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE CENTRAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE.

Gentlemen: The Courier-Journal

The Third District Negro Democratic Organization directed a Committee to present to you this testimonial of their gratitude for your approval and the passage of measures affecting the welfare of our people.

Immediately after the Governor's inauguration, we received a bid to confer with you on the needs of our group. On Dec. 17, 1947, we presented you a program of our desires for general improvement, viz; increased appropriation for our three State Educational Institutions which you readily approved, and the same was passed. In addition, we recited to you the serious situation of Red Cross Hospital, and of the pressing need for scientific nurse training. For this purpose, we asked you for an appropriation of $50,000. You readily agreed to raise the State Aid from the mere pittance of $4,500 to "a sum that will surprise you." You generously gave us $60,000.

We gratefully acknowledge your support in the passage of House Bill No. 447 which "authorizes hospitals, by a majority vote of their governing bodies to admit Negroes to instruction in Nursing, Medicine, Surgery, and related courses." Louisville, Ky.

Our Committee made three trips to Frankfort, and were cordially received by each of you. Thurs 4-1-48

We further acknowledge the refusal of the Governor, the Lieut. Governor, and the Hon. J. Lyter Donaldson, Chairman of the State Central Executive Committee to join with other Southern States in setting up regional schools of higher training for Negroes, and the further refusal of the above named Chairman to join in the Southern revolt against our President, the Honorable Harry S. Truman, because of his Civil Rights program. We hail this as the greatest unprecedented act of statesmanship toward minority groups in the history of our great Commonwealth.

We appreciate your open-mindedness and your attitude of forthright fairness, and pledge you our loyal co-operation.

Respectfully,

Committee—3rd District Negro Democratic Organization.

Jesse A. Moran, Chairman; Carlyle A. Lively, Sec'y; Rev. W. Augustus Jones, Prof. A. E. Meyzeek, Messrs. Lewis Oliver, Houston Brooks, Chas. W. Moore, Wm. H. Childress, Chas. S. Ware, W. W. Wilson. Thurs - 4-1-48

LOUISIANA COMMITTEE REFUSES TO WALK OUT

Democratic Group Disavows Part In Truman Revolt

~~The Commercial Appeal~~

BATON ROUGE, La., June 23.—(AP) — Louisiana's Democratic Central Committee Wednesday refused to take any part in the revolt against President Truman's civil rights program.

The Louisiana House and Senate recently approved resolutions urging the committee to adopt the anti-civil rights program outlined by a conference of Southern governors in Washington several weeks ago. Memphis Tenn

Wednesday the committee instructed its delegates to the national convention only t owork for a restoration of the two-thirds rule "and for state's rights." The civil rights proposal did not come before the meeting. Thurs.

Senator Ellender, a supporter of Earl K. Long in the recent gubernatorial primary, was dropped from the list of delegates as the ommittee chose its representatives to Philadelphia. 6-24-48

Among those named as delegates at large were Representatives Hale Boggs and Otto Passman.

William Helis, millionaire race horse owner, was among those named as alternates.

Louisiana Balks At Bolt Of Party

Montgomery Advertiser

BATON ROUGE, LA.—(AP)—Louisiana's Democratic central committee Wednesday ignored a legislative request that it participate in the revolt against President Truman's civil rights program. Thurs. 6-24-48

The Louisiana House and Senate recently approved resolutions urging the committee to adopt the anti-civil rights program outlined by a conference of Southern governors in Washington several weeks ago.

The committee instructed its delegates to the national convention only to work for a restoration of the two-thirds rule "and for state's rights." The civil rights proposal did not come before the meeting.

Sen. Allen J. Ellender, a supporter of Earl K. Long in the recent gubernatorial primary, was dropped from the list of delegates as the committee chose its representatives to Philadelphia.

Among those named as delegates at large were U. S. Reps. Hale Boggs and Otto Passman.

William Helis, millionaire race horse owner, was among those named as alternates.

6-26-48

LOUISIANA STRIKES TRUMAN OFF BALLOT

~~The Times~~

Democratic State Committee Substitutes Thurmond Ticket —Shock to National Party

Sat 9-11-48

By The Associated Press.

BATON ROUGE, La., Sept. 10—President Truman's name was knocked off the Louisiana ballot today and he will be only a write-in candidate in the Nov. 2 general elections. New York, N.Y.

The States' Rights Democratic candidates—Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President and Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for Vive President—were declared the Democratic party nominees in Louisiana.

The Louisiana Democratic State Central Committee took this action by unanimous vote on a resolution by Judge Leander Perez of St. Bernard and Plaquemines parishes (counties).

The resolution voiced the Southern revolt against the National Administration's civil rights program and policies. Sat 9-11-48

The resolution said in part that the action was taken because "it is the duty of the Democratic State Central Committee to support candidates for President and Vice President who will preserve the tradition of the people of this state and protect their rights of self-government and all other states' rights in accordance with our American way of constitutional government as opposed to candidates for said offices who are pledged to support the enactment of Federal laws to regiment our people, to destroy their right of state government and to force upon them foreign ideologies such as the Russian 'all-races law,' called here the F. E. P. C., which contains a fundamental threat to our American way of life and which would set up a Federal police state for the certain destruction of our American freedom and liberties." Sat 9-11-48

The resolution also declared that Governors Thurmond and Wright "both have pledged themselves to support, defend and preserve the right of the people of each state to local self-government and all state's rights and property within our American constitutional framework of government."

Rooster Symbol Is Used

Judge Perez explained that the ballot would be headed by the regular Democratic party's rooster symbol. Immediately beneath it will appear the names of Governors Thurmond and Wright; then will follow the electors' names; and after them the names of candidates nominated in the Aug. 31 Louisiana Democratic primary. The committee met to certify the primary election returns.

To "prevent a split in the vote" for the nominees of the Aug. 31 primary in the general election, Judge Perez said States' rights electors who have qualified with the Secretary of State would be asked to withdraw.

Judge Perez said the names of President Truman and Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, Vice Presidential candidate, would not appear on the ballot; and they can be voted for only on a write-in basis.

The state's ten Democratic electors were not officially pledged to the Thurmond-Wright ticket by the central committee's action. They are unpledged. Louisiana electors are customarily unpledged. In reply to a question from the floor during the meeting, Judge Perez said.

"It isn't necessary. These are men who have told us they would not vote for Truman. I am one of them. I know them."

Judge Perez told the committee the party is "at a crossroads."

"It's a matter of self-preservation," he declared. "Are we going to lie down supinely and see the resurrection of carpet-bagging in the South?" he asked. Sat 9-11-48

"We represent the Democratic party of Louisiana. Our responsibility is to take such action as will protect the people of our state and unless we stand up as men and be counted, we will not be protecting our American way under our constitutional government.

"This resolution is a test. Are we going to protect our American way or bow down to the will of those three un-American conventions at Philadelphia?"

Committee member Dudley Desmare of New Orleans asked, "does this mean we're leaving the Democratic party?"

"No," shouted Chairman Henry Sevier of Tallulah. "This is the Democratic party."

Both the Republican and Progressive parties have qualified elector slates to appear on the ballot.

National Committee Surprised

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10—President Truman was cruising on the Potomac when the news reached Washington of Louisiana's swing into the States Rights column. This action by the Democratic State Central Committee of Louisiana hit the Democratic National Committee as a heavy shock, for this state had been confidently counted on Truman's side.

Chairman Howard McGrath would only say that the National Committee is studying the legal aspects of the Louisiana move.

Heretofore the National Committee had been convinced that the States Rights strength would be confined to Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and half of Florida.

Choose your Army school before you enlist. Ask about the new technical school plan today at the United States Army and United States Air Force recruiting station, 39 Whitehall Street, New York.

Louisiana And Democracy

The decision of the Louisiana Legislature that HARRY S. TRUMAN and ALBEN BARKLEY may be represented on the state's ballots in November but not as Democrats raised interesting questions.

Louisiana took part in the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia and did not walk out, as did Mississippi and part of the Alabama delegation. Under traditional interpretations, therefore, Louisiana Democracy was morally bound to support the nominees of the convention as the Democratic candidates.

Some little time after the convention, it was indicated by political figures in Louisiana that the state would support the States' Rights candidates, Gov. J. STROM THURMOND of South Carolina and Gov. FIELDING WRIGHT of Mississippi. No formal action was taken at that time.

Only a few days ago, however, the State Democratic Committee met and voted to take the names of TRUMAN and BARKLEY off the ballot and substitute THURMOND and WRIGHT. When this move was roundly and widely denounced as dictatorial and probably illegal behavior, Gov. EARL LONG called the Legislature into special session.

It was then decided that the TRUMAN-BARKLEY ticket could be on the ballot, but could not use the word "Democrat," or employ the symbol of a rooster that has long been emblematic of the Democratic Party. Further, it was officially held, THURMOND and WRIGHT are the candidates of the real Democrats.

While we do not go along with Mr. TRUMAN and do not go for his proposals, especially including his so-called civil rights program, we wonder whether Louisiana has not gone too far and may eventually regret it. It is a question of techniques and of the proprieties, as well as of practical politics. It amounts to disregarding principles of great worth in maintaining the two strong parties absolutely necessary under our system of government.

On the other hand, however, maybe Louisiana has the right idea in setting up the States' Rights group as the real Democratic Party and leaving Mr. TRUMAN and his strangely conglomerate following to find a name for themselves. We have felt all along that Southerners should work within the framework of the party rather than split off to any splinter group. Perhaps this is the best way to start the Democratic Party back to its historic policies and practices.

Cheating The Voter

Wash. Post

Thousands of citizens who read their newspapers yesterday morning must have asked themselves whether they were living in America or the curious Land of Oz. In our supposedly free and democratic contest for the selection of a national leader the name of the President of the United States had been stricken from the ballot in Louisiana by a political committee. The people of that State will have no opportunity to give the President a vote of confidence unless they write his name on the ballot. In other words, they are denied a free choice among the candidates. The effect is so utterly at variance with customary assumptions about the American system of government that it may shock the people into some serious thinking about the obsolete and unreliable method by which the President is chosen.

Sun. 9-12-48

Wash. D.C.

34d Demo

It is futile to condemn the Dixiecrats who have directed this maneuver and similar coups in other Southern States. They are merely taking advantage of the tools of confusion and obstruction which an obsolete system places in their hands. Louisiana is one of several States which still cling to the fiction that the President is chosen by a group of electors named by the States. It does not require that the names of the presidential and vice presidential candidates appear on the ballots, although the

Democratic State Central Committee seems to have decreed in this instance that the States' Rights candidates shall be listed.

It permits the splitting of votes among individual electors, instead of requiring votes to be cast for or against an entire slate.

thus buttressing the assumption that the electors are to exercise their discretion in the choice of a President and Vice President.

Finally, the electors themselves are nominated, not by vote of the people, but in State political conventions. This adds up to dictation by a select group of politicians as to where Louisiana's lot shall be cast in a presidential election.

Sun 9-12-48

The really alarming fact is that the right of Louisiana and other States to thwart the will of the people in choosing a President is deeply imbedded in the Constitution. The transition from government of the elite for the people to government by and for the people has never been recognized in the law. So we have 48 different schemes in 48 different States for determining how each will make its influence felt in a presidential election. The door to finagling is not merely ajar; it is wide open. The amazing thing is that a system so fraught with hazards and uncertainties has not previously been utterly discredited.

By forcing the issue at last the Dixiecrats may in the end render a national service. The country needs a new electoral system under which the people may vote directly for the flesh-and-blood candidates of all legitimate parties and not for dummies who may or may not reflect the popular will. And the electoral votes of each State should be divided among the candidates in the same proportion as the popular vote in that State is divided. How long must the country wait for a statesman to take hold of this issue and make a name for himself in addition to safeguarding our electoral system?

Louisiana Bill Opens Ballot To Truman

By the Associated Press.

Baton Rouge, La., Sept. 26.—The Louisiana Legislature today voted to admit President Truman's name to the state general election ballot—without letting him be called officially a Democrat.

Mar 9-27-48

The State Senate unanimously passed a bill revising the State General Election Law to allow the President to be nominated by petition. The Democratic State Central Committee dropped his name from the ballot September 10 by officially indorsing the nominees of the States'-Rights Democrats.

The bill now goes to Governor Earl K. Long for signature.

The State Central Committee voted to pledge its elector candidates to the States'-Rights Democratic ticket of Governors J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi. The move barred Truman from the Louisiana ballot since the deadline for nominating by petition already had passed under the election law in effect then.

Louisiana Ban On Truman's Ticket Fought

Herald Tribune

Sun 9-12-48

Democrats to Use All 'Legal Means'

New York N.Y.

National Committee Says States Rights 'Fraud' Keeps Ticket Off Ballot

By Robert J. Donovan

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10.—The Democratic National Committee, declaring all-out war on the States' Rights Democrats, promised today to use "every legal means" to get the Truman-Barkley ticket on the ballot in Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama.

After two days of conferences among high-ranking committee members William J. Primm jr., assistant to Senator J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, Democratic National Chairman, issued a statement today accusing Louisiana Democratic leaders of "fraud."

Mr. Primm charged that yesterday's action of the Louisiana State Democratic Central Committee in striking the Truman-Barkley ticket from the Louisiana ballot and substituting the ticket of the States' Rights Democrats, or Dixiecrats, was "high-handed and arbitrary."

Assails Louisiana Tactics

"Tactics employed in Louisiana to deprive the people of the right of a free choice in the general election," Mr. Primm said, "are virtually identical with means used in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina by small groups in these states. To find a similar situation one must go behind the 'iron curtain' of Eastern Europe . . .

"Every legal means at the command of the National Committee will be employed to insure that the people of Louisiana and every other state are given the opportunity to cast a free ballot in November and that they are not deprived of their democratic rights by fraud or other devious means."

Mr. Primm charged that states' rights tactics in "taking over the Democratic party machinery in certain states and thereby depriving the people of those states of a free ballot is intolerable." He called their methods "flagrantly dishonest and fraudulent."

"The leaders of the Dixiecrat movement," he said, "have cleverly seen to it through subterfuge that the States' Rights party is nothing more than a wing of the Republican party and and is being financed by oil and private utilities interests.

Sun 9-12-48

Charges Republican Aid

"Recent happenings in Indiana offer irrefutable evidence of their Republican party connections. Petitions for the necessary signatures to place the Dixiecrats on the ballot there were printed in the state Republican campaign headquarters. The Dixiecrats were counseled and assisted in every possible way by Republican members of the state elections board, and the two Republican members of the board voted to accept the Dixiecrat petition as legal."

Mr. Primm added that the petition was attacked in the courts and the Dixiecrats were ruled off the Indiana ballot. The states rights candidates are Governor J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, for President, and Governor Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, for Vice-President.

What has happened in Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina is that the Democratic organizations of those states, rejectng the candidacies of President Truman and Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, because of their civil rights stand, have put up electors pledged to the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Mr. Primm's statement implied that the Democratic National Committee will go into the courts to get the Truman-Barkley electors on the ballot, but it gave no indication when this would be done or what the basis of the action would be.

Sun 9-12-48

Mr. Primm promised that the action of the Louisiana State Democratic Committee would not "go unchallenged by the people of Louisiana and the Democratic party."

"The vast majority of the citizens of Louisiana," he said, "are Democrats, and they have been denied the right to vote for the nominees of their party.

Sun 9-12-48

"The action of a small clique of men who have assumed dictatorial powers beyond all concept of democracy has deprived the people of Louisiana of a free ballot. This action cannot be tolerated and will not be tolerated by the people of Louisiana."

Mr. Primm said the Dixiecrats are in reality a fourth party and that the Louisiana Democratic committee thus "committed a fraud on their own people" by putting its stamp of approval on the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

"The Democratic National Committee," he added, "has clearly stated its position that the Dixiecrats are a fourth party. They are not Democrats, and the National Committee has called upon all national committeemen and national committee women who are supporting the Dixiecrats to resign."

The committee, it was learned, is considering ways of throwing rebels out, if they will not resign.

In this connection the committee is centering its attention on the Democratic manual containing the party rules. Section 11, [illegible] with the power of the Committee says: "The National Committee is empowered to expel members for cause and has exercised this prerogative, as in 1896, when it expunged from its rolls the names of members actively opposing the election of the Presidential nominee (William Jennings Bryan)."

The Picayune

Time Lack for Printing Cited by Coe, Blair

Fri 10-8-48

BY B. L. KREBS
(The Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

Baton Rouge, Oct. 7. — Louisiana supporters of President Truman lost their last chance today to get the president's name on the state ballot under the Democratic designation and rooster.

The president's name, however, has already been submitted by petition in accordance with an act adopted at the recent special session of the Legislature, and his electors will appear under the designation of the "Truman-Barkley party," with the Democratic donkey as the emblem.

Three New Electors

The Democratic state central committee recently threw three Truman-Barkley electors off the Louisiana ballot, substituted new electors pledged to vote for Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for president and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi for vice-president, and ordered them designated as the candidates of the Democratic party, to appear under the traditional Rooster used in Louisiana.

Two Lake Charles labor leaders, Athan Coe and Darrell H. Blair, who filed suit in the East Baton Rouge parish district court to enjoin Secretary of State Wade O. Martin, Jr., from having ballots printed unless the names of Truman and Barkley are carried as the Democratic candidates under the Rooster, withdrew the suit this afternoon in Judge Carlos Spaht's division of district court.

Robert Weinstein and Warren D. Coleman, attorneys for the two plaintiffs, submitted a letter of withdrawal from their clients, accompanied by a formal statement of the reasons for the withdrawal. The statement was admitted to the court record after it had been signed by Coe and Blair, at the insistence of Leander H. Perez, attorney for the Democratic central committee.

Printing Stars Saturday

The reason given for withdrawal of the suit was that it might result in the secretary of state being unable to print the ballots in time for the November general election, with the result that the voters of Louisiana would be denied the right to participate in the selection of presidential electors.

Printing of the ballots must be under way not later than midnight Saturday, according to a letter from Thomas J. Moran's Sons, state printers, which was read in the brief court session. With the Coe-Blair suit out of the way the secretary of state's office is proceeding with arrangements for the ballot printing, which will be a 24-hour a day operation.

Fri 10-8-48

Whether five sets of electors are to appear on the ballot, or only four, will have to be determined in a couple of days. This will be dependent on the proposed withdrawal of the "Dixiecrat" supporters who nominated Thurmond and Wright by petition under the designation of "States' Rights Party" and with the Statue of Liberty as their emblem.

Others on Ballot

Other groups of electors who will be on the ballot regardless of the course followed by the States' Righters are:

The state central committee electors, pledged to Thurmond and Wright, and designated as the "Democratic party," with the rooster as their emblem.

The Truman-Barkley electors, named by petition a few days ago and designated as the "Truman-Barkley party," with the donkey as their emblem.

The Dewey-Warren electors, named as the Republican party, with the elephant as their emblem.

The Wallace-Taylor electors, named as the Progressive party, with the pelican as hteir emblem.

Coe and Blair, in their suit seeking to compel the secretary of state and the state central committee to permit Truman to use the name of the Democratic party on the ballot, and its emblem, contended that the central committee had acted illegally in ousting the Truman-Barkley electors from the November ballot and pre-empting the Democratic party name and emblem for its new Thurmond-Wright electors. One charge in the petition was that the call for the meeting of the party committee at which this action was effected did not disclose that any such plan was to be submitted.

A temporary injunction which they obtained against the secretary of state was suspended when Judge Spaht granted the defendants suspensive appepal. Both sides to the litigation then attempted to take the matter direct to the state supreme court, but Wednesday the high court declined to exercise its supervisory powers and sent the suit back to Baton Rouge for trial.

Fri 10-8-48

Percy Files Exceptions

Today Perez, for the state central committee, and Assistant Attorney-General John Madden, for the secretary of state, filed exceptions of lack of jurisdiction and of no legal right of action. The suit was withdrawn, however, before the exceptions were argued.

Perez additionally filed an answer to the petition, in which he denied any illegality in the central committee action, and asserted that the llegation of fraud had been "wilfully and falsely made."

After Judge Spaht signed a formal order dismissing the suit at the cost of the plaintiffs, Perez remarked that the costs could well include a fee of "maybe $2000" for attorneys for the defendants, because of the temporary restraining order that was improvidently and illegally used."

'Good Order,' Says Weinstein

"We do not believe," Weinstein rejoined, "that the order was improvidently or illegally issued. We say it was a good order,"

Judge Spaht interposed to comment that the proper procedure would be for the defendant attorneys to apply for a rule if they feel entitled to a fee from the plaintiffs.

Coe and Blair in their statement as to their reasons for withdrawing the suit told the court they had expected to take the matter directly to the supreme court of Louisiana for a quick and final decision.

"We were in good faith and still are in good faith," the statement continued, "in our desire to see the names of President Truman and Senator Barkley as candidates for president and vice-president appear on the ballot under the official Democratic emblem, and in the Democratic column as the official nominees of the Democratic party. The supreme court, instead of exercising its supervisory powers, sent the matter back to the district court, where it has again come up for hearing.

Fri 10-8-48

Time Factor Cited

"Irrespective of the outcome in the district court, the matter will without question be taken again to the supreme court. All of this takes time and necessitates delay. The secretary of state and the committee took a suspensive appeal from our restraining order. No doubt even if we win in this case they will again take a suspensive appeal from any preliminary injunction which we might obtain.

Fri 10-8-48

"The time between now and the date of the election is critically short. We had hoped that a final disposition of our case could be made before the election and in time to enable the printing of the ballots and the distribution of the election paraphernalia. We have been informed by the state printer that unless he can commence operations by Saturday, it is possible that the ballots may not be printed and distributed in time for the election.

"Since the supreme court of Louisiana did not exercise its supervisory jurisdiction and dispose of the matter finally, we feel that

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Primm Hints Court Action In Louisiana

The Advertiser

Issues Call For Voters To Overturn 'Dishonest Barring' Of President

Sun 9-12-48

'High-Handed Act'

Montgomery Ala

Party May Oust Members Of Committee Backing States' Rights Group

WASHINGTON— (AP) —The Democratic National committee called on Louisiana voters Saturday, to overturn the "flagrantly dishonest and fraudulent" barring of President Truman's name from the state's ballot.

In a hotly-worded statement threatening possible court action, William J. Primm, Jr., assistant to National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, challenged action of the State's Democratic committee in substituting the States Rights ticket for the Truman-Barkley combination.

Primm said this "high-handed and arbitrary act" had "deprived the people of Louisiana of a free ballot," adding:

"This action cannot be tolerated and will not be tolerated by the people of Louisiana."

Primm noted that States Rights party supporters had qualified under Louisiana law as a separate party, choosing 10 electors for Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, their nominees.

He said the State Democratic committee by its action in approving this slate had "committed a fraud on their own people."

"The Dixiecrats have every right to form a new party," he declared, "but the tactics they are employing in taking over the Democratic party machinery in certain states and thereby depriving the people of those states of a free ballot is intolerable. Such methods are flagrantly dishonest and fraudulent."

To Use Legal Means

Primm promised that "every legal means at the command of the national committee" will be used to get Mr. Truman back on the ballot in Louisiana.

He topped this threat of court action with another call for Democratic committee officials who are supporting the States Rights ticket to resign their party posts.

Primm said this would apply to William H. Talbot, of New Orleans, Democratic national committeeman, and a member of the Louisiana state party's executive committee.

Asked what would happen if Talbot and others refused to quit, Primm pointed to a section of the national party's by-laws. This gives the national committee the right to expell members who don't support the regular Democratic nominees.

Primm said such action had been taken in 1896 by the national committee. He would not forecast a similar move by the present committee.

In New Orleans. Talbot was quick to reply.

"It's true I am a national committeeman," he said, "a member of the group that makes up the steering committee of the national party.

Sun 9-12-48

"But that doesn't mean if the national group decides to mislead the people that I am going to sit silently by and not express my views or those of my people."

Talbot reiterated that he will not resign. and insisted the U. S Supreme Court has upheld the state committee as supreme.

"If expel they will," he added, "it's their move."

News elsewhere was good—and bad—for Mr. Truman.

The New York State CIO Political Action committee added itself to the list of organizations formally supporting the Truman-Barkley ticket.

But in Illinois, Henry Wallace's Progressive party carried to the State Supreme Court its fight for a place on the ballot. The state certifying board had turned down the party's petition.

Dewey Gets Rest

Democrats have been fighting to keep the Progressives off the ballot in critical Illinois. If the Wallace group gets on most political observers think the balance would be tipped steeply for the Republicans, who already are claiming they will sweep the state.

Sun 9-12-48

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican nominee, went back to his Pawling farm for a rest after a New York City conference with Gov. Robert F. Bradford, of Massachusetts.

Dewey, who leaves next Sunday for his first formal speech of a Western tour at Des Moines, Sept. 20, said he and Bradford talked about greater cooperation between the states and the Federal Government.

The possibility was mentioned that Gov. Earl Warren, of California, the vice-presidential nominee, might be assigned to bringing about such cooperation in the event Republicans win.

Dewey said that was possible. He added that he hadn't talked about it to Warren yet.

Mr. Truman pointed up some of his Western tour speeches in a week end rest on the presidential yacht Williamsburg. He starts out Friday for Dexter, Iowa, to open his tour with a farm talk there.

Dewey will be following the president closely into three major cities on their separate tours.

Louisiana Legislature Acts To I estore Truman to Ballot

Courier Journal - Fri 9-24-48

Authorizing Bill Is Approved By Committee

34

Baton Rouge, Sept. 23 (AP)—President Truman appeared assured today of a place on Louisiana's November ballot.

Louisville Ky

The State Legislature in special session kept rolling a proposal to restore his name. The measure would give Truman supporters until October 5 to file a petition with the secretary of state signed by 100 qualified voters nominating 10 elector candidates pledged to him.

Alternative Plan Stricken.

An alternative procedure to permit the Democratic National Committee to file a slate of elector candidates with the secretary of state was stricken in committee. That provision was a fighting matter to States'-Rights Democrats in battle with the national committee.

The amended bill received unanimous committee approval and is expected to receive House action tomorrow.

34

Truman and his running mate, Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky, would be listed on the ballot under some party name yet to be selected. The original bill would have listed them as "National Democrats," but this provision was dropped in an amendment approved by the committee today.

Fri 9-24-48

States'-Rights candidates, Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, would be listed as the regular Democratic candidates. The State Central Democratic Committee, ruling party body in the state, declared them the state party's candidates September 10, dropping Truman from the ballot.

Governor Earl K. Long summoned the Legislature last night to consider restoring Truman to the ballot and also to take up 27 State Administration proposals.

Leander Perez, south Louisiana political leader who sparked the State Democratic Central Committee's September action, said the compromise bill to restore Truman to the ballot was the result of a conference with Governor Long.

9-24-48

"This is the best bill we could devise under the circumstances," Perez told the committee at its short hearing on the measure. "I wouldn't say it is a good bill, because of my opposition to Truman, who would return carpetbaggery to the South."

He said the nominating petition by the 100 qualified voters would specify some symbol to head the Truman ballot, but that the traditional rooster of Louisiana Democrats would be restricted to the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

DEMOCRATS DEFIED ON LOUISIANA SUIT

The Times

Rights Spokesman Says Truman Backers Are 'Whistling in the Graveyard'

34d

By CLAYTON KNOWLES
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13—Judge Merritt H. Gibson, campaign director for the States Rights Democratic Party, asserted today that the leadership of the Democratic National Committee, was "whistling in the graveyard" in threatening court action to get the Truman-Barkley ticket on the ballot in Louisiana.

He said that the Louisiana State Democratic Central Committee had passed over the President and his running mate in favor of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi" in a voluntary unanimous action." Also, he held, this body was the "duly constituted committee" of the Democratic party.

Mr. Gibson's statement was issued as William J. Primm Jr. assistant to Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democratic National Chairman, conferred with lawyers on the legal course to be pursued in Louisiana and other states where Democratic electors might be instructed to vote for the States Rights' ticket.

Mr. Primm had no comment on the Gibson statement which was in response to his own charge that the action of the Louisiana State Central Committee was part of a plan "to deprive the people of the right of a free choice in the general election."

Judge Gibson described the proposed suit by the Democratic National headquarters "as a desperate final gasp on behalf of Mr. Primm's repudiated candidates."

Technically, the names of President Truman and Senator Alben W. Barkley were not removed from the ballot in Louisiana by the action of the Central Committee since the names of none of the national candidates appears on the ballot in the state. Only the names of the ten electors appear under the name, and emblem, of any given party in the state.

Truman Name Kept Off Ballot In Louisiana

The Wash Post

34d

Sat 9-11-48

Wash. D.C.

State's Democrats To Back Thurmond; President's Votes Must Be Write-ins

Baton Rouge, La., Sept. 10 (AP).—President Truman's name was knocked off the Louisiana ballot today and he will be only a write-in candidate in the November 2 general elections.

The States' Rights Democratic candidates—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for Vice President—were declared the Democratic Party nominees in Louisiana.

The Louisiana Democratic State central committee took this action by unanimous vote on a resolution by Judge Leander Perez of St. Bernard and Plaquemines Parishes

Resolution Attacks FEPC

The resolution said in part that the action was taken because "it is the duty of the Democratic State central committee . . . to support candidates for President and Vice President who will preserve the traditions of the people of this State and protect their right of self-government and all other States' rights in accordance with our American way of constitutional government as opposed to candidates for said offices who are pledged to support the enactment of Federal laws to regiment our people, to destroy their right of State government and to force upon them foreign ideologies such as the Russian 'all-races law,' called here the FEPC, which contains a fundamental threat to our American way of life and which would set up a Federal police State for the certain destruction of our American freedom and liberties."

Sat 9-11-48

Use Party's Symbol

Judge Perez explained the ballot would be headed by the regular Democratic Party's rooster symbol. Immediately beneath it will appear the names of Thurmond and Wright; then will follow the electors' names; and after them the names of candidates nominated in the August 31 Louisiana Democratic primary.. The committee met to certify the primary election returns.

To "prevent a split in the vote" for the nominees of the August 31 primary in the general election. Perez said State's Rights electors who have qualified with the Secretary of State will be asked to withdraw.

Judge Perez said the names of Truman and Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky, vice presidential candidate, would not appear on the ballot; and they can be voted for only on a write-in basis.

Perez told the committee the party is "at a crossroads."

"It's a matter of self-preserva-

Truman On Louisiana Ballot?

The News

The strange and unfortunate situation in Alabama, in which there is now no prospect that voters who desire to support President Truman in the November election will have an opportunity to do so, is unhappily recalled again by developments in Louisiana.

Thurs 9-23-48

Birmingham Ala

In that state a special session of the Legislature has been called by Gov. Earl Long to consider placing the president's name on the ballot.

34d

A few days ago the State Democratic Committee acted to declare Thurmond and Wright the Democratic nominees in that state. The effect of the action was to remove Mr. Truman's name from the ballot and list the elector nominees under the "States' Rights" candidates. Protest against this summary action has been followed by the special session call.

It seems likely that the Legislature will now act to restore the president's name to the ballot as the candidate of the "National Democratic Party." National Democratic Chairman McGrath has protested against listing Mr. Truman other than as the national party nominee.

Just how the Louisiana Legislature will direct the make-up of the ballot is not yet certain, but it seems probable that the voters of that state will have a chance to choose between the two Democratic candidates.

It will be remembered that at a recent special session of the Florida Legislature action to that end was taken. And in Tennessee, the prospect is that Truman elector nominees will be on the ballot and that a Thurmond slate also may be presented.

But in Alabama no provision has been made for Truman elector candidates to appear on the ballot.

State Sen. Joseph Langan, of Mobile, leader of a group desirous of supporting the national Democratic Party, has said that court action is contemplated to force the Democratic elector nominees in Alabama, who are pledged against Mr. Truman, to vote for the president. But how such action would come out and what effect it could have in this election are questions. It would be far better if Alabama Democrats had a clear choice between Truman and Thurmond.

Thurs 9-23-48

It is maintained by the States' Rights group, of course, that voters had a chance to express their will in the May primary when the anti-Truman elector nominees were chosen. But the situation then was very confused and uncertain. It seems highly unlikely that all the voters then felt that if the anti-Truman candidates were chosen, that would shut off all chance for voting for the nominees of the national Democratic Party. The action taken in Florida and now foreshadowed in Louisiana testifies to the possibilities in such situations.

Whether it is feasible at this late date to provide an opportunity for Alabama voters who wish to do so to support Mr. Truman we do not know, but it is evident that the present situation is deeply regrettable.

Mississippi Demos Ready To Give Nod To States' Rights Party

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 3—(AP)—The states' rights movement was expected to receive endorsement of its presidential and vice presidential choices here today from the Mississippi Democratic Convention.

The convention has been "in recess" since June 22. It was called back to approve or disapprove action of state delegates who walked out of the national convention in Philadelphia and reassembled at the States' Rights conference in Birmingham, Ala., July 17.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, was picked at the Birmingham meeting to head the States' Rights ticket. Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, was selected for vice president.

Indications were that the convention would pledge its nine candidates for presidential electors to vote in the electoral college for the Thurmond-Wright ticket. 8-3-48

Such a pledge would mean that any electors for the National Democratic Party candidates of President Truman and Sen. Alben Barkley would have to get on the state's ballot through some other means than the official Mississippi Democratic Party. Jnl. 8-3-48

The Thurmond-Wright ticket could be assured of the state's nine electoral votes if the Democratic Party polls its usual strength in November.

* * *

PARTY LEADERS invited opponents to the States' Rights program to speak when the convention opens.

Chairman J. Knox Huff, of the Democratic Executive Committee, said the only Democrats who contacted him for possible speaking time were student groups at Millsaps College and Mississippi College. Jnl. 8-3-48

Some opposition to the States' Rights program developed at the University of Mississippi as a 25-student delegation left for the convention.

Three students, Tom Griffith, of Ackerman; Wayne Williams, of university, and Carl Turner, of Fulton, said the delegation did not represent "the majority opinion of politically conscious Ole Miss students" and said it should attend as individuals instead of as a group.

8-3-48

ALABAMA States' Rights Democrats have chartered a 52-passenger plane to fly to Houston, Tex., Aug. 11 for a rally there.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, States' Rights Democrats' choice for president, is scheduled to make his formal acceptance of his nomination for president on the States' Rights ticket.

MEANWHILE, State Sen. Joseph N. Langan, of Mobile, had not announced final plans for a meeting of pro-Truman Democrats. Sen. Langan left yesterday for two-week National Guard encampment.

Sen. Langan, a colonel, will help direct training activities during the two-week stay at Ft. Benning, Ga.

He has called a meeting of the president's supporters in Montgomery Aug. 16 to choose a slate of electors who will vote for Truman. Last week he said he was considering shifting the convention to Birmingham and holding it at a later date.

Delta State Democrats Vote To Back Thurmond, Wright

Montgomery Advertiser

JACKSON, MISS. — (AP) — The Mississippi Democratic Convention Tuesday approved the walkout of the state's delegates at the national convention, and pledged their electoral college candidates to support the states' rights ticket.

The action was taken as the state convention, recessed on June 22, reconvened.

Two college students spoke in opposition to the states' rights movement. They were followed by other college students supporting the movement.

In other resolutions the convention:

1—Approved the action of Mississippi delegates in joining the states' rights conference in Birmingham, Ala., July 17 after the National Democratic Convention walkout.

2—Nominated South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright as candidates of the Mississippi Democratic Party for president and vice-president; and pledged their electoral college candidates to them. They were chosen at the Birmingham conference at the states' rights standard bearers. Wed. 8/4/48

3—Called for a "campaign of education so as to acquaint the people in each county with all the facts pertaining to the states' rights movement." 8/4/48

4—Commissioned the nine electoral candidates as delegates to a "convention of the Democratic parties of the several states to be held at Birmingham" on Oct. 1.

5—Declared that the sense of Tuesday's convention is that all candidates for office on the state Democratic ticket should publicly declare their support for the states' rights plans. 8/4/48

6—Called on Mississippi's congressional delegation and candidates for Congress to declare how they would vote if Congress should have to decide the presidential election. (The election goes to Congress if no presidential candidate gets a majority in the electoral college.) 8-4-48

7—Continued the convention in recess until Nov. 23, unless called into session by proper authority before then. The convention had been in recess since its forst meeting on June 22.

The procedure of recessing instead of adjourning prevents any other group which might claim to be the Democratic Party of Mississippi from holding an official convention. Wed. 8-4-48

The nine candidates for electors individually announced to the convention that they would vote in the electoral college for Thurmond and Wright.

34d

FOOTBALL STAR HEADS STATES' RIGHTS GROUP

Commercial Appeal
Mon. 8-16-48

Student Organization Names Everette Harper

[illegible]

MEETING PLANNED AUG. 30

By LOUIS SILVER
Special to The Commercial Appeal

UNIVERSITY, Mss., Aug. 15. — Everette (Hairline) Harper of Moss Point was named Sunday at University of Mississippi to serve as temporary chairman of a permanent student organization of States' Rights supporters.

34d

Harper, Rebel grid star, who receives his law degree Friday night, announced that an Executive Committee composed of one student from each Mississippi college and university would meet at States' Rights headquarters, Hotel Heidelberg, Jackson, Aug. 30, to form a permanent students' organization.

"A Serious Business"

Ken Deshotel of Washington, La., national chairman of the College and University Division, States' Rights Organization, told Sunday's meeting of delegates from six Mississippi and two Tennessee colleges that the States' Rights movement "is not a fight against negroes." Deshotel, appointed to his position by the States' Rights Democrat Steering Committee, is student body president at L. S. U.

"Unless we do something about it, this country is going socialistic," he said. Mon. 8-16-48

Calling the States' Rights movement "a serious business," he said: "It is downright disgraceful how ignorant college students are about history and government. We will brief students throughout States' Rights Organization on such matters as the Constitution and the American Revolution."

Many Colleges Take Part

Delegates chosen by individual college caucuses Sunday to serve on the Executive Committee were:

Peyton Alexander of Hattiesburg, State College; Robert A. Kates of Vivian, Louisiana Home Junior College; Mary Ruth Jones, Clarksdale, M. S. C. W.; Eric Anderson of Memphis, Millsaps; State Representative Rex McRaney, Mississippi Southern, and John C. Murray of Brandon, Ole Miss.

Others will be named later.

Harry Hutchins of Hattiesburg, Cumberland University student and member of the States' Rights Executive Committee, attended Sunday's meeting, as did Billy Notman, unofficial observer from Mount Union College, Alliance, Ohio. Notman said people in his part of the country had not been getting the complete facts about States' Rights.

Cark Cable represented Southwestern

Mississippi Pledged To States' Righters Thurmond - Wright

Enterprise-Journal
McComb, Miss.
Wed. 8-4-48

'Walkout' Is Approved By Second State Convention; Electoral Votes For Ticket Assured

PLAN FOR 'EDUCATION'

Mississippi Democrats Go All-Out In Support Of Stand Of Delegates

34d

(By The Associated Press)

Jackson, Miss., Aug. 3.—The Mississippi Democratic Convention approved Tuesday the walkout of the state's delegates at the national convention, and pledged their Electoral College candidates to support the States' Rights ticket.

The action was taken as the state convention recessed on June 22, reconvened. 8-4-48

Other Resolutions

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1. Approved the action of Mississippi delegates in joining the States' Rights Conference in Birmingham July 17 after the National Democratc Convention walkout.

2. Nominated South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright as candidates of the Mississippi Democratic Party for President and Vice-President; and pledged their Electoral College candidates to them. They were chosen at the Birmingham conference as the States' Rights standard bearers.

3. Called for a "campaign of education so as to acquaint the people in each county with all the facts pertaining to the States' Rights movement."

4. Commissioned the nine electoral candidates as delegates to a "convention of the Democratic Parties of the several states to be held in Birmingham on Oct. 1.

5. Declared that the sense of the convention is that all candidates for office on the state Democratic ticket should publicly declare their support for the States' Rights plans. 8-4-48

6—Called on Mississippi's congressional delegation and candidates for Congress to declare how they would vote if Congress should have to decide the presidential election. (The election goes to Congress if no presidential candidate gets a majority in the Electoral College).

7—Continued the convention in recess until Nov. 28, unless called into session by proper authority before then. The convention had been in recess since its first meeting on June 22. The procedure of recessing instead of adjourning prevents any other group which might claim to be the Democratic Party of Mississippi from holding an official convention. Wed. 8-4-48

Nine Electors In Accord

The nine candidates for electors individually announced to the convention that they would vote in the Electoral College for Thurmond and Wright.

George Maddox, McComb, Leads Group Of Student Opponents, Addresses Convention

Enterprise-Journal
McComb, Miss

WRIGHT ASKS ATTENTION

Governor Urges States' Righters To Hear Young Minister, Clark Of Vanderbilt

Wed.

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Jackson, Miss., Aug. 4.—Opposition to the States' Rights movement in Mississippi spoke its piece to an attentive but unresponsive audience of delegates to the State Democratic Convention here Tuesday.

Approximatly 25 students describing themselves as representing groups at Millsaps and Vanderbilt, occupied a space under a banner reserved for "Opponents of States' Rights."

Gov. Fielding L. Wright, vice-presidential candidate on the tSates' Rights ticket, personally rose to urge the solidly States' Rights political delegation of the state to "hear what they have to say."

Wed. 8-11-48

Maddox Is Booed

The governor rose after the first of the opposition speakers had been roundly booed toward the close of his talk.

"I personally disagree with everything he has said," the governor told the delegates after George Maddox, of McComb, a Millsaps student, and spokesman for the group, had read a prepared speech.

Maddox told the delegates to the state convention that the States' Righters have "picked out one thing to claim as a violation of state sovereignty."

He said that the rapping being given Truman's civil rights recommendations in the South is a selection of only one thing to claim as an infringement on state's sovereignty.

"But you have never objected to flood control programs, subsidies for farmers and education, and TVA or any of the other things the government has brought in to your profit," Maddox charged.

Attacks Voting System

The young Millsaps student attacked the state's outmoded voting system and the precinct conventions as undemocratic.

"You are attempting to repudiate the trend of the times by fighting the civil rights program," he declared.

Maddox held that Mississippi is one-half negro populated and that negroes are being discriminated against.

Following these remarks, the crowd roundly booed Maddox, with especial emphasis coming from large crowds of students from Ole Miss, Mississippi State College and Mississippi Southern as well as Hinds Junior College and Millsaps students in the south wing of the auditorium.

This group was loud in its support of States' Rights and carried banners and placards, along with Mississippi State flags.

Segregation's End Urged

The other spokesman for the oppostion, Hardy Clark of Vanderbilt, spoke extemporaneously.

He openly advocated breaking down of the segragation rules and said that "we could find a middle line."

Clark told his audience that "I am a native Mississippian, having been born at Natchez, but I can't support this States' Rights movement."

"I have more faith in the Democratic Party of old than of any Republican Party leadership," he said.

Following the opposition talks, several speakers from colleges favoring States' Rights took the floor.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATS EYE MISSISSIPPI POWER

340

Trumanites Prepare To Wrest Control From States' Rights Rivals

The Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Mississippi, Bureau

Thurs. 11-4-48

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 3.—National Democratic Party leaders in Mississippi who supported President Truman's election prepared Wednesday to wrest control from the opposing States' Rights wing.

Members of the proTruman group are scheduled to meet here Thursday to determine the next step in their apparently new-won roles as patronage dispensers in Mississippi. In announcing the meeting, Phil Mullen, editor-legislator of Oxford and vice chairman of the national faction, said, "We want to see where we are."

Cites McGrath's Attitude

Mr. Mullen pointed out that Chairman Howard McGrath of the National Committtee had already recognized the national party and its leaders in the state, and that steps to put them in power awaited only word from Washington.

If Chairman McGrath carries out his pre-election promise to recognize the National Democrats, Frank Mize of Forest, brother of Federal Judge Mize, would become chairman of the party Executive Committee in the National Committee's files and Clarence Hood Jr., lumberman of Meridian and Mrs. John Clark of De Kalb, national committeewoman.

Holding those posts, insofar as the Democratic State Committee is concerned, are Knox Huff of Forest, committee chairman; J. B. Snider of Clarksdale, national committeeman, and Mrs. Hermes Gautier of Pascagoula, national committeewoman.

Thurs. 11-4-48

Mr. Mullen said, "Those senators and representatives who did not attack the President are Democrats insofar as we are concerned." He also said, "A majority of the people in Mississippi are Democrats—they were just misled and exploited by inflammation of the racial issue during the campaign."

Sees No AntiSouth Laws

Stating there has been no anti-South legislation enacted by Congress during the past 16 years, Mr. Mullen said emphatically, "There will be none passed during the next four years."

"National party leaders know our problems, and they want to help correct them—not agitate them," he said.

Mr. Mullen said his group is going to be "very friendly" to Senator Stennis, who confined his opposition to President Truman to efforts to "preserve constitutional government."

As to Senator James Eastland (D., Miss.), who was active in the States' Rights movement, Mr. Mullen said:

"So far as we (National Democrats) are concerned, Senator Eastland is still a Dixiecrat."

The party's vice chairman disclosed that his group considers Representative John Bell Williams of the Seventh Congressional District in the same category as the senior senator.

Since many of the leaders in the national party movement were identified with the administration of the late Governor Johnson, and its chairman is from Senator Eastland's County of Scott, the senior senator may fare better than anticipated by Mr. Mullen. Also to be considered is the fact that Senator Eastland was first appointed to the Senate by the late Governor Johnson, and he has consistently supported him as well as his son, Paul B. Johnson Jr., in his races for the governorship and United States Senate when the Bilbo vacancy was filled.

Pro-Truman Democrats Organize In Mississippi

Herald Tribune
New York, N.Y.

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 4 (AP).—Fifty-five pro-Truman Democrats formed their own state party machinery Monday asserting that "the Southern way of life is safest in the hands of the regular Democratic party."

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They attacked the states' rights movement as "unrealistic, negative and backward looking," and said "it was suggested by demagogic politicians and front men for grasping corporations."

Frank Mize, former State Motor Vehicle Commissioner, was elected chairman of the newly formed state exe utive committee and seventeen of the committee's twenty-four members were selected.

N.Y. N.Y.

The regular Mississippi Democratic committee led its followers out of the national Democratic party shortly after the Philadelphia convention. It has pledged its support to the states' rights Democratic ticket.

Governor Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, who first attacked Mr. Truman's civil rights proposals and called for a states' rights movement in his inaugural speech here last January, is that ticket's Vice-Presidential candidate. Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina is the Presidential candidate.

South Threatens To Bolt "Liberalized" Democrats

The Argus

Fri 1-23-48

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 20—(Special)— Making condemnation of the liberal actions of the Democratic party toward Negroes one of the major points of his inaugural address, Governor Lewis Wright took office Wednesday. He threatened that if national leaders of the Democratic Party and President Truman continued disregard for Southern customs and traditions might lead to a "break with the party in a national election." Representative Rankin and Senator Eastland praised his statements.

340

At the open house for the Governor and Mrs. Wright following the inauguration, Negroes were barred. A group of about twelve Negro leaders from Jackson College attempted to join the line going into the executive mansion. A highway patrolman steered them to the rear of the mansion and told them to line up there, it would be very late before they would be able to see the Governor. Thy dispersed sometime later.

Fri 1-23-48

Asserting there is a campaign of abuse and misrepresentation "being leveled against our section by those who seek to tear down and disrupt our institutions and our way of life," Governor Wright charged that "the advocates of today's anti-Southern legislation are using as their tools such infamous proposals as F. E. P. C., anti-lynching legislation, anti-poll tax bills and now anti-segregation.

The proposal of the committee appointed by the President of the United States to study and make recommendations under the guise of preservation of civil liberties are dangerous and threaten the destruction of those traditions and customs so vital to our way of life, said the Governor.

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al committee of prominent Negro educators, artists, clergy and the medical profession. Mr. Sheets is now completing the murals. They will portray the influence of Negroes on art, science, religion and education.

MISSISSIPPI WALKOUT IS SLATED IF TRUMAN RECEIVES NOMINATION

The Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.

State Democratic Convention Votes To Balk, Hold Its Birmingham Meeting

Wed. 6-23-48

ALL ACTION IS UNANIMOUS

(34d)

Would Give Electoral Votes To States' Rights Man—Delegates Pass Their Test Of 'Allegiance'

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Mississippi, Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., June 22.—The Democratic state convention voted unanimously Tuesday to instruct its national convention delegates to "walk out" of the Philadelphia meeting and hold a Southern conference at Birmingham in event President Truman is nominated and indorsement is given his civil rights proposals.

The Alabama meeting would nominate a states' rights presidential candidate who would receive Mississippi's nine electoral ballots.

Opposition Folds Up

Every action of the convention was by unanimous vote as preconvention reports of opposition from certain quarters folded up. Several of those opposed to the "walk out" proposal were present but did not raise their voices or cast dissenting votes. Wed. 6-23-48

Before ending the day-long session, the delegates took steps to block a "rump" convention by those who would have the delegates and electors support any national convention nominee by recessing instead of adjourning until Aug. 3.

Another precaution against defection in the ranks of the delegates, electors and members of the new State Executive Committee was an "allegiance test" given each before the names were presented for nomination and election by the convention.

Everyone nominated agreed to abide by the provisions of the resolutions presented by Chairman T. J. Tubb of West Point, and unanimously adopted, including Governor Wright, Senators Eastland and Stennis and the seven representatives. The Commercial Appeal

Re-election Unopposed

Carrying out the unanimity which prevailed, no opposition was offered to the re-election of J. B. Snider, Clarksdale editor and former lieutenant governor, as national committeeman, and Mrs. Hermes Gautier of Pascagoula as national committeewoman. Preconvention agreements were reached whereby Tom Dunn of Meridian withdrew from the committeeman contest and was elected permanent chairman of the convention, with Mrs. Hubert Lipscomb of Jackson declining to offer her name in opposition to Mrs. Gautier, who succeeds Mrs. William Kendall of Natchez, who did not seek re-election. Memphis, Tenn.

New chairman of the State Executive Committee is Knox Huff of Forest, who succeeds Herbert Holmes of Senatobia, who relinquished his post after 16 years. Mr. Tubb was named vice chairman, and W. H. Anderson of Ripley was renamed secretary. Wed.

Keynoting the convention, Senator Eastland said Mississippi Democrats must maintain their independence "and fight all groups who attempt to destroy us." 6-23-48

"The only weapon we have is to withhold electoral votes from those who would destroy us. There is no hope in any other course. We must use our electoral votes to protect our states and our people. We must make the politicians bid for us. We cannot afford to be 'in the bag.' We must remain in a bargaining position. The

"Had we not shown our independence this year. the civil rights program would already have been enacted. Commercial Appeal

"Mark this prediction: If you do not remain independent, both the candidates of the major parties will in October be preaching racial and social equality. We must keep the reins on and we can do this by being independent." 6-23-48

Senator Eastland said if the Mississippians adopted the policy of fighting the matter out in the party, as some groups had suggested, and then lose and go along with the national ticket, "we lose our independence of action, we lose all bargaining power and our defeat is certain and our destruction inevitable." Memphis, Tenn.

"No Chips On Shoulder"

He said the national convention delegates should go to Philadelphia next month and make it plain that "we will not be kicked around, embarrassed, humiliated or improsed upon by any group of politicians, and that we will not permit our institutions, our homes and families or our government to be bartered for the votes of any group, and that we will fight all political parties, all politicians and all candidates who attempt to destroy us."

"I don't think that we should go to the national convention with a 'chip on our shoulder' or make unreasonable demands. Mississippians have defied those who would oppress them—why should we not defy them now?"

He said Northern opposition to the South is coming from "the babble of alien voices, babble from people who have formed great pressure groups bent upon the destruction of our form of government and our way of life." 6-23-48

The convention, which elected Representative T. N. Gore Jr. of Quitman County as permanent secretary, also named two state-at-large presidential electors in addition to the seven elected last week in the congressional district caucuses. It also selected state-at-large "simon pure states' rights" delegates to the national convention.

Clarence Morgan of Kosciusko, elector in 1944, who refused to support the Roosevelt-Truman ticket, and Edmund Taylor of Greenville were the state-at-large electors named. Mr. Morgan and three other 1944 electors were made "free agents" by the state convention that year, when they announced they would not support the national convention nominees because of inclusion of an anti-white supremacy plank in the platform. The Commercial Appeal

Delegates Are Named

Electors previously named and confirmed were J. Murphy Thomas Jr. of Tupelo; Representative Jack Frost of Oakland; Frank Everett of Indianola, 1944 elector; S. Hurd Horton of Grenada; Walter Dent May of Mendenhall; Jesse Byrd of Leakesville and Julius Brent of McComb. Memphis, Tenn.

State-at-Large national convention delegates named Tuesday included Governor Wright, Senator Eastland, Senator Stennis, Lieut. Gov. Sam Lumpkin, Representatives Rankin, Whitten, Whittington, Abernathy, Winstead, Colmer and Williams; W. E. Gore of Jackson; Chairman Holmes; Mr. Huff; E. B. Truly of Fayette and J. O. Emmerich of McComb. Alternates are H. M. Faser of Jackson, Andrew Sullivan of Macon, Oscar Johnston of Scott; L. W. Brown of Starkville; Boswell Stevens of Macon; James McClure of Sardis; Porter Denton of Marks; Paul Moore of Calhoun City, J. C. Warren of DeKalb, Bidwell Adam of Pass Christian, Hugh Wall of Brookhaven, Dan McGehee of Meadville; Ed Lewis of Jackson, Toxey Hall of Columbia, R. B. Zeller of Hazlehurst and Robert Jones of Brookhaven. 6-23-48

Rankin, Truman Confer on Rights

The Post Washington, D.C.
Wed. (34d) 6-23-48

Representative John E. Rankin (D., Miss.) said yesterday after a talk with President Truman that he hopes the Democrats can reach a "satisfactory" agreement on the touchy civil rights issue.

Rankin, foe of the President's racial rights program, said if the party convention in Philadelphia next month adopts the same racial plank contained in its 1944 platform, "I am assured that it will be adhered to."

Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath told southern Governors opposing Mr. Truman's racial program earlier this year that he would be glad to support the 1944 plank as part of this year's platform.

Rankin said the 1944 plank was "far les soffensive" than one proposed by Republicans at their party conclave. He said the GOP plank "msut be a disappointment to decent Republicans throughout the Nation."

The 1944 Democratic plank pledged Democrat to a belief that "racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop, and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution." It called on Congress to "exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."

Mississippians Plan Convention Walkout

The Post
Washington, D.C.

Jackson, Miss., June 22 (AP).—Mississippi Democrats adopted resolutions today which leaders said are intended to obligate the State's delegates to walk out of the national party convention if President Truman is nominated.

The resolutions, however, made no mention of a walkout but T. J. Tubb of West Point, chairman of the resolutions committee, said in an interview: Wed.

"The intention of the resolutions committee is that the delegates are obligated to walk out if Truman is nominated or if the civil rights program is not repudiated."

The State convention will elect national convention delegates and presidential electors. A nominating committee, which will propose names for the convention's action, has been instructed to be fully satisfied that their nominees will be persons who will abide by and be governed by all resolutions adopted without opposition. 6-23-48

The resolutions committee report was adopted without opposition. The resolutions said that delegates to the national convention "are without power or authority to bind or pledge the support of the Democratic Party of Mississippi, to support and vote for the nominees" of the national convention if President Truman or any other candidate supporting his civil rights program is nominated, or if the program is not repudiated.

Confusion At Jackson

Before Democrats protesting against the Truman civil rights proposals opened their meeting in Jackson, Miss., Gessner T. McCorvey, Alabama Democratic state chairman, expressed the view that Mr. Truman will be nominated on the first ballot at Philadelphia.

(34d)

In Jackson, Gov. Laney, of Arkansas, and Gov. Wright, of Mississippi, expressed the view that the president's nomination can be prevented. The News

A Jackson resolution calls for a convention in Birmingham to take "appropriate action" in case the action of the convention is unacceptable. Possibility of nominating a candidate for president representing this group is suggested. Birmingham,

On the other hand, Mr. McCorvey sees the formation of an electoral group as the best means of opposing Mr. Truman and his civil rights proposals. Ala.

This would seem to indicate that Mr. McCorvey is dubious of getting immediate results from any "walkout" at the convention, though he ran as a "walkout" candidate for convention delegate and elector.

* * *

Mr. McCorvey is quoted as expressing the belief that, besides nominating Mr. Truman, the convention will adopt a civil rights platform plank unacceptable to the South, even though it may be expressed in generalities. However, he is opposed to holding a separate convention and nominating a Southern candidate. Tues. 5-11-48

Obviously Mr. McCorvey is looking at this phase of the matter in realistic terms. No nominee of a Southern group would have a chance of election.

Yesterday Georgia's state delegation decided not to participate in the Jackson meeting, except as observers, objecting to approval by the resolutions committee of a proposal for a separate convention in Birmingham in July if the Philadelphia convention adopts the Truman civil rights program.

These reports emphasize the confusion within the ranks of these protesting Democrats. Gov. Laney commented before the Jackson meeting began that "we are to some extent playing in a new field, and for that reason are not being specific." Tues.

As for Mr. McCorvey's idea of blocking Mr. Truman's election by throwing the matter into the House of Representatives, there are pertinent questions also. Suppose that would mean election of an unacceptable Republican? 5-11-48

Apparently that would be all right with a good many anti-Truman Democrats. But where would that leave the party, and just what would be accomplished?

HAROLD MARTIN

342 Democrat

Mississippi Is Dead Serious

The Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Tues 6-1-48

JACKSON, Miss.—Whether they get anywhere with it or not, and whether they are right or wrong, Mississippi is dead serious in its fight against Harry Truman. The second State to secede from the Union in the War Between the States has again followed South Carolina in its walkout, and has, figuratively speaking and in spirit, seceded again from the Union.

Her argument roughly follows this trend of thought. Mississippi, along with the rest of the South, admittedly has done nothing for the Negro. In economic bondage to the North, through many restrictive factors such as the high tariff and the discriminatory freight rates, the South has herself been in an economic serfdom, and has had nothing with which to do anything for themselves. Mississippi has seen the time when she was so poor she didn't have the money to buy stamps to send out income tax notices to her citizens. She has seen the time when her credit was so bad that nowhere in the United States could she sell her securities.

Tues 6-1-48

But, so her people say, as she threw off her economic bonds, as industry flowed in, as she freed herself from cotton serfdom and began to prosper a little, the Negro shared in her prosperity. He was getting his share of the better schools, the better medical facilities, that were beginning to be the lot of all Mississippians. These things would have continued. But, the right to vote she will not grant, nor will she ever tolerate any breakdown of her segregation laws.

Gov. Fielding Wright's statement that if the Negro expected to go to white folks' schools, sit in theaters and public buildings with whites, they should move to some other State, was unpolitic and got a very bad reaction from liberals and men of good will throughout the country. In Mississippi it was taken for what the Governor meant it to be—a bitter but forthright statement of the truth as Mississippi sees it. So far as the Mississippian is concerned there will be no radical change in the relationship of the white man and the Negro in Mississippi, and if such a change is forced, the Negro will have to go—as he is already going in great numbers. It will cause a tremendous dislocation in the economy of Mississippi, but a temporary one, they feel.

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Tues 6-1-48

They are serious about this. They feel it so strongly that they are ready, they say, to bolt the Democratic Party and vote for some favorite son—Sen. George, Sen. Byrd, or even Wright himself—putting them up as the candidate of a new party calling itself a Democratic Party. They do not hope to elect a candidate, but they do hope that they can so weaken both Truman, if he be the party nominee, and the Republican candidate, that the election will be thrown into the House of Representatives, as it would be if no party had a majority.

What will happen between now and convention time nobody knows. But Mississippi is as mad as she sounds in the press. And she is a little hurt with Georgia because the angry cries are not arising from there in a swelling chorus also. But she thinks Georgia is "safe."

"When we come down to the licklog," says the Mississippian, the statue of Jefferson Davis looking down upon him from the Hall of Fame in the Statehouse, "we can count on Georgia to be right there."

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Atlanta, Ga.

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Which may come as a mild surprise to some Georgians, who don't like Truman either, but like the prospect of a Republican with an even stronger civil rights program even less.

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Mississippi Truman Slate

The News

Sat 7-24-48

Bham Ala

The leader of a group of Mississippi citizens desirous of supporting the national Democratic Party nominees in the coming presidential election announces that a pro-Truman slate of elector candidates has been accepted for listing on the ballot in that state.

Filing of the names with the secretary of state was made under a 1948 act of the Legislature. The measure provides that when a state party pledges its slate to candidates other than those of a national party, a national party elector ticket may be placed on the ballot by affidavits setting forth that its members, if elected, will support the national presidential nominees.

This development in Mississippi and the likely authorization by the Louisiana Legislature of the filing of a Truman slate in that state indicates that Alabama citizens alone may be without opportunity to vote for Mr. Truman if they wish to do so. That would be an extremely regrettable distinction.

Mississippi Democrats 'Walk' Bound

34d

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

JACKSON, Miss., June 22—(AP)—Mississippi Democrats adopted resolutions today which leaders said were intended to obligate the State's delegates to walk out of the National Party Convention if President Truman were nominated.

The resolutions, however, made no mention of a walkout, but T. J. Tubb, of West Point, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, said:

"The intention of the Resolutions Committee is that the delegates are obligated to walk out if Truman is nominated or if the civil-rights program is not repudiated."

6-23-48

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Southern Democrats Threaten Secession

Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.

JACKSON, Miss.—(NNPA)—Both houses of the Mississippi legislature last week passed resolutions supporting Governor Fielding L. Wright's threat of secession of Southern Democrats from the party if its national leaders continue to press for enactment of federal legislation to strengthen and protect civil rights.

34d

Sat. 1-31-48

The resolution passed by the House said:

"We join the governor in the warning given to the leaders of the National Democratic Party and to the nation, that Mississippians and Southerners will no longer tolerate these abuses and efforts to destroy the South and her institutions, and hereby pledge our full support to the governor in his efforts to protect and uphold the principles, traditions and way of life of our beloved Southland."

Pastor Blames Seating of Bolters From Mississippi On Dead 'Mikes'

34d

The Courier-Journal

Sun. 7-18-48

Louisville Ky.

Asked Roll Call, Wasn't Heard

If microphones on the floor of the Democratic National Convention had not gone dead suddenly last Tuesday, Mississippi's delegation might not have bolted.

The Rev. Charles G. Hamilton, Aberdeen, Miss., said failure of the intercommunications system probably caused him to lose his fight to seat a delegation opposed to breaking away from the Democratic Party.

Wright's Group Seated.

Mr. Hamilton, who is chairman of Mississippi Young Democrats, was in Louisville yesterday on his way home from Philadelphia. He is a native of Covington and attended Berea College.

The "dead-mike" incident came after delegates, led by Governor Fielding Wright, had been seated over the opposition of Mr. Hamilton's delegation in a fight before the convention credentials committee.

The Democrats are mapping a dynamic campaign, so don't count them out, Robert L. Riggs says on Page 1 of The Passing Show.

Some members of the credentials committee carried the fight before the entire convention, presenting a minority report favoring Mr. Hamilton's delegation. However, after a voice vote on the question, the chairman ruled in favor of Wright's delegates. Those in favor of Mr. Hamilton's group then demanded a roll call. But the chairman didn't hear them because their microphones went dead at just that moment.

Then Another Mix-Up.

Mr. Hamilton said yesterday he believed his group would have been seated if the roll call had been taken.

Later the convention chairman said written votes on the issue would be counted, but there was a mix-up on this, too, according to Mr. Hamilton. He said he was told some states turned in votes favoring his faction but that these were not recorded.

Mr. Hamilton said he did not push his fight further. His delegation did not support the civil-rights plank fully and it suited him for the Wright group instead of his own to be put "on the spot" on that issue, he said.

He blamed the Wright forces for the severe civil-rights plank. Mississippi, he explained, earlier had been promised a milder plank if it would pledge itself to stay in the party.

Felt Hands Were Tied.

Mr. Hamilton said the bolters did not represent the wishes of the people of Mississippi.

"The whole idea is to elect a Republican President," he charged, adding that Governor Wright is a lawyer for power and other interests.

"Those in the walkout," he said, "consisted of a few Democrats who honestly believe the world is coming to an end, plus Tennessee Coal & Iron, Electric Bond & Share, Mississippi Power & Light, Alabama Power, Gulf Oil, Humble Oil, Tidelands Oil, Southern Railway, and one of the Connecticut life-insurance companies."

Mississippi's determination beforehand to bolt caused resentment among other Southern delegations, the visitor reported. Others felt this tied their hands and prevented them from making much progress, he explained.

Says People Unconsulted.

Mr. Hamilton recalled that the Wright delegation contained some of the Democrats who bolted the party in 1944, 1940, 1936, 1928, and as far back as 1916.

He said he told the credentials committee the delegation was not selected by Democrats but at conventions of the "new party" which he said "took over Democratic conventions and which includes Republicans, carpetbaggers, scalawags, and bolters."

"The people of Mississippi have never been consulted by them," he charged, "and the people have not been allowed to vote on whether they want to leave the party."

Mr. Hamilton said his group would submit a list of electors to Mississippians in November elections. Besides the two sets of Democratic electors there will be two sets of Republicans and possibly a Wallace list.

Likes Barkley On Ticket.

He came away from Philadelphia feeling that Democratic chances of victory are good. The main factor, as he sees it, is Russia. Truman will gain votes by anything that country does now, he said. High prices also are winning votes for Democrats, especially among the women, he reported.

Mr. Hamilton said he is supporting Truman, although he admits Mississippi generally "does not like him."

"Senator Barkley will be a big help to the ticket, though," he said.

Courier-Journal Photo.

The REV. C. G. HAMILTON
Asked for roll Call.

Mississippi Women Decide To Take Part In States' Rights Fight

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Fri. 4-16-48

JACKSON, Miss., April 16—(AP)—Women Democrats of Mississippi plan to send 50 delegates to the National States' Rights Conference in Jackson May 10.

34d

Some 700 women decided on this action yesterday at the state's first statewide political meeting solely for women.

Gov. Fielding L. Wright, leader in the Mississippi states' rights campaign, and the only man allowed at yesterday's meeting, told the women that the "Southern movement" was directed toward "constitutional government and sovereignty of our states." He said sovereignty "is much in danger at this point." The News

The governor said that "I have learned long ago that the most effective force behind any movement is to have ladies working actively for that movement." Fri. 4-16-48

Earlier, a male reporter, sent to cover the meeting, was barred and subsequently was replaced by a girl reporter. Birmingham, Ala.

Mrs. Mary Louise Kendall, of Natchez, who recently resigned as national Democratic committeewoman, told the meeting that "this is a crucial time in our lives." Mrs. Tom Corckett, of Jackson, was elected permanent chairman of the women's group, and Mrs. Halla May Pattison, of Jackson, as secretary.

FEPC UNAMERICAN REP. RANKIN SAYS

The Times-Picayune

34d New Orleans La.

(The Associated Press)

West Point, Miss., July 7. — Terming fair employment legislation recently enacted by the New York Legislature and signed into law by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey "a diatribe of un-Americanism," Rep. John Rankin last night took to task proponents of "so-called civil rights" measures which would do "incalculably more harm than good." Thurs. 7-8-48

Speaking to a West Point civic club, the Democratic congressman said the national legislation of the pattern in effect in New York would "destroy small business." The people "have not been given the facts," the fiery legislator declared, "or they would not have nominated Dewey" at the Republican national convention to campaign for the presidency.

Those promoting the civil rights movement "are doing more to harm the Negro in the South" through their efforts along this line "than could possibly be done in any other manner," Mr. Rankin charged. "There are only four ways of dealing with the Negroes," he declared: "Deportation—out of the question at the present time; amalgamation — even more out of the question; extermination — impossible; and segregation — the only fair solution."

Rep. Rankin, who has served 28 years as congressman from the First District, predicted that he would be re-elected this year for his fifteenth term "on the first ballot." He is opposed by Claude Clayton of Tupelo and Judge Raymond Jarvis of Booneville.

Bolt At Rally Gets Approval In Delta State

Montgomery Advertiser

Wed. 6-23-48

Leader Says Resolutions To Permit Walk-Out At Convention

JACKSON, MISS.—(AP)—Mississippi Democrats adopted resolutions in convention Tuesday which leaders said were intended to obligate its delegates to walk-out of the national party convention at Philadelphia July 12 if President Truman is nominated.

The resolutions, however, made no mention of a walk-out but T. J. Tubb, of West Point, chairman of the resolutions committee said in an interview:

"The intention of the resolutions committee is that the delegates are obligated to walk out if Truman is nominated or if the civil rights program is not repudiated."

The State convention will elect delegates to the National Convention and presidential electors. A convention nominating committee will propose names for the convention's action, and the committee was instructed to be fully satisfied that their nominees will be persons who will abide by and be governed by all resolutions adopted by the convention.

The resolutions committee report was adopted without opposition. 6-23-48

The resolutions specified that delegates to the National Convention "are without power or authority to bind or pledge the support of the Democratic Party of Mississippi, to support and vote for the nominees" of the National Convention if President Truman or any other candidate supporting his civil rights program is nominated, or if the program is not repudiated.

Gov. Fielding Wright, who keynoted the anti-civil rights drive in his inaugural address last January, was sitting in the audience when the convention adopted the report of the resolutions committee.

The governor jokingly asked a reporter, "where is all that opposition that is supposed to develop?" Montgomery Advertiser

He referred to pre-convention reports that there may be opposition to the walkout angle of the states' rights plan.

The governor said he had not studied the resolutions carefully but that it was his impression that even though delegates might not be specifically instructed to withdraw, the sentiment of the convention "was in that direction." 6/23/48

Sen. James O. Eastland (D), Mississippi, told the delegates in the keynote speech that "the only weapon that we have is to withhold electoral votes from those who would destroy us."

"If we adopt the policy of fighting the (states' rights) matter out in the party," Eastland said, "and, if we lose, then go along, we lose our independence of action, we lose all bargaining power and our defeat is certain and our destruction inevitable.

"We have only one sure weapon now and that is our electoral vote. The only other thing we can do is to marshal northern public sentiment. We cannot, however, marshal northern sentiment unless we first convince them that we intend to defend ourselves."

New Republic New York

MISSISSIPPI MEANS IT

JACKSON, MISS. (NR correspondent)

Mississippi Democrats have bound their Philadelphia delegation hand and foot to vote against President Truman and to walk out of the convention if he is nominated or if a civil-rights plank, unsuitable to the white supremacists, is adopted. To make absolutely certain, the Mississippi Democratic convention ordered the nine presidential electors to cast their electoral votes only for candidates who have "positively taken a stand for states' rights and have condemned the civil-rights program." May - 5 - 48

Each delegate, alternate and elector was taken behind closed doors and confronted with a list of resolutions to which he had to adhere before being approved. If the delegation walks out in Philadelphia, it will head for the proposed rump convention of Southern Democrats at Birmingham on July 17.

The Mississippians mean business. Their next move is planned for Philadelphia just before the national convention opens, when revolt leaders are going to try to get 15 Dixie states into a caucus. Their ultimate aim is a united plan of action and their own candidate. So far, they have got few solid promises from their neighbors.

States' Rights Group Plans Bolt of Party

The Call Kansas City Mo.

Fri. 5-21-48

By JOHN R. HENRY

International News Service Staff Correspondent

JACKSON, Miss. — (INS) — The threat by the states' rights democrats to bolt the national democratic party if President Truman is nominated remains to be tested in the wake of new blasts against his civil rights program.

The fnal test for the so-called "Dixie Revolt" probably will come at a states' rights "rump" meeting set for Birmingham, Ala., on July 17 in the event that Mr. Truman is nominated a week earlier at Philadelphia.

A second democratic presidential candidate presumably will be nominated then if the national conventon fails to heed the demands of the states' rights group representing nine southern states.

This action was taken in a four-hour, cut-and-tried session at Jackson, Miss., yesterday.

Leaders of the so-called "revolt" adopted a three-point program designed to block Mr. Truman's nomination and force the democratic party to repudiate a civil rights plank in its 1948 platform.

The procedure includes:

1. That the national convention be informed that delegates from states in the circle of states' rights democrats cannot support Mr. Truman or any candidate who advocates the civil rights proposals.
2. That the Birmingham meeting be held if the national convention nominates Mr. Truman, regardless, and approves the civil rights program. Democratic executive committees of each state would select delegates to the Birmingham meeting. They would not exceed the number of electors in the state they represent.
3. That Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney, who was named permanent chairman of the states' rights conference, be empowered to activate a campaign committee. It would raise funds. Members of this group would include two spokesmen for each state represented at the Jackson meeting. They also would be appointed by state democratic executive committees or by

2,500 persons—less than expected—from nine southern states comprised the crowd which heard South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond accuse Presiden Truman of stabbing the south i the back.

After Thurmond sounded th keynote of the meeting, othe speakers denounced fair employment practice bills, anti-poll tax and anti-lynch legislation and other proposals of the civil rights program. 5-21-48

Observers pointed out, meanwhile, that the meeting was recessed indefinitely without a real test of the states' rights weapons.

A "gag" rule was adopted by voice vote at the outset of the session to prevent the states' rights group from backing any presidential candidate at this time, or from discussing the possibilities of nominating one of their own in the event Mr. Truman is chosen by the national party.

The resolution, providing for the Birmingham "rump" session, also beclouded the question of a second democratic candidate. It stated only that the Birmingham meeting would be held to take "all necessary and appropriate action." The Call

Laney admitted that effectiveness of plans made at the Jackson meeting depends entirely on the individual democratic organizations of the southern states.

Five chairmen of state democratic executive committees attended the session. One of them, James S. Peters, of Georgia, said that he could not now commit members of Georgia's democratic party to walk out of the national convention even if Mr. Truman is nominated. Kansas City, Mo.

Peters explained that he is unable to speak for Georgia's voters further than to say they oppose the civil rights program and Mr. Truman's nomination.

Other state chairmen at the meeting included Gessner T. McCorvey, of Alabama: Herbert Holmes, of Mississippi; W. P. Baskin, of South Carolina and Arthur L. Adams, of Arkansas.

1,200 Delegates re Expected Dixie Rally

The Advertiser Montgomery Ala.

Sun. 5-9-48

emocrats In Revolt Against 'Civil Rights' Meeting In Jackson

Warning Is Issued

Wright Tells Negroes That State Will Resist Move 'Despite Law'

JACKSON, MISS.—(AP)—Democrats revolting against President Truman's civil rights program wll open their political attack in convention here Monday.

A vanguard of leaders of the self-styled states' rights Democrats arrived in Jackson Saturday. They included State Democratic Executive Committee Chairman W. P. Baskin of South Carolina and James Peters of Georgia, and National Democratic Committeeman Horace Wilkinson of Alabaam. Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the convention's keynoter, was expected Saturday night, and Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney is due today.

Approximately 1,200 delegates tot he States' Rights Democratic Convention are expected from some 15 states representing about a third of the total electoral college vote. The Advertiser

Meanwhile Gov. Fielding L. Wright declared Saturday that Mississippi would never tolerate abolition of racial segregation "despite any law passed by Congress." Montgomery Ala.

The governor also termed the anti-lynch bill "the most dangerous" of President Truman's civil rights proposals Sun.

Wright made public the text of a state-wide radio address to be delivered at 7:30 a.m. (Montgomery time) todav for the announced purpose of obtaining maximum newspaper and radio dissemination. Hiss address was directed to the Negro population of Mississippi. 5-9-48

Bilbo Hailed As 'Matchless' In Eulogy By Delta State

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

34d

Tues. 2-10-48

JACKSON, MISS., Feb. 9.—(AP)—The late Sen. Theo G. Bilbo, battler for "white supremacy" in the South, was eulogized in the Mississippi legislature at special services Monday.

The memorial service came after two weeks of agitation in the legislature for punitive action against Democratic Party leaders who sponsor "anti-Southern" legislation.

It preceded, by three days a statewide meeting of Democrats called by Gov. Fielding L. Wright to plan action to force the national party to stop sponsorship of anti-segregation, anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and FEPC legislation.

Forrest Jackson, formerly attorney for Bilbo and unsuccessful candidate for "the man's" Senate seat, made the principal address. The Advertiser

He termed Bilbo "This matchless Mississippian, this determined protector of Southern traditions, noble statesman, faithful friend; Bilbo, the dreamer; Bilbo, the builder; the 'stormy petrel' of Mississippi politics since 1907."

"Like all men, he was not altogether perfect," Jackson said.

"We, as friends, however, may rejoice in his real achievements for the common good. Montgomery, Ala.

"We, as Mississippians, may cherish the memory of one who, as a public servant, regardless of personal consequences, was determined to the last in the fight for what he believed to be right for the most people and for the preservation of our principles, traditions and customs, our way of life, for posterity.

"Take him all in all, we shall not soon look upon his like again," Jackson said.

"He was thinking ahead of his time," Jackson said. "He was building for the future. He was truly skilled in public affairs and the art of government. His passion was the preservation of what we know as the American way of life." Tues.

Lieut. Gov. Sam Lumkin, who presided over the joinst session of the House and Senate, told the lawmakers: 2-10-48

"As time runs on the historians survey the pictures of these troubled days, there will arise in it no figure more courageous than Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo."

Others who participated in the services included A. B. Friend, Bilbo's senatorial campaign manager; Sen. Houston Evans and Rep. Evelyn Gandy, Bilbo's legislative researchists.

At the conclusion of the services Rep. Walter Ray, of Madison County, introduced a bill to establish a memorial to Bilbo in the State Capitol which now has memorials to anyone.

Truman Turns Into Sphinx As Revolt Spreads

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Tues. 2-10-48

Mississippian Proposes 'Solid South' Block Any Foe's Nomination

'It Could Be Done'

34d

President Plans Lunch With Negro; Carolina Democrats Talk Bolt

2-10-48

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 9.—The Mississippi House of Representatives Monday urged Gov. Fielding L. Wright to call an early Southwide meeting of Democrats to force the national party to respect and perpetuate the rights of the South.

It passed a concurrent resolution which said Wright should take the initiative because "a majority of the Southern governors adopted dilatory tactics when the situation calls for speedy action.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9.—(AP)—Senator Eastland (D), Mississippi, proposed Monday, that the Solid South block the presidential nomination of any Democrat who opposes Southern views on "Jim Crow" legislation.

In a Senate attack on President Truman's civil rights proposals, Eastland said:

"No candidate would be nominated if it were known that he would not receive the South's electoral votes.

"The machines of the North which control the party are not crazy. They will nominate no candidate whose defeat is certain."

Eastland, a "White Supremacy" advocate, said that the President's proposals on racial segregation and anti-discrimination would "degrade, mongrelize and destroy the South." The Advertiser

"And here we have a Democratic president, sponsoring it," he added. Montgomery, Ala.

The White House earlier Monday said that Mr. Truman would not "retreat" from any of his civil rights program. He has recommended: Setting up a Fair Employment Practices Commission, making lynching a federal offense, banning state poll taxes, ending all segregation on trains and buses. Tues. 2-10-48

Ross Scorns Story

Presidential Secretary Charles G. Ross dismissed as "a strange story without foundation" a published report that Mr. Truman might soft pedal his travel segregation proposal.

By a coincidence, Monday, the White House released a February travel schedule which includes a luncheon date with the Negro governor of the Virgin Islands, William H. Hastie.

Meanwhile, Senator J. Harold McGrath, the Democratic national chairman, said the subject of his speech in Atlanta, March 5, "has not been decided on." 2-10-48

He added that "it will certainly be in keeping with the friendly spirit of cooperation in which the investigation was extended."

There had been a report that he was inclined to make the civil rights issue the core of his talk before Georgia Democrats. But in Atlanta, Gov. M. E. Thompson said he couldn't believe that McGrath would violate "the proprieties of the occasion." Another Democratic leader said he was assured that McGrath would not talk on civil rights. 34d

Blood Still Boils

The Advertiser

Southern blood continued to boil, in Capitol Hill speeches.

Said Representative Pace (D), Georgia: "It is apparent now that our (Democratic party) leaders are more concerned about their own political preferment than with the welfare and loyalty of the people of the South.

"The hour is drawing near" for Southern Democrats, opposed to President Truman's civil rights program, to decide upon a "future course of action," Pace said.

"We must first try to prevent being driven out of our own party," he declared on the House floor, "or keep it from adopting new policies and principles which disregard our own interests and welfare. Montgomery, Ala.

"Our success in these efforts will determine in good measure our future course of action."

As Pace spoke, another Southern congressman, Representative Harris (D), Arkansas, made public a letter to the President in which Harris asked that Mr. Truman "refrain" from further insistence on enactment of the civil rights program. Tues. 2-10-48

'Jeffersonian' Democrats

The News

A mass meeting in Mississippi of self-styled "true white Jeffersonian Democrats" threatens a break with the national party over President Truman's civil rights proposals. Perhaps it would be well to recall some of the writings of the Sage of Monticello. Let us quote a few statements by Thomas Jefferson: 34d 2-23-48

Democrats are "those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe, although not the most wise, depository of the public interest."

"No government can continue good but under the control of the people."

"I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

"It is an axiom in my mind that our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves."

"Equal rights for all, special privileges for none." Birmingham, Ala.

"Equal and exact justice to all men, . . . freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of the person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us." Mon. 2-23-48

"The care of human life and happiness . . . is the first and only legitimate object of good government."

And we might also quote this summation of Jefferson's beliefs as voiced by one of his biographers, George F. Hoar: "He had a steadfast and abiding faith in justice, righteousness and liberty as the prevailing and abiding forces in the conduct of states, and that justice and righteousness were sure to prevail where any people bear rule in perfect liberty."

If the "Jeffersonian Democrats" of Mississippi can square their attitudes and purposes with the quotations above, they are entitled to their name.

The Truman proposals, to which the Mississippians object, are unwise, but other Democrats can be sincere and within their rights in upholding them.

'STATES RIGHTS' REBELS WARRING

Mississippi Notes Split in Ranks of Revolt

The Times-Picayune

(The Associated Press)

Jackson, Miss., March 19.—Mississippi's Jeffersonian state's rights Democrats, revolting against the national party leadership, may soon find a split within their own ranks.

From at least three sectors of the state there are coming cries of "dictatorship" when state party leaders sponsor legislation to allow the Jeffersonian Democrats to break with the national party.

The bills to which objections are being raised would:

1. Allow members of the party to vote in a presidential election without regard to party lines and without fear of reprisal from the party.

(Present law requires party members to support party nominees and to remain in harmony with declared party principles.)

2. Allow delegates to the electoral college to cast their votes without regard to party lines. Sat. 3-20-48

Judge Herbert Holmes, chairman of the state Democratic executive committee, and other state party leaders claim the revolt of the states' rights Democrats is a "grass roots" revolt.

But George McLean, editor of the Tupelo (Miss.) Journal, and Rep. Phillip E. Mullen, Oxford, Miss., newspaperman, contend it is not.

McLean says it was "inspired at a high state level by party politicians."

Through the intensive "grass roots" educational campaign the party leaders are conducting, it may ultimately become a "grass roots" movement in Mississippi, he says. But right now, he contends, it is confined to the "top levels." Sat. 3-20-48

And therein lies the fight.

Holmes contends that without enactment of the two bills into law, Jeffersonian Democrats, under present law, will have no choice but to vote for the nominee of the national party.

Under the proposed bills, he says, they could vote for electors pledged by the party convention to vote only for some strong champion of states' rights, some man who would fight the civil rights program advocated by President Truman.

But McLean, Mullen and Harold W. Gautier, Jackson county Democratic executive committee chairman, sees danger of state party leader "dictatorship" if the bills are enacted and nothing more is done.

Under the bill allowing presidential electors to vote without regard to party lines, Gautier points out, regardless of how the people vote, party leaders could instruct the electors to vote as the leaders want and absolutely disregard the will of the people or even to thwart it.

Holmes denies party leaders have any desire or intention to dictate how the presidential electors shall vote.

House Speaker Walter Sillers, beater of one of the larger bass drums of revolt, also denies this hotly.

He points out that from the beginning of the move, when Gov. Fielding L. Wright called for action against party leaders in his inaugural address January 20, this has been a "people's movement."

But Mullens points out that if the state Democratic convention nominates only one slate of electors, pledged to vote for a Jeffersonian Democrat, if there are any Democrats in the state who want to support the national party nominee they will be robbed of that right.

To prevent that he has introduced a bill in the House to allow any group of persons to qualify as a slate of presidential electors. Each would swear to the secretary of state that it would support a certain nominee or that it was unpledged.

His bill provides that above the names of each slate of electors would be printed the name of the candidate to which it is pledged or a notation that it is unpledged.

This, he says, would allow every Democrat to vote either for a Jeffersonian Democrat or for the party nominee.

Walter Sillers says the bill is unnecessary.

Under present law, he says, the state convention could nominate two slates of electors—one pledged to the party nominee and one unpledged.

But Gautier wants action while the Legislature is in session to insure Democrats will have an opportunity to vote for either of two such slates. He is afraid, he says, that if the matter is left to the convention it may choose to name but one slate.

Neither McLean nor Mullen is prone to take any specific action if the Bullen bill is not passed but with Gautier it is a different matter.

How far he could go in splitting the ranks cannot be estimated but he threatens dire action unless he has a guarantee there will be two slates of electors.

McLean and Mullen say that in their sections there is little "grass roots" interest in the Jeffersonian Democrat movement.

All of this comes on the eve of the day when mass meetings will be held in each of the state's 82 counties to hear a statewide radio broadcast by Gov. Wright.

In that Wright is expected to explain to these "grass roots" meetings what the civil rights program would mean to the South and why he feels it necessary that the campaign of the Jeffersonian Democrats be made a success.

The meetings are scheduled for 3 p. m., tomorrow with Wright's address to originate in Natchez, to begin a half-hour later.

W. W. Wright, chairman of the "grass roots" campaign committee, estimates some half-million Mississippians will hear the address.

HAROLD MARTIN

34 D) Demo

The Constitution

Mississippi Is Dead Serious

Atlanta, Ga. Tues. 6-1-48

JACKSON, Miss.—Whether they get anywhere with it or not, and whether they are right or wrong, Mississippi is dead serious in its fight against Harry Truman. The second State to secede from the Union in the War Between the States has again followed South Carolina in its walkout, and has, figuratively speaking and in spirit, seceded again from the Union.

Her argument roughly follows this trend of thought. Mississippi, along with the rest of the South, admittedly has done nothing for the Negro. In economic bondage to the North, through many restrictive factors such as the high tariff and the discriminatory freight rates, the South has herself been in an economic serfdom, and has had nothing with which to do anything for themselves. Mississippi has seen the time when she was so poor she didn't have the money to buy stamps to send out income tax notices to her citizens. She has seen the time when her credit was so bad that nowhere in the United States could she sell her securities.

But, so her people say, as she threw off her economic bonds, as industry flowed in, as she freed herself from cotton serfdom and began to prosper a little, the Negro shared in her prosperity. He was getting his share of the better schools, the better medical facilities, that were beginning to be the lot of all Mississippians. These things would have continued. But, the right to vote she will not grant, nor will she ever tolerate any breakdown of her segregation laws.

Gov. Fielding Wright's statement that if the Negro expected to go to white folks' schools, sit in theaters and public buildings with whites, they should move to some other State, was unpolitic and got a very bad reaction from liberals and men of good will throughout the country. In Mississippi it was taken for what the Governor meant it to be—a bitter but forthright statement of the truth as Mississippi sees it. So far as the Mississippian is concerned there will be no radical change in the relationship of the white man and the Negro in Mississippi, and if such a change is forced, the Negro will have to go—as he is already going in great numbers. It will cause a tremendous dislocation in the economy of Mississippi, but a temporary one, they feel.

They are serious about this. They feel it so strongly that they are ready, they say, to bolt the Democratic Party and vote for some favorite son—Sen. George, Sen. Byrd, or even Wright himself—putting them up as the candidate of a new party calling itself a Democratic Party. They do not hope to elect a candidate, but they do hope that they can so weaken both Truman, if he be the party nominee, and the Republican candidate, that the election will be thrown into the House of Representatives, as it would be if no party had a majority.

Tues.

The Constitution

What will happen between now and convention time nobody knows. But Mississippi is as mad as she sounds in the press. And she is a little hurt with Georgia because the angry cries are not arising from there in a swelling chorus also. But she thinks Georgia is "safe."

"When we come down to the licklog," says the Mississippian, the statue of Jefferson Davis looking down upon him from the Hall of Fame in the Statehouse, "we can count on Georgia to be right there."

Atlanta, Ga.

Which may come as a mild surprise to some Georgians, who don't like Truman either, but like the prospect of a Republican with an even stronger civil rights program even less. 6-1-48

Mississippi Is Right

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: In Harold Martin's article of June 1, he makes the statement that "Mississippi, along with the rest of the South, has admittedly done nothing for the Negro." Who admits this besides Harold? I think a great deal has been done for the Negro by Southern people, although I often wonder why. Evidently Harold has been bitten by the same bug which attacks many Southern writers who have had a taste of the big time, namely, always belittle and scold the South to be popular with New York publishers.

342 D Dem

Atlanta, Ga.

We spend a large part of our tax revenue on Negro schools, charity hospitals and community funds, to which they contribute little, and what thanks do we get? I feel that we owe the Negro nothing, and that it is high time that he be told that he must help himself. Thurs.

Mississippi has the right answer—send them to States that know the answer to the problem. For instance, Idaho, home of Sen. Taylor, has in the 1940 census only 595 Negroes; North Dakota, home of Sen. Langer, had 201. Let's send each of these States a ready-made problem which they know so well how to solve. 6-10-48

Atlanta. CHESTER E. MARTIN.

Some Mississippi Delegates Aren't Following Bolt Line

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

JACKSON, Miss., June 4—(AP)—Some delegates to Mississippi's Democratic Convention here June 22 are cool to withdrawal from the national session, in event of disagreement.

342

Judge Herbert Holmes, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, yesterday predicted a harmonious state convention. He declared the convention will "live up to" resolutions adopted at the Dixie Conference of States' Rights Democrats. Fri. 6-4-48

One of these proposals was that Southern delegates withdraw from the Philadelphia convention if it supports President Truman or his civil rights program.

But Phillip E. Mullen of Oxford, a convention delegate and state representative, said, "All of us are for states' rights and are opposed to Truman. We are for Gov. Fielding L. Wright. But we don't like the mechanics of the way the movement is being run."

He added, "I am not going to vote for any bolt from the party."

Delegate Ned Lee of Eupora said delegates from his county are unpledged. Fri. 6-4-48

"We are going to the convention uninstructed to vote as a unit," he said. "I don't think it is democratic for a group of politicians to get in a hotel and figure out a plan, and then expect the state to go down the line in backing it up."

Ice containing an antiseptic that kills bacteria as it melts has been developed for commercial food packing.

SOUTHERNERS GATHER OVER STATES' RIGHTS

JACKSON, Miss., May 9 (AP)—Leaders of the states' rights Democratic movement sought today in pre-convention sessions for a common ground of action acceptable to all states to be represented at the meeting opening here tomorrow.

342

The convention is expected to launch a full-fledged revolt against President Truman and his civil rights program and other measures considered invasions of states' rights. The Times

The tentative resolutions committee, headed by Horace B. Wilkinson of Birmingham, an Alabama Presidential elector, met for three hours discussing procedure that would work for Democratic National Convention delegates and Presidential electors.

When the committee recessed its executive session in mid-afternoon to meet again in the evening, Mr. Wilkinson said, "it's possible that there may not be common ground for all the states."

"Difficulties arise," he said, "because of the variations of law and party regulations governing primaries, delegates and electors in the several states. What might work in Alabama might not work in Texas." New York, N.Y.

The committee meeting took place after the Governor of Mississippi, Fielding L. Wright, told the state's Negroes in a radio address that Mississippi would never tolerate abolition of racial segregation no matter what laws the National Congress passed. Mon.

The broadcast by Mr. Wright had been advertised as one to the Negro population. 5-10-48

"If any of you," said Mr. Wright, "have become so deluded as to want to enter our white schools, patronize our hotels and cafes, enjoy social equality with the whites, then kindness and true sympathy requires me to advise you to make your home in some state other than Mississippi."

Race Problem In Mississippi

THIS COLUMN, reporting on certain race incidents in Mississippi, recently stated that the president's civil rights message unfortunately had resulted in a reign of terror for Negroes in Mississippi.

Since then Congrs. Williams and Abernethy, of Mississippi, have been good enough to bring certain facts to my attention which show that some of the previous reports were incomplete or erroneous. For instance, while two Negroes were badly beaten up by the police of Jackson, Miss., yet both Negroes had criminal records, and in one case the Negro bystanders came to the aid of the white policeman. Obviously the policeman was conducting no reign of terror.

In the case of two incidents in Kosciusko, that city has an excellent reputation for law, order and fairness to the colored race.

Furthermore, the Supreme Court of Mississippi recently leaned over backward to give a fair trial to a Negro, Sandy Magee, accused of killing a white man. Three times the court reversed a lower court's decision which gave Magee the death sentence.

In view of the above, it is only fair to cor-

t my previous mistaken impression about treatment of Negroes in Mississippi, which I am delighted herewith to do.

34d 1948 Democratic (Missouri)

MO. DEMOS SIDETRACK CIVIL RIGHTS CONFAB

341 Daily World 3-19-48

Atlanta, Ga.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—(NNPA) The Missouri Democratic Committee, meeting here last Tuesday to select a time and place for the Democratic State Convention, sidestepped the issue of President Truman's civil rights program. Fri

Although not openly discussed, the issue was believed to be uppermost in the minds of committee members. However, much the Democrats may want to avoid any discussion of the subject, it looms as an important issue in the fight for state offices as well as for the electoral vote in the Presidential election next fall.

Two of the three candidates for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination avoided direct answers to the question of whether the state party's platform would contain civil rights plan, modeled after President Truman's 10-point legislative program on the subject.

Ray McKittrick, of St. Louis, said, "I don't think it is a state issue."

NO COMMENT Fri

Forrest Smith, state auditor, said he did not care to comment.

Daily World

Political observers, however, were agreed that the issue would not be easy to sidestep as both major parties and the Wallace third party movement will make determined bids for the large colored vote in St. Louis and Kansas City as well as for that of other minority groups. Supporters of Henry Wallace in Missouri have made civil rights one of their major points in their appeal for the support of colored voters. Several colored Democratic leaders are said to be expecting a civil rights plank in the state platform.

Atlanta, Ga.

The committee chose Jefferson City for the Democratic Convention on May 3. The convention will name delegates to the national convention in Philadelphia on July 12 and elect a national committeeman and committee woman. Missouri will send thirty-four delegates to the national convention. 3-19-48

Says Women Were Snubbed At GOP Meet

(340) St. Louis

Demo (Mo.)

Argus, St. Louis

As a result of the Stephens-[illegible]ingly fight for National Committeeship of the state republican organization Dr. G. J. Dixon finds a big fight on his hand to retain his leadership in the Nineteenth Ward. Fri 5-7-48

Since the State Convention last Saturday, May 1, at the Jefferson Hotel, the colored women leaders have not hid their feeling about what some call a "snub" by the Stephen-Dix forces who ruled the Convention. Not a Negro woman was given political recognition so far as being elected delegate to the Republican National Convention which meets in Philadelphia in June, this was regarded as an insult to their intelligence. Hitherto they had received such an honor.

In the meanwhile, the breech between Dr. Dixon and Wm. A. Morant widens as the women tell about the recognition they received when Morant was in the leadership in the district. Negro women, it is being pointed out have been elected delegates to Natonal Republican Conventions consistently for the past twelve years. In 1936, Mrs. Blanche Edwards; 1940 Mrs. Maude Oswald; 1944 Mrs. Carrie Baker and Mrs. Naomi Oldham were elected. But at the 1948 State Convention they refused to send one Negro woman to the National Convention.

U. S. Falls, who is seeking to wrest the Republican Committeeship from Dr. Dixon in the Nineteenth Ward is believed to have the backing of the Hobb's faction for commitee. A protest meeting will be held in the Nineteenth Ward Wednesday evening, May 12, 8:30 o'clock at Carver House, Cardinal and Bell avenues. Speakers will include Rev. J. W. Smith, pastor, Sunny Mount Baptist Church, who is a strong civic leader, Mrs. Ed Collins, Rev. B. B. Story and other candidates.

Arkansas Negroes Set To Take Over Seats If Democrats Take Walk

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 4-4-48

LITTLE ROCK.—(AP)—Negroes will be ready to take over if Arkansas' White Democrats walk out of the National Convention at Philadelphia in July.

Such a walk-out has been suggested as a possible step in the South's opposition to President Truman's civil liberties proposals,

Dr. J. M. Robinson, president of the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association, said Saturday, that group had named seven delegates to attend the National Democratic Convention. Sun. 4-4-48

He said the executive committee authorized election of delegates to "take the seat vacated by any insurgent who leaves the Convention Hall and deserts the party." The Advertiser

The opposition to Truman's proposals was not mentioned, but Robinsoon said he recommended the action in view of "controversial circumstances now existing." Montgomery, Ala.

States' Rights Convention Set May 10

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 3-21-48

Strategy To Be Mapped For Truman's Defeat At Parley In Jackson

Wright Suggested

Florida Democrats Set To Vote First Ballot For Mississippi Chief

JACKSON, MISS., March 20.—(U.P.)—The leaders of Mississippi's and Arkansas' Democratic Parties Saturday night picked May 10 as the date for a southwide Democratic convention, where strategy will be laid to block President Truman's nomination as the party's presidential candidate.

The convention will be held in Jackson. 34d

Thus, the rebellion against President Truman's 10-point civil rights program was trying to become a cohesive movement that could dictate to the national party. Southern Democratic leaders have charged Mr. Truman with "stabbing" the South in the back and he and other northern Democratic leaders with selling out the South for opportunism. 3-21-48

Florida Democrats qualify a solid state of delegates to the Democratic National Convention Saturday and they pledged themselves to cast their 20 votes on the first ballot for Fielding L. Wright, scholarly-looking governor of Mississippi and No. 1 leader of the revolt.

Free to Vote Any Way

After the first ballot, the Florida delegates will be free to cast their votes for any candidate "acceptable to the South." As far as the rebels are concerned, this means a candidate who will announce his open opposition to the civil rights program, including an anti-lynch act, abolition of poll taxes and abolition of Jim Crow in interstate travel.

The action of the Florida Democrats, meeting at Tallahassee, was regarded here as no more than gesture to Wright for fighting the civil rights program. Wright has disclamed any desire to be president. The Advertiser

Wright was the first Southern Democratic leader to put his anger against Mr. Truman into words publicly. He denounced the civil rights program when he was inaugurated last Jan. 20. Subsequently, Mississippi became the center of the revolt.

At Historic Natchez, Wright, in a radio address broadcast by 30 radio stations, told Mississippians holding mass meetings in all of the state's 82 counties that Mr. Truman's program would ruin the Southern way of life.

Appeals for Support

He also appealed for financial support in the fight against the civil rights program. Metal buttons bearing the picture of Thomas Jefferson and the inscription "State's Rights Jeffersonian Democrats" were sold at the mass meetings Saturday.

The call for the southwide convention here was issued jointly by Judge Herbert Holmes, chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee, and Arthur L. Adams, his counterpart in Arkansas. Montgomery, Ala.

The southwide revolt plan advocated by Mississippi was presented to a Conference of Southern Governors in Washington March 13 by Wright. It was endorsed by the governors of Alabama, Georgia, Texas, Arkansas and South Carolina. 3-21-48

Since then, Gov. Millard Caldwell of Florida has called for Mr. Truman's defeat, as has Ed Crump, the Tennessee political leader. Mississippi's Demorcats already have pledged themselves to support presidential and vice-presidential candidates who openly oppose the civil rights program. This action has been endorsed by the Mississippi legisaltiore.

Pledged to Walk Out

First, an attempt will be made to block the nomination of Mr. Truman or any other candidate who will not stand up for "states' rights." Mississippi delegates are pledged to walk out of the Democratic national convention in Philadelphia if Mr. Truman or some other candidate with his views is nominated. z

The next step would be to hold a separate convention in the South and name a favorite son for president. Then, each Southern state would send its electors to the electoral college pledged to cast their votes for the Southern son. The Advertiser

If all Southern states joined in the revolt, the Southern son would be sure of 127 electoral votes. Thus, Mr. Truman or other candidates the Southerners do not like would miss 127 electoral votes. Sun. 3-21-48

The ultimate hope is that neither of the candidates nominated by the National Democratic and Republican Parties would get a majority of the votes in the electoral college. In such a case, the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives, where each state, regardless of size and number of electoral votes, would have only one vote.

Sen. James O. Eastland (D), Mississippi, and presumably the other leaders of the revolt believe that if this happens, the two national parties will compromise on a Southerner. In this case, the Southern states would not have to worry about their "rights." Montgomery, Ala.

McCray Encouraged By Hearing

34d

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — (SNS) — John H. McCray, president of the Progressive Democratic Party of South Carolina, said Wednesday that he was encouraged over the hearing given by the Democratic Credentials Committee to her unsuccessful attempt to defeat the seating of the delegation headed by Senator Olin D. Johnston, of South Carolina.

McCray uttered surprise at the conduct of Governor Strom Thurmon, who refused to submit to questioning by Judge George Vaughn of St. Louis, Mo., only Negro on the Credentials Committee headed by Congresswoman Mary Norton, of New Jersey. At the Tuesday hearing on the delegate-seating protest, Governor Thurmon threatened to walk if his delegation was refused seating. When Judge Vaughn asked him whether he would answer a few questions, the governor said: "I will answer you nothing."

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

McCray said that he was calling a caucus Thursday morning of observers from his state, Georgia and Alabama to discuss a new political approach in the Deep South. He suggested that since the poliitcal problems of these three states were similar that a joint strategy could be formulated. Thurs. 6-15-48

Shores Made Demo Convention S'gt-At-Arms

Daily World
34d
Atlanta, Ga.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.— (SNS) — Illinois Congressman Dawson Tuesday appointed Attorney Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, Ala., honorary sergeant-at-arms of the National Democratic Convention. W. H. Hollins of Birmingham, and E. D. Dixon, of Montgomery, Ala., were appointed special officers of the convention.

Thurs. 7-15-48

Shores is chairman of the 10-man delegation of observers and president of the Alabama Progressive Democratic Council. Nixon is president of the Alabama Conference of NAACP branches.

TEXAS ROWS OVER LANEY

Tue. 7-13-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 12.—(AP)—Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas, States' Rights presidential aspirant, told the Texas delegates he will not vote for President Truman if Mr. Truman is nominated.

34d

Laney also said he does not propose to vote for Governor Thomas E. Dewey.

Speaking before the Texas delegation, Laney conceded that whatever convention vote he gets will be "the protest vote against the President's Civil Rights program and the Chief Executive himself."

The Texans had asked Laney to say whether he would bolt the Democratic Party if he failed to win its presidential nomination. The Texas delegation's decision whether to support him hinged on his answer.

BOLT BARRED——

The 50-vote Texas delegation is bound by its state convention not to bolt the party. Texas National Committeeman-Elect Wright Morrow of Houston had said he would back Laney "if he will go with the nominees of the party."

Southern states supporting Laney's candidacy are bitterly opposed to President Truman's Civil Rights program which calls for anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, anti-segregation and fair employment practices legislation.

Some have theatened to bolt the convention if any of the Civil Rights program is indorsed in the party's platform or if, as seems certain, President Truman is nominated.

FIGHT IN OPEN——

Long-smoldering dissension within the Texas delegation broke into the open in debate over the two resolutions.

Carrying the ball for a right wing group which has been flirting with the Southern revolt movement was former State Senator Joe Hill of Austin. He was author of the resolution to back Laney.

Robert W. Calvert of Hillsboro, state Democratic executive committee chairman, offered the resolution specifying that the Texans would back no bolters.

"I will not cast my vote for any man who is committed to a program which will take our electoral votes and cast them for anyone else than the nominee of this convention," Calvert said.

Hill called Calvert's resolution a "document of defeat." He denied that his own was anything but a resolution to carry out the directions of the May 25 state convention.

PEGLER

Synthetic Issue of 'Civil Rights' Forced by North

By Westbrook Pegler

(Copyright, 1948, King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

The Examiner

PHILADELPHIA, July 14.—The synthetic issue of "civil rights," which finally set the two breeds of convention Democrats to shrieking and clawing like so many crazy Frenchmen, had been deferred with horrible apprehension all week.

Los Angeles, Calif.

390

Thurs. 7-15-48

WESTBROOK PEGLER

During that time a sub-committee of a sub-committee groped among the subleties of pig-latin, double-talk and Carolina geechee for a paragraph couched in harmless but resounding euphemisms.

(Con)

It was a hopeless quest. The Northern clique, a mongrel kidney produced by wanton cross-breeding of Socialists, Communists and ivy-league misanthropes, with occasional infusions of despondent Teutonic and Scandinavian blood from the grain and lumber states out West, had no particular use for the Negro, himself, as the ghettoes of the North do prove. But they have always had a surly hatred of the Southern Democrat's confident air of racial superiority and the late Franklin D. was the one power that had kept them from inciting race riots during his reign.

Actually, under Roosevelt, the Negro had enjoyed no more familiarity with the white folks than he had under Coolidge, who just ignored the question, except that in Roosevelt's presidency, in underworld resorts of New York, rich white trash, excluded from decent company within their own tribe, went gallivanting under a pretext of democracy. The Negro's gain was the dubious honor and cultural novelty of brief association by night with Caucasion outcasts in a type of hoe-down with political undertones.

* * *

THERE is an old formula, familiar to the kind of editorial writers who wear green visors and write ringing denunciations, which the gentler statesmen would have employed in these difficult phases of their party's declaration of principles. It holds for "loud adjectives and weak verbs" and it has often been used by both parties in the past.

The Examiner

Indeed, the late Woodrow Wilson ennobled it in much of his correspondence with the German government in 1915-16. And inasmuch as this plan often has appeased malcontents and preserved peace and unity, the yearning of the boys in the smoke-filled room this week was by no means despicable.

Los Angeles, Calif.

In the end, the obstreperous continentals from the New York political slums refused to be denied their issue and their fight. The results were sure to be sad and bloody in time.

Thurs. 7-15-48

The debates of the sub-committees on these poignant problems will be heard often again as original material throughout the nation during the campaign. The Truman party, no longer the Democratic Party of 16 years ago and certainly not the party that sent Harry Truman to Washington as Senator, will try to take virtue to itself and to depict Tom Dewey as a Simon Legree.

* * *

BUT if there is one thing that Mr. Dewey does better than he does all others in his go-downs with the Democrats it is to see their promises and go them several better. If they promise to abolish segregation in the Army and to exonerate Negro patriots who disobey, Mr. Dewey will have no reason to stop there.

Thurs.

After all, his own party came to be known as Uncle Tom's Cabin in many Northern cities a quarter of a century ago because the Republicans first hit upon the idea of rewarding colored loafers from the ward and precinct organizations with sinecures in the city halls and state capitols, even as the white ones were rewarded. He owes nothing to the Southern tier of states and expects nothing from them in November. Therefore, while promising amnesty for any colored Joe who rebels at segregation, he can also promise 20 years in Leavenworth to Nordic bigots who rebel at the absence of it.

7-15-48

Try to out-promise him on Palestine and he will raise you a million immigrants with the flip of a chip, and the best the land-locked isolationist can hope for once they really get down to betting other people's lives, labor and taxes, will be a cave in the lee of some mountain and a diet of roots, berries and frog-legs.

* * *

AS THE orators burbled and grunted, rising betimes to enormous growls of idealistic passion, a Mr. Austin F. Cross, of the Ottawa Citizen, eased into that portion of the press coop which had been set aside as a sort of lazarette for the isolation of Republicans.

This sorry breed was way off their manners, by the way, and had left the littered hall with unseemly smirks and grins during the renewal of the mournful rites for Roosevelt.

On being reminded softly that after all this was a deeply spiritual, if pagan, exercise, jangling the tenderest nerves of all true Democrats, a nameless mocker from a tabloid had said that the Nazis one day, in a rebirth of religious freedom, would hold similar orgies for their late diety.

* * *

MR. CROSS allowed, with no petulance but as an observation, that the Americans seemed to him to be self-centered in these matters of ours. We hold our awful routs with a satisfaction that seems not entirely justified to students of the best in government. We carry on these disorders with an assumption that the rest of the world should draw nigh, pay heed and respect our forms.

The Examiner

To be sure, they do draw nigh and they pay more and more heed but the vulgarity appalls even the most generous strangers. On the other hand, we have neither knowledge of nor interest in the customs of our neighbors, the Canadians, in particular. Mr. Cross said they would be holding on August 5 to 7 the first convention of their Liberal Party since 1919, an event of considerable moment, he made bold to believe and invited some of us to visit them at their own quaint folkways.

Los Angeles, Calif.

On the subject of the absorption of Canada by the United States, often raised in such little meetings, he agreed that the Americans would manage to enact a reasonably fine pogrom, avec slaughter, should we ever try to rule from Washington, under our Constitution and with our Supreme Court, the province of Quebec with its winsome admixture of the authorities of church and state.

Thurs. 7-15-48

McGrath—Wrath

National Democratic Chairman's Many Slaps At South Thought Deliberate By Some Voters

The News
Sun 8-15-48
Birmingham

BY FRED TAYLOR

Some have grown to feel that National Party Chairman J. Howard McGrath, the Rhode Island senator, delights in affronting Southern Democrats. They seem to think he derives some peculiar satisfaction from taking a slap at rebellious Southern party members on the touchy "civil rights" issue, particularly since the walkout of Alabama and Mississippi delegates at Philadelphia.

TAYLOR

Whatever his intentions, Chairman McGrath, who seemingly becomes very earnest and sympthetic about Southern problems when you sit down and discuss them with him, has repeatedly aroused the ire of Alabamians and other Southerners.

James Free, writing from Washington, said that "Chairman McGrath evidently still does not realize just how much resentment Mr. Truman's 'civil rights' program, and particularly his non-segregation policies, have aroused south of the Mason and Dixon line."

34d

Free cited McGrath's recent announcement that all race segregation had been banned in national Democratic headquarters—a step the GOP has not seen fit to take—as one of the chairman's especially galling acts to Southerners.

DOES HE CARE?—McGrath either doesn't realize this, or he just don't care.

Sun 8-15-48

It is difficult to believe that the man attempting to direct a successful presidential campaign would deliberately toss electoral votes out of the window. But apparently that is exactly what Sen. McGrath has been doing and still persists in doing.

Observers feel that his latest slap at the South may easily cost Truman North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri, if they already had not been lost to the national party ticket.

* * *

OIL — McGrath frantically poured oil on troubled Southern waters for several weeks before the Philadelphia convention. He apparently thought — and hoped —that the Southern rebels (as they always had done) would fall in line when the national convention got under way.

Attractive Dorothy Vredenburgh already was secretary of the Democratic National Committee. Bill Primm, formerly of Montgomery and son-in-law of the late Sen. Josiah Bailey, of North Carolina, was brought in as assistant to McGrath. And other Southerners were recruited on the committee.

But reports now are that McGrath is about to lose these aids as a result of his directive banning all race segregation in committee headquarters.

Sun 8-15-48

* * *

STAPP'S POLITE REJOINDER—Another example of how McGrath rubs Southerners the wrong way occurred when the chairman wrote Albert Stapp, Birmingham business man and walkout delegate-at-large to the Philadelphia convention a friendly and cordial letter.

For one thing, McGrath thanked Stapp for his services on the convention's committee on rules and order of business. This, of course, was politely appropriate. He also wrote that he hoped to have Stapp's advice and counsel on matters pertaining to the presidential campaign.

This last touch did not set very well with Stapp, particularly in view of his walkout in protest against the national convention's adoption of the strong "civil rights" plank in the platform. And, further, because Stapp already was actively campaigning for the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights Democratic ticket.

What irritated Stapp most was the fact that he received the letter on the same day McGrath announced his segregation-banning order.

Stapp sat down and wrote a reply to the national chairman in polite but unmistakably clear language.

* * *

"MISAPPREHENSION"—I quote Stapp's letter in part:

"In view of the misapprehension under which you are apparently laboring, I feel it my duty to inform you that, in view of the action taken at Philadelphia, I cannot support the nominee of the national party. I might add this decision was reached with somewhat of a feeling of sadness and disillusionment because my paternal grandfather, my father and I have supported the principles of the Democratic Party, as outlined by Thomas Jefferson, for almost 130 years.

Sun 8-15-48

"If all of the principles embodied in the platform at Philadelphia were enacted into law constitutionel government, as we know it, would be destroyed. There would be, in my judgment, little remaining of the traditional liberty, justice, freedom and democracy we have known for 170 years.

"We in the South must be allowed to solve the problem of our bi-racial civilization, evolution and patience, not by police state methods. To this end my heart, my hands and my resources are irrevocably pledged."

* * *

HOW TRUMAN FELT—Truman T. Felt, graying and able longtime Washington staffer for The St. Louis Star-Times, is secretary of the National Press Club.

I saw him at the Philadelphia convention and shot a question at him he has been asked many times by ribbing newspapermen since the 1944 Democratic National Convention at Chicago. His only answer now is to shrug his shoulders and grin.

It was then, of course, that Harry S. Truman was picked as vice presidential running mate of Franklin D. Roosevelt. And it was then (after Truman's nomination) that Truman Felt wrote a piece for The Star-Times, which was printed on Page One under the following head:

"How Truman Felt"
"By Truman Felt."

Democrats Set Up All-Negro Division

Chicago Member of House in Charge of Biltmore Office

Herald Tribune

Representative William L. Dawson, a Democratic leader in Chicago, took over control Monday of an all-Negro division in the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in the Biltmore Hotel.

Wed 8-11-48

34d

Mr. Dawson, who is assistant to Senator J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, told the press he planned to open two division offices, one probably in Chicago, to solicit contributions among the Negroes of the Mid-West, and one on the Pacific Coast. The Pacific Coast office will be in one of three California cities—Oakland, Los Angeles or San Francisco.

New York N.Y.

Asked if the continuance of the Negro group was not in conflict with the announcement last week by Mr. McGrath that the Negro division would be abolished and its Negro workers apportioned to other units, Mr. Dawson replied:

"Four years ago I was assistant to the national committeeman and we had this same sort of an organization. It was not publicly known as the Negro division then, but it was carried on the budget of the national committee as the Negro division. This year it will not be known as the Negro division, even in the budget, for we will raise our own funds and expect to have a residue to give to the national committee for its other work."

The Republican National Committee maintains a Negro division.

Wed 8-11-48

Robert L. Bruce, national chairman of the Truman for President National Crusade, a rival Negro group which aims to raise $1,000,000 for the Truman campaign chest, announced that the five Tammany district leaders of Harlem had contributed $100 each. Mr. Bruce said the Tammany district leaders of Harlem had promised to raise "thousands of dollars" before Labor Day for his organization, which has headquarters in the Hotel Theresa, Seventh Avenue and 125th Street.

Democratic GHQ Bans Segregation

The Times
Thurs 8-5-48

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4—The Democratic National Committee has banned race segregation in its headquarters staff in a new bid for Negro support in the Presidential election.

34d
New York N.Y.

Confirming the change, National Chairman J. Howard McGrath told a reporter that the committee "merely is being consistent" by putting into effect a policy urged by President Truman for Government jobs and the armed forces.

He said he expected to announce later the appointment of a Negro assistant to the chairman.

Mr. McGrath said the committee was abolishing its Negro division as such and distributing its Negro workers among other units.

34d 1948

Democratic (New Jersey)

Unites With South In War On Truman

(34)

Atlanta Constitution

By DAVE MOORE

United Press Staff Correspondent.

New Jersey Democratic Chieftain Frank Hague has joined the snowballing drive to dump President Truman and draft Gen. Eisenhower for the Democratic Presidential nomination. Mon. 7-5-48

The retired Mayor of Jersey City, who has long been a Vice Chairman and one of the most powerful figures of the Democratic National Committee, yesterday carried with him into the Eisenhower camp most if not all of New Jersey's 36 votes at the Democratic Convention eight days from now. Atlanta Ga.

It was the first time a key Northern industrial state had been brought openly into alliance with the Southern States whose Democratic leaders are committed to a bitter-end fight to substitute Eisenhower for Mr. Truman.

NEW YORK, July 4—(INS) Gen. Eisenhower today refused to deny or confirm a published report that he would accept an "honest draft" for the Democratic presidential nomination. He authorized Robert Harron, press chief at Columbia University, to say "there will be no comment until further notice."

Although there still was no word from Eisenhower to indicate he had modified his earlier statement that he "could not accept nomination to high political office," big-name Democrats in other key states were rallying to the "draft Ike" drive. 7-5-48

James Roosevelt, eldest son of the late President, announced in Los Angeles, that he expects "quite a crowd" at the caucus of anti-Truman Democrats which he and 17 other party big-wigs have called in Philadelphia on the eve of the Convention next Saturday. He said important party officials in six States have telegraphed acceptances of invitations to the caucus, and that "numerous" others have accepted by telephone. Previously, James S. Peters, National Committeeman from Georgia, had accepted.

Sen. John J. Sparkman, Democrat, Alabama, appealed to Eisenhower in a radio broadcast to accept the call of "duty" and consent to run. He said there are 10 "overriding" reasons why Eisenhower should now change his mind about staying out of politics.

Radio Commentator Drew Pearson predicted that President Truman would withdraw his name from the nomination contest before the Convention gets underway unless Eisenhower issues a new statement this week flatly repudiating the "draft" movement.

Hague, who previously had publicly announced that New Jersey Democrats would support President Truman for the nomination, announced his switch at a meeting of New Jersey Democratic leaders in Asbury Park, N. J.

"The public is looking for world leadership," he said, "and the public will not get world leadership in either President Truman or the Republican candidate.

"Gen. Eisenhower led us to victory in the greatest war in history and we want him back to complete the job." Atlanta Ga.

Heague headed off any protests that Eisenhower might not accept the nomination. "I say he (Eisenhower) should be drafted," the Democratic leader said.

The New Jersey leaders roared their approval, and whooped through by acclamation a resolution naming Eisenhower the choice of the State's delegation to the Democratic Convention.

Virginia and Georgia State Conventions had taken similar pro-Eisenhower stands last week, assuring the General of 54 first-ballot votes. 7/5/48

A letter, written yesterday by James A. Perry, Georgia Public Service Commission member, called on President Truman to "step aside" in favor of the former general.

If Hague carries all of New Jersey with him, as he usually does, the total number of votes will rise to 90.

In addition to these, there are 58½ other Convention votes which probably will go to Eisenhower on the first ballot. They belong to Southern delegates whose State Conventions instructed them only to "fight Truman to the bitter end."

(34)

Mr. Truman will go into the Convention with 286 pledged first ballot votes. It takes 618 to nominate a candidate.

James Farley, former Democratic National Chairman, said in New York that he was "astounded" by Hague's switch. Farley said he couldn't believe there still were people who "would question the integrity of Gen. Eisenhower's written word" that he is not available for nomination. He said he "of course" would support Mr. Truman.

Political observers, however, regarded Hague's switch as a highly significant straw in the political winds. They recalled that the shrewd New Jersey chieftain was the first big Democrat to publicly switch from Henry Wallace to Mr. Truman in the Democratic vice-presidential balloting at Chicago in 1944, which indirectly led to Mr. Truman's present position in the White House.

Roosevelt said Democrats in all parts of the country were lining up for the pre-convention caucus, and that more acceptances were expected within the next few days.

Acceptances were received from Carl V. Rice, Democratic National Committeeman from Kansas; Sen. Claude Pepper, of Florida; Monroe Sweetland, Oregon National Democratic Chairman; Thomas R. Mahoney, Chairman of the Oregon delegation, and Lester W. Loble, Montana State Democratic Chairman.

William Ritchie, Nebraska Democratic Chairman, said last night more than 200 delegates to the Party's National Convention would attend the preconvention caucus.

"I, myself, intend to vote for Mr. Eisenhower and expect to see him nominated and elected," Ritchie said. 7/5/48

"I believe that the majority of the Nebraska delegation will vote with me.

"I am certain Gen. Eisenhower will accept the nomination if it is tendered him," he added.

Jacob M. Arvey, Chicago Democratic leader, said Illinois may place Gen. Eisenhower's name in nomination for President at the Party's National Convention.

Arvey has led an Illinois-for-Ike boom. He predicted the nomination would stampede the Philadelphia convention, and was cheered by New Jersey's boarding of the Eisenhower bandwagon.

Many of the anti-Trumanites are talking of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas as the second choice if Eisenhower rules himself out. There were reports that he would issue another and final "no" statement this week.

As the boom gathered more momentum over the weekend, Perry issued his appeal in a letter to President Truman.

"It is no time for name calling," Perry wrote. "I know you are a sincere, loyal American. That you have been advised by friends to your own political hurt, few will question.

"This is no criticism for anyone in official authority in our country, but the fact remains, with limited exceptions, we have twittled our thumbs for two years while Russia has prepared to destroy the civilization of the peoples of the world. Indeed, we played the role of Chamberlain in his efforts to appease the whims of a criminal maniac.

"Won't you please, sir, cast aside the little bickerings of personal ambition, and avail yourself of the opportunity of a lifetime to leave your name high on the scroll of immortals who gave even more than you are now called upon to give? Your opportunity for service lies in your joining in the cries, from coast to coast,, that General Eisenhower answer the call to lead America in an effort that will save the civilization of all the world."

Perry concluded by asking the President to come forward with the declaration: "General Eisenhower, come and take charge."

The Los Angeles Times published a story last night saying that Gen. Eisenhower has informed a committee he would accept the Democratic nomination for President only if President Truman placed his name before the National Convention.

The article, from New York and written by Times Political Editor Kyle Palmer, said this information was received from a Democratic leader who said he was present when the Committee approached Eisenhower. The name of the Democrat was not given.

The times quoted its informant as saying that unless such a condition for his nomination is met Eisenhower will issue a statement definitely taking himself out of the running before the Convention begins balloting.

Meanwhile aboard the Truman train en route to Bolivar, Mo., a top aide said that President Truman is "absolutely convinced" that opposition to his nomination will collapse at the Democratic National Convention.

Oregon has pledged its first-ballot vote to Mr. Truman. The willingness of its two top delegates to sit in on the anti-Truman meeting appeared to indicate that a draft-Eisenhower move might pick up steam in the convention if it got off to a good start.

Three of the Southern signers of the call-to-arms telegram said that others from their state delegations undoubtedly will attend.

Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama said it is "safe to say that all his state's 26-man delegation plus the 26 alternates, will show up. Gov. William Tuck of Virginia said he will probably be accompanied by several other Virginia delegates, including Sens. Harry F. Byrd and A. Millis Robertson, and State Party Chairman Alvin Massenburg. 7/5/48

Gov. Ben T. Laney of Arkansas said "several members" of his state's 22 delegates would accompany him to the meeting.

Sy Bevan, Michigan National Committeeman and one of the signers of the telegram, said a majority of Michigan delegates want Eisenhower. But State Chairman John R. Franco said a majority want Mr. Truman.

I. G. Beall, Arizona State Committee Treasurer, who also signed the appeal, said he could not tell how many, if any, Arizona delegates would attend the caucus. Chairman Steve Langmade of the state delegation said he believes they will stick with Mr. Truman.

President Truman, traveling to Bolivar, Mo., to dedicate a monument, was described by a close associate as regarding Eisenhower as a Republican at heart, and believes the Geenral would reject a Democratic nomination.

Harlem Leaders Rebel Against O'Dwyer's 'One-Man' Rule; Ruth Whaley Gets Raymond Jones' Post

New York Age

7-17-48

New York, N.Y.

BY CONRAD CLARK

According to Harlem political leaders, Mayor O'Dwyer now faces a "Harlem rebellion" from his Democratic leaders "uptown" for his one-man domineering fight to run Tammany and all New York Democrats.

With the bribery that was tossed against Harlem Tammany leaders now called by the District Attorney's office "unfair and unfounded" oldtimers see again the greatest challenge that confronts Harlem in every major political campaign, the lack of Negro leadership.

Three Negro leaders who are now on the "out" with O'Dwyer and may have "patronage" turned away from their clubs to handpicked favorites of the Mayor, whom he can dictate to, regardless of their being elected by the people or not are J. Raymond Jones, leader of the 13th A. D.; and Joseph Ford, 12th A. D. South. Also a leader in the 12th North is Cecil Carter, who is now linked with the other three leaders to form a "bloc of operations" it is reported.

Jones, who with his other "leaders" voted for Valente for Surrogate was until recently Deputy Commissioner of Housing by appointment of "The Man" O'Dwyer, a post now being filled by Atty. Ruth Whitehead Whaley, who was defeated in 1945 for City Councilman.

New York Age

The proposed plan of "The Man" is the same old ruse that "downtown" who dictates the policy of giving patronage is being used here in Harlem "to whip insurgents in line."

The "change" now that is taking place, by taking patronage from the elected leaders and turning it into channels to handpicked leaders is an old story that is too familiar to politicians in Harlem.

An example cited in the "acquiring" of the present leadership by Pinckney over the late Fred Dickens.

New York, N.Y.

Although the elected leader of his district by the county committemen, Dickens was "blacklisted" by Tammany, Pinckney was "handpicked" and the patronage was given to him, years before he was elected.

When patronage fails a club, the "faithful captains" gradually leave, and drift over to the "new" club where the patronage is, and so was the start of Pinckney.

FIRST MAJOR HEADACHE

Tammany first received its first major headache more than 12 years ago, when Attorney Henry Shields with his Beaver Club, then on 138th street and Eighth avenue, began to organize the then 21st Assembly District.

Sat. 7-17-48

The District was at that time being run by the Chicopee Club, with a white leader, but eventually Shields and his club took over the district at a meeting on Amsterdam avenue, that was supervised by the Police Department, due to its fiery nature.

A similar "insurgent" group, called the Ramapo Club was also in the fight for the district's leadership, and with the joining of the two clubs, the district was finally won for the Negroes, who were in the majority of the mixed Democratic voters of the 21st.

Herbert Bruce, a well-known restaurant and club owner, was the new leader, and since his "leaving politics" Negro politicians have never been able to find another leader.

Tammany Hall has never been able to dictate to Bruce, and he was also a very unpopular leader "downtown", although he was held very much in respect for his "refusing to compromise or sellout".

New York Age

A Harlem leader, C. M. Shavers, of 14th A. D., who was the only one to vote the way that "The Man" wanted in the Surrogate's fight, succeeded the late Jim Pemberton, the first Negro leader in that district.

Democratic (New York)

Handpicked by Tammany years ago, when Stand and Neal, since replaced by orders of the present Mayor, were "top bosses". Pemberton was given to his members, and it is from his district that Hugo Rogers, president of the Borough of Manhattan received the designation that placed him in the

New York, N.Y.

Rogers is now said to be the chosen favorite of the anti-Sampson and O'Dwyer forces to replace Sampson as head of Tammany Hall.

7-17-48

Congressmen Powell, who is from Ford's club is not wanted by O'Dwyer, and Assemblyman William T. Andrews, who was first sent to Albany by the Beavers-Ramapo Club is not wanted by that group anymore which is headed by Attorney Carson De Witt Baker.

New Housing Commissioner

ATTY. RUTH W. WHALEY

RECOGNITION AT LAST

New York Age

AT LONG LAST the citizens of Brooklyn are going to get recognition with the opportunity this year of positively electing their first Negro to the Assembly. We say positively because in the past few years there have been attempts to elect Negroes on the Republican and on the American Labor party tickets but each time they were snowed under in an avalanche of Democratic votes.

Sat. 7-31-48

That cannot happen this year because both the Republicans and the Democrats have designated Negro candidates and they will be running in opposition to each other. The American Labor party has also endorsed the candidacy of Bertram L. Baker.

Elective representation has been something that Brooklynites have sought for years. There have been determined campaigns in the past but the odds against Negro candidates have been too great for any of them to be elected. Either they ran against a whole field as in the case of the campaigns for City Council or else they ran as candidates on the minority ticket against white candidates on the dominant party in the district.

New York, N.Y.

Now with Negro candidates opposing each other, there is no way for a Negro not to be elected to the Assembly this year from Brooklyn. That, incidentally, will also add to the prestige of Negroes in the state legislature and mean that after the votes have been counted on election day, New York City will be able to boast of five Assemblymen—four from Manhattan and one from Brooklyn. With the continued influx of Negroes into the Bronx it will be only a matter of another campaign or so when the Bronx will also elect a Negro Assemblyman.

It begins to look that at long last the Negro is getting somewhere politically in New York City. We should not rest on those few laurels, however, because there are still many offices to which Negroes should be elected but are not. One of these is as State Senator. Another is as General Sessions judge. We have made the beginning. Now let's keep up the fight until we achieve the political recognition that is due us by virtue of our strength numerically as citizens in this great city.

Tammany's Compromise on Surrogate Post Improves Bid for New Judge

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md
Sat
7-31-48

NEW YORK (NNPA)—Harlem's Democratic political leaders, apparently have won at least a moral victory in their fight with Mayor William O'Dwyer over the selection of a candidate for Surrogate of New York county.

Whether or not they gained anything in the way of political patronage, however, remains yet to be seen.

Tammany Hall last Friday announced that General Sessions Judge John A. Mullen had been named as a compromise candidate for the Surrogate post and that a peace agreement on patronage had been reached with Mayor O'Dwyer.

Thus ended a bitter fight, which saw Harlem leaders lined up with Tammany Hall against the mayor who denounced Tammany and set up a rival organization of his own to distribute New York's lucrative political plums.

Records Cleared

The naming of a compromise candidate for Surrogate was seen as a moral victory for the Harlem leaders because they emerged with clean records from what they termed "a fight to smear their political integrity."

Also, the election of the compromise candidate will still leave open to them one of the objectives for which they fought—a judgeship vacancy in General Session Court which they hope will go to a colored man.

The fight with the mayor stemmed from Tammany's support of General Sessions Judge Francis L. Valente for the Surrogate position. He supported City Council President Vincent R. Impelliteri.

History of Fight

When Harlem leaders lined up with Tammany, the mayor called immediately for and received the resignation of J. Raymond Jones, colored deputy commissioner of housing.

Sat

He demanded also that Hugo Rogers, president, Borough of Manhattan, fire Joseph E. Ford, chief examiner in Rogers' office. Ford is the right hand man of Congressman Adam C. Powell Jr.

Rogers, who was deeply indebted to Ford politically, "rode the fence" on the mayor's order and sidestepped the dismissal of Ford.

7-31-48

Leaders Back Tammany

In a test of strength of the two factions, Tammany ousted Frank J. Sampson, the mayor's leader at Tammany Hall and elected Rogers, whose nomination was seconded by [illegible] other colored Harlem [illegible] to elect him.

The mayor countered this move with an announcement that he would not recognize Rogers as Tammany leader and that any patronage dispensed by his office would clear through Sampson and not Rogers.

With the Republicans entering a strong candidate in the race for the Surrogate post and the Democratic forces split, it became necessary to compromise. The mayor yielded in his support of Impelletri. Valente stepped down as a candidate and Mullen was named.

Bribe Charge Unfounded

When the Harlem leaders lined up against the mayor it was charged that they had accepted $1,000 each for their votes for Judge Valente.

The charge tipped off an official grand jury investigation but District Attorney Frank Hogan found the charge unfounded and the colored leaders' names were cleared in the incident.

Smear Campaign Told

They pointed out however, that this was not the first time efforts had been made to blacken their political character.

When Ferninand Q. Morton, colored, resigned as chairman of the Municipal Civil Service Commission three Harlem leaders were called on the carpet by Commissioner of Investigations John P Murtagh and questioned on reports that they had offered the job to the highest bidder.

Investigations showed these reports also to be unfounded.

Lost U.S. Judgeship

When a vacancy occurred in the Southern District Court of New York and the name of City Magistrate Vernon C. Riddick, colored, was being prominently mentioned fo rthepost, some leading dailies attacked the proposal to fill the post on the basis of race, ignoring Mr. Riddick's qualifications.

The appointment went to a white man from the Bronx.

Spied on at Convention

The latest attempt which observers say was designed to smear the Harlem leaders occurred during the recent Democratic Convention at Philadelphia.

Evidence has been produced to show that when Ford, Jones and Cecil Carter arrived at the convention, through a pre-arrangement with officials of the Normandie Hotel, Carter was placed in a room in which a microphone had been installed.

Afro-American

The speaker was on the other end of the wire in the room of a detective from Hogan's office.

To Push Probe

Hogan has denied that anyone from his office had any connection with the installing of the microphone in Carter's room, but hotel officials openly admitted that the microphone had been installed, and Carter and Jones say they will press for a full investigation of the incident.

Baltimore Md.

Although the Harlem leaders said they knew of no reason why they might be spied on during the convention, it was assumed that Hogan was seeking further information on the alleged selling of their votes to Valente, although he had already cleared them on this issue.

Sat.

Deal Based on Patronage

Sources close to the uptown leaders declare that there never was any "deal" to sell their votes to Valente.

7-31-48

A deal had been made, however, in which they had offered their votes to Valente on the condition that, if elected as Surrogate, a colored man would be named to succeed him as General Sessions Judge.

Since Mullen is a General Sessions judge, if he is elected as Surrogate this vacancy will still be open, but it could not be learned last Friday whether or not a colored man was promised this job as a part of the compromise agreement.

North Carolina Democrats Refuse to Instruct Delegates

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Raliegh, N. C., May 20 (AP)—North Carolina Democrats today told their national-convention delegates to vote as they please on a presidential nominee. Fri

The biennial state convention adopted without debate and without dissent a resolution which called for an uninstructed delegation. The party selected 40 delegates to cast the state's 32 votes at Philadelphia in July.

The convention's resolution committee tabled a proposal that the delegation be instructed not to vote for nomination for President Truman or "anyone else who advocates the civil-rights program." 5-21-48

Although the convention made clear its stand against the program through frequent cheers and applause for unfavorable mention to it, the platform failed to mention civil rights.

The platform indorsed "the broad principles o fthe Democratic Administration," but reaffirmed "the historical devotion of our party to the rights and powers of the Governments of the several States."

The keynoter, Col. William T. Joyner, Raleigh, had declared that the proper way to settle party differences "is by debate and action within the Democratic Party." Fri. 5-21-48

"There has been talk in other states of revolt against the national Democratic Party," Joyner said. "I can think of nothing so ineffective. I cannot think, I do not think, that any revolt is threatened in North Carolina."

Lockers Take 50 Million Dimes.

Fifty million dimes were inserted last year into the familiar steel lockers seen in railroad, airline, and bus terminals throughout America, according to Steelways Magazine.

RALEIGH, N. C., Aug. 10.—(INS)—North Carolina's States' Rights Democrats Tuesday moved closer to a court fight against an Elections Board ruling which denied them a place on the State ballot.

The States' Righters received permission to have county election boards check the names appearing on the party's rejected petition.

David Clark, Charlotte publisher, asked the State Board of Elections for permission to send the 18,000 signatures to county boards where qualified voters will be certified as such.

The petition was refused last because such certification had not been made before a deadline.

Clark said he wants to have the names certified before filing suit against the board's ruling. Clark contends that the names did not need to be certified before the deadline.

34d

Washington Calling

Post

341

By Marquis Childs

~~Thur 9-30-48~~

Oklahoma Edge

OKLAHOMA CITY.—Here in Oklahoma, which is half Southern and half Northern, they are having an old-fashioned political contest. It is politics in the accepted American tradition, with no modern gadgets.

Thur 9-30-48

That is to say, neither the Dixiecrats nor the Wallaceites are on the ballot. The race is between Republicans and Democrats, which is why this is one of the few really doubtful States.

While Democratic leaders are purposely not making any claims, the Truman - Barkley ticket may even have a slight edge as of the present. With stops on his two-day schedule, President Truman has campaigned across this State like a candidate for sheriff, trying to increase what may be a small advantage.

If the Dixiecrats and the Wallace party were on the ballot, Democratic defeat would have been certain. Expert observers believe Wallace might have polled 40,000 or 50,000 votes, virtually all of them taken from the Democrats.

In the southern part of the State, settled largely from Texas, Arkansas and the deep South, the Dixiecrats would have taken Democratic votes from the other end of the political scale. In the Democratic primary, Gomer Smith, veteran rabble-rouser, violently harangued the southern counties on the race issue, painting a lurid picture of the races forced to mingle in swimming pools and other public places as a result of the President's civil rights program.

Although he was defeated by former Gov. Robert S. Kerr, Smith got a sizable vote. All the Dixiecrats can do in protest is stay home on election day. If they stay home in numbers, it could have a decisive effect, since the Democrats' best hope is a large turnout November 2.

Thur 9-30-48

A SHREWD and resourceful politician, Kerr is taking a neutral stand on civil rights. He has said, that, if elected to the Senate, he will not vote for any law contrary to Oklahoma's State schools.

The real States-righter and opponent of Federal enforcement of civil rights is the Republican senatorial candidate, Representative Ross Rizley. Rizley is running in place of Senator Ed Moore, a wealthy Republican oil man who decided to retire.

Rizley voted against the bill in the House to abolish the poll tax in the Southern States where it is still a prerequisite for voting. Both on the domestic and the international side his record is largely reactionary, and Kerr and the Democrats will use it against him. This may help to offset the appeal of his genial, hearty personality.

Rizley is, in short, an unreconstructed Republican of the predawn, pre-Herbert Hoover era. If Gov. Thomas E. Dewey means to reshape the party and give it a new direction, as his speeches indicate, he will sooner or later have to come to grips with the Rizleys, and particularly if they show up in numbers in the new Congress.

* * *

TULSA is a hotbed of unreconstructed Republicanism. Repudiated in the rest of the State, the hard core of isolationist diehards survives there, promoting an organization called pro-America, successor to America First. They are Roosevelt-haters who believe "that man" deliberately brought on the war with all its evil consequences.

These black Republicans do not care for the Dewey campaign nor, for that matter, for Dewey himself. They would have preferred Senator Robert A. Taft, and their real love was Taft's Ohio colleague, Senator John W. Bricker.

They are keeping their criticism of Dewey to the privacy of the club locker room. They will work hard for the GOP ticket and spend money generously, as in the past, in the belief that any Republican is better than a New Deal Democrat.

Oil money is an important commodity in Oklahoma politics. Detached observers guess that Senator Moore spent upward of a half million dollars of his own money in his campaign six years ago.

Thur 9-30-48

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As in certain other States, the weight of both ability and appeal is on the Democratic side when one examines the congressional candidates. Thus, Oklahomans are properly proud of the national reputation won by Representative Mike Monroney of Oklahoma City for his constructive record in the House. With only weak opposition, Monroney seems fairly sure of reelection. Late in October, Dewey will invade this State, and even if he should succeed in carrying it himself it is highly doubtful that he can pull GOP congressional candidates along with him.

2 Negroes Charge Young Democrats Barred Them

Louisville, Ky.

Sun. 2-22-48

34d

McAlester, Okla., Feb. 21 (AP) — Two Negro delegates were denied admission to the Young Democrats' state convention today, but the presiding officer said the action was not sanctioned by the convention itself.

The Negroes, A. C. Johnson and Dalphin Thompson, Oklahoma City, were stopped at the convention door in the Aldridge Hotel by Police Sergt. Mike Mayfield and Deputy Sheriff Thad Conn.

Both officers said they acted on request of league officials. However, Buck Cartwright, Wewoka, state president of the Young Democrats, insisted the organization had not acted to bar the Negro delegates. 2-22-48

Oklahoma Won't Join Southern Alliance

The Call

34d

Will Remain With Democratic Leaders

Kansas City, Mo.

Fri. 5-21-48

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla. — (INS) — Gov. Roy J. Turner went on record Wednesday as declaring that Oklahoma will join no bloc of southern states in opposition to national democratic leaders.

Turner was invited by Gov Beauford H. Jester of Texas to join an alliance of southern and western democrats to give these areas a louder voice in party affairs. 5-21-48

Jester indicated that Turner looked with favor upon the plan but the Oklahoma Governor issued a statement declaring he doesn't intend to join "any bloc in opposition to our national democratic leaders."

However, there were strong indications that Oklahoma's delegation to the national democratic convention will not be committed entirely to the renomination of Mr. Truman.

James C. Nance, speaker pro tem of the Oklahoma State senate and a power in state politics declared himself against President Truman. Nance picked Senator Barkley of Kentucky as his first choice for the nomination.

Ouster Of Oklahoma Youth Delegates Cited

The Defender

34d

Sat 3-6-48

By FORDIE EDWARD ROSS

OKLAHOMA CITY—Appreciation of Negro balloting strength in Oklahoma has been thrown to the wind declare Republican leaders as they view with dismay recent blows that have been struck Negro efforts by the Democratic party.

Some of these blows have resounded throughout the nation and have awakened other states to the sense of their responsibilities and incited them to action, while Oklahoma's predominant political party still thrives on the votes of the minority group to whom it has only made promises.

Chicago Ill

This declaration came last week when two duly elected Negro delegates from Oklahoma county to the state convention of Young Democrats were refused admittance by a uniformed policeman with instructions to do so because of Oklahoma's segregations laws.

GOP Leader Speaks

"That should be enough,", declared Harvey Deaton, campaign manager for Carmon C. Harris who made an unsuccessful Republican bid for a seat in congress against Mike Monroney in the last election. "Enough to convince Negroes that a world of promises and a few appointments are made merely to clinch their votes," continued Mr. Deaton.

Deaton cited the popular Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher fight to enter Oklahoma university and served notice on Negro voters that a plea for more time to do justice to Langston is but another promise because "for 40 years Democratic leaders and especially gubernatorial aspirants have pledged the accreditation of Langston university and have done nothing about it.

Forsee Vote Action

It is believed, in Republican ranks that the establishment of a Negro law school at the state capital in answer to a U. S. mandate and refusal to admit Negroes to a Democratic convention will cause Negro voters to rebel against the Democratic party in county, state and national elections.

The rebellion, it is believed, will not be serious in county campaigns, but will be felt severely in state and national races. This is true because the Negro vote is unquestionably a great factor in electing a major candidate.

Sat 3-6-48

Fear Progressives

However, while Negro voters will show at the polls their resentment to unfavorable Democratic actions to desires nearest their hearts, Republicans to whom this strength would ordinary go fear the definite support the Progressive Party will receive from Oklahoma Negroes because of Wallace's liberal program and record of fights for minority groups.

The ultimate effect of what these political developments will have on Republican chances to secure pre-eminence at the polls in Oklahoma is difficult to determine at this time, but many observers believe that it will in the long run work to the benefit of the Republican party and "the needs and rights of Negro people.".

Situation In Oklahoma

By Marquis Childs

34d

Wash. Post

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Thurs 9-23-48

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* * *

Right-Wing Rizley

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* * *

The Reactionaries

THESE BLACK REPUBLICANS do not care for the Dewey campaign nor, for that matter, for Dewey himself. They would have preferred Senator Robert A. Taft, and their real love was Taft's Ohio colleague, Senator John W. Bricker.

Thurs 9-23-48

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Okla. County Demos Announce Program

Black Dispatch

34d

The Oklahoma County Democrats are announcing for general information a few of the vital planks necessary for the continuation of the Negro to become a complete citizen.

In a few days the registration period for voting will began and all Negroes must, if we are to succeed as a group, register.

The Oklahoma county Negro Democrat is sponsoring and supporting:

Sat 9-24-48

1. The appointment of child welfare workers.
2. The appointment of sales tax collectors.
3. A low cost housing project.
4. More law enforcement officers, especially a Negro cruiser.

The Oklahoma county Negro Democrat, presently, feels that the voters of this county are entitled to know more about how each elective office affects our group and more about the candidate that aspire to the position.

In thinking about voting and elections, campaigns and candidates, let us think also of how we as a group, quite distinctive, can benefit from any one elective office. To recognize our ability as a voter is perhaps the most significant part of our struggle for complete citizenship.

Black Dispatch

Okla. City

Many of our group will for the first time be eligible for a trip to the polls, and it is our aim to urge, push and assist all to take advantage of this necessary part of our system of government.

The Oklahoma county Negro Defocrats will have a meeting soon, which will be announced in this paper, so watch for the notice and bring all the folks you know to this meeting. We will discuss methods of assisting in getting every person of age to register.

Oklahoma County Negro
Democrats, H. V. Curtis, Pres.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

New York Times

Foreign Policy

So far as the paramount issue of foreign policy is concerned, the Democrats had the advantage over the Republicans in the drafting of a party platform. The Democrats at least knew who their candidate was to be, and could shape their plans accordingly. The Republicans had no such certain knowledge. Mr. Dewey was in the lead for the nomination when the platform was drafted, but its authors could not be certain then whether the candidate ultimately chosen by the convention would be Mr. Dewey or Mr. Taft, or, in the event of a deadlock between these two, a compromise candidate who might be Mr. Vandenberg or might, on the other hand, be Mr. Martin or Mr. Bricker. Accordingly, they had to write a platform broad enough, in its sections on foreign policy, for any one of these potential candidates to stand upon. Hence the ambiguities and generalities in which some of the Republican views are stated.

Handicapped by no such lack of certainty regarding the identity of their candidate, the Democrats have given an all-out endorsement to the foreign policies of the Truman Administration. They specifically pledge—as the Republicans do not—continuation of aid for Greece and Turkey under the "Truman Doctrine"; adherence of the United States to the highly important International Trade Organization recently perfected at Havana; international control of weapons of mass production, including the atomic bomb, and redemption of the promise given by our Government of a loan to the United Nations for the construction of its headquarters in this city. None of these subjects received specific mention in the Republican platform. Furthermore, whereas the Republicans have written a plank on reciprocal trade treaties which could mean anything and at present means nothing, the Democrats have pledged a restoration of the reciprocal trade program in the form originally and successfully sponsored by Cordell Hull.

Thurs.

The Republican pledges on foreign policy reflect the division of opinion within the party on such questions and the necessity of marking time until a candidate was chosen. The Democratic pledges are concrete and specific.

7-15-48

Thu

II Domestic Policy

On questions of domestic policy the Democrats lack the near-unanimity of opinion which they have achieved in matters of foreign policy. To cite one example: the party has been sharply divided on the question of labor legislation. It is all the more remarkable in these circumstances—and it certainly must be confusing to many rank-and-file members of the party—that the Philadelphia convention should have plumped for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Relations Act, which was, in fact, enacted into law only with the aid of Democratic support in Congress. This is a plain and unmasked bid for "the labor vote" in the 1948 campaign; but such a maneuver is hardly consistent with the fact that 106 Democratic members of the House of Representatives voted to override the President's veto of this very legislation, whereas only 76 supported that veto. These 106 members, most of them now candidates for re-election, will certainly be caught in an odd position, next November, trying both to stand on the merit of their voting records and at the same time support the declared position of the party. 7-15-48

A second major domestic issue on which the Democratic party has been divided is, of course, the much-disputed question of civil rights. Here the disagreement runs so deep that the issue could not be settled in committee. The controversy was carried to the floor, and the convention, after first snowing under a Southern proposal for a "states' rights" plank, then adopted by a much closer vote a resolution going beyond the somewhat noncommittal language of its platform committee to commend Mr. Truman strongly and explicitly for his civil rights program. The consequences of this action, from the point of view of Democratic unity and the party's prospects in the South, remain to be revealed. But the issue, long-smoldering, presumably had to be met openly someday in national convention, and was.

For the rest, the domestic sections of the platform emphasize the social gains—in social security, fair labor standards and many other similar matters—achieved under the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt, and promise a consolidation and expansion of such gains. They also promise a vast new program of federal subsidies to the states to help support many local activities which were once thought to be the exclusive responsibility of the states themselves. 7-15-48

No objection was made to such subsidies on the part of the champions of "states' rights." Customs have changed in this respect, and intervention by the National Government in local affairs is welcomed when it takes the form of contributions from the National Treasury.

The Platform

Herald Tribune

Thurs. 7-15-48

The Democratic platform is lengthy, and filled with the self-praise which the party needs to keep up its courage through the months ahead. There is no advance of the past sixteen years, whether political, social or economic, which is not attributed entirely to the Democrats' foresight and statesmanship; and no setback but is laid squarely at the feet of Republicans. The platform didn't quite say that all the soldiers, sailors and airmen who fought in the war had been Democrats, but it comes close to giving that impression. New York, N.Y.

This approach is no novelty in party platforms, and it might be harmless enough if in this instance it did not embrace the whole area of foreign policy. One of the hopes for the coming months is that foreign policy will be kept free of narrowly partisan discussion. Through his adviser, Mr. John Foster Dulles, Governor Dewey has been preparing to keep in touch with current negotiations, so as to take no stand which might needlessly complicate or distort them. In his keynote speech Senator Barkley was careful to give to Republicans in Congress due credit for shaping foreign policy. But the platform affords no intimation of the statesmanlike efforts which have marked both parties, and by its exaggerated claims threatens to bring into the heat of the campaign questions which should be dealt with solely from the point of view of national interest.

On domestic issues the platform restates positions which the majority of the Congress has again and again overridden; it might have been framed, indeed, on the basis of an exclusive reading of Mr. Truman's numerous veto messages. By its demand for an outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, in particular, it goes clearly against the popular mandate to undertake a new approach to labor problems; and it goes against that majority of the Democrats in Congress which voted for the bill. The chief weakness in this field is less that of the platform than of the party which stands back of it. The Democrats at the end of their long regime, divided among themselves and with control of only a portion of the government, have grown incapable of putting into effect even their more desirable measures, and incapable of administering with a minimum of efficiency the day-to-day affairs of government.

The bright spot in the platform is the plank of civil rights, which achieved its present form after a bitter fight on the floor. But this clear and notable statement was not won without weakening the party and threatening a bolt of Southern electors in November. By a curious irony this plank, specifically commending President Truman for his courageous stand, was a belated tribute to the man whom the party had done so much to discredit and belittle. Mayor Humphries of Minneapolis, who led the fight to have it adopted, was one of those who a short while before had been suggesting that President Truman was not fit to run. If this respect for Mr. Truman's considerable qualities had been expressed by the liberal wing at the start of the convention, the Democratic party would be able to go into its campaign with some inner integrity and confidence. 7-15-48

As it is, it must go forward under a leader whom its most enlightened elements have condemned as faltering and inadequate.

Herald Tribune

New York, N.Y.

Thurs.

By Rob F. Hall

Daily Worker

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., July 12. — The Democratic platform in its present form avoids any pledge to enact a permanent FEPC or legislation outlawing lynching or abolishing the polltax, the Daily Worker learned late today. The civil rights plank as it now exists is no more than the broad generalization of the 1944 plank rewritten in narrative form. Tues.

Sen. Francis J. Myers (D-Pa) chairman of the committee called off a press conference this afternoon, pleading the press of committee work as an excuse. But newsmen speculated that the Pennsylvania Senator's real reason was his desire to avoid any discussion of the knotty civil rights issue at this stage. The committee of 18 convened at three this afternoon and was still working at a late hour tonight. New York, N.Y.

Meanwhile, it was reported, White House pressure had forced the subcommittee to stiffen its plank on labor and prices. A member of the drafting committee who declined to be quoted assured reporters that the draft platform called for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. 7-13-48

CONSERVATIVES TAKE OVER

But there were indications, now that the Douglas boom had spent itself, that conservative forces were openly taking over control of the convention machinery. These forces, who occupy a position somewhat to the left of the Southern white supremacy bourbons, are made up of substantial business men, border-state Democratic leaders and bosses of the city machines. Although they went along reluctantly with the New Deal in the days of FDR, they were never enthusiastic about labor or social legislation. Daily Worker

These groups are booming Sen. Alben Barkley (D-Ky) for the vice-presidential nomination. Immediately after Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas announced he would accept neither first nor second place on the ticket, Barkley supporters rushed into the vacuum. New York, N.Y.

Gov. Earl C. Clements of Kentucky, chairman of that state delegation, announced it would place the Kentuckian's name in the nomination. Most observers late today felt that Barkley's election to the second place on the ticket was virtually assured. 7-13-48

However, the liberal groups which were working for a Douglas nomination, were not happy. Even President Truman, who urged Douglas to accept the post, was reported here as opposed to Barkley, giving the reason that his home state was too close to Missouri. Daily Worker

Barkley indicated the conservative position he would like the party to take in his keynote speech, prepared for delivery tonight. Nowhere in its 8,000 words was the phrase civil rights mentioned.

The nearest approach to this crucial issue was a quotation from the Declaration of Independence asserting that "all men are created equal." But Barkley hastened to add that this didn't mean they were actually created equal; it only meant they deserved equal opportunity under the law regardless of race, creed or color.

The Barkley speech devoted three sentences to labor. One praised the Wagner Act. One denounced the Taft-Hartley Act, without mentioning it by name. And one criticized the Republicans for its failure to centralize labor activities of the government within one department.

For the rest of it, Barkley hailed the record of 16 years of democracy and condemned the GOP in the 80th Congress. He praised the Marshall Plan, warned against inflation, and pointed out the sinister role of the Grundy machine in the Republican National Convention. New York, N.Y.

How far the Americans for Democratic Action forces will go in opposing Barkley is uncertain. The strongest candidate for the Vice-Presidency next to the Kentuckian is Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney (D-Wyo) whose proposals to curb monopolies have given him a liberal standing. But there was no indication that ADA had decided on support for the Westerner. Tues.

On the Truman front, the ADA had frankly thrown in the sponge. Although associates of Jack Kroll, director of CIO-PAC, hinted they might "sit on their hands" during the election campaign, concentrating on congressional elections, other ADA leaders were openly pro-Truman. Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis told the Minnesota delegation today it should come out "clearly and strongly" for Harry Truman. 7-13-48

Neither the CIO nor the ADA have gone along with the Pepper boom, despite the presence of several of their leaders in the early caucuses. In fact, the move to nominate the Floridan seemed to be getting nowhere late today, and his supporters confessed that defeat was inevitable.

"Our only hope was that if Claude could emerge as a liberal leader during the convention, he might play a role in rebuilding the party on liberal lines after November," one Pepper supporter told the Daily Worker. "But even that doesn't look hopeful now," he concluded.

The only fighting role the few liberals might play in the convention now would be to battle on the floor for a progressive platform. With the plank on civil rights expected to straddle and evade the issue, there has been some talk of a minority report and a fight on the floor. Daily Worker

A MINORITY REPORT

Humphrey, a member of the subcommittee, has threatened to make such a report. A poll of his delegation today, however, indicated that only eight of the 18 were in favor of filing a minority report and carrying the controversy through to the end. Leon Henderson, ADA chairman, has been completely silent so far today.

At the other end of the political arc, the southern revolt had dwindled from a roaring fire to a flickering candle light. Southern states caucusing today reaffirmed their intention of accepting no platform which did not assert state's rights, denounce civil rights. They said they would vote for no candidate who did not accept their program. But at this stage, a bolt from the convention seemed hardly likely.

It was announced, however, that Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas would be placed in nomination against Truman. He was certain of votes from Arkansas, South Carolina and Mississippi and probably half of Alabama's 26. His friends claimed the votes of 10 states for him. But even these, plus the 100 claimed by Pepper's supporters, would not be enough to prevent Harry Truman from receiving a majority on the first ballot. New York, N.Y.

OPENS AT 12:14 P.M.

The convention opened this afternoon at 12:14, 44 minutes later than scheduled. Galleries were empty and attendance on the floor was scanty. The absence of the New York delegation, busy with a state caucus, made a noticeable hole. Tues.

As Pepper pointed out yesterday, "this is not a happy convention." The lack of spirit was very evident today. Delegates are drooping, and not entirely from the heat. The opening speech by Sen. J. Howard McGrath (D-RI) did not arouse them. 7-13-48

The delegates also heard the following:

- Sen. Myers said the Democratic Party will regain control of Congress in the November elections.
- Arthur C. Kaufman, head of Gimbel Brothers and president of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, urged Democrats to be nice to business and to free business from state control.

Back at Broad and Walnut, where the Bellevue-Stratford houses the Democratic National Committee, all was relatively calm. Ex-Sgt. Marty Snyder continued his loudspeaker campaign for Eisenhower across the street. But the national committee hung out its own loud speaker and played loud music. Otherwise things were almost peaceful in this hot and sticky city of Brotherly Love.

PRAISES DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

In refreshing contrast to the Republican Party with its straddling of important issues, the Democratic convention showed courage in deciding squarely on vital controversial questions. In particular, against the determined opposition of the reactionary Southern Democrats, it adopted a specific plank on civil rights which spelled out in detail President Truman's recommendations for a Federal Fair Employment Practice law, abolition of the poll tax as a requirement for voting, and an anti-lynching bill, recommendations which the Republican majority in Congress failed and refused to adopt. Thurs.

It took courage for the liberal majority at the convention to adopt that plank, for it meant a walkout by the reactionary and racially biased delegates from Alabama and Mississippi. 7-22-48

The platform favors labor's rights by calling for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley bill, which was drawn by the Republican leaders with such vindictive antagonism toward organized labor that it has already been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in certain important provisions.

The Democrats favored extension of the social security system as recommended by President Truman and turned down by the Republican majority in Congress, and again they spelled out the improvements in detail. Their platform favors federal aid to education so as to give every child an equal chance for a good education despite lack of money or racial discrimination practiced in certain states, again following Truman's recommendation which the Republicans failed to adopt. It called for federal aid to make it possible to build homes to rent at low cost, which the Republican majority in the House of Representatives refused to adopt. It called for a decent bill, free from anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic bias, for the admission of displaced persons fleeing from Soviet terror, who now fill refugee camps in Western Europe. Thurs. 7-22-48

The platform is a truly liberal one following in every respect the recommendations made by President Truman to Congress. Since the platform also favors opposition to Soviet aggression, it will, despite its progressive character, be opposed by Wallace and his Communist supporters.

Manhattan ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

THE PLATFORM

Daily Tribune

What the Democratic platform in its final form will say about civil rights may be of great political importance. Still, it is unfortunate that so much attention has been directed to this matter that other aspects of the platform have been largely lost to view.

Mr. Truman's strategy is, of course, transparent. His purpose is to hold together the divergent elements which won for Mr. Roosevelt, among them the south, the big city machines, various minorities in the north, the left wingers, and organized labor. Mr. Roosevelt succeeded in holding together these often conflicting interests, partly thru patronage and cajolery and largely thru downright deceit. He was an artful promiser to the Negroes, the Poles, the Zionists, the AFL and many others, but his word was not good as they all can testify. Chicago, Ill.

He promised Charles Rozmarek in a secret conference four years ago in Chicago to take good care of Poland when he was selling Poland down the river to Stalin. He pretended to indorse the Zionist program of an independent state in Palestine but made a secret deal with the Arabs to do nothing without consulting their wishes. As for the Negroes, they would not be clamoring now for the civil rights program if he had made good his promises to them, as he could have done at any time during the long years when he had congress under his thumb. He had majorities of his own in congress that were adequate had he cared to use them, and he could have counted upon an overwhelming majority of Republicans as well. Wed. 7-14-48

This is one of Mr. Roosevelt's promissory notes that Mr. Truman is now obliged to meet, for he can't win unless he can hold the Roosevelt following and he hasn't Mr. Roosevelt's gift of facile deception. Rightly or wrongly, Mr. Truman has decided that the bark of the southerners is worse than their bite. The country will watch developments with interest.

Some of the other promissory notes are also of great interest, particularly those to organized labor. Mr. Truman is, of course, personally committed to the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, regardless of what the platform makers, many of whom voted for the law, will have to say on the subject. What is of equal or greater importance is the fact that Mr. Truman is also committed to a policy of price fixing and the rationing of "scarce materials." If he has his way, the government is going to run the economy of the country just as certainly as if the Socialist party had won the election and he was its chosen leader.

The people of the United States have not yet realized how fully Mr. Truman is committed to this policy. It is what he has in mind when he talks about controlling inflation. His program has the full indorsement of some of the most influential of the labor leaders, including the dominant figures in the CIO, such as Murray and Reuther, and a good many in the AFL as well. These men are socialists in all but name and the more socialistic they are, the more certainly they are for Truman. Wed. 7-14-48

It is no accident that a Socialist newspaper like the New Leader is pulling for Truman. If he is elected, he will have a mandate to destroy the free economy and Mr. Murray will not complain if Mr. Truman acts in the name of inflation control rather than nationalization, for the result will be the same. The section of the Democratic platform having to do with this subject should therefore be read with great care. It may be even more significant than the plank on civil rights.

50 DEMOCRAT CHIEFS O.K. PLANK ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Chicago Daily Tribune

Will Defy South at Convention

Mon. 7-5-48

Minneapolis, July 4 (Special)—Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey blew a fanfare today for a battle over a civil rights plank at the Democratic national convention which meets at Philadelphia July 12. He released a statement signed by 50 Democratic leaders in 20 northern states, saying they intend to write President Truman's civil rights program into the party's national platform.

The subject is the most controversial confronting the Democratic conclave. Southern Democrats have threatened in some states to carry the fight against Truman not only into the Philadelphia meet but also into the electoral college and split the party. The revolt was touched off by the President's espousal in a special message to congress Feb. 1 of a civil rights program.

Propose Cure Of Abuses

It included proposals for laws against lynching, poll tax, and racial discrimination in interstate transportation facilities. It called for fair employment legislation.

In releasing the statement, Mayor Humphrey said that as a member of the resolutions committee he would present it at Philadelphia as the view of Democrats who deem the program essential to national welfare. He was aided in the drafting and circulation of the document, he said, by James Roosevelt, chairman of the California Democratic state organization, and by Jacob Arvey, Cook county, Ill., chairman.

"We shall actively seek," the leaders declared, "to make the accomplishment of this program (Truman's) a part of our party platform for 1948.

"Moral Strategy" Measure

The text of the statement follows: 7-5-48

"The report of the President's committee on civil rights is one of the most important measures of moral strategy devised by the United States in modern times.

"Altho its recommendations do credit to all sections of American life represented on the nonpartisan committee, its sponsorship will remain a landmark in the history of this Democratic administration.

"As an examination of America's political conscience, it dramatized the internal vitality of our democracy and eloquently challenged the rest of the civilized world.

"As active members of the Democratic party, and as citizens, we support this program. Many of us will be delegates to the national convention in Philadelphia. The issue of civil rights is in the worthiest tradition of our party. We hereby declare that we shall actively seek at Philadelphia, to make the accomplishment of this program a part of our party's platform for 1948.

Principles Are Basic

"Any dispassionate examination of this report will reveal that its fundamental principles are as old as our nation. The report measures the intent of our most cherished documents against the reality of the present and recommends concrete legislative measures to close the gap between profession and practice in the field of civil rights.

"We believe that the gravity of the present international situation cannot fail to convince patriotic leaders of our party everywhere that neither imagined rights, private economic interests, nor cherished customs of any section of America can remain sacred if they jeopardize the position of our nation in world affairs.

"It is a measure contributing to the moral strength of America as a free nation that we uphold the President's civil rights policy.

"The cost of operating this policy must, we believe, be measured in the same coin."

Among the signers are a score from the middle west and a dozen from the Pacific and Rocky mountain states, the others being easterners:

The Chicagoland signers include: 7-5-48

Rift on Civil Rights Plank Grows; Specific Anti-Bias Pledges Asked

Herald Tribune
New York N.Y.
Wed. 7-14-48

Northern 'Vigilance' Group Asks Drafters to Call for Anti-Lynching, Anti-Poll Tax, F. E. P. C. Laws; Platform for Taft-Hartley Act's Repeal

By Robert J. Donovan

PHILADELPHIA, July 13.—The Resolutions Committee of the Democratic National Convention was embroiled tonight in a fight over civil rights, precipitated by a Northern move to write into the 1948 platform indorsements of specific anti-discrimination measures.

These measures, proposed by Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey jr., of Minneapolis, member of a "vigilance" group fighting for a liberal platform, included anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, provisions for non-segregation of races in the armed forces and "equal opportunity in employment." This last would be tantamount to indorsement of a fair employment practices law.

These recommendations, arousing deep opposition among Southern delegates, were submitted by Mayor Humphrey as the 108-member resolutions committee met to complete the draft of the platform. Wed. 7-14-48

The draft is expected to go to the convention floor for final action tomorrow afternoon. Although the preliminary draft has not been made public, enough information has leaked out of committee to indicate that the platform will pledge the party to repeal of the Taft-Hartley law.

Because of the fact that more Democrats in Congress had voted for the Taft-Hartley act than against it, it was believed that a pledge to repeal the measure would provoke a sharp fight in the resolutions committee. A committee member said tonight, however, that the repeal proposal had been accepted with little controversy.

Arms to Israel Backed

On the subject of Israel, Senator Scott Lucas, of Illinois, a member of the Resolutions Committee, said the group unanimously had approved a stand favoring lifting of the embargo on arms shipments to Israel and calling on the United Nations to modify its arms-control program.

This stand was hailed by New York delegates as an improvement over an earlier draft which favored lifting of the arms embargo subject to a prior decision of the U. N. 7-14-48

The platform also calls for immediate and full de jure recognition of Israel and economic aid to the new state, it was reported.

Senator Lucas revealed tonight that the South had won a victory when the Resolution Committee agreed to drop a section upholding Federal rights to the oil-rich tidelands.

As the Resolutions Committee toiled through hours of work tonight in its session on the roof garden of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, it appeared that the one issue which was really causing trouble was civil rights. And the amendment submitted by Mayor Humphrey went right to the heart of the controversy which has tortured the Democratic party since President Truman sent Congress his civil rights program last winter.

Amendments Are Specific

The controversial section of Mayor Humphrey's amendment read:

"To secure these rights, we pledge ourselves to support Federal action to guarantee to all Americans:

"1. Personal safety from the brutal crime of lynching and mob violence.

"2. Equal opportunity in employment.

"3. Full and free political participation.

"4. Equal treatment in the armed forces."

Mayor Humphrey's proposals were an amendment to a preliminary draft platform drawn up during the last two days by an eighteen-member drafting committee. The proposals were submitted when the Resolutions Committee met today to consider for the first time the preliminary draft and to put the platform in final form for presentation.

Like the 1944 civil rights platform in the Democratic platform, the preliminary 1948 draft contained no specific recommendations for anti-discrimination measures.

It said that the Democratic party was responsible for "the great civil rights gains made in recent years in eliminating unfair and illegal discrimination based on race, creed or color." It pledged the party to continued efforts to eradicate discrimination.

Language Is Stronger

In language somewhat stronger than the 1944 plank, it said that minorities must have the "right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws." It called on Congress to guarantee these rights. 7-14-48

Even this stand went further than many Southern delegates wanted to go. Furthermore, it omitted what many Southerners had insisted upon—a strong states' rights declaration, opposing Federal interference in state problems such as the racial issue. But Mayor Humphrey's amendment went completely beyond what Southern delegates have said they would accept.

Should it be approved by the

open against this program." The committee continued silent.

It was evident, however, that the compromise plan to retain the wording of the 1944 plank, and mollify the South with added States rights language, was running into behind-the-scenes trouble.

Mayor Humphrey and Representative Celler (N. Y.) told reporters they wouldn't take less than a declaration for the "high spots" of the Truman civil rights program.

"I don't care if they (the Southerners) do walk out," said Celler.

CIO Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey led off the day's witnesses with a call for a plank demanding repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and adoption by the Democrats of a "Roosevelt platform."

As part of it, he said the convention should adopt the Truman civil rights policies, saying, "We must not seek to evade responsibility for this minimum program of civil rights by placing blame on a small minority of willful men."

Philadelphia Revolt

Washington Post

The Democratic platform as rewritten on the convention floor late yesterday afternoon is a defeat for the Southerners and may be summed up as a Truman manifesto. The delegates simply would not compromise on the burning issue of civil rights which has rocked the Democratic Party. The commitment of the party to the belief that "racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens, as guaranteed by the Constitution" could mean much if it were to be fulfilled by the Southern States, which have the power to make it effective. But many Southern leaders rebelled against even the statement of this elementary principle. And it was their intransigence, together with the feeling that the party should go to the country as the party of liberalism, that induced the convention to spell out exactly what was meant by the original generalization of the Resolutions Committee.

7-15-48

Washington D.C.

A tumultuous debate on the floor led to the incorporation of a pledge to work for Federal legislation guaranteeing the rights of full and equal political participation, equal opportunity of employment, "security of persons" and "equal treatment" in the armed services. This was certainly a franker pledge than the promise simply to use all "constitutional powers" to assure and protect the rights that were enumerated in the committee's civil rights plank, and the Southerners were left in high dudgeon. Thus the South's flare of rebellion has been repulsed rather than compromised by what may be a historic convention, although, in deference to the South, the platform-makers had eliminated entirely the plank for Federal control over tidelands oil, and no further action on this score was offered on the floor of the convention.

Washington Post
7-15-48

The platform added to its appeal to what Mr. Roosevelt would have called the "under-privileged" by courting the labor vote with a plank pledging repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. While this extreme stand supports President Truman's veto of this legislation, it flies in the face of the majority of the Democratic legislators, who voted to override the veto. No such drastic pledge, of course, has any chance of being fulfilled, but it may win for the ticket some of the waverers in union labor ranks. The entire platform is a vote-puller, but the decisive action on civil rights may produce such dissension in the ranks of the Democratic Party as to present the election to the Republicans, though the ultimate outcome may well be a new alignment in the party system in the United States based less on geography and more on ideology.

Washington D.C.

JAY G. HAYDEN Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta Ga.

'Civil Rights' Plank Kills Party Unity

Atl. 7-16-48

PHILADELPHIA—The end of the always incompatible union between Northern cities and the South which has been the Democratic Party became an irretrievable certainty when President Truman's so-called civil rights program was written into the Democratic national platform.

The only comparable incident within memory was the defeat by a half-vote margin—442 to 442½, approximately—in the Democratic convention of 1924 of a resolution aimed against racial and religious bigotry and condemning the Ku Klux Klan by name. That was the preliminary for the deadlock for two weeks and more than 100 ballots between Gov. Al Smith, backed by the Northern cities, and William G. McAdoo, supported by the South and portions of the rural North and West. John W. Davis, nominated in the end from sheer exhaustion, carried only 10 States of the solid South and Kentucky and Oklahoma. He lost Tennessee, the first time it had ever gone Republican.

The real pay-off on that 1924 battle, however, came in 1928 when the South took its revenge on Gov. Smith. He lost Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, Florida and Texas, and the only States he carried outside the South were Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

The unequivocal indorsement of his civil rights program conceivably may help President Truman in Northern States which poll large Negro and other racial-group votes. But there can be no doubt as to its disastrous effect on the Democratic chances in the South.

By popular vote Alabama Democrats denied their electoral votes to President Truman on account of his civil rights program and Mississippi, South Carolina, Arkansas and Virginia long had been maneuvering in the same direction.

Fully alive to this threat, the President's managers hand-picked a platform-drafting subcommittee with the single purpose of searching for a civil rights plank that would avert the North-South break. Helped along by the acceptance of Sen. Barkley for Vice President, it looked for awhile as if this effort at appeasement had succeeded. Though the fuzzy commitment of the Party to racial and religious equality contained in the committee draft was protested by the Southerners, they seemed in no mood to bolt about it.

7-14-48

But the old New Dealers saw in this situation an opportunity to offset a little the humiliations they had suffered on account of their abortive booms for Gen. Eisenhower and Supreme Court Justice Douglas.

Sparked by Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis, the New Dealers offered a resolution spelling out the racial equality program in detail and commending President Truman by name for his support of it.

This provision was adopted, 651½ to 582½, after the convention had voted down, 925 to 309, a Southern proposal to reaffirm the Democratic Party's traditional position that "the power to regulate and control local affairs and act in the exercise of the police power" is reserved for the individual States.

The effect of this action on the States already threatening to bolt was indicated when Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas withdrew his candidacy for President on the ground that he could not run on the Party platform.

And while indications at present are that Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee will not bolt formally, the damage in them to President Truman on account of the civil rights plank may be even greater.

The prospect that Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee will go Republican, regarded heretofore as no more than a distant possibility, approaches the realm of probability in the light of this Democratic national action.

7-16-48

It is known, for example, that the only reason Gov. Tuck and Sen. Byrd, leaders of the Virginia Democratic machine, are less inclined now to take their electoral votes away from President Truman than they were earlier, is the pressure they are receiving from all Democratic candidates for offices in their State. Democratic nominees for Congress and other offices in Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee are frankly scared to death today for fear they will be carried down in a Truman-Barkley debacle.

Democrats See Bitter Platform Floor Fight

The Record

Columbia, S. C.

Sharp Southern Opposition Heard On Civil Rights Plank

Tues. 7-13-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 13—(AP)—Sharp Southern opposition to a tentatively-approved civil rights plank today darkened hopes of Democratic party leaders of averting a bitter convention floor battle on this issue.

Dixie leaders let it be known that the plank, described as a "strong" statement on the race issue, was "entirely unsatisfactory to the South."

This opposition was expressed as an 18-member subcommittee prepared to lay its proposed version of the 1948 platform before the full 108-member platform committee. The big group must approve it before it can be laid before the convention.

Southern members of the full committee declared that unless

rms to the new state of Israel; immediate and full recognition of its territorial integrity; economic aid to Israel and the internationalization of Jerusalem. The Record

Housing — Federal encouragements for homebuilding, and government construction of low cost housing and slums clearance.

Education—Federal financial aid to schools. Columbia S.C.

Agriculture — Continuation of farm price supports .

Taxes—A sharp condemnation of the Republican party for "lowering taxes on the rich and putting the burden on the poor." Tues.

Displaced persons — A demand that 400,000 European war refugees be allowed to enter this country rather than the 200,000-odd provided for in the present law. That law is described as "un-American" because of "race and religious discriminations." 7-13-48

Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York, member of the platform group, said the platform drafters "snapped their fingers" at the state department and "gave them a shellacking" in the Palestine plank.

Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, telling reporters "I hope there will be no convention floor fight on the platform," added: "I don't think there will be."

Celler, too, was optimistic, saying the preliminary draft was born "in a spirit of compromise — give and take."

Humphrey and Celler led a "rump" meeting of "liberal" platform committee members who decided on Sunday to fight on the floor if they failed to obtain a strong civil rights plank.

What southerners will do is another matter. Some said a fight appears inevitable. The drafting committee, meeting behind closed doors, battled for three hours on the race plank alone, before it reached the compromise.

One committee member said the race declaration favors "full opportunity for all persons alike to live,

changes are made to suit them, they will carry their fight to the full convention, probably tomorrow.

Omits Dixie Demand

Phrased only in general terms, the civil rights plank was reported to omit the far-reaching states' rights' declaration that angry Dixie delegates had demanded. 7-13-48

Some of the drafters voiced confidence that compromise will avert any floor right when the platform goes before the National convention tomorrow for ratification. Others, however, were not so sure.

One said the race plank was adopted despite White House pressure for "much more" on civil rights. President Truman was in frequent touch with the platform writers throughout their long toil. They put the last words to the semi- final document at 4 a. m. today.

The second preliminary draft was stamped "secret" just as was the first and somewhat different version proposed by a smaller committee 24 hours earlier. The Record

Nevertheless, reports leaked out that, in addition to the race and labor planks, it proposes on:

Living costs—A broad attack on inflation including standby price and rationing controls, as requested by Mr. Truman last fall. 7-13-48

Foreign affairs—A strong plank for continued and strengthened international cooperation for world peace. Columbia S.C.

PLATFORM IDEAS SENT BY TRUMAN

The Times-Picayune

New Orleans, La.

'Gesture of Conciliation' Toward Dixie Hinted

Sun. 7-11-48

(The Associated Press)

Philadelphia, July 10.—A person close to President Truman said today the White House has suggested some Democratic platform language including what might be regarded as "a gesture of conciliation" toward the South.

A convention floor fight threatens over a civil rights plank.

The word that Mr. Truman has offered some ideas came after Sen. Myers, Penn., platform chairman, was asked directly at a news conference whether the president has forwarded platform proposals. He replied:

"I have had the cabinet send me memoranda—not planks. I am not sure whether this was cleared through the White House."

The exact nature of a presidential conciliation move, if such it turns out to be, was kept secret.

Floor Fight Possible

Democratic Chairman J. Howard McGrath conceded the possibility of a civil rights fight on the convention floor. Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey, Jr., Minneapolis, a platform committee member, threatened to raise such a battle unless the party's document of principles includes the basic points of Mr. Truman's civil rights program.

McGrath indicated a conciliation move. The Times-Picayune

He told reporters he hopes the platform adopts the 1944 civil rights plank that recognized that "racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our constitution."

Moreover, McGrath said he would not be adverse to including in the platform a states' right plank proposed by Southerners, so long as it does not "nullify" the civil rights proposals.

If he gets a copy of the proposed platform in time, McGrath said, he probably will discuss it with Mr. Truman.

Mr. Truman's civil rights recommendations to Congress for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, anti-discrimination—resulted in a Dixie rebellion within the party early this year. New Orleans, La.

Some Southerners voiced a willingness to compromise the sizzling civil rights controversy by repeating the general statement of the 1944 platform and then inserting a states' right plank opposing federal interference in state affairs.

Mayor Humphrey said there is a majority in the 18-member platform subcommittee for a strong civil rights plank. The 1944 plank is unsatisfactory, he said.

"But," he declared, "if we fail in the committee, we will take the fight to the convention floor. I don't want the party to hide behind the shadow of states' rights when we should be out fighting for human rights."

There were strong indications in some quarters, however, that an effort may be made to write the platform in such a way as to bring harmony in the South—with Mr. Truman as the 1948 party standard bearer. Sun.

'South Always Backbone'

William Ritchie, platform member from Nebraska, told reporters: 7-11-48

"The South has always been the backbone of the Democratic party, in electoral votes and contributions. Why should we insult our best friends? Of course the South should be taken into consideration in the platform. Their problems will be given consideration."

The race issue overshadowed all other considerations. Probably the second biggest headache for the platform writers is the labor plank.

Organized labor has called upon the party to stand for repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor act. President Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill, but it was passed over his veto with a majority of Democrats in Congress voting with the Republicans.

Some committeemen said the labor plank, without calling for repeal, stands for "study and corrections of any inequities" in the Taft-Hartley measure. Some labor leaders declared the Republican platform "unacceptable" when it did not call for repeal. Sun.

Platform writers are preparing to blast the GOP for "wrecking" a trade pact designed to assure wheat farmers a big market abroad. They say this will be a big blow to the farmers in view of possible agricultural surpluses.

A tentatively-approved farm plank charges the Republican Congress with tossing away an assured annual overseas market for at least 185,000,000 bushels of the bread grain during the next five years. 7-11-48

OUTRIGHT O.K. ON CIVIL RIGHTS PLAN DEMANDED

Daily Tribune

Chicago, Ill.

Negro Groups Indorse Truman Program

Philadelphia, July 8 (AP)-Outright indorsement of President Truman's civil rights program was demanded at Democratic platform hearings today.

More than a score of Negro organizations called for a plank embodying Mr. Truman's program, including anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, and fair employment (FEPC) legislation. One organization, the National Negro council, asked the platform writers to indorse an immediate call of the 80th congress into special session to enact civil rights legislation.

CIO Rips Platform

Before flare-up of the race issue which has split the Democratic party, the Congress of Industrial Organizations called for adoption of a "Roosevelt platform" and denounced the Republican platform as "one of deceit."

James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer, also asked for civil rights, demanded repeal of the Taft-Hartley act and extension of New Deal social laws. Responding to a platform committee member's question, Carey stated: "There is nothing in the Republican platform that attracts the interest of labor."

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, submitted a statement on behalf of 21 Negro organizations, declaring:

"The day of reckoning has come when the Democratic party must decide whether it is going to permit bigots to dictate its philosophy and policy or whether the party can rise to the heights of Americanism which alone can justify its continued existence."

An organization identifying itself as the civil rights congress demanded that the convention refuse to seat delegates "who are elected by poll tax vote or who are members or supporters of the Ku Klux Klan." Daily Tribune

Dixie Members Silent

Dixie members of the platform committee in a switch of strategy decided to remain silent at least for the time being while the civil rights witnesses presented their statements. Fri. 7-9-48

Sen. Hoey (D., N.C.), a committee member, told reporters that southerners would not question the witnesses of the race issue, saying, "We will let them go ahead and make their statements as no good can be accomplished by stirring up the issue. Chicago, Ill.

White told the platform writers that the 1944 Democratic platform general statement on civil rights would not be satisfactory in 1948.

"Forces of reaction and bigotry," he said, "are demanding that this convention evade this issue of human rights and express no stronger sentiment for civil rights than the platform plank adopted by the 1944 Democratic national convention."

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, a member of President Truman's civil rights commission and also speaking for the 21 Negro organizations, quoted the late Wendell L. Willkie as saying that the Constitution nowhere makes provision for first and second class citizens.

Negroes, he said, are responsible to their government as are any other citizens.

"There is no such thing as black taxes or white taxes," he told the committee, "or is there such a thing as blue taxes, except as people get blue when they must pay taxes." 7-9-48

Tobias said that segregation in the military services now is an uppermost issue since a new draft has been ordered, and he asked, "Are Negroes expected to look on with indifference when they are singled out as are no other citizens in the service of their country?"

White's statement reminded the Democratic party that Negroes hold the balance of voting power in many congressional districts and in some northern states. He said: 7-9-48

"The Negro vote in 12 of these states with a total of 228 electoral college votes exceeds the margin necessary to alter the states' votes in the electoral college.

"These states are Ohio, Indiana, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and Kentucky."

Text of Civil Rights Plank As Finally Adopted by Dem

Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 7-24-48

PHILADELPHIA — (ANP) — Text of the revised plank on civil rights as amended on the floor of the convention reads:

"The Democratic party is responsible for the great civil rights gains made in recent years in eliminating unfair and illegal discrimination based on race, creed or color.

"The Democratic party commits itself to continuing its efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination.

"We again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the constitution.

"We highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights.

"We call upon the Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental rights: 1. The right of full and equal political participation, 2. the right to equal opportunity of employment, 3. the right of security of person, 4. and right of equal treatment in service and defense of our tion."

Courier

ILA Legal Counsel, Anti-Truman Leader

PHILADELPHIA —Spokesman for the Louisiana delegation to the Democratic Convention here last week was Hugh Wilkinson, prominent New Orleans attorney and legal representative for Local 1419, of the International Longshoremen's Association with 3,400 members, all Negroes.

Speaking for the Louisiana delegation, which opposed the adoption of a Civil Rights plank in the Democratic party platform, Mr. Wilkinson seconded the nomination of U. S. Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, whom he described as "a Great Southerner" and offered him the twenty-four votes of this State.

Liberals Win Stiffer Rights, Israel Planks

Washington Post
Washington, D.C.

Wed. 7-14-48

Southerners Shoved Into Line by Threat Of Tidelands Slap

(34)

By Robert C. Albright
Post Reporter

Philadelphia, July 13.—Administration leaders fought desperately tonight to hold the Democratic Party together on a liberalized 4500-word platform vigorously opposed by the South and not quite acceptable to the party's left wing.

Early tonight both factions were blowing off steam in the first full meeting of 108-member Democratic resolutions committee.

The platform row, packing the last bit of fight in this convention, appeared likely to go to the floor tomorrow in any event.

The best leaders can hope for is a "token" debate in the open, with the talk held down to an hour, and no platform changes at the end.

Wed. 7-14-48

To avoid a minority report, that could split the party even wider than it is, the Administration last night and early today frankly entered into a number of trades with the two extreme party wings.

Civil rights and Israel planks were tightened to placate the liberals. Threats of a strong Federal tidelands plank were used as a club to shoo Texas and other Southern rebels back into line.

After three all-night subcommittee sessions in 72 hours, the full Democratic resolutions committee met in the heavily guarded Rose Garden room on the roof of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel at 3 p. m., with no quitting hour set.

By dinner time the group had approved a plank for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and adopted strengthening changes in the Israel plank. Then escape valves were thrown wide open for the civil rights blowoff.

Some of the planks in the lengthy blueprint laid before the full committee:

7-14-48

A stiffened civil rights stand, adding the "right to work" on a basis of equality with all citizens to an extension of the party's 1944 civil rights stand. That is one way of declaring for FEPC.

An Israel plank, providing full as against de facto recognition of the new Jewish state, and lifting of the Palestine arms embargo. This was further strengthene', despite State Department objections, by a pledge to work for modification of

equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution."

The plank further called on Congress to exercise its full authority under the Constitution "to assure and protect these rights."

Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis led the fight to further strengthen the plank. He was instructed by the Minnesota delegation today to demand inclusion of this additional language:

"To secure these rights we pledge ourselves to support Federal action to guarantee to all Americans:

1. Personal safety from the brutal crime of lynching and mob violence.

2. Equal opportunity in employment.

3. Full and free political participation.

4. Equal treatment in the armed forces.

Significantly, however, both factions hedged all over the lot when the talk got around to a minority report.

7-14-48

As the last round opened in the resolutions committee the civil rights plank read as follows:

"The Democratic Party is responsible for the great civil rights gains made in recent years in eliminating unfair and illegal discrimination based on race, creed or color.

"The Democratic Party commits itself to continuing its efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination.

Full Equalty Demanded

"We again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and

any United Nations resolution aimed at limting embargo revision.

A minimum wage of "at least" 75 cents an hour.

A foreign policy projection of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, and noncrippling extension of reciprocal trade agreements.

Civilian, nonpartisan control of atomic energy.

Comprehensive public housing legislation, including public housing and slum clearance.

Nondiscriminatory entry of more European refugees.

Federal aid to education.

Southerners Roll Up Sleeves

Licked, 10 to 4, on a subcommittee State's rights showdown, and unable to block addition of somewhat more specific civil rights language, Southerners entered the full committee with their sleeves rolled for a fight.

Liberal wingers expressed equal dissatisfaction with the plank, announced a fight to make it stronger.

Racial Program Softened

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

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Dixie To Continue Battle on Floor Of Convention Today

Wed. 7-14-48

By MAX HALL

PHILADELPHIA, July 14—(Wednesday) —(AP)— The Democratic Platform Committee early today approved a party platform without any declaration of states' rights, and Southern delegates promptly said they will fight to change it in the Convention later today.

Sen. Francis J. Myers, of Pennsylvania, the Committee Chairman, told reporters several minority reports have been filed on civil rights and states' rights. One is by former Rep. Biemiller, of Wisconsin, who doesn't think the civil rights plank is strong enough.

Cecil Sims and Mrs. Albert Hill, both of Nashville, Tenn., filed one of the minority reports on states' rights and told reporters "we will definitely take the matter to the Convention floor."

Dan Moody, former Governor of Texas, who filed another minority report on the same subject, refused to say whether he would wage a floor debate.

Wed

The Democratic platform pledges the Party to "chart our future course as we chartered our course under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman."

7-14-48

It calls for:

Civil Rights—The Party commits itself to "continuing its efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination." The Platform Committee rejected amendments proposing to spell out approval of President Truman's own or control the oil resources of the coastal tidelands.

The Party's Platform Committee voted down the various amendments supporting the idea that the States, rather than the Federal Government, should have authority over domestic affairs.

Wed

On the other hand, the Committee by an overwhelming thunder of "Noes" defeated a Northern attempt, by Mayor Hubert Humphrey, of Minneapolis, to have the platform pledge Federal action guaranteeing to all Americans:

(1) Safety from lynching, (2) equal job opportunity, (3) full political participation, and (4) equal treatment in the armed forces.

Some of those points were similar to President Truman's Civil Rights program of February, which started an historic howl from Dixie Democrats.

7-14-48

The Truman program called for Federal laws against lynching, poll taxes, and discrimination in hiring.

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Democrats Hot On Race Issue

Columbia Record

Negro Organizations Demand Civil Rights In Platform

Columbia S.C.

PHILADELPHIA, July 8—(AP)—The race issue, which has split the Democratic party, hit the party's platform writers like a thunderclap today. Thu. 7-8-48

More than a score of Negro organizations demanded a plank embodying President Truman's civil right sprogram, including Anti-Lynch, Anti-Poll Tax and Fair Employment (FEPC) legislation. One organization, the National Negro Council, asked the platform writers to endorse an immediate call of the 80th Congress into special session to enact civil rights legislation.

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, submitted a statement on behalf of 21 Negro organizations, declaring.

Day Of Reckoning Here

"The day of reckoning has come when the Democratic party must decide whether it is going to permit bigots to dictate its philosophy and policy or whether the party can rise to the heights of Americanism which alone can justify its continued existence."

White's statement concluded:

"We, therefore, urge and insist that the platform of the 1948 Democratic convention endorse without equivocation the entire program of the President's committee on civil rights and especially those provisions to suppress lynching and mob violence, to ban the poll tax as a voting requirement, to afford equality of a job opportunity and to abolish discrimination and segregation in the armed services, education and transportation.

"Addition, we urge that the platform pledge the full weight of the Democratic party to the amendment of the Senate rules to envoke cloture by a majority vote in order that filibusters which have disgraced America far too long, may be stopped in the United States Senate." 7-8-48

An organization identifying itself as the civil rights Congress demanded that the convention refuse to seat delegates "who are elected by poll-tax vote or who are members or supporters of the Ku Klux Klan."

The Negro and civil rights organizations distributed copies of their statments to the press prior to their appearance before the platform committee.

Remain Silent

Dixie members of the platform committee in a switch of strategy decided to remain silent at least for the time being while the civil rights witnesses presented their statements.

Senator Hoey (D-N.C.), a committee member, told reporters that Southerners would not question the witnesses of the race issue, saying "we will let them go ahead and make their statements as no good can be accomplished by stirring up the issue."

White told the platform writers that the 1944 Democratic platform general statement on civil rights would not be satisfactory in 1948.

Doctor Channing H. Tobias, a member of President Truman's civil rights commission and also speaking for the 21 Negro organizations, said that segregation in the armed services is an uppermost issue since a new draft has been ordered. He asked "are Negros expected to look on with indifference when they are singled out, as are no other citizens, in the service of their country?"

Walter White's statement reminded the Democratic party that Negroes hold the balance of voting power in many Congressional districts and in some northern states. He said: Columbia S.C.

"The Negro vote in 12 of these states with a total of 228 electoral college votes exceeds the margin necessary to alter the state's votes in the electoral college.

"These states are Ohio, Indiana, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia and Kentucky."

He said that in northern and border states this year there is a potential of 3,000,000 Negro votes and that increasing Negro votes in the South ultimately will mean "a replacement of the Congressional representation by men and women more representative of all the people of the South."

The Democratic party, with Dixie crying loud in protest, was split apart when Mr. Truman submitted his civil rights program to Congress earlier this year.

Even as the civil rights backers clamored for attentión, the CIO, too, was demanding support in the party platform. 7-8-48

The labor organization came forward with a hard-pounding demand for a "Roosevelt platform." CIO secretary James B. Carey, a little man with a mop of curly hair, urged in his deep voice that the Democrats peldge:

Negroes as members of local clubs and the state party solely because of race and color and from denying Brown the right to full and complete participation in the party, from requiring Negro voter to present a general election registration certificates as a prerequisite to voting in the Aug. 10th primary and from requiring Negro electors to take the voters oath now required.

Brown also seeks judgment for $5,000. 7-8-48

By UNITED PRESS

Brown was one of the Negroes who was purged from Beaufort county party enrolment books last week under a state rule forbidding Negroes joining the party.

Judge Waring set the hearing for 10 a. m. July 16 here. Baskin, chairmen of counties where Negroes cannot enroll, and other party leaders were ordered to appear.

Brown's suit, which asked for $5,000 damages, asked that a permanent injunction be issued restraining the South Carolina Democratic party "forever" from refusing Negroes "effective exercise of their right to vote."

The plaintiff asked for full and complete participation in the Democratic party of the state, without regard for creed or color. And he asked the outlawing of present rules requiring Negroes to show general election registration certificates and take on oath supporting racial segregation before they can vote in primaries.

Attorneys for Brown termed the banning of Negroes from party membership violation of the United States constitution.

"Unless redress is obtained from this court," the suit said, "the defendants, while acting in concert, will continue to deprive plaintiffs and others . . . of the effective exercise of their right to vote."

New York Times

CIVIL RIGHTS AT PHILADELPHIA

The eighteen-member subcommittee now preparing the first draft of the Democratic platform at Philadelphia plans to hear arguments today on the question of what to do about a plank on civil rights. Mayor Humphrey of Minneapolis leads a group that would like a strong and unequivocal declaration. This, however, seems likely to meet with opposition from the South. A suggested compromise is that the party merely reaffirm its 1944 position on this subject.

The 1944 platform led off with a good, vigorous statement:

> We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution.

Thu. 7-8-48

No one could ask for more. But to this first sentence was added a second one, which declared: "Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights." While this second sentence doubtless seemed to many voters in 1944 to promise prompt Congressional action to achieve the purposes above stated, there was a catch in it, and the catch lay in the phrase "full constitutional powers." For whenever the President or an appropriate committee of the House or Senate proposed the enactment of an anti-poll-tax bill, or an anti-lynching bill, or a fair-employment bill, it was at once contended by Southern opponents of such measures that anything of this kind would go beyond the "full constitutional powers" of Congress and that the party, therefore, had not pledged itself to such a course of action.

It remains to be seen whether the Democratic party can now resolve its internal disagreements on this question. But certainly, in the light of Congressional history since 1944, a mere reiteration of the 1944 plank on civil rights would represent precisely the same kind of straddle to which the Republican party (because of its own internal disagreements on the tariff question) resorted in its plank on reciprocal trade agreements.

SHARP FLOOR TESTS DUE ON PLATFORM

The Times
New York, N.Y.
Mon. 7-12-48

'Rump' Meeting of Northern Bloc Demands a Full Rights Plank Despite South's Stand

By C. P. TRUSSELL
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, July 11—The first and secret draft of the 1948 Democratic party platform neared completion late tonight, but even before its final plank was written it was headed toward assault by both Northern liberals and Southern conservatives. Both of these camps charted plans and strategy for carrying their battles to the convention floor. 7-12-48

In the face of this situation the preliminary drafting body of seven picked members sought for harmany to start the document on its road through two other platform groups and, at last, through the convention. It was known that President Truman, as prospective nominee, wanted a display of unity in the drafting of the party's pledges. It appeared that he would not get it except, perhaps, in purely surface display.

"Rump" moments sparng up, one for insistence upon a "liberal" platform that would throw more salt in Southern Democratic wounds; another to resist and force a convention voting showdown. All hope of sending the platform through without floor battles appeared to have disappeared.

Drastic Tactics Reported

The platform became the last stand of the South. Drastic tactics were reportedly under way. A proposed compromise on the civil-rights question through a repeating of the 1944 platform plank on this issue faded into battle plans, it was said.

In the eyes of Southern Democrats, the 1944 plank, written in such general terms as to create demands for specifications, became the "foundation," because of its wide generalizations.. These were regarded as an aid to the Truman civil-rights program which set off the South's revolt. The Times

To prevent adoption of the 1944 plank, it was reported, Southerners were prepared to go to the extreme of attempting to shut off further Federal aid to states. N.Y.

If the platform submitted to the convention contained the 1944 clause, it was said, an amendment would be offered from the floor. This amendment would demand a pledge for preservation of states' rights to manage the states' internal affairs. The requirement would be so strict and rigid that Congress could construe it only as barring Federal intervention even with aid funds. Mon.

It was not, as this plan was explained, that such a program likely would be accepted by the convention. But, it was held, a floor contest on the states' rights issues probably would create so much fright among numerous states as to draw aid to the South in seeking a more moderate compromise. 7-12-48

Northerners Map Program

Northern Liberals, headed by Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey Jr., of Minneapolis, and Representative Emanuel Celler, of New York, adopted a similar tactic. Planning on the premise that a party platform was as open to amendment as was a legislative bill in Congress, they moved to carry their fight over civil rights and other planks to the amendment stage if they deemed it necessary.

This group demanded that at least the four "essentials" of the civil-rights program—anti-poll taxes, anti-lynching, nonsegregation of races in the armed forces, and a Fair Employment Practices Commission—be spelled out in the platform. Anything short of this, they said, meant a fight.

At the same time another group, outside the convention except as to members who were delegates.

served notice that it would move for a floor contest if the civil-rights plank did not satisfy. This group was Americans for Democratic Action, headed by Leon Henderso, former OPA administrator.

The convention group for which Mayor Humphrey and Mr. Celler were spokesmen expected little if any fault with the labor plank, which the seven-member drafting group completed today. It was reported in key quarters to call for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. 7-12-48

The liberals also expected no cause to revolt concerning the planks dealing with reductions of living costs, inflation curbs, housing and veterans' affairs. Man.

Israel Plank Is Drafted

These planks were said by Senator Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania, draft group chairman, to have been completed without major contest. Also, he said, the plank concerning Israel had been drafted tentatively and was believed to be free from controversy.

Representative Celler, however, put this plank on the list of possibilities for challenge by the liberal group.

The platform workers were doing their choosing of words and phrases with an apparently clear understanding of President Truman's views on the various paramount issues confronting them. These views had been given personably to Senator Myers by Clark Clifford, the President's counsel, at a conference at the Drake Hotel here shortly before the drafting group resumed today after having worked until 2:30 o'clock this morning. Man.

Mr. Clifford and Senator Myers went over the White House "platform" for more than an hour. Much of the discussion concerned the civil-rights program, and, it was understood, the President was represented as being convinced that he could not run on a weak civil-rights plank. There was no indication, in reports concerning this meeting, however, that the White House had pressed for a specific pltform presentation of the President's entire civil-rights program, point by point. 7-12-48

It appeared, regardless, that demand for a specific presentation of the Truman program would be made by the convention liberal group directly, or by Americans for Democratic Action through delegates in its camp.

Demand for Taft Act Ban

The Times

The A. D. A. claimed to have one hundred twenty-two convention delegates from twenty-three states in its ranks. These delegates, the A. D. A. said, were prepared to wage floor fights if the platform taken before the convention were not "satisfactory" as to these factors: New York N.Y.

An A. D. A. call for a platform statement covering the whole civil-rights program.

Demand for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. A pledge for substantial amendment of that law would not be viewed as "satisfactory." Man.

Strong aid to Israel, including financial aid and lifting of the the arms embargo. 7-12-48

Endorsements of extension of the Tennessee Valley Authority and plans for similar authorities in the Missouri and Columbia River valleys.

Senator Meyers, as a careful spokesman for the drafting group, told reporters late today that the platform "will follow generally the New Deal policies" and would be "much more specific on many issues" than was the recently-approved Republican party platform. But he would give no details as to any plank, except to disclose that the one containing the biggest controversy, civil rights, had been shunted aside to become the final drafting effort.

"Rump" Movements Assailed

The Times

Senator Myers showed sharp disapproval as he learned of the organization of "rump" movements within his own drafting body.

"My voting record in Congress is just as liberal as Celler's," he snapped. "There's no need for 'rump' movements." N.Y.

Senator Myers said the first drafting committee of seven members hoped to complete their work "some time during the night," and that the tentative draft would be typed up for presentation as early as possible to the eighten-member committee, also headed by him, from which the smaller group was drawn. Man. 7-12-48

He expressed hope that the eighteen-member committee could complete revisions and approve the draft tomorrow, and forward the document to the full platform committee tomorrow night.

Daily Worker

URGE CIVIL RIGHTS PLANK IN DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM — PHILADELPHIA — Urging adoption of recommendations by the President's Civil Rights Committee were (Left to right) William C. Jasper, Jr., Welfare Director of the National Alliance of Postal Employees; Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; George L. P. Weaver, CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination; Theodore Spaulding, National Bar Association. Mr. White spoke before the Democratic Platform Committee. (Keystone Picture)

7-14-48

Chester Pa

7-14-48

Regularity Vital in South

Fear of Consequences Seen Barring a 'Bolt' By Many Delegations Despite 'Rights' Action

PHILADELPHIA, July 13 — There was early this morning one sentence in the "civil rights" plank in the Democratic platform which, if it stands unmodified in the darft adopted by the Convention, will definitely repudiate the position of most of the Southern states delegates as assumed by their representatives in Congress. The sentence calls on Congress for legislative action in this field, and the contention of the South and many constitutional authorities elsewhere is that such legislation is specifically reserved to the states.

Therefore, though the sentence may be accompanied in the final draft by a reassertion of "states' rights," and an acknowledgment that there are "constitutional limits" to what laws Congress may pass, its effect is that Congress may legislate further in the civil rights area. Since the South denies this, its delegations will be brought to the brink of decision (a) whether to walk out of the convention or (b) whether to remain, oppose the plank, be defeated and stay regular.

As written originally by the subcommittee and phrased by the Administration this sentence was: "We again call on Congress to exercise full authority to the limits of its Constitutional powers to protect these "civil rights." No modifying sentences can change the basic implication in this that Congress, as the President told it on Feb. 2, 1948, constitutionally can and should pass his ten-item civil rights program.

Therefore, walkouts by two or three Southern delegations are confidently expected. But the delegations of Florida, Georgia, Virginia, Texas, North Carolina, Louisiana and Tennessee are as confidently expected to remain in the convention, whatever the final form of the civil rights plank may be. The explanation of this is that, faced with the dread alternative of a bolt, the leaders of the Democratic organizations in these states do not venture to choose it.

Whit Lash of "Regularity"

Even the "half bolt," which was sponsored by Alabama Democrats at the primaries and by Virginia Democrats in the Legislature, is frightening most of its Southern proponents. This is the device whereby, after a state delegation walks out of the convention to avoid participation in the choice of the nominees (which morally binds the party in that state to support them), an independent party ticket is nominated in the state and the electors cast their votes for it instead of for the nominees of the national convention.

Alabama's future Democratic electors are legally pledged to do this. And there are prospects ranging from possible to certain that those of Mississippi, South Carolina and Arkansas will follow suit. But the whip of "regularity" has been lashing self-inflicted blows on the other Southern delegations ever since they arrived here.

Its bitter lash was turned on the Mississippi delegation today in the credentials committee. But by a narrow vote it was decided that no convention rule would justify excluding this group, chosen with complete legality, because it has openly announced it will walk out. If the committee had denied the Mississippi credentials on this ground, or if the convention shall deny them, the influence of the "regularity" argument would lose its force in Southern delegations now accepting it, and in the north and west also. For if a delegation can be rejected on any ground without the existence of a rule to other than improper credentials, authorize such action, then the whip of regularity would lose its lash.

Truman Not Swinging Whip

President Truman is not swinging the whip. It is not his to swing. It comes from long tradition and experience of party politicians, especially in the South where a bolt for generations has carried the stigma of a moral offense, punishable and most often punished by exile from future political position and influence. Questions of principles as to platform and nominee, such as definitely trouble the Southern Democrats this year, generally succumb to the tradition of being "regular."

In the night-long caucus of the Texas delegation that was especially obvious. Overwhelmingly these delegates oppose the President's civil rights program and the legal concept that Congress has any constitutional right to deal with it. They do not want Mr. Truman nominated. They want to give proof of this by voting for some other Democrat on the first ballot. But, above all, the Texans here want to be certain that Democrats at home, many of them ambitious for offices now held by members of the delegation, shall have no basis for the charge that in anything done here was the slightest acceptance of the right to bolt.

This is why the Texans battled over whether a vote on the first ballot for Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas would be an encouragement of bolting because the Governor announced to them that, while he would not support a Republican, he would not vote for Mr. Truman. Even those who urged a token vote for Governor Laney declined to admit what he said means actually that he will not support the ticket of the National Convention.

To onlookers, thinking of the Texas of romantic and heroic story, it did not seem that these quibbling men and women came from the Lone Star state at all. So much does Democratic party regularity mean in the South, as the ultimate action on the platform, and the degree of southern acceptance, if the call for Congressional or other Federal actionis not excised will make abundantly clear.

Dixie Demands Hands-off Plan On Civil Rights

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Sparks Tells Drafters Such A Stand May Draw South Back

Mon. 7-8-48

States' Rights, Too

But Bitter Battle Seen As Humphrey Issues Call For Direct Pledge

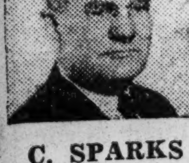
PHILADELPHIA— (AP) — Dixie Democrats marched into Philadelphia Wednesday demanding—as one possible price for recapture of party unity—a hands-off platform policy on Federal civil rights laws and a resounding party plank for states rights.

The race issue plopped before the Democratic platform writers shortly after they convened—five days ahead of the party convention—to begin the task of uniting warring factions on a single statement of party principles.

Chauncey Sparks, former Alabama governor, quickly threw out a hint that if the platform writers "are smart" they may bring some Southerners back into the fold.

Charles E. Shepperd, of Florida, another platform committee member, told reporters: "We want a states rights plank in no uncertain terms—with as little interference of the Federal Government into the internal affairs of the states, as possible."

Two other Dixie members of the platform writing group—Senator Clyde A. Hoey, of North Carolina, and former Governor Dan Moody, of Texas — had different ideas whether the South would accept the general language of the 1944 platform on the race issue.



C. SPARKS

Hoey said he thought so. Moody said he thought not. Sparks said he wanted to doctor that 1944 plank some.

Mon. 7-8-48

But it developed quickly that the Southerners will not have everything their own way—not, at least, without a fight.

Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minneapolis, a platform committee member, told reporters he is ready to battle for a direct pledge in the platform for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and Federal fair employment practices legislation. He said 50 prominent Democrats are supporting such a plank.

With loud wails from the South, the Democratic Party split wide open early this year when President Truman proposed such legislation to Congress.

To Be Consulted

U. S. Senator Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania, chairman of the platform committee, told reporters Mr. Truman undoubtedly will be consulted on the platform before it is presented to the convention. Myers did not venture to say what, if any, influence the President would have in framing the platform.

7-8-48

The 1944 Democratic platform did not mention civil rights legislation. It simply said:

"We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."

Sparks said he is ready to scrap or an amendment to strike out "Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights," and insert instead language reiterating "the basic democratic principle of states rights and local self government."

"That's the only thing that will mollify the South," the Alabaman declared, "if these boys (platform writers) are smart, they will do what the South says and they may get some of them back."

The race issue is expected to sizzle in the platform committee today when representatives of Negro groups come forward to present their arguments for a strong civil rights plank. The actual showdown will come when the platform writers meet Saturday behind closed doors to do the actual drafting of the party document of principles.

The civil rights issue first hit the committee Wednesday when Helen Hall, representing the National Federation of Settlements, told the group: "We urge that the recommendations of the President's civil rights commission be made a prime charge on unfinished business not only in the Congress, but in the party convention."

7-8-48

While the race squabble overshadowed all else, the committee heard a score of witnesses proposing various planks. And Mayor Humphrey, of Minneapolis, told his platform writing colleagues to avoid "the willy-nilly double talk" of the Republican platform and do something strong and positive to solve what he termed two of the nation's biggest problems—high living costs and housing.

Democrats Warned By Negroes on Bias

New York Star Thurs. 7-8-48

By ALEXANDER H. UHL
STAR Convention Bureau

PHILADELPHIA, July 7—Nothing less than President Truman's ten-point civil rights program will satisfy representatives of Negro groups now gathering in Philadelphia to appear before the Democratic platform committee, the STAR was informed tonight.

Talk of the possibility of a compromise plank designed to placate Southern Democrats on the most controversial platform issue before the convention, which will open formally on Monday, brought strong denials from liberal members of the committee.

They pointed to the fact that of the 19 members of the drafting committee appointed by Sen. J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, only five are Southerners.

Celler on Committee

The percentage of liberal Democrats is high, numbering such men as former Gov. Maurice Tobin of Massachusetts, Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey, Jr., of Minneapolis; Rep. Mike Mansfield of Montana; Rep. Emmanuel Celler of New York, and Sen. Theodore F. Green of Rhode Island.

Hearings on the civil rights plank will open tomorrow.

Three days of hearings in preparation for writing of the 1948 Democratic platform opened at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel this morning under the chairmanship of Sen. Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania.

The Democratic procedure is far different from that of the Republican resolutions committee which met in the same room only three weeks ago. The Republicans had more than 100 members on their committee and split into numerous subcommittees. The Democrats with their smaller committee are meeting as a unit. In addition, there has been far more play of arguments back and forth between witnesses and committee members than among the Republicans.

Domestic Stress

From the line of questioning today, it was clear that the Democratic committee was determined to bring in a platform that would stress domestic issues heavily, particularly the hight cost of living, lack of housing and social legislation. In each case questioning of witnesses by committee members revealed Democratic strategy as being directed against the failure of the Republican-controlled 80th Congress to deal adequately with these questions.

For instance, the witness for the National Association of Manufacturers, Morris Sayre of New York, got a long going-over by committee members who were sharply critical of the program presented by the NAM.

7-8-48

Both Mayor Humphrey and Rep. Celler told Sayre that it was all right to criticize "waste" in government, remarking that everyone was against sin, but wanted to know specifically where he would cut federal expenditures. Together with Chairman Myers and former Governor Tobin, they demanded to know what the NAM and American businessmen were doing about inflation.

Cites GOP Silence

"Here is the problem of inflation, the most important one facing the American people today," Sen. Myers said, "and the Republican platform doesn't even mention it."

Celler, in answer to Sayre's contention that wages had come up as much as prices, read statistics showing that during the past few years the cost of living had gone up 36 per cent, wages 11 per cent and profits 90 per cent.

Sayre insisted that profits were not unduly high and that the way to fight inflation was to cut the cost of government and taxes to increase production.

Brig. Gen. John Thomas Taylor, representing the American Legion, advocated universal military training and was sharply critical of congressional failure to keep up American security measures as he felt that they should be kept up.

Sees Progressive Result

Rep. Celler, at the end of today's hearings, told the *Star* that he was greatly pleased by the serious and liberal spirit in which the committee had got down to work.

"I feel," he predicted, "that a first-class progressive platform will come out of the committee and that it will be centered on human and social rights and needs."

There were, however, indications that all would not be too smooth sailing, particularly on the civil rights question, which has split the party wide open. Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks of Alabama, who is on the committee, said today that President Truman's only hope of regaining Southern support was to build the 1948 platform on a basis of "states' rights."

"That's the only thing that will mollify the South at all," he said, "and if these boys up here are wise, they'll give the South something."

CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE SNAGS PLATFORM

July 13-48

Southern Democrats Lay Down Gauge of Battle—Move Is On to Block Floor Fight

New York Times

By C. P. TRUSSELL
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, July 12—The special eighteen-member committee set up to approve the first draft of the 1948 Democratic party platform found itself locked in new conflict over civil rights and labor problems tonight.

It had received from a seven-member group drawn from its own force a complete platform, composed after two days and nights of almost continuous labors. Reaction immediately brought the document under assault on counts principally as follows:

The Civil Rights Plank was denounced by Southern Democrats as being unacceptable. It was declared by Northern Democrats to be too weak, so weak, in fact that a cue for battle was given. The Labor Plank called for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley law.

The Civil Rights Plank read as follows:

"The Democratic party and the Democratic administrations are solely responsible for the great gains in recent years made in the continuing effort to reduce and eliminate unfair and illegal discrimination based on race, creed or color.

"We have implemented our often-expressed belief that racial and religious minorities had the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and to share the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

"We again call on Congress to exercise full authority to the limits of its Constitutional powers to protect these rights."

This was a virtual rewriting of the compromised 1944 platform plank. While this had been accepted by Southern Democrats then, it was not put in that category as the South opened its drive for less. Recent controversy had put a new light on it. It had been pronounced by high-ranking Civil Rights proponents as "the foundation" on which President Truman had built his legislative program that set off the 1948 Southern revolt.

The "strong" states' rights clause, which Southerners had sought as an antidote to any Civil Rights plank was lacking in the draft under contest tonight. Instead, the states' rights guarantees were viewed as being only implied through the references to Congressional powers under the Constitution.

Northern liberals, on the other hand, had demanded that at least four of the most controversial points of President Truman's program be set out specifically in the platform. They included an outlawing of poll taxes in Federal elections, Federal anti-lynching legislation, a fair employment practices commission, and non-segregation of the races in the armed forces.

7-13-48

Floor Fight Threatened

Both sides talked again of taking the fight to the convention floor. There was afoot, however, a move within the liberal camp to head off any floor fight over the platform, unless the Southerners started one. It was being argued back stage that if the Southerners started such a fight, they could be voted down promptly and the platform could be rushed through to convention approval.

There remained, however, some belligerent liberals who insisted that the Civil Rights plank be made "stronger" and "put the issues on the line." The Republicans, they pointed out, had gone much further, had set out items of the President's program, though with different words and names, and yet the Democratic plank was implying that Republicans had done nothing in efforts for Civil Rights gains.

The plank on labor, with its declaration for repeal of the Taft-Hartley law caused great surprise and, at points concern, over wide convention areas. While it was recalled that President Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley legislation in June of 1947, it was recalled also that Congress overrode that veto with the aid of 106 Democratic members of the House and twenty Democratic Senators.

Virtually all of the House Democrats are running for re-election. The seats of ten of the twenty Democratic Senators who helped override the President's veto are in contest in the November elections. Seven of the ten are seeking re-election. Only one of the new Democratic nominees, Clinton Anderson, former Secretary of Agriculture, of New Mexico, has declared for repeal of the labor law. In Texas, all of the several prospective Democratic nominees oppose repeal. In North Carolina, former Gov. J. Melville Broughton, the nominee has not made his position clear. His defeated opponent, Senator William B. Umstead, was fought bitterly by labor for supporting the Taft-Hartley Act.

Senators from South

New York, N.Y.

The seven Senators standing for reelection are all from the South. McClellan of Arkansas, Russell of Georgia, Ellender of Louisiana, Eastland of Mississippi, Maybank of South Carolina, Stewart of Tennessee and Robertson of Virginia.

In the Senate test of the veto, the Democrats were almost evenly divided. As the twenty voted to override, twenty-two voted to sustain the President's action.

In the House a majority of the Democrats, who must stand for reelection every two years or leave that body, voted to override the President. Only 71 of 177 Democrats participating in the veto vote took the side of the White House.

Another controversy within the platform-drafting group focused on the plank covering pledges concerning the new State of Israel. It was being fought in some quarters on two grounds. One was that demand was made for de jure recogniation of the new state at once. The plank proposed that a permanent government be established first.

At another point a promise of unilateral action for lifting of the embargo was sought. The plank would await United Nations action.

The Israel plank reads as follows:

"1. President Truman by granting immediate recognition to Israel, led the world in extending friendliness and welcome to a people who have long sought and justly deserved freedom and independence.

"2. We look forward to extending full and prompt recognition to the permanent government of Israel as soon as it is established.

"3—We affirm our pride, too, that the United States, under the leadership of President Truman, played a leading role in adopting the resolution of Nov. 29, 1947 by the United Nations General Assembly for the creation of a Jewish state.

New York Times

"4—We approve the claims of the State of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations resolution of Nov. 29 and consider that modification thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the State of Israel.

"5—We look forward to the admission of the State of Israel to the United Nations and its full particiption in the international community of nations.

"6—We pledge appropriate aid to the State of Israel in developing its economy and resources.

"7—We recognize the right of the State of Israel to secure in the United States and elsewhere the arms and equipment necessary to defend itself, subject only to the decision of the United Nations. Subject thereto, we favor the lifting of the arms embargo to accord to the Satte of Israel the right to defend itself.

New York, N.Y.

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"8—We continue to support within the framework of the United Nations the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the Holy places of Palestine.

New York Times

The special eighteen-member group prepared to work through the night, if necessary, to obtain approval of the whole platform, as is was drafted originally or as revised, for presentation to the 108-member Convention Platform Committee tomorrow. Then it will be up to the parent body to accept, revise or reject. The 108-member body is the one which will make the final recommendations to the convention.

7-13-48

Atlanta Constitution

Democrats Assembling For Powwow Row

Atlanta Ga.

Thurs. 7-8-48

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PHILADELPHIA, July 7—(AP)—Dixie Democrats marched into Philadelphia today demanding—as one possible price for recapture of party unity—a hand-off platform policy on Federal civil rights laws and a resounding party plank for States rights.

The race issue plopped before the Democratic platform writers shortly after they convened—five days ahead of the party convention—to begin the task of uniting warring factions on a single statement of party principles.

Chauncey Sparks, former Alabama governor, quickly threw out a hint that if the platform writers "are smart" they may bring some Southerners back into the fold.

Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minneapolis, a Platform Committee member, told reporters he is ready to battle for a direct pledge in the platform for antilynch, anti-poll tax and Federal Fair Employment Practices legislation. He said 50 prominent Democrats are supporting such a plank.

U. S. Sen. Francis J. Myers, of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Platform Committee, told reporters Mr. Truman undoubtedly will be consulted on the platform before it is presented to the Convention. Myers did not venture to say what, if any, influence the President would have in framing the platform.

The 1944 Democratic platform did not mention Civil Rights legislation.

7-8-48

Sparks said he is ready to scrap for an amendment to strike out "Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights," and insert instead language reiterating "the basic Democratic principle of States rights and local self-government."

"That's the only thing that will mollify the South," the Alabaman declared. "If these boys (platform writers) are smart, they will do what the South says and they may get some of them back."

The race issue is expected to sizzle in the Platform Committee tomorrow, when representatives of Negro groups come forward to present their arguments for a strong Civil Rights plank. The actual showdown will come when the platform writers meet Saturday behind close doors to do the actual drafting of the party document of principles.

Courier — Journal

Southern Democrats Demand Strong States'-Rights Party Plank

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Thu. 7-8-48

Louisville Ky.

Fight Promised On Racial Issue

By the Associated Press.

Philadelphia, July 7.—Dixie Democrats marched into Philadelphia today demanding—as one possible price for recapture of party unity—a hands-off platform policy on federal civil-rights laws and a resounding party plank for States' rights.

The racial issue was dropped before the Democratic platform writers shortly after they convened—five days ahead of the party convention—to begin the task of uniting warring factions on a single statement of party principles.

Want Little Interference.

Chauncey Sparks, former Alabama Governor, quickly threw out a hint that if the platform writers "are smart" they may bring some Southerners back into the fold.

Charles E. Shepperd of Florida, another platform-committee member, told reporters, "We want a States'-rights plank in no uncertain terms—with as little interference of the Federal Government into the internal affairs of the States, as possible."

Two other Dixie members of the platform-writing group—Senator Clyde R. Hoey of North Carolina and former Governor Dan Moody of Texas—had different ideas whether the South would accept the general language of the 1944 platform on the race issue.

7-8-48

Humphrey Seeks Pledge.

Hoey said he thought so. Moody said he thought not. Sparks said he wanted to doctor that 1944 plank some.

But it developed quickly that the Southerners will not have everything their own way—not, at least, without a fight.

Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, a platform-committee member, told reporters he was ready to battle for a direct pledge in the platform for anti-lynch, anti-poll-tax, and federal-fair-employment-practices legislation. He said 50 prominent Democrats were supporting such a plank.

With loud wails from the South, the Democratic Party split wide open early this year when President Truman proposed such legislation to Congress.

U. S. Senator Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania, chairman of the platform committee, told reporters Truman undoubtedly would be consulted on the platform before it is presented to the convention. Myers did not venture to say what, if any, influence the President would have in framing the platform.

The 1944 Democratic platform did not mention civil-rights legislation. It simply said:

"We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."

Sparks said he was ready to fight for an amendment to strike out "Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights," and insert instead language reiterating "the basic democratic principle of States' rights and local self-government."

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Louisville Ky

Negro Group to Be Heard.

The racial issue is expected to sizzle in the platform committee tomorrow, when representatives of Negro groups come forward to present their arguments for a strong civil-rights plank.

The actual showdown will come when the platform writers meet Saturday behind closed doors to do the actual drafting of the party document of principles.

The civil-rights issue first hit the committee today when Helen Hall, representing the National Federation of Settlements, told the group, "We urge that the recommendations of the President's Civil Rights Commission be made a prime charge on unfinished business not only in the Congress, but in the party convention."

Mayor Humphrey told his platform-writing colleagues to avoid "the willy-nilly double talk" of the Republican platform and do something strong and positive to solve what he termed two of the nation's biggest problems—high living costs and housing.

7-8-48

Legion Urges U.M.T. Plank.

The American Legion urged the party to nail down a plank for universal military training.

The American Farm Bureau Federation asked the party to pledge a new governmental attack on the problem of skyrocketing prices.

The National Association of Manufacturers objected to peacetime Government controls, either direct or indirect, over "wages prices, production, distribution, or consumption."

Birmingham Age-Herald

Democratic Dilemma In '48 Recalls '60 Platform Battle

Tues. 7-6-48

BY MAX HALL

WASHINGTON, July 5—(AP)—The Democratic Party moved today into what promises to be one of the most hectic periods of its battle-scarred history.

This week a new fight, the battle of the 1948 platform, starts at Philadelphia. A resolutions committee begins work on the document Wednesday, five days before the national convention opens.

At the center of the platform fight will be the question of civil rights. Angry disagreement over that problem is one of the reasons for the current fast-moving drive to draft Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower as the party's candidate.

So it's an important fight and it shows every sign of being a fierce one.

7-6-48

The preliminary uproar over the platform's civil rights plank has been so furious that students of American history can't help thinking of the battle of the 1860 platform. Then, as now, most of the fury came from the South.

1860 Disastrous

The 1860 scrap was the Democrats' most disastrous one. The issue: Extension of slavery into new U. S. soil. Before it ended, the party had broken apart with a historic smash. This opened the way for the election of the first Republican president, Abraham Lincoln.

The 1860 convention met in Charleston, S. C. In that dark and ominous year the nation was divided into several points of view on slavery.

Northern abolitionists wanted to wipe it out wherever it existed.

Abraham Lincoln, an Illinois Republican, disagreed. He wanted only to keep slavery from spreading into new states and territories.

Stephen A. Douglas, an Illinois Democrat, took another view: Leave it up to the people in each new territory whether they got slavery or not.

But Southern Democrats demanded that slavery be permitted in all new areas. At Charleston, a majority of the resolutions committee brought forth a platform containing that view.

Birmingham Herald

Savage Debate Held

However, a savage debate was held on the convention floor—just as a convention debate over civil rights may be held at Philadelphia next week—and the majority report was beaten.

Instead, the convention went along with Douglas and adopted a platform which avoided any specific declaration on slavery.

This action caused the delegates from seven Southern states to walk out, and the convention adjourned in confusion.

(Some of the Southern delegates have threatened to walk out of the Philadelphia convention, too, but no such exodus as that of 1860 seems likely.)

The 1860 Democrats met again at Baltimore. Five more Southern states walked out. The delegations that remained nominated Douglas for president.

7-6-48

The delegation that bolted held their own convention at Richmond and nominated John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky.

This party crack-up handed the brand-new Republican Party the election on a platter after 60 years of almost unbroken Democratic rule.

Today there is no slavery issue and the Civil War of 1861-1865 is rumbling far back in the cool caverns of history.

But the civil rights fight is like the slavery issue in that it takes place in the emotional arena of race relations.

7-6-48

What's it all about?

Civil Rights Urged

President Truman sent a message to Congress last Feb. 2, urging "modern, comprehensive civil rights laws." He said, "We must correct the remaining imperfections in our practice of democracy."

Many Southern public men raised objections to that program. In fact, they raised the roof.

They accused the president of seeking only to please Northern Negro voters. They said such laws are unconstitutional, and violate the principle of states' rights.

Now they want to keep a civil rights program out of the 1948 platform. Many of them, wanting to keep Mr. Truman out of the White House, are helping push the fast-moving Eisenhower bandwagon.

What did Mr. Truman propose, that caused all the fuss? Here is the 10-point civil rights program he offered to Congress:

1. Create a permanent commission on civil rights, a joint congressional committee on civil rights, and a civil rights division in the Justice Department.
2. Strengthen the present laws which are designed to safeguard people's constitutional rights.
3. Enact a specific federal law against lynching.
4. Protect more adequately the right to vote; for example, pass a federal law saying people shall not be deprived of the vote in federal elections merely because they haven't paid poll taxes.
5. Enact a fair employment practice law, prohibiting discrimination by employers and unions on account of race, color, religion or national origin.
6. Prohibit racial segregation on interstate transportation facilities.
7. Give the District of Columbia home rule and the right to vote.
8. Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska; more self-government for island possessions.
9. Equalize the opportunities for various groups of residents to become naturalized citizens.
10. Settle evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans.

Dixie Democrats Are Called Bigots

Courier-Journal

Louisville Ky

Southerner Predicts Compromise On Racial Issue In Platform

Fri. 7-9-48

From Wire Dispatches.

Philadelphia, July 8.—Southern Democrats held their fire today as a Negro leader called them "bigots" and demanded that President Truman's civil-rights program be written into the 1948 Democratic platform.

The Southerners generally kept quiet. But one of them predicted that a compromise will be reached in the battle over racial issues which has started a small war within the Democratic Party.

Confident of Agreement.

U. S. Senator Clyde R. Hoey of North Carolina told a reporter:

"I am confident that we can reach an agreement on civil rights that will be satisfactory to President Truman and probably satisfactory to the South. We do not, however, expect to satisfy the extreme elements of either end."

Another Southerner, Senator Sparkman of Alabama, said a strong civil-rights plank in the party's platform might provoke a walkout of Southern delegates to next week's Democratic National Convention.

The party platform writers hoped, however, to avert a walkout.

Walter White, New York, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the Democratic platform-drafting committee:

"The Democratic Party has been too much dominated by those who have attained and held power through disfranchisement, lynching, and racial discrimination. The day of reckoning has come when the Democratic Party must decide whether it is going to permit bigots to dictate its philosophy. . ."

7-9-48

Predicts Switch By Negroes.

Guy R. Brewer of the National Partisan Committee for Civil Rights Legislation told the platform builders that "the Negro people will switch to a third party" if the Democrats "pussyfoot" on the civil-rights issue as he said the Republicans did.

The C.I.O. also urged that the Truman program be adopted—including laws to ban poll taxes, lynching, and racial discrimination in hiring. This is the program the Southern Democrat leaders don't like.

The C.I.O. asked the Democrats to adopt a "Roosevelt platform." And the C.I.O. spokesman, Secretary - Treasurer James B. Carey, rapped the 1948 Republican platform as "one of deceit, designed to fool the people." He said there is nothing in the G.O.P. platform that attracts the interest of labor.

Asks Repeal of Taft Law.

Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America (independent), also asked for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and proposed a lot of other planks. But unlike the C.I.O. he said nothing about lynching, poll taxes, and fair-employment practices.

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, a Negro religious leader from New York, appeared with White. They said they spoke for 21 national Negro organizations with 6,000,000 members.

The handful of Southerners on the committee said not a word. Senator Hoey told reporters today, "There is no use stirring up the issue. You can't convert a witness anyhow."

Dr. Tobias Quotes Willkie.

That decision doesn't mean there won't be a fight over the civil-rights plank. It merely means that the fight may not be exposed to the public gaze.

Courier-Journal

The drafting committee of 19 members will end its hearing tomorrow. It will spend Saturday and maybe Sunday writing a document.

Then, probably Monday, this document will go before the full resolutions committee. Tuesday the document will be offered to the convention. Whether there is an open struggle in the convention depends on what sort of compromises are reached in the committee sessions.

Dr. Tobias began his testimony by quoting a Republican, the late Wendell Willkie. The quotation:

"The Constitution of the United States nowhere makes provision for first- and second-class citizens."

Louisville, Ky.

White Attacks 1944 Plank.

The witness said the whole civil-rights issue is simple:

"Either Negro Americans are citizens of the United States or they are not. If they are, they are entitled to all the rights of citizenship. If they are not, it is only fair that the Government publish to the entire world that we have two classes of citizens."

And White said certain elements of the Democratic Party—"forces of reaction and bigotry"—are demanding that the convention adopt a civil-rights plank no stronger than the 1944 plank. White said the 1944 plank was an "evasion" of the issue and is "wholly unsatisfactory."

White said he wanted to remind the Democratic Party that there is not only a "potential" of 3,000,000 Negro votes in Northern and border states this year but also "every likelihood of an additional million Negro voters in the Southern states."

A number of other organizations urged a strong civil-rights pledge.

7-9-48

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Associated Press WIREPHOTO

HUBERT H. HUMPHRY, mayor of Minneapolis, addressing Democrats in Philadelphia, calls for strengthening the civil righes plank in the Democratic platform. He urged specific Federal laws against lynching and against voting restrictions.

Minneapolis Mayor Stars At Convention

Washington Post

Thu. 7-15-48

By J. R. Wiggins

Post Reporter

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Philadelphia, July 14.—"Humphrey was here!"

This succinct announcement, printed in black letters on white stickers, put in its appearance at the National Democratic Convention last Sunday.

It was plastered on the sides of hotel lobbies and on elevators and lamp posts.

Today it was plastered on the convention itself.

The civil rights planks of the party platform have stuck all over them the blunt declaration, "Humphrey was here."

The 37-year-old mayor of Minneapolis, Hubert H. Humphrey, jr., left his indelible mark on this gathering. It is a mark that makes him, overnight, one of the coming leaders of his party. He definitely is "on his way."

Due more to him than to any other one man the Democratic platform carries the resounding plank that commits the party to support the President in working for "(1) the right of full and equal political participation, (2) the right to equal opportunity of employment, (3) the right of security of person, (4) and the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our Nation."

Humphrey worked for that plank from the time he got here. He got half of his draft in the platform reported by the majority of the resolutions committee. Then, on Tuesday night, the Minnesota delegation instructed him to fight for the full plank with its four principles. Humphrey made his fight in committee and lost. Then he carried it to the floor. He made a ringing speech for it. That speech touched off a resounding demonstration. Thu. 7-15-48

Philadelphia, July 14 —The Democratic convention today called for suffrage for the people of the District.

The call was sounded when the convention adopted the hotly contested 1948 platform of the Democratic Party including this section:

"We favor the extension of the right of suffrage to the people of the District of Columbia."

The same plank was carried four years ago in the Democratic Party platform.

Republicans last month wrote into their 1948 platform a plank saying "we favor self-government for the residents of the Nation's Capital."

There was no floor fight today over the District plank. The plank was backed unanimously by the 12-member District delegation, and was sponsored in the platform drafting by Brig. Gen. Albert L. Cox, and Mrs. Ernest K. Lindley, District delegates.

Their work was warmly applauded by their colleagues by a formal resolution of appreciation adopted in a morning caucus of the District delegation.

Services of John Watttawa as chairman, and Mrs. Kathleen Louchheim as secretary were also applauded by similar resolutions of thanks.

Platform Draft Said To Oppose Labor Law

Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.

Tues. 7-13-48

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By the Associated Press.

Philadelphia, July 12.—A first draft of the 1948 Democratic platform today was reported to pledge repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. It also was said to contain a racial plank that doesn't promise any specific civil-rights laws.

Labor-union people at the Democratic convention were pleased at the widespread reports of the Taft-Hartley repeal pledge.

Neither Southerners nor Northerners seemed pleased with the civil-rights plank, which was said to be about as general as the plank of four years ago.

Chauncey Sparks, former Alabama Governor, was one of the first to comment on the reported civil-rights plank. "It don't suit," he declared.

All platform language so far is subject to many changes before the campaign document is complete. But word got around that the first draft, besides dealing with the labor law and civil rights, included:

1. Support for sending United States arms to Israel, "subject only to the decision of the United Nations."
2. An anti-inflation program which blames the Republicans for high prices.
3. A foreign-policy plank that reaffirms the European Recovery Program. 7-13-48
4. Federal aid to education.
5. A long-range housing program, including federally financed housing.

Convention delegates waited anxiously to see whether the racial issue would be aired in public.

That question teetered in the balance as a committee of 18 took over the job of writing the party platform after a committee of seven had completed the tentative draft.

The committee of 18, in turn, will hand the task to the full platform committee of 108 delegates, probably tomorrow. When the committee of 108 gets through, it will hand its finished product to the whole convention for approval. 7-13-48

Peacemakers of the party worked hard to get a north-south agreement on the civil-rights plank in order to make a show of a solid front.

1944 Plank Was General.

The document prepared by the committee of seven was as closely guarded as a D-Day war secret. Also, it was so tentative that the civil-rights plank could change three times—on three different levels—before the platform became final.

Despite the secrecy, word got around that version No. 1 contained a civil-rights plank very much like the one in the 1944 platform.

The 1944 plank was pretty general and might be acceptable to many Southern leaders, though not to some Northerners who are demanding that the party promise federal laws against lynching, poll taxes, and racial discrimination in jobs.

That document said:

"We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop, and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."

States'-Rights Plank Out?

There was also a report that version No. 1 did not contain a states'-rights plank sought by Southern delegates. Such an omission would irk the Southerners and please those who believe the Federal Government should expand its authority.

A convention delegate who declined to be quoted by name told a reporter he understood the committee of seven had worded the civil-rights plank this way:

"The Democratic Party and the Democratic Administration are solely responsible for the great gains in recent years made in the continuing effort to reduce and eliminate unfair and illegal discrimination based on race or creed or color.

"We have implemented our often-expressed belief that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop, and vote equally with all citizens, and to share the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. 7-13-48

"We again call on Congress to exert its full authority to the limits of those constitutional powers to protect those rights."

Delegates like Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis, Representative Emmanuel Celler of New York, and ex-Governor Maurice Tobin of Massachusetts want a stronger plank than that.

They are fighting for a plank resembling President Truman's 10-point civil-rights program which he sent to Congress February 2.

If a floor debate takes place, it may be started by the Northern group or by the Southerners, depending on the way the civil-rights plank reads when it goes before the convention.

Perhaps the key to the situation is Truman himself.

It is his program that is the center of the fight. If he should throw his weight behind a compromise plan, he might be able to avert a floor debate.

The Republican Party adopted a civil-rights plank in June which says "we favor" a prompt law to end lynching, the abolition of poll taxes as a requisite to voting, and the enactment of "such federal legislation as may be necessary" to maintain the right of equal opportunity to work.

The G.O.P. plank says also, "We are opposed to the idea of racial segregation in the armed services."

Negroes Warn Democrats

C.I.O. News

Here is part of a statement read to the Democratic Platform Committee by Walter White, executive secretary, Nat'l Association for Advancement of Colored People. The statement was made in the name of the Continuation Committee of 21 Negro Organizations:

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We appear today on behalf of 21 national Negro organizations with a combined membership of 6,084,000. Representatives of these organizations have unanimously adopted a "Declaration of Negro Voters." 7-13-48

We come before the Platform Committee with few illusions. We know, as does everyone, that the Democratic party is torn by schisms. The chief factor creating that division is civil rights.

Certain elements of the party have for years maintained themselves in power by denial of human rights and the violation of every guaranty of the Constitution. These forces of bigotry are demanding that this convention evade this basic issue and express no stronger sentiment for civil rights then the 1944 platform plank.

C.I.O. News

We wish to say that the 1944 evasion will be wholly unsatisfactory in 1948. Human events, not only within Continental U.S. but throughout the world, have moved measurably forward.

7-13-48

Lynching, disfranchisement, inequality of educational and economic opportunity, racial segregation in the armed services, transportation and other fields not only embitter those discriminated against but also constitute a strain upon the honor of America throughout the world.

C.I.O. News

The day of reckoning has come when the party must decide whether it is going to permit bigots to dictate its philosophy or whether the party can rise to the heights of Americanism which alone can justify its continued existence. 7-13-48

The party must move forward or perish. The fate not only of the party itself but possibly that of America depends upon you.

We, therefore, respectfully but firmly insist that the Democratic Platform Committee can include nothing less than the full recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

ROW ON PLATFORM

The Times

South Reported Losing in Committee Contest on State Sovereignty

New York, N.Y.

Wed. 7-14-48

TAFT ACT REPEAL URGED

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Rise in Wage Floor to 75c an Hour Is Asked—Unsettled Points Bring Night Session

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, July 13—Sustaining the surprise recommendations of its platform-drafting subgroups, the 108-member resolutions committee of the Democratic National Convention called upon its party today to pledge itself to outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor law and to a rise of the legal minimum wage from 40 cents to at least 75 cents an hour.

The resolutions body was passing on a complete 1948 platform which had been submitted by a special eighteen-member subcommittee, which, in turn, had passed on a draft proposed by a seven-member group selected from its numbers. As the parent body plowed through the fourteen-page proposed draft, it was reported to have made many changes, some of them material.

A complete, revised platform was expected to be made ready for delivery to, and action by the convention tomorrow.

Inflation Curb Pledged

Wed. 7-14-48

With many issues, some of high controversial content, lying ahead, the committee late tonight had given what appeared to be final approval to a foreign-relations plank giving firm and unconditional support to the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.

The platform pledged the party to "curb the Republican inflation," to enact comprehensive housing legislation, reduce taxes "whenever it is possible to do so without unbalancing the nation's economy," with concentration of benefits on low-income groups.

Approval of the labor plank was given by the 108-member committee without concerted protest, even from the South, which has supported the labor-relations measure of 1947 and fought the legal increase in the wage floor. It was taken also in the light of the fact that when President Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill thirteen months ago, 126 of 219 Democrats in Congress who participated in the test of the White House disapproval voted to override it and put the law on the books.

As the platform body worked into the night to complete its recommendations of promises and declarations for the 1948 campaign, it also overrode State Department suggestions regarding pledges to the new state of Israel. Lifting of the embargo on sending arms to Israel was demanded.

Further, it withheld from platform controversy, for the time being at least, the issue of state or Federal Government authority over rich tidelands off coastal and Gulf States.

The civil rights issue, the most explosive facing the platform body, was once again under hot contest behind closed doors, with the platform having been made "the last stand" of the South in its revolt against President Truman.

Liberals of the North and West, however, appeared to be in the saddle. In the first subcommittee test, the South had obtained only by implication, spokesmen held, a states' rights clause which might offset the civil-rights drive. In the second subcommittee test, the states' rights clause disappeared and the civil rights plank was altered to demand specific Federal action (principally Congressional) on such issues as poll taxes, lynching, employment practices where racial questions were involved, and segregation within the armed forces.

As civil rights went to the full resolutions body for final recommendation, a stronger plank was put up for approval.

South Gets Tidelands Silence

At a late hour tonight, with the battle still joined in committee, the South appeared to have won only one point and lost several on civil rights, states' rights and labor fronts. Its gain was through negation. Agreement was reached that there would be no tidelands plank in the platform.

The tidelands issue concerns submerged areas off coastal states. Many have valuable oil and other deposits which have been leased by these states to private enterprise for royalties and other revenues. The United States Supreme Court has ruled that the Federal Government has prevailing authority over such lands.

There has been much fighting in Congress on the issue. President Truman has vetoed one bill designed to "return" jurisdiction to the states. More bills are scheduled for the Eighty-first Congress.

Before the convention, Harold L. Ickes, former Secretary of the Interior, proposed that under Federal lease, funds could be built up for aid to education, or other similar purposes, in all states. This promised fiery controversy in the present convention. The South made state jurisdiction one of its chief issues on which to make its "last stand."

It still was possible, if not probable, that the issue would go to floor contest, despite the lack of committee recommendations. There was threatened, too, a floor showdown on another proposal which the platform drafters ignored, a Federal sweepstakes drawing. Its sponsor, former Lieut. Gov. Francis E. Kelly of Massachusetts, a convention delegate, said he would offer his plan as an amendment to the platform.

How much fighting there would be on the convention floor, if any, was a guess. Predictions came from liberal quarters that there would be none. This conclusion was drawn from the victories they seem to have won in the earlier stages of the contest in camera.

"Ugly" Quarreling Reported

Late tonight, however, the quarreling within the committee room in the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel over civil rights was described by delegates emerging temporarily as "ugly."

Before the large group was a proposed plank which followed the pattern sought by Americans for Democratic Action, a liberal organization headed by Leon Henderson, former price administrator. Sponsoring it in committee was Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey Jr. of Minneapolis, national vice chairman of ADA.

Seeking to spell out Democratic party pledges on civil rights, it focused on four principal points of the civil rights program of President Truman which had led to the Southern revolt against him. These points have been identified generally as calling for Federal action to do these things:

Enact legislation to outlaw poll taxes as a condition for voting in Federal elections.

Establish a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Punish by Federal law those participating in lynchings.

Abolish racial segregation in the armed forces.

What the ADA Would Write

The Humphrey-ADA amendment set the platform issue out as follows:

"The Democratic party is responsible for the great civil-rights gains made in recent years in eliminating unfair and illegal discrimination based on race, creed or color.

"The Democratic party commits itself to continuing its efforts to eradicate all racial, religious [illegible] economic discrimination.

"We again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution.

"To secure these rights, we pledge ourselves to support Federal action to guarantee to all Americans:

"1. Personal safety from the brutal crime of lynching and mob violence.

"2. Equal opportunity in employment.

"3. Full and free political participation.

"4. Equal treatment in the armed forces."

Race Issue Hurled Into Democrats' Platform Hearing

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Thurs. 7-8-48

21 Negro Groups, CIO Sound Call For Civil Rights Plant; Laborite Says GOP Of Little Interest To Unionists

BY MAX HALL

PHILADELPHIA, July 8—(AP)—Outright endorsement of President Truman's civil rights program was demanded at Democratic platform hearings today.

More than a score of Negro organizations called for a plank embodying Mr. Truman's program, including anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and fair employment (FEPC) legislation.

The News

One organizaiton, the National Negro Council, asked the platform writes to endorse an immediate call of the 80th Congress into special session to enact civil rights legislation.

Birmingham, Ala.

Before flareup of the race issue which has rifted the Democratic Party, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) called for adoption of a "Roosevelt platform" and denounced the Republican platform as "one of deceit."

Thurs.

James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer, also asked for civil rights, demanded repeal of the Taft-Hartley act and extension of "New Deal" social laws. Responding to a platform committee member's question, Carey stated:

"There is nothing in the Republican platform that attracts the interest of labor.'

7-8-48

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, submitted a statement on behalf of 21 Negro organizations, declaring:

"The day of reckoning has come when the Democratic Party must decide whether it is going to permit bigots to dictate its philosophy and policy or whether the party can rise to the heights of Americanism which alone can justify its continued existence."

White's statement concluded:

'We, therefore, urge and insist that the platform of the 1948 Democraitc convention endorse without equivocation the entire program of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and especially those provisions to suppress lynching and mob violence, to ban the poll tax as a voting requirement, to afford equality of job opportunity and to abolish discrimination and segregation in the armed services, education and transportation.

"In addition, we urge that the platform pledge the full weight of the Democratic Party to the amendment of the Senate rules to envoke cloture by a majority vote in order that filibusters which have disgraced America far too long, may be stopped in the U. S. Senate."

* * *

AN ORGANIZATION IDENTIFYING itself as the Civil Rights Congress demanded that the convention refuse to seat delegates "who are elected by poll-tax vote or who are members or supporters of the Ku Klux Klan."

The News

Southern members indicate they will submit these witnesses to vigorous cross examination.

Birmingham, Ala.

Walter White's statement reminded the Democratic Party that Negroes hold the balance of voting power in many congressional districts and in some Northern states. He said:

Thurs. 7-8-48

"The Negro vote in 12 of these states with a total of 228 Electoral College votes exceeds the margin necessary to alter the states' votes in the Electoral College.

"These states are Ohio, Indiana New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania. Illinois. Michigan. Missouri Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia and Kentucky."

RACIAL ISSUE
Daily Tribune
HITS DEMOCRAT
Chicago, Ill.
PLATFORM UNIT
Thurs

Action Proposed on
7-8-48
Civil Rights

BULLETIN

Philadelphia, July 7 (AP)—The race issue was dumped into laps of Democratic platform writers today. Helen Hall speaking for the National Federation of Settlements, told the platform committee: "We urge that the recommendations of the President's civil rights commission be made a prime charge on unfinished business not only in the congress but in the party convention."

PHILADELPHIA, July 7 (AP)—The American Farm Bureau federation asked the Democratic party today to pledge a new governmental attack on the problem of rising prices.

Opening hearings on the 1948 Democratic platform, H. E. Slusher, a member of the board of the farm organization, proposed specifically that congress set up a national monetary commission to find ways of stabilizing prices.

"A democracy of free enterprise cannot flourish and may not even survive continuing fluctuation of the general price level," said Slusher. He is president of the farm bureau in President Truman's home state of Missouri.

Hope To Win Votes

Thus the farm leader brought up an issue with which Democrats hope to win votes in November. Mr. Truman and other Democratic leaders have blamed the Republican congress for swelling prices since war time controls were dropped. Daily Tribune

The Democratic platform drafters got off to a quiet, friendly start. But beneath it was an air of expectancy. Sharp and perhaps bitter battles appeared to be shaping up over civil rights and labor planks. Thurs.

Sen. Myers of Pennsylvania, chairman of the 18 member committee, told newsmen Mr. Truman undoubtedly will be consulted on the document before it is presented to the party's convention next week. 7-8-48

Want To Avoid Fight

"I think he should be consulted before the platform is presented formally to the convention," Myers added.

Myers said the platform writers "quite naturally would like to avoid a convention floor fight on the platform. We are aiming at unanimous approval without compromising on issues."

Another early witness—Morris Sayre, representing the National Association of Manufacturers—touched upon the international situation. He urged a plank pledging American co-operation with other peoples to maintain "peace and human freedom."

On domestic issues, Sayre objected to peace time government controls, either direct or indirect, over "wages, prices, production, distribution, or consumption." Daily Tribune

Revision Of Tax Laws

He also urged overhauling of tax laws to increase volume of investment funds. He said money is needed to spur greater industrial production. Chicago, Ill.

The fireworks on civil rights and labor were set for tomorrow and Friday. Tomorrow's schedule calls for a parade of witnesses on the question of whether the the party should commit itself to President Truman's civil rights program—to which southern Democrats object violently—or strike a compromise. Thurs.,

Set for Friday was an airing of views of labor leaders on the Taft-Hartley labor act. They have demanded its repeal. 7-8-48

The Bogey from
Star Fri. 7-9-48

Perry
New York, N.Y.

The Democratic Party has nothing whatever to lose by writing into its 1948 platform the stoutest civil rights plank its scribes can phrase. It can spell out anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, fair employment safeguards at no risk. It couldn't even claim "courage" for saying these things, which are right. The Southerners aren't going over to Dewey and Warren for anything the platform says.

The party's draftsmen would need to be white-feathered indeed to be much impressed, much less intimidated, by the medicine show the Ben Laneys and Fielding Wrights have been staging. This spectacle borrows directly from the old Ku Klux tricks of gulping whole buckets of water at a time. The trick is worn out. The pig-bladders under the night shirts were punctured in 1936, '40 and '44.

FDR Led the Way

Roosevelt was for the civil rights before Harry Truman was "born." The people of the South (not the Wrights and Laneys) loved him and do still. The Ku Klux marched against him lonely and in vain. It ought not to be difficult for the party leaders at Philadelphia to comprehend that the problem, as far as the South is concerned, is not the platform, but the man. Star New York, N.Y.

It is exactly a problem of offering a candidate for the presidency whose qualities hold promise of over-reaching the very politicians who are crying loudest against the Truman program of civil rights. Roosevelt was cherished for those qualities. His triumphs over the political bourbons were the people's triumphs. The South is conscious of many arrearages in its claims upon the "American standard of living" and long ago despaired of coming forward through the ineffective representation of its prejudice-ridden legislators in the state capitals and in Washington. That is why its hopes are fixed upon a strong friend in the White House; that is why—and not because of any egalitarian pronouncements he has made—it has no heart for Harry Truman in 1948.

Fear of Reaction
Star

The Laneys and the Fieldings have done their best to make the name of Truman a hissing in the Southern States. They have not succeeded. The Southern people are far fairer in their judgment. They grant the President all that he is due for trying in the right road: they simply see in him no leadership, either as candidate or as president, capable of restarting the progress of government from which they gained such an awareness of advancing well-being after 1933. New York, N.Y.

The South will support Truman if it has to; that is it will not go against him. But his insistence upon the nomination lies like lead upon the outlook of a people who have more reason than those of any other section to dread a long day of reaction in the national government. These are the people who for the past two generations, under a peculiar political system that disfranchises the masses, have had little experience of anything but reactionary governments at home. Fri. 7-9-48

No matter what platform the Democratic party writes at Philadelphia, Mr. Truman would be unable to rouse the enthusiasm of the masses of the South. The Southern people would stand up and shout and fight, on the other hand, for a strong candidate—a Douglas or another—no matter how strong or weak the platform the convention puts together.

In this circumstance, there is every reason why the platform should be stout. The party has nothing to lose by naming the civil liberties toward the southern exposure, and perhaps everything to gain in the other directions. It could go down with Truman or any other on such a platform and hope to rise again ere long upon its principles. But if it goes down bowing to the Southern bogey in its platform, it will have sacrificed its self-respect to no purpose and earned a sentence to oblivion on sheer grounds of moral cowardice.

Democrats Civil Rights Plank
St. Louis Arg. Friday 7-16-48

The amended and strengthened civil rights plank, as finally approved, declares:

"The Democratic party is responsible for the great civil rights gains made in recent years in eliminating unfair and illegal discriminating based on race, creed or color.

"The Democratic Party commits itself to continuing its efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination.

"We again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote. the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution.

"We highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights.

"We call upon the Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental American principles—the right to full and equal political participation; the right to equal opportunity of employment; and right to security of person, and the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation." St. Louis

'44 PLANK IS FAVORED

Party Leaders Hope To Calm Southerners—Committee Will Act Today

The Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn
Sun. 7-11-48

By FREDERIC TUTTLE
International News Service Writer

PHILADELPHIA, July 10.—Democratic platform drafters deferred tackling the dynamite-packed civil rights issue Saturday in the face of threats by no-compromise anti-Jim Crow forces to carry their fight to the convention floor.

Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis warned that the civil rights plank "will be right down the line" with President Truman's no-discrimination program or "we will fight it out before the entire conclave."

Southerners Make Demands

Humphrey, a committeeman, made his statement as antiTruman Southerners were insisting on a separate states rights declaration as the price of approving a compromise civil rights plank and not bolting the convention.

Despite Humphrey's threat, signs multiplied that the civil rights plank would be similar to the 1944 declaration indorsing the principles of anti-racial discrimination, but avoiding mention of legislation to bring these about.

Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath insisted the 1944 plank is "sufficient" backing for the President's program, and said it would "reduce floor trouble to a minimum."

The chairman said he would not "resist" a states rights plank if it "does not nullify the force and effect of the civil rights plank."

Issue Comes Up Today

Senator Myers (Penn.), chairman of the Drafting Committee and of a select five-member group drawing up a tentative platform, said the civil rights problem probably would be tackled last, "sometime tomorrow."

But veteran politicians said even a states rights declaration may fail to appease some of the die-hard Southern "rebels," who split violently with President Truman months ago over his anti-discrimination program.

Charles E. Shepperd, Florida member of Myers' platform drafting group, declared:

"Most, if not all, of the Southern delegates would be content to accept the 1944 plank and civil rights if accompanied by a strong plank on the fundamental doctrine of states rights."

The Press on Democratic Rights' Plank

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 7-17-48

By the NNPA News Service

The New York Herald Tribune sees the fight over civil rights and states' rights in the three-day Democratic national convention in Philadelphia last week as having far-reaching repercussions in the Democratic party.

Commenting editorially last Friday, under the caption "Civil Rights vs. State Rights," the Herald Tribune said:

"The present intro-party fight will have consequences which may be far-reaching for the Democrats, both in the campaign and afterwards. Meanwhile, there stands in the platform, achieved against great odds, forthright and heartening a declaration as any American could wish for.

"He would be a partisan indeed who took pleasure in the anguish and internal confusion which the civil rights plank must cost the Democrats, without being capable of genuine satisfaction in its reaffirmation of principles."

Tribune Charges Hypocrisy

The Chicago Tribune of last Friday saw the civil rights debate in the Democratic national convention as lacking candor, charging both southern and northern Democrats with hypocrisy.

The Southerners talk of States' rights, the Tribune said editorially under the caption, "Civil Rights," was "to conceal their real purpose, which is to prevent the Federal government from using whatever authority it has to better the conditions of colored people." Northern Democrats, the Tribune charged, were motivated by a desire to win state and local elections in November. The editorial said:

"Any one who really wants to do something to establish the civil rights of the Southern colored citizens will find the formula spelled out in the 14th Amendment. A state which denied or in any way abridges the right of citizens to vote can have its representation in Congress, and therefore its voice in the electoral college, reduced in proportion to the number of citizens so deprived. 'The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article,' the Amendment concludes.

"Action along these lines never could be criticized as unreasonable, unjust or unconstitutional."

No Stronger Than GOP

The Cleveland Pain Dealer of last Thursday, discussing "Platform Differences," said:

"The Democratic plank on civil rights even with the strengthening suppplied on the convention floor, was no stronger than, if actually it was as strong, as the Republican plank. The latter was at least specific in its opposition 'to the idea of segregation in the armed forces of the United States and in its advocacy of abolition of the poll tax. The Democratic delegates at least recognized Mr. Truman's program. The civil rights plank of both parties call for, in glittering generalities, equality of opportunity to earn a living."

The Newark Evening News of last Thursday, discussing Mr. Truman as a fighting candidate, took a different view of the civil rights plank.

Afro-American

Glad South Failed

After pointing out that the Southern States, which refused to vote for him, was attempting to warn all further Democratic candidates for President not to venture to deal with Southern treatment, social or political, of colored people, the Newark Evening News said:

Baltimore, md.

"The attempt to warn off Mr. Truman failed, and it is well that it failed. The civil rights plank, as adopted, is sweeping, denouncing, as it does, all interference with the right to vote, all forms of violence and all forms of discrimination, either in private business or in the armed services of the United States."

The Brooklyn Eagle of last Thursday, under the caption "Courageous Civil Rights Plank Marks Democratic Platform," saw the controversy as "a fight to the bitter end on a delicate principle" and praised President Truman for precipitating the fight by promulgation of his civil rights program. The Eagle said:

Sat. 7-24-48

Platform Commands Respect

"This triumph of a great principle changes the character of the Philadelphia convention even though it may not improve its prospects of victory in November. It gives to the candidacy of President Truman the benefits of a platform which commands respect for the moral courage it reflects and which also deals adequately with most of the dominant domestic and foreign issues."

The Baltimore Sun of last Thursday saw the convention debate over states' rights and civil rights as "a grateful surprise." Terming the action of the convention in rejecting the states' rights proposals and strengthening the innocuous civil rights plank, reported by the Resolutions Committee, as noteworthy, the Sun said:

"What this may mean in terms of the future of the Democratic party, which has relied for so long on a solid South, will not be apparent immediately. That question aside, the fact remains that the debate and the vote were extradordinary. For a few hours the traditional hullabaloo, the brassiness, the vulgarity, the cynicism and the syntheitc enthusiasm which we associate with a national convention, gave ground to real debate on a real issue."

Branded As Amateurish

The Philadelphia Inquirer of last Thursday branded the Democratic platform as "an amateurish attempt at a catch-all device to lure votes," and accused the Resolutions Committee of seeking to compromise "even with bigots and Ku Kluxers of the South, by means of a statement on civil rights that would have talked sweetly of equality for all men but actually done nothing about it."

The Inquirer added that "Not because of anything the leaders did, but in spite of them, the Democratic platform possesses at least the merit of a plank committing the party to support of Mr. Truman's program against lynching, poll taxes and segregation and in favor of equal employment opportunities for minority groups."

Civil Rights Backers Urge Strong Plank In Demo Platform

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
Fri. 7-9-48

By Walter Lowenfels

PHILADELPHIA, July 8.—Despite a blunt warning from one witness that straddling on civil rights would send voters "in unprecedented numbers" to the third party, the Democratic national convention's platform committee appeared today to be heading for a "compromise" that would ditch civil rights to appease Southern Democrats.

Sen. Francis Myers, Platform Committee chairman, and himself a civil rights supporter, indicated one possible solution might be to dump the controversial issue into President Truman's lap. He told reporters that the President will have the final say on the 1948 Democratic platform, including the civil rights plank before it is submitted to next week's convention.

7-9-48

Some observers thought this might pave the way to a "compromise" plank that would evade specific commitments, with a statement from Truman reiterating his civil rights program.

Throughout the day, the 19 members of the Platform Committee sat in silence, and there was practically no questioning of witnesses. Senator Clyde Hoey of North Carolina indicated to reporters that there had been an agreement not to have witnesses questioned during the open hearing but to hear the testimony and then settle the matter in closed committee sessions."

"What's the use of riling witnesses?" he said to reporters as he flattened his wing collar and patted his cutaway during a recess. "You cannot convert a witness."

However, a parade of witnesses appeared before the committee demanding action.

WARNS COMMITTEE

Guy Brewer, speaking for the National Non-Partisan Committee, which sponsored last month's Civil Rights protest march to Washington, told the committee:

Daily Worker

"I warn you that if you pussyfoot as the Republican Party platform does, my people will cry a plague on both your houses and flock in unprecedented numbers to the new third party." Brewer identified himself as a former New York State Democratic Committeeman and former Tammany Hall leader.

New York, N.Y.

The Civil Rights Congress asked immediate action by the convention itself in refusing to seat poll-tax delegates elected by poll tax votes or who support the KKK.

The CRC called on the administration to use its full police power to allow Negroes to vote in the South. The CRC also demanded immediate withdrawal of all injunction proceedings now pending against unions; revocation of the President's "loyalty" order; immediate dissolution of the House Un-American Committee and investigation and indictment of its members who have conspired to violate the Constitution. It also joined most of the other groups in urging repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

CAREY SPEAKS

James Carey, international secretary - treasurer, presented the whole CIO program, and urged the committee to adopt "Roosevelt platform" he quoted President Truman's veto message on the Taft-Hartley Law, and castigated the 80th Congress and the Republicans unlike most other witnesses had no criticism of the Democratic Party or its leadership.

Daily Worker

Along with support to the other Civil Rights planks, the American Civil Liberties Union opposed "any measure to outlaw the Communist Party and its allies" or drive it underground, or any special anti-Communist discrimination by law.

Fri. 7-9-48
New York, N.Y.

Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, said: "We come before the platform committee with few illusions." White, who spoke in behalf of 21 national Negro organizations with a combined membership of over six millions, said they knew the Democratic Party was torn by the civil rights issue, but that any evasion, such as the 1944 platform, will be "wholly unsatisfactory."

White, along with most other witnesses, demanded that the platform specifically endorse by name FEPC, anti-poll tax, anti-lynch legislation, abolition of Jimcrow in the armed forces, and the rest of the President's Civil Rights program.

The New York Labor Committee for Wallace and Taylor yesterday wired James B. Carey, secretary of the CIO, that the "FDR platform" which he asked the Democratic Party platform committee to draw up has been "ditched, stymied and double-crossed" by the both major parties.

The wire said, "measures you urge for inclusion in the FDR platform for the Democratic Party have all been ditched, stymied and double-crossed by the Democratic and Republican parties. Urge you announce publicly that the CIO will condemn all parties which are not unequivocally commited for Taft-Hartley repeal, for price control, for civil rights, and will endorse whichever of the three parties take a straightforward position on these questions."

Another reason advanced was that members of Congress, strongly represented on the full platform-approving group, also had to run on the 1948 platform. It would make the civil rights plank "cumbersome," this member suggested, if the President's program were set out in detail. New York, N.Y.

What was wanted, this informant added, was a platform combining wide coverage with brevity. Besides, it was argued that as the civil rights plank continued to be a prime point of platform contest, the country knew where President Truman stood on every point in his civil rights program, and he would be running, apparently, on his detailed record on this issue.

On the other hand, it was emphasized, others running on the Democratic ticket could make their interpretations of an over-all civil rights plank as they read it in general terms. 7-10-48

DEMOCRATS CLOSE PLATFORM HEARING

The Times

Generalizations in Hope of a Compromise Are Expected on the Disputed Issues

New York, N.Y.
Sat.
348
7-10-48

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, July 9—Prospective planks for the 1948 Democratic platform were put behind closed doors tonight. When finally completed and polished, it was indicated, they would include strong, resolute pledges and also material intraparty compromise.

The clarion pronouncements and promises, according to backstage signs and reactions, would come on issues on which the party is united. Where sharp party divisions persist, particularly on civil rights, brevity and generalization appeared to be in view.

Greatest strength as to purpose and promise was expected concerning such issues as foreign policy and appropriations to implement them strongly, reciprocal trade and inflation curbs, with recommendation for enactment of stand-by price controls, accompanied by authorizations for rationing and allocation of short supplies. 7-10-48

Similar pronouncements were looked for in the fields of housing, educational aid, flood control, reclamation, public power, antimonopoly, natural resources development and aid to veterans.

Will Accuse Congress

It also was indicated that to give added power to their words on these subjects, the Democratic platform drafters would accuse the Republican-dominated Congress of having failed in all of these fields.

In the matter of civil rights, it was predicted by one platform drafter that the plank would generalize, purposely, on several counts. One, as he cited it, was that President Truman's ten-point civil rights program had enraged Southern Democrats to breaking into open revolt, and that there was still hope of compromise with

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Fight on Civil Rights Breaks Into the Open At Session of Democratic Platform Group

The Times
New York, N.Y.
Sat.
348

PHILADELPHIA, July 9 (AP)—The fight over civil rights within the Democratic party finally exploded into the open tonight when a Southerner, Aubrey Williams, told Democratic leaders they would not lose Southern voters by supporting President Truman's civil rights program. 7-10-48

Southern members of the Democratic platform drafting committee had remained calm and silent while Northern Negroes demanded that the party platform contain the President's proposals for laws against lynching, poll taxes and discrimination in employment.

But when Mr. Williams, who is from Montgomery, Ala., and former National Youth Administrator, said that it was mainly Southern Democratic leaders who opposed the Truman program—and not the people — the fireworks broke loose.

Former Alabama Governor Chauncey Sparks snapped that Mr. Williams represented nobody but himself and should not carry any weight.

Charles E. Shepperd, Florida state legislator from St. Augustine, declared heatedly:

"We do not propose to tolerate any further interference in states' rights in the South. We and the Negro understand each other. We don't want any Federal bayonets forcing him down our throats."

Mr. Williams, who now publishes The Southern Farmer and is president of the Alabama Farmer's Union, said the white people "brutalize every decent instinct of mankind" when they keep the Negro in an inferior position.

Mr. Sparks shot back:

"When you use the word brutalize I think you are going a little too far."

Mr. Sparks later asked Mr. Williams: The Times

"Don't you represent about 1 per cent of the intelligent citizens of Alabama?" New York, N.Y.

Mr. Williams meditated and said he thought about 25 per cent of Alabama voters would be in support of these civil rights guarantees. Sat. 7-10-48

Mr. Sparks then asked Mr. Williams if members of the United States Senate did not charge him with being "more or less of a Communist" when he was nominated as Rural Electrification Administrator.

Mr. Williams said: "Oh, yes, but I am more hated by the Communists than you are."

Mr. Sparks said Alabama Negroes had been treated fairly and properly and are content to be by themselves with their own churche and other institutions.

Mr. Williams said he was against any kind of racial segregation and "a man is a man to me regardless of the color of his skin."

He leaned forward and told Mr. Sparks: "You know perfectly well if a Negro tries to register in Montgomery his chances are about one-tenth of that of a white man. A Negro told me he stood in line in Mobile for two weeks. Let's don't pretend."

Mr. Sparks insisted that the relationship between whites and Negroes was "friendly."

Mr. Williams replied: "There is great tension." 7-10-48

Mr. Shepperd, jumping into the argument, made a speech saying Florida could settle its own affairs without Federal laws. He said to Mr. Williams: "Tom Dewey put a fair employment practice act into effect in New York, so you ought to be for him."

Democratic Platformers Go Into High

The Post
Washington, D.C.
Sat. 7-10-48

By Robert C. Albright

Post Reporter

Philadelphia, July 9.—The Democratic resolutions committee tonight closed platform hearings, and named a five-man subcommittee to shape the planks to fit the Truman record.

The drafting job, which for three days has torn the larger 18-man group, was simplified by developments removing the last remaining doubt that Truman will be the nominee.

In the light of that certainty, even the tangle over civil rights began to clear up.

Like Stand in 1944

With the President's strong stand for civil rights undisputed, the group may now proceed to draw a plank along the general lines of the 1944 stand which failed to detail specific measures.

A key member of the group pointed out that Mr. Truman already has interpreted the 1944 plank as embracing every point in the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. His own position isn't subject to successful challenge, this informant argued.

Aubrey Williams Turns Up

Sat.

There was a civil rights explosion at the hearing late in the day when Aubrey Williams, former National Youth administrator and now publishing a farm paper at Montgomery, Ala., told the committee the party would not lose Southern voters by supporting Mr. Truman's proposals. 7-10-48

Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks retorted that Williams represented "about 1 per cent of the intelligent citizens of Alabama." Williams insisted 25 per cent of the State's voters would favor the civil rights guarantees. The Post

When Williams declared white people "brutalize every decent instnict" when they keep the Negro in an inferior position, Sparks declared the witness was going "a little too far." Washington, D.C.

The former Governor said "Tom Dewey put a fair employment practice law into effect in New York so you ought to be for him."

Last day questioning of witnesses pointed up a decision to hit vigorously at the record of the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress — again following the pitch set by the President on his coast-to-coast tour. Sat.

One of the last witnesses was AFL President William Green. Prodded by Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois and former Senator Hugh Mitchell of Washington, Green said he is keeping a "score card" on the records of members and added: 7-10-48

"I could be arrested for what I think of the last Congress."

The select group which will spell out the first draft of the platform, and clear it with the White House, will be headed by Resolutions Chairman Francis J. Myers (Pa.).

Other members were not immediately announced, but it was learned that Solicitor General Philip S. Perlman (Md.) and former Gov. Dan Moody of Texas will fill two of the key posts.

Moody, who with three other Dixie members of the larger resolutions group has opposed anything stronger than the 1944 Civil Rights declaration, will be the South's lone representative on the small drafting unit.

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Closed door sessions will continue over the weekend before the platform's formal unveiling in the full committee early next week.

Heard By Committee

Before winding up the testimony, the committee heard:

1. Harold L. Ickes, former Secretary of Interior, demand a clear party stand backing up the decision of the Supreme Court that the Federal Government has paramount interest in the oil-rich coastal tidelands claimed by adjacent States. Ickes proposed that royalties from tideland oil wells be paid into a Federal aid to education fund, "for the good of all the States." Sat.

2. Judge Louis E. Levinthal, of the American Zionist Emergency Council, urge a plank for repeal of the Palestine arms embargo, saying that now fighting has been resumed, the new state of Israel can defend itself "only if the embargo on arms is modified." Leon Henderson, representing Americans for Democratic Action, also called for repeal of the arms embargo, and asked in addition that the Arabs be declared the aggressors in the Holy Land conflict. 7-10-48

3. Bernice B. Heffner, acting president of the American Federation of Government Employes, called for an immediate increase in the base pay of all Federal workers to meet rising costs and optional Civil Service retirement on full annuity regardless of age after 30 years of service.

Mrs. Heffner supplemented a Government worker plea by AFL President Green.

Federal Employe Planks

Green urged these Federal employe planks among others:

Revision of 1923 Classification Act salary schedules and elimination of ceiling in pay and overtime. The Post

Appropriation for all Federal agencies commensurate with their work load to insure security on the job of employes doing satisfactory work. Washington, D.C.

Greater participation in personnel matters by employes and employe organizations, with union representation on wage boards.

But Green chiefly plugged for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, another issue that has the resolutions committee tied in knots. A majority of the Democrats in both houses voted to override the President's veto of the labor law.

The AFL leader predicted that if Republicans are returned to control of both Houses in November "we will get a worse Taft-Hartley act than we have now."

In recommending the Government take over all tidelands and set up oil reserves to support educational institutions, Ickes tangled with former Governor Moody of Texas. The Post

Moody maintained the State of Texas did a better job of operating oil lands than the Federal Government. Washington, D.C.

Ickes, however, charged there has been "reckless waste" of tideland oil both in Texas and California. He said that unless Federal rights are maintained "these rich gifts will go to the oil companies." Sat. 7-11-48

Solicitor General Perlman, Senator Theodore F. Green of Rhode Island, Representative Michael J. Kirwan of Ohio and Representative Emmanuel Celler of New York sided with Ickes.

Tidelands Oil

Green attacked the Republican platform declaration for restoration of tidelands oil to the States as a "special interest plank." He said all 48 States would benefit under Ickes' plan. The five-man subcommittee was known to be considering such a plank as an offset to the lukewarm GOP stand on Federal aid to education.

The former Cabinet officer, who resigned in a row with Truman, said one oil man told him there is more oil off both coasts than on the whole continent. 7-10-48

Ickes said he would go beyond the 3-mile limit to drill for it, assign the proceeds first to the schools and any excess could be used for Social Security, Indian welfare and road-building costs.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution 34D

The Hotheads Don't Make Sense

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed. 3-3-48

Harry S. Truman probably is, they say, a gone gosling.

He is gone, not so much because of the Southern revolt, but because in addition to the revolt there is a growing dissatisfaction with the administration.

A Vandenberg-Stassen ticket, for example, would show tremendous strength in the South, approaching that of 1928 when Herbert Hoover cracked the South because of prohibition and the religious issue of that campaign.

There is a growing feeling that the Democratic administration is disorganized and uncertain. Many persons have lost faith in it. There is the feeling, too, which seems to come out of the radios and out of the statements from the administration, that even its speakers lack confidence. They seem to be using only the shopworn old Roosevelt formulae, forgetting that Roosevelt always had new ones for each national problem.

So it adds up to a substantial Democratic Party defeat insofar as the national ticket is concerned.

Suicide But the hysterical desire of some of the Southern politicians to commit party suicide; to be like a Samson shorn of his power, pulling the party house down about them, remains an unattractive spectacle. The Constitution

The Republicans allowed it to happen to their party in the time of the Bull Moose campaign. The party never really has recovered from it. Its leadership ever since has been most inflexible and unaware of the nation's temper. Atlanta, Ga.

As for the Democrats, they are repeating word for word, phrase for phrase, the statements of 1860 when they really did revolt. They held their own convention, breaking with the Northern wing. They effectively destroyed the party on the basis of the race issue and went on to allow themselves to be badgered into war. It is well to keep in mind that through all that dark and hysterical period it was the hotheads who cried them on to revolt and secession. In every State the leaders, such as Georgia's Alexander Stephens, tried to hold out for conciliation and the maintenance of the union.

The hotheads today are crying on revolt and secession. Wed 3-3-48

The party will do well to ignore them. There is another course.

Nomination There is no need for the party to tear down its house with revolt. The Constitution

If it does not want to vote for Mr. Truman it can make the fight in the convention to nominate someone else. Those who wish may bolt the party now and work to establish a second party.

Others have observed that in 1860 there were four tickets, as there will be this year if the Southern Democrats go ahead with their plan to commit suicide. There were the two Democratic conventions and two sets of nominees and also Constitutional Union ticket, much like Wallace's ticket today. Abraham Lincoln, with a minority of votes, won. Atlanta, Ga.

Had not the hotheads been so insistent on defending the institution of slavery, a compromise and liquidation over a long period could have been had. Wed 3-3-48

Now the hotheads are at it again—and with as little sense.

Electoral Votes There are 531 votes in the electoral college. A majority, 266 votes, is necessary to elect a President.

The Deep South has a minimum of 127 electoral votes. There is no good reason now to believe that a Southern ticket would carry Tennessee, Virginia or even Florida and Texas. There is almost no chance to get help from the non-deep South States of Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Oklahoma.

So while all this talk of withholding the electors is interesting and a great boon to the cock-tail party conversations, it doesn't add up to much sense. The Constitution

Certainly, however, uninstructed delegates do make very good sense indeed. They are the sinews of a convention fight.

The place for the Democratic Party to fight is in the convention at Philadelphia. The place for those who want to leave the party is in the Republican Party. Atlanta, Ga.

If the Southern suicide squad has its way, the electoral college plan will be abolished by the time 1952 comes around and a popular vote plan installed. That would drastically reduce Southern influence, not now too strong. Wed. 3-3-48

If we listen to the hotheads again we will lose—and not just the election.

Re-Emphasizing the Tw

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 1-23-48

Gov. Fielding Wright's suggestion that the South secede from the Democratic Party if national leaders persist in objectionable legislative aims no doubt has struck a responsive chord in the hearts of a great many Southerners. 34D

Referring specifically to Democratic proposals for a national Fair Employment Practices Commission and anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and anti-segregation legislation, Mississippi's Governor declared such measures would wreck the South and its institutions.

The South, he declared, no longer will tolerate being the target for laws "which would not only destroy our way of life, but which, if enacted, would eventually destroy the United States. I would regret to see the day come when Mississippi or the South should break with the Democratic Party in a national election, but vital principles and eternal truths transcend party lines, and the day is now at hand when determined action must be taken." The Constitution

Those are strong words for a Southern politician to utter. That they are sincere, and that a great deal of truth is contained in them, cannot be denied. Atlanta, Ga.

It is not surprising, however, that Acting Gov. Thompson, Reps. Davis and Preston and others immediately decried Gov. Wright's suggestion. For in Georgia, as in the rest of the South, the connotation of "bolter" long has meant the kiss of death for political aspirants. Fri, 1-23-48

Truthfully, the South, through blind prejudice and willingness to vote for anything or any candidate with a Democratic label attached, has worked itself into its present unenviable position. We are, so to speak, a set-up for the Democratic Party. And we still offer no hope for the Republicans, despite the beginning of a trend which ultimately may lead to the two-party system here. 1-23-48

The Constitution long has recognized the dilemma facing the South. Our own Democratic Party, sure of the South's vote, lays national stress on issues which are contrary to the good of our region. The Republicans, having nothing to lose, vie equally for the fringe vote. The South is left astraddle of a predicament that is, to a large extent, of its own making.

Being a champion of the Democratic Party, The Constitution does not advocate wholesale withdrawal from that party. But we would like to see a considerable number of Southerners and Southern political leaders cast their allegiance elsewhere. There being no acceptable third party, so the Republican, would be the logical choice. The Constitution

Republicans, of course, advocate the very measures Gov. Wright and Southerners generally despise. But if the South could swing its weight more equally between the two parties it then would be in position to exercise a sort of veto power on those proposals. Until that time comes, this region can expect to continue being the scapegoat of both parties. Fri. 1-23-48

Atlanta, Ga.

Half-Way Measures

Why should the South vote Republican when the Republican party is every whit as bad or worse on this civil rights issue, from the Southern viewpoint, as the Truman Democrats? Wouldn't it be jumping from the frying pan into the fire? The Record

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These are the questions that the politicians are asking in reply to arguments that the South needs to abandon its one party system. They supply the excuse for the abortive revolt idea of trying to set up a Southern splinter party, instead of two parties. 34D

And they are questions that must be faced. And if they are faced realistically by Southerners today's revolt of the Southern Democrats can be converted into a real revolution, a revolution that will set the South free and restore its voice in national affairs. Columbia, S.C.

For the answer to these questions is that the one paty system in the South is the explanation of why neither party pays any attention to the South. Mon. 3-1-48

The South, of course, is talking now as if it meant business. It is going ahead to get its house in order—some states, such as Virginia, will have to amend their voting laws—so as to be able to bolt the Democratic ticket.

Still, however, nobody pays the South any attention. Both parties are going ahead with their plans to put through the anti-poll tax bill in the Senate and the anti-lynching bill in the House.

The South is a voice crying in the political wilderness, where no one may hear it. And the only answer is the echo of laughter from the various minority groups which are enjoying the sight presented by the impotently quirming Bourbons and the begging white supremacists. And there is some irony in it all.

There is no mystery about the low esteem in which the South is held now by both parties. It derives from the fact that the South has been in the bag so long and from the further fact that the South even yet isn't willing to talk about setting up a two-party system.

Both the Democrats and the Republicans expect to find the South still voting Democratic in November. So nobody pays any attention to Southern protests.

After all this isn't the first time the South has protested, and loudly. Southern politicians, for example, were loud in their complaints of much of President Roosevelt's New Deal. But every election day Southern Democrats trooped to the polls to pile up records for a second, third and fourth term. The Record

One fact stands. The South will be the section without influence in both parties and in the country until it makes up its mind to set up in the South two parties, one Democratic and one Republican, either one of which may win a governorship, a Senate seat or a congressional election.

For not until then will the South get out of the bag. All this talk of independent electors and splinter parties is nonsense. It commits the Southerners to the Democratic party or nothing and it guarantees to the Democratic party that the Southern Democrats, even if they walk out this year, will be back by the next election.

If the South hasn't men with courage enough to take the full step to freedom and set up a two-party political system in the Southern states, if it hasn't leaders who have sense enough to lead then it had better abandon both its fight and its squealing and get ready to take the licking that will be coming to it. For it cannot have a real voice in either party until it has a foothold in both parties. Columbia, S.C.

No half-way measures will suffice. A half-free people is a people still enslaved to pride and prejudice. Mon. 3-1-48

Too Late

34d The Record Columbia, S.C. Sat. 2-28-48

Speaking at the Virginia Jefferson day dinner at Richmond Senator Harry F. Byrd told the South that it should not sell its right of self government for a mess of federal pottage.

It was advice which should have been given, and taken, years ago when the New Deal was young and when the South still had something to trade. Sat. 2-28-48

Now, it is too late.

Futile Hope

34d

Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi calls upon the South to "become the balance of power" in national politics. And that would be a desirable place for any section to be in.

But can it be accomplished, as Governor Wright proposes, by the device of putting the South out on a limb by itself? The Record

The total Southern vote could have effected only three elections in the past 70 years. Columbia, S.C.

What kind of balance would it be that functioned in only three years out of 70? Mon. 3-1-48

It's Old Southern Custom— This Revolt Against Party

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Sat 2-7-48

34d

By DICK WEIL

Monroe Morniug World Staff Writer

(Written for The Associated Press)

Dixie Democrats are indulging in an old Southern custom in their revolt against President Truman's anti-discrimination policies —but it's one of the most widespread and peculiarly sectional rebellions since the War Between the States.

Southern leadership has frequently joined up with insurgent elements in other regions to alter the party policy or setup. Open opposition to the party itself, however, has usually been limited to one or two states.

A strong clue to the possible strategy of the present "secessionsts" might be found in the bargain to make Rutherford Hayes president in 1876 over Democrat Samuel Tilden.

Both parties claimed the electoral votes of South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida. The result of the election depended upon the result of the dispute over these. The Advertiser

A commission of five senators, five representatives and five Supreme Court justices was named to pass upon the conflicting claims. After months of wrangling the three states in question suddenly ceased protesting and allowed the commission to certify the vote for Hayes.

It was later learned that the Republicans had made a bargain to withdraw federal troops from the South and to grant a general amnesty for supporters of the Confederacy. Montgomery, Ala.

South Turns Away

The South turned away from its own party and wrung concessions from its opponents—a procedure not far different from that being proposed by Mississippi leaders today. Sat.

With Union troops away, the Southern states proceeded to restore the ante-bellum political order, ousting the Reconstructionists and forming a seldom-shaken solid bloc. 2-7-48

Texas and Mississippi separately attempted revolts in 1944 —even while President Roosevelt was alive, with his personality holding the diverse elements of the party together.

The Democratic convention in Texas instructed its delegates to the national convention to demand an end to the policies now being called "anti-Southern." As an alternative, the convention specified its presidential electors wolud be free to vote for any Democrat other than the national nominee. 34d

Roosevelt supporters, however, gained control at a later state convention and ordered a new electoral slate drawn up.

Mississippi also instructed its convention delegates to oppose "anti-Southern planks in the Democratic platform, and released its electors from obligation to vote for the party candidate. The Advertiser

Bailey Rallied Them

But the late Gov. Thomas Bailey, a staunch Roosevelt supporter, called the Legislature to make a new electoral slate. Names of these "loyal" electors were placed on a special ticket which most voters cast into the ballot box. Montgomery, Ala.

Those 1944 revolts failed to affect President Roosevelt's status —but, coupled with other protests from Southern leaders, they were instrumental in having Henry Wallace discarded as vice-presidential nomine in favor of Senator Harry Truman.

Now the revolt is against Truman. Sat. 2-7-48

In 1928 Southern Democrats turned in great numbers against their traditional party—and Republican Herbert Hoover received the electoral votes of Texas, Florida, Virginia and North Carolina.

That was mostly a result of feeling against the religion of the Democratic nominee, Al Smith. The South gained no concessions from the Republicans.

Southerners joined with remnants of the western Populists in 1912 to rescue the nomination of Woodrow Wilson, and break "the grip of the eastern overlords of Wall Street and Tammany Hall." Southerners were prominent in Wilson's cabinet.

Sixteen years earlier the South and West had rebelled against the reigning party leadership from the northeast and north central states. That was when they obtained the nomination of William Jennings Bryan, the young orator and "free silver" advocate, in place of Grover Cleveland.

But the ensuing victory of William McKinley over Bryan made the revolt futile. Sat 2-7-48

A recent charge by Alabama Gov. James Folsom that President Truman is "hog-tied" by eastern "capitalists" bears a strong resemblance to the complaint by Ken Tillman of South Carolina in 1896: Montgomery Ala

"We denounce the Cleveland administration as undemocratic and tyrannical. . . . a plutocratic despotism is sought to be established." The Advertiser

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Russell Hurls 'Gestapo' Charge At President

The News Birmingham, Ala. 34d Fri. 2-6-48

Demo Feud Reaches New Heights, Split Called Most Serious

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6—(AP)—The bitter Democratic feud over civil [illegible]ghts hit a new pitch today. Sen. [illegible]ll (D., Ga.) contended that [illegible]ent Truman is planning an [illegible]stapo" to break down race [illegible]gregation in the South.

Russell told a reporter the South's revolt against the president's call for new measures to knock down racial barriers "is more serious than any I have seen in my lifetime."

This is true, the Georgian said, because Southern Democrats have interpreted the president's demand for an end to Jim Crow laws on trains and buses as the opening wedge in a fight to halt all race segregation.

That could mean, he said, Negroes and whites would attend the same schools, swim in the same pools, eat together and, eventually, intermarry.

* * *

"THE PRESIDENT has made the flat declaration that he considers segregation to be discrimination and violation of civil rights," Russell declared. "He wants to set up a commission and hire a lot of lawyers to fight segregation wherever it exists. The News

"He has ordered the Federal Bureau of Investigation to work with the Department of Justice civil rights division and says it is giving specialized training to its agents. This is nothing more or less than an FBI Gestapo to break down race segregation in the South."

Russell's charge highlighted these other developments: Birmingham

1. Chairman Taft (R., Ohio) called the Senate Republican Policy Committee together to pick a spot on the legislative schedule for an expected battle with filibustering Southerners over one or more civil rights measures. Ala.

2. Sen. Ball (R., Minn.) predicted that Congress will pass no anti-job discrimination bill with enforcement provisions. Ball voted "no" when the Senate labor committee approved such a measure yesterday, seven to five.

3. Reports spread that Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, would move at a Tallahassee, Fla., meeting of Southern governors today to have them issue a call for an "independent" Democratic convention to split away from Mr. Truman. Fri. 2-6-48

4. A Democratic official said the party's national committee will "sit tight" to see what happens before it charts its course.

TAFT, WHO VOTED in committee against a bill to set up a Fair Employment Practice Commission with enforcement power, told reporters it will be up to the GOP policy group and the conference of all Republican senators to decide when it or any similar measures should be brought up.

The Ohioan, a GOP presidential candidate, said he opposed the committee-approved FEPC bill because he believes it would be better to set up a commission which would seek to end job disorimination by voluntary means. The News

The committee bill is sponsored by Sen. Ives (R., N. Y.), who is supporting Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, for the nomination. Patterned after a New York law, the measure would require that voluntary means be exhausted before legal penalties were used.

Although Republicans generally support such measures, GOP members split on this one, as did their Democratic colleagues. Fri 2-6-48

Ball and Sen. Donnell (R., Mo.) joined Taft in voting "no." Sens. Hill, of Alabama, and Ellender, of Louisiana, represented the Democratic opposition. Birmingham Ala

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No Dixie Revolt, Arnall Forecast

The Constitution 34d

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 2-5-48

Former Gov. Arnall, Southern liberal regarded as a potential candidate for the Democratic Vice Presidential nomination, Wednesday predicted the "Solid South" could remain "solidly Democratic" in the 1948 Presidential election, despite the furore caused by President Truman's program of civil rights. Thurs. 2-5-48

"I intend to vote for President Truman and the Democratic Party," said Arnall. "The South has nothing to gain from Republicanism except grief. I am a loyal Democrat." Constitution

Southerners in House Plan New 'Revolt' on Civil Rights

Times

Democrats Will Meet Today to Organize for Joining Governors in Fight on Major Points in the Truman Program

~~New York~~, N.Y.

(34d)

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19—Southern Democratic members of the House were planning a new "revolt" move today to follow tonight's Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners. They will gather in closed session tomorrow to organize for cooperation with the Southern Governors' Conference in resisting President Truman's civil rights program. Fri. 2-20-48

Already drafted for consideration was a resolution through which the revolt would continue not only against the legislative measures which the President recommended but against the inclusion of planks to back them up in the Democratic platform for the 1948 Presidential race.

It was predicted that a committee of six would be named to cooperate with the special committee of the Southern Governors' Conference, due to arrive in Washington on Monday. This group is to meet with Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democratic National Chairman, to emphasize the Southern attitude toward the program. They will not see the President, as he will have departed on his Caribbean cruise.

While the President submitted a ten-point program, it was indicated that the fight would focus almost wholly on the following four proposals:

A Federal anti-lynching law.

A Federal anti-poll tax law.

A permanent Federal ban on discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin.

Establishment in the Department of Justice of a special division for enforcement of all civil rights laws.

The committee from the Governors' Conference requested the cooperation that is to be organized tomorrow. It was predicted that members of the delegations from at least a dozen Southern states would attend. However, there were signs that perhaps only a few delegations would "sign up" solidly when the resolution was presented. There also were numerous members in their home districts, attending and speaking at their own Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners.

This resolution, as composed in advance, would seek to pledge the signers on three actions in resistance to the civil rights program, as follows:

"That we will resist to the finish the enactment of any such legislation. Times

"That the chairman of this conference be and is hereby directed to appoint a committee of six to cooperate with the committee from the Conference of Southern Governors. New York N.Y.

"That the leaders and all who are interested in the success of the Democratic party be urged and respectfully, but firmly, cautioned against putting into its platform that which would assuredly jeopardize its success in the South, where it has been nourished and sustained throughout its existence."

Calls Breakaway Unlikely

Special to The New York Times.

ATHENS, Ga., Feb. 19—Hodding Carter, Mississippi editor, said today a general breakaway of Southern states from the Democratic fold in protest against President Truman's civil rights program was unlikely. He predicted, however, that Mississippi and probably South Carolina would send uninstructed electors to the Electoral College. Fri 2-20-48

Mr. Carter was a speaker at the annual Georgia Press Institute. He is the editor of The Greenville Delta Democrat-Times.

Despite their vigorous protests, Mr. Carter said, there is every likelihood that all other traditionally Democratic states would go down the line with the party.

Pierre J. Huss, correspondent of International News Service, told the editors' gathering that Russia was being misinformed by its own diplomats, "because the aim of its diplomats is to please Stalin with 'news' that will cheer him."

"Hitler, when he was in power, was misinformed in the same way as to potential strength and fighting power of the United States," Mr. Huss asserted.

If Stalin should die, Mr. Huss said, "either the world will be in for a bloodbath as the Politbureau seeks to hold power by plunging into immediate war or there is going to be a bloodbath in the Kremlin and possibly throughout the Soviet Union."

In The Nation

The Times New York, N.Y.

The South Again Talks of Political Divorce

Thurs. 2-5-48

(34d)

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4—The former Confederate States of the South, eleven in number, have 127 electoral votes, and a national issue that would impel any one of them to withhold its electors from the Democratic national ticket would mark the same trend in them all. The five border states, with 52 electoral votes, still have sufficient kinship with the Old South to be affected by its turning away from the Democratic party.

This makes a total of 179 electoral votes, and if any considerable number of these are not given to Democratic candidates for President and Vice President only a Democratic landslide in the rest of the country could avert their certain defeat. The Times

Moreover, several of the former Confederate States have demonstrated that when certain emotional issues arise the Northern Democrats cannot count on them, and the border states are famous for their tendency to shift political allegiances. In 1928 dry sentiment and religious and anti-Tammany prejudices put five Southern states—Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia—and five border states—Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia—into the Republican electoral column. New York, N.Y.

It is an emotional issue now, centering on the racial problem in the South and on the border, which has aroused numerous Democratic officeholders in the states of the old Confederacy to threaten a repetition of what happened in 1928 and for a time was attempted in 1944. President Truman wants Congress to pass certain measures in the name of "civil liberty," including a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act and laws to invalidate state poll-taxes and various forms of segregation of the races. He also wants the Federal Government to take from the states enforcement authority against lynching, and on social and legal grounds there is strong Southern and border sentiment against every proposal. 254

The Dangers and Safeguards

But the base of the protests is emotional; the emotion is generated by the difficult race problem; and when that set of facts exists in this particular area of the United States political consequences can appear which could easily pry several states away from their Democratic moorings. The normal election prospect of 1948 is for a close contest between the major parties in which neither could withstand the loss of even one large state within its traditionally loyal territory.

This is the adverse side of the shield for Mr. Truman and the managing Democratic politicians. But there are several consoling considerations, as follows: The Times

1. A shift of voters from one party to another is easy and practicable anywhere. The Southern voters, however, as the single instance of 1928 shows, have required an unusual combination of prejudices to induce them to vote the Republican national ticket. Henry A. Wallace favors even stronger measures for racial equality than Mr. Truman. And lavish Federal bounties, originating with the New Deal but happily accepted and retained by the anti-New Deal Democratic politicians of the South, have tied their constituents tightly to the Democratic executive power. New York, N.Y.

2. Established by custom if not wholly by law is the obligation of nominees for electors on a party ticket to cast their ballots for the candidates of that party if it carries a state (i. e., if the ticket on which the names of the electoral nominees appear is successful). The statute of 1887 permits a state, at any time within six days before its electoral votes are registered, to settle any dispute that may arise over how its electors shall vote, making this settlement final. and untouchable by any court in any way. But there is reasonable doubt that this Supreme Court would uphold the law; hence successful nominees for elector in any state, including the South and the border, are very likely to continue to vote for the national candidates of their party. Thurs 2-5-48

Hazards of Third Tickets

3. If, therefore, any state or group of states, traditionally Democratic, wishes to withhold its electoral votes from the national candidates of that party, a method must be devised to put up an independent Democratic ticket in each state, headed by Democrats other than the candidates of the national convention. This ticket would have to win the popular vote in November over the regular Democratic and the Republican sets of electors to permit the electoral vote of the state to be cast for its independent candidates.

The chances for the success of such a ticket would be damaged in each state if its Democratic organization had participated in the regular national convention of the party by sending delegates there. That would give basis for the charge of "bolting," much feared by politicians and often effective with the people. And a "revolt" would be deep-rooted indeed if the regular organization of a state refrained from sending delegates to the national convention. The Times 2-5-48

The current Southern protest may prove to have such roots, though an uprising for similar causes in 1944 soon demonstrated it did not. If so, there will be independent Democratic tickets in several states, and Mr. Truman will surely be defeated, with the further possibility that the next President will be elected by the House of Representatives. But the scheme failed in Texas in 1944, and much more must happen in 1948 before the contrary prospect begins to appear. New York

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Some Dixie Members Of Civil Rights Fight In Congress Fearful

Claim Southerners Appears To Have Lost GOP Support Needed To Let Proposed Senate Test

News Age Herald Birmingham Ala. Sun. 2-22-48

Live; Drive Against Program Starts Tomorrow

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BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20—(AP)—A secret Senate poll has convinced some Southern Democratic leaders they have almost no hope of blocking approval of civil rights legislation in this session of Congress.

A veteran Dixie senator who helped count noses told a reporter the Southerners now appear to have lost the Republican support they need to prevent adoption of a gag rule on Senate debate.

He said President Truman's demand for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and anti-segregation laws has been accepted as a political challenge by the GOP members. As a result, he said few, if any, Republicans will vote to limit debate.

* * *

THIS PROSPECT AROSE as some 50 Democratic House members from the states of the old Confederacy broadened their drive against the Truman civil rights program.

They and five Southern governors will slam down their criticism of the program Monday before Sen. J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, Democratic national chairman. Govs. Laney, of Arkansas; Jester, of Texas; Tuck, of Virginia; Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Cherry, of North Carolina, were heading for the capital.

The only promise McGrath has given is that he will pass their protests along to Mr. Truman.

Southerners have found the Senate, rather than the House, their main line of defense in fighting similar race-relations legislation in past sessions. That is because of a difference in rules of the two bodies. The general practice of unlimited debate in the Senate has enabled them to talk the bills to death.

But there is a chink in that defense—the cloture rule. Cloture is a device by which two-thirds of those voting can limit each senator to a single, one-hour speech on a bill and all amendments.

The Southerners were said to be able to tally at this time only 25 sure votes—eight short of the strength needed if all 96 senators voted—to ward off the cloture rule.

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Traditionally the Southerners have been able to avoid adoption of the gag rule because of Republican help. News Age Herald

Meanwhile, a committee of 12 House members was established to keep up the fight against the president's entire civil rights program.

Rep. Colmer (D., Miss.), the chairman, said the committee has three purposes:

1. To plan strategy in case one or more of these "vicious and unconstitutional" bills come to the floor.
2. To cooperate with the governors.
3. To serve note on party leaders inclusion of the president's proposals in the 1948 Democratic platform would "definitely jeopardize the party's success" in the South.

Rep. Harris, of Arkansas, will serve as secretary of the new committee. Other members are Hobbs, of Alabama; Sikes, of Florida; Cox, of Georgia; Gregory, of Kentucky; Larcade, of Louisiana; Clark, of North Carolina; Richards, of South Carolina; Murray, of Tennessee; Gossett, of Texas, and Howard W. Smith, of Virginia.

The Republican majority in Congress was represented as determined to get at least one civil rights law passed this session. Their previous inclination has been to try the anti-lynching issue first. Birmingham Ala

Sen. Taft, of Ohio, chairman of the Republican policy committee, told a reporter his group will talk the matter over soon. He said it will be up to the conference of all Republican senators to decide which bill to try first.

State Demo Chieftain Flays Civil Rights Bill

MOBILE, Ala., Feb. 21—(AP)—Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of Alabama's State Democratic Executive Committee, said Saturday that unless the National Democratic Party "changes its attitude of hostility, I hardly see how we Southerners can continue following the party's leadership."

"You can rest assured we are making plans to combat this situation, and the National Democratic Party will either have to give a different sort of recognition to the South or we are going to have to part company," he said.

"I don't see how any Southerner could with self-respect follow the leadership of any party which undertakes to write into its platform the absolutely unworkable, impossible, and I might say unthinkable, theories advanced by President Truman in his message to Congress on civil rights," McCorvey declared. 342 Sun. 2-22-48

The veteran political leader made the statement in a letter commending The Mobile Register, a daily newspaper, for an editorial it carried Saturday entitled, "South Gets No Credit From Truman for Traditional Democratic Loyalty."

George Predicts Demos' Shakeup

342 The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Change Is Coming After Presidential Election, He Says, Hoffman Plan Scorn

Fri. 2-27-48

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27—(AP)—A shakeup in the embattled Democratic Party after the presidential election was predicted today by Sen. George (D., Ga.).

Without passing on President Truman's chances in November, George said he believes Southern opponents of Mr. Truman's civil rights program are going to have a great deal to say about the future complexion of their party.

As he spoke Dixie Democrats fought a delaying action in Congress against enactment of the civil rights plan. But in the Southern states themselves, the drive to bar Mr. Truman's name on the official ballot gained momentum.

"I think that as a result of this 1948 campaign we will have a chance to reorganize the Democratic Party on a basis of sound economic and good government principles," the Georgia senator told a reporter.

* * *

"I MYSELF WOULD BE QUITE content to become a member of a minority party, so long as that party is based on sound principles."

He said he was "not interested" in any move to make him a "favorite son" candidate for the presidential nomination. The News

George's statement was taken as an indication of how a number of the Southern lawmakers in Congress look upon their fight with the present leadership of the Democratic Party. Birmingham, Ala.

Several of them said they don't care if Mr. Truman is beaten by a Republican in November. Many are looking to 1952 for a division of political sentiment along what they describe as conservative and liberal lines. Fri. 2-27-48

But none of them thought much of a proposal by Rep. Hoffman (R., Mich.) that the Republicans put up a candidate whose opposition to Mr. Truman's anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, anti-job discrimination and anti-Jim Crow proposals would make him acceptable to the South.

"Brazen and contemptible," were the words Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath used to assail Hoffman's proposal.

* * *

"THE REPUBLICAN PARTY once pillaged the prostrate South," he said. "I do not think that today the Republican Party will find a strong and healthy South selling itself back into the hands of the party which ravished it." The News

McGrath meanwhile set up an "executive committee" which he said would "implement the operation" of the national convention. Only two representatives from the so-called solid South were among the 16 members. Birmingham, Ala.

Meanwhile GOP leaders prepared to push ahead with legislation they confidently hope will make the Dixie members so thoroughly angry that they will not relent later and return to the national Democratic ranks in November.

* * * Fri. 2-27-48

ALTHOUGH HOUSE ACTION was delayed on the anti-lynching bill until next week, the Senate prepared to take up another measure equally opposed by the Southerners. 2-27-48

Sen. Brooks (R., Ill.) predicted a Senate rules subcommittee would approve today a House-approved bill to ban poll taxes which are now collected in seven Southern states.

Meanwhile, the Southerners went ahead with their plans to turn up independent—or anti-Truman—electors in may states. The News

Sen. Maybank (D., S. C.) said the South Carolina State Democratic Committee will meet Monday and probably will follow the lead of Virginia. Birmingham, Ala.

GOV. WILLIAM TUCK asked the Virginia Legislature to take the name of the presidential and vice presidential candidates off the state ballot in November. The idea would be to free electors to support any one they choose. Fri. 2-27-48

The Southern Revolt Strikes a Low Level

The Courier-Journal 342

Thurs. 3-5-48

THE Bourbons of Southern politics, who wouldn't be caught dead with HENRY WALLACE, are to be found strangely by his side in at least one furious intent. Without counting the cost, they would defeat HARRY S. TRUMAN. Louisville, Ky.

It is true they are more single-minded than the members of the former Vice President's "Gideon's Army," whose motives are so mixed as to raise many a doubtful question. On their part, the Solid Southerners talk of punishing President TRUMAN for his proposals to end racial discrimination in voting, travel, employment and personal security. There is no other issue.

It is a hot but not a holy outburst. The common denominator of the Southern protest is pretty low. Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND of Mississippi, the State in which the fire seems to have been set, ~~has put it~~ in words of indignity for WALTER WHITE, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In one revealing moment the old treasured legalisms are laid aside. There is no mention of constitutionality or States' Rights, though the more squeamish and pious may be expected to bear down on those shibboleths later. The Senator puts the matter in terms of historical prejudice. He says "Nigger!" Thurs 2-5-48

The word isn't blurted out in a moment of passion. Senator EASTLAND turns to reporters and insists that they make no mistake about his epithet or his intent to use it. By that deliberation the country is told all about the motives of opposition for the President's program to strengthen civil rights. Thus is explained the threats by Governor FIELDING WRIGHT in Mississippi, Senator MAYBANK in South Carolina, by many another chorusing politico, to bolt the party, the old *sanctum sanctorum* of white supremacy, if Mr. TRUMAN doesn't pipe down on all this talk of freedom and "equal justice under law."

To give a proper rumble to this "fee-fi-fo-fum," they are heard talking (though a bit anonymously, it is true) about trotting out the slick trick that was devised in Texas in 1944. This is the arrangement by which Presidential electors would be hand-picked with definite instructions to vote against Mr. TRUMAN in the Electoral College. The Texas plot was to make the electors, picked by a controlled party convention, vote against ROOSEVELT, even though the people of the State overwhelmingly favored him. The 1948 version of this fraud is to pick the electors by State legislatures. It amounts to an equal subversion of the people's will and intent.

It won't work, of course. But the mere fact that it is proposed, however impetuously, shows that there are politicians with hides impervious to such thrusts in the name of democracy as that which unseated the Texas Regulars and repudiated an essentially evil design. The Courier-Journal

And the thing which will strike the average American elsewhere as almost unbelievable is that all this uproar and plotting has been stirred by proposals which essentially represent the American idea. With perhaps objections as to details, more people are likely to endorse the program proposed by President TRUMAN than otherwise. Thurs. 3-5-48

The opposition may suggest that Mr. TRUMAN is playing politics. But the record shows that he has always voted for these ideas. The record also shows that the Republicans at Chicago in 1944 wrote a good program, even to the definite promise of action—and yet, although in numerical control of Congress for nearly two years since, and actually in control for a third year, they have let their promises slide. Who, one wonders, has been playing the politics? And what are the insurgent Southerners about, except the vengeance of cutting off their noses to spite their faces? Or is it that they feel the Republican Party, whose success they would make certain, could be depended on to keep letting promises stand for action? Louisville, Ky.

The Political Coloration Of the Southern Revolt

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky. Tues 3-2-48

IT IS hard to imagine a "Southern revolt" with sound and fury so great, with promise of damage to the Democratic Party so dire, in any other than an election year. In other words, the thing is chock-ful of politics.

This, of course, is natural. Politics is the means of getting things done, and an approaching election provides the arena in which to play the game. And there is room for more than suspicion that a lot of the uproar is for Southern home consumption. Many of the loudest shouters are running for office this year. Stout and thunderous outcries in behalf of white supremacy are still among the most potent of local vote-catchers in the old Confederacy.

Two items which turned up over the week end have a bearing on this point. One is the report from North Carolina by **JOHN POPHAM**, writing for *The New York Times* and **THE COURIER-JOURNAL**. In this it is related that practically alone of States in the Deep South, North Carolina is comparatively free of the feverish distemper. Only three of its 12 representatives in Congress were among the 74 Southerners who signed the ultimatum to President **TRUMAN** threatening to split the party if he sticks to his civil-rights program.

The Courier-Journal

You must take these observations along with the knowledge that the racial issue long ago fell into disuse in North Carolina. Twenty-eight years ago the Tarheel State abolished the poll tax as a qualification for voting. Its record of votes by both whites and Negroes is extraordinarily high in comparison with that of its neighbors.

Louisville, Ky.

In 1940, for example, it cast 822,000 votes in the Presidential election to 345,000 in Virginia, a poll-tax State just above it; to 97,000 in South Carolina, a poll-tax State on the south. Its reputed calmness in the present bitter struggle cannot but be linked with its balance on the subject. And to look at the matter from the other side, where demagogic use of the race issue is the custom, the screams for the President's head are most furious. You may get the idea that the gentlemen must let their constituents, as well as Mr. **TRUMAN**, know where they stand.

This brings us to the second item, which tells that **GEORGE B. HAMILTON**, Georgia State Treasurer, has resigned as finance director of the Democratic National Committee. Mr. **HAMILTON** holds an office which is filled by popular vote. Georgia is a State where the issue is hot, and where it burns in the race for Governor which is now in progress, to be decided this summer. Local politicos cannot be inarticulate on the subject, and Mr. **HAMILTON'S** words of lofty indignation for National Chairman **MCGRATH'S** stand are certainly unmistakable.

All in all, the revolt is not a new thing. And if its language is old, its strategy and timing are even older, as old as politics. More purposes are being served than defense of constitutional theory. You might even say that Mr. **TRUMAN'S** temerity—or blunder, if you please—was in putting the boys on the spot, in this of all years.

Tues. 3-2-48

Truman Woos

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Tues. 3-2-48

The President's civil-rights platform, which has enraged the South, is a bid for Northern colored support he needs

THE hot temper of Southern Democrats over the obvious effort of President Truman, through his Federal fair employment practices and other kindred proposals, to woo the Negro vote in the ten Northern States where it is large enough to affect the result, is easy to understand. It strikes at the deepest of their prejudices and constitutes a threat to the social order of their section, hard to contemplate calmly.

Tues. 3-2-48

This is a serious matter in the South, but what particularly enrages its representatives is the well-founded conviction that, politically, Mr. Truman is playing both ends against the middle and that this makes them appear the prize political boobs in history. For example, while the President makes these overtures to the Negroes in the hope of gaining their support in places where it is most needed, he well knows how offensive they are to the South, and is fully aware that the Southern States, whose electoral votes are vital to his election, have no alternative but to support him.

Roosevelt Had the Idea First

The Courier-Journal

This is indignantly regarded as taking unfair advantage of the loyal people of a great section. Certainly, it does make great saps of the Southern Democrats, leaders as well as rank and file. Nevertheless, their anger against the unfortunate Mr. Truman is not entirely reasonable. If the heated statesmen below the Mason and Dixon line will reflect calmly upon the recent political past, several things will become clear to them—first, that the above-mentioned gestures were forced upon Mr. Truman, not chosen by him; second, that he had little more choice in making them than they have in meeting them; third, that responsibility for the dependence of the Democratic party upon a combination of the Negro vote in the North and the labor bosses in the big cities is not Mr. Truman's, but wholly that of his predecessor, Mr. Roosevelt.

Louisville, Ky Tue. 3-2-48

It was Mr. Roosevelt who first made boobs of Southern Democrats, not Mr. Truman. The latter is merely following the Roosevelt lead. It was Mr. R., not Mr. T., who swung the Democratic party away from its historic position, transformed its character, baited and beguiled the traditionally Republican Negroes into becoming Democrats, formed a White House alliance with the C.I.O., opened the door to the radicals and drove millions of conservative Democrats out of the party. This was its nature when three years ago Mr. Truman became its titular head. Now, with Mr. Wallace diverting part of the labor vote, most of the radicals and some of the Negroes, it is clear that neither Mr. Truman nor any other Democrat possibly can win this year without holding the bulk of the Negroes in Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, who voted almost solidly in 1936, 1940 and 1944.

One only has to analyze the votes in these States in 1940 and 1944 to confirm these facts. Take, for example, the typical State of Maryland, where there are approximately 100,000 registered Negro voters. In the last election Mr. Roosevelt carried Maryland by 23,000. Conservative estimates by leaders of both parties agreed not less than 50,000 Negroes voted for him. Take New York—in 1944 Mr. Roosevelt carried it over Mr. Dewey by 317,000. Hardly anyone questions that more than that many Negroes voted for him. A similar case for Democratic dependence on the Negro votes can be made out in all the other States where they are enough to be a factor. There are at least nine of these.

In brief, this vote has become essential to Democratic success and the practical politicians in both parties know it. Considering these things, when the Negro leaders, spokesmen and press unite, as they have, behind a proposal such as the fair employment practices bill, Mr. Truman has to come through. As well as anyone, he knows the hell it will raise in the South, but he had no alternative. To fail meant that the Republicans would be able to stampede most of the Negroes "back home." And if they do that, concededly, the Democrats are sunk. There is nothing for Mr. Truman to do save continue the Roosevelt policy of making a boob of the Southern democracy.

Move to Stop a Stampede

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Tues. 3-2-48

He will not get away with it as well as Mr. Roosevelt, who as a double-dealer had a lot more on the ball. Mr. Truman will lose more votes in the South, where the loss will not hurt. He will not get as solid Negro support in the North as did Mr. Roosevelt, but he will prevent that "stampede." It was in 1936 that Chairman James A. Farley, with unlimited Federal patronage, the employment of scores of traveling Negro teachers, preachers and speakers, the enthusiastic co-operation of the late Harry Hopkins and his W.P.A., wholehearted support from Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt, made a calculated drive to take away from the Republicans what had been their basic asset.

A practically complete success was achieved. It was regarded by those responsible as the cleverest political coup in the history of American politics. Even in the South (there then being no hint of the sort of legislation that now threatens) it was so regarded. However, at the time there were some who warned that this might not turn out as smart as it seemed. Looking at the situation as it now exists they appear to have been right.

Tues. 3-2-

Democrats End Hectic Week Amid Revolt, Wallace Victory

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

By D. HAROLD OLIVER

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21.—(AP)—Southern Democrats converged on Washington this weekend waving a "White Supremacy" big stick.

They want no part of President Truman's civil rights program. They regard most of it "anti-Southern" and federal interference with Dixie "tradition."

This is only one worry for the Democratic party as it approaches the 1948 election preliminaries.

Henry A. Wallace's "new party" forces got a big lift out of their victory over the Democrats in a New York special House election. They capitalized on it immediately by stepping up organization for Wallace's presidential bid in states from Maryland to California.

President Truman avoided a direct clash with both the Southern and Wallace elements in his Jefferson - Jackson Day dinner speech. If this meant appeasement, as Republicans claimed, it failed to appease.

The Southerners went ahead with plans to send a five-man governors' committee here to talk things over Monday afternoon with Chairman J. Howard McGrath of the Democratic committee.

Sun. 2-22-48

McGrath made no advance promises to the Southern Conference committee. He did tell reporters, though, that he would pass on their arguments to the president.

The five governors, who have a 1:30 p.m., (Montgomery Time), appointment to see McGrath, Monday, are J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina, chairman; Beauford Jester, Texas; Gregg Cherry, North Carolina; William Tuck, Virginia; and Ben Laney, Arkansas.

They were appointed recently in Florida to represent all Southern States.

Have Backing

Backing them in their complaints are Democratic congressmen from all 11 Southern States. They adopted a resolution Friday pledging "cooperation" with the governors opposing the president's program for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, and anti-segregation legislation.

There have been no indications that the administration would back track on its civil rights proposals. The Southerners say they were made in an election year to corral Northern Negro votes.

Four moves are open to the Southerners. As outlined by them to date, they include:

1—Demand that a Southerner be selected as the Democratic vice - presidential candidate. Names suggested include Senators Byrd, of Virginia, and George, of Georgia, and James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina.

2—A fight against a "specific"

civil rights plank in the national platform, and an accompanying drive to restore the two-thirds nominating rule at the national convention.

3—Withholding of funds from the campaign chest, such as those raised at Jefferson-Jackson dinners.

4—Naming of anti-Truman electors for the November ballot.

If President Truman is unhappy over the buffetings from within his party, he did not show it when he took off for a two-weeks' trip to Florida and the Caribbean area.

"Happy" He Says

He told reporters he was happy and unworried.

The night before he laid down the line of battle for the coming campaign. He saw it as a Democratic party fighting for "progressive liberalism" against "a bunch of reactionaries" thinking only of the "privileged few."

Chairman Carroll Reece, of the Republican national committee said this should have been "set to music under the title 'Old Henry, Won't You Please Come Back?'"

Wallace was cool to a speech by McGrath interpreted as a virtual bid to the former vice-president to return to the Democratic party. Wallace said he would consider such an invitation "if the Democratic party proves it's a peace party." He added that "there is no present indication that it is." Advertiser

Wallace supporters, meanwhile, were organizing in Maryland, Virginia, Alabama, California, Illinois, New Hampshire, and West Virginia. Montgomery, Ala

The former vice-president preceded the president to Florida by several days. He campaigned in Tampa and Miami. He said he saw "no comfort in sitting at home hugging the very fine principle of the Marshall Plan while the martial plans are carried out." He plans to stump Minnesota next week. Sun 2-22-48

Democratic leaders had feared that the Wallace victory in New York might give his Minnesota supporters an advantage in a meeting Thursday, of the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer Labor party central committee.

However, the Truman forces gained control and set up a steering committee for a June 12-13 state convention looking to control of Minnesota's 26 votes in the national convention.

New vice-presidential candidates suggested during the week:

Democrats: James A. Farley. He said it would be "presumptuous" for him to comment.

Republicans: Representative Frank B. Keefe, of Wisconsin. "Stranger things have happened," commented the five-term congressman.

News
Birmingham Al
Fri 2-20-48

SOUTH MUST ACT—Birmingham Safety Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor is pictured above last night as he addressed the Jasper Business and Professional Women's Club. At left is Mrs. Reuben Newton, chairman of the club's legislative committee, who introduced Connor, and Mrs. Claude Swan, club president. (Photo by Miles Hughey.) Birmingham, Ala

Connor Issues Call To South: 'Act Now To Save Future'

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

JASPER, Ala., Feb. 20—Alabama and other Southern states must act forcefully now for their own protection or have the decision governing their future made by our enemies. Birmingham Ala

This was emphasized before a gathering of Jasper men and women last night by Birmingham Public Safety Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor, who urged that delegates be sent to the Democratic National Convention who will battle to uphold Southern traditions. Fri 2-20-48

"We are at the crossroads," Connor told the Jasper Business and Professional Women's Club. "We are faced with a great constitutional question. If we do not make a decision for our own protection, the decision which will govern us will be made by our enemies. Vote for delegates to the convention that you know will fight to protect the South against our enemies."

Commissioner Connor, candidate for one of the eight Democratic delegates-at-large to be elected in the May and June primaries, in a bristling speech before the Jasper gathering, lashed out at Henry (Big Yogi) Wallace and his followers.

"I'm for outlawing Communists," declared Connor, "and if I'm elected one of your delegates I shall work to include in our national Democratic platform a provision for doing just that. The way to deal with Communists is to put the exterminator to them."

THE PUBLIC SAFETY COMMISSIONER reiterated that the race question is one that should be left entirely to the various states, since circumstances in each may require different treatment.

"But in Alabama," he said, "segregation is absolutely necessary and must be maintained to avoid serious difficulties. Fri 2-20-48

"The people of Alabama recognize that we have a problem and are doing much to improve the Negro's status in life."

Connor pointed out that Birmingham recently voted a large bond issue for public schools, with one-half the funds earmarked for Negro schools. He said the people were told that one-half the money would be spent on Negro schools and that the voters approved the issue by a lopsided majority.

The police commissioner pictured Communists as "termites" seeking to destroy the framework of our democratic government. He asserted we have laws against entry into this country of alien anarchists, but "so far as the welfare of our country is concerned, the Communist agitator is just as bad as the anarchist."

"The Communist would overthrow the American form of government and establish in its place the Red, Communist government," declared Connor. "The Communist would pull down Old Glory and hoist their flag in its place over the White House and over the grave of our Unknown Soldier in Arlington. I hold to the belief that American jobs, American soil and American air should be closed to international agitators and gangsters whose intent is destroying what it has taken us 150 years to build.

"We should delouse our soil and air by putting the exterminator to these pests who would destroy America."

The commissioner pointed out Communists raise the cry that to outlaw them would be contrary to the freedoms provided by our democratic government.

"Try making a speech in Moscow and see how much freedom that Communist country allows," added Connor. "The Communist is opposed to freedom of speech, freedom of religion and every other kind of freedom. I'm sure that when our forefathers founded this government they never intended that freedom of speech should be extended to protect men and women working to destroy and overthrow the government."

* * *

WITH REGARD TO THE RACE question, Connor declared: "It is part of the Communist program to stir up strife between white and Negro people and keep it stirred up."

Connor recounted his experiences in the Legislature and as police commissioners. He emphasized the necessity for proper training of our youth and the "setting of proper examples for their guidance." He pointed to the work done by P.-T. A. and others which had reduced juvenile delinquency in Birmingham to the lowest percentage of any comparable size city.

South Speaks Its Mind On 'Civil Rights'

BY BEM PRICE Thurs 2-5-48

ATLANTA, Feb. 5—(AP)—Southern Democrats, all dressed up for a national party, still were feeling snubbed today and thinking about forming one of their own. [illegible]

In brief, many a Southerner was suffering from an acute case of hurt feelings because of President Truman's 10-point civil rights program.

This program was against segregation, the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, and for an anti-lynch law and a permanent fair economics practices commission. All of these points are close to Southern hearts. Thurs 2-5-48

* * *

LIKE ALL PARTINGS or threats of partings, there were rebel yells of ingratitude, and outrage.

The Atlanta Journal observed in an editorial that the recommendations "would resemble the Moscow pattern far more than the American way of life . . . this headlong project would . . . put firebrands in the hands of demagogues."

Editor Ralph McGill, of The Atlanta Constitution wrote the program "gives to despicable organizations . . . a membership appeal."

McGill added, however, that "for the South secession is no answer."

Despite the cynical use of the program by both Northern Republicans and Democrats, he said "Henry Wallace makes both seem conservative." Then McGill added, "Forming a Southern party is futile and would further injure the Southern political position. . . . It must be fought out in Congress." The Times

AMIDST THE RUMBEINGS of discontent and the calls for formation of a Southern party to cry a plague on both your houses, there was another voice raised—that of a Southern Negro. Birmingham, Ala.

E. D. Nixon, president of the Alabama branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, commented that the South is demanding the right to "re-enslave its Negro citizens."

In a prepared statement, Nixon declared that "Southern reactionists oppose anti-lynch legislation because they want to continue to use lynching to crush the Negro physically, mentally and spiritually . . . They are anxious to maintain by every means possible, racial segregation in order to carry out the false idea and belief of white supremacy." Thurs 2-5-48

There was glee among Southern Republicans over the Democratic South's troubles.

* * *

Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas said he would prefer to see a Republican in the White House to President Truman if the civil rights program is passed.

Gov. Laney also repeated his suggestion that a convention be called to nominate a Southern candidate for president.

Former Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia, widely known as a spokesman for Southern liberals, said he would support President Truman as a "loyal Democrat." The present governor, N. E. Thompson, also has pledged his support to Truman.

ONE SENATOR in Washington who has asked that his name be withheld, said two days ago, the matter of a convention would be brought up at the meeting of the Southern Governors' conference in Tallahassee, Fla., Friday. Birmingham, Ala

But conference chairman, Gov. Millard Caldwell of Florida, said he didn't think it would; that the conference was going to discuss educational matters. Thurs 2-5-48

Even before President Truman's recommendations were made, Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi said he would hate to see a break with the national party, but something must be done to stop party support of "anti-Southern" legislation. The Times

After the governor spoke, a bill was introduced in the legislature permitting Mississippi Democrats to bolt the national party in an election. That bill is pending and has powerful support.

THOMAS L. STOKES

34D

Disintegration of the Democratic Party

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 2-6-48

WASHINGTON—Another quadrennial rebellion of a noisy Southern wing of the Democratic Party—and again on the racial issue—is convincing proof of one fact of considerable significance for this 1948 election year.

The fact is that the once vigorous party Franklin D. Roosevelt created in 1932 and held together for four national elections finally has disintegrated to the point where it does not seem possible for it to win an election.

The infection in the Southern tail of the Democratic animal now has permeated the whole body so that it is a sick and weakly imitation of its former self. It seems to lack the virility to pull itself together for a tough fight.

The last Southern "revolt," that in 1944, was of a pattern with the current one. It began well ahead of the convention with fulminations and threats. At the convention it exhibited itself in raucous, rump sessions of Southern delegations at which bitter words were flung at the progressive and labor elements of the party concentrated in the big cities of the East and industrial Midwest. The unhealable schism was glaringly revaled.

After covering developments in the South that year and after watching the spectacle at the convention, this writer observed in a dispatch at that time that the Democratic Party had become such a creaky vehicle that it probably could hold together for only one more election—that of 1944—and then only because of the war and the dynamic leadership of Mr. Roosevelt.

That observation seems even sounder today.

The Constitution

There were dire threats in early 1944 that the South would bolt the party and put up a candidate of its own which, of course, did not come off. There are the same threats today. It is safe to forecast that nothing will come of them, either. That is because the people of the South will not support any such action. The professional Southern leaders know that, as they knew it in 1944. This is the usual 'revolt" manufactured at the top by self-annointed professional leaders for their own ends. Atlanta, Ga.

But, though nothing extraordinary will occur, the repetition of these "revolts" finally has revealed a fundamental weakness in the Democratic Party: its inability to perform because of its split personality. This will have influence with independent elements elsewhere in the country, which are always necessary to win an election, and weaken their confidence in the party.

This weakness exhibited itself as long ago as the second Roosevelt administration. Conservative Southerners in Congress then began to ally themselves in a coalition with Republicans to fight New Deal measures which, by that time, had directly affected powerful Southern vested interests upon which Southern conservatives were dependent. No domestic New Deal reforms were achieved after 1938 because of that coalition. During the war the party schism was submerged because the emphasis was away from domestic matters. Fri. 2-6-48

But the Southern conservative bloc—and it by no means included all Southern members then, nor does it today—resumed its coalition with Republicans after the war and President Truman has been unable to break the blockade. In vain, over and over, he has recommended leftover Roosevelt measures, only to have them pigeonholed. Southerners also have joined with Republicans to enact measures that he opposed.

It has now become clear that no matter how strong or how often Mr. Truman demands, he will get little or nothing. It is clear, likewise, that if he should be re-elected, the Southern group would continue to block him. The new "revolt" has finally driven that home. The Constitution

The only way for the Democratic Party to revive itself is to weed out the obstructive Southerners. That will be a slow and gradual process. There is activity to this end in the South. Many people are promoting it. Only in that way can the party regain confidence among enough voters elsewhere to win elections. Atlanta, Ga.

Light On The Revolt

Birmingham Ala. 34D

To the Editor of The News:

The more light there is thrown on the threatened Southern revolt the more good, valid reasons there seem to be that it will, in the long run, prove to be what in the vernacular is called "a flash in the pan."

It has been pointed out by an impartial publication, The Christian Science Monitor, "State of the Union" column, that "all this means that the opportunity and the ingredients of a serious Southern secession from the Roosevelt-Truman conservative-liberal coalition of the past 16 years are at hand. It does not mean that the Southern Democrats, when the stakes are finally down, actually will try to carry their resentment to revolt, cut themselves off from the power and prestige which come from their positions of party seniority in Washington, and expose themselves to the rigors of the two-party system." News

The first thing that occurred to me when the secession flareup took place was, "This is it!" This is exactly what I have hoped to see, a two-party system where there is plenty of room for two. As far as the one-party system is concerned, I am anything but impartial. I am "again it," and in the event that the party headed by H. A. Wallace survives after the two major party conventions are held, a fourth party composed of the dissident element within the Southern Democratic Party would prove to be a balance to the third by virtue of the fact that it naturally would be antithetic thereto. Sat. 2-21-4

To that extent the insurgents would render the entire nation a service—perhaps. In my estimation, this would prove to be "a break" for the South. From then on the Democratic Party of the South would cease to be the tail of the national Democratic Party kite. It could then become one of the kite's ribs, so to speak, and to be what it's supposed to be; that is, democratic! Birmingham, Ala.

All of which is problematical, of course, and besides the loss of "power, prestige, seniority," there's patronage too to take into consideration. The fourth party would have to start from scratch because these emoluments of office would all go to loyal Democrats. Outside of all this there are numerous matters of vital importance to all who put the national welfare, especially in times like these, ahead of party, and in many instances ahead of even personal interest. Right at present there's too much at stake, too much on a teeter, and too much liable to topple overboard for disgruntled interests to rock the boat, whether they be personal, political or otherwise.

BEN T. COUCHMAN.

Akron, Ala. Sat. 2-21-48

Southern Thunder

34D News Age Herald

BY FRED TAYLOR

Will Alabama and other Southern Democrats really kick over the party traces this time? Birmingham, Ala.

Seasoned political observers don't think they will. But they might do just that. Certainly the fact they are rearing back on their hind legs in protest against President Truman's "civil rights" program is having a very salutary effect on party bigwigs.

Southern Democrats finally are making it crystal clear they are tired of being pushed around. Many long ago became convinced that what the South is getting out of the Democratic Party is not worth the pushing around it has been getting.

Sun. 2-22-48

TAYLOR

HEARTENING—The revolt is a heartening thing. Sen. Lister Hill says Rhode Island's Sen. Harold McGrath, Democratic National Committee chairman, has become convinced (although possibly a little late) that Southern Democrats mean business.

Reports out of Washington at first indicated that President Truman and McGrath were amused at the loud squawks coming from below the Mason and Dixon Line. Their reasoning was—and still is—that Southern Democrats have no other place to go.. Maybe they've forgotten that several Southern states—more than actual vote counts showed—went Republican in 1928. It was generally talked that Alabama actually voted for Herbert Hoover against Al Smith in that election, but when vote counting was finished Democrats had won by a narrow margin. Religion and liquor questions, but mostly religion, brought about that political upheaval in the South.

* * *

DYNAMITE — Truman's "civil rights" program certainly is packed with as much political dynamite today, what with anti-segregation and other proposals made in the party's bid for the heavy Negro minority vote in population centers of the East and Middle West.

Some leaders feel that if the Republican Party had another name, Southern Democrats would turn their backs on McGrath & Co. and go to the GOP en masse.

Others are ready to forget the Republican name. They contend that it is time for the South to forget the War Between the States and assert its political independence.

Then the GOP would court instead of ignore the South and Democrats would give us tender care instead of step-child treatment. Birmingham Ala

* * *

MISSISSIPPI MEETING—Several Alabama Democratic leaders, including State Executive Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, and Birmingham Public Safety Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor, have been invited to a Mississippi Democratic revolt meeting this Sunday.

Gov. Fielding L. Wright sent the following telegram to Commissioner Connor:

"Outstanding leaders of the democracy of the state of Mississippi will meet in executive session Sunday in the Heidelberg Hotel, Jackson We would be honored if you will attend and give us the benefit of your counsel."

Sun. 2-22-48

Connor was unable to attend the Mississippi meeting because of a previous engagement. But the public safety commissioner, who is campaigning for one of the eight Democratic delegates-at-large places from this state, fired a verbal blast in Jasper last week at Northern meddlers trying to break down Southern customs and traditions. He said Alabama and other Southern states must act forcefully now for their own protection or have the decision governing their future made by our enemies.

"LITTLE YOGI"—They're calling Gould Beech "Little Yogi" and Henry Wallace "Big Yogi." Both have taken on big assignments.

"Little Yogi" Beech, who calls up both Alabama's U. S. senators and gives them lengthy political lectures over the phone, just like that, seems to be feeling his oats.

Beech, aside from being Gov. Folsom's alter ego, edits the Southern Farmer and handles, among other things, the square dance phase of the new ABC Board's juke box program.

Beech not only has threatened Sen. John Sparkman, who comes up for renomination in the May 4 primary, with opposition, but has plans to bump off all nine of Alabama's congressmen.

James Free, The News' Washington correspondent, writes that Beech told Sparkman he (Beech) would run against him if no other opponent plunged into the race.

That would be a very interesting race, one Sparkman adherent feels. But this same Sparkman supporter doesn't feel the junior senator helped himself very much when he gave The Associated Press an apologetic statement about his telephone conversation with Beech.

My guess is Beech won't run against Sen. Sparkman. If he does, Sparkman should be an easy winner.

* * *

SWITCHES—Several weeks ago, George D. Patterson, Jr., Birmingham attorney, reportedly was all set to run for Congress.

Then Patterson, protege of University of Alabama's Dr. Roscoe Martin, was said to have changed his mind and decided to campaign for president of the Jefferson County Commission. This report lifted yebrows in political circles, since t was difficult for them to believe Patterson would abandon a law areer for a place on the commision.

But reports now have it that Patterson has switched his decision back to the congressional race and will run against Rep. Laurie Battle and former Rep.

Luther Patrick, both of whom have qualified as candidates.

George Huddleston, Jr., is still seriously considering entering this race. News. Age Herald

* * *

DINNER AT 6:30—Six of Jefferson County's eight legislators raised their eyebrows slightly Saturday.

What lifted them were invitations from Gov. Folsom to Reps. Wallace Gibson and Paul Meeks for them and their wives to dine with the chief executive at the governor's mansion at 6:30 p.m. Thursday.

Sen. Albert Boutwell and the other five representatives—Hugh Kaul, Henry Beatty, Larry Dumas, Jimmie Adams and Will Sadler—wonder what's cooking. Their curiosity has been aroused, even if the next mail also brings invitations to them.

Dixie Chiefs Carry Fight Still Further

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Feb 2-25-48

Byrd, Marshall Hinted As Democratic Choice For President's Seat

But They Refuse

(348)

Delta State Issues Call For Another Parley To Map Out Battle

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Wed 2-25-48

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24.—(AP)—Southern Democratic leaders Tuesday carried their revolt against President Truman's leadership to the point of opposing his nomination for a full term in the White House.

Senator McClellan of Arkansas said Mr. Truman, by his civil rights stand, "has thrown away his chances" of being elected. McClellan said he would like to see Senator Byrd (D) Va., nominated for the presidency.

Senator Johnston (D) South Carolina, said he thought "the party will stand a better chance of success in the November election" with a candidate other than Mr. Truman—Secretary of State Marshall, for instance. The Advertiser

Byrd immediately asked that his name be kept out of any presidential nomination discussion. Marshall said flatly that he would not consider running for any office. Montgomery, Ala.

In the Republican camp, Rep. Bender of Ohio said the Southern protest against "outside interference" is "hollow." Wed 2-25-48

Bender, sponsor of a bill to outlaw the poll tax requirements for voting in federal elections, said "the rights of states are important" but "no state has the right to deny any American citizen the right to vote because of his race or because he is poor."

10 Million Can't Vote

He said 10,000,000 persons have no vote because of poll tax requirements. And he said he hopes the majority of Southerners, not just two or three or four per cent," will be able to vote in the near future. The Advertiser

Bender spoke at a dinner given for him by the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax. Removal of the poll tax requirements for voting is one of the Truman recommendations which Southern Democrats are resisting. Montgomery, Ala.

Tuesday's statements followed a meeting of seven Southern senators and two governors who are fighting the President's program of federal laws against various kinds of race and color discrimination. Wed 2-25-48

The governors and senators discussed a plan by which Democrats in each state would set up their own "official Democratic Party." It could cooperate with the national party organization if it chose, or could split away from it.

As one senator explained it, this would permit local officials to run on a Democratic ticket. The idea was to remove any stigma of a "bolt."

SOUTHERN THREATS TO DEMOCRATS RISE

The Times
New York, N.Y.
Thurs 2-5-48
(348)

Representatives Hit Truman's Racial-Rights Program While Anti-Lynching Bill Is Pushed

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4 (UP)—Veiled threats of a Southern secession from the Democratic party kept the Democratic High Command jittery today and set house Republicans whooping for action on a Federal anti-lynching law.

While the Democratic leaders were trying to ignore the secession talk, House majority leaders were losing no time in cashing in on the split caused in their rivals' ranks by President Truman's call for a ten-point racial rights program. A House Judiciary subcommittee ended public hearings on an anti-lynching bill and pressed for a quick vote by the full commitee that would bring the measure to the floor next week.

The Republicans have enough votes to pass it in the House, but the bill almost certainly would be killed in the Senate. There the Southern Democrats always have been able to use their filibuster privilege to talk such a measure to death. The Times

Southern Democrats Bitter

New York, N.Y.

Representative Eugene Cox of Georgia, shouted from the House floor that President Truman's program "sounds like the platform of the Communist Party." Thurs 2-5-48

"The Harlem district of New York still is wielding more influence with the administration than the entire White South," he said.

Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi, warned the party leaders not to "brush off" the secession threats of the southern wing.

"We're not going to stand idly by and watch the south mongrelized," he added. "The spring of 1948 is the best time to have a wholesale spring house-cleaning in the Democratic Party."

Representative W. J. Bryan Dorn of South Carolina sent a telegram to the Governor and legislature of his state urging them to take "whatever action is necessary to preserve the purposes of Southern democracy."

Mississippi's champion of "white supremacy," Representative John E. Rankin, made public a telegram he received from Walter Sillers, Speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives. It denounced Mr. Truman's program as "damnable, communistic, unconstitutional, anti-American, anti-Southern legislation." The Times

Representative Sam Hobbs of Alabama spoke before the judiciary subcommittee after listening to a defense of the Anti-Lynching Bill by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Truman "Courageous"

New York, N.Y.

Mr. White said the President's proposals were "a courageous and clear blueprint" for civil rights. Recalling that the House had passed anti-lynching measures on three occasions only to have them die in the Senate, he urged the House members to keep on trying "again and again until the Senate catches up." Thurs 2-5-48

Mr. Hobbs assailed the bill as one which would only promote lynching. He said it was "a shame" that so many measures of this kind were introduced, fourteen in this session. He said most of them were sponsored for purely political reasons. He also asserted that the demand for a Federal anti-lynching law "grows out of an overweening desire to keep the South a conquered province." (348)

Negroes "get more than justice" in Southern courts because the judges and juries there "have an understanding of the Negro which is absent in other sections of the country," said Mr. Hobbs.

"We love our Negroes," he added.

Senator John H. Overton of Louisiana, warned that the Southerners might organize a Democratic party of their own if the President's recommendations were enacted. He suggested a conference of Southern Governors to decide a course of action.

Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, met the rebellion with a statement reaffirming the party's support of Mr. Truman's program.

Arkansas To Withhold Funds

The Times New York

ATLANTA, Ga., Feb. 4 (UP)—Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas said today that the money raised by the Jefferson-Jackson day dinner in Little Rock would be withheld from the National Democratic party to protest President Truman's program. After a conference with Arkansas democratic leaders he announced:

"We have decided to hold the Jefferson-Jackson dinner and then sit tight with the money until we see further developments." Thurs 2-5-48

At $15 a plate, the dinner is expected to raise $10,000.

An Arkansas National Committeeman, R. P. Robins, denounced President Truman and suggested that state seriously consider joining a "Dixie party." He favored James F. Byrnes or Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia as possible Dixie standard-bearers.

Late Hugh Dent Predicted Urgency Of Southern Party

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Fri 2-6-
(348)

By ATTICUS MULLIN

The late Hugh Dent, who served for many years as a congressman from the Second Alabama district, was a prophet even if he did not live to see his prophecies come true.

Many times Mr. Dent discussed with the writer the State of the Nation and, particularly the problems of the South. He always said that, eventually, the Democratic Party would get into the control of the big Northern and Western city machines that cared nothing for the South, and that the South would have to work out "something new" to survive with her traditions and historical social customs.

Several times Mr. Dent, who was a loyal Democrat and passionately fond of the Party and its accomplishments, said that—in the event the city machines of the North and West took charge of the Democratic Party—the only thing left for Southerners would be to form a Southern party of their own, enter candidates for President and Vice-President, and take a chance on throwing the final election into the House of Representatives where the South would have an excellent chance to win against the Republicans and the Northern Democrats. The Advertiser

Abhorred Bolting

Mr. Dent abhorred bolting. He did not believe in entering a game and quitting or sulking when the cards ran against him. He thought if a Southern Democratic Party ever organized, it should be organized before a national Democratic convention and not after it. In other words, he did not think bolting after the South entered a convention was either good sportsmanship or good ethics. Montgomery, Ala

During the latter years of his life I talked with Hugh D

early every day for a quarter an hour or more. It was always a source of great pleasure d information to me when I nsidered the views of Hugh ent. He was one of the frankt and finest men I ever knew d one of the soundest. He ophesied exactly the plight the uth would come to. And with s prophecy he always offered e remedy. Fri 2-6-48

Unlike most men and women in the South, Mr. Dent believed that it would have been better for both the North and South if the South had won the War Between the States. He always said that the two nations could have lived in amity and the South could have carried on her traditions and the North could have lived socially as it liked.

Three Nations

In fact, he hung to the belief that the diverse interests of the United States would have been better served if there had been three nations made from its territory. He thought one nation should have been composed of the central northern and Eastern states, another of the states west of the Mississippi River, but not including those Southern states west of the river, and the old South itself. The Advertiser

He told the writer many times that when the Democratic Party got into the control of the great Northern and Western polluted political machines, that the race problem would rear its ugly head. He said all the machine bosses in the cities wanted was to hold offices and that they would sacrifice the South to get votes. He said they had to cater to Negroes as well as every foreign element that became nationalized and that the ancient customs and traditions of the South meant nothing to them. Montgomery, Ala

If Mr. Dent were living today he could say to me, when he met me on the street, I told you so. And he could have said those words with truth. Fri 2-6-48

A Voice From Georgia

The News
Birmingham, Ala
2-3-48
(348)

To the Editor of The News:

Your Sen. Sparkman has told the world that the South will take his slap in the face and keep on voting for Mr. Harry Truman.

I don't know about the people of Alabama, but I can assure your senator that the decent and honorable people of Georgia are going to fool him and Mr. Pink Pepper, of Florida. Our people in the old Empire State of the South have already taken all they intend to take. Tues. 2-3-48

I know the people of Mr. Pepper's state very well, too, and my bet is that they have taken about all they intend to take off that gentleman.

Most of our press is owned outright or is subsidized by our enemies up North; I refer to the so-called Georgia press. They will not publish anything that does not agree with their propaganda policies. I have submitted this message to the people of our neighboring state in the hope that your paper is not also a propaganda sheet and that you have no serious objection to having the truth revealed through your columns.

M. W. SALTER.
Wadley, Ga. Tues 2-3-48

The Vested Interest

The Record Columbia, S.C.

The Southern Democrats are adopting a policy of too little, too late. Fri 3-5-48

"Drastic steps will be required to affect the situation in any way, but it is too late to talk about 'preventing' adoption of the anti-Southern measures," Peter Molyneaux's Southern Weekly of Dallas, Tex., points out. "Some of these bills are going to be enacted even before the Democratic national convention meets and most of them will be the law of the land, with President Truman's approval, before the November election.

"Moreover, it is too late to talk about 'saving' the Democratic party. The steps open to the South are more likely to destroy than to 'save' the Democratic party. As a matter of fact, the historic Democratic party already has been destroyed by the very gentlemen who are responsible for these bills, and there isn't a thing the South can do about it. It's just too late. . . .

"There's nothing especially new about these measures; all of them, in substance, have been before Congress at every session during the past five or six years or more. . . . President Truman didn't invent them. He inherited them, just as he inherited the rest of the program to 'implement' the so-called economic bill of rights. . . .

"It's pretty late in the day for Southern politicians to be discovering that the present leadership of the Democratic party have abandoned its historic principles. . . . Even if the so-called 'equal rights' program and not been brought forward by President Truman, Southern Democrats would have no business in the national Democratic party as at present constituted. . . . There isn't any chance that the national Democratic party will abandon the 'civil rights' program, even though it means the loss of the entire solid South. . . .

"The real trouble is that the South's politicians do not want to do anything that will tend to destroy or even impair the one-party system in their respective states. They are beneficiaries of that system, their places in the political scheme of things, their prestige, the value of their past records, their chances of future preferment—indeed, their whole careers—are tied up with that system. Fri. 3-5-48

"Therefore, if they find it impossible to remain in the national Democratic party any longer, they feel they must follow a course that will perpetuate the one-party system in their respective states. They have too much at stake to permit that system to be destroyed if they can prevent its destruction. That's why, if they must leave the Democratic party, they propose to put a Southern Democratic party in its place to dominate the politics and the government within each of the Southern states completely.

"Yet, nothing is more apparent to the impartial observer than that the one-party system is a scourge in the South and that a two-party system would do more to restore the South's influence in national affairs than anything else."

And there is sound sense in Molyneaux's phillipic, sound sense and good logic. The one-party system politicians of the South are the gentlemen who got the South into the present mess. They cannot lead themselves or anybody else out of it. They are proven misleaders.

The Record Columbia, S.C.

The people of the South have got to take over from the politicians, if anything good is to be accomplished. For the people of the South have no vested interest in the maintenance of the one-party system. Fri. 3-5-48

The Advertiser

UNPLEDGED

Sun. 2-8-48

Editor, The Advertiser:

At this time there are many of our Southern leaders (because of a 10-point program President Truman presented to Congress), who are advocating that the Solid South bolt the Democratic Party. This in the opinion of many of our people would be a very unwise thing to do. It is impossible to clean house by merely moving out; we can do a much better job by remaining within the national party and taking stock of ourselves.

We should analyze our position in the national party, to what use we have made of this position and to what use we may be able to put this position. . . .

What would be gained if the Solid South should bolt the national party and nominate a presidential candidate of their own? Sure it would be a gesture of disapproval but to what avail? The Advertiser

However, in the selection of a candidate for presidnet at the national convention, we could, by careful selection of representatives to the convention, hold a commanding position which, if properly used, would gain much more consideration and benefits to the Southern states. But we can never do so as long as we send representation to the national convention whose vote for president has been cast before such representation has left home.

Our so-called political leaders in the South have for several administrations managed in such manner as to send pledged delegations to the national convention until the greatly heralded Solid South has become so solidly ineffective that we are today of little notice at our national convention. Montgomery

We have had so far, several gentlemen to announce their candidacy as delegates. . . . We believe that all but one or two of these gentlemen have pledged their support to Mr. Truman, rather than to the best interest of the people. Ala. Delegations pledged in such manner, are, should opportunity present itself, unable to represent the people to the best advantage.

We ask the gentlemen who have qualified as delegates to the national convention who really want to represent the people of Alabama and the South, to ask the people to send them to the convention pledged to no man, and to no special interest. The delegates from the states opposing the Solid South can then call a convention of their own and map a course of action which would be to the best advantage of their states. . . .

Troy, Ala. 2-8-48 Sun. DAN J. BAKER.

~~Anti-Truman~~ Revolt Spreads To Rank And File In South

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion Ala

PRINCETON, N. J., March 6.—The anti-Truman revolt among Southern Democratic leaders shows signs of spreading to the rank and file of Southern Democratic voters. 3-7-48

Although the President still runs far in the lead ~~in popularity~~ as the 1948 candidate, his percentage in the latest Institute poll of the South has dropped considerably since late January. Balloting between Feb. 4 and Feb. 29 finds James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, ex-Secretary of State, and Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia coming up in popularity as possible 1948 Democratic candidates.

George Gallup

Judging by the survey it would appear that the anti-Truman revolt which was for several weeks pretty much confined to the "leader level" in the South has begun to penetrate down to the voter level. Whether it will continue far enough to constitute a serious threat to the Truman forces remains to be seen. 3-7-48

If the revolt does happen to develop into an all-out affair, one question that will inevitably arise is, who are the next most popular Democrats in the South so far as 1948 are concerned? Montgomery

The Institute's survey shows that next to Truman the most popular choice of Southern Democratic voters is George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, with Byrnes and Byrd next in order.

The following table shows how sentiment changed in the South between January and February. It was on Feb. 2 that President Truman announced his civil rights program which irritated some Southern leaders because of its recommendations for a federal anti-lynch law, for action against poll taxes, for a federal FEPC law and other civil rights measures. Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Southern Democratic Voters

	Jan.	Feb.
Truman	73%	60%
Marshall	12	12
Byrnes	5	10
Byrd	3	9
Others	4	5
No choice	3	4

The "others" include scattered votes for James A. Farley, Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson and Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal.

The fact that Truman is less popular does not necessarily mean, however, that the Republicans have gained popularity in the South. While fewer Southerners may approve of Truman as he Democratic nominee, they still don't want to vote for Thomas E. Dewey, or Henry Wallace or any other non-Democratic standard-bearer. That is shown in "trial heat" races reported by the Institute in February. Sun. 3-7-48

They showed that in a three-cornered race between Truman, Dewey and Wallace, the South voted 75 per cent for Truman at the time of the survey, 19 per cent for Dewey, 1 per cent for Wallace and 5 per cent "no opinion." In races involving Truman against Stassen and Wallace, and Truman against Taft and Wallace, the outcome was similarly anti-Republican.

Montgomery, Ala.

Threats of Democratic revolt in the South have been made before. In 1944 there were stirrings against Franklin D. Roosevelt. A number of Southern leaders threatened then, too, to withhold electoral votes. However, the revolt came to little, except in Texas, where a new party, the Texas Regulars, opposed to Roosevelt, polled about 12 per cent of the vote in the November election. Sun. 3-7-48

Philadelphia Delegate Withdrawal Asked; Ellis In Race

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sat. 2-14-48

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Brewer Dixon, long a Democratic state committeeman from Talladega, Friday night told The Advertiser, by long distance, that the "State committee should be called into session for the purpose of rescinding everything that has done toward sending delegates to the so-called Democratic convention." 2-14-48

He urged, rather, that "they be sent to a Southwide Democratic convention," and added:

"I am in thorough accord with Mississippi leaders. Alabama should assist Mississippi and join any other Southern state which will help us to nominate our own candidates for president and vice-president. The time for bluffing has passed and action—prompt action — is necessary. National Democratic leaders have repudiated the South."

Ellis To Run

Simultaneously, it was learned that former Lieut.-Gov. Handy Ellis, of Columbiana, would be a candidate for delegate-at-large to the Democratic national convention, and planned to file his formal announcement prior to the deadline, March 1. Ellis, who was in Montgomery Friday, for a conference with friends, said he was not ready to make a statement regarding his attitude toward the Democratic presidential nomination. 2-14-48

Party Authority

"Like all Southern Democrats who love the traditions of the South and want its customs preserved," said Ellis, "I am at sea as to what should be done. No one man can presume to tell the party in Alabama what it should do. The instructions must come from party authority. I intend to contact Chairman Gessner McCorvey over the long distance telephone and suggest to him that a meeting of the State Democratic Executive Committee be called. Things have changed since the committee met in January and all of us must await the decision of our party as to the course to be followed." 34d

To Oppose Folsom

The announcement of Mr. Ellis will occasion great interest in Alabama political circles. Just two years ago he was runner-up to Jim Folsom in the gubernatorial race. Now he is to oppose Folsom as a candidate for delegate-at-large, and it will be interesting to note whether Folsom's strength has waned, or whether the Ellis strength has grown since Gov. Folsom's antics have made Alabama the laughing stock of the nation.

The writer contacted Chairman McCorvey, of the State Democratic Committee, in Mobile Friday over long distance. Chairman McCorvey said he had received no direct requests to call the committee into session. As far as he knew, there would be no call before March 1, the deadline for candidates to qualify in the Democratic May primary. The Advertiser

Another Meeting?

The action of Mr. Ellis will bring to a head the matter of another meeting of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee. The committee was not against Truman at its January session, because Truman had not then slapped the South in the face. The writer learns that there were a dozen or more members of the committee, even as early as the January committee meeting, who were incensed at the President.

Take A Walk

In the last few days the writer has not heard a single Democrat say he wanted Truman for president. As a matter of fact, outside of three or four office holders, I have not heard of a single Democrat who expressed his intention of voting for Truman if he were nominated. Few said they would vote the Republican ticket, but most said they would take a walk. Montgomery, Ala.

While in Selma the other day I learned that many Dallas County Democrats had made reservations to attend any Southwide Democratic convention which might be called at Jackson, Miss. Sat 2-14-48

State Committeeman Tom Abernathy, of Talladega, has announced that he would attend the meeting, that he thought all Southern Democrats should be represented, and that stern measures should be taken.

Those who shrug off the wrath of Southern Democrats, especially those in Alabama with whom I am familiar, might do well to study the situation more closely. I have never seen Alabama Democrats so rebellious or so ready to take desperate measures.

SOUTH NOT 'IN BAG,' GOVERNORS RETORT TO M'GRATH REBUFF

The Times
New York, N.Y.
34d Demo

Democratic Chairman Yields on No Point in Truman's Program on Civil Rights

Tues 2-24-48
Govt

COUNTER-DRIVE OUTLINED

Southerners, After Interview, Says Present Leadership Deserts Party Principles

By CLAYTON KNOWLES
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23—Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democratic national chairman, politely but firmly rebuffed today Southern Governors who sought to get the party high command to backtrack on President Truman's civil rights program. The Times

He would not yield on a single point as they fired question after question at him in a conference of an hour and three-quarters.

The Governors departed grim-lipped and went across the street to their hotel to meet among themselves for two hours. Then they issued a statement in which they declared that the party leadership would soon "realize that the South is no longer 'in the bag.'"

"A vast majority of the Democrats of the South," said the governors, "are determined to restore the Democratic party to the principles of Jefferson and Jackson and will resort to whatever means are necessary to accomplish this end. New York, N.Y.

"The Democrats of the South are united in their opposition to the so-called civil rights program proposed by the President and effective action in the Southern states will be taken to prevent adoption of this program.

Leadership Accused

"We feel we are expressing the firm conviction of our people when we say that the present leadership of the Democratic party has deserted the principles of government upon which the Democratic party was founded. Tues 2-24-4

"As never before, the time has come for strong and effective action by the Southern states not only to save the Democratic party but to preserve the rights of the states to govern themselves and preserve American democracy."

Nowhere in the 400-word statement was there any reference to "bolting." On the contrary, emphasis seemed to be on working within the party to force a change in policy. 34d Demo

Gov. J. Strom Thurmand of South Carolina, chairman of the committee of the Conference of Southern Governors which saw Mr. McGrath, refused to elaborate on a declaration that the committee's report and recommendations would not be made public until approved by the conference itslf.

"Constru it as you wish," he told reporters. The Times

In the conference with Mr. McGrath the committee, which also included Govs. R. Gregg Cherry of North Carolina, Ben Laney of Arkansas and Beauford H. Jester of Texas, posed six questions, one of which was subdivided into four parts. New York, N.Y. 2-24-48

Questions by Governors

The committee, buttressed by the presence of Gov. William Preston Lane Jr. of Maryland, conference chairman, asked:

Whether Mr. McGrath denied that Federal legislation in civil rights matters was unconstitutional.

Whether he would oppose such measures. The Times

Whether he would oppose a "special Federal police agency" as proposed by the Justice Department. New York, N.Y.

Whether he would work for restoration of the two-thirds rule at national conventions.

Whether he would back a platform plank reaffirming states rights and opposing Federal action in the field of civil rights.

Whether he would work to have civil rights legislation killed in Congress. Tues. 2-24-48

The Governors obviously did not expect to get the answers they wanted and they did not get them. At the outset Senator McGrath plainly sought to be actful and diplomatic.

His answers, although in the negative, were conciliatory in tone. Stenographer's minutes of the closed meeting disclosed, however, that his answers gradually became more clipped. Toward the end they were: "No" and "I will not."

Statement by McGrath

At the conclusion of his answers, however, Mr. McGrath told the governors he regretted 't'he events that have brought us to this situation within our party."

"I nonetheless want you to know," he said "that, personally and speaking for the Democratic National Committee, we appreciate the loyalty our party has had from the Southern states through the years. The Times

"I don't take the attitude that they are with us anyway, so the hell with them. I just hope that somehow our deliberations, as time goes on and when we weigh specific proposals that come beforet Congress, we will have a happy reunion in the not too distant future. As time goes on I know it is bad for our morale and hurts the spirit of party workers in other states.

"I think the South has much to gain in playing along with the party and in fighting our battles out within the Congress."

Later Mr. McGrath told the press that the meeting had been conducted in "an atmosphree of friendliness and reasonableness" and that he hoped "the eventual result will be a better understanding that will be translated into party unit." New York, N.Y.

He said that no threats had been voiced at the meeting, that the Governors made no demands for a Southerner on the national ticket, that no consideration had been given to anything but the merits of the President's civil rights proposals. Tues 2-24-48

"Sounding Board" Avoided

He stated that he and the Southern committee had decided to keep the meeting closed, while releasing a transcript, to prevent the conference from "turning into a sounding board for speeches."

Governor Thurmond, opening the session with Mr. McGrath, told him that the Southern Committee had been charged with "making careful inquiry and investigation into the problems of the Southern States arising from the so-called 'civil rights' proposals recently made and their solution by joint and common action, and to report to the conference with our recommendations as to further action which may be taken in the premises." Tues 2-24-48

"We are convinced that the methods recommended (to effect the President's program) will irrevocably change our form of government and may well sound the death knell of local self-government through the sovereignty of the several states," Governor Thurmond asserted.

Senator McGrath noted, when asked if he could deny that anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, fair employment practice and anti-segregation laws would be unconstitutional, tat legislation implementing the President's program had not been introduced yet. He declared, however, that he believed it "constitutional for the Congress to deal with any or all of these subjects in varying degrees, varying as to the particular subject."

Stands on Message

Asked by Governor Laney what further laws weer "necessary to meet your wishes in the matter," Mr. McGrath replied: Tues

"I can only refer you to the President's message, which spells that out very specifically." 2-24-48

He recalled that the Supreme Court had ruled segregation in interstate travel unconstitutional and added that the President "has not gone beyond that." New York, N.Y.

Without equivocation, Mr. McGrath asserted that he would support a fair employment practices act "provided that I am convinced in the final form in which it comes to us for a vote that it does not go beyond Constitutional limitations."

He asserted that he was "not committed to the support of any program beyond that which the President has already recommended." The Times

Under continued questioning, Mr. McGrath made it plain that the President only asked abolition of segregation in interstate travel and did not propose action within individual state. He noted also that the President did not ask "mixing of the races in the public schools."

Unfortunate Issue

34d

Most Southerners, certainly most of what Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution calls "articulate" Southerners, would feel a little more comfortable about it all if the Southern politicians leading the present revolt against the Democratic party had had sense enough and the good taste to make their issue something else than civil rights. The Record Columbia, S.C.

No honest person can object to any reasonable proposal to afford every member of every race equal treatment before the law. No decent person can defend any proposal to deny anybody by law any of the civil rights. Thurs.

And these things, of course, are the law today even though they may be defeated in the administration of the law, always an imperfect instrument and sometimes deliberately so. 2-26-48

The great danger of the whole dispute and the passions it engenders is that injecting the question into politics—the white supremacy issue was a dying political issue in the South—may set back the efforts of Southerners to eliminate the discriminations of which the Negroes justly complain, may undo, as prohibition did, all the educational work for temperance in these matters.

And it is a very real and present danger. Even some level headed persons lose their heads when they think they see signs that their world is collapsing on them. Thurs 2-26-48

On state rights the South could hope to win allies. There are Northern Democrats and Republicans who believe in state rights, even when they do not support discrimination.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

34d

Riding Madly In All Directions

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 3-14-48

There still is a Southern political revolt But it still is riding off madly in all directions.

There are many substantial exhibits to this statement.

From Uvalde, Texas, John Nance Garner has said the two-thirds convention rule, which the South used to have, was useless. The power it gave was negative, he insists. The South, he says, "should stand up affirmatively," instead of trying to "stop something."

From Washington come reports:

South Carolina, as in 1850 and 1860, is ready to bolt the party. So is Mississippi. Even the phases of 1850 and 1860 are repeated.

Gov. Tuck's Virginia vehemence of a few weeks ago has watered down to where he is seeking a bill which will allow him to have uninstructed delegates, and a preferential primary.

Gov. Laney, of Arkansas, now wants to rebuild the party, not bolt it. The Constitution

Gov. Jester, of Texas, is of a like mind.

Gov. Caldwell, of Florida, has professed loyalty to Mr. Truman, come what may. Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 3-14-48

Issue Perhaps the most important statement was from Gov. Cherry of North Carolina, who said the civil rights issue was not important enough to get excited about and he was staying home to keep from having to listen to the "lectures" of the Governor from South Carolina.

And so it goes.

The revolt has no direction, no unified aim, and no real substance . . . although that might come later.

History The truth is history has caught up with the South and the Democratic Party.

And no man may escape history any more than he can death.

What we will get is a compromise.

I liked what Jack Garner said about our laws, namely:

"The best laws on our statute books have been put there by intelligent compromise—compromise not on fundamentals or basic principles, but compromise on details."

That's true. It will always have to be true so long as we have rival parties, different opinions, and a form of government which allows them. The Congress will compromise details of the present fight. Sun. 3-14-48

Confusion We confuse caste with civil rights. One may not justify caste, and efforts of many kinds are being made to break it down in many regions, with India supplying the most striking example. Caste may not be established by law. But, it exists within the framework of every race, including the Negro. It is done variously by religions, by customs, by economic forces, by varying intelligences, and by choice. But, a look at the world will demonstrate that history demands human rights. The problem of caste is another matter and one for personal decisions and moral principles, not law. 3-14-48

Party Few see there is not much resemblance between the Democratic Party of today and the one which dominated the nation from 1828 to 1861, with an alliance with the West and a working alliance with the growing industry of the North. The Democratic Party of that time dominated despite its numerical inferiority, because of the skill of its statesmen and its peculiar economic position. The West had to use the Mississippi River. It was before railroads. The North needed cotton.

The Democratic Party which grew up out of the ruins of the Confederacy, was a "New Departure" Party, joining with the Eastern industrial representatives to build up and also exploit a broken nation. The Constitution

There is very real truth in the statement that the Southern Democrats very often sound and act like good Republicans. 3-14-48

The Southern party IS different from the Northern wing.

Victories And, since the Civil War, it has helped elect only two Democratic Presidents. Only at the time of Cleveland and Wilson has the votes of the 11 Southern states been needed. Roosevelt would have won each time without them.

It is not a happy thing to say, but it is true.

It also is a fact that not since the Civil War has the Democratic Party won nationally save in an upsurge of the people—Cleveland, Wilson and Roosevelt.

The Democratic Party cannot become the conservative party.

The Republicans have already built a better mousetrap.

I believe all of our nation, and not just the Democratic Party has been caught up with by history and that slowly, not at all suddenly, there will appear a second party in the South. It would come quicker if the Republicans would change the party name.

But the revolt, which protests civil rights, is important save to do one thing—and that is to make more sure a Republican victory. So, it gets on its horse and rides off madly in all directions. The Governor of North Carolina is more nearly right than many of us believe. 3-14-48

REBEL SPOKESMAN

The Courier Journal Louisville, Ky.

South Carolina's Governor J. Strom Thurmond is a 'natural' for the civil-rights quarrel

Sun. 2-29-48

34d

By SAM MOSS, Courier-Journal Staff Writer

DESTINY made South Carolina's J. Strom Thurmond spokesman for Southern governors in revolt against the civil-rights program of President Truman.

Thurmond's voice mingles with an inaudible chorus of ghost-voices. In him at 45 is symbolized, as nearly as can be in one man, the South's struggle to avoid "encirclement" of federal rule.

His South Carolina, more than any other State, has hoed its own row and defied federal authority at the drop of a hat. It alone bucked the nation in the days of President Andrew Jackson, when it threatened to stop collection of customs duties at Charleston. It was first to secede on the eve of the Civil War. From its mainland at Charleston were fired the first shots that put that war into four years of bloody reality. Probably in no other state is the memory of Negro rule after that war and the recollection of Union soldiers during the war so fresh.

A Historic Hole

The Courier-Journal

George Blaydes and Grover Schuler, two Jefferson County detectives on the staff of Commonwealth's Attorney Frank A. Ropke, caught a little of that feeling just recently when they went to Columbia, the state capital, to bring back a prisoner.

Pointed out to them was the hole made in the granite walls of the State House 83 years ago by a ball from one of General William T. Sherman's federal cannon. The hole is still a scar upon the State House, and it still represents a living scar on the hearts of many Carolinians. Sun. 2-29-48

In Thurmond's home town and home county, both called Edgefield, the feeling is perhaps stronger than in other parts of South Carolina. The memory of Negro rule is perhaps fresher there than anywhere else. In Edgefield County alone was there bloodshed in the closing days of Reconstruction. The revolt which recaptured the State Government for the white people in 1876 was led by an Edgefield native, Martin W. Gary, whose home is a shrine. The two Civil War Governors, Francis Pickens and Milledge Bonham, were both natives of Thurmond's home town. Louisville, Ky.

Edgefield Hero

And in Edgefield, as perhaps nowhere else in a state which has carried a chip on its shoulder, the devil-may-care spirit of fighting for an idea has been uppermost. From it, James Bonham went to seek his fortune in Texas. Cooped up in the Alamo, he rode out to seek help, found none, and fought his way back inside to die with the rest of his comrades.

Thurmond's county sits astride the two divisions of South Carolina—the Up Country and the Low Country. There, the English planters of the coast, seeking fresh cotton land, met, quarreled and married with the Scotch-Irish seeping down from the mountain regions. This produced a breed quick of temper and, in the old days, quick on the trigger.

In the cemetery where Thurmond's family is buried rests also Preston S. Brooks, the congressman who figured in one of the bitter incidents that led up to the Civil War. Angered by a speech made by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, Brooks sought out Sumner and caned him on the Senate floor.

Another Edgefield native was James H. Hammond, a United States Senator who coined the expression "Cotton is King."

Family Is Old

Sun. 2-29-48

Thurmond has had instilled into him the heady history of his state and times. Unlike many of the current leaders of the South, he comes from the old planter and professional class which has never yielded the rule of South Carolina. Occasionally, a cotton-mill hand may rise to high office, like former Governor and now United States Senator Olin D. Johnston; but by and large, South Carolina's reins have been held by its old families. Even "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman, another Edgefield native who won power as Governor and U. S. Senator on the twin blue chips of farm discontent in the 1890's and elimination of the Negro from any part in the State Government, was a Bourbon turned reformer.

Thurmond attended Clemson College, built on the home place of John C. Calhoun, the intellectual leader of state's rights and secession. Through his home county runs the railroad built by Robert Y. Hayne, the man who took on Daniel Webster in those epochal days of the State vs. the Union. Hayne, with his words, was defending the right of a State to remain a sort of country within a country; with his deeds, he was building the network of iron that made America an economic unit, with political oneness to follow inevitably.

The Governor's father, J. William Thurmond, long was political boss of much of Western South Carolina. The son inherited his father's political knowhow.

Became Judge

The Courier-Journal

Strom was superintendent of schools in his home county four years, and then studied law. Upon his father's death, he succeeded to a wide practice. He gave it up, however, to become a circuit judge, in South Carolina elected by the Legislature. It amounts to a $7,500-a-year job for life.

Thurmond's personal courage was shown one Sunday about eight years ago while he was at home between sessions of court. The sheriff, his deputy and a magistrate's constable had gone out about 10 miles from the County seat to arrest a brother and sister-in-law—members of a rather prominent family—on a murder charge. Word came back that the sheriff and deputy had been killed, the constable wounded. There was no "law" in the county at the moment except the judge. Louisville, Ky.

He drove up to the house, walked alone up the lane, and came out with the woman. The man was so badly wounded that an ambulance had to be sent in. 2-29-48

At the beginning of World War II, Thurmond gave up his assured job for life, joined the Army and wangled his way into combat, although past 40. He came back with a good record, a colonelcy and something to add to the Edgefield tradition. In South Carolina's free-for-all gubernatorial primary of 1946, he came out on top.

He was a bachelor when he entered the Executive Mansion. Last November, he married Miss Jean Crouch, 21, whom he had crowned "Miss South Carolina" at Charleston's famed Azalea Festival the spring before. Sun. 2-29-48

Thurmond isn't spectacular; but he's a determined fighter with a great deal of political knowhow. And how much the symbolism of his position stirs him, no one can say. But sometimes there must run through his head the words of Calhoun and Hayne, the rumble of the cannon at Sumter, the cries of terror as Sherman's men put the torch to barns, the clatter of hooves as Mart Gary led his red-shirted "redeemers" clattering down the roads, the angry rumble of Ben Tillman defying the nation and the twangy words of President Harry Truman uttering principles which to Thurmond's type of Southerner are political castor oil.

Louisville, Ky. 2-29-48

Governor Thurmond

The Courier-Journal

From a fighting county

The Lost Cause

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The Record

Columbia, S.C.

Wed. 2-4-48

The trouble with the Southern revolt against the Democratic party is that it is too late.

The Southern Democrats at best have only negative bargaining power. All of the electoral college votes of the Southern states combined would have affected only three national elections in the past 70 years. All other presidents, Democrat and Republican, would have been elected without the Southern vote.

Once, of course, the South had influence in the Democratic conventions. Under the two-thirds rule, which was established by that South Carolina President Andrew Jackson, the South had the power of veto over any presidential nominee. It mistakenly prevented the nomination of Al Smith in 1924 and then in 1932 joined in nominating Franklin D. Roosevelt who repaid the Southern delegates—he didn't need the Southern electoral votes for his election—by persuading them to acquiece in abolishing the two-thirds rule, so eliminating forever the influence the South had wielded since Jackson's day in the Democratic conventions.

Thereafter the Southern influence in the Democratic party rapidly declined. Southern members of Congress held priorities on most committees—the Souh had been Democratic when the rest of the country was not—but johnny-come-latelies like Senator Joseph F. Guffey of Pennsylvania vied with the President, himself, and his cabinet, in denouncing the South, economic problem No. 1, which could be ignored, as the 1932 platform was ignored.

And the Southern members of Congress took it, because they and their constituents wanted federal patronage, rejoicing at the crumbs from the master's table that turned out to be the Southern portion. It was the day of spend and spend and if the South didn't get as much as some of the other states, it did get something and everybody was more or less content, since everybody could be re-elected. The Record

Then Roosevelt, breaking the long tradition which had endured ever since George Washington, was elected for a third term and later a fourth term. The balance of power between the Democrats and Republicans in the Congress fell into the hands of the Southern members, many of whom joined the Republicans in defeating New Deal ideas, but got nothing for their apostasy. They didn't have the sense to organize and bargain then when they had something to sell.

Columbia, S.C.

Wed. 2-4-48

The Republicans last year won control of both House and Senate and the Southern vote is valueless to them, except for the purpose of overriding a presidential veto. Even on this, however, the Southern Democrats do not bargain. They simply tag along, some with the Republicans, some with the administration. It was so last year with the two tax bills and the Taft-Hartley labor bill. And they get nothing, not even a respectful hearing.

Now that the Southern influence is reduced for all practical purposes to the vanishing point there are signs of revolt everywhere. South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama are all getting up on their hind legs and shouting their heads off. But nobody hears them. On the heels of all the Southern complaints and threats of the past two or three weeks comes a special message from the President to the Congress urging, among other things, the re-establishment of the F. E. P. C., a federal anti-lynching law, the abolition of the poll tax, an anti-discrimination law covering the election of state as well as federal officers, an end to "Jim Crow" segregation in interstate travel, establishment of a permanent civil rights commission—all measures aimed at Southern prejudicies and advocated in disregard of known Southern opposition. The Record

These measures may not be passed. They are suggested by a Democratic President and the Democrats do not control the Congress. The Republicans, although they advocate the same things, might hestitate to enact them now when Truman would get the credit and probably the Negro vote, at which both of them are aiming. It has always been the Republican idea to keep these issues alive to split the Democrats and the passage of them would simply eliminate them as issues. In this way they have been able to use them as vote catchers every election year, not with very much success in recent years, of course.

And too many of these schemes depend upon the national prohibition idea, the idea that you can legislate morals and customs, beliefs and prejudices—a comforting idea, if it were so, which it isn't. Columbia, S.C.

But the President's message is the final and the conclusive demonstration that the South has played its cards wrong, thrown away its aces, put too much dependance upon demogogues like the Bilbos and the Rankins and the rest.

Nor can the South retrieve its lost influence by any of the measures now being proposed. All of them are too little, too late. It takes more than that now and particularly it is necessary for the South to rid itself of the little politicians that control its destiny, the men who got us into this no man's land, and replace them with men of real statesmanship, men who can command respect in Congress and in the states, men who know enough to keep their mouths shut unless they have something to say, men with character and courage enough to make both concessions and progress, men of sincerity who will be listened to when they speak. Wed. 2-4-48

This is a stern prescription. But it will be followed or else—the deluge.

A BIT OF DIVERSION

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

Birmingham, Ala.

In this department on Jan. 12 a coruscation in letter form, from Mr. C. I. Tubb, mildly intrigued me. As a quaint quizzer and dealer in drolleries, he is gifted. The News

One thing Mr. Tubb wanted to know was whether "all the principles of Thomas Jefferson, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson have been abandoned" by the party called Democratic. Knowing neither "all the principles" of the illustrious trio named, nor all that the Democrats of today do or do not stand for, the query stumps me. If the quizzer knows the answer, he comes awesomely close to knowing the unknowable. 1-18-48

If Mr. Tubb "has always voted the Democratic ticket because . . . the party has advocated states' rights and white supremacy," he is one of many thousands who also have voted the ticket—for no better reason. Sun.

When Mr. Tubb discovered that Democrats who "attempted to put over" certain "proposals" (anathema to him) are "crackpots," he demonstrated impressive skill as a burlesque psychiatrist. When he went further and found that the "proposals" (affecting poll tax, lynching and employment practices) "are clearly unconstitutional," he settled (?) a vexing question, thereby meriting the gratitude of our supreme judiciary. Birmingham, Ala.

Speaking of the "Freedom Train," Mr. Tubb made bold to affirm: "It is clearly evident that the purpose of the alleged 'Heritage Foundation' is to destroy the race segregation laws of the South." Thus, with face entirely composed, he qualified as a humorous commentator of no mean ability. Sun. 1-18-48

Mr. Tubb diverts me. May he find time to keep up the good work. W. C. KELLEY.

4032 Clairmont Avenue.

"ALREADY SOLD"

The News

The South is so completely a political colony of the Democratic Party that it never rates attention by the party bosses and, in turn, by the political writers. As the bosses brush off Dixie, so do the writers, and you can't blame them. After all, the bosses are the president and vice president makers.

This fact was eloquently underscored in an article by Jack Bell, The AP's political writer in Washington, the other day. It was a speculative story on President Truman's choice of a vice presidential nominee. Reporter Bell discussed a round dozen prospects and their possibility of getting the nod. He explained why each was under consideration and he took them by section. Sun. 1-18-48

But he's yet to mention a Southerner or the South! Birmingham, Ala.

Why? Well, he's just reporting, reporting what goes on in the minds of the party bosses. They simply aren't thinking of the South in terms of that section furnishing a candidate for the No. 2 job. It's not because the South doesn't have men of the ability and qualifications to be vice president. We have them. But there's no point, in the view of practical politicians, of putting a Southerner on the ticket. There's nothing to be gained. The South's going to vote Democratic anyway, and a candidate from a "doubtful" territory might swing that territory into the Democratic column. Sun. 1-18-48

Where the politicians are concerned, every section has a price tag. That is, every section except the South. Its tag is marked: "Already sold!"—Dothan Eagle.

Democratic (The South)

South

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William J. Primm Has Many Friends Now!

BY JAMES FREE
News and Age-Herald Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20—It is an odd quirk of politics that Alabama, the only state in which President Truman was not on the ballot in the Nov. 2 election, provided a man who did invaluable work in helping the Democratic Party salvage badly needed electoral votes elsewhere in the South.

Sun. 11-21-48

He is William J. Primm, Jr., formerly of Montgomery, Ala., who served without pay as a special assistant to Chairman J. Howard McGrath, of the Democratic National Committee. While Primm is the son-in-law of the late Sen. Josiah W. Bailey, of North Carolina, his major political experience prior to the 1948 campaign was as chairman of the National Committee of the Young Democratic Clubs of America from 1942 to 1947.

DEMOCRATS who accept with complacency today the fact that the Truman-Barkley ticket carried all the Southern states except the State's Rights strongholds of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, may recall that immediately following the Democratic National Convention there was considerable doubt that Mr. Truman could pick up many electoral votes in Dixie.

B'ham, Ala.

At that convention, in an uprising against the civil rights plank that had been put into the party platform, the following states had cast all or most of their votes for Sen. Richard Russell, of Georgia, as their choice as presidential nominee: Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. And North Carolina, the only state in the "Solid South" to back Truman at the convention, did so by a 19 to 13 margin.

* * *

McGRATH'S MAJOR assignment to Primm was to do all he could to patch up matters with the Southern states. In the political heat and Democratic Party lassitude of late July that was quite an assignment. It remained a tough, discouraging job until early in the morning of Nov. 3, when those astounding upset returns began to take shape.

As the slender, nervous Primm explains with a wry grin: "I got little aid and no comfort in my job until after Nov. 2, but now I seem to have a good many friends."

* * *

WHEREVER POSSIBLE Primm worked with regular Democratic party organizations in the various states. This could be done in North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas, although there were some tough hurdles at times, particularly in Georgia, Florida and Kentucky.

In the four States' Rights states the regular party organization was taken over by Thurmond-Wright forces, and what cooperation there was with the National Committee had to be accomplished through especially set-up machinery. And divers means of circumventing the opposition of many regular party leaders had to be devised also in Virginia and Texas. In Virginia, for example, with the Byrd machine sitting on its hands, Primm worked with "loyal" Democrats in forming the "Truman-Barkley Straight Ticket Committees."

* * *

HIS ASSOCIATES at the National Committee give Primm major credit for teaming with ex-Govs. Ed Rivers and Ellis Arnall in snatching Georgia from the clutches of the States' Righters. The strategy was to convince Gov.-Elect Herman Talmadge that his long-range political future could be best served by siding with the national party rather than with the Thurmond-Wright elements which, up to early September, appeared to have the upper hand in Georgia. From the start the McGrath-Primm policy in dealing with the South was to appeal to national party loyalty and to make it clear that wanderers from the fold might expect to pay the political piper. In early September Primm called on Democratic national committeemen and committeewomen who were not supporting the Truman-Barkley ticket to resign from their posts. Although the National Committee is still to act upon this matter, it is evident that the McGrath-Primm view is that the "disloyal" committee members should be replaced.

PRIMM'S ACTIVITIES in behalf of the Truman-Barkley ticket naturally aroused some vigorous resentment in certain sections of the South. One Alabama newspaper charged editorially that he had "forgotten his birthright" as a Southerner. But such sentiments, fortunately, are in a relatively small minority.

Just as McGrath relied upon Primm in the recent campaign, so will he depend upon the Alabamian to assist in helping the Democratic National Committee reform its Southern ranks for the years ahead. The chairman has asked Primm to stay on as his assistant until the problem in Dixie is cleared up. Since that may take some little time, Primm is likely to remain an influential figure around committee headquarters.

HELPS SALVAGE SOUTH—William J. Primm, Jr. (above), formerly of Montgomery, did yeoman work as executive assistant to Democratic National Chairman Howard McGrath in helping win electoral votes for President Truman in the South. A native of Wilcox County, Primm was closely tied in with Bibb Graves forces during the late governor's second administration.

Sun. 11-21-48

VOTE FOR DEMOCRATS NOT SOUTHERN 'MUST'

Commercial Appeal

Sun. 10-31-48

Traditional Belief Does Not Stand Up This Year

G.O.P. GETTING SUPPORT

Memphis, Tenn.

The traditional belief that a prerequisite for being a real Southerner is to vote for the Democratic Party has been shattered by many true sons and daughters of the Old South who have announced their support of the Republican presidential nominees in Tuesday's election.

Mr. Carter

One of the most outstanding Southern writers, a Pulitzer Prize winner and author of international acclaim for his books and articles about the South, has announced his vote for Gov. Thomas Dewey and Gov. Earl Warren.

He Is Greenville Publisher

He is Hodding Carter, publisher of Greenville, Miss., and a highly respected political analyst.

"Gov. Dewey is by far the better qualified men for conducting our international affairs," Mr. Carter said.

Sun. 10-31-48

"The Democrats have grown stale in office and a change is needed.

"It is to be remembered that the Democrats have no monopoly on liberalism, and a fight on liberalism is likely to develop between the opposing ranks within the Republican Party.

Mr. Allen

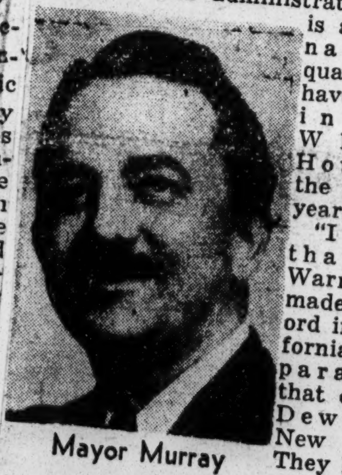
"If given a good candidate, such as Gov. Dewey, the South should keep the two-party system."

A prominent young Memphian and veteran of World War II is among the local supporters of the Republican nominee. He is J. Seddon Allen Jr., real estate agent associated with Joyner-Heard, with offices in the Commerce Title Building.

"I believe that we need a change of administration, and that a majority of voters are fed up with the New Deal," Mr. Allen said.

'A Wonderful Record"

"It is obvious that Gov. Dewey has made a wonderful record as an executive and administrator. That is a combination of qualities we have lacked in the White House for the past 16 years.



Mayor Murray

"I feel that Gov. Warren has made a record in California comparable to that of Mr. Dewey in New York. They have shown themselves able to choose advisors to assist in conducting domestic and international affairs of our Nation," Mr. Allen declared.

The two G.O.P. standard-bearers were indorsed yesterday by Mayor Robert Murray of Huntingdon, Tenn., home of Gordon Browning, Democratic nominee for governor.

"I am for Governor Dewey and Governor Warren because I think it's high time for a change in Washington. We need our two party system to protect our form of Government," Mayor Murray said.

"I feel that both the Republican candidates are capable men. They are liberal enough to handle the government in a modernistic way, but are conservative enough to halt waste and extravagence in spending the taxpayers money. I feel they will give us a dollar's worth of good government for every tax dollar they spend."

WHILE WE WAIT

Montgomery, Advertiser

It is not an act of unwisdom to await completion of the proceedings at the Dixie rump convention in Birmingham before seeking to make the final evaluation of the South's position.

Montgomery, Ala.

Ironically, it is not to our political leaders that we may look primarily for leadership in this time of strife which gives off explosions in the shape of mushrooms. For our Democratic office holders are vested interests in the matter; the Democratic Party is the vehicle of their power and they do not wish it stalled or dismantled.

That applies to senators, congressmen, governors and candidates for governor. They are unhappy and harassed men in the circumstance. They naturally and understandably cannot abide anything that threatens them with Republican opponents.

And so in this time we may largely disregard this gentry. They can be gotten into motion only with a carrot in the front and the stick in the rear.

Therefore, the expressions of newspapers have more than ordinary weight. Looking through some of those on our desk, we find that few see it in the same light. In many cases they are so bewildered that they are still talking about the past because they don't know what to say about the future.

With gratifying forthrightness, The Opelika Daily News is saying:

Sun. 7-18-48

Frankly, The Daily News doesn't know for sure just what course the South should take in the premises. It is possible, the entire civil rights program will be enacted into law before the November election. It all depends upon the attitude the Republicans take in the special session. If they follow the dictates of the GOP platform, they will fall into line behind Truman. Our only hope is the filibuster, but there is the cloture rule that can be invoked if the South's baiters are determined enough to go through with it.

Perhaps the party of our fathers will have to be rebuilt upon the wreckage. Whether the Birmingham meeting can accomplish much in this direction, we don't know; but if not, there can be other meetings.

In our opinion, a bolt to the GOP is not the answer. For 80 odd years the Republican Party has ignored the South in our appeals for a just proportion of the nation's attention. Also, it has been cham-

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pioning the so-called "civil rights" for nearly half a century. It was the GOP, we must not forget, that butchered our section with its plan of "reconstruction." The carpet-baggers were Republican missionaries.

It will perhaps surprise many Alabamians to know that in Alabama there is one newspaper, and a very good one, that is openly—instead of inferentially—for Truman. The Florence Times said yesterday of the Alabama walkout:

"The surprising thing is that the delegation was not thrown out."

Of the Dixie rump convention in Birmingham The Florence Times had scorn—"obsolete, broken down politicians."

To The Times, Truman is a man who "has grown great on the enemies he has made . . . Once more Harry S. Truman has demonstrated that one man with courage makes a majority, and the people, including those living under the rigged election machinery of Alabama, will find some way to support him."

The Birmingham News-Age Herald is warning Alabama that the Dixie doings can produce only hollow fulminations and no results. The two Birmingham papers want Alabama and the South to continue the resistance within the party of Truman. The papers say:

7-18-48

> It has been suggested that all the Southern electoral votes might be mobilized behind this ticket and that thus a decisive balance of power might be held. But many other Southern Democratic leaders and organizations have indicated that they will support the national Democratic ticket, despite their attitude toward Mr. Truman and the national platform. In this stand they are exemplifying their conception of the demands of reasonable party loyalty, democratic procedure and the practical considerations involved in the national political situation.
>
> They hold that their best hope of serving the convictions so widely held in the South respecting states' rights and the best approach to racial problems lies in continuing their fight within the party.
>
> They see no hope of such service in turning to the Republicans.
>
> They believe that a Southern fourth party would not have much, if any, chance of advancing Southern and national interests.
>
> Their position, in the opinion of this newspaper, is sound. That we believe, will be ever clearer after today's meeting of Southern dissidents in Birmingham.

The Columbia (S. C.) State is an old and famous Democratic organ of the Palmetto state. It sounds tired. It is wistful in its reflection that South Carolinians won't vote Republican. It says:

> Certainly South Carolina needs a real two-party system.
>
> But so far nothing has developed from the present Democratic confusion to point the way to its establishment.
>
> There is much talk about a Republican party that will really amount to something. But that is as far as the matter goes. Democrats, no matter how dissatisfied, simply aren't leaving the old party for the GOP—not outwardly, at least. And there will never be a strong Republican party in this state until a sufficient number of recognized Democrats lead the way.

The Raleigh News & Observer is the famous paper of the late Josephus Daniels and is now run by his son Jonathan, a distinguished author. It was, we seem to recall, the first paper to make a major outcry against Truman's Civil Disturbance formula last winter, but it is for Truman and speaks of his "great speech" before the Philadelphia convention. The News & Observer is happy about the whole thing:

> The Democratic Party has found, where it feared it lacked it, a leadership fully worthy of its liberal heritage. And once again, as always when good, courageous, sincere leadership emerges, that leader has found a Democratic Party worthy of his hopes, equal to his aims and ready to follow his fighting determinations for America and the world.

The Chattanooga Times, whose offshoot is The New York Times, sees it this way:

> The walkout of Alabama and Mississippi delegates to the Democratic Convention was a saddening spectacle to thinking Southerners deeply concerned with the best interests of our region and nation.

The Mobile Register is pleased to think of Alabama's vote going to some figure of the Birmingham assembly:

> . . . It will be faithful to historic practice for the Democrats of this state to cast their ballots in November for the Democratic elector candidates nominated in the recent state party primary. All of these candidates for presidential elector were nominated on anti-Truman platforms and are pledged to vote for some Democrat who does not hold the anti-Southern views paraded by Mr. Truman.

And finally there is The Washington Post, one of the half dozen most authoritative newspapers in the country:

> . . . The decisive action on civil rights may produce such dissension in the ranks of the Democratic Party as to present the election to the Republicans, though the ultimate outcome may well be a new alignment in the party system in the United States based less on geography and more on ideology.

Dixie Demos Urged To Kill Anti-Bias Plank

The Defender

Jan 1-24-48

MOBILE, ALA.--Adhering to Dixie's usual stand on the race question, Alabama Democratic Party leader Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile, Saturday urged southern delegates to the Democratic national convention to "present a bold and united front" against any efforts to write an anti-segregation plank in the 1948 party platform.

In a letter calling a meeting of Alabama committeemen for Jan. 26 in Montgomery, McCorvey asserted that he anticipated a move to include in the party platform at the Philadelphia convention "some of the racial theories" advanced by President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights.

South Not 'In Bag,' Democrats Told

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Governors Fail to Get Promise Civil-Rights Bill Will Be Dropped

Tues 2-24-48

By the Associated Press.

Washington, Feb. 23.—Five Southern Governors declared tonight that the South, as a result of President Truman's civil-rights program, is no longer "in the bag" for the Democratic Party.

The Governors issued their statement after failing, in a face-to-face showdown, to get a promise from Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath that he would seek to have the civil-rights proposals withdrawn.

They also asked McGrath—and he refused—to back restoration of the "two-thirds rule" which would give the South a veto in the choice of a presidential candidate by this year's Democratic National Convention.

Will Resist Proposals. 2-24-48

"The Southern states," the Governors said, "are aroused and the present leadership of the Democratic Party will soon realize that the South is no longer 'in the bag.'

"Each Southern state, under the framework of an over-all program, will work out the most effective means of resisting the proposals of the present leadership of the party, but resist them we will." The Courier Journal

The Governors, who came here amid threats that Southern Democrats will break with the national party over civil rights, got only two reassurances from the national chairman. He said he would not support any laws that interfere with matters which are the proper concern of the States. And he denied that Truman was striking at the South when he proposed the creation of a civil-rights division in the Justice Department. The President's primary intention was to curb "hoodlumism" in industrial disputes, McGrath added. Louisville, Ky.

McGrath Refuses.

South Carolina's Governor J. Strom Thurmond asked most of the questions in the 1½-hour closed session. In perhaps the most important of the questions, he asked if McGrath would use his influence "to have the highly controversial civil-rights legislation, which tends to divide our people, withdrawn from consideration by the Congress."

"No," McGrath replied.

The other "pay-off" question was whether the chairman would back a return to the rule whereby the selection of the party's candidates for President and Vice-President would require a two-thirds vote at the national convention. Tues 2-24-48

McGrath said he would not support this. He said it would be "a step backward" for the party, which since 1936 has required only a majority vote.

McGrath said he regretted "the events that have brought us to this situation within our party."

Appreciate Loyalty.

He said he and other members of the national committee "appreciate the great loyalty our party has had from the Southern states through the years."

"I don't take the attitude that they are with us anyway and so the 'L' with them," he said, adding: The Courier Journal

"I just hope that somehow in our deliberations as time goes on, and when we weigh specific proposals that come before Congress, we will have a happy reunion in the not too distant future.

"As time goes on I know it is bad for our morale and hurts the spirit of party workers in other states. Louisville, Ky.

"I think the South has much to gain in playing along with the party and in fighting our battles out for them in Congress."

Threats Voiced Anew.

Before the Southern party leaders met to draft a statement of their own, Governor R. Gregg Cherry of North Carolina told newsmen about the meeting with McGrath: Tues 2-24-48

"It wasn't as much of a secession as some folks thought it was going to be. There was just a lot of talk, talk, talk. McGrath handled himself pretty well."

By "secession," Cherry referred to threats—voiced anew today—that Southern Democrats will secede from the national party over the civil-rights question.

Cherry said the Governors who met McGrath "with blood in their eyes didn't get exactly what they were after."

Sent here as delegates of the Southern Governors Conference, the Chief Executives charged that Truman's program was "unconstitutional" and "may well sound the death knell of local self-government." Tues

They demended that McGrath strive to keep out of the 1948 Democratic platform the very proposals that the President has put before Congress—federal laws outlawing, among other things, the poll tax and separation of white persons and Negroes in interstate travel. 2-24-48

The governors did not mention the clamor for secession, but said they would recommend "further action" to the Governors conference and said McGrath's answers "will affect substantially our report and recommendation."

With Cherry and Thurmond were Governors Beauford H. Jester of Texas, Ben T. Laney of Arkansas, and W. Preston Lane, Jr., of Maryland.

Revolt In South Against Truman Begins To Hurt

The News
Birmingham Ala.
Sun. 3-7-48

President Continues To Hold Lead, With Gen. Marshall Second

BY GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

The anti-Truman revolt among Southern Democratic leaders shows signs of spreading to the rank and file of Southern Democratic voters.

Although the president still runs far in the lead in popularit as the 1948 candidate, his percentage in the latest Institute poll of the South has dropped considerably since late January. Balloting between Feb. 4 and Feb. 29 finds James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina, ex-secretary of state, and Sen. Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia, coming up in popularity as possible 1948 Democratic candidates.

Judging by the survey it would appear that the anti-Truman revolt which was for several weeks pretty much confined to the "leader level" in the South has begun to penetrate down to the voter level. Whether it will continue far enough to constitute a serious threat to the Truman forces remains to be seen.

If the revolt does happen to develop into an all-out affair, one question that will inevitably arise is, who are the next most popular Democrats in the South so far as 1948 are concerned?

* * *

Marshall Is Second

The News

THE INSTITUTE'S SURVEY shows that next to Truman the most popular choice of Southern Democratic voters is George C. Marshall, secretary of state, with Byrnes and Byrd next in order.

The following table shows how sentiment changed in the South between January and February. It was on Feb. 2 that President Truman announced his civil rights program which irritated some Southern leaders because of its recommendations for a federal anti-lynch law, for action against poll taxes, for a federal FEPC law and other civil rights measures.

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC VOTERS

Birmingham

	Jan.	Feb.
Truman	73%	60%
Marshall	12	12
Byrnes	5	10
Byrd	3	9
Others	4	5
No choice	3	4

The "others" include scattered votes for James A. Farley, Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida, Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson and Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal. Sun. 3-7-48

* * *

Republican Outlook

THE FACT that Truman is less popular does not necessarily mean, however, that the Republicans have gained popularity in the South. While fewer Southerners may approve of Truman as the Democratic nominee, they still don't want to vote for Thomas E. Dewey, or Henry Wallace or any other non-Democratic standard-bearer. That is shown in "trial heat" races reported by the Institute in February.

They showed that in a three-cornered race between Truman, Dewey and Wallace, the South voted 75 per cent for Truman at the time of the survey, 19 per cent for Dewey, 1 per cent for Wallace and 5 per cent "no opinion." In races involving Truman against Stassen and Wallace, and Truman against Taft and Wallace, the outcome was similarly anti-Republican. 3-7-48

* * *

Threats Not New

Sun.

THREATS of Democratic revolt in the South have been made before. In 1944 there were stirrings against Franklin D. Roosevelt. A number of Southern leaders threatened then, too, to withhold electoral votes. However, the revolt came to little, except in Texas, where a new party, the Texas Regulars, opposed to Roosevelt, polled about 12 per cent of the vote in the November election. 3-7-48

Connor, Dobbins Clash Verbally On Rights Pledge

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Wed. 3-24-48

Commissioner Assails Montgomery Editor's Refusal To Sign

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

The Democratic delegates-at-large campaign in Alabama was further enlivened today as two of the 24 candidates struck out at each other sharply over President Truman's bitterly assailed "civil rights" proposals.

This followed a move by Birmingham Public Safety Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor to determine how many of the delegate candidates would sign a pledge to walk out of the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia if a "civil rights" platform were adopted.

Pledging to walk out himself, Connor sent letters to the other 23 delegate-at-large candidates. He said he thought the "people of Alabama are entitled to know" how the candidates stand. Wed

Charles G. Dobbins, Montgomery weekly newspaper editor and at-large delegate aspirant, wired Connor that "I see no reason to deposit my vote in anybody's pocket."

Connor shot back that Dobbins' statement "fails to make clear just where he stands," adding that "you can't be for a thing and against it at the same time." 3-24-48

AT THE SAME TIME, Jerome Phillips, Birmingham lawyer and at-large delegate candidate, joined the growing list of public and party officer-seekers repudiating Truman. Birmingham Ala.

Dobbins, who also repudiated Truman as party presidential nominee, wired Connor that "I did not offer as a delegate from the state-at-large to the Democratic National Convention from any desire to destroy the Democratic Party, but from a desire to help in achieving that reason, unity and strength which will be necessary for a party victory in November over Republican reaction and Wallace confusion." The News

The editor of The Montgomery Examiner said he had publicly stated his opposition to Truman and to federal legislation aimed at the South, adding that "For my part, I have confidence that the people of Alabama are wise enough to elect 26 delegates who will loyally and ably represent their state in the convention."

Connor, firing back at Dobbins, said "If Mr. Dobbins is elected to the Philadelphia convention and can't spread enough of his 'reason, unity and strength' in the convention to prevent it from adopting the so-called 'civil rights' program of Mr. Hague, Mr. Kelly and Mr. Truman. what is he going to do then? I think the people of Alabama are entitled to know."

* * *

"AS FOR MYSELF," emphasized Connor, "I don't mind saying I will have no more of it and will walk out and join other Democrats in a return to a states' rights program.

"This is no time for fence-straddlers, parlor pinks and fellow travelers to slip into places where, if I'm not mistaken, it's going to take some forthright Democrats with a fair share of intestinal fortitude to stand up and do their duty. Certainly the time has come for us to put to rout the radicals and others who want to crush the South. I say again, let's put the exterminator to 'em." The News

In the race for presidental electors (11 to be elected), 22 of the 28 candidates have pledged themselves against Truman and not to support any candidate advocating the president's "civil rights" program. Birmingham, Ala.

Meantime, the question of whether presidential electors must support the Democratic nominee had been placed before the Alabama Supreme Court by Gov. Folsom. A 1945 legislative act provides that electors must vote for the nominee of the national convention of the party by which they are elected. Attorneys contend this statute is clearly unconstitutional. Wed.

If the high court upholds the act's validity, it would mean Alabama's presidential electors would be forced to support Mr. Truman, f he is the party's nominee.

Phillips, who originally proposed President Truman and Sen. Lister Hill as Democratic standard bearers in the presidential election, now favors Gen. Eisenhower for president and Hill for vice president. The attorney said Mr. Truman's "civil rights" proposals had caused him to withdraw his support of the president. 3-24-48

In the pledge which he asked candiates to sign, Mr. Connor set forth the following reasons for the proposed action:

1. The Democratic Party of Alabama always has advocated state control of such matters as segregation and the regulation of problems arising from segregation.

2. Any attempt which ignores the "long wisdom accumulated by both races in the South" by forcing adoption of FEPC laws, federal control of voting, "federal interference in the punishment of crime," is hostile to the "essential principles upon which our civilization and mode of life rests, and will be resisted by us."

3. The concept that the Democratic Party of the South is a "chattel" of the national Democratic organization and that it can be denied its most "fundamental needs" and yet deliver its votes to a candidate "whose policies are dictated by a desire to capture a bloc of votes in the slums of Northern cities," no longer is safe for Alabama. "We repudiate it."

HOUSE FOES CHART CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT

Times

Group of Southern Democrats Name 12 to Join Governors in Demand on McGrath

New York, N.Y.

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WASHINGTON, Feb. 21 (U.P.)—A twelve-member committee of Southern Democrats in the House opposed to President Truman's civil rights program was named today to meet with Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democratic national chairman, Monday. The committee, headed by Representative William Colmer of Mississippi, will join a delegation of five Southern Governors. Sun. 2-22-48

"It is my positive conviction that the boys from the South are in dead earnest and will fight to the finish this type of doctrine by its party leaders," Mr. Colmer said in a statement promising "no compromise."

Representative Oren Harris of Arkansas was named secretary of the committee. Other members are Representatives Sam Hobbs of Alabama, Robert L. F. Sikes of Florida, E. E. Cox of Georgia, Noble J. Gregory of Kentucky, Henry D. Larcade Jr. of Louisiana, J. Bayard Clark of North Carolina, James P. Richards of South Carolina, Tom Murray of Tennessee, Ed Gossett of Texas and Howard W. Smith of Virginia.

The group will tell Senator McGrath that withdrawal of the President's civil rights program is their price for support to their party in the forthcoming elections.

The House Southerners received strong support from Alabama's Senators, Lister Hill and John J. Sparkman. Both gave thinly veiled hints that they would filibuster against anti-lynch, anti-poll tax or anti-discrimination measures.

"As members of the group of which Senator Russell is chairman, we shall continue to speak, work and fight in the Senate to do everything in our power to prevent passage of these bills," they said.

Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, heads a group of Southern Senators who have filibustered against civil rights proposals in the past. Times

Meanwhile the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, through Clark Foreman, its president, said that asking Mr. Truman to "backtrack" on his civil rights program was asking him "to ditch the Democratic party." In telegrams to Southern Governors, he said the party was "already in danger of failure." New York, N.Y.

"It will certainly succumb if you Governors insist upon the denial of civil rights to that large part of our population which is colored," he asserted. "Thousands of members of the Southern Conference who live in your states oppose the announced purposes of your visit (to Washington). You cannot speak for them."

Sun. 2-22-48

Byrd Cautions House Group

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21 (AP)—Some advice was given today by Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, to the House group. He told them to hold their fire but keep their powder dry.

The Virginian explained that he wanted the South to be sure where it was going before it broke any traditional political ties.

"We must make a calm, deliberate decision, on the basis of events as they happen, and then be prepared to go through with it to the end," he said.

South's Dems Perfect Plans For Filibuster

PM

New York, N.Y.

Mon. 2-22-48

By Associated Press

WASHINGTON

Dixie Democrats came up with the fresh hope today that they may be able to beat off first attempts to limit Senate debate on civil rights bills.

Their hope was built on the results of quiet lobbying for anti-gag rule votes among the Republicans and Western Democrats.

Even the most optimistic of the Southerners conceded, however, that at least one of the anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and anti-job discrimination proposals now pending is likely to be passed. They say they are afraid they can't hold the line againset repeated attempts to gag debate. 3-22-48

The anti-poll tax measure gets an airing before the Senate Rules Committee in two-day hearings beginning today. Sen. Kenneth McKellar (D., Tenn.) and Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina will lead off the oposition witnesses.

The anti-lynching measure still is in the hands of a Judiciary Subcommitee headed by Sen. Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.). GOP members may bring it up first—either in April or May. Mon

That will be the signal for a filibuster by the Southerners. Republican leaders may let the talk run along a few days and then bring in a petition to put the cloture rule in effect. Under this rule, each Senator is limited to an hour's speech.

Rebel Yells From South Slacken

PM

Newark, N.J.

Sun. 2-22-48

WASHINGTON

Some 50 Representatives from 11 Southern States meeting in a "rump caucus" here have approved a resolution calling on the Democratic high command to abandon, or at least soft-pedal, President Truman's civil rights program.

The President, who called for party harmony in a Jefferson- Jackson Day speech Thursday night, was headed South for a two-week vacation when the Southern Democrate assembled.

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Ignoring the fact that Truman made no mention of civil rights or the racial issue in his speech, the Southerners indorsed the stand taken Feb. 7 by the Southern Governors Conference which agreed to hold off any action on a party bolt for 40 days, pending a showdown conference with Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath. Sun. 2-22-48

27 Days Remaining

This leaves 27 days for Southern Governor's and Representatives both to get satisfaction.

Rep. J. Bayard Clark (D., N. C.) said he drafted a large part of the resolution which "respectfully but firmly" cautioned the party not to write the Truman program into its platform. Clark said the language was "not as strong" as some of the Representatives would have liked, but "my chief interest was to keep the conference from going haywire and from doing anything harmful to the party."

Will Carry Dispute to Top

PM

Rep. William Colmer (D., Miss.), who sponsored the meeting, was elected chairman of the caucus. He planned to head a committee which would carry the dispute to McGrath. New York, N.Y.

The Southern group pledged itself to "oppose to the finish" the President's requests for Federal anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and other anti-discrimination laws, charging that the proposals would invade States' rights and set back efforts to relieve the race problem.

No Senators attended, but many of them, as well as House members, boycotted Thursday night's fund-raising in Washington and elsewhere. Sun. 2-22-48

The Advertiser

We, Democrats

EDITOR, The Advertiser: I am in substantial agreement with much that is set forth in your editorial of Tuesday, entitled "Four Horsemen." You are on strikingly solid ground in your belief that there is no pat or sovereign answer to the South's predicament.

Your assumption that there is a growing conviction to this effect among those who are thinking instead of snorting is, I believe, a little rosy. Indeed, it is my own observation that the thinking and the unthinking alike, fully realize the difficult position in which the people of the South now find themselves. But it is also my observation that they will not "string along" as they have done in so many previous national elections just for the sake of party victory.

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But there is a bit of political history which you and all other editors whose comments I read seem to overlook. You observe the possibility that the G. O. P. in the next four years will probably have enacted its own civil disturbance program.

I agree with this observation but in the light of the political history of this country for a period of more than 40 years I am forced to the conclusion that the Democratic Party under the leadership of President Truman, aided and abetted by an overwhelmingly Democratic Supreme Court, has put the Republican Party on the spot. That is to say that the Democrats, not the Republicans, have forced the issue of so-called civil rights. Montgomery, Ala.

For a period of more than 50 years the Republican North has joined the Democratic South in refusing to surrender the right to free and unlimited debate in the United States Senate. This has been true at least since the defeat of the infamous Lodge force bill by the celebrated filibuster of 1896, led by Alabama's great old Senator John T. Morgan. If cloture is enforced in the Senate when the civil disturbance bills come up next, whom shall we hold responsible—the Republicans or the Northern Democrats led by President Truman? Historically and consistently it is true that the Republicans all along have advocated a program of civil rights repulsive to the traditional Southern character. Fri. 3-26-48

But when the issue has been between these rights and free and unlimited debate in the Senate, the Republicans—at least a sufficient number of them—have always refused to surrender the right to free and unlimited debate, which is the source and origin of the filibuster. You are right, of course: The South is in a predicament. But what Samson pulled the temple down upon our heads? Are considerations of loyalty to party or even of expediency to guide our course in such circumstances? I do not think so.

We Southern Democrats have just about treated the Republicans as if every one of them had leprosy. In your editorial "Four Horsemen" you touch, very lightly, on the thought that the Republican Party may be convinced that the South is available for courtship. Obviously, you are too masculine to think that this is leap year and too Southern to entertain the idea that we might do a little courting on our own.

Certainly, we in the South are now on the two horns of the traditional dilemma, with no choice between Republicans and Democrats, at least none so far as the civil disturbance is concerned.

My point here is that we err in thinking that our party affiliations and loyalties are all bound up in the single issue of "civil rights" and that we shall have no problems to settle in national elections of the years far ahead. It is, I believe, time that we begin thinking of a long time program of faith and action. Where that kind of thing will lead, I am not sure. But it will not necessarily lead to slavish adherence to a political party that is Democratic only in name.

We pledge our loyalty to the platform of the National Democratic Party before it has been adopted or promulgated and we pledge ourselves to support candidates for the office of president and vice-president before they have been nominated. This is political slavery. Perhaps it is too late to do anything during this year 1948, except by common consent. But there is a fairly simple way out for the elections of future years: Choose presidential electors after the national parties have met, devised their platforms and selected their candidates. 3-26-48

A. F. HARMAN,
President Emeritus, Alabama College,
Montevallo, Ala.

TIME AND PLACE

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

I think Mr. Massey Wilson, of Oakhill, Ala., is right when he advises the Democrats to stay in the Democratic Party.

I don't think there is anything wrong with the party. The trouble is in the man and not in the party.

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I think the proper thing to do is for the Democrats of the South to elect some good Southern Democrats as delegates to go to the convention and let them nominate some good Democrats for president and vice-president. Montgomery, Ala.

Be sure and remember that two of the delegates we sent to the convention four years ago voted for Henry Wallace for vice-presidnet. We sure don't want to do that any more. The place to save ourselves is at the polls when we go to vote.

J. J. MOORE,
Elba, Ala.

Wed. 2-11-48

Plea For Democratic Unity

(34D) Sat. 3-13-48

Sen. Hill's radio address Thursday night was a powerful plea in behalf of Democratic unity.

He pointed out that President Truman's civil rights recommendations do not commit the party as a whole. He recalled that a plank on the subject acceptable to Southern Democrats was adopted by the party's national convention in 1944. He expressed the belief that differences within the party can be resolved again at the 1948 convention.

Birm'ham, Ala.

In any event, the senator maintained, there is no least reassurance on this score in turning to the Republicans or in making any move that will assure a Republican victory. The Alabamian reminded his hearers that only a few days ago the Republican national chairman, Carroll Reese, said: "Its (the Republican Party's) members in Congress have given almost unanimous support to anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bills, and to proposals for the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission. Though they have been prevented from enacting such laws nationally—because of Democratic opposition—Republicans have given concrete evidence of their sincerity by definite action in the field of state legislation."

* * *

Sen. Hill himself has consistently and forthrightly opposed federal action along the lines suggested by President Truman. Yet he is convinced that the views of the great majority of Southerners in this particular will be far better served by maintaining the unity of the party than by splitting it.

Birmingham News

If protesting Democrats go over to the Republicans simply because of the Truman proposals, they will increase the chances of enactment of such laws.

If such Southerners were to form a sectional party, the South's influence in the national government would unquestionably be greatly decreased.

Sen. Hill brought out very pointedly that representatives of the South have occupied high places in the government in recent years and have had wide influence. Can it be imagined that this would be so if the Republicans win in November?

Once again the senior senator from this state, a close, experienced student of world affairs, stressed the overshadowing importance of the issue of war and peace. If war comes, other matters will become very secondary. The unity and strength of the United States are a major hope for the establishment of peace. Sat. 3 13 48

But suppose this administration, whose foreign policy has such strong bi-partisan support, were repudiated by a great number of members of its own party. What would that mean to the prestige of our government in world councils in the precarious months before another president takes office?

What would it mean in terms of national unity and strength? "Only if America remains strong . . ." Sen. Hill said, "can we hope that Russia will change her course and be willing to come to agreement for the peace of the world."

The Advertiser

NEW BIRTH

EDITOR, The Advertiser: My late father was a brave Confederate soldier. I am proud that his blood flows in my veins. I am glad to recall to memory the story how he helped redeem our beloved Southland from its control by carpetbaggers, radicals, and renegades. Democracy to this old hero, from whose loins I sprang, was as sacred as Holy Writ. That generation gave us men like Morgan, Pettus, Lamar, John Sharp Williams, Ben Hill and Alfred Colquit and, a host of others who were brave enough to speak their convictions in thunder tones when our Southern traditions were threatened by those in power in Washington.

They stood like the rock of Gibraltar. Their power permeated the inner councils of the National Democratic Party. They never trimmed the garment of truth or compromised their convictions for a mess of political pottage. These old heroes are sleeping amid the clay temples of their beloved South.

Montgomery, Ala.

I wonder what those old democratic warriors would say to the "hush, hush" boys who are afraid to meet the same issues raised by old Thad Stevens and his radical colleagues during the decade following the War Between the States. Would they concede that Harlem is a greater power with some of our party leaders than Southern Democrats. Thurs

Would they repudiate the Thad Stevens doctrine and fight like hell to preserve the South they redeemed? Would they let a small group put rings in their nose and make them swallow the mongrelized food now being served on a political platter? The answer is no, a thousand times no, they preferred death to dishonor.

May God give the South a new birth of freedom and brave souls to lead us out of the wilderness where we have worshiped strange gods and listened to those with the hands of Easau and the voice of Jacob. 3-12-48

EMMETT P. SMITH.

Auburn, Ala.

3-14-48

(34D)

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Associated Press Wirephoto

GOVERNORS DECREE "BEAT TRUMAN"—Agreeing unanimously to oppose renomination of President Truman were these Southern Governors in a Washington conference Saturday. From left, seated: Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina; James E. Folsom, of Alabama; William Preston Lane, Jr., of Maryland, and Fielding Wright, of Mississippi; standing, left to right: Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas; Acting Gov. Thompson, of Georgia, and Gov. Beauford Jester, of Texas. Sun. 3-14-48

Old Political Hatreds Caused the Southern Revolt

The Courier Louisville, Ky.

Southern Politicians Use the Civil Rights Issue As An Excuse to Avenge Themselves On Roosevelt

Thurs. 5-13-48

34D

By Tarleton Collier

JACKSON, Miss. — The band played "Dixie." A Huddle of men arose and sang "Deep In the Heart of Texas." It was pushing 90 degrees, with May still young. The magnolias and pomegranates were blooming on the Capitol lawn. There was a man whose identification badge said his name was Claghorn, though he turned out to be a radio technician with no partisan concern in the proceedings.

Everything fitted the pattern at the convention of States Rights Democrats assembled here to declare war on President Truman and his civil-rights laws. This was the South, upholding a tradition of fiery protest. Thurs 5-13-48

Some things about the convention, however, bore looking into. There was, for example, the incandescence of rage against the President. The fury displayed against him was enormous. Nobody could be as mad as that at Harry Truman. It simply isn't in the man to arouse a passion so moving and vengeful.

Gradually, as you watched, the details of the pattern began to identify themselves. Some took on a personal form, more than the songs and the scents were familiar. It dawned on you that here were also a lot of familiar faces, a courtly gentleman from South Carolina arose to second the nomination of a lady from Texas as secretary of the convention. His accents rang a bell in this reporters memory. It was State Senator Warren, who I had heard four years ago, almost to the day, in the classic State-house in Columbia.

THE South Carolina legislature had been assembled there for the tortuous process of preserving white supremacy by removing all references to primary elections from the State books, hoping thus to keep the primaries as informal affairs of private clubs. And thus, you see, the Negro might be kept from the polls in spite of the Supreme Court, hell and high water. Senator Warren, pouring out his wrath upon the Roosevelt Administration and all its works, talked eloquently upon that occasion of digging out of a trunk his father's old red shirt, the uniform of Wade Hampton's Redemption Army, and putting it on to fight anew against carpetbag domination, if need be.

The Courier-Journal

And yesterday here in Jackson, the Texas lady whom he extolled as a paragon among convention secretaries was Mrs. F. R. Carlton. She was one of the Texas Regulars of 1944, whom your correspondent had seen thwarted, in a stirring convention in Dallas, from binding the State's Presidential electors to vote against Roosevelt and Truman.

Then arose Horace T. Wilkinson of Birmingham, who was to be chairman of the States' Righters' committee on resolutions and who told an indecent joke about a lynching party. In the 1944 election he was expounding the doctrine of white supremacy almost fanatically up and down Alabama, opposing Lister Hill for the Senate and decrying the Roosevelts, man and wife, as enemies of the Southern way of life.

There were others—men from Florida who in 1944 had fanned the flames of race prejudice in a vain effort to defeat Claude Pepper for the Senate; men from Arkansas, who had toyed in that other Presidential year with the idea also of manipulating the State's vote in the electoral college to defeat Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Louisville, Ky

THE Mississippians also were trying it then. Their State convention in 1944 elected an uninstructed delegation to the Democratic national convention, then held in Chicago, with the idea of voting against Roosevelt's nomination and with the name of Senator Byrd on many lips as a likely candidate. The man who was then Governor, T. L. Bailey, rushed in to stop the coup. He called a special session of the legislature and arranged for ballotting on Presidential electors. A Roosevelt slate, whose names were on the "pink ballot," so-called because of the color of the special paper, won over the uninstructed slate.

Thurs 5-13-48

The present Governor of Mississippi, Fielding L. Wright, explained to me today that the people were not then read for the issue. Now, he says, they are. It may be said of him that he is one of the progenitors of the Southern revolt of 1948, and he was temporary chairman and host of Monday's convention of States' Righters.

The Courier-Journal

Now, he said, it has become a people's movement. "The arrangements for the convention were taken out of the hands of our politicians," he said. "The business men of Mississippi organized it. The people are behind it one hundred per cent. It takes time for these things to grow."

The point is that the Southern revolt is not a fresh flame. It has been smoldering a long time. In one sense, it revives an idea and almost identical words of 1860, when Jefferson Davis, another Mississippian, turned the State to secession and said in justification: "We have vainly endeavored to secure tranquility and obtain respect for the rights to which we are entitled."

Louisville Ky

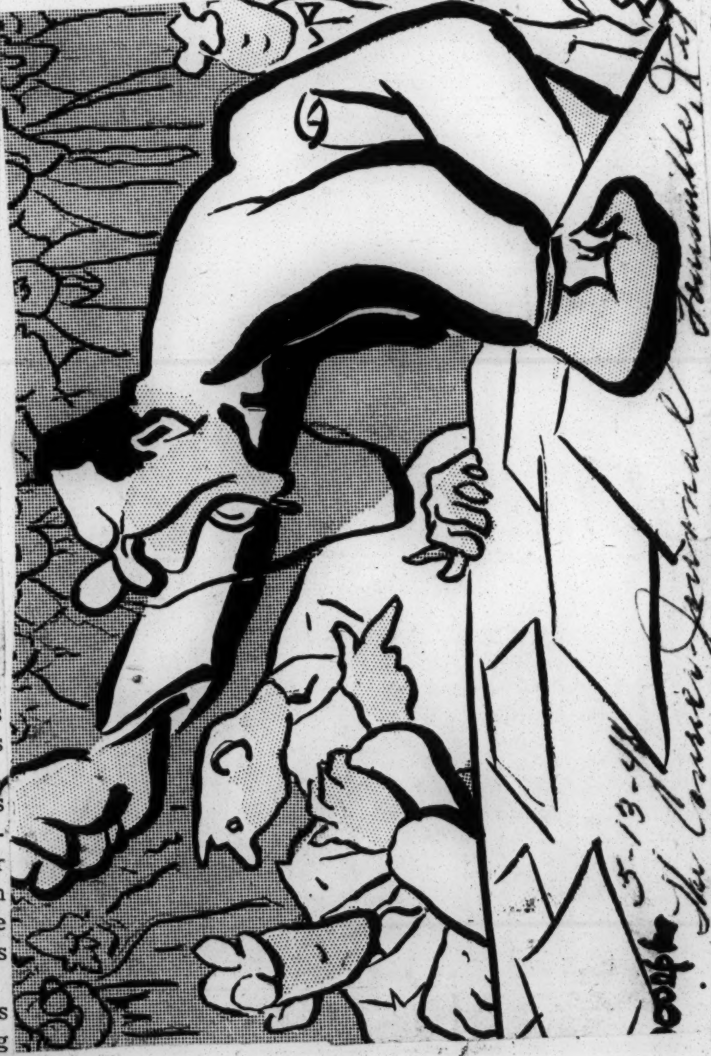
In its more immediate form, however, the revolt has been simmering since 1936, and the end of the two-thirds rule for nominations in the Democratic convention. The rule had been regarded as a Southern prerogative, and instrument which gave the South, though numerically a minority, the power of veto over nominations. as it was used to thwart Al Smith in 1924. When it passed, Southern politicians awoke to see their old hold on the party slip away. Their chagrin grew when the Negro voters turned to the Democratic ticket that year. The Roosevelts, the New Deal, and all they represented, became thence the targets of the politically jealous Southern conservatives. Harry Truman has inherited this bitterness and resentment. His civil-rights message placed into the hands of the opposition—both the political and the business opposition which Governor Wright mentioned—an issue that the people can understand and be moved by. How far and to what effect they may be moved I shall try to discuss in another article.

Thurs 3-13-48

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

Thurs 5-13-48



5-13-48

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

BURN BUILDING TO KILL THE RATS?

Editor, The Advertiser: Advertiser

Your editorial on the revolt of Southern Democrats prompts these observations. I have been a Southern Democrat since 1888, part of the time in your State. My father was a Kentucky Democrat and seldom used the word "Republican" without a prefix! Montgomery, Ala

The tone of editorial comment is that the South is being ignored by the Democratic Party because it no longer needs the South. Sun. 1-29-48

Well, the Democratic Party needs the South, this year and every year. It has always needed the South and always will because the Democratic Party is the South. The South has always furnished the brains of the Democratic Party. And it was the unswerving loyalty of the South and its influence, if not electoral vote, which wrested the country from the damrepublicans after Hoover's fiasco.

And the South needs the Democratic Party, cannot prosper without it. Only under Democratic administration has the South made any industrial progress. Under the hated "New Deal" more industrial advance has been made than under all of the Republicon administrations since that party was founded and promptly taken over by Wall Street. I challenge anybody to name just one constructive or decent thing ever done by the Republican Party for the South, or any other part of the country except the gold-spangled East. All the Republicans have ever done for the South is to loot and plunder it from carpet-bag days until we kicked the scoundrels out in 1932.

I don't like for Congress to tamper with our cherished "Southern traditions," but I'm not going to burn the building to kill the rats! 1-29-48

As for me and my House, we shall continue with the Democrats. If we did otherwise, Dad wouldn't only turn over in his grave, he would come out and do something about it. And, besides, if it had to be a Republican or Henry Wallace, it would be Henry two to one!

A. HOPE WHEELER.

Arlington, Texas.

'Peace, Prices' Slogan Picked By Democrats

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala

Sat. 3-13-48

Mrs. Lennard Thomas Predicts Solid South Will Remain Solid

She's Satisfied

Virginia Senate Adopts Anti-Truman Bill; Sent For Signature

WASHINGTON, March 12.—(AP)—The Democratic Party's high command decided Friday to fight its presidential campaign on two issues: "Peace and prices."

And from one Southerner came a prediction the Solid South would be in on the team play as usual, despite the civil rights quarrelings.

The Democratic National Executive Committee met Friday, agreed on the main issues, but disagreed on civil rights.

However, Mrs. Lennard Thomas of Montgomery, Ala., said she was "perfectly satisfied" with an answer President Truman gave her on the controversy and added:

Montgomery

"We're going to stand together and work for a Democratic victory." The Advertiser

Other political developments:

At Richmond, the Virginia Senate adopted an anti-Truman bill which would permit the Virginia Democratic Party to name its own candidate for president. President Truman, if nominated at Philadelphia, could appear on the ballot as the candidate of the "National Democratic Party" or some other name besides the "Democratic Party." The aim would be to withhold Virginia's electoral vote from Mr. Truman unless Southern demands win concessions.

Sat 3-13-48

Huddle Slated

Several Southern Governors came to Washington for another huddle on strategy against the civil rights program Mr. Truman set forth in his message to Congress. They will discuss their plans Saturday.

Mayor Curley of Boston withdrew and Rep. McCormack remained as a candidate for delegate to the national convention; and Tokyo aides of General MacArthur, a potential Republican condidate, were disclosed to have protested against broadcast in Japan of anti-MacArthur news.

Major development of the day was the meeting of the National Democratic Executive Committee. Frank McHale, Indiana committeeman, said no official action was taken because "the voice of the party is its convention."

The convention will be held in Philadelphia in July, but the executive committee's advance work is important.

"We are certain that the mass of the people will make any sacrifice for peace," McHale said. "The Republicans have missed the boat on the high cost of living issue. They are putting up a tax reduction as a panacea for all the ills of the world." The Advertiser

About Civil Rights

McHale said much of the discussion was about the civil rights program. This has split Democratic Party ranks.

The South has demanded that President Truman withdraw his anti-poll tax, anti-segregation, anti-lynching program or else. The "or else" was a threat to withhold the South's electoral votes from Mr. Truman.

Montgomery, Ala

The statement by Alabama's Democratic National Cimmitteewoman Friday that "we're going to stand together" followed a mild peace gesture from Mr. Truman. He told a news conference Thursday it was up to Congress to frame the details of any civil rights law. 3-13-48

Mrs. Thomas said she asked Mr. Truman at a White House luncheon Friday: "Can I go back and tell my people you are not going to tear up our social structure in the South and that you are everybody's president?" Sat.

She said he answered by pulling out a copy of the constitution and added to her:

"I do not take back one word I've said. I stand on the constitution of the United States. I'm everybody's president."

She said she found nothing in his message indicating that it is planned to force anti-segregation upon the South.

Southern Governors Delay Civil Rights Action 40 Days

The Times New York, N.Y.
Sun 2-8-48

34d

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WAKULLA SPRINGS, Fla., Feb. 7—The Governors of the South, meeting in extraordinary session, threw cold water today on proposals that they start a revolt against the Democratic party this fall and came up with unanimous approval of a plan for a forty-day "cooling-off" period.

Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina presented the compromise plan which calls for the Southern Governors' conference to appoint a committee to study the controversial problems arising in the South from the ten-point civil rights program presented by President Truman to Congress last Tuesday and to report back to the conference in forty days with a recommended course of action.

In a smoke-filled room filled to capacity with reporters and photographers, the Governors, flanked by their educational and political consultants, spent one hour in oratory designed to jockey Governor Thurmond's resolution into a favorable position after a day in which meetings were closed to the press and several Governors issued statements through spokesmen.

In an atmosphere of tenseness the Governors listened to the submission of three resolutions and then refused to give even a seconding vote to the proposals of Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, who urged a Southern conference of "true Democrats" on March 1 to consider a party bolt and Governor James E. Folsom of Alabama, who suggested thrashing the matter out in debate on the floor of the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia this year. The Times New York, N.Y.

The special session called for the sole purpose of further studying the problem of providing regional schools for higher education of whites and Negroes in the South, opened this morning with an unexpected development. Sun. 2-8-48

Governor Wright had said the night before that he would ask the conference to lead a revolt against the leadership of the Democratic party in the 1948 elections because the civil rights proposals were "inimical" to the welfare of the South. 34d.

Gov. William P. Lane Jr., of Maryland, who has been mentioned at times as a possible candidate for the Vice Presidency on the Democratic ticket this year, announced suddenly that the meeting would be a closed one and that representatives of the press would not be permitted to attend. (South)

Education Compact Discussed

At noon a luncheon adjournment was taken and it was announced that the conference had discussed at length the details of drafting a compact under which the Congress of the United States might approve any group of states in the country entering into agreement to provide regional educational facilities. The Times

There were reports that the closed meeting was aimed at keeping politics a secondary issue and Governor Lane said that the proposal of Governor Wright had not been brought before the meeting. New York, N.Y.

As the afternoon session got under way a spokesman for Governor Wright issued to the press a three-page typewritten statement in which the Governor deplored the ten-point civil rights program as "an absolute disregard for the party loyalty of the people of the South. Sun 2-8-48

Governor Wright's statement proposed that the Governors' conference serve notice on the leaders of the national Democratic party that they would no longer tolerate efforts to pass measures "regardless of the will of the South."

March 1 Meeting Proposed

If this feeling of the South is ignored, Governor Wright's statement said, then the Southern Governors' Conference should resolve to "call a southern conference of true Democrats to assemble in Jackson, Miss., on March 1, to form our plans that will enable us to use our electoral votes in a way that will best serve the South and the nation."

Earlier in the week Governor Wright had indicated his approval of a suggestion that the South withhold its electoral votes in the fall and throw the Presidential election into the House of Representatives. Sun

At 5 P. M. the conference meeting room was thrown open and newspaper representatives were informed that a press conference would be held. Meanwhile it had been reported that Governor Thurmond would soon release to the press the content of a proposed resolution. 2-8-48

Governor Lane announced that a draft of the regional school compact had been completed, that two schools for training white students had been suggested and that committees were expected to complete many details by tomorrow.

As Governor Lane finished his statement, Governor Thurmond, attended by his adviser, Walter Brown, of Spartansburg, S. C., read a three-page typewritten statement in which he put forth his "cooling off" plan of forty days' investigation. The preamble to the statement bitterly scored "national political leaders" for conduct designed to "outrage" and "insult" the people of the South.

Wright's Motion Fails

Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas seconded the motion of Governor Thurmond to adopt his resolution. The Times

Governor Wright then submitted his resolution as a substitute, but a call for a seconding motion brought no response. Next, Governor Folsom moved that the Southern states send "favorite son" delegations to the National Democratic Convention and debate on the floor the problems facing the South in the field of civil rights. There was no seconding vote for his proposal.

Governor Wright and Governor Folsom each spoke at length in support of his own resolution. Governor James Nance McCord of Tennessee urged all the members not to "wreck the Democratic party." New York, N.Y.

"I can remember," Governor McCord said, "when candidates in the South campaigned on platforms calling for repeal of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. However, the South has prospered over the years and those amendments have not been repealed. We must stay Democrats and fight this thing out in our own party."

Gov. Willard F. Caldwell of Florida, a leader in the Governors' conference, said he would oppose any steps that led to the election of a Republican President.

Governor Thurmond's resolution was passed unanimously by a voice vote. Sun 2-8-48

Later, Governor Wright issued a statement in which he said he had not voted for Governor Thurmond's resolution in the voice vote. However, there were no dissenting votes recorded. Governor Wright said he felt that Governor Thurmond's proposal "confined further action to the Governors of the Southern states," while his own proposal would have permitted "all the true Democrats of the South in conference assembled to express themselves as to the best method of protecting our interests."

South Prefers Defeat At Polls to Truman

PM. New York, N.Y.
Sun. 2-29-48
34d

By United Press

WASHINGTON

The Southern revolt against President Truman on civil rights has shaped up into a five-step program aimed to restore Southern dominance of the Democratic Party.

Many Dixie Democrats in Congress believe a party shakeup is essential to give the South a bigger voice in party affairs. They claim the South is entitled to the top position it enjoyed before the Democratic National Convention two-thirds nominating rule was abolished for the simple majority rule.

Some of them now are willing to lose this year's Presidential election to achieve their goal.

Party reorganization, after the November election, is the last step of the program on which the Southerners have embarked. It is a step-by-step program during which the signals could change at any time to take advantage of favorable winds. Sun. 2-29-48

Sen. Walter F. George (D., Ga.), said he believed it would be possible to "reorganize" the party after the 1948 elections on a basis of "sound principles and good government." He said he would not hesitate to become a member of a minority party rooted in "economy and good government" because such a party would not long remain in the minority.

George said he had written these views to many constituents who had asked whether he was available for a Presidential or Vice Presidential nomination. He said he did not "want to become involved in any contest for a place on the ticket."

Ahead of party reorganization, the Southern program contemplates:

¶ A united front in Congress against the anti-discrimination legislation which Truman requested and the Republican majority is pushing. Their best bet is a Senate filibuster.

¶ Revision of State election ma-

said, was being assaulted by Serrell.

Brown was the other witness. He corroborated every word that Campbell uttered.

Counsel for the Pennsylvania State Council of the American Veterans Committee and the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People are seeking to re-open the case.

They are preparing for a grand jury investigation and are seeking justice for Mrs. Serrell who was held in jail here until her husband was buried, when charges against her were dropped on condition that she pay court costs.

Prosecuting Attorney John C. Skinner told PM's correspondent that it was "a clear case of resistance" and that so far as he was

chinery as a step toward keeping Truman's name off the ballot.

¶ An attempt to defeat Truman for the Presidential nomination at the National convention in Philadelphia next July and keep a civil rights planks out of the party platform. (Sen. John L. McClellan (D., Ark.) has declared flatly that Truman can't win in November. Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D., S. C.) thinks the party should dump Truman and nominate "some other prominent figure such as Gen. George C. Marshall.") 2-29-48

¶ Withhold Southern electoral votes from Truman in an attempt to throw the selection of the next President into the House of Representatives.

Withholding the electoral votes could seriously damage Truman's chances in anything less than a Democratic landslide. But it would be only a gesture if the Republican candidate won without tapping the solid South.

"Dixiecrats" Forming Campaign Committee

LITTLE ROCK, May 27—(AP)—
Birmingham, Ala.
Thurs 5-27-48

Three states—South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama—have named their members on the campaign committee of the state right's Democratic organizations—the so-called "Dixiecrats."

34d (South)

Gov. Laney, of Arkansas, permanent chairman of the organization, announced today that Robert M. Figg, Charleston, and State Senator W. P. Baskin, Bishopville, had been named to represent South Carolina; Everett Truly, Fayette, and Dr. J. O. Emmerich, McComb, are Mississippi's representatives, and Robert T. Goodwin, Montgomery, and former Gov. Frank M. Dixon, Birmingham, Alabama's representatives. Thurs.

Laney said Arkansas' representatives have not yet been selected; that the West Virginia's state Democratic committee had authorized him to name that state's representatives and that Texas and Florida state committees had notified him that names of their representatives

had been mailed. 5-27-48

So far, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Louisiana state Democratic committees have made no response, Laney said, adding he expected to hear from Georgia and North Carolina.

Southern Rebels Fire New Weapon As GOP Cheers

PM New York, N.Y.

State rights, as do anti-lynch and anti-poll tax proposals."

¶ Rep. E. E. Cox (D., Ga.) charged that the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax had been labeled a "Communist front organization" by the House un-American Activities Committee. Actually, the Committee has never been "cited" by the House group, but in an investigators' report was once glancingly referred to as a "front organization," without hearings or investigation.

George Objects PM New York, N.Y.

¶ Sen. Walter F. George (D., Ga.) expressed disapproval of President Truman's civil rights program but declined invitations to enter in the Georgia competition for the Democratic nomination.

¶ A House Judiciary Committee vote on the anti-lynch bill was delayed by Southern members under a technicality which bars a Committee from sitting while the House is in session. The House convened at 11 a.m., before a vote could be taken. The committee's next meeting is scheduled for Tuesday. Fri. 2-27-48

By WILLARD SHELTON
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

Election-conscious Republicans happily egged on the Southern Democratic "revolt" against President Truman yesterday as Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D., Va.) endorsed "without reservation" Gov. William M. Tuck's proposal to change the Virginia election laws to keep Truman's name off the ballot and block Henry Wallace's Third Party from the election in that state (*See below*).

Battling Southern Democrats temporarily checked full House Judiciary Committee approval of the Case anti-lynch bill, but GOP leaders left no doubt that they intended to push the bill to passage in time for a Senate vote before Congressional adjournment in June.

No Public Admission

Republican leaders refuse to ad- ublicly they hope to provoke

a Senate Southern Democratic filibuster either on the anti-lynch bill or anti-poll tax bill.

Privately, House Republican attaches have no hesitancy in recognizing the political value of a Senate filibuster — dramatizing Southern hostility to Negro rights bills—next May, shortly before the National political conventions.

PM

Byrd's indorsement of Tuck's proposals to the Virginia legislature declared that the message "may well become historic."

New York, N.Y

The implication of Byrd's statement, and of Tuck's own message at Richmond, was that, if the Virginia General Assembly should pass the Tuck-proposed bill—thus allowing Virginia's Democratic Presidential electors to secede from the National Democratic Party — other Southern states "revolting" against President Truman's civil rights message would follow suit.

Will Withhold Majority Fri. 2-27-48

The objective of the Southerners would be to withhold their electoral college votes from President Truman, if he pushes the civil rights program, and thus deprive any Presidential candidate of an absolute majority.

Under such circumstances the Presidential election could be thrown into the House of Representatives next January, with each State having one vote.

The program is fully in accord with technical Constitutional requirements, but would violate a century-and-a-half-old tradition steadily strengthening the people's right to choose their President and Vice President directly.

Incidents in The Revolt

¶ Rep. Clare Hoffman (R., Mich.) speaking in the House, suggested a "deal" between Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats "for the good of the country," to get together, "agree on someone agreeable to both and elect him." Then together they could "kill this program of civil rights," Hoffman said, "and satisfy you folks from the

South." 2-27-48

He later told reporters that by "someone agreeable," he meant a Presidential candidate opposed to "legislation which interferes with

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RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Notes on the Donkey Serenade

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed. 5-19-48

I was not one of those who yearned toward Jackson, Miss., where the donkey serenade recently was led by those self-promotional Governors of Mississippi, South Carolina and Arkansas.

This was the meeting of disintegration and frustration.

At Tallahassee, Fla., for the initial "revolt," there were nine Governors to consider a protest against Harry Truman.

At Washington, D. C., two weeks later, the number had shrunk to six.

At Jackson there were but three Governors, those from South Carolina, Mississippi and Arkansas. The boys were down from nine to three.

The proceedings were so obviously financed for the benefit of some yet unrevealed objective, and so plainly in the hands of the crowd from Mississippi and South Carolina, that the Georgia people sensibly withdrew to tote their own skillet of opposition.

Wed. 5-19-48

Oil It was obvious at Tallahassee that the big oil interests were stirring the boys up. They put the tidelands oil controversy right up alongside pure womanhood and States' rights.

They did it again at Washington. And at Jackson there was the resolution in behalf of oil right alongside the resolution against Harry Truman. There was no Governor from Texas at Jackson, and no official group, but there was a group which sang "Deep in the Heart of Texas," in oily tenors.

Names A lot of names popped out of the news reports from Jackson.

One was that of State Sen. Warren, who four years ago was the leader of the anti-Roosevelt forces in South Carolina.

Another was Mrs. F. R. Carlton, of Texas. In 1944 she was one of those who led the organization in Texas which sought to make the Texas electors withhold their votes from Franklin D. Roosevelt . . . an effort which failed. She was at Jackson.

There at Jackson also was Horace Wilkinson, of Alabama. It was he who led the extremely bitter campaign against Sen. Lister Hill in 1944, denouncing the Roosevelts as enemies of the people.

There were others there—all familiar as the anti-Roosevelt crowd of 1940 and 1944—now hovering about this "revolt," hopeful of sabotaging the Democratic Party. One wonders where the money is coming from. The reports speak of expensive pamphlets and tracts—all paid for with someone's money.

The Constitution

Money Walter Silers, Speaker of the House of Representatives in Mississippi, is quoted as having said a war chest of $2,500,000 was available.

That's not kudzu!

Who put it up?

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed. 5-19-48

He says there will be plenty of money to finance a convention —at Birmingham—if the Philadelphia convention nominates Mr. Truman. To that convention will be invited all Southern delegations.

I don't doubt the money is available and I don't doubt that the convention will be attempted—and it is easy to guess why Birmingham is the place selected . . . where the cash will be available.

Bolting But, whether the Democrats will be there I don't know. I doubt it. Fighting in the convention is one thing. Withholding the electoral votes is another. But bolting the party is something else.

Wed. 5-19-48

I somehow doubt that the boys will take a walk to Birmingham —not in any great numbers.

The old hates keep simmering. They have been boiling over since 1936 when the two-thirds rule was abolished. The Roosevelts, the New Deal, the inevitable decisions by the Supreme Court relative to citizenship rights—all these clashed with an old conservatism and began to make less sure the grip of the old politicians. It is no mere coincidence that the cry is loudest today from the poll tax States.

The Constitution

The revolt hasn't jelled yet. It can't do that for weeks to come.

Former Gov. Ellis Arnall's prediction that delegates pre-convention-pledged against the party's nominees will not be seated, is possible, but not very probable. The National Convention can't bolt the State parties any easier than the States can bolt the national party.

Atlanta, Ga.

The gathering at Birmingham, if there is one, will not be large. After all, even in politics, you can't buy everything with money.

Dixiecrats

Sun. 5-16-48

Dixiecrat: Southerner, white, normally stanchly Democratic, characterized in 1948 by strong opposition to President Harry S. Truman.

The Times

This definition hasn't yet appeared in any dictionary, but some variation on it may eventually. It was coined by the Charlotte (N. C.) News. It applies to Southern Democrats who don't like President Truman and his stand for civil rights for Negroes.

In Jackson, Miss., last Monday the

more extreme Dixiecrats held a "States' Rights Conference." The city's main avenue was hung with Confederate flags. The host was Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, who the day before advised Negroes that if they expected "equality" they should move to "some state other than Mississippi." The meeting was unofficial and the biggest "delegations" were from Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and Arkansas. For four hours the conferees

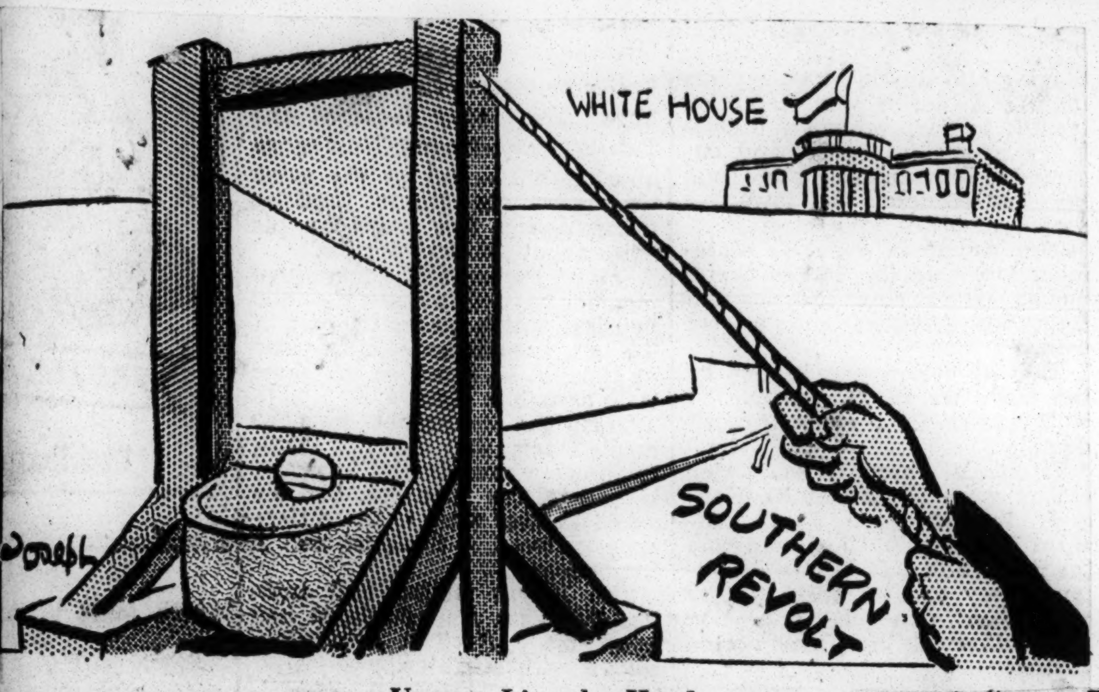
heard Mr. Truman denounced for "selling the South down the river for a shirttail of Northern votes." Then they voted unanimously to hold a separate convention next July if the Democratic National Convention, beginning on July 12, fails to repudiate Mr. Truman and the civil rights issue.

New York, N.Y.

If the Dixiecrats' action and the continued coldness toward the President among industrial groups—disturbed Mr. Truman, he did not show it. At a dinner of Young Democrats in Washington on Friday he delivered one of his most aggressive political speeches in years. He spoke extemporaneously and informally—a technique his advisers regard as more effective than his somewhat stilted formal style. He said:

Sun.

"I want to say to you that for the next four years there will be a Democrat in the White House—and you're looking at him." 5-16-48



Uneasy Lies the Head

Southerners Quit Truman for Good

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky. Tues

Dixie Dissenters Secede To Make Revolt a Formal Break

5-11-48

(34d)

By TARLETON COLLIER
Staff Correspondent, The Courier-Journal.

Jackson, Miss., May 10.—Southerners from 10 states of the old Confederacy, in a convention here today, seceded from Harry S. Truman.

After 3 hours of defiant oratory in the old manner, the Southern revolt formally was organized by Democratic Party members who came here on invitation by party chairmen of Mississippi and Arkansas. The revolt left off as a loose but passionate hurly-burly. It became a campaign, with a high command, a general strategy, field tactics, and a set of objectives.

As stated in resolutions adopted to rebel yells, these objectives include:

1. To fight the nomination of President Truman.

The Courier-Journal

Oppose Civil-Rights Backers.

2. To work against "every candidate who fails or refuses to repudiate publicly the federal so-called civil-rights program."

3. To recommend that states choose as delegates to the national convention and as presidential electors only persons who will stand against Truman or any other champion of civil-rights legislation.

4. To start the fight in the Philadelphia convention with a warning of these intentions.

5. If the fight is lost there, to hold a meeting in Birmingham July 17 "for the purpose of taking all necessary and appropriate action." This might mean a Southern ticket and a full-fledged schism, as in 1860 with the bolt from Stephen A. Douglas.

Outright Fight Possible.

Louisville, Ky.

6. To create a campaign organization to see the fight through November. As speakers explained the idea, this would mean an outright campaign against Truman's election if he is the nominee. Tues 5-11-48

The field marshal of the campaign will be Ben Laney, Governor of Arkansas. Laney, stocky, grim-faced, and fiery, was permanent chairman of the convention and ran it swiftly on prearranged lines. The speakers had been selected, the resolutions written, the movers of motions spotted, in two days of preconvention caucuses—in the interests of coherence and dispatch, it was explained. All the approximately 1,000 delegates had to do was to shout, which they did with a will.

They leaped to their feet with the loudest and longest unanimous shout when J. Strom Thurmond, Governor of South Carolina, a vigorous keynoter, declared, "Harry Truman never has been elected President of the United States and never will be."

'We Are Going to Fight.'

The Courier-Journal

However, the applause for this declaration was pressed closely for volume by two other utterances by the South Carolinian. One recaptured the fire and definite point of the old secession conventions: Louisville, Ky.

"We are going to fight, come what may. We are going to preserve our civilization in the South. Not all the laws of Washington, or all the bayonets of the Army can force the Negro into our homes, our churches, or our schools, or into our places of amusement and recreation."

And the other, when Governor Thurmond was urging action to oppose any Democratic nominee who stood for the civil-rights program, "As the Governor of a sovereign state, I do not intend that the rights of my people shall be sacrificed on the block of blind party loyalty." Tues. 5-11-48

Began By Singing Dixie.

First and last it was a gathering of Southerners and States-righters. They began by singing "Dixie." They wound up with a catchy air, "Let's Send Harry Back to the Farm," of which a great deal doubtless will be heard before November. Its lyrics were composed by William Lowndes Daniel, Jr., secretary to Governor Thurmond. And, to judge by their effect on the convention, they do something to you.

Just before this only hilarious spot on the deadly serious program the delegates heard as the final speaker, young Congressman John Bell Williams of Mississippi. He invoked the spirit of Theodore G. Bilbo to guide the campaign to righteousness and loyalty to Southern ideals. The applause nearly raised the roof.

Nobody will be able to say that, as far as Southern Democratic politicians are concerned, this convention of "State-rights Democrats" was not representative and responsible.

Its central figures were the three Governors—Fielding Wright of Mississippi, who was temporary chairman; Laney, the permanent chairman, and Thurmond, the keynoter. Governor Beauford Jester of Texas couldn't come, but he sent an official delegation. Tues.

Heads of the other delegations were state party chairmen or national committeemen or delegates to the national convention or leaders in the Legislature. Thus represented, at least quasi officially, were Mississippi, Arkansas, South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Texas, Tennessee, Georgia, Virginia, and North Carolina. 5-11-48

A standard bearing the designation, "Other States," reared over a thick cluster of delegates. Anybody who registered was qualified to attend, which meant to lift his voice in the unanimous voting and to cheer, if not to join in the oratory. One enthusiastic but unassigned delegate who hastened to second a motion brought about a moment of embarrassed silence.

(34d)

Only one state delegation failed to concur in the resolutions and the plan of action, although nothing was said of it on the floor. This was Georgia's, which came along under leadership of James S. Peters, the state party chairman. A statement afterward said the abstention was without prejudice and the suggestion was that the individual members felt like all the others. Georgia, however, has some unfinished political business of its own, with an election ahead in which Herman Talmadge is running against Governor M. E. Thompson, and there are some policy kinks to be ironed out.

Stop With Wilson.

But everybody was for States rights, the same as in antebellum days. Some of the same words were used in defense of that principle as were used then. Actually, there were ample quotations from the States-righters of the old days, some out of archives, more than a century old, some as recent as those of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Courier-Journal

However, it could not escape notice that more than one speaker, lauding the "Jeffersonian, Jacksonian, and Wilsonian" principles, stopped there, proceeding no further along the chronology of Democratic saints.

Even the invocation of divine blessing was in the proper note. In his opening prayer an elderly clergyman, the Rev. Walter B. Capers, rector emeritus of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church of Jackson, touched on the point of the meeting. He prayed:

"We thank Thee for the Constitution, which guarantees to each State the right to govern itself in its locality. We ask Thee to cause our leaders in high places to recognize the baneful consequences of substituting bureaucracy for constitutional government." Louisville Ky.

Oil Raises Its Head.

In this note, revelations of a kindred philosophy were carried in the declarations which the convention approved. These delegates, it was plain, were the conservatives of Southern politics. The formal declaration of principles contained this: Tues

"The executive department of the Government is promoting the gradual but certain growth of a totalitarian state by domination and control of a politically minded Supreme Court. Thurs

"As examples of the threat to our form of Government, the executive department, with the aid of the Supreme Court, has asserted national dominion and control of submerged oil-bearing lands in California, schools in Oklahoma and Missouri, primary elections in Texas, South Carolina, and Louisiana, restrictive covenants in New York, the District of Columbia, and other jurisdictions, as well as religious instruction in Illinois. 5-11-48

"By asserting paramount federal rights in these instances, a totalitarian concept has been promulgated which threatens the integrity of the States and the basic rights of their citizens."

In the same vein the declaration also included, "The use of the veto power by the Chief Executive over tax legislation is a dangerous and almost unprecedented threat to the control by the people of the power of taxation." The Courier-Journal

There was also this word for rugged individualism, "We believe that the citizen should depend on his own efforts for existence and security rather than upon the Government."

At the beginning the convention, approving a prepared order of business, voted to refrain from discussing the merits of any prospective candidate for President. It was not getting out on a limb or taking a chance on dispute. Only the demerits of Truman, on which everybody seemed to agree loudly, was in order. Tues

The other speakers, presenting to those who know their Southern politics a cross section of the attendance, were Horace Wilkinson of Birmingham, who was chairman of the resolutions committee; Roane Waring, Jr., Memphis, former national commander of the American Legion; Gessner McCorvey, Alabama party chairman; and Palmer Bradley of Houston, representing Governor Jester. Louisville Ky.

It was over, speeches and all, and the convention recessed, in little more than 3 hours.

Southern Revolters Are Dubbed Dixiecrats

The Courier-Journal

Charlotte, N. C., May 10 (AP)—The Charlotte News had a word for them today—Dixiecrats. Tues.

Lacking an official name for that group of Democrats fighting against President Truman and his civil-rights program, Managing Editor Pete McKnight explained the paper had been struggling with such phrases as "States Rights Democrats," Dixie Democrats," "Southern Democrats," and longer titles. 5-11-48

"We decided to name them ourselves," he commented. "They

ought to adopt it."

Southerners

The Courier-Journal

But enthusiasm for the well-financed Rebel yell ebbs after the initial fun rubs off

Louisville, Ky.

Fri. 5-14-48

By Tarleton Collier

JACKSON, MISS.—The sound and fury of the States Righters, who met here Monday to organize the Southern revolt, ebbed swiftly. In a matter of hours after the conference was recessed the delegates from afar had cleared out. As a matter of fact, the city auditorium, which was filled when the band struck up "Dixie," was more than half emptied before the oratory had run its course. This phenomenon may be explained in that the steering committee announced there would be no suspension of activities until the program was completed. It had come at dinner time—midday, that is—before the last whoops of approval for the announced project of sending Harry back to the farm, as the campaign song put it.

The contrast of quiet on the day after was all the more marked in view of the careful, prolonged and well-financed preparations. This undertaking to make the Southern revolt against President Truman and his civil-rights proposals into a full-fledged campaign has substantial support in funds. An advertising firm has a lush contract to promote it. The touch of business efficiency is there. It obviously isn't altogether a venture of politicians. It could be. With financing like that there will be plenty of hoopla and pressure. But the second day was also a good time to check up on these prospects. That there will be a fight for the Southern point of view at Philadelphia, with demand for a plank withdrawing the civil-rights program, goes without saying. But as for taking a walk to Birmingham and a strictly Southern nominating convention, it is hard to be as certain as Speaker Sillers

Louisville, Ky.

Fri. 5-14-48

THREE States may be counted on definitely. These are Mississippi, Arkansas and South Carolina, whose Governors were here running the show Monday. Some delegates from Alabama may join them, but other Alabama representatives have been elected on the platform of sticking it out with the party. However, Alabama already has spoken as to its electors, who are pledged to vote against Truman, so that nothing that happens at Philadelphia will probably matter to it. Birmingham may have been selected for the meeting in honor of Alabama's trail-blazing in this respect. Then there is Georgia, about which nobody may say, although the States Righters are counting on it to come along with them. Fri. 5-14-48

They have a ready explanation, which is probably true, about the withdrawal of Georgia's group from the meeting here. That doesn't mean a thing, they say. You couldn't call it a bolt for the bolters. The fact is that the Georgia delegation here was headed by the State party chairman, who is a Talmadge man. Young Herman Talmadge, now running for Governor, is playing 'em close to the vest. If his friends at Jackson had agreed to take part in the Birmingham meeting, his opponents would simply have been handed on velvet a campaign issue against him. They could shout "bolter" at him up and down Georgia.

The Courier-Journal

NOBODY really knows about Louisiana, either. That State had other fish to fry Monday, with the inauguration of a new governor, and another Long, at that. It had no official representation here, everybody being occupied at the Baton Rouge fiesta. It had, however, a number of unofficial "observers," among them being former Governor Sam Jones and Judge Robert F. Kennon who, having lost to Earl Long in the governor race, naturally would have felt out of place at the inaugural.

As for Tennessee, it was noteworthy that the State's delegation to the anti-Truman conference was with only one exception made up of Crump men from Memphis. The other camp of Tennessee politics, which is a little starry-eyed just now in the dream of beating Crump and his candidates in the August primary, would almost certainly not go along with Roane Waring and his Shelby County band.

Louisville, Ky.

AS FOR Texas and Florida, your guess is as good as ours, but ours is that they will not be counted in Birmingham. That leaves, of the old Confederacy, North Carolina and Virginia. Governor Tuck may have done all he is going to do about Virginia and its electoral vote. And even the States Righters are not counting on aid and encouragement from North Carolina, which has stood so far like a rock of regularity and moderation. On this point, your correspondent finds that he misrepresented the Tarheel State in his original report of the meeting here in saying that it was one of the States in the action. It wasn't so. Of around 1,000 visitors, only one or two had North Carolina on their identification badges, and these were representing themselves, without official standing. Fri.

You could blame the error on the heat and the hub-bub. Or you could blame it on the fact that at the time of scanning the list my eye was caught by a tract thrust in my hand by an eager gentleman. It was calculated to startle anybody. "White Men, Awaken!" it said on the cover. "Pro-Stalin politicians and alien-minded traitors in co-operation with blind sentimentalists are attempting to force Negro rule, Negro-white intermarriage, Negro invasion of white schools." 5-14-48

In The Nation

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Next Week Important for the Democrats Also

Thurs.

4-29-48

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, April 28—While the Republicans are discovering that the prairie fire for Harold E. Stassen in the Midwest has burst out of the chimneys of rolling-mills in Pennsylvania, and are discussing how wide an area the conflagration will cover in Ohio, the Democrats are anxiously watching the progress of another political blaze. This has been kindled in Alabama against the nomination of President Truman. On May 4—the same date as the Ohio primary where Mr. Stassen and Senator Taft are contesting—its local intensity will be revealed, with some indication of how far and how destructively the blaze will spread in the South.

Alabama Democrats, in a wide-open primary, are to decide how many they will choose of the candidates for delegate to their national convention who now assert they will walk out if the platform and the nominee are not "satisfactory." They will also decide how many candidates for Presidential elector they will put on the party ticket who are pledged never to cast the vote of the state in the Electoral College for Mr. Truman. If a majority of such dissidents are selected, Southern Democratic legislators here believe the pattern will be repeated in South Carolina, Mississippi, Arkansas and Virginia. And, if this happens, they think there is an excellent prospect the President will not choose to run.

Senator Lister Hill of Alabama returned to Washington today with the statement that state opinion is forming against a proposed convention walkout by the Democratic delegation. He was not quoted on the anti-Truman pledge of the candidates for elector. But both he and his colleague, Senator Sparkman, have asserted that General Eisenhower is their choice for the Presidency, which means that they and the insurgent electoral candidates have the same objective.

A Report From Alabama

The Times

He may be correct in the limited statement he made. This correspondent has received from Alabama an account of the primary prospect that somewhat supports it where the convention delegates are concerned. But the author of the report sees indications that, if the President is nominated, the Alabama electors will cast their votes for somebody else.

The report follows:

1. *The contest for delegates.* There are 85 candidates for the 26 voting seats in the national convention to which the state is entitled. Of these, 31 have declared they will not walk out in any event; 29 will walk out if Mr. Truman is nominated or if his "civil rights" program is in the platform; and 25 are noncommittal. During the past ten days the trend has been against a walkout, and several candidates who made conditional pledges to bolt the convention have rescinded them. New York, N.Y.

This group includes the best vote-getters in the state, led by Senator Hill and former Governor Chauncey Sparks. There will be a run-off primary for numerous races in which the issue of a walkout will be more clearly drawn; in this one, personalities are dominant. The net outcome is "difficult to predict"; hence this informant wisely does not try to predict it. Thurs.

2. *The contest for electors.* There are 28 candidates for the 11 places. Of these, 21 are pledged not to cast their votes in the Electoral College for Mr. Truman, whichever ticket carries the state, and the remaining 7 are noncommittal. A number of these races will require a run-off primary for final decision. "But the chances seem good" that 11 electors will be named who will be publicly pledged never to vote for the President. 4-29-48

Some Details

"One need only recall," reports this authority, William M. Hinds of The Birmingham News, "that the bolt away from the party in Alabama is led by the same men—Horace Wilkinson and Hugh Locke—who led the 1928 fight against Al Smith, when Alabama came within 8,000 votes of going Republican." (North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Texas and Florida did, and the normal Democratic majority in Alabama in national elections ranges from 150,000 to 200,000.)

"The behind-the-scenes politicians in this state," he continues, "see an opportunity to spank the national party for the pushing around they feel they have taken as part of the Solid South. They are * * * using the vote-getting appeal which the civil rights question has for the average Southern white voter. The Times

"Governor Folsom, who strongly opposes a walkout [of the convention delegates], has a slate of 'Jeffersonian Democrats' whom he favors for delegates-at-large. However, this slate includes three candidates who —— [he names a party leader] says are pledged to walk out. This slate, however, poses a test of the Governor's local strength rather than of the national party issue." New York, N.Y.

This description of a quarreling electorate, with a majority of aspirants for party and state office who stand publicly against a Democratic President and openly announce they will try to retire him in one way or another, sufficiently explains why the national Democratic leaders will keep their eyes on Alabama next week. The Republicans and perhaps the bulk of the American people will pay more attention to Ohio, watching for the effect of the sparks from the Midwest cornfields and the Pennsylvania foundries. But the Alabama Democrats could on the same day start a political revolution of equal consequence. Thurs. 4-29-48

JACK TARVER: 342

South Stays 'Solid' To Block GOP Win

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Mon. 2-9-48

WAKULLA SPRINGS, Fla., Feb. 8—"The Democrats know they have us and the Republicans know they can't have us."

Thus succintly Big Jim Folsom summed up:

1. The South's eternal dilemma, and

2. The reason all the sound and fury, threats and ultimatums emanating from the Southern Governors' Conference here the past two days will come to naught.

It is well on to a century now since outraged Southern Democrats bolted the Party and placed their own candidate in the field, handing the presidency to a then little-known Republican named Lincoln. But the basic situation remains the same. The South is powerless effectively to dissent to national Democratic policies without materially enhancing GOP victory chances. And the Republican party, despite the reception accorded occasional enlightened emissaries such as Stassen, is still anathema to the average Southerner. Mon 2-9-48

That's why veteran observers found most of the imprecations hurled at Truman and the National Party here the past two days strangely familiar.

That's why more than one of the Southern Governors who voted for the watered-down resolution of condemnation finally adopted doubt seriously that the subsequent meeting provided for therein will ever be called.

Gov. Thurmond's compromise resolution, which began with an angry preamble and concluded with a strangely temperate slap on the wrist, "deploring all ill-considered proposals," meant merely that the South was once again going through the motions of threatening party revolt.

Indeed, it is hardly likely that even that action would have been taken but for the bitter insistence of one man, Mississippi's Fielding Wright. Mon. 2-9-48

Wright, a stocky, horn-rimmed individual, is strangely reminiscent in appearance and in action with Georgia's late Eugene Talmadge. But while he knows all the words, Wright lacks, as do so many of those who aspire to his following, the evangelical fervor and oratorical fire with which Gene won the ballots of the faithful and the grudging recognition of his critics.

Moreover, there was every indication that even Gov. Wright was waxing indignant more for home consumption than with any hope of bringing about a national party reversal of policy in the field of civil rights. Taciturn and reticent most of the time, he was voluble on his proposed revolt mostly in the presence of reporters from the Jackson and Memphis papers. Mon.

Most of the Governors, particularly those who remember the attempted rebellion in Texas four years ago and Eugene Talmadge's grass roots fiasco in Macon in 1935, echoed the familiar threats . . . but without enthusiasm. 2-9-48

And, in so far as the Southern Governors are concerned, if there is a rump convention in the South this year, it can very well be held in a phone booth.

SOUTH CAROLINIANS ASSAIL PARTY ACTS

The Times

New York, N.Y. Fri. 1-30-48

49 Legislators Assert National Democrats Ignore Region—Mississippi Is Restive

342

COLUMBIA, S. C., Jan. 29 (AP)—Forty-nine South Carolina legislators declared today that the national Democratic party no longer represents the South and asked that the State's Democrats meet to reconsider their position in the national party.

The statements were made in a letter to W. P. Baskin, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee. The legislators pointed out that they were writing as individual Democrats, rather than as members of the South Carolina General Assembly which is now in session.

The letter said in part:

"The South's distaste for some acts of the national party has mounted until it now has reached the point that we should reconsider our position in the national party.

"We emphasize that this is not a suggestion for withdrawal from the national party. It is, however, a direct admonition that we take stock and review our position. . . ." Fri. 1-30-48

They pointed out the Fair Employment Practices Commission measure, the Anti-Poll Tax Bill and President Truman's civil rights report as "but a few of the measures which Southerners generally have found repugnant. * * *

"South Carolina is a part of the 'solid South' which unfailingly provides the national party with its core of strength and which is 'in the bag' at elections.

"The concessions are made, however, to the sections of the country not 'in the bag,' to those minority groups which so often are the outspoken advocates of the very things flagrantly repugnant to our views. The Times

"The Republican party, knowing this position of the South, has no reason to respect our views. In consequence, the South is completely ignored in party councils and in national policy-making as if they were not states of the Union. * * *" New York N.Y.

Mr. Baskin said he had not yet received the letter and would have no comment until he did.

Action Urged in Mississippi

The Times

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 29 (AP)—Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat, of Mississippi, said today that if Southern Democrats withhold from the Democratic party their electoral votes, "a Southern man will emerge as President of the United States."

He told the Mississippi Legislature it would work out this way:

The South, with 127 electoral votes, could throw them to a "distinguished Southerner." That would deprive the other parties of enough votes to "throw the election into the House of Representatives." New York, N.Y.

The United States Constitution provides that the top three candidates shall be considered by the House.. Fri. 1-30-48

Republicans of the South, he said, would take a Southern Democrat before they would take a Northern Republican.

In the election in the House, each state would have but one vote and, he predicted, "a Southern man would emerge as President of the United States.

Mr. Eastland spoke at the invitation of the Legislature after it had endorsed the inaugural address of Gov. Fielding L. Wright. Mr. Wright called on Southern Democrats to take action to force party leaders to stop sponsoring "anti-Southern legislation" and give Southerners a voice in shaping party policy.

The Democrats' Troubles

The Record

Democratic chieftains made some progress in healing "civil rights" bitterness during their closed-door sessions last week—but not too much. (South) (342)

This time some of the rebellion came not from the South, but from the North. Ed Flynn, boss of the Bronx and the man who had much to do with nominating Truman in 1944, declined to attend. After Truman, without consulting Democratic leaders, announced that he was a candidate, Flynn sent word that he was not coming to Washington "to play ring-around-a-rosie." 3-16-48

Ed Kelly, ex-mayor of Chicago and another stalwart who helped put Truman in office, also failed to show up. Columbia, S.C.

On the other hand, homespun ex-Gov. Bob Kerr of Oklahoma, keynoter of the last Democratic convention in 1944, this time keynoted the drive to restore harmony. Tues.

"If we want to win the election this year," reminded Kerr, "and I know that's uppermost in the minds of all Democrats, "we've got to work together as a united party. The Democratic party is big enough to have disagreements—even big disagreements like this one—and still present a united front."

Kerr spoke after Chairman Howard McGrath had argued, implored and coaxed that Democratic factions patch up their split over Truman's civil rights program.

"I'll admit that the President's message may not have been timed well and some may object to the manner in which it was presented to Congress," said McGrath, "but after all it is the mandate of the party. Civil rights was part of the 1944 party platform. All President Truman did was ask Congress to put into law something to which the Democratic party already is committed."

McGrath went on to point out that Truman's message was misunderstood by many people, especially that part relating to "segregation" of races in public carriers. All the President did, in effect, was to call attention to a Supreme Court ruling that Jim Crow laws were illegal on buses and other carriers in interstate transportation, the Democratic chairman emphasized.

Republicans Have Troubles, Too

McGrath got strong support from his fellow Rhode Island senator, Theodore Green, and from Indiana's bulky Frank McHale.

"This trouble in the party has been greatly exaggerated," declared the alert 81-year old senator from Rhode Island. "The Republicans have their difficulties too—over the question of choosing a nominee. I think that the strife within Republican ranks will become more and more bitter as the campaign wears on. The Record

"All this talk about Truman not being a strong candidate doesn't make sense," continued Green. "We can win with him if Democrats give him their united support. There was a feeling that Roosevelt would be defeated when he ran for a third term in 1940 and a fourth term in 1944. Columbia, S.C.

"Now, as then, we put too much stock in what the newspapers are saying. All the big papers in Rhode Island opposed Roosevelt, while 80 per cent of the Republican-controlled press in the rest of the nation was against him. He won overwhelmingly despite this editorial opposition. Harry Truman will do the same."

McHale belittled the "Wallace threat" to Democrat election chances. Tues. 3-16-48

"The people of Indiana are traditonally against third parties," said the committeeman from Indiana. "Teddy Roosevelt received only slightly more than 40,000 votes in Indiana when he ran as a Bull Mooser, and Father Coughlin's third party in 1936 was laughed at in my part of the country. That's why we're not worrying about Wallace and his Commie supporters."

Southern Ire Continues

However, Southern spokesmen asserted they were all the more incensed by the civil-rights message because Southern states were well on the way to eliminating the discriminations Truman singled out. Lynching is now practically nonexistent in the South. Some Southern states already had repealed the poll tax. Others, including Virginia, were preparing to do so.

In Alabama, Southern spokesmen said, colored workers were paid the same wage scale as whites in many industries. In North Carolina, white and colored teachers get the same salaries. 3-16-48

McGrath said he was well aware of these strides, therefore understood the criticism leveled at the administration's program. That criticism, however, he contended, should not be directed personally at the President, who was only carrying out party policy, laid down by Franklin Roosevelt.

Navy Woos Friends

The army and navy are supposed to be united now, but the navy has started imitating the army in a drive to win friends and influence taxpayers. The Record

Every few months a group of prominent educators, editors and industrialists are invited to attend a 10-day school and learn all about the navy. They are taken behind the scenes at a big naval base, given a front row seat to the navy in action, even awarded diplomas after the course is completed.

It's an indirect lobbying plan somewhat similar to the army's system of flying civilians to Fort Knox to view the trial military training school. This lobbying recently was censored severely by Congress

"These men will come from nearby Southern states and will pay all "their own expenses," explained Capt. A. Macondray, officer in charge of the project. Tues.

When pinned down, however, Macondray admitted that three men have been invited to fly all the way from Alaska in naval planes, and that several others are also traveling at government expense.

"But," insisted Captain Macondray, "they will have to pay for their own meals." 3-12-48

Alabama Plan

342

Gessner T. McCorvey, Alabama state Democratic chairman, suggests that the Southern delegates to the national Democratic convention walk out if the platform does not accord with their ideas and thereafter that the Southern Democratic electoral votes be given to some other Democrat of the South's choice Record

And this is, of course, the way to do it, if this be what the South wants to do. The South should not expect to participate in the selection of a candidate and the writing of a platform and then bolt without notice. Columbia, S.C.

"Even though our action resulted in the election of a Republican president, "McCorvey said, "it is my sincere belief that, by fighting for what we know is right, the Northern Democrats would in the future treat Southern traditions with less scorn than they apparently intend to show at Philadelphia." 3-2-48

But Mr. McCorvey may be over-optimistic. After four years of Republican control the Democrats in 1952 will be still after the minority votes and the party leaders will still consider the Southern Democrats in the bag, counting upon the Southern desire to get back at the federal feed trough to offset the memories of the civil rights fight. 3-2-48 Tue

There is only one way for the South to win its freedom. It must organize two parties in the South.

Lister Hill's Courage And Insight

The Advertiser

Birmingham Age-Herald

SENATOR LISTER HILL shows good judgment, insight and courage in his decision to run for delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention and to support President Truman. 34D

His judgment and insight are evidenced by his recognition that splitting of the party, because of the President's civil rights recommendations, would be disastrous. His courage is attested by his willingness to stand up for his convictions. The senior senator could have avoided this particular test. Wed 3-10-48

It is evident that in certain quarters his decision will arouse criticism and resentment. But Senator Hill sees clearly that, though he disagrees with Mr. Truman "on a number of subjects," including the civil rights issue, the interest of the party and of the country would not be served by repudiation of the President.

Montgomery, Ala.

ON FOREIGN policy, for instance, the senator points out that Mr. Truman "is so right that his foreign relations program, the Marshall Plan, now is a bipartisan program."

Many of the Democrats who are seeking to discredit Mr. Truman on the basis simply of his civil rights recommendations probably have not thought carefully of the effect on this country's world position of a defeat of the President. Important as are the issues raised by civil rights recommendations of Mr. Truman, they are by no means all the important matters facing the country—and the South, whose fate is indissolubly bound up with that of the whole nation.

Any decision in the national political campaign should be made on the basis of a comprehensive survey of all the matters at stake. Senator Hill has made his decision in that way. It is a sound and forthright position he has taken.

The Advertiser Wed. 3-10-48

A DEFECTION of the South from the Democratic Party almost certainly would mean a Republican victory. Let there be no failure to face that fact and all its implications. That remains the underlying issue facing Southern Democrats.

It is possible that by the time the national convention has ended, the civil rights issue will have receded pretty far into the background. That could happen if Congress failed to act affirmatively on the President's recommendations and if the convention itself spoke only in general terms. Montgomery, Ala.

Many Democrats will continue desirous of exerting what pressure they can to such ends, but it would be better if they did not get out too far on a limb. 3-10-48

Dixie States No Longer 'In The Bag'

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

That's What Governors Say After McGrath Flatly Rejects Pleas

Backing Truman

Tues 2-24-48

Democratic Party Chief Refuses Bar 10-Point Civil Rights Program

34D

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23.—(AP)—Five Southern governors declared Monday night that the South, as a result of President Truman's civil rights program, is no longer "in the bag" for the Democratic Party.

The governors issued their statement after failing, in a face-to-face showdown, to get a promise from Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath that he would seek to have the civil rights proposals withdrawn.

They also asked McGrath—and he refused—to back restoration of the "two-thirds rule" which would give the South a veto in the choice of a presidential candidate by this year's Democratic National Convention.

"The Southern states," the governors said, "are aroused and the present leadership of the Democratic Party will soon realize that the South is no longer 'in the bag.' The Advertiser

"Each Southern state, under the framework of an overall program, will work out the most effective means of resisting the proposals of the present leadership o fthe party, but resist them we will." Montgomery, Ala.

"The time has come," the governors said, "for strong and effective action by the Southern states not only to save the Democratic Party but to preserve the rights of the states to govern themselves and preserve American democracy. 2-24-48

Ask For Support

"In this fight we are not only expecting support from the Democrats of the South but support from Democrats everywhere who are opposed to a centralized government invading the rights of the people and the rights of the respective states."

The statement said the governors—a committee named by the Southern Governors Conference at Tallahassee, Fla., earlier this month—would make its report to the full conference at a time and place to be announced soon.

Their statement came as Senatore Morse (R), Oregon, declared that the Democratic Party is in "complete collapse and rout" as the result of a "great revolt" over civil rights. The Advertiser

Republicans, Morse said in a Senate speech, "can almost go fishing and still win that (the 1948) election." Tues

McGrath told the governors he hoped for "a happy reunion in the not too far distant future." He said the South "has much to gain in playing along with the (Democratic) Party." 2-24-48

The governors, who came here amid threats that Southern Democrats will break with the national party over Mr. Truman's civil rights proposals, got only two reassurances from the national chairman: Montgomery, Ala.

He said he would not support any laws that interefered with

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chusetts, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio and Maryland. 2-24-48

Wallace supporters have said the third party will hold a convention later.

Montgomery

He did not say whether he would take along on campaign trips the banjo that helped put him in the Senate. The Advertiser

Taylor, now 43 years old, started running for Congress in 1938 while he operated his own traveling theatrical company. He ran fourth in a field of nine in a campaign for the House. Taylor went into war plant work. 2-24-48

In 1940 Senator Borah, Idaho Republican, died, and Taylor tried for the partial term. He got the Democratic nomination but lost to Republican John Thomas in the general election.

Thomas beat him again for the full term in 1942 despite a full scale campaign by Taylor with cowboy hat, saddle horse and banjo for campaign material. Tues

He finally won in 1944, defeating the Democratic incumbent D. Worth Clark in a campaign that Taylor made as dignified and orthdox as audiences would let him. But he still had to break out the banjo at times on audience demand.

Pepper Sees Solid South For Truman

The Advertiser

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10.—(AP) — Senator Pepper (D), Florida, predicted Tuesday that President Truman "will carry every state in the South," and cautioned fellow Southerners against breaking with the Democratic Party.

At the same time, Pepper told a reporter he does not agree with some of the "methods" recommended by President Truman in his civil rights program for aiding Negroes and other minority groups.

Pepper, who frequently has differed with other Southern lawmakers, questioned the wisdom of trying to end segregation of Negroes "over night" or giving any commission compulsive powers to end discrimination. Wed.

He said in an interview that the current "bitterness and speech-making" should blow over before the general election. 2-11-48

"There is no question about it," he said, "President Truman will carry every state in the South this year."

Wright Pushes Convention Plan In Dixie

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Wed 2-11-48

Revolt Move Not Only Southwide, He Says; Expected To Spread

34D

Almost Unanimous

He's Only Heard From One Person Against It; Senate Okehs Action

JACKSON, MISS., Feb. 10.—(AP)—Gov. Fielding L. Wright said Tuesday he is proceeding with plans to call a meeting of Southern Democrats to chastise party leaders for sponsoring "anti-Southern legislation."

And, he indicated, the movement may become more than Southwide. 2-11-48

Asked at a news conference if he was getting many communications from Southern states relative to his move, the governor said:

"It isn't limited to the South."

He told of communications he had received from persons in other states and said particularly he had already heard from persons in Ohio and on the West Coast who are in accord with his views.

Concerning Mississippi reaction to his move for party revolt, Wright said, "it is almost unanimous. I say 'almost unanimous' because I have heard from one person on the other side."

For the benefit of an out-of-state newsman the governor explained his views on racial relations in the South. 34D

Negroes in Mississippi, he said, do not want an FEPC.

He said "we could send them up there (in Washington) a petition signed by 95 per cent of the Negroes in Mississippi saying they do not want it. "But," he added, "it wouldn't do any good."

In my county, he said, "there are 65 per cent Negroes and 35 per cent whites. But when I started to practice law 35 years ago I tried many a case before a Negro whom the white people elected justice of the peace."

Negroes on Juries

In Issaquena County, he said, he seldom tried a case before a jury that did not have one, two or three Negroes on it. Wed

"And one time when I was trying a capital case," he recalled, "when the state tendered me the jury there were 11 Negroes and one white man on it." 2-11-48

He said Southerners are opposing what they consider "anti-Southern legislation" because "they simply will not work in the South and no one knows it better than we do." The Advertiser

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WORKING behind the scenes for two weeks, a "steering committee" headed by Mississippi's William Colmer had been drafting anti-civil-rights resolutions and tearing them up again. Finally they settled upon a comparatively mild one, submitted by J. Bayard Clark of North Carolina. This was circulated among the delegations for signatures, paving the way for the final meeting. 34D 2-26-48

At this meeting the voice of Mississippi's rootin' tootin' John Rankin, as usual, was the loudest. He took off with a deafening roar, well seasoned with fire and brimstone.

"Next thing you know," Rankin bellows, "Congress will be flooded with niggers."

At first, Rankin opposed group action, repeatedly calling attention to his long personal fight for Southern principles. When he saw that a group resolution would be adopted in spite of him, he raised a howl for stronger language. 2-26-48

"Frankly, I think it isn't strong enough," he barked after Gossett read Clark's resolution which by then had been adopted by the steering committee.

In the end, only one slight change was made in Clark's resolution.

McCorvey Asserts Marshall Answer To Party Problems

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Thurs 4-1-48

He Believes Candidacy Would Draw Support Of Other Areas

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee and candidate for delegate at large to the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, is not only against President Truman and his civil rights program and every other Democrat who favors such a program but he is squarely behind Secretary of State George Marshall for President.

McCorvey, answering a query from The Advertiser, expresses his belief that if the newspapers of this country will let Marshall alone, there would be a good chance for him to accept the nomination. He also has a good word for General Eisenhower but says that General Eisenhower has repeatedly said he would not be a candidate for President. 4-1-48

Chairman McCorvey has mailed every candidate for delegate to the convention a copy of his reply to the Advertiser questions. He has also made his reply available to the various press services of Alabama. The Advertiser

Discussing the nomination of Marshall for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, Chairman McCorvey says in part:

"I have reached the conclusion that General George C. Marshall is the best man for us to nominate under all the circumstances. Personally, I have always admired Senator Byrd of Virginia, and Senator George of Georgia, very much. They are both great, sound and constructive statesmen and men of splendid judgment, integrity and standing. However, since we have to deal with delegates from all 48 States of the Union, and voters from all of these States, rather than dealing only with Southern Democrats, I am of the opinion that it would be best for the Democratic party and best for the country, for the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia to nominate for President General George C. Marshall. He is one of the great Americans of our era, and has the confidence of all classes of our people, and knows more about our international affairs than any other living American. Personally, I am willing to follow his leadership and stand by his judgment as to what we should do and when we should do it.

Thurs

Acceptance Seen 4-1-48

"I believe that if the Democratic National Convention would nominate General George C. Marshall, he would accept the nomination, but there is one thing I sincerely hope our newspaper friends will do — refrain from interviewing General Marshall on the question of whether or not he would accept the Democratic nomination for President if it is tendered to him. Being a member of President Truman's Cabinet, an appointee of President Truman, and President Truman himself having announced that he is going to stay in the race for the Democratic nomination, it would be the most natural thing in the world for General Marshall to discourage or "throw cold water" on any suggestion that he be nominated. However, I very sincerely believe that if our newspaper friends will let General Marshall alone, let him go ahead with the great work he is now doing, in which he not only has the support of the Democrats but of nearly all thoughtful Republicans, then if the Democratic National Convention should nominate him, he would accept. Few men could afford to reject a call to duty of this kind, and especially a man occupying the position which General Marshall occupies in the hearts and minds of Americans at the time of such a crisis as now exists in world affairs. The Advertiser

Formidable Candidate

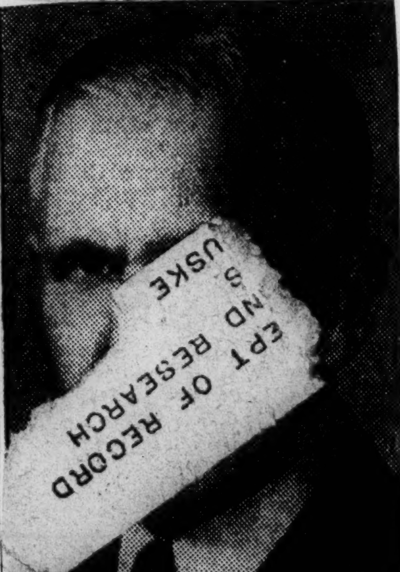
Montgomery, Ala.

"General Eisenhower would, of course, be a most formidable candidate for any political party, but he has absolutely refused to consider a nomination for President, and requested that his name not be further used in this connection. Under these circumstances no political party has any right to try to bring further pressure to bear on General Eisenhower to accept a nomination which he does not wish, and which he says he is unwilling to accept. Then, too, my personal preference would be for a man who was in closer touch with the problems of the people of the South. General Marshall's family were Virginians, he belonging to the same family as John Marshall, the greatest Chief Justice of all times. While his family moved into Southern Pennsylvania, yet, General Marshall was born only about 16 or 18 miles North of the Mason and Dixon Line. As a youth and young man he attended for four years the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, and that University, famed in song and story, is steeped in all of the finest traditions of the old South. General Marshall was graduated with high honors from that splendid Southern Institution. Any man with such a background is bound to understand our problems. Furthermore, the Army has all along recognized the absolute necessity of having segregated troops. After considering all of the candidates whose names have been suggested as well as some who have not been suggested, I believe General Marshall is the outstanding man for us to nominate. The Advertiser

Important Place

Montgomery, Ala.

"Alabama occupies a very important place at the National Convention, being first on the roll-call of States. If our Alabama delegation decides on General Marshall, I believe many other Southern States will join us, as most Southerners are groping around trying to find someone we can support. I hope the Democratic Party of Alabama will be able this year to again be associated with the National Democratic Party. Thurs I appreciate the strength of such a union. While we cannot go along with President Truman and the plans of the so-called National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People (NAACP), yet there are tens of thousands of real Democrats, yes millions, throughout New England, 4 the 1 North, 48 the Midwest and the West who believe as we do in the real fundamental principles of the Democratic Party and who firmly believe in States' Rights. These people abhor, as we do, the strong centralization of power in Washington and would like to see our Government brought back nearer home. I believe they will join us in backing General Marshall."



Thurs 4-1-48

GEORGE C. MARSHALL

The Political Nature Of the Southern Revolt

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

ONE of the best bits of evidence on the nature and support of the Southern Revolt comes now to hand. 34d Mon. 3-22-48

Commentators are finding a kind of sensation in statements by Senator SPARKMAN of Alabama and Senator RUSSELL of Georgia, to the effect that President TRUMAN should step aside and let somebody else have the Democratic nomination. Both are Democratic stalwarts. They have stuck by the party line. Senator SPARKMAN particularly is reputed to be on the liberal side. Yet here they are, gagging at the President's civil-rights program, calling it a blunder and an insult.

But does anybody fail to see a connection between their utterances and the fact that both are candidates for re-nomination this year?

Senator SPARKMAN, being the progressive, makes the political brand of the so-called rebellion more plain than does his Georgia colleague. He lets loose his anti-TRUMAN blast suddenly and unexpectedly. On its face, this would seem to clinch the Southern case. However, it ought to be pointed out that only the day before, word had come that 21 of Alabama's 28 candidates for delegate to the Democratic national convention already were pledged to vote against the TRUMAN nomination. 3-22-48

Southern State organizations are cracking the whip. The chances for moderate debate of the issue, both as to the TRUMAN candidacy and as to civil rights in the abstract, are being reduced. The aspirant for office who fails to conform is bound to have opposition. He would be forced into an ugly fight in which all genuine issues—peace in the world and stability at home—would be subordinated to the one inflammatory local issue. In light of this obvious fact, both senators may be seen as nailing stout planks in their fences. The highest regularity, it seems, is the one that goes along harmoniously with the influential neighbors. The Courier-Journal

The more the Southern politicians talk, the worse they make out their case to be. Sure, said Senator RUSSELL, in the broadcast interview in which he declared his position, the Southerner approves of equal rights. But, he said, he "does not believe in enjoying them together." This would strike most listeners, we believe, as a confession that the fight is a thing of personal feeling and squeamishness. The lofty appeals in name of constitutionality and local self-government become so much window-dressing. It it not to be forgotten that Southern political organizations stuck to the white primary until two years ago, when the Supreme Court forced them to drop it. Most of them would go back to it tomorrow if they could. Louisville, Ky. Mon

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History Repeats Itself In 'Southern Revolt'

34d

The Courier-Journal

AS THE suicidal emotions of Southern politicians are displayed, you may get a strange sense of having seen it all before. You have, of course, and it was in your high-school history book. The date was 1860. Louisville, Ky.

The parallel is uncanny. The words are the same ("Unconstitutionality," "Local Government" and "States' Rights"). The strategy as unfolded by Virginia's Governor TUCK is identical, the issues are pieces of the same cloth of racial custom. Where it was slavery, now it is civil rights that would embrace the colored with the white. Tues.

And what happened politically in consequence of those earlier attempts of Southerners to enforce their demands on their party and the country could well happen again. 3-2[illegible]-48

In Richmond, Va., Governor TUCK is proposing to leave HARRY S. TRUMAN's name off the ballot as the Democratic nominee for President. It was in Richmond, in 1860, that Southerners, balked in their demands by the majority of the party organization, held a convention of their own. It rejected the regular nomination of DOUGLAS and JOHNSON, and nominated BRECKENRIDGE and LANE. Today there is the interesting report by Radio Commentator LOWELL THOMAS of identifiable word that Senator HARRY BYRD of Virginia is agreeable to run as the Presidential candidate of the Southern wing.

Perhaps this means that Senator BYRD would agree to have his name submitted to the Electoral College if Governor TUCK's plan to have uncommitted electors prevails. At any rate, the effect would be to split the party into Southern and Northern wings, as in 1860.

But the parallel does not end here. In that other stormy political season, there was ABRAHAM LINCOLN as the Republican candidate and still another party, the Constitutional Union, whose candidates were BELL and EVERETT, which finds a comparison in the new-party, HENRY WALLACE-GLEN TAYLOR ticket of today. Louisville, Ky.

Thus the four tickets of 1860 could well be duplicated. The result would almost certainly be duplicated. That result was a divided vote which made LINCOLN President, though his popular vote was a considerable minority. From the figures, it becomes rather obvious that the Democrats together could have prevented a Republican victory. LINCOLN received 1,866,451 votes, to 2,815,617 for the combined opposition. This included 1,376,457 for DOUGLAS, the Northern Democrat, 849,781 for BRECKENRIDGE, the Southern Democrat, 588,879 for BELL, whose following comprised the disaffected remnants of the old Whigs that would otherwise (like today's Wallaceites) doubtless have never gone for LINCOLN. Their strength was in Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky and their idea was the unrealistic one of ignoring the slavery issue entirely (Mr. WALLACE would ignore an equally pressing reality of today, a ravening Soviet). The Courier-Journal

Thus, the attempts of Southern Democrats to enforce their demands are not new. They were going on, rather more successfully than in 1860 and, it now appears, than in 1948, for a long time before 1860. At one time they actually forced the Democratic Party to betray its basic principle of strict construction of the Constitution, the idea being to force slavery on new States and territories. And this is why we wouldn't be surprised to hear that THOMAS JEFFERSON has been turning in his grave. It would be natural, with Southern politicians calling on his name to justify their revolt against the civil-rights program. JEFFERSON was always one for the Constitution and its rigid protections. On the score of fealty to his principles, the Southerners utter a fraud. They should recall that the Declaration of Independence is his handiwork, too. Fri. 2-27-48

The South and Secession

The Courier-Journal

William Pennington's attitude in regard to denying the South the right to her political views belies the gentleman's statement that the Civil War has been over for 83 years. I heartily agree that it would have been better had the South been permitted to secede, since her industrial and political interests are different from those of the North and she would not have been stripped of every resource and dominated by the North.

We must remember that the Negro problem in the South is momentous. The Negro, regardless of his ignorance and lack of any industrial qualifications, was set free without making any provisions for his future status. Louisville, Ky.

After the war the North repudiated all Southern obligations. This bankrupted the South. She was not able to provide schools for her own children, much less for the Negro. Fri 2-27-48

I say, let the South handle her own political problems and the future will take care of itself.

Jeffersonville, Ind. — R. R. B.

cession's Ugly Head Is Reared In Old Dixie

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Fri 1-23-48

SECESSION, after a fashion, rumbles again in Georgia and Mississippi. The Governor of the latter State is ready to pull out of the Democratic Party if its national leaders, as he alleges, keep on trying to wreck the South and the South's institutions. You know, of course, what he means as to white supremacy, poll taxes, voting by an elite and such. And at least in one Georgia locality, rural Johnson County, citizens are informed that they may vote in the Democratic primary only if their thoughts run in a prescribed pattern. That some details of the pattern stand opposed to Supreme Court judgments, the Constitution and the Federal statutes just goes to show that the rebellion, 1948 model, is on.

True, Mississippi's Governor FIELDING L. WRIGHT, was sounding off in course of an inaugural address, a conventional medium of political thunder. He was talking to his assembled constituents and was giving them what they expected and wanted to hear, nothing startling. But in some of the more perceptive minds he must have aroused at least the glimmer of a question. Fri. 1-23-48

Where, leaving the Democratic Party, would the Governor or his fellow Mississippians go? Not to the Republicans, who in the matters to which Mr. WRIGHT referred certainly offer no encouragement. Even some of his listeners must have found themselves thinking that the threats to the Southern way of life which he described are not matters of party policy at all. They are tokens of a growth of social intelligence, of advances in understanding of democracy, of moral progress. It is a pity that this truth has not been impressed upon the senior Senator from Governor WRIGHT's State, JAMES O. EASTLAND. The Senator is reported slandering the Supreme Court as being judicially dishonest, a charge which matches in tone and quality the day's output of rebellious Southern invective. The Courier-Journal

As to the aberration in Johnson County, Georgia, the shorter shrift you give to it, the better. The only comment it calls for is that one finds a sort of unbelievability in the sight of a man—a judge and, by assumption, a man possessed of a feeling for the law—who undertakes to attach conditions of thought to the right to vote in America. Fri. 1-23-48

Such a man is the chairman of the county's Democratic executive committee. To vote in the primary, by his rule, a Johnson Countian must vow to favor the white primary, to favor Georgia's county-unit system and racial segregation, to oppose Communism and the F.E.P.C. If the rule should stand—which, of course, it won't, as soon as a court gets at it—this country would have a start of everything it fears. Louisville, Ky.

HILL AND FOLSOM OPPOSE REVOLT

Advertiser, Montgomery Ala.

Senator Lister Hill has taken his ducks to a poor market. Sun. 3-14-48

As a candidate for delegate-at-large to the Democratic Convention, Senator Hill made a statewide broadcast from Washington Friday night. He repeated that he opposed bolting the party even in the face of Truman's nomination.

Hill asserted his abhorrence for the Truman Civil Disturbance program, but he makes the case that it would be folly for the South to forsake the Democratic Party despite Truman. Sun. 3-14-48

Hill said: "The Democratic Party in the past has resolved its differences in the Democratic National Convention. I believe that we can do so again."

The average man on the street is saying, "To hell with that, Senator!"

There is cold rage in Alabama about the man Harry Truman. The mood is slow-burning and as unquenchable as embers of charcoal. There is contempt for the man Harry Truman and there is loathing for his Civil Rights program.

Alabamians want to see the man Harry Truman sent to his doom. And there is also a widespread wish to see Truman share his doom with those who support him.

That is a fact of presentday politics. Something may happen to change it, but it is difficult to conceive it. The galls will remain galls no matter how deeply steeped in honey. Sun. 3-14-48

Advertiser, Montgomery Ala.

THEREFORE, we make the statement that the senior senator has taken his ducks to a poor market as a matter of practical politics. Sun. 3-14-48

Hill stated his case for remaining within the embrace of the Democratic Party, Truman notwithstanding, with practical, compelling reasons. The Advertiser does not necessarily agree with his conclusions, but it insists that he has presented a cogent brief.

But at this time it is difficult to perforate the general sense of indignation with reasons. Reason cannot, as matters stand, dispossess the will to vengeance. They want Truman's scalp and there are no kind feelings for those who seek to preserve it.

The tumult of the revolt is such that neither candidates for delegate nor voters have even surmounted the legal barriers to desertion. Every candidate who has qualified has taken an oath that he will support the party's nominee, no matter if it is Truman.

Every Alabamian who casts a vote in May will take an oath that, if Truman is nominated, he will vote for him in November. That's Alabama law. Put that oath to the rack and thumbscrew of yes-but reasoning as you will, it's still your undistorted oath.

3-14-48 Sun

THE ADVERTISER does not note that fact with satisfaction, but it upraises the fact as an unresolved and practical problem of revolt.

Nevertheless, it is possible that, as a result of Hill's loyalty stand, a tempest may boil up in his face. If not that, there is no question but that it will cause a formidable element to become his enemy and in another element it will activate a dormant enmity.

If this is true and is a perplexity of Senator Hill's, we sympathize with the senator in his perplexity because of Folsom, who is also a candidate for delegate to the convention. Sun.

Senator Hill wants to fight it out, as they say, in the Democratic Convention. Gov. Folsom also wants to fight it out in the convention.

Hill makes enemies all over this state by his loyalty statement. Folsom makes the same loyalty statement and—so far as we can see or hear — nobody holds it against him.

Hill said in his speech: "The . . . party in the past has resolved its differences in the Democratic National Convention. I believe we can do so again."

Folsom said the same thing in Washington yesterday: ". . . We could arrive at a program in the convention which all Democrats should be able to follow."

Advertiser, Montgomery Ala.

THEY are holding it against Hill. They are not holding it against Folsom.

This inconsistency is a symptom of the pitch and fever in Alabama.

The further and obvious fact is that on the part of many there is a disposition to take advantage of Hill's "Truman loyalty" because he is a potent liberal. With many it is a case of roaring "Truman lover!" and hissing "New Dealer" under their breath.

Senator John Sparkman is similarly circumstanced. 3-14-48 Sun

Truman Told To Choose Rayburn For Running Mate--or Quit Race

Thurs. 2-5-48 (34d) The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

By FREDERIC TUTTLE.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4—(INS) A prominent Democratic Senator paced the Southern revolt against the White House Wednesday with a demand that President Truman pick House Minority Leader Rayburn as his 1948 running mate or "get out of the race himself."

The challenge was hurled at Mr. Truman after six Senate Southerners held a political war council to plan reprisals against the President's anti-Jim Crow proposals. There were mounting demands that the South select its own presidential candidate.

Meanwhile, GOP National Chairman Reece hailed the Southern revolt against Mr. Truman as "evidence" that the Democratic Party was "really an aggregation of splinter parties." Reece said:

"With the Moscow wing of the Party already departed to the left, and with the racially-intolerant right wing now threatening to go off in the other direction, it looks like the Pendergast splinter will be all alone next November."

The Democratic Senator who unleashed the new attack on Mr. Truman is not a member of the Deep Southern bloc, and requested that his name be withheld. He did not participate in the earlier protest meeting. The Senator said:

"This is the closest thing to the civil war that we have had. The President could solve it either by picking Sam Rayburn as his running mate or getting out of the race himself."

At the special meeting, the Senators discussed a report by Sen. McClellan, Democrat, Arkansas, that his State might freeze Democratic Party funds raised at Jefferson-Jackson dinners this month. They heard proposals that Sen. Byrd, Democrat, Virginia, or Sen. George, of Georgia, "would be the ideal man to lead the South in 1948." The Constitution

Present at the hush-hush session were McClellan and Sens. Hill, Alabama; Russell, Georgia; Maybank, South Carolina; Eastland, Mississippi, and O'Daniel, Texas.

Sen. McFarland, Democrat, Arizona, who has been a consistent Administration supporter, also was present. Atlanta, Ga.

Across the Capitol, the House revolt by Southern Democrats against the President's request for Jefferson-Jackson funds. McClellan added, however:

"I think that is what they will do in Arkansas. It looks as though we are not wanted in the Democratic Party."

Eastland said, "freezing the funds wouldn't go far enough." The Mississipian said the South "must elect independent electors and protect itself." Thurs.

He explained that in this case it would be likely that neither Mr. Truman nor the GOP presidential nominee would get an Electoral College majority, with the result that the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives. Eastland added: 2-5-48

"If that happens, party lines would be crossed, and we would have a chance of sending a Southerner to the White House."

McClellan said the South never had been consulted by the President before the Chief Executive sent to Congress his civil-rights message, with its antilynching, anti-Jim Crow and permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission recommendations. The Constitution

The Arkansas Senator declared that Hill, the Democratic "whip" in the Senate, had gone to the White House on several occasions to see the President, each time on the Alabaman's own initiative.

In the South, a day of fast-breaking developments included:

1—The almost unanimous voice of Southern newspaper editors decrying Mr. Truman's support of anti-lynch laws, establishment of a Fair Employment Practice Commission, and legislation to abolish the poll tax and Jim Crowism.

2—Reports from Mississippi that Gov. Fielding L. Wright, who initiated the party revolt, is determined to press the battle for a change in Democratic policies regardless of what action is taken at the forthcoming Southern Governors' Conference. Atlanta, Ga.

3—Plans for a meeting of the Jasper County, S. C., Democratic Committee to consider "secession" from the Party, marking the first time that the segregation issue will be tested locally. Thurs 2-5-48

The States of South Carolina, where the first shot was fired to launch hostilities in the War Between the States, and Mississippi again became battle grounds in the present dispute.

Opposition to Gov. Wright's all-out attack on the Truman policies is expected from Georgia's Acting Gov. M. E. Thompson, and Gov. Millard Caldwell, of Florida.

When the Chief Executives convene at Tallahassee, Fla., Saturday, Wright is expected to have the co-operation of Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, and probably that of Gov. James Folsom, of Alabama.

(34d) Demo

The Governors of the Carolinas and Tennessee have remained noncommittal, and may determine the result of Wright's efforts within the circle of Governors. Gov. Jimmie Davis, of Louisiana, announced Wednesday that "other business" would make it impossible for him to attend the weekend meeting which possibly will be the stormiest ever held by the State leaders.

(South)

The Mississippi Governor indicated, meanwhile, in Jackson he would carry the fight with the co operation of Southern voters.

Although Gov. Wright declined to enlarge on his plans to block the Democratic Party policies, State political observers were convinced Wednesday afternoon that the Magnolia State Executive would appeal directly to the people of the South.

The party break is not new in Mississippi politics, and Gov. Wright is getting strong support from party leaders over the State.

Among his supporters is House Speaker Walter Sillers' who sponsored an incipient break from the National Party in 1944. Gov. Thomas L. Bailey halted that one.

Others supporting the Governor are Billy Snyder, Clarksdale newspaper publisher and National Democratic Executive Committee member, who assisted in halting the revolt in 1944.

Snyder says: The Constitution

"In 1944 I thought the action ill-advised because we had not perfected any section-wide action, and could only bring down on our heads the wrath of the part.

"But now we have the backing of the South and are doing something we should have done 30 years ago." Atlanta, Ga.

In South Carolina, the State Legislature "unanimously," but unofficially, indorsed on open letter by 49 of their members who asked that the State's Democratic Party "reconsider" its position in relation to the National organization.

Aides of Alabama's Gov. Folsom said Wednesday afternoon he would go to the microphone again Friday. Folsom was unavailable for comment at Montgomery, but indications were that his "Dinner Table" radio chat would be a renewed attack on the Democratic leadership. Thurs 2-5-48

Folsom last week proclaimed himself as a candidate to succeed Mr. Truman. His "announcement" drew a rebuke from the White House, and apparently failed to enlist support even in the State.

Gov. Caldwell, of Florida, repeated that his support already was pledged for the renomination of the President. And Acting Gov. Thompson, of Georgia, appears "on the spot" politically as a result of an intra-state party feud.

Thompson's Georgia Democratic Executive Committee was recognized by the National Party despite the fact that its legality still is pending in the State Supreme Court. A lower court verdict at Augusta proclaimed that the State Committee selected by the Herman Talmadge forces was entitled to conduct the Georgia Democratic primary. The Constitution

The Georgia Supreme Court may uphold the Talmadge-appointed Committee, thereby making Thompson's delegates to the Philadelphia National Convention an unofficial group. Atlanta, Ga.

Commenting on the situation, Talmadge told International News Service Wednesday night:

"Just let Thompson do the explaining." Thurs 2-5-48

Political Speculations

The News Birmingham, Ala. Thurs 2-5-48

The political stew in which the South finds itself continues to boil. It is ever spreading over into other areas of the country, which, of course, is exactly what is desired by some Dixie leaders.

34d

Talk is developing that in order to pacify Southern feelings a Southern man might be nominated for the vice presidency on the Democratic ticket. That strategy has been tried. The loss of a number of Southern states to Hoover in 1928, when Al Smith was his opponent, stirred the Democrats to give Roosevelt a Texan running-mate, John N. Garner, in 1932. Also, the signs of a Southern revolt helped to bring about the choice of Truman, from the border state of Missouri, to run with Roosevelt in 1944.

Southern Democrats aroused by President Truman's civil rights statement as well as by other activities of Democrats nationally are not likely, however, to accept the sop of a vice presidential candidate as complete assuagement for their feelings. Their ire and their fears run deeper than that. Thurs 2-5-48

If there are any political bigwigs among the Democrats who believe that the party could adopt platform planks endorsing the FEPC and laws against lynching, the poll tax and segregation, and pacify all of the South's feelings by letting it name Truman's running-mate, they just don't know the South.

* * *

But a lot of what is being said is pure speculation. Present activities include the sending up of many trial balloons. Mr. Truman's statement might be included in that category. All sides are trying to sound out sentiment, and to develop it along lines of their choosing. The News

The basic problem can be put rather simply: Do the Democrats need more the votes from the South or the votes from doubtful Northern states? Will what they might lose in the South, if the party adopts nationally the principles set forth by Mr. Truman, offset losses elsewhere if the South has its way? Which side will talk loudest at the polls next November? Birmingham, Ala.

He would be a seer indeed who could answer that question now. But most of what is being said becomes clearer if it is placed against the background of the campaign. Principles are involved, it is true; but so also is political strategy. Thurs 2-5-48

Notable Lack Of Enthusiasm Awaits Demo Bolt Proposal

The News Birmingham, Ala. Sat. 2-7-48

WAKULLA SPRINGS, Fla., Feb. 7—(AP)—Southern governors with a notable lack of enthusiasm Saturday awaited a call from Mississippi's Gov. Fielding L. Wright to bolt the national Democratic Party.

The conference was called primarily to discuss ways and means of providing graduate level education for Negroes in the region, but quickly developed into a political forum. Sat. 2-7-48

Wright, angered by President Truman's stand on matters pertaining to racial segregation, the anti-lynch law and the Fair Economic Practices Commission, told Gov. M. E. Thompson of Georgia Friday night he would introduce a resolution calling for formation of an all-Southern party.

Thompson then showed Wright an advance copy of a sharply worded statement condemning a party bolt.

"Well," said Wright coldly, "I see you are against me."

"Yes," Thompson replied, "and we're going to beat you."

The Mississippi governor said he would introduce the resolution anyhow.

* * *

EVEN GOV. JAMES E. FOLSON of Alabama, a candidate for the presidential nomination, said, "I am a Democrat. We'll argue it out within the party. I'll always support the Democratic nominee."

Both Folsom and Thompson said they believed President Truman's civil rights recommendations "unwise." The News

Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Beauford Jester of Texas declined comment on Wright's call for a Southern party, but intimates who accompanied them said they were cold to the idea.

Dixie Position

John Temple Graves

The Record

'A strange story without foundation.'

Columbia, S.C.

Sat 2-14-48

That is what White House Secretary Ross calls report that President Truman might modify his civil liberties program in deference to the South. It would indeed be strange to expect the President, after having announced the program, to back down on it and outrage a Negro vote that is said to hold the balance of power in 17 doubtful states and to be, by that token, able to name the next President. It would be equally strange for the President to believe talk of Southern revolt means anything. The South has always been in the bag. It is in the bag now, he is being told. Revolt talk now, as in 1944, is just a lot of noise signifying nothing when votes are counted.

The South can be made as precious to the President as the Northern Negro and those 17 states if party leaders are once persuaded the Southern electoral vote is actually uncertain enough to need cajolery and concession. There was a time when the Negro vote was of no importance, either. That was before 1932 when it had always gone Republican and was considered "in the bag" for that party. By proving itself not in the bag in 1932, it came to be a prize. Only when the South gives similar proof will it, too, be the prize its numbers alone, if nothing else, entitle it to be. That is why those Southerners who are coupling their denunciations of the President's program with expressions of undying loyalty to the President's party might as well say nothing if they can't say more. Sat. 2-14-48

It may never be necessary for these states to enable Republicans to name a President. But there are worse things than doing so once. It is true that the Republican party offers no more than the Democratic in the civil liberties matter, but neither did the Democratic party offer the Negro minority much until it won it. Once these Southern states prove themselves capable of being lost to the Democratic party, the Republican party will never again dare to leave us out of consideration, any more than the Democratic party will, on the race question and a host of other questions.

Among newspaper men there is no one better informed on the American electoral system or more qualified to analyze situations involving it than David Lawrence. In a recent column, Mr. Lawrence agreed with those of us who have been saying Henry Wallace's third party movement makes this a witching hour for the South to win national bargaining power.

Columbia, S.C.

If the South should send "Southern Democratic" electors to the electoral college, pledged only to their own caucus, there would be enough to throw the election into the House of Representatives. The vote there would be by states, giving the South still greater control and the Northern Democratic party still another chance to repent. The Southern minority, the country's most special in circumstance and worth, has in this a perfect substitute for loss of the two-thirds rule. It is a gift of the Founding Fathers.

The Record 2-14-48

But if anything more than the same old quadrennial noises is to come of Southern protests it must be understood that office-holders, would-be office-holders, and hangers-on to office-holders, have a vested interest in Democratic victory and in keeping their records blindly loyal. They cannot be expected to carry revolt to the point necessary to assure success, namely, of being willing to turn down the party in a given election. That is why the political leadership now has to come not from our political leaders but from others who have no such vested interest and whose Democracy is a thing of philosophy, not unquestioning regularity.

The Hour?

John Temple Graves

Columbia, S.C.

"Thou'dst have, great Glamis, that which cries,
'This must do if you have it!'"

The Record 2-11-48

DANVILLE, Va.—The simple truth in the noises of southern revolt is that they will get nowhere unless there exists in the South the courage to prove its basic Democratic loyalties by withholding its vote from the Democratic party. Unless these states, or one or two of them, are willing for once not to vote Democratic, the big talk is silly and signifies nothing. Southern politicians with a vested interest in Democratic victory may not be prepared to go beyond mere talk, but the people of the South should be. Wed 2-11-48

Let three southern states put themselves in a position now actually to withhold their vote next November, and the whole face of affairs for the South will have changed. All of a sudden we will have come to have bargaining power, to be doubtful and, by that token, enormously worth bidding for, the most prized minority in America.

What is it that gives the Negro minority today a power in presidential politics far in excess of its size and lets Walter White boast that the Negro controls 17 doubtful states and will name the next President? That minority had no such power up to 1932. The power came when the Negro, who had always voted Republican, gave his vote to the Democratic party. It was one of the most meaningful events in American history. It meant that the Negro minority, by becoming doubtful, had become the permanent object of cajoleries and concessions on the part of both parties. It meant that, at one stroke, the vote of the Negro was worth more than the vote of the South.

At one stroke now, the South could bring about something even more meaningful. It could seize the national balance of power. It could do so simply by giving evidence to the nation that it is capable of voting against the Democratic party. The Record 2-11-48

Columbia, S.C.

Ellis Arnall, Editorial Editor [illegible]shmore, of The Arkansas Gazette and others who are deploring or poohpoohing revolt talk, are ill-advised as to its length, breadth and depth this time. Since I wrote my column from Dallas, January 24th, suggesting a Southern conference on ways and means to seize the national balance of power for the South, I have been in all the southern states. In Danville, Petersburg, and Lynchburg, Virginia, as in Charleston and Columbia, as in Atlanta, and as in great Texas, revolt talk now is not like that of other years. There is no Franklin Roosevelt now to hold southerners and all others with his glitter. And there is no feeling in the South that it can be saved again as of old with the filibuster, for there is a Republican majority now and by cloture or long persistence, filibusters will fail this time.

There is, too, an increasing southern awareness, I think, of what an opportunity exists this time. The vote of the South is vital to the Democratic party this time. The party didn't need the South in 1944, or 1940, or 1936, or 1932. But it needs the South this time, and all of the South. It can't afford to lose a single state, Mississippi or any other.

This is the witching hour. Not merely for considerate treatment on the most delicate and difficult race problem with which any people anywhere ever had to deal, but for making itself politically worthwhile on all the great issues now and hereafter, the South must have a permanent new bargaining power. And not since the War Between the States has there been such an opportunity. It is worth the while not only of southerners concerned with the race question, but with those whose interest is in other and more national matters, too. It is worth the while of Senator Byrd and Senator George as well as of John Rankin, of Mississippi. The Record

It may be that with courage, timeliness and mutual action, the South can make effective a threat to leave the Democratic party now without having to leave it, even for one election. But the threat will not be made that unless the South really means what it says this time, is really prepared to refuse its vote to the Democratic party. 2-11-48

The heavens wouldn't fall if a few southern states turned against the Democratic party this time, by one or another of the methods discussed. Nine times out of ten for the next century the South would probably be Democratic again. But always and always there would remain that Awful Doubt, and that Wonderful Bargaining Power.

"We might even get agriculture balanced with industry if we would be willing to fail the Democratic party just one little time," said a prominent Birmingham leader the other day. "This isn't just a matter of the race question." Amen and amen! Columbia, S.C.

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Rebel Democrats Need Candidate

The News Tues. 2-5-48

Birmingham, Ala.

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BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON—During the first few months Harry Truman spent in the White House he kept insisting to friends that he did not want to run for a second term. One term was enough; he wanted to get back to his old love—being a senator from Missouri.

Mrs. Truman—who carries a great deal more weight with Harry than most people suspect—felt exactly the same way, possibly more so. 2-5-48

At that time, however, Truman's close friends and political leaders felt just the opposite. They were determined that he should run again, believed he was the only candidate with whom the Democrats would win. Tues

Now, however, the situation is somewhat reversed. Today the political leaders desperately don't want Truman to run, but are afraid he has the bit in his teeth and can't be persuaded to bow out. Birmingham, Ala.

Bob Hannegan, the man who two years ago repeatedly denied that Truman would not run again, and who was the first to propose his name publicly for reelection, is now privately sorry he ever made the suggestion.

Ed Flynn, of the Bronx, who helped nominate Truman at the 1944 Chicago convention, is also convinced that Truman's name on the ticket means certain defeat. Southern leaders, of course, are not even private about it. They want to junk Truman at any cost.

But although Truman two years ago would have been quite in the mood to bow out, today it may be different. After all, human nature is human nature, and Harry Truman is known to be a stubborn man. Sometimes when his friends, such as Tom Pendergast or Ed Pauley or Gen. Wallace Graham, are under fire, he has gone to extreme lengths to buck outraged public opinion. The News

So it may take not merely rebellion but careful planning to erase the name of Harry S. Truman from the Democratic ballot in Philadelphia come July. You can't beat somebody with nobody, and the first thing Democratic rebels need is an opposition candidate.

Note—To this end, Southern Democrats have made a sub rosa move in the direction of Sen. Barkley, of Kentucky. Tues. 2-5-48

The Pocket Nerve

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The Record

Columbia, S.C.

Wed. 2-18-48

Among the ideas beginning to crystalize about the Southern revolt is the idea that the South could use the power of the dollar to win more recognition. For it takes money as well as votes to win a national campaign.

And because of the one-party system, which eliminates local general election campaigns, the South has been a major contributor to the national campaign chest, despite its low per capita income. Texas, Florida, Arkansas and North Carolina were among the ten largest contributors in 1940 and 1944, their contributions being exceeded by only the state of New York and the District of Columbia. The Record

The South may vote Democratic because there is nowhere else for it to go, but will the Democratic party find many Southern Democrats willing to contribute money to a campaign to defeat their own purposes? Wed 2-18-48

Columbia, S.C.

Says Southern Demos Can Do Better in Party

Daily Worker

N.Y.

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Daily Worker Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 11.—Sen. Lister Hill (D-Ala), pleaded with Southern Democrats tonight to stay in the Democratic Party as the surest means of defeating the enactment of civil rights legislation.

Speaking on a hook-up of all Alabama radio stations, Hill said:

3-12-48

"The measures embodied in the President's message can be put into effect only if they be passed by both houses of Cnogress. In the House and the Senate, Southern representatives and Southern Senators through the years have prevented the passage of these measures. If the South should leave the Democratic Party we would but weaken the very arm with which we battle these measures in the House and Senate."

Gubernatorial Sanity

Columbia, S.C. Tues. 2-10-48 The Record

The Southern governors meeting at Wakulla Springs, Fla., to discuss the setting up of regional graduate schools for Negroes in the South, kept their heads when they came to act on the question of Southern secession.

Governor Wright of Mississippi, who had been one of the leaders of the secession movement, proposed that the governors call a meeting of "true Democrats" at Jackson, Miss., next month. Governor (Kissing Jim) Folsom of Alabama wanted the governors to go on record as favoring the instructing of Southern delegates to the Philadelphia Democratic convention for some "favorite son." The Record Tues. 2-10-48

These suggestions were rejected and instead the governors adopted a resolution proposed by Governor Thurmond of South Carolina, which expressed disapproval of the party's use of the civil rights and such like issues for political purposes but also deplored "all ill-considered proposals which have the effect of dividing our people at a time when national unity is vital to the establishment of peace in this troubled world." Columbia, S.C.

"We should approach the situation thus presented (by attempts to attract Negro votes in the crucial states) with dignity, self-respect and restraint," the Thurmond resolution declared. "We should refuse to be stampeded or to indulge in idle oratory. We must consider the matter calmly and deliberately to the end that by joint and common action and decision we may demand and obtain for our people the consideration and respect to which they are entitled."

It is a sound policy and the majority of the Southern governors should be congratulated for their wisdom and their restaint. By following this policy they may achieve something. By allowing themselves to be stampeded into secession from the Democratic party they would have abandoned the party, kept alive through most of its life by Southern votes, to the New Dealers of whom they complain. Tues 2-10-48

The Southern Revolt Against Truman Policy Worries the Democrats

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Sat 2-14-48

By JOSEPH and STEWART ALSOP

THE white supremacy Southerners in Congress are now talking among themselves about placing either Senator Walter F. George of Georgia, or Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia in nomination for the Presidency against Harry S. Truman. This underground discussion neatly balances the overt plan of the West Coast leftwingers to put forward Henry A. Wallace as a suitable Democratic nominee.

One thing is already clear. This year's Democratic convention is likely to resemble one of those awful children's parties at which large numbers of the dear little guests gang up to kick the stuffings out of the brave but tearful host. In his role as universal nursery maid to his party, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Senator J. Howard McGrath, is going to have a pretty ghastly time preventing public mayhem. And this will be true, even though the Southerners do not carry out their threat to support a candidate of their own.

Overt Southern support for a rival to Truman, even if limited to the convention, would almost certainly be going further than the Southerners desire. The Democrats have been in so long, that the Southern leaders have almost forgotten the hungry misery of dwellers in the political wilderness. But some faint recollection of this horrid state still lingers in their minds. They are still reluctant to destroy their party's chance at the election. This is what may be expected to nip the overt anti-Truman movement in the bud, although the plant may be expected to be watered with quantities of the same sort of Northern money that used to finance Gene Talmadge.

Hints of a Compromise

On the other hand, the strategy which the Southerners appear actually to be adopting will be almost as difficult for the White House to handle. As of today, it seems probable that the Southern states, including as a minimum South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and Tennessee, will send uncommitted delegations to Philadelphia. The uncommitted delegations will be used to wrest from the platform committee a weasel declaration on the civil and human rights issue. The Courier-Journal

In the past few days, there have been anxious negotiations between Southern leaders and White House representatives. The Southerners dropped hints that if the White House continued so scornful of the South, the more violent expedient of sending overt anti-Truman delegations to the convention would have to be resorted to. Sat. 2-14-48

The President may deny the intention of conciliation until he is black in the face. He may personally have no such intention. But his representatives respond to the hints of the Southern leaders, by hinting in return that the President would in the end approve a compromise on the platform's civil and human rights plank. The Southerners intimated that if such a compromise were forthcoming, they would then content themselves with holding a post-convention rally, as they did after the Wallace nomination in 1940. At this rally, they promised they would give free rein to their propensity for oratory, but would end by resolving that much as they detested Truman, they hated the Republicans even more. Louisville, Ky.

Southern Fat In the F.E.P.C. Fire

In Congress, this plan has found favor with many, even among the extreme white supremacy shouters like Senator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina. Meanwhile, some Southern governors, like J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and M. E. Thompson of Georgia, have also sent assurances of eventual support to the White House.

It is symptomatic of the state of the Democratic party that in these dubious circumstances, the White House political strategists are breathing audible sighs of relief. They are thankful for very little, these days. The arrangements outlined above are very little to be thankful for, because of two obvious drawbacks. The Courier Journal

In the first place, any weasel words in the civil and human rights platform plank will enrage and alienate precisely the groups in the North at whom the President's civil rights message was aimed. Yet if the weasel words are not spoken, the uncommitted Southern delegates will still be able to put forward their own man. In the second place, the present arrangements may be upset even before convention time, if the fair employment practices act becomes law at last. Louisville, Ky.

House passage of F.E.P.C. is a foregone conclusion. So is Senate passage if cloture can be applied. Application of cloture turns upon four or five Republican votes, including Senators Robert A. Taft, Harlan Bushfield, and Albert Hawkes. Taft, it is known, will vote to approve cloture, although opposed to the F.E.P.C. bill. Hawkes is in a hard re-election fight in New Jersey, and the other waverers will be not un-influenced by the fact that this is an election year. If F.E.P.C. passes, the Southern fat will really be in the fire. In the ensuing bitterness and recrimination, anything may happen, and quite probably will. Sat. 2-14-48

The Foundations Crumble

The Times Birmingham, Ala.

BY JOSEPH AND STEWART ALSOP

FOR THE FIRST TIME, practical Southern politicians are talking seriously about the end of the one-party system in the South. This is, of course, the result of the Southern rebellion against President Truman, and more particularly the rebellion's bi-product, the Virginia bill allowing the state's representatives in the electoral college to cast their ballots as they choose.

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The resurrection of this antiquated constitutional device will allow Southerners to express both sides of their politically split personalities. They will be able to continue to vote as Democrats, yet to avoid assisting in the election of the Democratic Party's national candidates. Tues. 2-3-48

The trick is simple, and it is already appealing to conservative Southerners outside Virginia. South Carolina and Mississippi are definitely expected to pass bills of their own on the Virginia model. This holds out the pretty definite likelihood that Truman will lose the 28 electoral college votes represented by Virginia. The number is not great, compared to the 531 vote total of the electoral college. Yet it is quite enough to decide a close election. And it is also possible that other Southern states will follow the Virginia road.

* * *

Political Significance

The News Birmingham, Ala.

IN SHORT, THE DEVELOPMENT HAS VERY GREAT SIGNIFICANCE, both long and short range. The short-range significance lies, of course, in the effects on the coming election previously outlined. With Wallace in the race, with his Palestine policy haunting him like a cruel ghost, there is no doubt that Truman is done for if he loses anything in the South. Losses in the South are now quite probable. The foundations of Truman's strength have crumbled, and that is all there is to it. Tues. 2-3-48

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FURTHERMORE, EVEN IF THE PRESENT MOVEMENT is headed off, and the Southern electoral votes are in the end all racked up for Truman, there are still other dangers to overcome. It has already been published that Sen. Harry F. Byrd, after first expressing distate, has now become inclined to let his name be presented as a presidential candidate. Besides Byrd, moreover, there is Sen. Walter F. George, who would command even wider Southern support. He is also giving signs of willingness to let himself be proposed to the Democratic convention.

* * *

Southern Strategy

The News

AS FAR AS THE CONVENTION is concerned, the Southern strategy will be to send uncommitteed delegations, and to fight initially for a weasel-worded civil rights plank. The president's political representatives were at first inclined to concede such a plank in order to pacify the Southern rebels. But Truman balked at swallowing every word he had said on the subject of civil rights. The Southern governors were turned away empty handed when they called on the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Sen. J. Howard McGrath. Now, therefore, the Southerners are more likely to be driven to the second stage of their convention plan, which is to nominate George or Byrd or both as rivals to Truman. Birmingham, Ala. 2-3-48

Events are almost certain to intensify the South's itch to make trouble at the convention, and to go through, thereafter, with the Virginia scheme for depriving Truman of Southern electoral votes. The fair employment practices, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills will all shortly come up for Senate votes. They will pass if the Senate applies cloture to half filibusters. On the last test, on the FEPC, cloture was defeated in the Senate by a vote of only 39 to 33, with six Republicans, Sens. Bridges, Guerney, Millikin, Moore, White and Young voting against, and Hawkes and Bushfield paired against. Tues.

* * *

THIS YEAR, THE ELECTION and the temptation to make trouble for Truman are powerful persuaders to induce these anti-cloture Republican senators to change their votes. Enough switches are expected among them to pass at least the anti-poll tax, probably the FEPC, and possibly the anti-lynching bill. Passage of these three pieces of legislation will drive the Southern white supremacy shouters to extremes of every kind, both of oratory and of action. The News

As to the long-range significance of the Southern rebellion, that is also pretty obvious. The new violence of the white supremacy shouters has in it a note of fear. Industrialization, agricultural diversification and the mechanical cotton picker are, in fact, already threatening the old Southern order which produced the Georges and McKellars, Byrds and Overtons. In the House, especially, a sprinkling of progressive Southerners has already appeared. Tues.

The Virginia bill returning to the state's presidential electors the right of free choice which the constitution originally intended for them may simply hurt Truman at first. But it will also have the long-range effect of separating the forward looking and backward looking Southerners into two different political parties. This is really now almost inevitable at last.—© Birmingham, Ala. 2-3-48

Why Not The Whole Hog?

The Record Columbia, S.C.

Democratic leaders are more alarmed at Wallace's third party's strength than they are at the threat of a Southern secession.

And the Republican party has only an academic interest in the Southern revolt since it isn't even proposed in the South that the Southerners vote Republican. Tues. 2-24-48

So the Southerners find themselves ignored by both parties.

The Democratic party still clings to the civil rights program because it needs to get the Negro and the Jewish votes in the crucial states. And the Negroes and the Jews are among the large groups to which Mr. Wallace has been directing his campaign so far. His civil rights program and aggressive action in behalf of partition of Palestine are about the only policies available to Mr. Truman for use against Wallace, although there is reason to doubt that either of them will be effective.

And the protesting Democrats of the South—they are more nearly Republicans than they are Democrats by modern definitions—will never get anywhere until they make up their mind where they are going. And they haven't done that yet. At Greenwood they decided to remain in the Democratic party. In Dorchester and Jasper the Democrats adopted resolutions proposing a course to take the Southern Democrats out of the Democractic party, but nowhere. They want to form a Southern splinter party, which never could hope to win an election or elect a candidate. In Mississippi Governor Wright is leading a campaign to get rid of Truman as the Democratic nominee. Tues. 2-24-48

These things are every one of them ineffective and futile. There is a lot of talk about forcing the election of President into the House of Representatives where every state has only one vote. But all the Southern electoral college votes, scattered among a group of candidates or cast for a third-party candidate, would have had this result in but three instances in the past 70 years. In every other election the result would have been what it was.

If the protesting Southern Democrats want to make themselves effective they must make up their mind to vote Republican. This might put them on the winning side in the coming election. It might even win the Southerners enough Republican votes in the Senate now to prevent the enactment of a cloture rule. And it would give the South representation in both parties since those Southern Democrats who do not want to leave the Democratic party could remain in it, giving both parties an interest in the South and a reason to cultivate it. The Record

Nor is there anything radical in the proposal. The Southern Democrats by proposing to secede from the Democratic party are undertaking to vote half Republican. The sensible, honest course is to go the whole hog. Columbia, S.C.

The South is making a great hullabaloo about the Democratic party betraying it. It should kick itself in the pants. For it has betrayed itself by putting all of its eggs in one basket and then letting Harry Truman carry it. Tues. 2-24-48

There are plenty of reasons in logic against what is being proposed, but partisan politicians are not moved by logic. They are motivated by partisan political considerations. And the South being in the bag or even going off at a tangent in imitation of Henry Wallace is, by the rules, entitled to no consideration.

If the South is going to do anything it needs the courage to do it or quit talking.

SENATOR HILL AND MRS. THOMAS

The Advertiser

EDITOR, The Advertiser: I can't see how Lister Hill can be for Truman and against what he stands for. 3-17-48

The South is at a critical stage and we need men like Lister Hill on our side. He could do his country a great service if he would. I have always voted for him but I can't go along with this. Then, too, Mrs. Lennard Thomas goes to Washington, has a nice chat with President Truman and comes away satisfied! Satisfied, although the President just the same as told her that he still insisted on Congress putting its foot on our necks while he shakes hands with the Negro vote in the North. Mrs. Thomas being a lady, I cannot say anything except that I hoped for something different. The Southern wing of the Democratic Party fully expects the South to boil over now and then. Cool off and vote solid for Truman. I have been a Democrat all my life, Southern Democrat, I mean, but if we do that this time I don't think I can ever hold my nose tight enough to vote the Democratic ticket again. Montgomery, Ala.

I know of only one thing that will do like they think we will and that is a dog. You can beat him and kick him, starve him and abuse him and he will crawl to you and lick your hand. I don't believe the South will do that this time. Let's give them such a fight they will have more respect for us from now on. Wed.

3-17-48 DR. H. C. FOUNTAIN.
Evergreen, Ala.

THOMAS L. STOKES

The Constitution

340 Demo

The South and Secession

Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 3-3-48

WASHINGTON—The current "revolt" of the South over President Truman's civil rights program is featured by agitation and some preliminary plans for various forms of what might be called "political secession" from the Democratic Party and, indeed, from Yankee "meddlers," too.

A quip goes around here, said not altogether in jest:

"Why don't they just go ahead and secede?"

Which is, of course, unthinking. It takes no account of the many, many Southerners who are deeply resentful to the noisy bleating of their politicians and the slick schemes to "punish" the President.

This is manifest in the sour reaction among lots of people in Virginia to the "Fort Sumter shot" of Gov. William M. Tuck by his proposal to keep Mr. Truman's name off the ballot in Virginia and delegate a party convention to tell the electors, after the election, for whom it was the people had voted.

This high-handed trick now seems headed for delay in the Legislature, to which the Governor submitted it. Wed. 3-3-48

For another thing, the people of the South are fully aware that there are economic as well as political ties between the Southern States and the Federal Government. This of itself, when pondered seriously, provokes sober second thought.

"States' rights," as usual, is being dragged out again in this current engagement. Most people in the South know by now how outworn a shibboleth it is. They have seen how it is pulled out and dusted off by special interests in the South, political and economic, to halt progress as is also done elsewhere in the nation.

A howl would go up from the South if anybody here took some Southern politicians at their own angry word about States' rights and stopped all Federal measures and appropriations for the benefit of the South. Four years ago, during the previous Southern "revolt," there was much high sounding talk about States' rights at a regional meeting of Southeastern Governors at Atlanta.

It was deflated somewhat by Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia, who reminded his fellow Governors frankly that, while they yelled about States rights, they seemed ready and eager always to demand from Washington all sorts of Federal benefits for their people. Wed. 3-3-48

Which is proper. The people of the South for all the noise some of their politicians make are a part of the Union. And they get benefits from the Federal Treasury far out of proportion to the taxes they pay, with the bigger and more wealthy States making it up and complaining about it occasionally. But this is also on the very sound basis that people are people everywhere in the United States; and men and women and children in Georgia or Mississippi are as much entitled to help as those in Michigan or New York. The Constitution

The Federal Government has had to help the South in other ways. When Southern States neglected to pass laws of their own to protect factory workers and farm tenants, and to develop their natural resources, Congress finally stepped in with the wage-hour law, Federal financial assistance to farm tenants, TVA, and like measures.

People who have benefited from these things know how specious is the States' rights plea and how it was exploited for so long to keep anything from being done to break down the low-wage economy that was profitable to a few. Enactment of these laws also served to wake up local Southern leaders and, in many instances, they improved their own social and economic welfare statutes. Atlanta, Ga.

Just as the late President Roosevelt moved in to extend economic and social democracy to the people of the South, when the States themselves failed to take adequate measures, so President Truman has moved in to extend political democracy. The hopeful thing is that the President, by the very vigor with which he attacked, has stirred up a great debate which, of itself, will start thinking—and that is the beginning of wisdom. The South could do these things for itself, just as it could have done the others. Wed. 3-3-48

It is inevitable that they will be done.

Editor, The Advertiser:

My father was a Democrat, I have always been a Democrat. But I'll have to step over beside Mr. Bonner. I will never vote for Truman.

I voted for Al Smith but it stuck in my craw. I don't say I'll vote for a Republican, though I'd rather vote for an avowed enemy who was honest than a supposed friend who tries to stab me in the back.

The South has always gone "solid" for its own protection against the very things they are trying to force on us now. We of the South do not hate the Negro, we are his best friends. We spend untold dollars of white tax money for his schools and health, etc. The Advertiser

When a Negro wants help he goes to a white man and gets it. We can live in peace and harmony if the Northern meddlers will let us alone. I think it is time for the South to be solid for our own good instead of for a Democratic Party that ignores every custom and tradition we have and is trying to force things on us that will destroy us. Montgomery

2-12-48 DR. H. C. FOUNTAIN.
Evergreen, Ala. Ala. Thurs

Arnall Lays South's 'Mad' To Patronage

The Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

Mon. 6-14-48

WASHINGTON, June 13—(AP)—Two Southern Democrats disagreed today about President Truman's chances of being nominated at the Democratic convention, but agreed that the South should continue to oppose Republicans.

Ellis G. Arnall, former Georgia Governor, said he doesn't put too much importance to the current Southern revolt against Mr. Truman's Civil Rights program and figures the President has enough convention delegates pledged to assure nomination.

Sen. Sparkman, Democrat, Alabama, countered that the revolt is "real" and that the South should try to get another candidate named by the convention.

The two debated on the University of Chicago Round Table.

Arnall and Sparkman agreed:

1. The South is mad not only about President Truman's civil-rights program but because the South to a large extent has been left out in distribution of Cabinet and other big Party positions for years. Mon. 6-14-48
2. The South should fight for all its rebellion is worth to get all it can from the Democratic Convention. The Constitution

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REBELS FORECAST DEWEY VICTORY AS ANSWER ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The California Voice

Oakland, Calif.

Fri. 7-16-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 15—Rebel Southern Democrats, angered over the triumph of President Truman and his civil rights program, predicted today that Gov. Thomas E. Dewey would break the Solid South in November.

34d

The chairman of the Florida delegation, Frank D. Upchurch, Jr., even went so far as to say that Truman might not carry a single state in the entire country.

South

And a Louisiana delegate, Hugh Wilkinson, said the Democratic Party was wrecked, and headed for crushing defeat. In the reorganization to follow, he said, the South would get a proper voice in party affairs.

Other Southern leaders predicted the party was in for the worst licking since 1928. Fri. 7-16-48

Gove. Beauford Jester of Texas said: The only thing to keep the Republicans from carrying Texas, is they do not have a strong candidate in Dewey. But he acknowledged that Dewey might get more votes than any GOP candidate since Herbert Hoover carried the state 20 years ago.

Representatives of at least five Dixie delegations were headed for a states rights conference in Birmingham. There they will pick a states rights candidate for President for whom Southern electors can vote in the electoral college.

The Frustrated, Revolting South

The Black Dispatch

"The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head."

Every time during the past week we have thought of the recalcitrant, reactionary unit in the Democratic party, seeking to oust President Truman from leadership because of his civil rights stand, this passage of scripture has rushed forward to command the scene.

34d

Stop and think a moment. With the Republican National Convention placing a civil rights plank in its platform and with Henry Wallace and his new party actually putting civil rights into action, so far as their meetings and speeches are concerned, and with President Truman also preaching civil rights and demanding passage of this type of legislation, where, or where do those Democrats who oppose civil rights propose to lay their political heads come November?

Of course the only reason why Southern Democrats are angry with President Truman is because he had the integrity to spell out in very understandable language what he is talking about when he speaks of civil rights. Civil rights had been mentionel in a general way in the Democratic platform four years ago, but there has always been a difference between responsibility in the abstract as contrasted with the concrete. Truman, in the mind of the South, was dumb enough to put his hand upon specific wrongs and announce that they will be righted.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

This perhaps accounts for the sudden attempt to drag General Eisenhower into the presidential picture. It could be that Eisenhower was making a bid for Dixie support when he recently made an announcement regarding a pro-jim crow army that sent Walter White sprawling in his tracks. There is no question but that Eisenhower made a right-about-face on the race issue and from the current turn of events he is courting presentation to the Democratic National Convention as the one man acceptable to the natives who live below the Mason and Dixon line, just outside the fringe of civilization.

But this dark horse the South seeks to foist upon the convention is a dark horse in many ways. Labor will want to know before it votes for him, his stand on the Taft-Hartley law and there will be other units of the population who will want to know his position on housing, education, health, rural problems and a score of world problems relating to war and peace. The Black Dispatch does not believe there will be a chance for the South to successfully introduce to the Democratic National Convention a horse as dark as Eisenhower, who has not announced his position on anything other than a jim crow army. Sat. 7-10-48

There are many citizens of this republic who see a clear and present danger in placing the nation in the hands of the military, and we believe the Democratic National Convention will go slow in selecting a general to head the ticket this fall. In fact the recent experience of General MacArthur in the Republican parley in the Quaker City should unfold in a very intimate way the current feeling towards the military.

The eleventh hour doubtful strategy of the revolting South resembles more an act of frustration than anything else. It looks as though the nomination of President Truman is conceded when attempt is made to foist upon the convention in a time like this, a man whose political, economic and social notions are so little understood. Looks as though the revolting South has no place to lay its head.

Favors State Action on Lynching, Fair Employment, Equal Opportunities, Anti-Poll Tax

The Black Dispatch

Oklahoma City, Okla.

(34d) (Dem) (South)

RICHMOND — (ANP) — Many southerners favor the objective that President Truman wants to achieve in his civil rights program, but "they do not favor the method he has proposed, of passing federal legislation and a lot of it, all in one lump." Sat.

This view was advanced by Virginius Dabney, white, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, and Pulitzer prize winner for editorial writing in 1947, at a recent meeting of the American Society of Newspaper editors. The editor, who has consistently fought against the hate-mongers and fomenters of racial persecution in his region, was giving the south's views on civil rights.

Holding that the civil rights program was a "terrific dose" to be swallowed at one time, Dabney declared:

"We are for the elimination of lynching, but we agree with the Washington Post in feeling that a federal anti-lynching law is unnecessary because lynching has almost been wiped out without such a law. Legislation of that kind would be inflammatory and probably do more harm than good.

"Many of us want to get rid of the poll tax. There has been a lot of leadership in the southern press in favor of the elimination of the poll tax, but we want to get rid of it by state action—at least most of us do." 6-5-48

He said most southerners agreed that it would be "an unconstitutional thing" to try to revise the poll tax by federal legislation.

"We want to give fair employment to the colored people in the south," he asserted, "but we don't think that the FEPC is the way to do it. We think it will cause much turmoil and antagonism and even violence, if they begin under such legislation sending southern employers to jail for not employing colored applicants. Sat.

"We want to develop better opportunities for the colored citizens and we are trying to do that, but if this FEPC should be bushed over on us, we think the colore people will be the worst sufferers."

As for educational opportunities and voting privileges, he pointed out that southerners were willing to accord such equalization to Negroes and cited the example of a southern Virginia judge who ruled that every public school in Virginia must provide substantially equal facilities and equipment for colored schools as well as white—"something which has not been done, of course." He also cited the decision made by a South Carolina judge in ruling against the pripately-operated white primary.

He also said that North Carolina last year paid Negro school teachers "more, on the average, than its white teachers."

"The average salary of the colored teachers was $51 a year more than the white teachers throughout the state because they were better trained," Dabney asserted. The southern press does not object to that at all. Many southern newspapers openly say that the colored teachers should be paid exactly on the basis of merit and not on the basis of race prejudice. That North Carolina has achieved this is a very remarkable thing to me."

Reiterating that the Truman civil rights program "is harmful," he declared, "I am told that it Georgia Herman Talmadge's election as governor has almost been guaranteed by the Truman program. There was a chance of beating him until that was an nounced. But now it has raised such a turmoil and caused so much feeling and hostilitp toward the colored people that the Talmadge group is able to raise the race issue more acutely than ever before.

"The danger exists, and it is a very real danger, that Talmadge will be elected as a result, and we know what that means."

LET'S BE FACTUAL

To be more effective, we revolting Southerners must be more realistic in our outcries. Montgomery Ala

We must, for example, cease giving the North, East and West the idea that we believe the South owns the Democratic Party. The South does not own the party by a long shot. For example, Roosevelt would have been elected four times without one single electoral vote from the South.

We are entitled to a certain possessive attitude toward the party because, among other reasons, we have been the most constant element. When in past times other regions have goofed off to vote G.O.P., the South has stood fast. But we have been but the base of the victory pyramids, and never the entire pyramid.

A minor act of our unrealism has been the baying, braying and caterwauling about the Democratic Party's infestation with the big city machines such as those of Kelly and Hague. All about us in Alabama are reluctant Democrats who wail that Roosevelt was the creature of these machines. The inferential notion is that all big city machines are Democratic and that they are different from other machines.

The truth is, of course, there are big city machines and some are Democratic and some are Republican—and a big city political machine is a machine for all of that.

Nor are these machines that are so indiscriminately flailed by some of us all situated in the Sodom East and the Gomorrah North. Advertiser

The bayers and brayers, in their survey of the nefarious, o'erperch such shabby and vicious objects as the Crump machine of Memphis, Tenn., bordering Alabama.

It is true that Crump's machine represents the minimum in exposed, on-the-record thievery, but it has lately given off some suggestive odors. More, there never has, nor ever will be, a machine that functions except on the basis of dispensing special favor to him who votes right. What other fuel can a machine travel on?

We speak harshly and justly of the big city machine's solicitude for and use of the Negro vote. What of the thousands of Negro votes that old Cotton Candy-head Crump carries around in his vest pocket?

Pendergast's machine in Missouri undoubtedly represents the ultimate degree of putrefaction, but no more skunks have fled its stench than Philadelphia's.

For nearly a century Philadelphia has been ruled and despoiled by a Republican machine. An article in the current Collier's says: Fri 8-6-48

> The sickest city in the land is Philadelphia. It is suffering from the longest case on record—81 years—of the dread malady known as machine politics.
>
> . . . It has a self-sustaining political machine that would be the envy of old Tammany—and a freshly uncovered financial shortage estimated at $300,000 to $1,000,000 . . .
>
> In Philadelphia motorists in restricted parking zones pay off many of the cops with a quarter, or even use old parking tickets as camouflage tags on their cars . . . It is a city of petty crimes, small-time gamblers and 5 & 10 shakedowns, where too often a citizen's first protection is not the law, the courts or the police, but his ward leader.
>
> Philadelphia's political machine is simple enough. It is called Republican, but this is only a label. It has no political philosophy except to win elections with whatever promise, slogan or chicanery it believes will succeed . . .

All of which is to say, a machine is a machine and it is sophomoric and idle to seek to associate them exclusively with either Roosevelt or our present Civil Disturbance distresses.

We Southerners, with so many strikes on us to start with, have got to be sound and judicious in stating the South's case. We are not in position to speak of machines self-righteously with Crump just across the state line and when, as a matter of fact, the South, with the Long machine of Louisiana of the Deep South, gave to the nation its first dictatorship and its first police state

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RALPH McGILL

Atlanta Constitution

The South Must Understand---

Atlanta, Ga.

Fri 7-16-48

PHILADELPHIA—For a long time we had known that President Harry S. Truman was in the Convention Hall in Room 205 where an air-conditioned unit was at work. But when at last the weary, hot hours of convention were done; when Truman was nominated and Sen. Barkley, too, there was the drama of their appearance.

It was almost 3 o'clock in the morning.

An era had ended a few hours before. It is easy to say that phrase and sometimes it is said lightly, but this time there was little doubt about it. It was not so much that when the President did come there would be no one sitting in the rows of seats assigned to Mississippi. It was not that in the Alabama section half the seats were empty. Nor could one look out there and see the tired faces of the other Southern delegations and see that an era had ended.

But, it had.

Fri 7-16-48

Ultimatum

The high-pitched angry voices had died out. The anger and the bitterness had been revealed and ignored. The South had not been read out of the party, but told in unmistakable words that they could stay or go, as they pleased. It was hoped they would stay, but if they wanted to go then they could go.

The East and West had joined to do that. When Mississippi's delegation had walked out none had called "come back." Instead there was loud and derisive booing and laughter. So it had been for the half of Alabama's delegation departure. There was apparent nowhere any regret or desire to appease the South. I say this thus coldly and plainly so that the South may understand and know it.

Atlanta, Ga.

Change

What happened was that the industrial States of the nation, the big Eastern ones and those in the West, had taken over the Democratic Party and had begun to reshape it according to their own needs and desires. The Democratic Party of Wednesday morning was gone by Wednesday night.

But, on the surface, there was no sign of this as the big lights came on and the committee escorted the President of the United States and Sen. Alben Barkley, nominated to run with him, and their families to the platform.

For some unknown reason someone loosed a basket of pigeons. What the symbolism was none could explain. The poor, frightened, silly birds flew about the brilliantly lighted hall and dipped into the crowd where hands tried to catch them. It was a stupid thing to have done and for a time there the crowd was about to laugh itself into another mood.

Constitution

Greeting

It had been asked that there be no long demonstrations, because of the lateness of the hour. But there was a good, sincere greeting for the nominees, although it did not have in it any of the deep, confident bellow that used to greet Franklin Roosevelt.

You got the feeling of the new era as the President talked. Looking at the tired, weary faces in the crowd, one found it a little difficult to realize it was 3 o'clock in the morning and that a President was speaking, saying he was going to call back a Republican Congress and ask it to go to work on its own party platform of promises.

You felt, too, the fact that a new era was at hand as the President accented the platform which called for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, and for legislation which ends for all times the theory of States' rights. Only the Supreme Court can determine how much of States' rights remains as it will test in the future laws which the Republicans will pass and which the Democrats will pass if they should, by some quirk of political fate, be retained in office.

Fri 7-16-48

Future

The Democratic Party of the future is going to be more unified than it ever was when it contained the conservative Southern leadership and policy, requiring some great personality to hold that force the big city masses together. It will be, within eight years or less, a unified party directed by the city masses of the East and those of the West. It is going to become an urban party and a party of the political left devoted to the policies such as this platform expresses. The thoughtful person will not fail to note what has happened in the rest of the world and will note that this follows the pattern.

All this will not happen at once, although much of it already has happened here in this steaming, bitter convention. The Democratic Party, the old jerry-built one of Southern conservatisms and big-city pressures, now is the party of the cities and of the industrial working masses. This may, eventually, be a good thing for the country to have a two-party system which is more clearly defined.

Out

But, for the time being, the South must not fail to know that when the new leaders of the party in the East and West had to decide between their policies and the South, they let the South go coldly and without hesitation. How much of the South will be with the Democratic Party of four or eight years from now no one may say. Some of it will. The South, too, has cities and it will be well for the South to keep that in mind as it seeks to evaluate its political future.

It is not a time now for hot words. They were said here in plenty. It is a time for evaluation.

SOUTHERNERS WARY OF BOLTING PARTY

The Times
New York, N.Y.
Sun. 5-16-48

But Possibility Remains That Many Will 'Go Fishing' in Election Day Protest

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., May 15—A group of Southern Democrats openly hostile to President Truman and his civil-rights program took formal steps this week to threaten the national Administration with political reprisal.

Designating themselves the States' Rights Democrats, they assembled 1,000 delegates in Jackson, Miss., and voted unanimously to hold their own convention on July 17 in Birmingham, Ala., if the national convention on July 12 in Philadelphia failed to repudiate the civil-rights proposals or renominated President Truman.

Revolt Affected

After the storm of oratory had abated, political observers surveyed the regional scene and were virtually unanimous in agreeing that the recalcitrants had put themselves in the position of committing the cardinal sin in Dixie by setting up machinery for bolting the sacrosanct Democratic party. Sun. 5-16-48

As a result there was widespread shying away from the would-be bolters, and the much-heralded "revolt" in Southern ranks this Presidential election year was believed to have been affected considerably.

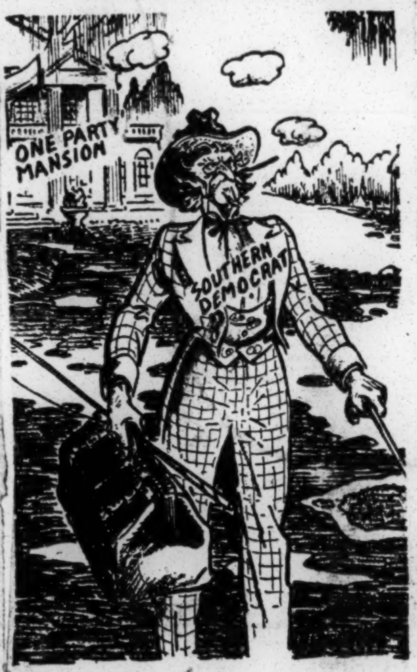
Truman's Unpopularity

However, those attending the Jackson meeting received strong proof that Mr. Truman at this time is extremely unpopular with the rank-and-file southern voter. As one Georgia delegate declared, "Mr. Truman has got to do some mighty sweet courting if he expects to win the South."

But politicians and observers, taking into account reports that seeped from the confidential sessions of the resolutions committee at Jackson, discounted to a degree some of the support that had been promised. 5-16-48

All stressed the importance of James S. Peters, chairman of the Georgia delegation and chairman of the state's Democratic executive committee, directing his group to act only as observers rather than approve any move that would bolt the party. The Times

"NO PLACE TO GO"



Alexander in The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

When the resolutions were voted upon, newspaper men were unable to find any seated delegates from Virginia or North Carolina and it was felt that a genuine grass-roots impetus was lacking when only 150 spectators and half the delegates were present for the voting. New York, N.Y.

Little Political Weight

The consensus was that a rump convention in Birmingham would get serious representation from Mississippi and Alabama, and possibly South Carolina and Arkansas. Most political leaders felt that other states would ignore a separate party move and that any delegates from those states would have a difficult time proving they carried any political weight.

Nevertheless, most observers in the South were aware that the Jackson meeting emphasized the extent to which Mr. Truman has slipped in political favor in Dixie. They noted also the street-corner and hotel-lobby talk in favor of Republicans, naming Stassen and Vandenberg, although there was nothing to indicate that the Republican party, regionally or nationally had gained favor with the South. Sun. 5-16-48

Consequently, the current feeling is that a Southern reprisal in the form of a separate party is unlikely if the Jackson reaction is a solid indication, but no one is dismissing the possibility of a "revolt" in which anti-Truman Southerners would "go fishing" on election day, or even vote for a "personable" Republican.

The Democratic South

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Your editorial on the revolt of Southern Democrats prompts these observations. I have been a Southern Democrat since 1888. My father was a Kentucky Democrat and seldom used the word "Republican" without a prefix!

Most editorial comment is that the South is being ignored by the Democratic Party because it no longer needs the South. Well, the Democratic Party needs the South this year and every year. It has always needed the South and always will because the Democratic Party is the South. The South has always furnished the brains of the Democratic Party. It was the unswerving loyalty of the South and its influence, if not its electoral votes, which wrested the country from the damrepublicans after Hoover's fiasco.

And the South needs the Democratic Party. It cannot prosper without it. Only under Democratic administrations has the South made any industrial progress. Under the hated New Deal, more industrial advance has been made than under all the Republican administrations since that party was founded and promptly taken over by Wall Street. I challenge anybody to name one constructive thing ever done by the Republicans for the South, or any other part of the country, except the gold-spangled East. I am opposed to Congress' tampering with our cherished "Southern traditions," but I'm not going to burn the building to kill the rats. Sun.

Arlington, Texas. 4-25-48 HOPE WHEELER.

'Bolters' Or 'Observers'?

The News

Since may 4 it has been obvious that Alabama would send a split delegation to the National Democratic Convention in Philadelphia in July. Some of the delegates will be pledged to walk out of the convention if an objectionable civil rights plank is adopted and if President Truman is nominated, and some will have refused to give such a pledge. There will be no unanimity on the matter of a walkout, although all the delegation will stand opposed to President Truman and his civil rights program. Birmingham Ala.

This division has weakened the likelihood of a walkout, at least in a physical sense. Unless the entire delegation strode out of the convention, a walkout would not be effective. While it is desirable that a state's delegation act as a unit, that possibility is not likely now for Alabama. Tues.

Nor is it likely that any attempt will be made to enforce a unit rule upon the delegation. Each delegation sets up its own rules in that regard, but it is doubtful if the Alabama group, whoever composes it, will try to put over a unit rule, inasmuch as some of the delegates will have been elected on opposing platforms. 5-25-48

But will those delegates pledged to walk out do so under the circumstances they have described? There are indications that some of them may not. Possibly they will be able to satisfy the voters and their own consciences in some way without doing so.

* * *

What will constitute "taking a walk" under those circumstances? It is becoming increasingly vague what the "bolters" themselves mean by the phrase. Gov. Laney, of Arkansas, leader of the states' rights Jeffersonian Democrats, was quoted in Little Rock last week as declaring, "I've never said I'd take a walk, and I don't know anyone who has." The News

We don't know about Gov. Laney, but Alabama's Gessner P. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee and a candidate for delegate in the run-off one week hence, early in the first campaign sent out an official statement in which he declared that if "the Northern Democrats write a platform . . . offensive to the South, I think the Southern delegates to the convention should walk out of the convention." More recently Mr. McCorvey issued a statement in which he said that if the convention adopts such a platform "then the damage is done, and we gain nothing by wrangling over a candidate. . . . Our delegates will have to 'take a walk.'"

But "taking a walk" is coming to have different implications. It is now suggested that possibly the "walkout" delegates, in case the convention goes against them, will not leave their seats, and thus run the risk of the seats being filled by alternate delegates of different opinion, but will remain in the convention as "observers." This is hardly an effective or appealing idea. Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

It becomes even more important, it seems to us, that Alabama Democrats send to the convention as many delegates as possible who will participate in the proceedings, fighting for their convictions, to the very end. Tues. 5-25-48

Party Conciliation Doubted By Wright

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

JACKSON, MISS. —(AP)— Mississippi's Gov. Fielding L. Wright, leader of the states' rights Democratic movement, sees little chance of conciliation with the national party.

The Southern states' rights leaders, he told newsmen Wednesday would not be conciliated even if President Truman backed down on his civil rights program.

Commenting on a news report that Democratic Chairman J. Howard McGrath had predicted in Washington that there would be no occasion for a walkout at the National Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, Wright said:

"We plan to ask a positive stand by the national party for states' rights and nothing less than that will be satisfactory."

Regarding the possibility that McGrath's remarks hinted a compromise between the civil rights and the states rights supporters in the national party, Wright asserted: Thurs. 6-10-48

"The civil rights issue is incidental. We want a positive declaration placed in the party platform that will insure the rights of the states as provided by the constitution."

Gov. Wright clarioned the present states' rights movement in his inauguration address last January when he proposed that the south "break" with the leadership of the national party if it continued to sponsor such legislation as the civil rights program.

'VAN' MENTIONED

'Solid South' Could Crack, Chairmen Say

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed.

Democratic Chairmen from five Southern States didn't discuss personalities at their war conference here on socalled Civil Rights, but—

If the Democrats renominate President Truman and the Republicans should nominate someone like Sen. Vandenberg without such a civil rights program, the chairmen wouldn't be surprised to see the solid Democratic South switch over to the Republican Party.

The chairmen didn't talk about such an idea in their conference at all, they said. They didn't say exactly what plan they would follow in fighting Civil Rights candidates. But some of them "interpreted the feelings of their people" to prefer an anti-Civil Rights candidate regardless of party.

In their two-day conference at the Henry Grady Hotel which closed Tuesday, the chairmen said they found that the South stands firmly and squarely together and will not relent from its fight against the socalled Civil Rights program and its determination to preserve states' rights. 5-12-48

Part of their plans may be disclosed at the Jackson, Miss., meeting of Democratic leaders May 10.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

The Cutting Of the Pattern

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed. 5-26-48

There is a tendency to regard the present embattled political position in which the South finds itself as new.

It is not. It has certain parallels with 1856-60. But even so, it is the historical position which, now and then, worsens. Now is one of those times.

It then becomes important to study how, and why, this came about. It is a study which already has filled many volumes and will fill more.

For a long time after the War of "Independence," the South developed about like the rest of the nation. It was living by planting and it used slave labor.

Decision But two factors intervened to halt this normal development. It generally is forgotten now, but the South had already begun to find slave labor unprofitable and was about to diversify its interests and would have substituted white labor for slave labor, as did New England and the East, where industry developed.

Wed. 5-26-48

These two factors were the sudden increase in textile production and machinery in Britain's industrial revolution, and the invention of the cotton gin. There were thousands of new spindles in British mills demanding cotton. The cotton gin made slave labor profitable, as it had not been when hand labor was necessary.

Doom This doomed the South to a colonial status of supplying a raw material. It encouraged the large planters to buy more land and slaves. It caused hundreds from New England to float down the rivers to the South and take up cotton land. It turned the multitude of small farmers, who owned few, if any, slaves, and who would have aided the diversity of industry, to growing cotton to supply the then inexhaustible demand.

Then was the die cast. Then did the Fates weave the fabric of the result at Appomattox.

Results Thus committed to cotton, and exclusively to cotton, the South sought to bolster that fact in Washington. The Democratic Party dominated the national politics.

Their politicians now faced a hopeless fight.

The South's interests were fixed. The interests of the rest of the nation were not.

The Constitution

The nation was moving westward. Those Southerners who sought to move west had to have large tracts of land and to transport slaves and the whole plantation economy. There were hundreds in competition with him who had only a carpetbag or a wagon loaded with a mattress and a few household goods. The South could not compete with the westward expansion.

Tides Therefore, the South's politicians sought to hold back the tide. The South wanted a large export trade and sale of cotton, and cheap imports. The expanding West and the urban communities of the East and the manufacturing centers of New England wanted high tariffs.

Atlanta, Ga.

The Southern representatives also sought to block Federal aid in further developing the West. Therefore, they voted against subsidies, grants and appropriations to build roads, canals, and to "open up" the West. They also fought against the establishment of "free States," because such free States would begin to outvote the slave States.

Wed. 5-26-48

So, by 1850 there were many voices rising in the East damning the South for impeding "progress."

Vulnerable This attack was not confined to attacking the South's economy. The South had a vulnerable spot. It mattered not that the slaves had been brought originally to all sections and that New England slave traders had brought them. Slavery was wrong.

The South soon found itself on the wrong side of a moral issue. It became more and more sensitive to the charge of wicked and cruel use of human beings.

5-26-48

Southern Indiana, Illinois and Missouri were pro-slavery. But even in other western States there was antagonism. Many were Southerners who had left to escape slave competition. Others were New Englanders who thought it wicked and bad competition.

Unity A maddening attitude of piousness, in which was considerable hypocrisy, did not remove the fact the South was on the wrong side of a moral question. But it did unite the South defensively.

The Constitution

It could not otherwise have been united. It was a divided region. Of the 8,000,000 white people in the South, only about 1,500,000 had any property interest whatsoever in the 3,500,000 slaves. Less than 20 percent owned slaves. There were wide variations in culture, education and property. There were few "mansions," but many log houses and "shotgun" plank houses.

The resentment which swelled against the South served to unite it spiritually and politically.

Atlanta, Ga.

Men everywhere worked at solving the problem. But in both the South and North men of good will could rarely be heard. The hotheads, hied on by the cynical and the men who saw great fortunes to be made in war, held the floor. For the first time in American political history, great sums were spent to corrupt the congressional elections of 1858.

Wed. 5-26-48

The Democrats lost heavily. In the South the party began to split away and to talk of holding a separate convention if the Northern wing would not agree to their demands.

South Carolina and Mississippi took the lead in forming a Southern Party. Wild clamor prevailed and the calmer voices demanding conservative thought and conciliation were silenced. Secession and war came on.

The pattern was cut for the years ahead.

The South And The National Party

John Temple Graves

The Record

Columbia, S.C.

"If you can keep your head when all about you are losing their's..."

Can we of the South who are winning a history-making victory all along the line against being blindly and stupidly in the bag for the national Democratic organization whether it happens to be befriending us or betraying us—keep our heads? Can we go on with it, consolidate it, advance it, and keep it clean? It is a question on which everything depends.

Mon

We have got to hold our course strong in the remaining primaries and state conventions We have got to be intelligent and unflinching at the national convention and through the dramatic campaign, the caucuses, the election and constitutional procedure afterwards. And always, without quarreling now among ourselves.

5-24-48

But more than this, or certainly as much, we have got to have it in mind and heart that this is no revolt of reactionaries, no maneuver of "Negro-haters," no sell-out to politicians, no device for dodging our responsibilities as Southerners, Americans, citizens of the world and people of the white race. We are asking to be let alone. We should wish to be let alone in virtue, not in sin. The states' rights we demand must not be the right of the strong prey on the weak, the bigoted to be deemed the wise and fair, the backward to hold the forward back.

We are part of a cause existing all over America, a move away from a federalism that has gone crazy, a move for local self-government. Our race problem puts us in the lead but does not make us a people alone in the move. This is something of dignity, something out of history, and for the long future. It takes origin from Thomas Jefferson—and George Washington—not Bilbo-ism and the hateful brands of Southern gile.

The Record

No matter how patiently and often you explain it to my friend Don Shoemaker, Editor of The Asheville, N. C., Citizen, he just doesn't get the idea of the southern electoral college revolt—and even says those who do are "insincere." He is sincere, I am sure, in his belief that the issue is the "basic and historic liberalism of the Democratic party" (with anti-revolt people representing the liberalism).

Mon. 5-24-48

"Many of the revolters see alike with the Republican leadership on issues apart from civil rights," he says. "If they are really sincere they will switch party allegiance and give some meaning to the two-party principle." He would have them switch, even though he points out that the Republicans are likely to be more outspoken than the Democrats for the federal force measures. But the South would seem lost and confused indeed, Don, if all it could think to do in such circumstances was merely to vote Republican.

Columbia, S.C.

As for the relative "liberalism" of the Southern stand, Don, a very great liberal would disagree with you. No one was more solicitous than Woodrow Wilson for "states' rights," at home and abroad. He called it sometimes "self-determinism" and meant that people could be governed best by themselves—at home.

The Record

No matter where or how the "southern revolt" ends up now, the historic and greatly useful thing is happening. For the first time the South is going to a Democratic convention not "in the bag." The declaration of independence is taking place, and having happened, will influence both Democratic and Republican parties henceforth for all time to come. From now on it will be known to both that the South must be considered, that the South is capable of withholding its vote. These free Southern electors could vote for John Doe—or Senator Claghorn—and the mere fact of their being free would nevertheless be history-making and benign.

5-24-48

As to where their vote may really go, that remains to be seen. It depends on what happens at both conventions, and afterwards. It depends on southern decisions and, perhaps, on concessions and overtures from outside. Chairman Gessner McCorvey, of the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee, who will lead the free electors of that state, suggests that if the vote should be thrown into the House of Representatives and the southern electors had named Eisenhower, the House would choose the general, and that he would never refuse the Presidency on a silver tray from elected representatives of the people.

Columbia, S.C.

SOUTH'S DELEGATIONS HEAD FOR SHOWDOWN

The Commercial Appeal

Washington, D.C.

Some From Dixie Are Ready To Accept Truman But Mississippi May Bolt

By International News Service

ATLANTA, July 9.—The South's delegations to the Democratic Convention moved toward Philadelphia Friday in disagreement and with dim hope that the nomination of President Truman can be prevented.

Some of them, spearheaded by the determined Mississippi group, insist they will walk away from the party before supporting Mr. Truman.

Losing Battle Feared

Washington observers, meanwhile, predict that Mr. Truman will be nominated quickly, regardless of opposition from Dixie.

The Southerners indicated they would make a last-gasp effort to find a man they believe can unify the party before casting their lot with Mr. Truman. They will meet Saturday at Philadelphia with the group headed by James Roosevelt, eldest son of the late president, and again Sunday aftrenoon in a strictly Southern caucus.

Southerners also expected to take preconvention action in the construction of the party platform—at least to the extent of demanding that no plank favoring Federal labor practice legislation and other civil rights statutes be included.

It appeared that Gov. Fielding L. Wright will lead his Mississippi delegation out of Philadelphia ta a scheduled "rump" convention at Birmingham, July 17, if Mr. Truman wins the Democratic nomination as expected.

7-10-48

A compromise with national party leaders on the civil rights dispute may salvage some of the "states' rights" states for the party headed by Mr. Truman. Mississippians indicated they will carry out their "bolt." Alone if necessary.

Alabama May Walk

The Commercial Appeal

More than half of Alabama's delegation also is pledged to "take a walk" along with the Wright faction. And 11½ of Florida's 20 convention votes are pledged to Wright, indicating that a majority of the 'Gator State delegation may "bolt."

Washington, D.C.

Arkansas' group also is heavily involved in the states' rights movement and probably will attend the Birmingham meeting as will South Carolina's representatives.

Other Southern states—North Carolina, Texas, Louisiana, Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia—indicated they would "string along with Truman" rather than walk out.

7-11-48

34d 1948

Democratic (The South)

Angry Demos Call McGrath On Carpet On Civil Rights

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23 — (AP) — The wallop behind the Dixie revolt appeared to hinge today on whether any of President Truman's civil rights program becomes law.

Angry Southern governors proclaimed their "fighting mood" as they waited to call Democratic National Chairman McGrath on the carpet at a mid-afternoon session with newsmen on hand to witness the fireworks.

But two Dixie senators who are active in fanning the flames told a reporter that if Congress does nothing about such things as anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and anti-discrimination bills, the insurrection may never amount to much. Mon

ON THE OTHER HAND, they agreed that if any of those things are written into law—and they look for that to happen—there will be "real trouble" for Mr. Truman in the South. 2-23-48

As an example, one of these senators said the Legislature in his state undoubtedly would vote to remove the name of both the president and his running mate from the ballot. The voters then would cast their ballots for presidential electors who could vote as they choose.

There are increasing signs that the Southerners fear they have been caught in a political cross fire from which they may not be able to escape.

A secret Senate poll has convinced some of them that their most effective weapon—the filibuster—may fail because of lack of Republican support.

The House usually passes one or more civil rights measures in each Congress. But the Southerners have always been able to talk them to death in the Senate. This is because it takes a two-thirds vote to stop a filibuster, and enough Republicans usually side with the Southerners to block the gag rule.

THEY GOT THE SUPPORT of seven Republicans on the last such test. That was on July 31, 1946, when an anti-poll tax bill was up for debate. The News

But several of the same Republicans have told the Southerners not to count on them this year. This makes it almost certain, one of the Dixie senators said, that some bill will be passed. 2-23-48

Hearings on an anti-lynching bill already have been held in the Senate. A similar measure is due to come before a House judiciary subcommittee on Wednesday.

Strangely enough, the Southerners don't blame the Republicans for trying to run the steamroller over them.

Instead, they contend that President Truman forced the issue by his demand for action. The Southerners reason that the Republicans must accept that challenge or lose the minority vote in the North both parties are angling for.

THE DIXIE GOVERNORS waiting to see McGrath came here under orders from the Southern Governors Conference to lay the South's complaint before party headquarters and demand an answer. The News

"We really mean business," Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, told a reporter as the five-man delegation went into a huddle yesterday to plan the presentation of the Dixie case.

"We are in a fighting mood," he added when the meeting broke up several hours later

A series of questions to be shot at McGrath was drafted with the help of a group of lawyers.

Thus the meeting appeared likely to take on something of a courtroom air—with McGrath on the witness stand. Birmingham

McGrath showed no signs of giving in to the Southerners. Ala.

In a Jackson-Jefferson Day address at Providence, R. I., last night the national chairman declared that "the Democratic Party is on trial." Mon 2-23-48

Asking his listeners whether the party has "the forthrightness to stand up for human rights?" he added:

"UNLESS WE SUPPORT a policy that leads to a better way of life for all mankind, then we have no message at all in life."

On other matters political:

Sen. Taylor (D., Idaho) arranged a broadcast today to announce whether he will be Henry A. Wallace's third party running mate. Mon 2-23-48

Harold E. Stassen called upon Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, to join him in a series of radio discussions on the "vital issues of American nad Republican policy." Both are candidates for the GOP presidential nomination. There was no immediate comment from Dewey.

Is The Southern Revolt In Earnest?

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

By GALDSTONE WILLIAMS

Washington Correspondent, The Atlanta Constitution

THERE is no need to take any too seriously much of the talk of a Southern revolt against President Truman because of the civil rights program he recommended to Congress the other day.

Some of the hotter heads among Southern delegation members in Congress have talked about organizing a separate political convention for the purpose of having the South put up its own candidate for President. It would be aimed at taking electoral votes away from Mr. Truman and perhaps throwing the next presidential election into the hands of Congress. Tues 2-10-48

But most of the talk can be written off as political. It is designed more for home consumption, where many of the recommendations made by Mr. Truman are live issues.

None of this is to say that the Southern leaders in Congress are any the less sincere in their opposition to the President's civil rights program. Practically all of them are against it.

They look upon such measures as a Federal anti-lynch law, anti-poll tax laws and proposals for eliminating segregation of the races in interstate transportation as directed chiefly at the South. Hence they are against them for this reason alone, if there were no others.

MOST of the level heads in the group view the situation realistically. They realize that a certain amount of political expediency enters into what the President has done. The Advertiser

Some of the things to bear in mind in connection with it all is that (1) this is a national election year, and (2) the Republicans will be out to cultivate all the support they can get from minority groups which in recent years have been affiliated more with the Democratic Party.

The Negro vote is the dominant factor in the situation. In many of the border and pivotal States they constitute the balance of power. Tues 2-10-48

In the past it has been customary for both major parties to make a play for this vote by trotting out a lot of legislation in the civil rights category which has a special appeal to minority groups.

Typical examples are the anti-lynch law and proposals for wiping out poll taxes, which are more prevalent in the Southern States. Various minority groups have been demanding laws to this end for years. Montgomery, Ala.

The Republicans, having nothing to lose by antagonizing Southern opposition to such measures, have already committed themselves to a civil rights program of the same scope as recommended by the President. It was on the agenda for consideration at the last session of Congress, but no serious effort was made to write it into legislation.

As most observers see it, Mr. Truman feels compelled to circumvent the issue the Republicans wil try to raise by offering a civil rights program of his own. He is not expected to exert himself unduly in putting it through.

Most Southern congressmen realize all of this and consequently are not too much disturbed over the developments.

TO WHOM IT BELONGS

The Advertiser

Editor, The Advertiser:

. . . The Democratic party is not a physical thing that belongs to one group or another; it is rather a creed, an expression of a group that over a period of years has formulated certain ideas and courses of action. The party, therefore, belongs to those that more nearly follow its concepts as laid down by past actions. No single person or group of persons can make drastic changes in the Democratic Party's general policy without a majority of the party expressing their desire to make such changes. This means that those persons attempting such a change should be expelled from the party. Do not let us consider bolting our party but rather the expulsion of the undesirable and retention of the party by those that properly represent the members of the party.

The segregation question and the FEPC is not to be confined to the South. We must forget geographical borders and combine with those of similar thinking throughout the nation.

I suggest these forms of action be taken: Montgomery, Ala.

1. Invite the people that believe in government by the majority to strike out against those that would have government and privileged control by minority. Unite these people, to carry out a program of informing the delegates to the Democratic Convention to repudiate Harry Truman for not expressing the true spirit of the Democratic Party. Fri 3-26-48

2. Emphasize the Democratic Party's feeling for the common man. Show our feelings for all under-privileged and the desire of the Democratic Party to bring all up to a better way of living, but not on the basis of picking certain races . . .

The Advertiser

CLAUDE KIRK, JR.
University, Ala.

* * * *

CRITICAL OF CRISES

Editor, The Advertiser:

In your editorial in Saturday's paper, the caption of which is "Draft: Munich," I observed a mistake in the following sentence: "The President of the United States said a crises existed." I am referring to the word "Crises." which is the plural of the originally Greek word "Crisis" (the singular). Only the singular can follow the indefinite article "A," never the plural. Therefore it is not correct to say "a Crises" existed, correct is "A Crisis" existed. 3-22-48

ERNEST MAYER.
Montgomery, Ala.

Tut, tut. Considering the gravity of the critical circumstances, the plural of crisis is probably in order.—Ed.

Wrong Issue

Wed 3-10-48
Birmingham, Ala.

From The Hale County News (Moundville)

Alabama Democrats are trying to make a big issue of a local problem when they threaten to secede from the party because of "anti-South" legislation. Leaders are all upset because of the issue of "party loyalty and Southern tradition." The News

Personally, this newspaper has always believed in the right of the individual as a citizen of the United States, rather than as a citizen of the South. Though the South is certainly the most wonderful place in the world to live, we still remember that it is merely a part of the United States and not a highly sensitive section set off to itself, which must have separate national legislation to govern it. We are a strong believer in states' rights, and therefore feel that our state will be able to compete with any problem that comes up here. We see no reason why our executive committee should have to be packed with persons all of one belief, or why all the South should have to band together. Every person has a right to his own ideas, party or no party. The wrong issue is at stake. This is no "South and party issue," it is sectionalism as against nationalism. If there must be an issue, let it be the old one, Democrats against Republicans, in the old-time doctrine of states' rights against federalism. We do not believe in all this "anti-South" stuff. The sooner the solid South vote is over, the better for the whole nation.

MERRY-GO-ROUND

South May Boycott Party Pocketbook

The News
Birmingham

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON—One deep dent the Southern revolt will make in the Democratic Party next Fall will be in the pocketbook.

This was decided in a private meeting of Southern leaders held this week in the office of Arkansas Sen. John L. McClellan.

"We may have to take this civil-rights le islation if it's shoved down our throats," said McClellan, "but we don't have to pay the piper." Sun. 2-29-48

"Down through the years the South has been the backbone and the savior of the Democratic Party," continued McClellan. "Yet we get worse treatment from the Democratic leadership than we do from the Republicans." The News

Sens. John Sparkman and Lister Hill (Alabama) and Olin Johnston (South Carolina) agreed that party contributions from the South were bound to suffer. So did Govs. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Ben Laney, of Arkansas, who sat in on the meeting.

Sen. Sparkman, however, expressed hope that the party split could be patched up. "It would be a serious blow to the whole country if this split becomes permanent," he said. "I still believe we can avoid it; so let's wait and see what develops before we make any rash moves."

Note—Tipoff on the South's financial boycott of the Democratic National Committee was the recent action of Arkansas Democrats, who refused to turn in the proceeds of their Jackson Day dinner to the national treasury. As their protest against the civil rights message, South Carolina Democrats refused to hold a dinner.

Whither, Democrats?

The News

Where are Southern Democrats going? What kind of a political future are they writing for themselves? What future do they visualize for the nation, and for the world?

340

Let us consider well that we are not acting in a vacuum. What we are doing has repercussions in world events. Birmingham, Ala.

More Southern Democrats are going in for public utterances. Sen. Lister Hill has changed from his former support of President Truman for renomination. In that stand, and reversal, he has joined Sen. John Sparkman. The Jefferson County Democratic Executive Committee has withdrawn its pledge to support President Truman, made no longer ago than Jan. 29. Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks has joined the list of candidates for the state delegation to the national convention who oppose Truman.

What will all these Southern Democrats do if Mr. Truman should be renominated? What if their efforts to block his nomination fail? That still seems likely. Short of an overwhelming popular demand for some hero like Gen. Eisenhower, there is little other chance for a candidate who could hold Western and Northern Democrats in the present situation as well as can Mr. Truman. There have been many claims that the South could expect help from other sections on its fight against Mr. Truman, but it should be well noted that no names and figures have yet been given in connection with those claims.

Wed. 3-24-48

* * *

There is need for a lot of clear thinking in this matter. That need is increased by signs that in some measure the revolt is synthetic. One indication of that is provided by the size of the vote by which the Jefferson County Democratic Committee reversed its Jan. 29 pledge.

The authorized membership of the committee is 253. The action Monday was by a 46-to-7 vote. Of course the committee seldom has a full roster. Members die, or resign, and their places are not immediately filled. But the current membership is estimated at 225, and only 53, or 23.55 per cent, of them voted at Monday's meeting.

It is true that meetings of the committee are seldom well attended. The attendance Monday was above the average. Nevertheless, it seems strange that on a matter which involves so much and which has aroused so much interest more members did not attend. Several committee members present did not vote. Why, they did not say, but it is fair assumption that they and the absentees would hesitate to go along with the majority of the committee in the same proportion the vote showed. The anti-Truman group is more active and more vocal.

Birmingham, Ala.

It is not to be doubted, of course, that the vast majority of Southern Democrats disapprove of federal action on the civil rights issues that have been raised. But it is yet to be proved that most of them place those issues above all questions now before the people. Until there is clearer evidence of how the mass of people feel, it would be well for the "revolters" to consider carefully how far they should go.

The News

The near-hysteria that has gripped some minds is evident in the extreme terms of the resolution adopted by the Jefferson County Committee. The resolution implies that the Truman civil rights program would destroy every vestige of state's rights and plant a federal policeman on every corner. It charges the program with being "vindictive" and the work of an "acting" president. 3-24-48

Finally, are Alabama Democrats agitating this revolt stopping to think what they would do should the State Supreme Court, viewing not only the law but also the custom and the two-party system in the country, uphold the state law requiring electors to vote for the nominee of their party?

Democrats Silent But They Ponder Mississippi

Gov. Wright's 'Secession' Hint

BY JACK BELL

342

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21—(AP)—Democrats pointed hopefully to fresh evidences of party unity today despite a harsh breach in their Southern precincts, while members of the Republican National Committee headed homeward confident that they can elect their presidential nominee.

The Democrats were cheered by the decision of A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, to go along with the campaign to keep President Truman in the White House.

They were somewhat depressed, however, although few of them would acknowledge it publicly, by a party "sucession" threat from Fielding L. Wright, taking office for a full term as governor of Mississippi. News

Wright declared in his inaugural address yesterday that the time has come for Southern Democrats to leave a party that insists upon pressing Congress to enact such "anti-Southern" legislation as a permanent fair employment practices commission, anti-lynching and would have no effect on the party's plans.

THESE EVIDENCES of democratic differences were matched by the Republicans, who ended a two-day meeting of their national committee by approving a $4,000,000 budget for their 1948 campaign expenditures. Birmingham

Sen. Wherry, of Nebraska, the assistant GOP leader, made it plain that all Republicans do not agree on pending issues, particularly the proposal of Sen. Flanders (Vt.) and Rep. Javits (N. Y.) to set up standby machinery for meat rationing.

Wherry departed from the prepared text of an address to the committee yesterday to assert that Flanders is "a hoarder waiting for rationing to come." Wed. 1-21-48

Although Wherry later told a reporter he was "only kidding," he added that he didn't care if Flanders took exception to the remark.

Flanders, who previously had criticized Sen. Taft (R., Ohio) for attacking President Truman's proposal for standby price-wage and rationing controls, said he didn't like Wherry's crack. The Vermont senator said the Republicans who anti-poll tax bills and similar proposals.

WHILE WRIGHT'S protest followed recent objections in the Senate by Sen. Eastland (D., Miss.) to what Eastland said was a campaign to pick Justice William O. Douglas for the vice presidential nomination, party leaders insisted they are not particularly worried.

One of these said the recalcitrant Democrats have no place else to go. He contended that Wright and Eastland both were speaking primarily for "local consumption" and forecast that these speeches heard it might not understand the circumstances.

These were, he said, that he bought a single beef to put in cold storage to feed the dozen meat eaters in his family, including his children and grandchildren. Wed. 1-21-48

THE DEMOCRATS publicly ignored both these Republican differences and their own woes in Mississippi. But they were happy to announce that Whitney and his railroad men are back in the fold after months of bitter discriminations since the dramatic moment when President Truman appeared before Congress in May, 1946, and asked for power to draft workers into the armed forces to prevent a threatened railroad strike. 1-21-48

Whitney, who promised undying opposition then to Mr. Truman but who more recently has had a change of heart, said at a news conference arranged by the Democratic National Committee that "we want to see the party win in 1948."

Birmingham, Ala.

ALTHOUGH THE RESULT of the Louisiana vote on a Democratic nominee for governor—and the nominee will be the next governor—still was in doubt, the Republicans continued to hold the center of the stage. News

The GOP National Committee's argument with Philadelphia hotel men who will house the party's June convention took a new turn with the announcemet of Walter Hallanan, convention arrangements chairman, that the party had been assured a 50 per cent reduction in proposed room rates.

Hallanan previously had reported that in addition to failing to provide assurances that the total number of rooms needed will be available, the hotels have upped their convention rates from 50 to 100 per cent.

Hallanan added that even with the promised cut the rates in many instances will be higher than those charged when nothing special is going on in Philadelphia. News

In approving the fund raising campaign, the committee set $3,000,000 as the goal for the presidential campaign and $1,000,000 for the senatorial and congressional battles. Birmingham, Ala.

Louisianian Warns Democrats Of Danger In Southern 'Revolt'

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Thurs. 4-15-48

NEW ORLEANS, April 15—(AP)—Chairman W. H. Talbot, of the Louisiana State Democratic Executive Committee, has warned against a Southern Democratic "revolt," and said the states' rights issue should be worked out within the party.

"A revolt would only help the Republicans and the third party," he said in an interview.

Talbot said he believed President Truman would revise his stand on states' and civil rights if the party should adopt a platform opposing his views. Thurs.

* * *

"I AM AGAINST ANY 'revolt,'" Talbot said. 4-15-48

"This is something that should be worked out within the party. You can't get anywhere with a revolt. Why, you couldn't even get the names of your candidate on the ballot in a lot of states.

"This civil rights fight actually were haggling over a question: Should it be stricken from the record? 4-15-48

Goldsborough suggested that it be allowed to stand. He explained why by saying:

"It won't affect the case one way or another."

Recognized By Brewster

The Record
Columbia, S.C.
Mon. 3-8-48

Senator Brewster, Maine Republican, takes judicial note of the fact that the Southern critics of President Truman are arranging carefully to keep their Democratic party label, even though they may finally decide to deny the Democratic nominee their electoral votes.

And it is the Republican recognition of this fact that makes the Southern protest futile or worse makes it an encouragement to the Republicans to pass the civil rights bills.

Whither Dixie?

John Temple Graves

The Record

"And write about it, goddess, and about it . . ."

Columbia, S.C.

Editor Peter Molyneaux, of The Southern Weekly, believes the answer for the South is the very simple one of going Republican. He says my comparison of what Negro minorities accomplished in the North with what the South might accomplish doesn't hold because the Negro switched parties and few Southern politicians are suggesting an actual switch. But it wasn't the switch that gave the Northern Negro such power. It was the indication the switch gave that the vote was capable of being won—or lost—by each party. It was the doubtfulness. That can be accomplished for the South now in more than one way. Mon. 3-8-48

The South could afford to be Democratic or to be Republican, but could it afford to be closely divided between the two? Mr. J. W. Cantrell of Kissimmee, Fla., has thought it all out, very penetratingly, I think, and is deeply persuaded it would be a mistake to have Republicans and Democrats so evenly divided that Negro minorities could be used for a balance of power here as in the pivotal states up North, "with Negroes swinging their balance of power in Alabama as they do in Illinois." He is convinced the South must keep itself as politically united as possible. He thinks there should be a Southern presidential convention before the two national conventions to treat with both on a "minimal Southern platform."

Ollin Horton, of Birmingham, expressed the same idea aptly in answer to the often argument that "the South has nowhere to go." For that very reason, he says, the South must not go anywhere. "What it should and, by all indications, will do is stay strictly at home with its enforced political independence and prepare to receive a couple of political visitors who soon will be looking for the only place they can go if they would amount to anything. You may be sure both these visitors will be going South."

From Jacksonville, Fla., Joseph M. Erskine writes: "If your analysis is properly pursued, it will be the greatest victory that has come to the South since our defeat in the Civil War." From Shreveport, Albert E. Bryson vows: "I am going to vote Republican, not because I like them but because I am a Democrat and it is the only way to . . . look for rebirth of the Democratic party." From Pensacola, Miss B. A. Murphy writes that "this country has enough on its hands without attempting something that can never be accomplished." From Bessemer, Ala., Donald Park says: "I am in near complete agreement with you about the race question —I was born in Indiana but have lived in Alabama most of my life and can see the problem in a little different light than most Northern people." The Record

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John A. Dykers, of Jacksonville, Fla., agrees with the late Nicholas Murray Butler that the Republican party should change its name "so Southerners can vote for it." Mr. Dykers thinks it should be called the Conservative party and "if the current Democratic party were descriptively named, it would be called a Radical party—Liberal is too good a name for it."

Columbia, S.C.

But J. M. Dudley of Blacksburg, Va., warns that "great sections of the country are prepared to get the Negro fair treatment now" and if we "repeat the mistake of nearly a hundred years ago, the next exodus from the South might be that of the whites." Mon. 3-8-48

"Amen to all of your column except the phrase 'Below the Potomac,'" wires Maryland-born Lloyd T. Everett, from Deland, Fla. "Note that Maryland's governor attended the recent conference of Southern governors." In fact he's chairman. "Fielding Wright's stand," writes J. L. Thornton, from Montgomery, "is one of the two greatest contributions the South has received in many a year."

One Democrat Hopes Tempers Will Cool Soon

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala
Sun. 3-7-48

Believes Party Accord Will Be Reached By Convention Time

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala

WASHINGTON, March 6.—(U.P.)—A high administration source said Saturday night he was hopeful that time and "cool tempers" will heal the rift between President Truman and leaders of the Southern Democratic revolt against the administration's civil rights program. 3-7-48

Thus far, this source said, no peace feelers have been put out either by the White House or the Dixie leaders. But he predicted that before Democrats meet July 12 for their presidential nominating convention at Philadelphia, both sides will act to restore party harmony. Advertiser

Mr. Truman, meanwhile, was expected to get the latest details about the Southern revolt early next week from Democratic National Chariman J. Howard McGrath. The White House said, however, that no date had been set. Montgomery, Ala

Dixie senators planned to carry on their fight against federal anti-lynching, anti-discrimination and anti-poll tax legislation by radio. 3-7-48 Sun.

"Looks Serious"

Senate Democratic Whip Scott L. Lucas conceded that the revolt of Southern Democrats "looks fairly serious." But he scoffed at claims that it had killed all chances of President Truman's being returned to the White House for a full term.

He said President Truman is likely "to be back on top" politically in the next 30 days. He said Mr. Truman's political stock had gone down before and bounced back.

Lucas, an Illinois Democrat, has been mentioned prominently in speculation on possible vice-presidential nominees.

He said he did not think Henry A. Wallace's independent candiacy would hurt the Democrats much in Illinois and other midwestern states. He said he does not think Wallace can qualify under Illinois law to get his name on the ballot in that state.

Other Developments

Other developments in the Democratic Party's troubles included: 3-7-48 Sun.

1. Some southerners admitted privately they are ready to write off the 1948 election and aim for a re-united party, with a stronger Southern accent, by 1952. This stand, it was understood, is based on a conviction that Henry A. Wallace's third party movement and the civil rights conflict have nation's annual shipments. The current export goal is 450,000,000 bushels. Advertiser

But if exports should start to slump, the agreement would keep them up to at least 185,000,000 bushels. This is well above the level of the 1930s, when exports averaged well under 100,000,000 bushels.

"This agreement is the biggest intergovernmental deal in history," Chairman Leslie A. Wheeler told the council which sweated out the pact in almost daily sessions since January 28.

"It involves the largest amount of goods—2,500,000,000 bushels of wheat — with a value of say $4,000,000,000. Montgomery, Ala

"It involves more countries and extends for a longer period of time than any similar arrangement." Montgomery, Ala

The "first multilateral agreement of its kind in history," as Wheeler called it, came after 14 years of effort. A full-dress conference in London last year failed. 3-7-48 Sun

Officials saw plenty of chance about killed off the 1948 chances of Mr. Truman anyway.

2. Robert D. Swezey, vice-president and general manager of the Mutual Broadcasting System, said his network would be "glad to consider" a request from 21 Southern senators for air time to reply to civil rights programs being carired by MBS. The senators took issue with the network's programs dramatizing President Truman's civil rights report.

Advertiser

3. Sen. Richard B. Russell (D), Georgia, said Southern senators are "not going to take any chance" on possible Republican moves to ram through portions of the civil rights program by "quickie" parliamentary maneuvers. Southerners, he said, have agreed to keep one of their number on the Senate floor at all sessions "just to keep an eye on things." Montgomery, Ala

The next major development in the intra-party Democratic row is expected one week hence when Southern governors meet here for a report from a committee which recently received "no" answers from McGrath on requests that the party officially repudiate the civil rights program.

Statement of Governors

The committee, however, feels that the following statement should be made at this time:

A vast majority of the Democrats of the South are determined to restore the Democratic party to the principles of Jefferson and Jackson and will resort to whatever means are necessary to accomplish this end. The Democrats of the South are united in their opposition to the so-called civil-rights program proposed by the President and effective action in the Southern states will be taken to prevent adoption of this program. Tue. 2-24-48

We feel we are expressing the firm conviction of our people when we say that the present leadership of the Democratic party has deserted the principles of government upon which the Democratic party was founded. As never before, the time has come for strong and effective action by the Southern states not only to save the Democratic party but to preserve the rights of the states to govern themselves and preserve American democracy.

In this fight we are not only expecting support from the Democrats of the South but support from Democrats everywhere who are opposed to a centralized government invading the rights of the people and the rights of the respective states. The Times

The Southern states are aroused and the present leadership of the Democratic party will soon realize that the South is no longer "in the bag." Each Southern state, under the framework of an over-all program, will work out the most effective means of resisting the proposals of the present leadership of the party, but resist them we will. New York, N.Y.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23—The Southern Governors Committee issued the following statement tonight after conferring with Senator J. Howard McGrath, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, on President Truman's civil rights program:

Following the Southern Governors' conference at Tallahassee setting up our committee, we began an inquiry to determine the most effective ways and means of securing concerted action on t hepart of the South in opposing the so-called civil-rights program. We have communicated with party leaders in the various Southern states. W have secured the viewpoints of the Democratic members of Congress from the South. W have surveyed the opinion of rank-and-file Democrats in every walk of life—the people who have furnished the votes which have made the South solid for the Democratic party.

As a part of our study and inquiry, we asked for a conference with the operating head of the party, Chairman J. Howard McGrath of the Democratic National Committee. We propounded certain questions to Chairman McGrath which have been made public. The Times

consider the committee's report. In the interest of concerted and unified action, we shall not make public our report and recommendations until they have been passed on by the Southern Governors Conference. New York, N.Y.

Governor Lane of Maryland, Chairman of the Southern Governors Conference, who sat with us in our meetings in Washington, will announce shortly the time and place of the meeting of the full conference to receive and

Georgian Quits Party Job Over 'Rights' Issue

National Finance Director Writes McGrath South's Views Are Correct

The Courier Journal Fri. 2-27-48
Louisville, Ky.

From Wire Dispatches:

George B. Hamilton of Georgia, resigned yesterday as director of finance for the Democratic National Committee in protest against President Truman's civil-rights program. Fri. 2-27-

Hamilton, Georgia's State treasurer, announced his resignation, effective immediately, in a letter to Senator McGrath (D., R. I.), chairman of the committee.

"I cannot agree with the civil-rights program promulgated by the President and indorsed by you officially as chairman," Hamilton wrote.

Hamilton was appointed director of finance by the then national committee chairman, Robert E. Hannegan, in October, 1947. In his letter he said he arrived at the decision to resign because he believes the President's civil-rights program "will effectuate untold damage" to both the white and Negro races.

"I believe honestly and conscientiously that the Souhtern understanding and viewpoint is correct and will finally be the solution to racial problems," he wrote to McGrath.

National Democratic officials in Washington said Hamilton had not been active in the finance job for some time, since his temporary position with the committee was restricted by the Hatch Act. This act bars federal officeholders or officials of States from receiving federal-aid grants from soliciting funds for a national campaign. The Courier Journal

Meanwhile, Virginia Democrats withheld $13,000 in Jefferson-Jackson dinner receipts from the party's war chest. 2-27-48

And another $200 in dinner funds was lost by the National Democratic Committee when a Georgia county diverted its "take" to Governor M. E. Thompson's campaign for a new term as Chief Executive.

Virginians Hold Up Funds.

State Senator Garland Gray of Waverly, Va., cochairman of the big party dinner in his state, said the $13,000 raised was being held in Virginia temporarily in case the Southern wing breaks off from the party.

Senator Connally of Texas told North Carolina Democrats last night that Truman's program is a "lynching of the Constitution." Fri. 2-27-48

Speaking before a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Raleigh, Connally said the proposals were in violation of the second article of the Constitution and of Democratic Party tradition.

"We shall resist it," the veteran lawmaker said. "We shall not take it lying down. We are not going to divest ourselves of these rights simply to catch a shirttail full of votes."

Raps F.E.P.C. Plan.

Regarding Truman's proposal for a fair-employment-practices commission, Connally said:

"There is another bill to dictate **employment in private business to see if it is employing certain groups and classes—to send some inspector around to see that you run your business not as you think as it should according to local conditions, but as some little bureaucrat thinks you should run it."**

Senator Stewart of Tennessee in a blast at Truman's program, said: The Courier Journal

"I glory in the courage of the **citizens of Fayette County who, at a mass meeting, condemned** the iniquitous civil-rights pro**gram ... demanded by the Presi**dent. Louisville, Ky.

Says People Menaced.

"I will," Stewart said, "fight this communistic civil-rights program with all the vigor at my command. I know I stand on high ground because it threatens the welfare and safety of my people of Tennessee, the South, and the nation." Fri. 2-27-48

The Fayette County meeting Stewart referred to adopted a resolution demanding rejection of President Truman as a candidate for another term.

Dixie's Revolt On Race Issue Is Still Raging

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Thurs 2-5-48

Republicans Kid Foes On 'Splinter' Party; Southern Mate Hinted

By D. HAROLD OLIVER

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4.—(AP)— Dixie's revolt against the administration's civil rights program raged Wednesday. But one Southern congressman called it just the party's "same old row."

Republicans, whose 1944 platform was more specific on the racial question than the Democrats, kidded the opposition for what was called their "Splinter Parties." And they got caught in the line of fire. Thurs 2-5-48

Southern Democrats took to the House floor for the second day to accuse both major parties of "bartering" for minority votes and forgetting what they called the unorganized majorities.

Some politicians began speculating whether President Truman might be led to choose a Southern running mate as a result of the uprising. However, Mr. Truman's own opinion of its seriousness is not known.

But off the floor, Rep. Trimble (D), Arkansas, called it "the same old row within the Democratic party which occurred every presidential election year since I can remember." The Advertiser

'Well To Boot Shins'

"It is well that we kick each other in the shins occasionally in a good old family row," Trimble told a reporter. "But I hope we confine it to shin kicking only." Montgomery, Ala.

Some of Trimble's Southern fellow legislators have advocated a Southern state convention to nominate their own Democratic candidate for the presidency.

Northern members of the party contend this would only assure a victory for the Republicans who are on record in their platform as favoring most of the things Mr. Truman advocated in his message. Thurs. 2-5-48

Reece Speaks Up

It was Chairman Carroll Reece of the Republican National Committee who issued a statement about "splinter parties." He said:

"The current revolt of Southern Democrats against Mr. Truman's civil rights program is additional evidence that the socalled Democratic party is really an aggregation of splinter parties with discordant and mutually antagonistic aims and purposes.

Jennings Perry
PM New York, N.Y. Thurs. 1-22-48

The Other Fringe

You have to feel positively sorry for the Democratic Party sometimes. It is like the old woman who lived in the shoe with so many children she didn't know what to do. The children just won't see eye to eye, and it's impossible to keep peace in the family. The children always are leaving home in a huff, or threatening to leave; and the old party is at its wit's end, and deserves sympathy.

Perry 1-22-48

First it's Henry Wallace and his human-rights liberals going off to set up housekeeping on a third-party lot, with plenty of room for expansion. . . . And then it is Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi talking bitterly of "secession" if the party doesn't forswear the very aims the Wallace splinter reproaches it with abandoning. . . . La! La! and the election coming on, and all. . . .

Coup de Grace By Fourth Party

PM New York, N.Y.

Gov. Wright's would be the fourth party, one supposes; and it will be interesting to see whether all the cries of "ingrate" and "disloyalty" that were hurled after Wallace by the regulars now will be redirected against the Mississippi Governor. For if the third party has "deeply impaired" the chances of the Democrats in 1948, the fourth party obviously would supply the coup de grace.

The quaintest part is that the spokesman of the splinter movement on the Right contemplates secession with the same regret and justifies secession with the same arguments, or reform-through-pain, that characterized the reasoning of the leaders of the Left, "Drastic though our methods may be," says Gov. Wright, "and as far-reaching as the results may prove, we are certain that the ultimate consequence will fully justify any temporary setback that may follow our action." The paragraph could have been lifted bodily from any of a dozen treatises of the PCA before Wallace took the plunge. Thurs 1-22-48

I do not mean to compare the Wallace *break* with the Wright *threat* too closely. There is as wide a difference between the overt act and the saucy word as between the principles of the Democratic extremes. Henry Wallace, hungering after the New Deal, actually has donned the sandals and taken the staff and set off on the roads of quest; the dust of his departure may be seen. But Gov. Wright, enlisted in a narrower cause, and speaking mainly to the galleries in his own state, has gone exactly nowhere. I think the Democratic high command will note the difference without squinting.

The South Still Went Democratic

PM New York, N.Y.

In other years, we've had the "Jeffersonians" in the South who couldn't stomach FDR and filled the balmy skies with summons to revolt. The GOP made much of it at first, and sent some money down; but when election came, it seemed the South was Democratic still—including Mississippi—though certainly FDR stood for the very things that have the present Mississippi Governor frothing at the nouth. Thurs 1-22-48

The Mississippians will not secede because the Supreme Court has ruled that Negro students must be furnished equal facilities; and there will be no splinter party in these parts—unless, of course, the Senate takes the poll tax off and lets the voteless three-fourths of the population speak a choice. In that case, I dare say, the Wallace candidacy would prosper; since thousands of the politically submerged aspire, like Wallace, for the verve of the New Deal to come again.

The Bourbon fringe of the Democratic Party will swish, but, lacking hardihood, will not make sacrifices to pull off; and I'd have more compassion for the party than I do if I believed its present management too dull to understand that, though its slip is showing on the Left, it has no valid call to worry on the Mississippi side.

THE FEAST

Editor, The Advertiser:

To say the least, things are in a state of flux in Alabama. With Big Jim a candidate for president and Pitt Tyson Maner as his campaign manager, plus a revolt against the Truman bid for radical support in the North.

We should have an old-fashioned state democratic convention at an early date that will separate the sheep from the goats and let the voters know how to cast their ballots in the coming statewide primary with wide open eyes unclouded by poo-pooing, hush-hushing, side-stepping and back-tracking. Montgomery, Ala.

The Truman doctrine as laid down in his civil rights message is an issue that cannot be dodged by any nimble-toed politician. Big Jim's candidacy is not an issue, it is a joke. Everybody knows this except Big Jim and his manager and ghost writer. Let old Alabama step in line with her sister Southern States and write a declaration of Southern democratic independence. Our State should have taken the lead, now we must follow the leadership furnished by other States who refuse to be traded down the creek for a mess of mongrelized political pottage. To do otherwise is to fiddle while Rome burns.

EMMETT P. SMITH.
Auburn, Ala. Fri 3. 5. 48

34d 1948

Democratic (The South)

Dixie's Loyalty To Democrats Is Peeling Off

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Fri. 2-27-48

34d

Latest Actions Bring Issue To Boiling Point; Hottest Since 1860

Tuck Issues Call

Wants Truman's Name Barred From Ballot; Long Undecided Yet

By BEM PRICE
Associated Press Staff Writer

Years of political allegiance to the National Democratic Party were flanking off like chipped paint in the South Thursday under the impact of President Truman's civil rights program.

Not since the bitter year of 1860 has the volcanic issue of states' rights, buried beneath that strata of debris left by the war between the states, boiled to the surface with such force.

And the single catalyst which caused the upheaval was president Truman's proposal for an end to segregation, an anti-lynch law and a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. The Advertiser

The issue prompted Governor William Tuck of Virginia—the commonwealth in which was founded the first English speaking colony in America—to call for a revolt against the Democratic Party and President Truman. Montgomery, Ala.

The Virginia General Assembly which governs the land of Washington, Jefferson, Lee and Stonewall Jackson, was asked by Tuck to bar Truman's name from the ballot in the election in November. Fri. 2-27-48

The action requested by Gov. Tuck would bar the names of presidential and vice presidential candidates from the ballot. The voter would signify only party preference which would be a vote for electors.

Aligned With Wright

These voters would be bound to the nominees of the national party only if the Democratic Party failed to instruct them otherwise. They could be instructed to support the Republican candidate.

Tuck thus aligned himself with Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi who has already called for a Southern revolt against the national party and proposed a similar plan for action in Mississippi.

In addition, Wright has sounded the call for a grass roots revolt against the national party in Jackson, Miss., the Democratic State Executive Committee announced a meeting for Monday to make plans for a nationwide convention of "true white Jeffersonian Democrats" seeking an end to Truman's leadership.

The chairman of the Mississippi committee, Judge Herbert Holmes, predicted that before November "the South will be solid again — solid against Truman."

34d Dems

In Arkansas, Gov. Ben Laney, a leader with Wright of the Southern revolt, also said the conversations he and three other Southern governors had with National Democratic Committee Chairman Howard McGrath in Washington last week, were "edited." 2-27-48

Denied By Redding

This was denied by the publicity man for the committee, Jack Redding. He said "the only editing we did was to put it into readable English because some of the sentences were left dangling." The Advertiser

The visit by Laney and the other governors to McGrath was a result of a conference of Southern governors who instructed a committee to call on McGrath and see if the President's proposals couldn't be soft-pedalled.

In Louisiana Gov.-Nominate Earl K. Long indicated he hadn't made up his mind about the fight. He said he hadn't "learned enoughabout the situation to give an intelligent answer."

Florida, however, made plans to go ahead with Jackson-Jefferson Day dinners despite threats of a boycott from some party members.

And while the politicians were having their say, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People quietly made public a letter from President Truman saying that the proposed legislation was worthless unless the people were educated to acceptance. Montgomery, Ala.

Even as the fury of the Southern revolt echoed through the halls of lawmakers and the offices of politicians, the Southern Regional Council planned a biracial meeting on civil rights in Atlanta. Fri. 2-27-48

The meeting was called to seek a tolerant and intelligent approach to the problem and was designed as a workshop for Southern newspapermen, educators, church and labor leaders.

And in Jacksonville, Fla., Circuit Court Judge Miles W. Lewis told a venire of jurymen that the President was willing to destroy the South "in order to get the negro vote in the North."

The jury applauded.

DIXIE AT TRUMAN

'Rights' Men Purge Is Goal Of Governors

The Constitution

WASHINGTON, March 13 — (UP)—The Southern Governors' Conference Saturday unanimously adopted a report repudiating President Truman and other Democratic leaders who espouse his civil rights program and pledging a "fight to the last ditch" to throw them out of office.

Seven Governors from Southern States took part in a meeting here which drove a further wedge between the rebellious Dixie Democrats and the Truman Administration. Atlanta, Ga.

All of them formally approved a committee report blasting the civil rights proposals and laying out a program of "concerted action" to deprive Mr. Truman of Southern electoral votes at the November election. Sun. 3-14-48

Acting Gov. M. E. Thompson, of Georgia, cast his vote for the report with the reservation that he could not speak for the party in his State.

Thompson added that "any recommendations to the national leadership should come from the officially recognized Party leaders in Georgia." He said the Georgia Supreme Court has held that Herman Talmadge is the titular head of the Party in Georgia.

Others were:

Govs. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina; William Preston Lane, Jr., of Maryland; Ben Laney, of Arkansas; Beauford H. Jester, of Texas; James E. Folsom, of Alabama, and Fielding Wright, Jr., of Mississippi.

Lane, who is Chairman of the Conference, was presiding and did not vote. 34d Dems

He said that because of the political situation in Maryland he did not think it proper for him to vote in favor of such a resolution. He was recorded as not voting. 3-14-48

Thurmond, Laney, Jester and Gov. William Tuck, of Virginia, had drafted the committee report which was adopted by the full conference. Tuck, however, was not present at the conference meeting. The Constitution

The report said present leadership of the Democratic Party has "deserted the principles on which the Party was founded—the right of the people to govern themselves." Atlanta, Ga.

If Mr. Truman's proposals for anti-lynching, anti-discrimination and anti-poll tax legislation are adopted, the report said, it would be a "total departure" from the fundamental principles of American government.

That appeared to make it a clean break Mr. Truman said emphatically only Friday that he is not taking back a single word of what he said about Civil Rights.

Earlier Thompson took time out from the revolt against Mr. Truman to asail the Republican Party for pressing proposed Civil Rights legislation.

Thompson made it clear he would stick with the other Southern Governor in opposing the President's proposals, but he aimed the blame at Republicans rather than Mr. Truman. 3-14-48

"Traditionally the Republican Party has been the enemy of the South while the Democratic Party has been its friend," Thompson said. The Constitution

"Pending Civil Rights bills are similar to the forced bills passed by the Republicans during Reconstruction Days (and) are being forced to the front again by the Republican Party for political purposes. Atlanta, Ga.

Senator Declares Party Could Win With Eisenhower

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Sat. 3-20-48

The Southern wing of Congress turned almost solidly against President Truman with the unexpected announcement yesterday by Alabama Sen. John Sparkman that he hopes the president will withdraw as a 1948 candidate.

34d

Sparkman went on to say he believes the party could unite behind Dwight D. Eisenhower, of Kansas, who Sparkman said is reported to be registered as a Democrat.

* * *

THE JUNIOR SENATOR'S stand, on the eve of his departure for Alabama to campaign for reelection, put a pointed question mark before the name of his close colleague, Sen. Lister Hill.

Hill recently came out as a can-ocratic National Convention, and said he would continue to support Harry S. Truman as head of the Democratic Party. 3-20-48

In a telephone interview with The News from Washington, Sparkman said there is considerable talk again in Washington about Eisenhower, this time by Democrats.

The Alabamian said he has not talked to the former Army chief of staff himself, but that several senators have done so and say it is possible Eisenhower might accept the nomination. Birmingham, Ala.

THE GENERAL, now president of Columbia University, could not properly speak out now while President Truman is an avowed candidate himself, Sparkman pointed out. The News

"However, if Truman should withdraw and if Secretary Marshall should ask Eisenhower to accept, I think it is a possibility," the senator said. "Of course, there are a lot of 'ifs' in that."

Sparkman said he is leaving Washington next Wednesday to fill a speaking engagement in Montgomery Thursday night and to attend the Alabama Education Association meeting in Birmingham next Friday. Sat. 3-20-48

SPARKMAN EMPHASIZED that his move was not a break with the Democratic Party but an attempt to save it.

Other political leaders in the North and East, he said, are increasingly complaining about the president but do not dare speak out.

The Alabamian came to his decision reluctantly and after long thought, he said. He wants the Democrats to see their plight realistically and to go to a "free and open convention."

By mentioning Eisenhower, Sparkman said he did not mean to exclude any other candidates the Democrats might consider, but wanted only that they be able to unite behind a standard bearer. Sat. 3-20-48

"We in the Democratic Party," he told, Washington reporters yesterday, "cannot restore harmony within the party with Mr. Truman as our presidential nominee." The News

Though he had once hoped the Democrats could smoothe over their civil rights troubles at the convention, Sparkman said there are increasing signs that Truman cannot unify the party and wage a strong campaign.

Birmingham, Ala.

HE POINTED OUT that already 21 out of 28 candidates for presidential electors in Alabama have pledged themselves not to back the president and that it looks as if Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia and Arkansas will follow suit.

"If these states withhold their support," said Sparkman, "that would unquestionably mean that Mr. Truman would be defeated. The Democratic ticket cannot win without the Southern states."

The president's adamant stand on civil rights was described by the Alabama senator and his former supporter as perhaps Truman's "most tragic mistake."

Sparkman said he is certain that the president did not consult any Southern legislators or party leaders before sending up to Congress his civil rights message.

Truman also ignored the dissenting opinion of the only two Southerners on his civil rights commission, Sparkman said, and neglected to talk to the Democratic national chairman, Senator J. Howard McGrath.

Head of the speakers' bureau of the Democratic National Committee in 1946, Sparkman has made no statement in support of the president since the civil rights message was read to Congress February 2. Birmingham

Only a few days before, however the junior senator had replied to requests that he comment on Gov. James E. Folsom's candidacy as a "favorite son" for the presidency with the remark that he (Sparkman) had long been a supporter of President Truman. Ala.

BERATES SPARKMAN

Sen. John Sparkman was named "the champion pussyfooter" today by his opponent, Phillip J. Hamm, in a statement from Hamm's Redmont Hotel headquarters. Sat.

Said Gov. Folsom's close friend and confidante:

"It looks like Mr. Sparkman won't stay hitched. He is the champion pussyfooter. He was with Folsom and turned on him. He was with labor and turned on them. 3-20-48

"He was for all the people and he turned on them by voting with the monopolies. He was with Truman and is now trying to turn on him.

"What the people of Alabama really want to know is what to expect of Sparkman next. What does he really stand for?" The News

The strongest candidate against Sparkman, running for his first full Senate term, is Phillip Hamm, one of Gov. Folsom's closest advisers.

Southern 'Revolt'

It Pleases GOPers, But They Don't Like Demos' Bid For Negro Vote In North, East

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BY FRED TAYLOR

Alabama Republicans are delighted over the revolt of Southern Democrats, because they figure this will just about cinch the election of a GOP president. And they have waited 15 long years to recapture the White House. The News, Birmingham, Ala.

TAYLOR

But there's one thing they don't like, although they are not bitter about it like Southern Democrats. They didn't like it in Franklin D. Roosevelt's campaigns. They didn't—and still don't like the strong Democratic bid for the Negro balance-of-power vote in a number of key states in the North and East.

Being practical politicians, as Mr. Roosevelt certainly was, they take the realistic view that this Negro vote could decide a close presidential election. 3-14-48 Sun

* * *

"RIGHTFULLY OURS"—One Alabama Republican wheelhorse contends the Negro vote is "rightfully ours" and should go to the GOP. He recalled political history from the time of the War Between the States up to the Roosevelt regime to bolster his contention.

His argument is that the Negro voters in the North owe their loyalty to the GOP, regardless of promises from this and other Democratic administrations.

He points out that the GOP handled the Negro vote with a firm hand and never attempted to force—certainly with no real intention of carrying them out—such legislative proposals as President Truman's "civil rights" program and other measures Southern Democrats oppose so vehemently.

The News

* * *

MUCH PROMISING—The thought he conveys is that the Republicans promised the Negro much, but delivered him little. Thus, this problem never got out of hand while the GOP was in power.

He pointed ont that the Democrats have promised the Negro so much—and delivered on some of the promises—that the problem has become extremely difficult for both parties to deal with.

That is why, he says, the Republicans are in no position to make any overtures to Southern Democrats at this time on the "civil rights" issues. That is true, he adds, even though the GOP desperately wants to make inroads in the South and break the domination the Democratic Party so long has held over Southern states.

That is the real answer, he says, to the question so many Southerners have been asking Alabama Republican leaders in recent weeks:

Why doesn't the GOP now really try to win friends and influence voters in the Deep South?

Birmingham, Ala

SCORES REPUBLICANS — Sen. Lister Hill, in a speech broadcast to Alabamians last week, cited several reasons why he is supporting President Truman and seeking to prevent a disastrous split in the Democratic Party. 3-14-48 Birm.

Main reason he and Sen. John Sparkman want to iron out differences within the party and prevent a split is to keep from insuring a Republican victory next November. Hill, who entered Congress when Calvin Coolidge was president and served on through the Herbert Hoover administration said:

"I bear witness that the South received no consideration at the hands of the Republican Party. Tariff impositions, freight rate discriminations, unjust taxation, financial policies made heavier the South's burdens and riveted even tighter the chains that bound us in economic dependence to the North and to the East."

* * *

NO HELP FROM GOP—Hill made plain, just as did Alabama Republican leader, that the rebellious Southern Democrats can expect no help from the GOP on the "civil rights" proposals.

Even so, the Southern revolt is as hot as that familiar depot stove and seems to be getting hotter. Certainly, it is more dangerous to the Democratic Party than the 1928 revolt when six Southern states broke away from the Solid South and voted for Hoover over Al Smith.

That no help can be expected on the "civil rights" proposals is daily made more evident. The GOPers are hammering, for obvious political reasons, to enact this legislation.

And, as Hill cited in his speech, GOP Chairman Carroll Reese is boasting that Republicans are the original champions of such proposals. The senator quoted from one of Chairman Reece's statements as follows:

"The Republican Party's members in Congress have given almost unanimous support to anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bills, and to proposals for the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission.

"Though they have been prevented from enacting such laws nationally, because of Democratic opposition, Republicans have given concrete evidence of their sincerity by definite action in the field of state legislation."

Then Mr. Reece boasted, Sen. Hill pointed out, that the FEPC laws in four states which now have them were passed by Republican Legislatures.

Hill, Sparkman Implore Demos To Keep In Line

Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala.
Fri. 3-12-48

President Himself Makes Mild Gesture For Party Armistice

Fri. 3-12-48

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, March 12—(AP)—Two Alabama senators pleaded today on the eve of a showdown meeting of Southern governors for party rebels to fight out the civil rights battle without quitting the Democratic fold.

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But the harmony pleas of Sens. Hill and Sparkman—as well as a mild peace gesture by President Truman himself—seemed to fall mostly on deaf ears.

Mr. Truman told his news conference he won't send any bills to Capitol Hill to carry out his 10-point civil rights program which caused the Southern revolt.

It is up to Congress to write its own ticket, the president said. He would be glad to help, if asked. But he didn't talk as though he expected to be asked.

* * *

HIS IT'S-UP-TO-YOU attitude was looked upon as a reminder to Dixie Democrats that if any race equality laws are enacted, Mr. Truman alone shouldn't be blamed.

But most of the Southern Democrats continued to direct the blame his way anyhow.

They have made it plain they are after the president's political scalp—a situation that gave the party's executive committee something to think about as it got ready for a White House luncheon with the president.

The Southern governors, beginning to arrive for a conference tomorrow, seemed likely to hoist a no-surrender banner and chart a fresh attack on the anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, and anti-Jim Crow measures asked by the president.

They will get a report from four of their number on an "unsatisfactory" meeting with Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath. Fri. 3-12-48

McGRATH SAID, among other things, that the party couldn't agree to withdraw the president's program.

Despite this attitude, Hill took the lead in urging Southerners to try for a compromise within the Democratic ranks.

"The Democratic Party in the past has resolved its differences in the Democratic National Convention," Hill told an Alabama radio audience last night. "I believe that we can do so again."

Hill spoke from Washington over an Alabama radio network.

(Station WTNB announced it would rebroadcast Sen. Hill's speech at 7:15 p.m. today.)

"The Democratic Party in the past has recognized that the South has its own peculiar, local problems which lie in the very depths of our Southern civilization," Hill said.

"The Democratic Party in the past has resolved its differences in the Democratic National Convention. I believe that we can do so again. . ." Fri. 3-12-48

The senator is a candidate for delegate-at-large from Alabama to the national convention. In all, 25 candidates, including Gov. James E. Folsom, have announced for the eight seats.

"You know my opposition to the measures proposed in the president's civil rights message," he continued.

"The president does not speak for the Democratic Party in the message."

Hill previously announced himself in favor of the renomination of President Truman.

"If the South should leave the Democratic Party," he said, "we would but weaken the very arm with which we battle these (civil rights) measures in the House and Senate. . . .

'What chance would there be for representatives and senators from the South to be once more the chairmen of the great and powerful committees of the two houses of Congress?" asked Sen. Hill.

* * *

"WHEN, IF EVER AGAIN, could we hope to see a Will Bankhead from Alabama as the speaker of the House of Representatives, or an Oscar W. Underwood as the leader of the U. S. Senate? When, if ever again, could the South hope to exercise that power, that influence, that authority in the direction of our government that has permitted her to play such a commanding role in our country's affairs? Fri. 3-12-48

"For the South to leave the Democratic Party is to yield the substance for the shadow, to surrender the strength and usefulness of the chain for the weakness of the link.

"We are told that if the South will leave the Democratic Party we can throw the election of the presidency into the House of Representatives. Even if such a thing were possible, we know a Republican House such as we have today would elect a Republican president. . . Fri. 3-12-48

"We know what happened to the Republican Party in 1912, split between the forces of Teddy Roosevelt and those of William Howard Taft. The Democratic Party won readily. . . . There is no reason why we should act to insure victory for the Republican Party."

He continued:

"Some who urge us to leave the Democratic Party are not real or sincere Democrats. They have not believed in the principles of Jefferson and Jackson, of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. They have not approved the Democratic Party's program for the advancement of our people.

"The Democratic Party could not give the people TVA, REA, social security, farm prices, insured bank deposits and the other great measures without stepping on some toes.

"Some who have not believed in the party or its program have not had the forthrightness or the courage to openly oppose the party. They now size upon the disagreements and dissatisfactions of the hour and seek to encompass the defeat, if not the destruction, of the party by dividing it.' '

* * *

SPARKMAN BACKED UP Hill's plea for a compromise. "We should make every effort to iron out our differences within the party before we take any drastic steps," he told a reporter. "The South will be missing an opportunity if it doesn't take this chance to bargain with the party."

Still a third Alabamian, Mrs. Lennard Thomas, national committeewoman, also declared that "we must stand together as Democrats." Fri. 3-12-48

THE MAIN REASON, she said in an interview, is that "the Republican Party is just dying for us to bust up."

But, she added, a solid stand also will add weight to the Dixie contention that there are "other people we can nominate."

Sen. McClellan (D., Ark.), who has predicted Mr. Truman's defeat in November, said he, too, agrees with the idea of trying to iron out the differences in the party—up to a point.

"We will have a better chance of getting what we are after if we prepare for any eventuality," he told a reporter.

Sen. Maybank (D., S. C.) said failure of Congress to pass any civil rights bills might cool the revolt. But he said he thinks the Republicans can't afford any such failure. Fri. 3-12-48

GOP leaders may discuss the situation at a Senate policy committee meeting later today.

Prospective 'Civil-Rights' Bolters Might Do Well to Recall Tom Heflin

Courier-Journal

BIRMINGHAM, July 3.—Southern Democrats, who contemplate walking out of the Democratic national convention in Philadelphia should President Truman's "civil-rights" program be adopted, might do well to consider the case of J. Thomas Heflin, ex-senator from Alabama.

Heflin has been tabbed the original bolter of the Democratic Party. He helped defeat Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic nominee in 1928.

Sun. 7-4-

And what does Heflin say about walking out of the party?

"Political suicide!"

"Cotton Tom" Heflin, now 79 years old and only a shell of his former self when he went for 40 years without a political defeat, says the Democratic Executive Committee wrote finis to his political career after he refused to support Smith, a Roman Catholic, in the Houston, Tex., convention 20 years ago.

'Political Corpse'

The once fiery orator from LaFayette, Ala., said he opposed Smith singlehandedly and helped bring about his defeat in the subsequent election.

But just as the "man with the derby" was defeated overwhelmingly by Herbert Hoover, "Cotton Tom" Heflin became the man without a party. From then on, he was a political corpse.

After the 1928 convention, Heflin said, the State Democratic Executive Committee ruled that any candidate who bolted the party would not be allowed to run for office in the primary of 1930.

And Heflin at that time was an announced candidate for renomination to the U. S. Senate.

"Right behind the eightball," he flashed.

Not to be outdone, Heflin organized the "Jeffersonian Democrats," and, leading the ticket, opposed the late Senator John H. Bankhead, whose father, John H. Bankhead, Sr., had had a distiguished career in politics for years.

Lost By 50,000

Bankhead defeated Heflin by 50,000 votes, handing "Cotton Tom" his first setback in 40 years of officeholding.

To say that the same thing will happen to delegates, if any, who walk out at Philadelphia is not Heflin's philosophy, however, though he might well point to the case of Gessner T. McCorvey, Alabama chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee. McCorvey, a leader in the walkout movement, failed to be elected as a delegate-at-large to the convention.

Although other delegates who had expressed themselves in favor of the walkout were elected, McCorvey, who sparked the walkout campaign, was beaten by a candidate who opposed the walkout. And Senator Lister Hill, who led the opposition to the bolt, was head man in the race for delegate-at-large.

But Heflin did not have a civil-rights program, anathema to the South, to oppose in Houston. He just didn't see how he could "vote for a Roman Catholic for President," even though Smith was his party's choice.

After Smith received the nomination, Heflin launched a bitter campaign to have Smith defeated. Heflin conducted such a vigorous stumping tour against the Democratic nominee in the South that Smith lost several Southern states and carried Alabama, a Democratic stronghold, by a mere 7,000 votes.

Smith carried only seven states in the entire country.

Although an avowed supporter of the Ku Klux Klan, Heflin does not say that he would bolt the Democratic Party were he a delegate to the convention.

"Frankly, I haven't studied much about the civil-rights program," he observed.

But civil rights or not, the former senator thinks the South will always have a Klan or similar organization to "handle the situation."

"As long as we have rape cases, the Klan or some other group will be here . . . The white race will not stand for raping, white or colored," he fumed.

Although he maintains the State Democratic Executive Committee "assassinated" him, the ex-senator has no malice toward the party, and still holds a powerful aversion to Republicans, and also to Henry Wallace, whom Heflin tabbed "a bad man in worse company."

He admits, however, that he will not vote for Truman.

"Truman can't be elected," Heflin said. "I like the fellow all right, and had hoped he would be intelligent enough to listen to his advisers, but it seems he doesn't know much about the South."

Heflin believes General Eisenhower would be a good man and could be elected, but would not accept the nomination.

"I think Sam Rayburn or Alben Barkley would be about the best bets for the Democrats," he said.

Bulletin Banner

Good For South

Editor Constitution: So much has been written lately about the "death" of the Democratic Party that I thought I would like to have my little say.

I am a Democrat only so long as its platform and leaders uphold the ideals on which the Party was founded, and I draw a definite line there. Now that they have thrown the South overboard to satisfy other interests in the East and West, I am a free lance voter and expect to vote for the best man be he Democrat or Republican.

Truman was certainly not picked as a running mate with FDR in 1944 for his ability to be a good Chief Executive, but he was picked because it was thought that he would do the least harm to the ticket. This reflected a weakness in the Democratic Party at that time. Truman, as President, has not been too wise in his selection of cabinet members and his proposals for checking inflation and other economic ills have carried no suggestions from him as to how this was to be done, other than go back to wartime controls which do not go over so big in peacetime.

A political party is no stronger than its Chief and with Truman as the Chief we might as well start all over again and maybe in about 20 years a new Democratic Party will come out of the growing South with a platform that appeals to the masses and not the special minority interest.

The breakup of the Democratic Party could be a God-send to the people of the South because now they can vote for whom they please and this should encourage a two-party system. When the time comes that the South is not taken for granted in its politics, it will be a new day for everyone in it.

Hapeville. BRANDON KNELLER.

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Critic's View

Editor Constitution: Your editorial policy of reporting news in an opinionated and prejudiced manner is both disgusting and narrow-minded.

I refer to Editor McGill's front-page story in the July 15 issue of The Constitution which he headed "Georgians 'Protest'—'Crybabies' Quit."

I heard Mr. Bloch's speech to the convened Democrats. It was an appeal for recognition of Southern ideologies and for Party action accordingly. The speech, while it was admittedly excellent, also was colored with a rather plaintive appeal for a lost cause.

The action taken by the delegates from Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina was not only justifiable, but to my mind, admirable. This action was motivated by nothing other than supreme disgust and not, as McGill's reporting implied, running away in the face of overwhelming opposition. The thankless majority of the Democratic Party has repaid generations of devotion and solidity of the Southern Democrats by insisting on a so-called civil rights program, knowing well the repungnance we feel for such legislation. The South (Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina in particular) recognize this foul scheme for just what it is . . . a last-minute appeal to certain elements for the vote, with utter disregard for the misery and evil such a program most certainly would bring about, especially in the South.

McGill's false reporting plays directly into the hands of radicals who are delighted to note dissension within the South, cleavage of the party and general ill feeling fostered by such views. McGill's column showed remarkably poor sportsmanship and poorer taste.

Marietta. HAL W. GREER.

Ashamed?

Editor Constitution: You ought to be ashamed of yourself trying to stick the civil rights down our throats. You are from Missouri and you have to be sighted. Well, I think if you get yourself a telescope you can sight Alabama. If Dewey or some Democrat don't cause too much static why don't you let Wallace and his Communism on your platform? It would be the same thing to the South as your civil rights.

Griffin. J. T. BRIDGES.

(Editor's Note: Who's trying to stick what "civil rights" down whose throat?)

CAN'T SEE IT

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

I can't see to my life how the South expects to better itself any by electing a Republican administration when they have promised to give us a dose of the same medicine the Democrats have. I can't see how cutting off our nose to spite our face will help any. . . . Choose ye this day whom you will serve, whether it be the Democrats that brought us out of the world's greatest depression into the greatest era of prosperity the world has ever known, or those that brought wreck and ruin to us. But for me and my house we will serve the Democrats.

Montgomery

Ala. 7-31-48

T. L. McDONALD, D.D.S.

Ozark, Ala.

How?—Ed.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

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The South Examines Its Politics

Atlanta, Ga

Tues 4-13-48

Thousands of Southerners today are examining their politics in the light of the "revolt."

Political writers are beginning to try to weigh how much of the revolt originates with the politicians themselves, and how much from the people.

It is interesting to note that from the beginning not even the Southern politicians were running in one pack.

There was the Governor of North Carolina, who refused in March to go to a greatly advertised protest meeting of Southern Governors in Washington because he didn't think the revolt "that serious," and, anyhow, he didn't want to have to listen to the Governor of South Carolina lecture. Only six Governors showed up for the meeting.

Gov. Jim McCord, of Tennessee, reminded the Southern Governors that he was old enough to remember when every Southern candidate announced he was out to repeal the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. He allowed things might work out.

Tenure There were some of the Congressmen from the South who belatedly clapped hands over their mouths and wondered why they talked so dad-blamed much. They suddenly remembered that it was the one-party system which gave any loyal Democrat a chance at long tenure in office. The archaic rules would lift him high in influence if he could just hold on to the votes. *4 - 13 - 48 Tues.*

They recalled that if they revolted and joined a Southern party they would, even if elected, find themselves on the canals and draining committees and would be shifted to offices from which the brooms and mops recently had been removed.

There also were the wise-eyed ones who documented their yawns with the fact that it was the same old anti-TVA, anti-Roosevelt, anti-REA, and anti-social legislation crowd and newspapers which now had their hats off fanning the fires of this revolt—after failure in 1940 and 1944.

Electoral It was from Texas' Rep. Gossett there came the bill to reform the electoral college system. It long had been apparent to anyone interested enough to look it up that the electoral system didn't really give the South a powerful bloc of votes to offset the lack of popular votes. With only 127 electoral votes out of 531, the 11 States of the old Confederacy had never had enough to influence any election save that of Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson. *The Constitution*

But that wasn't all. It had become plain that scheming politicians could take a minority group and by concentrating in relatively a few States turn the present system to uses which would be disastrous for the nation.

Rep. Gossett, of course, sees the courting of Negroes who hold the balance of power in the pivotal States with large totals of electoral votes. But more moderate citizens see it in a broader light. So long as States are counted by units, instead of by votes merged into a national total, there is very real potential danger of manipulation by un-American forces. *Atlanta, Ga.*

Votes There has been an increasing awareness of the fact that the absence of a second party in the South, and consequent failure of choice, kept from the polls great numbers of persons. In 1920, which was about as normal and as typical a year as this generation has seen, a bare 21 percent of the persons of voting age cast their ballots in the 11 Solid South States. In 11 other States, of approximately equal populations, about 64 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls. *Tues,*

Popular government in the South was not destroyed by this system, but obviously it was hurt. Defenders of the system, nevertheless, argued it was necessary to restrict the electorate numerically because of the threat from the masses of Negroes to the Southern traditions and customs. They pointed also to intra-State contests and intra-county choices. *4 - 13 - 48*

The Republican Party must bear a share of the blame, and it is a not inconsequential share. Republicans for years carried out the "lily-white" policy of repudiating Negro suffrage. The Party has not wanted one in the South.

Examination As the South examines its political complexity, thousands find themselves ready to vote for a Republican, especially one of a Vandenberg quality.

Thousands more are ready to pitch in and work in a campaign to establish a second party. The Stassen victory in Wisconsin indicates that the GOP is not able to make of the Party what National Chairman Carrol Reece wants it to be. *Constitution*

Henry Wallace is attracting no great strength. There are evil, dangerous enemies of this country behind Henry Wallace and the people are becoming more aware of that fact every day.

Harry Truman has proved inept and obviously often has been badly advised and persuaded. *Tues. 4 - 13 - 48*

But slowly the people are coming to adding up what easement of their anger would be provided by a Republican Administration, and, more important, are seeking to evaluate the future of the South and the Democratic Party in the light of the present, with the political status quo gone with the wind of the Supreme Court white primary decision. *Atlanta. Ga.*

Believed Effective Weapon

Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Fri 7-16-48

Should Democrats Emerge With Slight Victory in Election

By RALPH McGILL.

PHILADELPHIA, July 15—Southern leaders holding over here today for the meeting of the National Committee and also those getting out on late trains, are mapping continuation of the fight against the man nominated early Wednesday morning by the Democratic Convention.

They are aware of the fact that the South was badly defeated in this Convention. The further bitter truth of it is that there is no sympathy for the Southern position and the disposition on the part of the dominant wing is to let the South stew in its own juice.

But, the Southern leaders believe they have one effective weapon left. They plan to organize a block of electoral college votes to be withheld after the November election. They believe they can develop a block of between 60 and 70 such votes. If the election should prove to be a close Democratic victory, they could withhold them and defeat Truman or exact from him and the Party concessions that they want. *7-16-48*

Only the thoughtless ones will be rushing off to Birmingham and the proposed rump convention there. Such a convention is meaningless and futile. In fact, such a convention will further damage the South. The South needs to know, to help its understanding, that the actions of the Mississippi delegation, those of Alabama and some of the wild and reckless utterances from Louisiana, did not help the South's cause. The pity of it was that Cecil Sims, the Tennessee delegate who stated the cause for the Volunteer State, could not have been the chief spokesman for the South. The position on State's Rights is not necessarily a demagogic one. It is an old plank in the Democratic Party. A great many persons sincerely believe in centralization of Federal power and fear the steady increase of it in the past several years. There is much to be said for it. And it can be said with dignity and honor.

But what we had here as the loudest voice of the South were the wild and reckless and usually ridiculous statements by the Mississippians and some from Alabama, South Carolina and Louisiana. They made no sense. The Convention crowds laughed at them. They were often so preposterous as to embarrass even their own members. They hurt the South.

Georgia did a fine job. Charlie Bloch cannot be too highly praised for the dignified and eloquent manner in which he handled the Georgia protest support of Senator Richard B. Russell. Chairman James Peters handled the delegation well and Georgia did not disgrace or hurt the South. It is to be hoped that Georgia will stay out of the Birmingham meeting. If the State does decide to participate in the group planning to withhold the electoral votes, that is a matter for the State to decide. There is no value in attending any of the self-promotional ventures by other States such as Arkansas and Mississippi staged here, only to crawl at the last moment after they had squeezed all publicity possible out of it.

If the Democrats should emerge with a slight victory withholding of electoral votes, however unethical it may be, would be effective. *7-16-48*

What is important for the South to realize is that they really did have rammed down their throat the planks to which they objected. It was done deliberately and after due consideration by the Eastern, Western and Middle Western Party leaders who determined to their own satisfaction at least their only chance of victory lay in putting such a program into effect.

34d 1948

Democratic (The South)

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

The Revolt Is More Than Just Talk

Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—It is not generally known, but quiet steps are being taken within the party to implement the revolt against President Truman. By that it is meant that those who have been clamoring for the President to step aside and open the way for some other man to receive the Democratic nomination are not confining themselves to talking. More action is taking place beneath the surface than is apparent to the public.

The program being undertaken is to go out and line up as many State delegations against the President's nomination as it is possible to get. Leaders in the opposition to Mr. Truman are naturally going about this quietly, not wishing to stir up the situation any more than is necessary.

Mon - 4-5-48

What they hope to accomplish is to present the President with a fait accompli sometime before the national convention meets in July. If enough State delegations can be brought into line with the program, leaders in the group will then call on Mr. Truman and appraise him of the opposition within the party to his nomination.

In that way an opportunity would be given him to step down gracefully, without risking defeat at the convention. It is not contemplated at the moment that Mr. Truman would be confronted with any formal demands that he surrender all claims to the nomination.

Rather it is suggested that those behind the movement to have him replaced as the head of the ticket go over the situation with him frankly and honestly. He would be told of the feeling within the party that his chances of election seem hopeless, and an appeal would be made to him to stand aside in the hope of the Democrats being able to nominate someone with a chance to win.

Many of the President's friends believe that if the matter is handled in this way he will bow himself out of the picture. On the other hand, if the fight against him is carried too far in the open, it is expected that he would resist to the end.

Hence it is that the moves now in the making for throwing the nomination to some other man are being conducted quietly and beneath the surface.

It can be said that contacts have already been established between the Southern opponents of the President and the group of powerful bosses of the big city Democratic organizations, which see their forces crumbling because of the agitation raised by the Administration's reversal of policy on the Palestine question.

An effort is being made to have these big city machines join forces with the Southern revolters. If they do, it will mean the important delegations of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Illinois will be thrown into the anti-Truman bloc.

Mon - 4-5-48

It is known that some progress has been made in lining up the big city machines. The extent of it is being kept secret for obvious reasons. Backers of the movement may not be expected to reveal their hand until they have achieved the desired result. Even then the whole story may not be told until some time after the convention meets, since it would be desirable to save Mr. Truman's feelings as much as possible.

For another thing, the city bosses are reluctant to place themselves in the open in opposition to the President's nomination until the time comes to show their hands. The reason for this is that it might become necessary to fill a distrist attorney appointment, or some other Federal patronage, between now and the date of the convention.

It will be interesting to see how far the movement goes. Some of those on the inside of the situation say privately that they have every confidence in the success of what is being undertaken.

FLIGHT NO. 2

Editor, The Advertiser:

I just read Mr. McDonald's letter entitled "Damn Fool Bolting." The South is not bolting, Mr. Truman and his followers are the ones who are bolting the party. We are not going to do like a young bird, just open our mouths and swallow anything from a worm to a black widow spider. We are not telling our delegate who to vote for, we are telling him who not to vote for.

Back in the 1860's our fathers did eat sour grapes and set their teeth on edge. and it seems that Mr. Truman's political ambition has knocked the edge off his teeth, as I understand he is the grandson of a Southern soldier. Wed 3-31-48

We want the Negro to have everything that belongs to him. He has a right to own all the land he can pay for, a right to build his home, and, also a right to an education. All these good old Negroes should have a pension so they wouldn't have to eat husk for a living, and so far as I'm concerned he can vote, but let his qualification be based on his ability to discern between an inferior and superior race and not his ability to explain the Constitution.

Such Negroes would vote against the abolition of the jimcrow law. I have talked to several good old Negroes and they say "Let it stay like it is." It seems that Mr. Truman and his bunch are trying to tell us that we are so ignorant that it is necessary that they teach us a few things. If that is democracy I don't want it. Any Southern man that has any influence and will not fight it to a finish hasn't any more business in Southern politics than a hog has in a rich man's parlor. Wed. 3-31-48

If Mr. Truman is nominated I for one will vote for who I please in the general election if I vote at all. There was a lot of us flew the coop once and we are sprouting feathers for another flight hoping that we will not need them.

I know that I am too illiterate to write, that is one reason I appreciate Grandma's column. It gives us old fellows that didn't get any schooling a chance to pop off steam when our boilers get about ready to burst. I have been voting about 50 years and I haven't ever been stirred up like I am now. I realy don't think some of our people are taking this thing seriously enough. We need to take a firm stand now, it may save a lot of trouble later. I think we could use Mr. Heflin now. What do you think?

Glenwood, Ala. J. B. FRANKLIN.

Mr. Heflin is one of the reasons the North has a misconception of race relations in the South and seeks to intervene.—Ed.

For a Doubtful South

The News

To the Editor of The News:

Some of the bigger boys of the Democratic South say they have no place to go. I would stay at home before I would support a party that doesn't respect me.

For years the Northern Democrats have used the Southerners only as a source of revenue, but they have always been able to pet the boys a little and everything would be hunkadory. They feel sure they can do it again. Surely now is the time to show them that we, too, have a way of doing things and don't intend to be a floor mat any longer.

Ever since the South has been voting a one-party ticket it has been grossly imposed upon. The people of the South have been denied many favors from the government. That's why two states in the North got more war plants built by the government than the entire South. The Republicans won't give us favors because they know we will go Democratic, and the Democrats won't for the same reason. Birmingham, Ala.

Let's stop it. The carpetbaggers ruined us once and we have let them drag us around long enough. Now is the time to make the South a doubtful South. 2-26-48

It's not a sin to vote for another ticket. I think it a shame to vote for the gang of brass-buttons and Wall Streeters we have up there now. I never knew a military government that didn't have war. We have the opportunity in November to vote for peace or war. Thu. 2-26-48

Democracy is getting to be a rather peculiar thing. This effort of a president to impose laws on people against their will and destroy customs long established—is that democracy? Isn't a custom that has worked for the good of all through many years good enough to be left alone? The South doesn't interfere with the North.

The South may be a little backward, but it isn't for any president or Northern group to straighten us out. C. D. WEAR.

100 68th Place, North.

Battle Is Set On Erasure Of Color Line

Montgomery Advertiser

Dixie Governors Adopt Report Repudiating All Civil Rights Backers

Montgomery, Ala.

Program Mapped

Sun. 3-14-48

Anderson Quits Post To Run For Senate; Truman Is 'Reluctant'

WASHINGTON, March 13.—(U.P.)—The Southern Governors Conference, Saturday, unanimously adopted a report repudiating President Truman and other Democratic leaders who espouse his civil rights program and pledging a "fight to the last ditch" to throw them out of office.

Seven governors from Southern States took part in a meeting here which drove a further wedge between the rebellious Dixie Democrats and the Truman administration.

The conference formally approved a committee report blasting the civil rights proposals and laying out a program of "concerted action" to deprive Mr. Truman of Southern electoral votes at the November election.

Gov. M. E. Thompson, of Georgia, cast his vote for the report with the reservation that he could not speak for the party in his state.

Others were:

Governors J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina; William Preston Lane, Jr., of Maryland; Ben Laney, of Arkansas; Beauford H. Jester, of Texas, James E. Folsom, of Alabama; and Fielding Wright, Jr., of Mississippi.

Lane, who is chairman of the conference, was presiding and did not vote.

Lane Doesn't Vote

He sai dthat because of the political situation in Maryland he did not think it proper for him to vote in favor of such a resolution. He was recorded as not voting.

Thurmond, Janey, Jester, had drafted the committee report which the full conference adopted. They were joined by Senator Harry F. Byrd (D), Virginia, who represented Gov. William M. Tuck, of Virginia. The fifth committeeman, Gov. Gregg Cherry, of South Carolina, did not attend.

The report said present leadership of the Democratic party has "deserted the principles on which the party was founded—the right of the people to govern themselves."

If Mr. Truman's proposals for anti-lynching, anti-discrimination and anti-poll tax legislation are adopted, the report said, it would be a "total departure" from the fundamental principals of American government.

Clean Break Now

That appeared to make it a clean break. Mr. Truman said emphatically only Friday, that he is not taking back a single word of what he has said about civil rights.

Meanwhile, Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson announced that he will leave the cabinet "reluctantly" this Summer to run for the New Mexico Senate seat being vacated by Democratic Senator Carl Hatch.

Anderson revealed his decision at a news conference here. He said he will become a candidate for Senator in his home state and "if President Truman is willing, I will remain as secretary of agriculture until the Summer adjournment of Congress."

Congress is expected to adjourn in June. A White House spokesman said President Truman will accept Anderson's resignation but "with great reluctance." The spokesman said Mr. Truman is very glad Anderson will remain in the cabinet until adjournment of Congress.

No Idea Of Successor

Anderson told reporters he has "not the slightest idea" who will

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succeed him as secretary of agriculture.

The Southern governors' report proposed that Democratic conventions in Southern states put it clearly in the record that their electoral votes in the November election will not be cast for any person favoring the kind of civil rights legislation Mr. Truman wants.

Sun. 3-14-48

It suggested that Southern states defer choosing their electors until after the Democratic National Convention in July. Then, the report said, a caucus of Southern state electors could be held to take "concerted action if necessary."

A plan like that would give the Southern states a club over the convention and over Mr. Truman who will be a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president.

The report said that National Democratic Chairman J. Howard McGrath has "flatly refused" a request by the Southern governors that he use his influence to have Mr. Truman's proposed legislation withdrawn.

Conference Recesses

It said the conclusion is inescapable that enactment of that legislation would "bring about radical changes in the government of the United States . . . interfere with the functions of the states . . . and that the government would be controlled by a highly-centralized and concentrated power."

After approving the report, the conference of governors recessed subject to call of the chair. Jester, who made this motion, suggested that there might be a reason for further meetings of the conference.

Sun. 3-14-48

Folsom and Wright proposed, and the conference agreed, to word the report so as to pledge support of candidates who oppose civil rights legislation rather than opposition to those who favor it.

Folsom said "the way to win is to be for something."

Efforts by Jester and Thompson to soften the committee report failed. Thompson wanted to eliminate a clause referring to "recently-made" civil rights proposals. He said they dated back to reconstruction days and blamed them on the Republicans. He got no support.

Jester said he had hoped someone might persuade Mr. Truman to "combine civil rights and states' rights." He said the President "could take that position—whether he will I don't know."

Wright replied bluntly that "he's already taken his position."

A proposal by Folsom that each state send delegates to the national convention to vote for their "own choice for the presidency, preferably someone of favorite-son status," was brushed aside without action. Thurmond and Laney said they thought it unnecessary.

Centers His Appeal On Foreign Policy, Local Self-Rule

The News

Birmingham Ala

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

Sun. 4-4-48

WETUMPKA, Ala., April 3—An appeal for the reversal of America's foreign policy and for the return to the principle of local self government was voiced here Saturday night by Gov. Folsom in a campaign speech as candidate for state-at-large delegate to the Democratic National Convention.

It was the third address of his first campaign day. The governor appeared somewhat tired and to an extent lacked the fire of his stump appearances when he was fighting the legislative self-starter amendment. The Strawberry Pickers serenaded the audience here and at Clanton and Prattville, where he spoke earlier.

At Prattville and at Wetumpka the branchheads hope chest was passed, but the first day's collection appeared to be light.

Sun.

* * *

GOV. FOLSOM, IN FACT, did not ask for monetary contributions. He merely asked that those desiring to attend the Democratic National Convention write their names and addresses and drop them in a box. That was Gov. Folsom's cue for introducing his Senate floor leader, Sen. Lamberth, for Democratic national committeeman.

"If we are going to have war—and I don't think we are—we'll have to sacrifice our hopes. We cannot get out mail box roads, our schools, welfare and all the things uppermost in our minds.

4-4-48

"The federal government is taking today $600,000,000 out of Alabama. Out of every $6 it collects, $5 goes to Washington. Two of it is dumped overseas. And about one and one-half of your tax dollar is sent back for federal aid with strings attached.

"It is certain that if we have war, we can't have the things we want or the thing we work for, hope for and prayed for all these generations."

"The Southern governors are in close accord today. So are other Southern political leaders. Southerners are about to be in accord with leaders in the West and Midwest. I believe we will have a program that will enable us to nominate and elect a Democrat from one of these states," he added.

Gov. Folsom's audience at Clanton was by far the largest. At Prattville he spoke before a comfortably filled courtroom.

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

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Problem for the Democratic Convention

The Atlanta Constitution - Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—By pledging themselves to send delegates to the coming party national convention "instructed" not to vote for the renomination of President Truman, the Governors of seven of the 11 Southern States have posed a serious problem for the Democratic National Convention meeting at Philadelphia next July.

If the pledge is carried out, the Convention may be called upon to decide whether it is proper to seat the delegates so instructed from the seven States.

Mon. 3-22-48

The pledge carries an implication that the Southern delegates will walk out of the Convention in the event of a Truman nomination. Since this is a foregone conclusion from the appearance of things today, it looks as though there will be a walkout or a lockout of Southern delegates, one way of another.

Administration forces in command of the Convention may take the view that if such a walkout is inevitable, it may be better for the sake of appearances of party harmony for the rebellious Southern delegations to be banned at the beginning, with their places given over to other delegates from the same States who would be willing to go along with the President.

In that way the Convention would at least be spared the turmoil and strife of a bitter fight over the President's nomination. With all of the fanfare and publicity that attends a national political conclave, Administration leaders would naturally want to avoid having a fight of the kind aired publicly at the time of the Convention.

As to the practicality of the plan, it need only be pointed out that every national political convention is a law unto itself. In honoring the credentials of delegates it is bound only by such restraints as the convention itself imposes.

In other words, whenever a contest is raised, it is within the power of the convention to seat or unseat any group of delegates that appears. It usually does not matter whether the credentials presented are in good order or bad. The determining factor more often is whether the delegates are in sympathy with the program of the dominant group in control of the convention.

That has been the history of most national party conventions in the past.

Hence it is that the President's friends, wishing to avoid a walkout of delegates from the seven Southern States, may encourage the organization of competing slates of delegates from these States. Slates favorable to the President's renomination would be encouraged to come to the Convention. They would be seated and the others barred.

A rumpus would be sure to follow, but it is doubtful that it would be any worse than the situation precipitated by the wholesale withdrawal of delegations hostile to Mr. Truman's candidacy.

The seven Southern States which, through their Governors, have subscribed to the plan for attacking the Truman candidacy in the National Convention, are Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas. Still others may yet become associated with the movement.

Mr. Truman is in an unhappy situation any way you look at it. The outlook for him at the present time is far from hopeful.

Southern Democrats Slate 5-Step Fight

The Constitution

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Atlanta, Ga. Sat 2-28-48

By THE UNITED PRESS

The Southern revolt against President Truman's civil rights program has shaped up into a five-step plan aimed at restoring the South's dominance of the Democratic Party.

The Southern program contemplates:

1. A united front in Congress against anti-discrimination legislation.
2. Revision of State election machinery as a step toward keeping Mr. Truman's name off the ballot. There is no law against such a practice in Georgia, Arkansas, Alabama, Florida or South Carolina. Virginia's Gov. William Tuck has moved to allow his State the same privilege.
3. An attempt to defeat Mr. Truman for the Presidential nomination, and keep a civil-rights plank out of the Party platform.
4. Withold Southern electoral votes from Mr. Truman in an attempt to throw the selection of the next President into the House of Representatives.
5. Reorganizing the Party after the November election.

Developments on the Southerners' civil-rights battle front include the pledge Friday of an Alabama candidate for Democratic National Convention delegate to vote for Gov. Jim "Favorite Son" Folsom for Presidential nominee.

In Jackson, Miss., Gov. Fielding Wright disclosed that a conference of Southern Governors would be held March 13 in Washington, D. C.

The Constitution

An anti-poll tax bill three times "talked down" by Southern Democrats was on its fourth trip through Congress with a good chance of becoming law.

Sat 2-28-48

A Rules Subcommittee headed by Sen. Jenner, Republican, Indiana, approved the bill Wednesday, rejecting a demand by Sen. Stennis, Democrat, Mississippi, for public hearings in seven Southern States that require voters to pay a tax before casting their ballots.

The bill, already passed by the House, has the combined support of Republicans and Northern Democrats.

Atlanta, Ga

The poll-tax bill is the second civil-rights measure to win favorable action in two days. A House Judiciary Subcommittee Thursday approved a bill to make lynching a Federal offense.

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While some Southern Democrats predicted—with privately expressed satisfaction — that President Truman could not be elected this Fall, Sen. George, Democrat, Georgia, said he looked for a thorough shakeup in the Democratic Party after the election, putting the Party on a basis of sound economic and good government principles."

The Constitution

Meanwhile, Rep. Cox and Rep. Preston, of Georgia, proposed that the Georgia Legislature meet in special session to deal with the civil-rights question.

Atlanta, Ga.

As the Southern revolt continued to fan toward a hotter pitch Sen. Pepper, Democrat, Florida, denounced the move to ban the name of Mr. Truman from State ballots. He termed the move a "brazen" attack on the freedom of choice of voters.

Sat.

At Key West, Fla., President Truman, on an inspection-vacation tour of the Caribbean, had no comment to make on the storm his program for civil rights had stirred.

2-28-48

WHY DIXIE'S AG'IN TRUMAN

The Afro-American

Southern Democrats, who have been bitter against President Truman because of his civil rights program and have kicked up shinny against inclusion of a civil rights plank in the party's platform, are queer ducks.

They're like the fellow who cries "ouch" before pulling on a pair of new shoes.

Why are they squawking so loud? Let's take a look at the 10-point civil rights program which President Truman offered Congress and see just what it would provide. Here's what it would do: Baltimore, Md.

1. Create a permanent commission on civil rights, a joint congressional committee on civil rights, and a civil-rights division in the Justice Department.
2. Strengthen the present laws which are designed to safeguard people's constitutional rights.
3. Enact a specific Federal law against lynching.
4. Protect more adequately the right of vote; for example, pass a Federal law saying people shall not be deprived of the vote in Federal elections because they haven't paid poll taxes. Sat, 7-17-48
5. Enact a fair-employment practices law, prohibiting discrimination by employers and unions on account of race, color, religion, or national origin.
6. Prohibit racial segregation on interstate transportation facilities.
7. Give the District of Columbia home rule and the right to vote.
8. Give Statehood to Hawaii and Alaska; more self-government for island possessions.
9. Equalize the opportunities for various groups of residents to become naturalized citizens.
10. Settle evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans.

A careful examination of these points shows that they take nothing away from the South, which is the most rabid objector to the President's program.

They confer upon ALL people, including colored people, Jews, Chinese, Japanese and Indians, the right to vote, the right to work and the right to be free from intimidation by mobs.

Objection on the part of the Dixie rebel lies simply in the fact that he doesn't want you and minority groups to have the same civil rights which he himself enjoys. He wants these minorities to be second-rate citizens.

The next time you read about it in your newspaper or hear on your radio a crackpot arguing against civil rights, you will know that he wants something for himself that he doesn't want you to have. 7-17-48

He is opposed to the civil rights program of President Truman and to the Golden Rule of Jesus Christ at one and the same time

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The Plight of Southern Politics

A Review from The Dallas (Texas) Times-Herala

Southern Weekly

THE growing tendency of Northern politicians to cater to Northern minorities by lambasting thc South for not repealing segregation laws reached a climax when President Truman announced his so-called civil rights program. These books are among many that the controversy has evoked.

Mr. Molyneaux, Dallas publicist and editor of THE SOUTHERN WEEKLY, takes the position that the Democratic Party, which the South has supported for many decades, "no longer reflects the views of Southern Democrats" and has abandoned its traditional principles and now stands for a program that "denies some of the most fundamental of these principles." He contends that the South should begin voting Republican. He discounts the fact that the Republicans aslo favor the civil rights program. Sat. 7-3-48

The Dallas editor confines himself largely to the purely political aspects of the situation, and marshals his facts impressively. In the other book, Charles Wallace Collins, an Alabama attorney, goes more deeply into the background of racial conflict, reaching back to ancient times, but he also discusses the political angle and the States' rights question. Some of his arguments seem rather far-fetched, and some of his proposed solutions impracticable, yet all his chapters are thought-provoking.

Instead of suggesting that the South turn Republican, Mr. Collins expresses belief that both old parties are obsolete and that the nation should simply have a liberal and a conservative party. He agrees with Mr. Molyneaux that the South should not be defeatist in its attitude, but should devise a better means of exercising its influence on the national political scene.

Lighthouse and Informer

Where Can They Go?

Southern Democrats opposing president Truman merely because he recommended what Democrats themselves had adopted years ago, and who now threaten to leave the party if the civil rights are included partially in the 1948 party platform, would fare better to pause and think for a moment. Columbia, S.C. Sun. 6-20-48

If they leave voluntarily or are chucked out of the Democratic party, where can they go? Would they join up with Republicans who now refer to the civil rights items as "old stuff?" Would they join Henry Wallace's party? Or is it that they would build a new organizatoin around such race-riding elements as the Ku Klux Klan, et al?

Best bet is that once these cavorters come to their senses, they'll drop the revolt and come trudging back like a puppy whose tail is wet.

Dothan Eagle 'Bolts' Demo Party To Back Dewey And Warren

The News Birmingham Ala.

South Humiliated By Civil Rights Plank, Is

Opinion Of Editor

Thurs. 7-15-48

DOTHAN, Ala., July 15—(AP)—The Dothan Eagle in a front page editorial today "bolted" the Democratic Party and announced it would support the Dewey-Warren ticket of the Republican Party.

"We've had enough. Long the orphan of the Democratic Party, the South yesterday was made to suffer the crowning indignity. . . It was read out of the Democratic Party, the party of its fathers. . . . The party, which, on more than one occasion, has suckled at the breast of the South when sustenance could not be had elsewhere."

Declaring the South was humiliated when the Democratic convention "refused to temper the 1944 civil rights plank and then voted down the states rights plank offered as a compromise by Southern delegates," the editorial said "there is only one answer for the South. It must acknowledge, grudgingly though it be, that the Democratic Party as presently constituted is no haven nor friend. . Thurs.

"The only course remaining open is to support the Republican nominees, the nominees of a party which at least had the courage and the common sense to rebuff the advocates of South-baiting and South-baiting legislation.

"And though Democratic office-holders of Alabama will in the coming general election strive mightily to herd voters back into the Democratic Party with lusty rebel yells and mighty waving of the bloody shirt, this newspaper will not again be pilloried by Democrats of the stripe of Walter White and Harry Truman. 7-15-48

"This time, come hell or high water, we're supporting the Republicans—Govs. Dewey and Warren!"

Atlanta Constitution

South's Gravest Threat Seen by Sen. Russell

Fri. 7-16-48

WINDER, July 14—(AP)—Sen. Russell, Democrat, Georgia, predicted today the South would be kicked around some more in the special session of Congress called by President Truman.

The Junior Senator from Georgia said the South's defeat in the National Democratic Convention would be translated into a legislative program of unparalleled oppression.

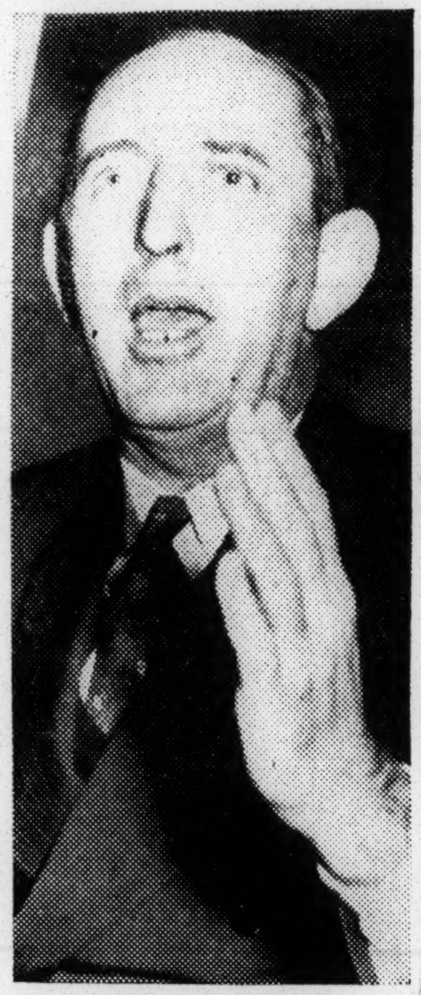
But despite his beliefs, Russell said, he still did not think the Birmingham Convention called for Saturday by Party bolters from Mississippi and Alabama "the best thing for the present party."

He stood on his earlier statement that he would refuse to permit his name to be offered in Birmingham as a possible presidential nominee.

Russell, who garnered 263 Convention votes for the presidential nomination, said he believed the civil rights proposals will be introduced in the special session and that gleeful Republican and nonbolting Democrats will "fight to see who can kick the South the hardest."

Asked if he thought the President's call to Congress would enhance the Democrats chances in November, Russell replied, "It's in the lap of the gods."

It is a desperate move by the President to rivet national attention on what he has picked as the national issues in the 1948 campaign. It could help him or it could boomerang. The South faces its gravest threat since Reconstruction days.



SEN. RUSSELL
Will Forego "Rump" Session

"The economic issues which President Truman will bring before Congress can cut both ways over the Nation. There may be a bi-partisan fight over them.

"But the misnamed civil rights program is a political issue which affects only the South. Both parties will seize on it avidly. It is much easier for politicians to handle than economic questions."

Sparks Is Appointed To Help Shape First Democratic Platform

Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala.

Trio Other Southerners To Assist; Sparkman, Hill Hail Selections

BY JAMES FREE
News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 15—Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks of Alabama Monday night was named by Sen. J. Howard McGrath, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, to membership on the preliminary drafting committee for the Democratic platform this year.

This committee will conduct hearings and make recommendations for the party's official stand on campaign issues, including the controversial matters of civil rights. The actual platform will be drawn up, however, at the national convention next month by the committee on resolutions and platform.

HOW SPARKS STANDS

Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks is committed against President Truman and his "civil rights" program. He likewise is strongly opposed to a walkout at the Democratic National Convention as the best method of combating the president and his proposals.

It was Sparks who directed much of the fire at the walkout group in the May 4 primary when he won a delegate-at-large place without a runoff. Jun. 6-15-48

There were three other Southerners appointed to the 17-member preliminary drafting group. They were Sen. Clyde R. Hoey of North Carolina, former Democratic State Chairman George D. Key of Oklahoma, and former Gov. Dan Moody of Texas.

In view of Alabama's emphatic anti-Truman stand and the fact that many of its elected delegates are pledged to walk out if any part of the civil rights program is incorporated in the platform, McGrath's appointment of Sparks was regarded as a positive gesture toward reconciliation. Persistent reports have indicated that party leaders will strive for adoption of a variation of the high-sounding but not too specific civil rights plank in the Democratic platform.

WHILE CHAIRMAN McGRATH could not publicly fail to go along with President Truman's civil rights platform, it is believed that, in the interests of party unity, he may well go along with a virtual repetition of the 1944 civil rights plank which was acceptable to Southern Democrats. 6-15-48

It is indicated also that strong efforts will be made to placate Southerners who have vigorously opposed Mr. Truman's civil rights program by seeking to include a firm state's rights plank in the platform.

Such a plank would tend, too, to please states like California which has been protesting that it would be a violation of states rights for the federal government to take over control of tidelands oil rights along its coastline.

The likelihood of Sparks being named to the preliminary drafting committee was pointed out by The News-Age-Herald's Washington Bureau in a story one week ago.

* * *

NEWS OF SPARKS' appointment brought exclamations of delight and satisfaction from Alabama's two senators. Sen. Lister Hill called the appointment "splendid," which is not surprising in view of the fact that Sen. McGrath unquestionably consulted with the senior senator from Alabama regarding Sparks' appointment.

Sen. John J. Sparkman said he was delighted.

"I don't know of anybody more level-headed than Chauncey Sparks," he declared. "He is experienced in convention ways and knows how to give Alabama and the South true representation."

"Despite the fact that 14 out of Alabama's 26 convention delegates-elect have indicated their willingness to walk out of the convention under certain conditions, it is still considered by observers here as very probable that Sen. Hill, who led the delegate-at-large ticket on an anti-walkout platform, will be elected chairman of the delegation.

* * *

IT IS POINTED OUT that only one or two "walk-out" delegates would have to swing over to the Hill "wait-and-see" position to assure a delegation majority for the senior senator as delegation chairman. Moreover, Handy Ellis, more commonly talked of as the "walk out" group choice as chairman, probably would be reluctant to challenge leadership of the delegation at this time.

Only recently Sen. Hill teamed with Sen. Sparkman in a prolonged, successful fight to obtain Senate confirmation of Mr. Ellis' brother, Frank Ellis, as U. S. marshal in the Middle District of Alabama.

There was no objection to Frank Ellis' confirmation by Democrats, but Republicans resisted in keeping with a general party policy of holding up all important federal appointments possible in order to save than for the Republican president that the GOP hopes to have in the White House in 1949. 6-15-48

Sen. Francee J. Myers, of Pennsylvania, who was named chairman of the preliminary committee, said that his group would begin hearings on July 7 to obtain the views of individuals and organizations on major issues.

Myers added: "We are planning to hear fully from a representative cross section of the Democratic Party. We are entering upon a highly important campaign in a critical year in history and we hope to explore every issue completely and carefully."

Rankin for '44 Civil Rights Plank

Miss.
[illegible] 6-22-48

WASHINGTON, June 22 (AP)—Rep. John Rankin (D., Miss.), a leader in the southern revolt against President Truman's civil rights program, today indicated that Dixie Democrats may agree to repeating the party's 1944 plank on that issue. New York, N.Y.

After a conference with the President, Rankin declared he was "not without hope that the Democratic Convention will reach a satisfactory agreement on the civil rights issue." He added: "It would be far less offensive to the people of the South than the plank on this subject inserted in the Republican platform of 1944, and which I understand is being inserted in its platform in Philadelphia now."

Revolt Efforts Doomed, Jackson Leaders Admit

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. June 6-18-48

By JOHN R. HENRY
International News Service Writer

Leaders of the South's so-called revolt against the Democratic Party admitted privately Wednesday night their efforts were doomed.

Authoritive sources at Jackson, Miss., informed International News Service the Steering Committee of States' Rights Democrats might seek a "face-saving compromise" with the National Party before the July 12 convention at Philadelphia.

Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, has been convinced, according to veteran Jackson observers, that no more than a corporal's guard would follow him in a Party bolt.

Disclosure that the Dixiecrat leaders are discouraged comes in contrast to their public announcement that a "rump" convention will be held.

Gov. Wright was an instigator of the States' Rights movement, but more recently Arkansas' Gov. Ben Laney ostensibly has been in command of the revolt forces.

Gov. Laney headed the Steering Committee meeting at Jackson Tuesday, and announced a caucus of States' Rights Democrats would be held before the Philadelphia Convention.

It is reported that Gov. Laney hopes to achieve the "face-saving compromise" in the caucus by persuading Democratic Chairman Howard McGrath to "soften" the Party's stand on civil rights.

The Dixiecrats, meanwhile, would cancel their Convention at Birmingham on July 17 provided the National Party altered its staunch stand in favor of civil rights law. June 6-18-48

The Birmingham Convention now is considered as more of a bargaining point than anything else. When the Laney Steering Committee gathered in Jackson, it almost was foregone that the Dixiecrats would have difficulty in finding an outstanding Southern leader at Birmingham to accept their nomination as a second Democratic candidate.

Qualified observers point out the Horace Wilkerson faction of Alabama Party members would oppose the candidacy of Sen. Lister Hill, if the latter would accept. Sen. Olin B. Johnston's followers in South Carolina reportedly are against the nomination of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond. And, in Georgia, friends of gubernatorial aspirant Herman Talmadge, who now guides the State Democratic manuevers, apparently refuse to nominate Sen. Walter George.

34d 1948 Democratic (The South)

Jim Farley Sees Southern Revolt Collapse

The Record

James A. Farley, who knows his politicians, North and South, is the author of a prediction that the Southern revolt over the President's civil rights program will be resolved in the Democratic national convention and that the South will be solidly Democratic in November, as usual.

In making this prediction the former national Democratic chairman—he was talking to reporters in Baltimore where he had gone to visit Loyola college—was going against the stream of most of the public pronouncements emanating from the South.

The Southern revolt this year, these pronouncements tell, is something more serious than Southern revolts before and it is better organized. There is the very real likelihood, Southern spokesmen are saying, that the Democratic party, if it renominates Truman, will lose some of the Southern states in the electoral college. Tues. 4-6-48

Mr. Farley's tendency to write off the Southern revolt as ineffective in the end may be the result of his realization that it is so far a politician-engineered revolt and has not yet taken hold in the grass roots, that it is still a controlled revolt and hasn't yet got out of hand, that it is a revolt going nowhere. Columbia, S.C.

Farley himself has had some experience with this type of Southern revolt. In 1940, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt broke the third-term tradition, Farley and John Nance Garner of Texas took the lead in the Democratic party in opposing a third term nomination. Both of them entered the preferential primaries in several of the states. In Wisconsin Garner got almost 30 per cent of the vote, although only three of the state's delegates. Farley obtained a number of the Massachusetts delegates. Tues.

On the first ballot Farley received 72.5 votes, of which 25 came from New York, 12.5 from Massachusetts, 15 from Alaska, the Canal one and Puerto Rico. Garner had 61, including all 46 from Texas. Senator Tydings had 9.5, all except one from his own state of Maryland. Secretary of State Cordell Hull received 5. Practically every Southern vote, except those from Texas and Virginia, went to Roosevelt. 4-6-48

When the 1944 convention was held, the no-third-term tradition had already been broken and the nation was in the midst of war. On the first ballot the anti-Roosevelt votes were only 7.5 per cent of the total, a little more than half the percentage Farley and Garner had been able to muster four years before. Senator Byrd received 89 of the 90 anti-Roosevelt votes cast, 98.5 per cent of these from the Southern states.

And Farley may be right. It is always possible for the revolt to be kept within bounds and the South returned safely to the bag, if the voters do not take things into their own hands, as they did in 1928 and vote Republican. The South cannot be free until it sets up in the South the two-party system. And the politicians are opposed to this. They would have to make a choice and it might not be the right choice.

ON SECOND THOUGHT

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

From reading your editorials I feel sure that you think of President Roosevelt as the founder of the Democratic Party and that you really don't understand what constitutes a Democrat. Montgomery, Ala.

President Roosevelt was the founder of this Liberal Socialist Radical theory of government that is causing so much trouble today. He himself called it a New Deal. There are quite a few of us who are anti-New Dealers and did not approve of his ideas and theories but hate him, NO. No sensible man will hate a man after he has passed away.

What we hate is the condition we and the world are now in due largely to his administration. Sat. 3-27-48

I don't think the real Democrat in the South is worrying much about what will happen at Philadelphia. We are leaving that for Truman, Hill, Wallace, Folsom and their following of Southern Liberals, Northern Radicals and Negroes to worry about. The more they fight the better we like it.

We expect to help the Northern Republicans to elect a president that at least believes in State Rights and has some respect for the white races.

If you believe in white supremacy, State Rights, local self government and the original Constitution of the United States, I am sure you will do likewise.

R. C. RIVES

Forest Home, Ala.

The Anti-Truman Revolt Is Largely Insincere, Thinks Frank Kent

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

By FRANK R. KENT

IT IS an ironical fact that outside of the South, where there is a special reason, the current clamor within the Democratic Party against Mr. Truman comes not from the elements that logically might be expected to oppose his nomination but from those which by every rule of reason should support him. Sat. 4-3-48

Certainly he deeply distressed conservative and anti-New Deal Democrats when he vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill; when he came out strongly for the so-called "civil rights," including that Fair Employment Practices Act which has so enraged the South; when he delivered his State-of-the-Union message in which he went so far to the left on social and spending legislation; when he failed to give encouragement to the effort to reduce the size and cost of bureaucracy.

However it is difficult to see in any of this—or in anything else Mr. Truman has done—an excuse for the vicious and vociferous attempt to murder him now being made by the worshipful followers of the late Mr. Roosevelt. On the contrary, the course Mr. Truman has followed should have especially endeared him to these. For, without exception, every policy he has is a Roosevelt policy. Not one is original with him. Undoubtedly, most of them, such as the civil-rights proposals and his support of the C.I.O. bosses, are unsound economically, demagogic politically and doubtful constitutionally. None the less, they are Roosevelt policies and as such were enthusiastically advocated by the very New Deal politicians, columnists and commentators who today are trying to cut his throat, hypocritically alleging that he has "abandoned the Roosevelt policies."

Look At the Charges

This is so transparently false that one wonders at the effrontery of those who charge it. Actually, the only two things alleged by these screeching anti-Trumanites which can be even measurably sustained are (1) that he has failed to keep in his Administration certain notorious New Dealers, notably James M. Landis; (2) that he reversed himself on the Palestine issue. So far as the first is concerned, it is true Mr. Truman made no effort to retain a number of these self-advertised statesmen, but in most cases there were adequate reasons for not doing so. In the case of Mr. Landis, it was a kindness to him that Mr. Truman "took the rap" without publicly proclaiming them. As to the second, Mr. Truman's original advocacy of Palestine partition was politically inspired by a desire to hold the big New York Jewish vote upon which the machine politicians count so heavily. That was not an admirable action. But later, when he realized his mistake and was convinced by the State Department and the Secretary of Defense that the national security was imperiled, he reversed himself. And that was an admirable action—nonpolitical and courageous. Sat 4-3-48

Whatever Mr. Truman's deficiencies, it seems plain he is getting very shabby treatment from a group with a very poor case against him. Particularly mean is the yapping of the Roosevelt brothers, Franklin, Jr., and Elliott. The first, trading on his father's name, is ambitious to become Governor of New York. He always plays close to the machine bosses locally and the C.I.O. bosses nationally. The other is an unsavory specimen whose money-raising activities, promoted by his father, have done more to besmirch the latter's reputation than any other single thing. As for Mrs. Roosevelt, when she left for England she was "neutral." Recently some of her self-appointed spokesmen declare she will "stand by her sons," that she is a very great woman whom millions love and follow. Perhaps so, but there are others who regard her as a very dull, self-righteous and tiresome person, and who will certainly go in the opposite direction.

Ike Will Not Be Lured

It seems exceedingly unlikely that this drum-beating, anti-Truman drive will alter the conviction of General Eisenhower that a Presidential nomination is something he distinctly does not want—especially one from a party not his own and engineered by individuals whom he does not highly esteem. Clearly, the sort of "draft" now suggested is one in which he would have to connive. Few believe that after his unequivocal statement he could be induced to do anything remotely savoring of stultification. It is incredible that he would permit himself to be used by persons whose motives are so completely transparent and so wholly selfish. In brief, it is unlikely General Eisenhower can be played for a sap.

Of course, it is possible Mr. Truman may be frightened by the kind of publicity the people behind this drive are able to command. But those who know him best do not think so. One reason is that he is not the sort of man to be scared out of a fight just because the odds are against him. Another is that certainly he will lose more self-respect and go down in history as a more shoddy character if he quits under this kind of fire than if he stands up and takes his licking no matter how bad it may be. Hoover, Landon and William H. Taft all gained in public esteem through defeat.

Still another reason is that there may be a change of political scenery before next November. In 1946 Mr. Truman's prestige was so low that a demand was made that he resign. In six months he was running ahead in the popularity polls. This is not to say Mr. Truman can duplicate that performance. Things look worse for him now than they did then, But it is possible. In any event, under existing circumstances, his stupidity in allowing this gang to ditch him would be exactly equal to the stupidity of the Democratic Party in doing the ditching. Their fortunes are inseparably linked. In tearing down Mr. Truman all these snorting "liberals" can do is to make a bad situation worse.

Committeewoman Quits, To Fight Against 'Rights'

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

NATCHEZ, Miss., March 10—(AP)—Mrs. William Kendall resigned Monday night as Mississippi's national Democratic committeewoman. An official of the "Jeffersonian" Democrats said she would direct women's activities for that organization. Wed. 3-11-48

Mrs. Kendall did not mention President Truman's civil rights program in her resignation. She said she had served for 12 years and felt that was long enough.

W. W. Wright, chairman of the campaign committee of Democrats working against Mr. Truman's program, said the committee felt Mrs Kendall was well suited to carry on the work outlined by Gov. Fielding Wright. Wright touched off the anti-Truman insurrection in January, when he took issue with racial features of the civil rights proposals. Wed. 3-11-48

SOME CYNICISM

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Editor, The Advertiser:

I have watched with some cynicism The Advertiser's stand on the "revolt" of the Southern Democrats over the civil rights program sponsored by the ill-fated Mr. Truman. Montgomery Advertiser

When the revolt was first spoken about by various members of the Southern Democratic Party The Advertiser welcomed it with (if not wide open arms) warm cordiality. About the same time that Senator Hill announced that he would support Mr. Truman for reelection I noticed that The Advertiser's sentiments concerning the "revolt" became downright frigid. Montgomery, Ala

The Advertiser seems to take the attitude that since some part of the program advocated by Mr. Truman will be enacted by the Republican Congress that the Southern Democrats should unite to try to preserve the Democratic Party.

Due to our proportional representation system the minority groups in this country have assumed political significance out of proportion to their size which means that if either party wishes to gain their support some sort of civil rights legislation must be enacted. If, to preserve the Democratic Party, it would be necessary for Southern Democrats to swallow their pride and meekly accept the civil rights legislation suggested by Mr. Truman, then the cost for preservation of the party is too great. Sun 3-28-48

I have watched with bated breath the "revolt" of Southern Democrats, hoping that some person of political significance would come up with the idea of using the Southern Democrats as the nucleus of a nationwide, truly conservative party which would be able to gain the support of every true conservative in the nation whether he is a Democrat or Republican. The Democratic Party is in chaos and the Republican Party for all its outward show of unity is torn by inner dissensions between conservatives, liberals and isolationists. Surely no more opportune moment could be found for forming a new party in this country on the ruins of the two old ones.

Andalusia, Ala. GREGORY DAY.

The Advertiser is ready, but doubts that Alabama is.—Ed.

HILL FOR PRESIDENT

Editor, The Advertiser:

Recently I read in The Advertiser an article on Lister Hill's stand on the Democratic Party's controversy over the equal rights, etc., legislation sponsored by President Truman. As a native Montgomerian, allow me to express my admiration for Senator Hill, whom I have known since boyhood. The Advertiser

He is seeing far ahead of most of the Southern Democrats in realizing that the disruption of the party means its political death. Lister Hill is showing the fine courage and far-sightedness characteristic of him in still recognizing President Truman as the Democratic Party chief, but at the same time he will fight the equal rights bill just as hard as any other Southern Democrat will.

However, Senator Hill is not bound by any tradition or obligation to support President Truman for the nomination at the Democratic National Convention. If I am correct only two presidents who succeeded to the presidency from the vice-presidency have received the nomination of their party for the next full term and they were both Republicans, namely Teddy Roosevelt and Calvin Coolidge. Three others, Johnson, Tyler and Arthur and possibly another who was elevated to the presidency did not get the nomination again. Montgomery, Ala.

After all where would the Democrats find a better candidate for the presidency than Lister Hill himself? Wed.

Let's hear of the Alabama newspapers starting a boom for Senator Hill for president and give less publicity to a certain other State offical who is ballyhooing himself for the nomination. 3-17-48

THOMAS H. GUNTER.

Bainbridge, Ga.

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Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

I really feel sorry for some of the older men who, like myself, have voted the Democratic ticket always. It's hard to realize that the dear old party we once knew passed out of existence with the election of President Roosevelt.

You see many of us were reared to think that a Southern man who voted a Republican ticket should black his face and live with the Negroes, for then every Negro North and South was a Republican, at least at heart. Wed

The situation is reverse now: They are Roosevelt-Hill-Truman-Democrat-socialist-Communist or whatever they may be.

As strange as it seems the Republican Party has become the white man's party of the Nation and the hope of the white South, and the only bulwark against Socialism and Communism. 3-17-48

We are probably witnessing the dying struggles of the New Deal with all its deception and corruption. Also the breaking up of the Solid South. But there is one thing I'm sure we can depend on: There will be two parties in the South and it won't be the old Democratic Party. It's dead, like our Confederate ancestors.

Forest Home, Ala. R. C. RIVES.

Montgomery, Ala.

The "Democratic Party passed out of existence with the election of Roosevelt"? Alabama voted solidly for Roosevelt four times. But Roosevelt would have been elected all four times entirely without the Solid South. The South does not own the Democratic Party. During the Civil War, with the South abstaining, there were more Democrats in Congress than before the war.—Ed.

South Should Fight For Rights, John Nance Garner Declares

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, March 11.—(AP)—John Nance Garner says the South should stand up for its rights "instead of merely trying to stop something." Fri.

"I did not like the two-thirds rule for nominations in the Democratic party conventions," he says. "The power that rule gave the South was negative. The South should stand up for its rights affirmatively." 3-12-48

(This rule, which some Southern leaders again demand, enabled the South to block unwanted candidates.)

The former vice-president, 79, and in retirement, spoke out through a biographer; Bascom N. Timmons, writing in Collier's Magazine.

These are more of his comments, as quoted by Timmons:

"I see no reason why there should be a depression at any time in the near future."

"Washington always has to have its kitty. Somewhere between the taxpayer and the ultimate use to which his money is to be put Washington extracts roughly 15 per cent. That goes for what is called 'administration'." The Advertiser

"The presidential and vice-presidential nominees should be of like philosophy but the presidential nominee should not select his running mate." Montgomery, Ala

"The country knows better what to do for itself than Washington knows what to do for it. In Washington we tried everything in the economic cookbook, and eventually everything worked around to big spending. That was the only rabbit left in the hat."

"The best laws on our statute books have been put there by intelligent compromise — compromise not on fundamentals or basic principles but compromise on details." He said that was "one thing Franklin Roosevelt could not understand." Fri 3-12-48

Jackson Parley To Draw Eyes Of Dixie Today

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Thur. 2-12-48

Delta State Democrats Conduct Bolt Meeting; Rankin Lauds Move

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JACKSON, MISS., Feb. 11.—(AP) — Mississippi legislators will focus attention Thursday on a statewide meeting here of Democrats called in protest against the national party.

They plan to sit with the delegates from their constituent congressional districts at the meeting.

Governor Fielding S. Wright hopes that as a result of the meeting Mississippi will take "militant leadership" in a break with the national party over its continued sponsorship of what he calls "anti-Southern" legislation. 2-12-48

The statewide meeting will precede a similar multi-state gathering to which he plans to invite Democrats particularly from the South. The meeting will be held in March.

His plans for both meetings have been endorsed by the legislature in resolutions.

But his proposal for a Southwide meeting, made at a Southern governors' conference last week, got no support from other chief executives. Thur

Negroes Assemble

President Truman's recent urging of legislation based on the recommendations of his civil rights committee prompted the governor to seek statewide and Southwide action against the national party. 2-12-48

On the eve of Thursday's meeting, approximately 100 Negroes assembled from many parts of the state endorsed President Truman's civil rights program.

They also asked Governor Wright to appoint an inter-racial committee to work toward equalization of opportunities for Negroes.

Percy Greene, Negro editor of a Jackson weekly newspaper, presided at the meeting. In a keynote address he said:

"The greatest question in the nation today is the Negro question. And I will say now that this nation will not remain one-half one thing and one-half another. We have all to stand together as one to achieve democracy." Montgomery, Ala.

The Negro meeting was called a week ago principally to discuss improving Negro schools. The call said that the governor and legislature would be petitioned to effect the improvements.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11.—(AP)—Rep. Rankin (D), Mississippi, said Wednesday that the South now confronts its greatest danger since reconstruction days.

His view was expressed in a telegram to Governor Fielding Wright, of Mississippi.

Rankin said he cannot attend a meeting of Mississippi Democrats Thursday at Jackson, called to consider what should be done about President Truman's civil rights program. The Advertiser

"I have carried on this fight here against these un-American and anti-Southern policies for years," Rankin told the governor. "It has been at times a most discouraging battle, and I am glad to have the governor and the legislature of my state, join us in this battle to save our sacred institutions from destruction and to guarantee that the white man's civilization shall not perish from the earth."

Montgomery, Ala.

The Dallas and Pickens County Democratic Executive Committees urged Wednesday selection of a Democratic presidential nominee who would uphold "the traditions of the South."

At Selma, the Dallas committee adopted a resolution specifically opposing President Truman's recent civil liberties recommendations. Thurs

It also urged Alabama delegates to the national convention to cast their votes for a nominee pledged against any platform including the civil liberties proposals of the president.

Copies of the resolution were sent to all Alabama members of Congress, Gov. James E. Folsom, and Gesser T. McCorvey, Mobile, chairman of the State Democratic committee. 2-12-48

Chris Heinz, Selma insurance man and president pro tem of the Selma City Council, was elected committee chairman. He succeeds S. S. Smith, who resigned the chairmanship after many years service.

At Carrollton, the Pickens committee adopted a resolution saying that President Truman "has deserted the time honored prin-

ciple of local self governmet, andable attack on our Southern prin-
is no longer deserving of sup-ciples and traditions" since re-
port" for president. construction days.
It reviewed the president's rec- The committee urged that Ala-
ommendations on civil libertiesbama delegates be pledged to
and described the proposals assupport a candidate who would
the "most serious and unjustifi-uphold "white supremacy."

South Carolina Democratic Party Misses The Boat

It appears that the Democratic party of South Carolina was determined to muff the opportunity presented to it by the East Dillon club's election of eight Negroes as delegates to the county convention. 34d

And it did. The Dillon convention, accepting the advice of the state party officials, ruled that the eight Negroes were ineligible for the reason that they were not enrolled members of the East Dillon club, which, of course, they were not.

As a result the party may face another suit to contest this exclusion—a suit that could have been avoided and should have been. Columbia, S.C.

It may be agreed that the party rules should have included some provision declaring that the enrolment books for the previous primary shall constitute the membership list for the reorganization of the precinct clubs. Otherwise the party, starting from scratch each general election year, has no guarantee that the Republicans or the Wallaceites or the Socialists will not invade one of the club meetings and take over. State Chairman W. P. Baskin was thinking right from a long-range point of view.

But there is no rule which now requires that a person attending the organization meetings and elected as a delegate to the county or state conventions be an enrolled voter in the previous primary. The rule will have to be written at the state convention. It should be. Thurs. 5-6-48

In the meanwhile the requirements for primary voting and for attendance upon the organization meetings of the clubs are identical. If Negroes can be permitted to vote in the Columbia municipal primary—and they were—despite the fact that they were not enrolled, they could have been permitted to attend the Dillon convention by election of the white members of the East Dillon club despite the fact that they were not enrolled for the last primary. After all there is a party rule that requires voters in the primary to be enrolled; and there is none that requires the delegates to the county convention to be enrolled voters in the previous primary.

It would have been nothing new for Negroes to attend a Democratic convention in South Carolina. It is even nothing new for Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary in South Carolina.

The Negro Democrats of South Carolina made no effort to attend the club meetings and they should be congratulated for their restraint. What the state executive committee feared when it set up the nonexistent rule that a person must be an enrolled voter to participate in the organization meetings of any club was the mass invasion of the club meetings by others than Democrats. It proved to be a groundless fear. Only eight Negroes showed up in the state and these were at the East Dillon club meeting, which accepted them and elected them delegates to the county convention.

This was, as The Record has said, a wise decision, demonstrating, had it been allowed to stand, that the Democratic party of South Carolina was now ready to accept the decision of the supreme court, as it must. It would have been the proof that there is now no discrimination because of race or color in or by the Democratic party of South Carolina. The Record

It could have been so easily done, at no risk. But instead the party moguls elected to play the role of John L. Lewis and to defy both the party rules and the court. And in so doing they made the Dillon county party, the innocent victims of a state decision, liable for an action for contempt of court. Columbia, S.C.

Now the Negro Democrats, abandoning their restraint, are talking about action in the courts to contest the exclusion of the eight Negro delegates. They should postpone any such plans. Their first idea was the sounder one. They should allow a little time for the South Carolina Democrats to adjust their thinking to the new day. The East Dillon club was ahead of the pack in South Carolina, but it wasn't too far ahead—if the politicians, who have a vested interest in the status quo, can be shunted aside. Thurs. 5-6-48

Mixture Of Courage And Tmidity Is Democratic Party

The South Carolina Democratic party at its state convention in Columbia distinguished itself for a curious admixture of both courage and timidity.

Facing up to the issue created by the national party's abandonment of the traditional Democratic idea of state rights—there was a tendency in the convention oratory to lay all of the blame for this fact upon Harry Truman although Truman is not primarily responsible and some South Carolina Democrats are due some blame since they joined Franklin D. Roosevelt in the combination of state rights' slaughter and surrender that was the New Deal—the convention sternly set itself against President Harry Truman and all those who think like him, decided to bolt the Democratic party should Truman or any other like-minded person be nominated and to name electors who if selected to represent the state will cast their votes for someone else than the Democratic nominee.

From the resounding keynote address by Senator George Warren of Hampton repudiating the Truman leadership of the party to the fiery speech by Governor J. Strom Thurmon in support of the resolution to serve notice upon the national Democratic party that South Carolina Democrats will not be in the bag for Truman or any other supporter of his misnamed civil rights program the delegates were practically unanimous in their determination to accept no compromise on the state rights or civil rights issue. Columbia, S.C.

"We will fight them here today," Senator Warren said, referring to the national party leadership. "We will fight them in the national convention. We will fight them in the general election and in the electoral college. . . . Fri. 5-21-48

"The questions at issue are not matters of bigotry or prejudice. Never in American history has constitutional government been in greater danger than it is today."

Former Representative Miller H. Millette of Clarendon county tried to put in a word of caution when the resolution to instruct the delegates against Truman was under consideration but Senator R. M. Kennedy of Kershaw would have nothing of the compromise idea. He recognized that to pass the resolution might result in the party's delegates not being seated at the Philadelphia convention, but if this was to be so then let it be; it would be notice to the South Carolina Democrats that the party was bolting from them.

"This is the honest method," he said, "and there is no step more wholesome for the South. We have no place in the Truman party. If we haven't the courage or brains enough to confront it, for God's sake let's stop talking about it."

And to this stern and unrelenting course the convention held. If the national Democratic party sticks to the Truman program—every person at the state convention expected it to do so—the South Carolina Democratic party will sever its connections with it and go off somewhere else. 5-21-48

The convention, however, somewhat inconsistently maintained contact with the national Democratic party by naming Governor J. Strom Thurmond as national committeeman and Mrs. Anne Agnew as national committee woman.

And facing the requirement of the federal courts that Negroes be permitted to vote in the Democratic primaries the party forgot Senator Warren's ringing phrase—"The questions at issue are not matters of bigotry or prejudice"—and allowed the Negroes only qualified participation in the primary. The Record

Any white person, 21 years of age who subscribed to the Democratic party principles and meets the residential requirements and is able to read and write and interpret the constitution of South Carolina, may enroll on the party club roll and may, if he takes the oath required of all voters, vote in the primary.

Negroes, however, must be qualified electors in order to vote and must therefore be capable of meeting the qualifications for registration and must even present their registration certificates. They are not to be permitted to enroll as Democrats and are not to be allowed to have any part in the formulation of party policy, to which, if they desire to vote, they must commit themselves. Apparently even they are to be denied the right to be candidates for the Democratic nomination. Columbia, S.C.

Senator W. Brantley Harvey of Beaufort, chairman of the rules committee, frankly told the convention that he anticipates further court action as the result of this attempt to maintain party control in the hands of the whites, exclusively, and to set up the Negro Democrats in a segregated group outside the party, proper.

He will, of course, get it almost immediately. The Negro leaders, who backed the original suit, have only to go to Judge J. Waites Waring and ask him to modify his order to cover the new discrimination and to make clear, as the language of his original decision did not, that he had meant that the Negroes had to be admitted to the party on the same basis as whites, which is, as everybody knows, what his decision actually meant. Fri. 5-21-48

Already the plans for such a new court action are being laid. These will, of course, succeed and probably before the primary can be held. Neither Judge Waring nor the circuit court of appeals nor the supreme court intended anything but that the right to vote in the primary as in the general election should be put on the basis of parity.

The attempt to set the Negroes apart in a segregationed party and at the same time to confer upon them a sort of second-rate franchise is doomed to failure. And those of the party members who can think logically know it.

There was only one proper course for the party to take. And that was to grant the right of participation in the primary to the Negroes on the same basis that it is granted to whites.

It would have been better and more courageous and magnanimous for the party to have done it this way, instead of seizing upon Judge Waring's use of the word "qualified elector" to honor the letter of his decision while violating the spirit of it.

Why Should Democratic Leaders Invite Damage Suits?

Before the club meetings were held, before the county conventions, before the state convention and since The Record has labored with logic in a vain, so far, attempt to bring the leaders of the Democratic (Politicians') party of South Carolina to adopt a sensible attitude in the face of the federal court decisions, granting Negro Democrats the right to participate in the Democratic primary.

34d

By their recalcitrant policy, it has pointed out, they are defeating the purposes of the white Democrats in South Carolina. They are telling the Negroes of South Carolina that they cannot get what the federal courts declare they are entitled to unless they vote in such numbers as to take over control in the counties where the Negroes are in the majority. And they are trying to make the South Carolina Democratic party play the role of John L. Lewis in defying the spirit and, their claims to the contrary, the letter of the federal court decisions. Tues. 6-1-48

And there is a moral for them to be drawn from the experience of John L. Lewis, which, it did not seem to The Record, it was necessary to point out to men capable of reading. It is that pursuing such a course, even when you have the Shakespearean vocabulary and the eyebrows of Lewis, is fraught with danger. Columbia, S.C.

John L. Lewis and his Mine Workers' union paid considerable fines to learn the lesson that the power of the federal courts and the system of law and order in the United States is greater than that of any labor union, even the United Mine Workers. The federal courts are also more powerful than the Democratic party of South Carolina. The Record

If Judge J. Waites Waring decides that this new scheme of the Democratic party to avoid complying with the spirit of his decision amounts to contempt of court he can try those of the defendants in the Elmore case who have participated in the formation of this new policy for contempt of court. And contempt cases are not heard by a jury. They can result in fines or imprisonment. Columbia, S.C.

The party leaders are also ignoring the fact that the original Elmore case was a suit for damages. The Negro leaders, backing the action, sidetracked the damage action in order to concentrate on the real issue, the issue of Negro participation in the primaries. If they were allowed this the damages could be forgotten and a new start could be made. It was a generous gesture, which should have been met in the same spirit, as it was not. 6-1-48

In Georgia last week eight Negroes filed suit in federal court, asking damages of $55,000 of each of 11 defendants and $20,000 in attorneys' fees—a total of $625,000. Their complaint is directed at Superior Court Judge Earl Camp, State Representative Herschel and the members of the Laurens county board of registrars and the Laurens county commission, whom they charge with removing the names of 1,800 Laurens county Negroes from the registration rolls. Tues.

And similiar damage suits could be brought in South Carolina. The Democratic party leaders of South Carolina are inviting them. And they should not.

State Democratic Party Faces Momentuous Decision

The Democratic party of South Carolina, the leaders of which are planning to take it off nowhere if the Democrats nominate Harry Truman, as they probably will, meets today for its biennial convention.

Of all the conventions of the Democratic party ever held in South Carolina this convention will be the best-talked-over-before-it-is-put-on convention in the state's history.

The last executive committee, a hang-over from the previous convention of two years ago which curiously indorsed Harry Truman, has been working hard and late behind closed doors to lay the plans for the new convention. A rules sub-committee also a creature of the hang-over executive committee, has been busy working on plans to amend the party rules to adjust them to the federal court decisions, holding that Negroes, heretofore in recent years denied this right, may vote in the Democratic primary.

And banking upon these preparations for the convention Senator W. P. Baskin, who will be a candidate to succeed himself as state chairman, predicts a "very harmonious convention." Columbia, S.C.

"Now is no time for the Democrats of the state to get divided among themselves," he declares. Wed. 5-19-48

But this is simply whistling in the wind. There are plenty of controversial matters to come before the convention and if the opinions of the voters of South Carolina as contrasted with the opinions of the office-holders govern the convention the hang-over plans for the party, as so far revealed, will get a rather severe jolt.

There is, for example, a proposal to advance the date of the Democratic primaries and to shorten the enrolment period on the theory that somehow the Negroes will not enroll in this brief period and will not vote. Most of the Negroes of South Carolina, like most of the whites, would not vote under any circumstances. They are not interested in the franchise for one reason or another. There is no reason, therefore, for the Democratic party to lose its nerve and attempt any such cowardly device. It should go ahead as usual with the primaries and with enrolment, as the executive committee by a two-vote margin decided last night.

Under the federal court decisions there is only one logical course for the party to adopt. It is to admit Negroes to the party primaries and to the party membership. It is the one legal course and any attempt to evade it may result in the punishment of the party leaders for contempt of court. And if it doesn't result in this the Negroes of the state, viewing the attempt for what it is, will have a real reason to vote in substantial numbers. For they will have the demonstration that the Negroes of South Carolina cannot get the rights the courts say they are entitled to have without actually controlling the elections, where they can control them. This, of course, is exactly what the South Carolina politicians, who are in charge of the party machinery, do not want. But they are defeating their own purposes. And playing with fire.

Yet there is some talk about admitting Negroes to vote and not admitting them to party membership, that is admitting only those Negroes who are "qualified electors," those who have registered. How Negroes may be allowed to vote and not allowed to participate in party affairs when the qualifications for voting and for party membership are identical is something that hasn't been explained. Nor has anyone explained how one set of qualifications can be set up for Negroes and another for whites without violating the clear intent of the court decisions. If the general election qualifications are applied for Negroes they must be applied also for whites. The Record

The rank and file of the delegates to the state convention had better do some thinking for themselves and for the state and the Democratic party. They must do it if any thinking is to be done.

And the Democratic party of South Carolina desperately needs some real thinking, thinking that is divorced from the thinking of the politicians who believe they have a vested right in the jobs they hold and do not want this right disturbed.

It needs thinking that will honestly face up to the situation created by the court decisions, thinking that will with courage and in fairness and justice turn aside from all the schemes to get around the decisions—every such scheme will end up in failure or worse—and do what needs to be done now. Columbia, S.C.

Why should the Democratic party of South Carolina find itself forced to run around like a hound dog with a can tied to his tail seeking a way not to do what every member of the party, every party leader knows must be done—if not today, then tomorrow? Wed. 5-19-48

Democratic Party Paved The Way For Own Unseating

The Progressive Democratic party, organized by the Negro Democrats excluded from the white Democratic primary but not confined to Negroes, is confidently predicting that its 28 delegates to the national Democratic convention at Philadelphia will be seated. Columbia, S.C.

And it may turn out so, or a proportion of them may be seated. For the Progressive Democrats have some logic on their side. Wed. 6-2-48

They are the only South Carolina Democratic party, so far at least, that actually gives the Negro Democrats of South Carolina a voice in party affairs, allows them to participate in the choice of delegates to the national convention.

The regular Democratic party had its chance. It could have honestly and squarely faced the issue created by the federal court decisions and admitted Negroes to full membership, as many of the party members, their voices ignored by the politicians in charge, advised.

This course, eventually, will have to be followed and every one of the politicians—their eyes apparently on just one more election in which they can be returned to office—know this as well as anybody else.

Had this been done, as it ought to have been done, the Progressive Democratic party could have been disbanded. The one regular Democratic party could have represented both whites and Negroes.

It even appeared in the beginning as if this were to be the result. Negroes attended one of the club meetings, as the party were elected delegates to the Dillon county convention by the votes of the white majority at the club meeting.

And, if they had been seated at the convention, the party could have claimed that it represented in the state convention both whites and Negroes. This small group of Dillon Negro Democrats, it could have been explained, were the only Negroes who took the trouble to attend the club meetings.

But the party in violation of its own rules refused to seat the Negro delegates at Dillon and at the state convention it completed the job by declaring that the Negroes should not be eligible for membership and might therefore have no voice in the selection of the Democratic nominee for the presidency, the highest federal office. Wed.

At Philadelphia it will be caught in the trap of its own foolishness. The party leaders will try to make a great hullabaloo about how the regular white Democrats are being pushed aside to curry favor with the Negroes or to give representation to some other white Democratic group, admitting Negroes to full participation, such as is proposed to be organized in the state, favoring the nomination of Harry Truman. But the national Democratic credentials committee can reply simply that it cannot recognize the South Carolina Democratic (Politicians') party delegates simply because the party is not organized and set up on any legal basis, is, in fact, illegally constituted and therefore no party. 8-3-48

And what can the South Carolina Democratic (Politicians') party leaders say in reply?

34d 1948

Democratic (South Carolina)

Then Why Hold It?

The Democratic party of Columbia, limited, of course, to white Democrats, is undertaking to raise $8,000 for the expenses of the city primary campaign. The Record

So far the fund raising efforts have produced something like $300, according to latest announcements; the sum raised may have grown since this announcement was made, but there has been no public report of it, if it has. Jue. 2-17-48

If the Democrats of Columbia do not value the primary any more than this seems to indicate why have a primary? Why spend $8,000 for something that the voters do not think is worth more than $300, if that is what they value it at?

There is the general election, which is the real election, in which two city councilmen could be named this year, in which after all they will be named. Columbia S. C.

Laurens Suggests

Eugene S. Blease of Newberry, former chief justice of the supreme court of South Carolina, speaking at Laurens, declared his opposition to the development in South Carolina of the two-party system. Record Columbia S. C.

He is apparently in favor of the establishment in South Carolina and perhaps elsewhere in the South of a third, splinter "party of principle" to which persons subscribing to the "principles" of race segregation and the "customs and ways of life in South Carolina" could belong. Sat.

The creation of such a party, with the state still adhering to the one-party or no-party system, would reduce the influence of South Carolina in national affairs to something less than zero. We would be fair game for both parties. would be the party that could never win national election and it would be treated as such.

The Democrats of Laurens, who heard Mr. Blease, apparently did not go along with him. Instead they favored three measures, one of which—the Austrialian ballot for general elections—looks to the erection of two parties in South Carolina while one of the others apparently contemplates action within the party in opposing the renomination of Harry Truman. 3-13-48

The third Laurens suggestion is the proposal that the General Assembly of South Carolina, without waiting for a special session, "take immediate steps" to safeguard the primary by law with more definite qualifications for voting.

Every one of the three suggestions is sound and they were every one of them sound before President Truman sounded off on civil rights for vote-getting purposes. Sat.

S. C. Committee Spurns Demos 'Cool-Off' Period

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

Jue. 2-10-48

While other Southerners fussed and fumed over President Truman's proposed civil rights law, a county Democratic Executive Committee in South Carolina Thursday walked out of the party, spurning the 40-day "cooling-off" period provided in the Southern Governors' resolution.

At the same time, Democratic National Chairman Howard McGrath repudiated reports that he would center his speech on "Civil Rights" when he addresses the Jackson-Jefferson Day Dinner in Atlanta March 5. Constitution, Atlanta

Another development on the Civil Rights front found two Georgia Congressmen, Reps. Steve Pace, of Americus, and Sidney Camp, of Newnan, firing at the President's Civil Rights program in Washington. Ga.

Although the secession movement proposed for the South failed to materialize during the Southern Governors Conference at Tallahassee over the week-end, the Jasper County (Ridgeland), S. C., Democratic Executive Committee voted to secede Monday. It called a county convention for Feb. 23 to secede formally from the National Party, asserting that it "holds the South in slavery."

"If there are any free people left in the South, they ought to go into mourning for those 40 days," said County Chairman H. Klugh Purdy. "The 40-day ultimatum by which the Governors hope to wring concessions from the administration on the Civil Rights program is the same as slaves trying to wring concessions from their masters." 2-10-48

Chairman McGrath, in commenting on reports that he would hit Dixie's "sore spot" when he speaks in Atlanta, told The Constitution's Washington Bureau:

"I have accepted an invitation to address the dinner celebration arranged by Georgia Democratic leaders for March 5 and I expect to go. The subject of my talk has not been decided, but it will be in keeping with the friendly spirit of co-operation in which the invitation was extended.

Party national headquarter officials said McGrath could be relied upon to "exercise good manners and not pick a fight."

Rep. Camp characterized major points in the Civil Rights program as "a dangerous intrusion of private rights." He said the Truman proposal for establishment a Federal Fair Employment Practice Commission would absolutely demoralize industrial relations in Georgia and other Southern states.

"I deplored the fact that our Party has to come out and express itself on issues of this kind," Camp said. "The FEPC is one of the most dangerous intrusions of private rights ever conceived. Anti-lynching legislation has been introduced in Congress for forty years. It is the opinion that all thoughtful men of Congress that bills like this and the FEPC and anti-poll tax law are nconstitutional. Jue. 2-10-48

In a speech on the floor of the House, Rep. Pace charged that the President was placing political preferment above the welfare and loyalty of the the South. He said the hour is drawing near when the people of the section "must counsel among themselves upon a future course of action."

"We of the South had thought that our cherished traditions and the right of the people in each state to conduct its own affairs would be guarded and protected by the leaders of our own Party," Pace said. 'That our confidence was misplaced can no longer be questioned."

In Washington, another Southern Congressman, Rep. Harris, Democrat, Arkansas, asked President Truman to refrain from further insistence on enactment of the civil rights program, cautioning that ignoring of such a great segment of the Democratic Party (Southern Democrats) could well cause another revolt in many States.

Presidential Press Sec. Charles Ross, however, denied a prediction by one of Mr. Truman's Congressional advisers that the administration would retreat a little on the Civil Rights program. The source had predicted Mr. Truman would not insist upon legislation to end segregation on railroads and other interstate transportation. Sen. Eastland, Democrat, Mississippi, declared that if Southerners stand together they can deny the Democratic Presidential nomination to anyone who opposes their views on civil rights.

By withholding its electoral votes, the South can defeat in 1948 any Democratic candidate, Eastland told the Senate in a speech blasting the Truman proposals. Jue. 2-10-48

'United Against Rights,' Says S. C. Party Head

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9—(AP) State Democratic Chmn. W. P. Baskin, of South Carolina, said Monday night, "South Carolina Democrats are united to fight for the fundamental traditions of the South." Atlanta, Ga.

Baskin told a reporter he conferred Monday with Sens. Maybank and Johnston, South Carolina Democrats, about "what to do." He said he will talk things over Tuesday with other members of Congress from his State.

He said that before he left South Carolina he called a meeting of the State Democratic Executive Committee for Mar. 1 in Columbia "to determine the future course of the Party." 2-10-48

The Committee, with one representative from each of the 46 counties plus the National Democratic Committeewoman, Mrs. C. L. Wheeler, of Dillon, and the National Committeeman, Sen. Johnston, is the policy-making body of the Party between conventions," he commented.

"We will have a full and generous discussion," of recent events affecting our State and our State Democratic Party, including (1) the President's civil rights program, (2) the decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Baltimore, Md., allowing Negroes to vote in our State Primary." Constitution

He said the next State Convention is set for May 19 but the Executive Committee might decide to call one earlier. Plans for elections will be completed then, he said.

Florence Democrats Back Mr. Truman

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

FLORENCE, S. C. — Florence County Progressive Democrats went on record as favoring the nomination of President Harry S. Truman and backing the civil rights program at a largely attended county convention in the Community Center of Creves street here Tuesday night. Sat.

County Chairman L. M. Green of Lake City who presided, said practically every precinct in the county was represented. The motion to back President Truman as party nominee in 1948 was made by the Rev. W. A. ohnson of Effingham.

Following a discussion of business, delegates to the State Progressive Democratic Convention on May 26 in the Columbia Township Auditorium were elected. 5-22-48

DISCUSS CIVIL RIGHTS

President Truman's Civil Rights program was discussed at length. It was brought out that his program "was one built on absolute Christian principles, and that there can be no government for the people, and by the people, unless the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Man be fully recognized; that there can be no democracy, no universal peace, without God; that the Civil Rights program does not do away with States Rights, but gives to its citizens a States Rights program; that God will be pleased with in that it includes all races or groups, without regards to color."

Letters To The Editor

The Record

POLITICAL ANCIENTS ON THE WAY OUT

Columbia, S.C.

To the Editor of The Record:

I cannot resist the impulse to write and congratulate you on your editorials of June 1 and June 2. In every one you wrote with dynamic courage. I especially enjoyed your exposure of the duplicity of Czar Jeffries, and I sincerely hope that when he carries his battle to the users of power directly he will be ignominiously defeated as he ought to be. Mon.

But the most provocative sentiment of your editorials is that of the recent action of the Democratic party in South Carolina, so aptly parenthetically called by you the "Politicians" party, and that organization's stand against the voting of Negroes. The action of the party is not only fraught with danger as you say in the light of the federal decisions, but fraught with dishonor in the minds of many democratic South Carolinians who prefer first to think of themselves as Americans and members of a great nation in which justice has a semblance of moral right. 6-7-48

The vital question is not segregation of the Negro; certainly as individuals we have the freedom to make that choice. The question is whether or not the Negro, by the volition of his fellow-southerner, will be allowed to participate in what Herbert Agar once called America's most explosive idea—equality. That means equality in the spirit of our law, equality at the bar of justice, equality in the democratic processes of government; he has now only equality in the spirit of the universe. If we had one man who would speak honestly as a candidate for any office on the issue, speak as you have written, that man could truly be called a statesman. I am firmly convinced that if tomorrow the pages of history accord to us of today any wisdom and courage in the things we do, it will be attributable to a few men like you and Mr. Beverly Herbert who will speak of the "common impulses of humanity" in solving our most difficult problem. Mon. 6-7-48

The action of Chairman Rice in calling the Democratic committee of Richland county into special session in conjunction with his letter to Senator Baskin in an effort to prevent an outright violation of the letter of the law is to be admired. If the erstwhile ancients continue to ask and demand by what authority such is done and win a victory on Robert's Rule of Order, let them take note that the people are getting sick of the politicians and the Politician's party, and the day is not distant when they will be forever unseated and South Carolina will take its place as an integrated 48th part of the United States of America. The Record

W. S. WEATHERFORD, JR.
Columbia. Columbia. S.C.

It Must Have Been Done Without Legal Advice

The Record

The more you study the new South Carolina plan for inviting action by the federal courts, as written into the party rules by the state Democratic convention last week, the more foolish and futile it appears.

It is described as complying with the letter of the opinion of Federal Judge Waring. It pretends to admit Negroes to the primary who may be "qualified electors," who are the class that Judge Waring said had to be admitted. But not one of these Negroes is to be allowed to vote unless he takes an oath subscribing to principles to which it may be assumed he does not agree and with the formulation of which he was allowed no voice. 5-24-48 Mon

The party leaders are trying to preserve the one party election system in South Carolina and at the same time set up the fiction that this one-party, even though it has embraced men of every type of thought and opinion, if not men of all races, can act also as one half of a non-existent two-party system. Columbia Record

The Democratic leaders should make up their mind what they want. If they want two parties in South Carolina then they should say so and eliminate from the party those persons who do not agree with the party declaration of principles—and there are some of the party leaders who do not subscribe to all of them—and allow these others to form their own party. And even under a two-party system the voters themselves would be allowed to make their own choice. They would not be disfranchised if they didn't want to subscribe to a hastily concocted declaration passed at a one-day party convention representing not the party members but the politicians.

But if they desire to maintain the Democratic party, so called, as the one-party in a one-party system then to comply with the order of Judge Waring they must admit Negroes to the primary when they have met the qualifications prescribed by the constitution without requiring them to take any oath of adherence to the party principles. The Record

And if they admit Negroes, how under the decision of Judge Waring which declares that there can be no discrimination on account of race or color, can they refuse to admit whites who may be registered voters, but not enrolled in the Democratic clubs, to vote in the primary? Columbia SC

Yet that is what the rules provide. A registered white voter, even though he be willing to take the oath prescribed by the party, cannot vote now as Negroes may vote. He must, in addition to meeting the registration requirements, also meet the enrolment requirements. This is discrimination against the whites. Mon

Such are the pitfalls that the party gets itself into when it tries to find a way to avoid the clear logic of the federal court decisions. It is well therefore that the convention did not adjourn, but only recessed. It will have to come back again to do what it should have done. 5-24-48

The Record cannot believe that the party had any legal advice in the course it is pursuing. Judge Waring in his first decision told the party that it was time for South Carolina to rejoin the union. The Record hesitates to think what he will say now when he is confronted with this new plan—if it is possible to call such muddled thinking a plan—but whatever it is it will be deserved.

Dillon Demonstrates Its High Wisdom

Eight Negroes attended the organization meeting of the East Dillon Democratic club and were elected as delegates from the club along with 34 whites to the county convention. Columbia S.C.

The motion to name all persons present as delegates to the county convention was made by Mrs. C .L. Wheeler, national committeewoman from South Carolina, and was carried with only four dissenting votes, A. D. Barnes, president of the club, said. Fri-4-30-48

But under instructions of W. P. Baskin state chairman, the attempt will be made to disqualify the eight Negroes when the convention meets. They were not, of course, enrolled voters heretofore and, Mr. Baskin holds, may not attend club meetings, not sit in the county convention.

President Barnes said that the East Dillon club will stand by its delegates and if they were challenged would insist that they be seated.

"They did not expect to be elected as delegates and made no such request," he said. "It was merely a generous gesture on the part of the people of East Dillon club who realize that the Negroes had a right to be where they were."

Actually it was more than this. It was wisdom of a high order, of which there is too little in South Carolina at any time and almost none in the protracted battle to keep ahead of the supreme court and to preserve the status quo for the benefit of the politicians. Fri 4-30-48

The Negro delegates ought to be seated in the Dillon convention and if the people of Dillon are allowed to make their own decision it may be assumed that they will be seated. There is no rule of the Democratic party that The Record knows of which requires a person attending the organization meeting to be an enrolled primary voter in the preceding primary, despite the statement of Mr. Baskin and his vague reference to Rule 4 which concerns special meetings of the clubs not the biennial reorganization meetings.

Rule 6 of the party rules sets forth the requirements for club membership:

"The qualification for membership in any any club of the party in this state . . . shall be as follows, viz.: The applicant for membership . . . shall be 18 years of age, or shall become so before the succeeding general election and be a white Democrat. He shall be a citizen of the United States and of this state, and shall be able to read or write, and interpret the constitution of this state. No person shall belong to any club . . . unless he has resided in the state two years and in the county six months prior to the succeeding general election and in the club district 60 days prior to the first primary . . . Fri Columbia Recor

And Rule 7(d) provides:

"No person shall be enrolled in any club or take part in any club meeting . . . or be elected a delegate to the county convention, except in the club district in which he resides." Columbia S.C.

The effect of the federal court decisions is to eliminate the word "white" in Rule 6. And with this word eliminated there is nothing to prevent the Negroes attending the Dillon convention. Fri 4-30-48

If the party rules had required, as State Chairman Baskin seems to think they do, that a person be an enrolled voter in the last primary before he may attend a club meeting the Negroes would have had much less difficulty in proving the continuity of the present Democratic party and the Democratic party, established by state law, which preceded it. This Mr. Baskin has argued was not so. He cannot now blow hot and cold at the same time.

And there is no doubt that under the federal court decisions, even if the primary be abolished, as the Charleston News and Courier proposes, that Negroes are entitled to attend the club meetings and to be elected delegates to the county and state conventions. Fri 4-30-48

The cue for the Dillon convention is to show the same generosity and wisdom that the East Dillon club showed, despite the ruling of the state chairman. The East Dillon club was right in its interpretation of the rules and its course was the wiser course. It is the sort of wisdom that South Carolina needs now to make the transition from the all-white primary to the mixed primary with the least friction and no untoward incidents.

South Carolinians In Favor Of Bolt

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(AP)—South Carolina Democrats voted Wednesday virtually to bolt the national party if President Truman is its nominee. Thurs

National convention delegates and electoral college nominees were instructed by resolution to withhold South Carolina support from the President or anyone else with "similar" civil rights views. 5-26-48

The biennial convention then nominated Gov. J. Strom Thurmond for President of the United States.

The state has eight electoral college votes.

Thurmond was selected the state party's candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination on a resolution offered from the floor by J. M. Moorer of Walterboro.

Its acclamation was unanimous.

A committee resolution further instructed the state's 20 national convention votes to be withheld, in any event, from President Truman.

It ordered the delegates to turn their backs also on any other nominee holding "similar" civil rights views to those expressed in President Truman's announced program.

Should Mr. Truman or some one else holding such views be the party nominee, the electoral college votes then would be cast at the direction of the state party executive committee. 5-27-48

Not since the state's votes went to Rutherford B. Hayes in 1877 has this state failed to support the national Democratic nominee.

34d

S.C. DEMOCRATS LEAVE CONVENTION TO PREPARE FOR NAACP SUIT

July 15, 1948

Press Service of the N.A.A.C.P.
New York, N.Y.
Thur. 7-15-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 12.-- The majority of the South Carolina delegates who arrived here this week to attend the Democratic convention were forced to leave on the first day of the convention for Columbia, S.C., to prepare for their appearance in court July 16 to answer the NAACP charge that the Democratic Party in South Carolina is seeking to deprive Negro citizens of their right to vote.

William P. Baskin, Democratic chairman in South Carolina, said that a July 13 meeting was necessary to consider the order of Federal Judge J. Waties Waring, issued July 8, warning that Negroes must be allowed to enroll for the state Democratic primaries which will be held in August. This restraining order was issued after attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People filed suit on behalf of David Brown and other qualified Negro voters against officials of the Democratic Party in South Carolina who, the NAACP complaint alleged, sought to keep Negroes from voting by prohibiting any Negro from joining Democratic Party clubs, by requiring that every Negro upon registering present a general registration certificate, and by requiring every member of the Democratic Party to take an oath to uphold racial segregation and oppose federal fair employment practices legislation.

All members of the state Democratic executive committee and the chairmen of all counties except Richmond were named defendants in the NAACP suit.

LEGISLATURE SEEKERS REBEL

Five Quit Race After Waring's Oath Ruling

The Record
Columbia, S.C.
Wed. 7-21-48

By the Associated Press

Five candidates for the South Carolina legislature have announced they won't run in the Democratic primaries. It was another Rebel yell against the party.

Three said yesterday they were withdrawing from the Democratic party and would run in the general election. The other two did not say whether they would run in November. All are from the Lowcountry.

Their withdawals came for two reasons:

The state party rule that candidates support the Truman-Barkley national ticket, and a federal court decision allowing Negroes to become members of the South Carolina Democratic party.

Out of next month's Democratic primary are two former House candidates from Charleston county and one Senate and two House candidates from Georgetown county.

Georgetown Trio

The names: T. Allen Legare, Jr., and Henry T. Gaud of Charleston, James B. Morison, Don V. Richardson and James B. Moore of Georgetown. Morison was the Senate candidate. The Georgetown men said they would offer in the general election.

Here are high points of their statements.

Morison: "The party that I announced in is no more. The principles are no longer the same. The oath as written requires me to vote for Truman. Thurmond (Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, presidential candidate Southern states' rights Democrats) is my governor and my leader."

Richardson: "I cannot subscribe to the oath or take the oath that is required of candidates in the Democratic party."

Moore: "I cannot subscribe to the principles and policies of the Demcrtaic party as it now exists. The Democratic party of my forefathers is no more."

'Walls Breached'

Legare: "By fiat of a federal court the walls of the Democratic party have been breached. The way has been paved for every individual ...of whatever real political adherence, Republican. Communist, or Progressive (Negro) Democrat, to enrol and override the will of the real Democrats of South Carolina"

Gaud said he would have a statement later.

The Record
Columbia, S.C.
Wed. 7-21-48

CHARLESTON, July 21—In a stormy political day following Judge J. Waties Waring's order outlawing the state Democratic party's voting oath, two Charleston county candidates for the state legislature yesterday withdrew their names, the rest of the candidates were unable to reach an agreement, and the county executive committee urged a new state convention and voted to hold the primaries as scheduled.

Rep. T. Allen Legare, Jr., and Henry T. Gaud withdrew their names after a hectic meeting of the candidates had failed to reach any collective decision.

'Weird Ridiculous'

"For the first time since Reconstruction days our ballots are to be cast under federal supervision," Legare said. "If the ruling which has brought about this weird and ridiculous result is the law of the land, then we in America have truly reached the point when we need a new Magna Carta."

He ended by saying that the "great difficulty" is that there is not enough time to appeal Waring's decision and that the next general assembly must act firmly to prevent this situation again.

Different Now

Gaud withdrew because, he said, "It is a materially different primary than when we put up our names. Now every voter must take an oath to vote for President Truman."

He was referring to the section of Waring's order which forbids "any oath other than that the prospective voter meets the qualifications as an elector—and will support the nominees of the Democratic party ta the ensuing general election."

The county committee paradoxically voted to hold the primaries as scheduled, but also voted to call a new convention to consider the feasibility of holding the primaries

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APPEAL ON NEGROES ADMISSION PLANNED

(The Associated Press)

Charleston, S. C., Aug. 14.—South Carolina Democrats are planning an appeal from the ruling of US District Judge J. Waties Waring ordering the admission of Negroes to the party.

34d

Robert McC. Figg, Jr., a party attorney, said today that the Democrats will appeal the decision if Judge Waring makes permanent the preliminary injunction, which is now in effect.

The preliminary injunction, granting Negroes full participation in party affairs, including the right to vote in primaries, was handed down July 19.

Negro Democrats In South Carolina Support Truman

Columbia Record

South Carolina Negro Democrats, it seems safe to say, will support the Democratic ticket of Truman and Barkley in the November election.

John H. McCray, state chairman of the Progressive Democratic party of South Carolina, organized when the Negroes were not permitted to vote in the Democratic primary, has been invited to serve on a national citizens' committee for the re-election of President Truman.

Wed. 8-18-48

And he is actively supporting President Truman. Nor is it strange that Negroes should support the Democratic party and Truman. The Democratic platform is a stronger platform from the Negroes' point of view than that of the Republicans. And Truman, whatever else may be said of him, has had the courage of his convictions, political or otherwise, and has not backed down an inch in the face of the growing Southern revolt. The revolters even may have spurred him on to new acts.

Columbia S.C.

"Because of his position," Chairman McCray declares in a front page editorial in his newspaper The Lighthouse and Informer, "the President is being crucified by traditional un-Americans, and by some Southerners, a group of which comes from South Carolina. These are putting up money, brain and time and energy to defeat Mr. Truman. They, traditionally Democratic, would hand the government over to the big-business-loving Republicans rather than to our great President and just to defeat civil or human rights

Wed 8-18-48

"We take the position that President Truman must be backed by every Negro in South Carolina and of course around the country. What other President has done so much for our people? He has done at least one thing every one of us has prayed would be done. He has stuck his political neck out . . ..

"Now is the time for Negroes, either to put up their votes and their money to help keep Harry Truman in the White House, or just shut up and forget about being first class citizens . . ."

And the Negro Democrats, who voted in the primary, can, if a ticket of Truman electors be provided—and such a ticket is promised in South Carolina—vote for the Democratic primary nominees and for the Truman-Barkley ticket.

Nobody generally took an oath to support the primary nominees—the voters' oath was abolished after Judge J. Waties Waring denuded it of its thought-control provisions—but every person who participated in the primary is honor bound to abide by the result of the primary and to support the successful nominees in the general election.

Wed. 8-18-48

The Democratic party of South Carolina would have been honor bound to support the national party nominees if it had not served prior notice on the party of its intention to bolt should Truman be the nominee. And, in accord with this notice, it has now been delivered lock, stock and barrel to the States Righters, by action of the state executive committee.

There may be others who do not want to go along with the States Rights Democrats and desert the Democratic party, many of the organized labor group, for example. They should be allowed, even encouraged, to vote as they choose.

And there is one easy way to do this. It would greatly simplify matters if the state were to adopt now, as it should have long ago, a secret general election ballot on which all candidates could be named and the voter allowed to make his choice.

Politicians Again Misread A Waring Decision

Columbia Record

Those politicians, who, following the lead of the Charleston News and Courier, have been interpreting Judge J. Waties Waring's order eliminating the thought-control provisions of the Democratic (Politicians') party voters' oath as setting up a new court-ordered oath, need to take a little time out and read the Waring order.

"Wherefore," the order reads, "it is ordered that the defendants, their agents, servants, employes and attorneys and all persons in active concert and participation with them be and they hereby are restrained and enjoined pending determination of this action . . .

Thurs 7-22-48

"4. From requiring the plaintiff and other Negro electors to take the following oath as a prerequisite to voting in the said primary elections:

"'I do solemnly swear that . . . I believe in and will support the principles of the Democratic party of South Carolina and that I (understand and) believe in and will support the social, (religious) and educational separation of the races.

"'I further solemnly swear that I believe in the principles of states' rights and that I am opposed to the proposed federal so-called F. E. P. C. law.

"'I further solemnly swear that I will support the election of the nominees of this primary in the ensuing general election, and that I am not a member of any other political party.'

7-22-48

"5. From requiring of prospective voters in Democratic primaries any oath other than that the prospective voter meets the qualifications as an elector as set out in the constitution of South Carolina, and is a Democrat and will support the election of the nominees of the Democratic party at the ensuing general election."

The News and Courier interprets this as meaning that the Democratic oath must follow the exact language of this Paragraph 5, which, it believes, would require the Democratic voters to swear that they would support President Harry Truman, who is of course the nominee of the national Democratic party.

But this is not what Judge Waring's order says. The Paragraph 5 means in English that the Democratic party of South Carolina may eliminate all voters' oaths if it so chooses. And The News and Courier has pointed out that Democratic primaries without oaths have been held in South Carolina and even argued that they could be held again.

It means that the Democratic party of South Carolina may, if it so chooses, write a new oath which can contain, as the party elects, the substance of every adjuration that the voters' oaths of other years have contained or it may eleminate or weaken any one of them. And last year's oath is enough of an oath for any voter to take.

What Judge Waring has done has been simply to fix the limits beyond which the party may go. And they are sensible and reasonable limits.

7-22-48

What, therefore, is all the shooting about?

But Who Would Listen To The Voice Of Sanity?

The Columbia Record

The Charleston News and Courier's frantic appeals to James F. Byrnes, former secretary of state, to come to the aid of the Democratic party of South Carolina, grow a little pitiful.

Consider this example:

Wed. 8-4-48

"Today in our hour of need South Carolina is crying for leadership.

"Today The News and Courier is addressing an appeal, an earnest appeal, to the citizen of South Carolina whose voice will carry farthest into the other states of the union.

Columbia, S.C.

"Today we are asking Mr. James F. Byrnes, former member of Congress, former associate justice, former secretary of state, to tell the world the story of a sovereign state battling for its freedom.

8-4-48

"He is the foremost public figure in the state, though now a private citizen. He has been honored by his people above most men. His name is known with respect not only in the United States, but in foreign lands. He has made eloquent appeals for the liberty of peoples in other countries . . .

"The citizens of South Carolina are confused. They do not know which way to turn. Outside the state there is more confusion and misunderstanding, and hatred too. Mr. Byrnes could help to clear up the misunderstanding and reduce the hatred. He would be heard . . . He can speak with authority. He can lead his people from the swamp in which they now flounder back to the high ground of sovereignty and home rule."

South Carolina does, of course, need leaders today. It is confused and growing daily more confused. Too many of its people are not even thinking, they are simply feeling and there are demagogues, both in and out of office in South Carolina, who are trying to promote this chaos.

8-4-48

Mr. Byrnes can think as well as feel. If he should speak out as The News and Courier desires him to speak, in reason and without prejudice, would even The News and Courier go along with him? And what can be done to clear up the misunderstanding and reduce the hatred outside South Carolina if we here cannot ourselves clear up the misunderstanding and eliminate the hate-mongerers?

Federal Courts Offer South Carolina Its Chance

Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina expresses himself as "shocked" that the supreme court of the United States refused even to hear the arguments of South Carolina Democrats in their contention that the Democratic party in South Carolina is a "private association."

This action by the court, which is an indirect way of affirming the decision of the Fourth circuit court of appeals, has, the Governor said, cost "every American . . . a part of his fundamental rights."

"I predict," he said, "that Americans everywhere will live to regret the principle of law which has been laid down."

The Governor is thinking of the decision in legalistic terms. And even from this point of view the South may have gained from the refusal of the supreme court to hear the case. The decisions of the district court and the circuit court of appeals did not succeed in reconciling their new opinions with the old civil rights cases and on legal grounds the Democrats of South Carolina had a good case for appeal.

But if the issue had been clearly drawn before the supreme court there was the risk that in deciding the case, as the court would have decided it—and as, of course, it did decide it—it might have been forced to overrule the civil rights cases and the South would have lost much more than it did lose in the courts' decision that the idea that the Democratic party is a "private association" in South Carolina was a pure fiction. Columbia, S.C.

South Carolinians are perhaps a little too close to the issues to see them in perspective. Contrast the comment of the Baltimore Evening Sun, which is a supporter of the South in what may be called the basic Southern endeavors, with that of Governor Thurmond. Mon. 4-26-48

"That the doctrine (that political parties are not private clubs and that party primaries are part of the electoral process) accords with sound sense as well as with the constitution is hardly open to question," The Evening Sun says in consideration of the supreme court's action. "All who are in any way familiar with the business of choosing our public officers know that the making of nominations is often as important as the choice between those who have been nominated. In a state like South Carolina, a one-party state in which a Democratic nomination is equivalent to election, the choice of a candidate is in fact the definitive election. To say that the suffrage in such an election can be regulated by party rules instead of by statute is to fly in the face of facts.

"The termiination of the South Carolinia case marks another milestone in the drive to protect the Negro from electoral discrimination . . . It is probable that fresh attempts to restrict Negro suffrage by means which do not directly relate to race or color will be attempted. But this ruling bars one kind of discrimination and in this way it provides a new prop for the electoral system which the constitution envisages."

And in sober consideration have the Negroes won anything by the supreme court's decision to which they were not entitled? Isn't the decision actually beneficial to South Carolinia? It has been possiible for a long time for Negroes to vote in South Carolina's general elections and no catastrophe has resulted. Not many of them have voted and not many will vote now, if the experience of other states where Negroes now vote be any criterion. But those who wanted to vote Democratic in the general election have had to vote for candidates in the choice of whom they had no voice. The effect of the courts' decision now is to grant them that voice. Mon.

One day South Carolina will see the wisdom of developing the two party system, the only system under which South Carolina may have influence in national affairs commensurate with its population. In the bag for the Democratic party under the one-party system, it has been ignored by both parties, by the Democrats because they always have had the South Carolina votes, by the Republicans because they had no chance of getting the South Carolina votes.

The result has been disastrous for South Carolina, in many ways. All white persons in South Carolina are not of one mind on the great national issues. But by making the Democratic party of South Carolina the white party, South Carolinians have smothered these differences and disfranchised for every practical purpose everybody who didn't go along with the national Democratic policy. And also sacrificed have been the disagreements among white South Carolinians concerning the proper policy to be pursued in state affairs. In the legislature of South Carolina, where all members are theoretically Democrats, there is not one party or two parties, but 170 parties, one for each member of the House and Senate. Party loyalty and responsibility are therefore unknown in South Carolina.

Two parties could have been erected in South Carolina with the whites in the Democratic party and the Negroes in the Republican party. But this would have been a false division. Opinions on issues, except purely racial issues, do not divide along racial lines. And any such division of the state along racial lines would have been more disastrous than even the one-party system. For it would have promoted racial tensions and added an element of hysteria even to politics in South Carolina, a field in which there is already too much emotionalism. The Record

Now the chance is offered South Carolina to build up two real parties, both composed of whites and Negroes, voting their honest convictions on the great national issues. And when this is done South Carolina will have spokesmen in both parties to present its point of view. South Carolina will be courted by both parties and flounted by neither. Columbia, S.C.

The supreme court decision can be therefore a boon to South Carolina—if South Carolinians have the sense to take advantage of it. Mon. 4-26-48

Three Groups To Ask Seats At Convention

The Record
Columbia, S.C.

A three-delegation fight for this state's votes at the July 12 National Democratic convention loomed today. Wed.

A citizens committee meeting here yesterday named 20 delegates—17 white people and three Negroes—and promised to send them to Philadelphia unless the state party convention agrees to send uninstructed delegates. 6-30-48

The May 19 state convention elected 40 delegates instructed to oppose the nomination of President Truman or anyone else who agreed with his civil rights proposals.

The state Progressive (Negro) Democratic party also has selected 28 delegates who will seek recognition at the convention.

Approximately 80 persons who attended the citizens committee meeting named an executive committee to select a slate of presidential elector candidates to support the Democratic presidential candidate, whoever he may be.

The executive committee was given discretion to nominate general election candidates for the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

County committees were asked to "repudiate the leadership" of the state Democratic party by adopting primary rules "in accordance with decisions of the federal courts and the constitution of the United States."

The committee also:

Urged citizens to refuse to take the primary voting oath;

Proposed that anyone qualified for the general election be allowed to vote in the primaries;

Asked Gov. J. Strom Thurmond to call a special session of the general assembly to enact law governing primaries and providing secret general election ballots; Wed.

And endorsed "such action as is necessary" to extend "full citizenship" to 18-21 year-old persons. State party rules set them inimum voting age at 21. 6-30-48

The State Democratic Party Is Due The Blame

The Record

The attempt of some of the Richland county executive committeemen, who go along with the misleaders of the state politicians' party, to blame the party's troubles on the press and radio is both futile and pitiful.

It is, as The Record has pointed out, like blaming the police for a crime wave because they increase the number of their arrests as the number of crimes increase instead of blaming the law violators themselves. Columbia, S.C.

Back of these naive charges is the thought that what the voters do not know will not hurt them. It is the same kind of thinking that led the state and county executive committees into the foolishness of holding their meetings behind closed doors where the voters could not know what was being done nor why. Thurs. 6-24-48

The newspapers are, of course, responsible for publishing the texts of the oath, the declaration of principles and the platform. But what is a newspaper for, anyhow?

But they are not responsible for the mistakes made at the state convention nor for the mistakes made since by the state party leaders. If the party had taken The Record's advice it could have avoided all of them and therefore escaped the confusion which still bedevils it. If after the convention the party leaders had taken The Record's advice and summoned the convention for a second session the mistakes made could have been corrected.

The Richland county executive committee has followed what seems to it a correct course. It was advised by counsel to withdraw the enrolment books to allow the state party officials time to act and when they did nothing, which is the one thing the state leaders seem to do best, the Richland committee voted to allow Negroes to enroll in conformity with the court decisions, simply disregarding any state rules to the contrary as null and void, as undoubtedly they are. This it had to do, if it did not want the executive committeemen and others involved in the Elmore suit to face the prospect of jail or fines for contempt of the federal courts. And this done it settled down to wait awhile longer for the state party leaders to take the necessary remedial action. If none has been taken are either the Richland committee or the newspapers to blame? Doesn't the blame rest where it should rest upon the state party leaders? The Record

No injustice is being done by the latest Richland decision to follow the lead of some of the other counties and to keep the enrolment books open awhile longer to make up for the period during which enrolment was generally halted in the county, waiting upon the state party to take action. If time be allowed for the purging of the rolls the extension of enrolment time simply allows more Democratic voters to enroll, which is or should be the party's aim. Columbia, S.C.

But it is conceded that the Richland committee cannot amend the party rules—what it has done to the party oath doesn't amount to much although it does remove some of the thought-control stigma from it—any more than the state executive committee or the state chairman can amend the rules, which may, as the rules themselves prescribe, only be amended by the state convention. And the state chairman can summon the state convention to meet again when he wills. Thurs. 6-24-48

CONVENTION HELD

Negroes Say National Party To Seat Them

The Record
Columbia, S.C.
Wed. 5-26-48

State Progressive Democrat delegates will be recognized and seated at the National Democratic convention in Philadelphia, A. J. Clement, Jr., keynote speaker at the Progressive's South Carolina convention, predicted today.

The convention endorsed President Truman's candidacy in the same hall where last week the regular Democratic party instructed its delegates not to vote for the renomination of Mr. Truman.

As the South Carolina Democratic party was dubbed a "spoiled child," Negro delegates from 18 counties called for a "human rights" program in contrast to the state party's stand for state's rights.

Patterned after the regular Democratic party, the Negro convention today was prepared to compete with the white Democrats to seat their 28 delegates at the National Democratic party convention in Philadelphia June 12. 5-26-48

201 Delegates Attend

The 201 delegates were challenged to pursue their fight to enter the ranks of the Democratic party for "freedom" and "until we have every right as citizens of the United States." The Record

The program, interspersed with songs featuring Truman and "Gimme That Democratic Spirit," was highlighted by the keynote address of Clement. Columbia S.C.

Clement struck at the state white party as the "office holding industry" of South Carolina which, he said, sought to keep itself in power.

Delegates warmed to his speech with applause at intervals and a few scattered "amens" as Clement branded the white party as "frantic heretics." Wed. 5-26-48

Progressive Democrats Get National Support For Their Fight Against White Party

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta Ga.

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(SNS)—

National support for Progressive Democrats when they appear for seats at Philadelphia July 12, appeared certain in a letter state chairman John H. McCray made public Monday.

The letter came from James E. Williams, eastern vice president of the National Council of Negro Democrats, of Jamaica, N. Y., who wrote partially:

"For the past few days Mr. Emmett S. Cunningham (of Detroit, Mich.), our national president, has been in conference with several of the key men of the Council, and we have agreed that your fight in th convention to seat your delegates in Philadelphia is a just fight; we have agreed to join the fight with you and other states in the South whose plight you also represent." Fri. 7-2-48

Mr. Williams said that a pre-convention caucus on this battle has been scheduled for 7 p. m., July, at the Hotel Chesterfield in Philadelphia, which will serve as headquarters for the Council which will serve as headquarters for the Council, which is meeting simultaneously with the national party.

PUTS HEAT TO SOUTH

The announcement of this national backing by Negro Democrats for full recognition of southern members puts the proverbial heat behind the lily-white delegation from South Carolina. It also puts the party leaders on notice and perhaps gives more concern than the recent so-called southern revolt.

Clearly, the national party will have to run the risk of recognizing South Carolina's Progressive Democrats as part of South Carolina's seated delegates and irked segments in the South, or reject them and incur the displeasure of northern Negro delegates in important and decisive states.

Unless there is atonement and a backing down on one or both sides somebody is going to walk away from Philadelphia and take with them many sorely needed votes for the all important November elections.

In 1944, Progressive Democrats went to the convention arguing that it was the obligation of the national party to amend its rules so as to make it impossible for units practicing racial discriminations on membership to be recognized. This is the basic contention again this year, but with more weight backing.

SOUTHERN STATES TO HELP

In addition to the powerful northern bloc behind them, the Progressive Democrats will have also the support of delegations from Arkansas, Alabama and possibly Georgia, though the last named hasn't yet committed itself. But since Negro Democrats in that state also belong to the national Council, it can be expected that Georgia will also line up with and behind the South Carolinians. 7-2-48

Moreover, indictions were that key party members throughout the country were also behind Progressive Democrats this year and, a contingent of white Democrats in South Carolina who are opposed to the anti-Negro policy the state maintains, even after Negroes have legally achieved the right to party participation.

The Progressive Democrats will probably entrain for Philadelphia the latter part of the coming week. They will number 28 delegates and a few alternates. Final details for their trip were to be worked out during conference in Washington by this week-end.

Negro Voting Action Criticized In Speech

The Record Columbia S.C.
Thurs. 6-24-48

MANNING, June 24—(AP)—The county-to-county campaign for Democratic nomination to the United States Senate was brought here today by four candidates seeking incumbent Burnet R. Maybank's seat.

Maybank announced last night that he would not speak for "several days" because of the death of his son-in-law at Charleston yesterday.

Continuing the tour are Neville Bennett, Clio farmer, United States Rep. William Jennings Bryan Dorn of Greenwood, attorney Alan Johnstone of Newberry, and Marcus A. Stone, Dillon and Florence lumberman.

They had an afternoon schedule at Orangeburg and will go to Bamberg and Barnwell tomorrow.

Four of the candidates stuck largely to previous speeches yesterday at St. Matthews.

Negroes Criticized

Johnstone injected a charge that a group of Negroes "who are Democrats at court and Republican at the ballot box" are trying to "make a raid" on the state Democratic party. The Record

He said James M. Hinton of Columbia represented this group. Hinton is secretary of the Negro Citizens' committee of South Carolina and state president of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People. Columbia S.C.

This group, Johnstone charged, "wants to vote in the Democratic primary whether they are Democrats or not." Thurs 6-24-48

Earlier in the campaign Johnstone called Maybank "indiscreet" for recommending the appointment of United States District Judge J. Waties Waring of Charleston.

It was Waring's decision that opened voting in state party primaries to Negroes.

Hinton said in a letter to Johnstone that the Negro Citizens' committee "resented and protested" his remarks about Waring's appointment. Thurs. 6-24-48

"Waring said this man (Hinton) should vote in the Democratic primary on his terms, not the party terms," Johnstone declared.

"Hinton does not represent the cause of our black people who believe in the Democratic party."

He asked Maybank to "take off his coat and enter this race," and inquired: The Record

"Does Hinton speak for him? . . . Does he believe a bunch of Republicans, white or black, should vote in the primary?"

Calls For Positions

Johnstone also called for his other opponents to state their positions on this question.

Bennett described himself as a farmer-candidate who would "cherish the opportunity of being the champion of the agricultural people of this state." Thurs

Dorn cited past successful political races and declared that as a congressman "I vote pro-America first, pro-Europe second."

Maybank also appealed for the farm vote by reviewing this support of farm legislation in the Senate. Columbia, S.C.

"I've done the best I could for your liberties, civil and world-wide," he concluded. 6-24-48

Stone repeated opposition to "taxation and vexation," the Taft-Hartley law, universal military training and the peacetime draft.

He suggested "universal education instead of military training.

34d 1948

Democratic (South Carolina)

Democratic Troubles in South Carolina

The Constitution

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Local jealousy, aroused by the elevation of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond to the role of States' rights presidential candidate, combined with the most weird election system anywhere in the world, has made South Carolina a November political battleground for the first time since 1880.

The local involvement springs from a deep suspicion by Sen. Olin Johnston, who did as much as any other to stir up the Southern revolt against President Truman, that Gov. Thurmond's aim in accepting presidential nomination was to build himself up to run against Johnston for Senator in 1950.

Johnston will be remembered as the Senator who walked out on the Jackson Day dinner in Washington, together with his guests, leaving a large empty table immediately in front of President Truman.

Wed 10-13-48

Possibly because he has found it difficult to eat his assertion that "no decent white man would vote for Truman," made last Spring, Sen. Johnston has not come out openly for Truman. All he said is the cryptic sentence, "I am a Democrat." It is generally accepted by all hands in South Carolina, however, that Johnston is doing his level best to save the State for Truman, with an effect of turning the present contest into a preview of an even hotter Johnston-Thurmond fracas two years hence.

Atlanta Ga

Newspaper political writers and similar neutral observers agree that Thurmond will win the 11 South Carolina presidential electors, but also they are as one in predicting that, incident to the Thurmond presidential candidacy, there is being brewed a local Democratic split that will be heard for many future years.

The prevailing November election practice in South Carolina never was intended to decide anything. It was a boresome constitutional necessity, required to register formally the elections—including the choice of presidential electors—that for 68 years have actually been accomplished in the Democratic Party primary.

Alone among all the States, South Carolina has no secret ballot—no ballot at all, in fact, in the sense of a sheet listing the names of competing candidates with the right of the voter to pick and choose.

When the voter enters the election place he will find stacks of privately printed ballots—Republican, Democrat, States' rights Democrat, Wallaceite, etc.—each presenting an exclusive list of candidates for President and for State and local offices as their sponsors please.

All that was required to put either the Truman-Barkley or Thurmond-Wright presidential tickets before the voters was for their supporters in each case to print up a batch of ballots. Both of them claim the whole list of Democratic nominees—congressional, State and local—as their own.

Entering the election place, the voter selects one of these ballots and drops it in the box. Any writing on a ballot disqualfies it, so a voter canot split his ticket. He can't even cross off a name. He can pick up several ballots, but there is no booth or curtain to get behind while making his choice between them.

The Thurmond-Wright ballots certainly will be stacked nearest the door and quite conceivably some of them may find their way into the ballot box credited to voters not actually on hand.

An element in the South Carolina election campaign, not much talked about openly but certainly potential, is the fact that Negroes are voting in considerable numbers this year for the first time since the Reconstruction days following the War Between the States.

White supremacy advocates blame this crack in the previously complete exclusion of Negroes from the polls on the Roosevelt and Truman national administrations. Specifically it got its start from a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in a Texas case in 1944, ordering the admission of Negroes to Democratic primaries.

In this State a Roosevelt-appointed U. S. District Judge, J. Waites Waring, of Charleston, in a series of decisions over the past two years, has beaten down frantic attempt by the South Carolina Democratic organization to avoid compliance with the Texas decision.

Following a refusal by the Supreme Court to override Judge Waring, Negroes—35,000 of them, according to the claim of their leaders—voted in the South Carolina Democratic primary last August.

The same Negro leaders guess that 65,000 Negroes may have registered to vote in November, but white authorities discount this figure by about half.

The race issue was injected directly into the presidential contest when John McCray, head of the Negro Progressive Democratic Party, publicly advised members of his race to stay away from a meeting at which Sec. of War Royall spoke on behalf of President Truman.

An inkling as to Mr. Truman's popularity in South Carolina may be derived from the fact that in this city of 65,000 Mr. Royall, himself a North Carolinian, was heard by fewer than 300 people—all white—in a hall capable of accommodating 5,000.

Wed 10-13-48

No State or congressional officeholder and very few party committeemen are openly supporting President Truman in South Carolina. The principal leaders in his behalf are the Rev. Maxie Collins, chiefly known heretofore as a Prohibitionist, and Cranston Williams, who ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic nomination for Governor in 1935 on a dripping wet platform.

Excepting members of Gov. Thurmond's own official families and a heavy majority of the Democratic State Central Committee, most Democratic wheelhorses in the State are not shouting for the States' righters either. The only South Carolina member of the Congress who has come out openly for the Thurmond-Wright ticket is Rep. L. Mendel Rivers, of Charleston.

S. C. Negroes Promise Push For Full Democratic Rights

Atlanta Constitution

Wed 12-20-48

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(AP)—South Carolina Negroes are "prepared to go the final mile" in their court fight for full membership rights in the State Democratic Party, one of their leaders announced yesterday.

James M. Hinton, President of the State chapter of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, said so in a letter to Chairman W. P. Baskin, of the State Executive Committee.

Atlanta Georgia

The Committee and county party Chairmen will meet here tomorrow to discuss a Federal Court decision that the party cannot deny Negroes full participation in party affairs, nor require any primary voters' oath other than the one prescribed for general elections.

The ruling was by U. S. District Judge J. Waites Waring, of Charleston. The party unsuccessfully appealed his previous decision that it could not bar Negroes from its primaries because of race or color.

Hinton wrote Baskin that Negroes intended "to assume our full share of the responsibilities, financial and otherwise, as well as enjoy the privileges that go with our membership in the party. . . .

"We request that all future action, legal or otherwise, that seeks to keep qualified Negroes out of the party be dropped. . . ."

He said he hoped the party would "welcome qualified Negroes on a basis of equality."

"Please understand, however," he added, "should you elect to take further legal action, Negroes will be fully prepared to go the final mile."

And There Is No Excuse For Any More Delaying

The Columbia Record

Governor J. Strom Thurmond has not yet announced his decision on the growing demand for a special session of the General Assembly to write into law statutes to control the primary and set up a real Australian ballot for the general election.

Yet South Carolina needs these things. It needs them now, not tomorrow or the next day.

It would have been sensible for the General Assembly, as The Record suggested, to have enacted these measures at the regular session, anticipating that the supreme court's decision on the Negro voting case would have been what it was. The acts, ratified on the last day of the session, could have been held by Governor Thurmond until the decision was actually handed down when his signature would have made them law.

Wed 7-21-48

The House even made a beginning at adopting the suggestion. An Australian ballot law for the general election was passed and sent to the Senate. A bill to penalize fraud and corrupt practices in primary elections, for which there is now no punishment, was also passed and sent to the Senate. There both of the measures remain, bottled up in committee.

Columbia S.C.

Both measures need some amendment. The Australian ballot law should provide for the voting of split tickets, under which a person might support the Democratic nominees for state and local offices and yet vote for any one of the electoral tickets.

South Carolinians are entitled to the secrecy of the ballot in what the Democratic party leaders, who control the General Assembly, insisted was the real election in South Carolina. They have been entitled to it for years and there is no longer any excuse in logic or otherwise for not giving it them. And it should be granted before the election in November if the grant is to mean anything.

And South Carolinians are entitled to a primary election, regulated by law, a primary election in which fraud or corrupt practices would be punished, a primary election in which the electors' qualifications are fixed by law.

There used to be, until South Carolina hit upon the futile device of the lawless primary, a provision of the constitution which declared that the General Assembly should pass laws to regulate primary elections. The obligation still persists.

The House bill, sent to the Senate during the regular session, provides for the punishment of fraud in the primary. It does not set up the qualifications for voters. It would have to be to amended to accomplish this or a separate bill introduced. Either could be done.

The Democratic party is falling apart in South Carolina and the primary is jeopardized by the fact that it is not regulated by law. Charleston county candidates met yesterday to study the possibility of getting out of the primary and running in the general election, a dangerous procedure.

Jasper county is operating independent of the state party.

Wed 7-21-48

Six counties, defying the state party set up their own rules to govern the enrolment of Negroes, and four of these find themselves exempted from Judge J. Waties Waring"s order requiring the party in every other county to conform to the letter and the spirit of his decisions as the six counties had done.

The Governor's explanation that there is no assurance that the legislature will act even if the special session be called has some validity. There is none. But issuing the call would relieve the Governor of the responsibility and put it up to the legislators. Even the members of the Senate, who delayed acting at the regular session, should be able to perceive the need for both acts now.

South Carolina County Breaks With Democrats

The Defender
Sat 8-7-48
Chicago Ill

RIDGELAND, S. C.—The Democratic Committee of Jasper County formally approved a resolution withdrawing from the national party last week over the civil rights issue.

H. Klugh Purdy, county Democratic leader, cleared President Truman of blame, by stating that he was "compelled" to appeal to the Negro vote in the North "or lose the election."

Sat 8-7-48

It is believed to be the first official bolt of Southern Democratic leaders from the national organization.

woul attempt to sent uninstructed

The revolting group said it would attempt to send uninstructed electors to the electoral college.

S. C. Democrats Vow Fight on Race Ruling

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta Georgia

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(UP)—South Carolina's Democratic Party leaders vowed yesterday to fight through the court a federal order forbidding restrictions on party membership by Negroes.

Party leaders met here yesterday and determined to appeal the order by District Judge J. Waties Waring enjoining them from enforcement of a set of party rules which includes an oath binding registrants to support racial segregation.

Wed 11-17-48

The appeal will go first to the U. S. District Court of Appeals and then, if it upholds Waring, to the U. S. Supreme Court.

"Private Club" Primary Suffers Another Blow

Journal & Guide
Norfolk Virginia

THE latest ruling of Federal Judge J. WATIES WARING of Charleston, S. C., relative to the issue of the South Carolina Democratic Party and the prospective Negro voter adds another body-blow to the party's "private club" theory.

Sat 12-11-48

In a ruling on November 26, Judge WARING made permanent a temporary injunction issued by him on July 16 restraining state party officials from barring Negro voters from participation in the primary elections.

Through the permanent injunction, the South Carolina Democratic Party is ordered to admit colored voters to full-fledged memberships, and with it the plan by which the state sought to circumvent decisions of the United States Supreme Court outlawing the "white primary" comes a cropper.

It was a frantic Governor OLIN D. JOHNSTON, now United States Senator, who following the Supreme Court decision, called a special session of the South Carolina General Assembly in 1944, for the express purpose of repealing all laws on the statute books pertaining to primary elections.

It was sought through this sweeping repeal to divest the party of all or any status as a state agency, or a unit of its election machinery that might inhere through state regulation and leave the management of party affairs with the party organization.

Sat 12-11-48

Through this nefarious move, the repealers would convert the party into a private club, exempt from the Supreme Court ruling, and in which a Negro would have no more right to vote in its primary elections "than to vote in the election of officers of the Forrest Lake Country Club or for officers of the Colonial Dames of America."

It is this lately-born device for the perpetual disfranchisement of Negroes in South Carolina that lies buried under the decisions of Federal Judge WARING, who in his most recent ruling said:

Sat 12-11-48

"The private club theory has been completely outlawed and demolished by the decisions resulting from a case (Elmore versus Rice) brought a little over a year ago in this court."

Striking at the core of the situation the jurist declared:

> **In 1944, as a resul of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in Smith vs. Allwright . . . the then governor of South Carolina called an extraordinary session of the General Assembly . . . and repealed all laws relating to primaries. The governor stated quite frankly what the purpose of this was and made no bones of the fact that the intention was to keep the primary elections in South Carolina limited to whites and to discriminate against Negroes.**

Judge WARING held that the enforcement of the rules adopted by the party would deprive the plaintiffs and others of the right to vote solely because of race and color and in violation of the Federal Constitution, and declared an injunction is necessary to secure the plaintiff his rights.

Sat 12-11-48

It is unlikely that the ruling will be appealed, and should an appeal be entered it will doubtless prove useless. The principles in the case have already been ruled upon and affirmed by the Fourth United States Circuit Court of Appeals in the case of GEORGE ELMORE, who on July 12, won for himself and other colored voters the right to participate in Richland county primaries. This right was upheld by the Court of Appeals and the United States Supreme Court refused to review the decision.

Judge WARING has displayed the courage to construe South Carolina's abortive attempt to deprive Negroes of the right to vote in the primaries in the light demanded by justice and the Constitution, approved by morality and commonsense, in spite of recent puerile efforts on the part of some state political leaders to embarrass or intimidate him with accusations of bias.

South Carolina Democrats

Wash Post

Here in South Carolina we are all good Democrats. Everybody knows that. In election after election, we have polled a higher percentage of Democratic votes than any other State in the Union; and no one but a Democrat has held political office in South Carolina since we recovered from the effects of the Yankee Plan, following the War Between the States. Even the Federal courts have taken judicial notice of our unswerving democracy by ruling that the privilege of voting Republican in South Carolina is no privilege at all.

Wed 10-13-48

In short, we in South Carolina have been accused variously of prejudice, stupidity, hypocrisy and tyranny; but no one has ever thought to question our Democracy. It is a record of which every South Carolinian may be justly proud.

In recent months, however, there have been some new developments. Not that we have become any the less Democratic. It's only that there is now much greater difficulty in knowing just how a good Democrat should act. There are some things we *do* know, of course.

We know, for example, that a good South Carolina Democrat doesn't get up and walk out of the national convention, however acceptable such conduct may be in an Alabama or Mississippi Democrat. We know also that it's still good form to *say* you're going to walk out, even if you don't; and that it's entirely proper to exhibit open hostility to everything that takes place in the convention after you said you were going to walk out but didn't.

Certain authorities, headed by our Governor, maintain that the acceptable course is immediately to attend another convention, organized by those who walked out of the first one, and there to nominate for President on the "Dixiecrat" ticket some good Democrat who can stand on his head after marrying his secretary (see *Life* magazine for November 17, 1947) and who threatened to walk out of the first convention but didn't. That the only man possessing these several qualifications should happen to be our Governor is, of course, only a happy coincidence.

Another sizable group of authorities, styling themselves "conservative," contend that, since we didn't walk out of the first convention, we shouldn't mess with the second. The correct procedure, these folks argue, is to support the principles of the Democratic Party and work to defeat the President's civil rights program.

Finally, there is the awesome authority of J. Waties Waring, Federal judge for the Eastern District of South Carolina, who has declared that all South Carolinians are entitled to enroll and vote in the Democratic primary, and that all who vote in the Democratic primary should swear to support the Democratic nominees at the subsequent general election.

Since the judge thus makes us all officially Democrats, it's difficult to understand how we could ever manage to produce a non-Democratic nominee whom a Democrat might be tempted to support in the general election; but I reckon the judge just wanted to nail the thing down. I reckon he just wanted to make doubly certain that no foreign "ism" like Republicanism should ever worm its way into the life of this State.

Aug 8

Thus we citizens of South Carolina are confused and pained It is no longer a simple, straightforward thing to be a good Democrat. There now appear to be at least three different kinds of Democracy, and it is by no means clear that any one of them is good. To espouse the first type of Democracy may mean no more new postoffice buildings or school lunch programs for South Carolina; to espouse the second type may mean too many new postoffice buildings with an FEPC agency firmly established in each; and to espouse the third type may result in the outright annexation of South Carolina by the United States of America.

In the circumstances, there is obviously but one possible course for a person of discernment. I shall vote a split ticket. I shall support Governor Thurmond for President, Senator Barkley for Vice President, and Judge Waring for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

A. Z. FOSTER WOOD.
Lancaster, S. C.

Eight Negroes Voted Seats In County Convention Under Primary Ruling

The Lighthouse
Jun 5-2-48
Columbia S.C.
(348)

DILLON, S. C.—Eight Negroes were elected delegates to the Dillon county Democratic convention to be held in the Dillon county courthouse on May 3, scheduled to start at 11 A. M.

The delegates, first to be chosen by white Democrats since before the turn of the century as is remembered here, won the seats on a motion by Mrs. C. L. Wheeler, national Democratic committeewoman from South Carolina, who found capable support from Mrs. Joe Layne.

ATTEND MEETING

The colored Democrats had come to the meeting in response to the urgings of Miss Helen Manning, NAACP branch president and school teacher, who Thursday afternoon and night had visited various precincts in the Dillon area and asked Negro Democrats to attend precinct meetings, which were held Saturday morning, starting at 11 o'clock.

Miss Manning was first to walk in at the East Dillon precinct, largest in the county; the other seven came in singly afterwards. None received any embarrassment and all attested to firm courtesy and agreement.

The precinct is entitled to 50 seats in the county convention. However, there were a total of only 42 persons present, including the eight colored citizens.

Jun 5-2-48

MRS. WHEELER MOVES

When time came to select precinct delegates to the county convention, Mrs. Wheeler moved that everybody present be elected a delegate. State senator Allen objected but support was so firm that the motion won 38 to 4.

Delegates, in addition to Miss Manning are: James Couser, Mrs. Prince Whittington, school teacher, Miss Mary Blue, teacher, William Lytch, an insurance agent, H. L. Perry, principal of the Dillon high school, his wife, Mrs. H. L. Perry and H. W. Crawford, also a teacher and Dillon representative for The Lighthouse and Informer.

Columbia, S. C. Democrats Don't Want Negroes' Help

Courier (340) Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat 2-14-48

COLMUBIA, S. C.—(ANP) — "Wanna" bet that Negroes in South Carolina will be permitted to participate in the municipal primary here? Well, they won't, if the Columbia Democratic Executive Committee here has anything to do about it.

Last week the committee did two things: (1) They returned contributions made by J. M. Hinton, NAACP branch secretary, and J. H. McCray, editor of the Lighthouse Informer, of $5 each, to help defray expected primary costs—because they do not want Negroes to have any say about voting in the primary, and (2) took the advice of a James H. Hammond that "public buildings should no longer be used for committee meetings."

Referring to the recent district and circuit court decisions granting Negroes the right to vote in primaries, Hammond said: "Regardless of the dignity of the judges, we have a right to have a party, and the colored people have a right to have their own party."

He told the committeemen that they could not keep their registration books at the court house, city hall or any other public place.

2-14-48

"Look up the case you are about to lose now," he warned.

"If you have to use public property then the colored person ought to vote; he's right there, and I agree with him on that. The colored man has as much right to vote as we do, if a public place is used for voting purpose."

The Advertiser

34d

CRUMP CRIMPED

"I've never," Boss Ed Crump of Tennessee often said, "been beaten in any election I ever took part in, even when it was running for captain of the baseball team in school."

And for 40 and 8 years the old goat has been taking part in elections. Recently we noted his boast in a Nashville paper that he had won 100-odd elections. And by elections, we mean the most exalted offices and repositories of power within the gift of the people—governor and senator.

But now at last the notorious, the mighty Crump has been met head-on and derailed. Both his candidates for governor and U. S. senator were resoundingly defeated.

Crump's adversaries, chiefly the Nashville and Chattanooga newspapers, had to wait nearly half a century to make the people of Tennessee see what they saw. But it has come to pass. The vote went contrary even in the Crump dump that has been Shelby County.

Montgomery, Ala.

This does not mean the end of the power of the 72-year-old regent of Tennessee; it would be impossible to count him out if only because of the resource of his cunning. But from here on in, rival barons will be most forward in lifting the vizor of the old knight to pluck his beard. It has been well and truly demonstrated that the champ can be had.

Sat.

If we thought this the end of Crump, we might not be so rejoiced, for in some respects, Crump is a stimulating and admirable figure.

8-7-48

Offhand, we would say that Boss Flynn and Crump are the only two extant machine bosses that are able to cite Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas to the purposes of their ward-heeling billingsgate.

Crump is a high type man, personally honest, well bred and courageous. The fact that he has held sway so long permitted him to suspect, as is common in such cases, that he probably held sway in accordance with a footnote in the plan for Operation Salvation and by means of a celestial indulgence.

That meant that anyone who opposed his senatorial and gubernatorial barters was an insolent and probably unwashed peckerwood, though the learned and imperious master of all he surveyed would have been more likely to refer to such peckerwoods as pusillanimous Philistines.

What is more, old Crump had none of the politician's traditional fear of "arguing with a typewriter." Let an editor cuff Crump and the old boy forthwith bought himself a full page in that paper. Whereupon, he would sit down with a bottle of rbolic acid and a quill made of an asp's ongue to work on the peckerwood editor t was a high class form of bread and circus for the populace.

Sat

8-7-48

'Boss' Crump Handed Blow In Two Spots

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Landslide Hits Regime Of Leader In Nemphis; Kefauver Wins Race

Sat. 8-7-48

NASHVILLE, TENN. —(AP)— The E. H. Crump Democratic regime of Memphis, one of the last potent political dynasties on the American political scene, went down to stunnig defeat Friday in a ballot landslide loosed in Thursday's violence-punctuated primary.

The landslide which engulfed the Crump forces was such as Crump himself had buried his opposition without setback in 20 years.

8-7-48

Crump's choice for the state's two top nominations — for U. S. senator and for governor — were soundly whipped.

Crump's choice for governor, Incumbent Jim McCord, seeking a third two-year term, carried only the Tenth (Shelby County-Memphis) District and the First District in Republican east Tennessee.

His senatorial candidate, John A. Mitchell carried only his home district, the Fourth in middle Tennessee, and the Tenth. The state has 10 districts.

Victors in the senatorial and gubernatorial contests were Estes Kefauver, veteran of 10 years in the lower House of Congress, and Gordon Browning.

Broke With 'Boss'

Kefauver was nominated to the senate seat now held by Tom Stewart, who sought reelection. Browning was nominated for the governor's seat he won for one term in 1937.

8-7-48

Browning won his previous race with a Crump support but broke with him and became his bitter political enemy. He pitched his campaign on a "down with one-man rule" slogan.

McCord conceded his defeat Friday as did Stewart. Crump made no statement. Stewart was another one-time ally of Crump but was dropped by the Memphis politics in this campaign.

Democratic nomination in Tennessee usually means election.

But Roy Acuff, ballard singer nominated for governor in Thursday's Republican primary, and Carroll Reece, former GOP national chairman, nominated for the Senate, said they'd make it a contest in the November general election.

The unofficial count in 2024 precincts of the state's approximately 2,300:

Kefauver, 152,489
Mitchell, 78,596
Stewart, 117,787

In the governor's race the count from 1,974 precincts stood:

Browning, 214,465
McCord, 160,142

The biggest surprise of Thursday's results was the vote piled up in Memphis by Kefauver. Heretofore a Crump opponent could count his vote there in the hundreds or low thousands.

Out of 111 of Shelby's 126 precincts, Kefauver polled 21,181 votes. Browning didn't fare as well there, but he amassed a heavy vote elsewhere in the sttate.

ED CRUMP FACES BATTLE OF HIS LIFE IN PRIMARY

Tribune

Meets Stiff Opposition over 2 Offices

Chicago, Ill

Memphis, Tenn., July 31 (Special)—With two of the most bitterly fought political campaigns in Tennessee history entering their final phases, Boss Crump has his back to the wall and is fighting as he hasn't had to fight in a generation.

At 72, Edward H. Crump, last and most powerful of city machine bosses, who boasts that for 19 years he has never been defeated on candidates he has supported for governor or the United States senate, faces crucial tests for both these offices in the Democratic state-wide primary Aug. 5.

Crump is trying to get the Democratic senatorial nomination for Judge John Mitchell, chancery court judge of Cookeville, Tenn., hitherto a political unknown, and is backing Gov. Jim McCord for renomination. Both men have formidable opposition, an unprecedented state of affairs for the white-maned "Old Fox" of Shelby county.

Three Sided Battle

Predictions are being heard that Crump may take a licking in the battle for the senatorship—a three sided affair—but will probably squeak thru on the governorship with the aid of the huge mass of Shelby county votes he is concededly still able to deliver. In Memphis and the rest of Shelby county there are 130,000 voters registered for the primary. The Crump machine has always been able to pile up Shelby county majorities of 50,000 for its candidates.

Sun, 8-1-41

The dilemma in which Crump finds himself with regard to the senatorship stems both from his decision to drop his old friend, Sen. Tom Stewart, and from unexpected strength shown by Rep. Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.) in his campaign for the senatorial nomination.

Stewart had Crump backing in two successful past campaigns but lost favor this year because of a weak showing in his last race. Dumped by the boss in favor of Judge Mitchell, Stewart refused to bow out of the race. His prestige as an incumbent, his undoubtedly strong personal following in the hinterlands, and his campaign pose as a "faithful friend" tossed overboard for political expediency, have made him a strong factor.

Red Tinge Charged

Kefauver has the support of organized labor, including the AFL, CIO, and independent unions. He has also cracked the Crump wall of absolute fealty in Memphis by getting a group of leading business and professional Memphis citizens to form a committee in his support. Edmund Orgill, a past president of the Memphis Chamber of Commerce, is chairman. 8-1-48

The Crump organization has accused Kefauver of a reddish cast, contending he voted with Rep. Marcantonio (A.L., N.Y.) on many measures and that he courted support from left wing groups. Crump recently challenged a Memphis newspaper editor to join him in submitting their contradictory views on Kefauver's record to a public survey, with the loser "putting on his hat and leaving town."

Crump compared Kefauver with a pet raccoon that pilfers with its paw while looking the other way to distract attention. Since then Kefauver has gibed at Crump by wearing in public a raccoon hat of the Daniel Boone type.

The gubernatorial race is a straight two way battle between Gov. McCord and Crump's political arch enemy, Gordon Browning. In 1936 Browning was elected governor with Crump support but broke with the boss a year later. Crump later said that "in the art galleries of Paris there are 27 pictures of Judas Iscariot and none look alike, but all resemble Gordon Browning." 8-1-48

McCord Given Edge

Browning has been telling audiences in this campaign that "the present governor is the most obedient man ever to hold high office in Tennessee." He asserts that "Ed Crump never had a meeker 'yes' man, and the people of this state never had a more subservient public official."

Reports from all parts of the state, outside Shelby county, concede Browning a tremendous vote. McCord is asking renomination on his record, which includes a 2 per cent sales tax which has been raising 40 million dollars a year, half of it earmarked for education, long neglected in Tennessee. 8-1-48

Observers predict the Shelby county vote will give McCord the necessary edge over Browning but look for Kefauver to take enough support from Judge Mitchell to make renomination of Tom Stewart a possibility.

Texas Democrats Decide Not To Bolt Party

The Record

The Texas Democrats controlling their state convention named an anti-Truman delegation to the national convention at Philadelphia, but at the same time they nominated electors who will be committed to support the nominee of the Democratic party, Truman though he be. Columbia, S.C.

The Texas delegates to the Philadelphia convention are instructed to oppose any declaration in the platform advocating the President's so-called civil rights program. They are instructed to demand inclusion in the platform of a declaration against further invasions of state rights by the federal government. They are instructed to work for the restoration of the two-thirds rule. Mon. 6-7-48

But if they fail in all these objectives—and they probably will fail—they will go along with the Democratic party and take the Texas Democrats with them. There is no chance of reviving the two-thirds rule. The South's mistake was in ever surrendering it. The party nationally can not do less than it did in 1944 on the civil rights plank. And what would a state rights plank in the platform mean anyhow? Most state rights have been sold down the river for federal aid. The Record

Texas paid no attention to the Southern revolt idea of setting up a Southern Democratic splinter party and there would be no logic in any other group's setting up such a party, going nowhere, hoping to accomplish nothing. Columbia, S.C.

Texans, opposed to Harry Truman, will therefore have to vote for the Republican electors, if they want to make their votes effective. And this is as it should be, under the two-party system. Mon. 6-7-48

If the Texas protest is strong enough Texas may end up with a real two-party system, giving it a voice in both parties and making it advisable for both parties to pay some attention to the desires of Texas voters if either of them expect to get the Texas electoral college votes hereafter.

And if this happens Texas will be showing the way to the rest of the South, the way to restore Southern influence in national affairs, now reduced to less than nothing.

Texas Demos Turn Deaf Ear To 'Civil Rights'; Balk At Bolt

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

BROWNWOOD, Tex., May 26—(AP) — Tough-talking Texas Democrats have given President Truman's leadership the cold shoulder, but they refused to join the Southern anti-civil rights rebellion.

At the Philadelphia convention the Texas delegation will be free to decide on the spot whose nomination it favors. It will vote as a unit. The Texans followed an independent course mapped by their own leader, Gov. Beauford H. Jester in state convention yesterday. It calls for a fight against Truman's civil rights proposals and his nomination, but not for a bolt if he becomes the party nominee. Wed.

While Democrats were fighting through a 12 hour and five minute convention, Senator Robert A. Taft picked up 30 Republican National Convention votes in the party's state convention at Corpus Christi. Gov. Thomas E. Dewey got two and Harold E. Stassen one. Taft forces controlled the convention from the start. 5-26-48

AFTER A DAY-LONG struggle between pro-Truman and anti-Truman factions, the Texas convention took these significant steps:

1. Pledged itself in a body, its delegates and 23 presidential electors to support all party nominees without any ifs. The News

2. Voted to send its delegation of 50 to the national convention instructed to fight the civil rights proposals, especially the FEPC.

3. **Gave its delegation no instructions as to presidential and vice presidential candidates. This left it free to fight Truman's nomination. It instructed the delegates to battle for restoration of the two-thirds rule.**

4. Buried in committee a proposal for a state referendum July 24 for or against binding electors to nominees who oppose Truman's civil rights program. A group favoring the Southern revolt backed it.

5. Elected Dwight Morrow of Houston, unfriendly to Truman, as national committeeman to replace Myron Blalock of Marshall, who will retire because of illness. Wed.

6. In so doing, rejected Mayor Tom Miller of Austin for the post. He was backed by the Truman faction. Birmingham, Ala.

The tough talk came in an overwhelmingly-adopted resolution which recorded "unalterable opposition" to the federal civil rights plan. 5-26-48

R. B. Creager, Texas Republican national committeeman and whip at the State GOP Convention, termed convention action a "marvelous victory" for Sen. Taft. Wed. 5-26-48

Jim Crow at Texas Democratic Meet

The Call

HOUSTON. — (ANP) — More Negroes than ever before participated in the Texas State Democratic convention here last week, but suffered a setback when strict segregation was enforced.

Even Negro and white delegates from the same precincts were not allowed to sit together. Whites sat in the main auditorium at City hall, and colored sat in the balcony. The colored delegates sat in the balcony near their fellow white delegates from the same area. Kansas City, Mo.

The jimcrowism was a victory for the states' rightists over the "liberals".

Negro Joins In Session Of Texas Democrats

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Houston, April 17 (AP)—A Negro sat as a member of the Harris County Democratic Executive Committee today for the first time since Civil War Reconstruction days. He is E. S. Harrison, automobile mechanic, chairman of Precinct 25 in Houston's Third Ward. Sun 4-18-48

TRUMAN DEMOCRATS QUIT TEXAS SESSIONS

Times

HOUSTON, Tex., Aug. 1 (AP)—Democrats loyal to President Truman stalked out of four county conventions yesterday after states' rights advocates won control of the meetings with test votes.

About 500 angry Democrats left the Harris County meeting here, shouting their loyalty to President Truman. New York

The same thing happened in Dallas at the Dallas County convention, in Fort Worth at the Tarrant County convention, and in Marshall at the Harrison County convention.

After each walkout, the Truman loyalists set up rival conventions and named rival delegates to the state convention in Fort Worth Sept. 13 and 14. At that session the state's party platform will be adopted. The state convention has the power to reinstruct Presidential electors. They are now pledged to Truman. Mon. 8-2-48

Harris County has the greatest voting strength in the state convention. Dallas is second. Tarrant is among the stronger counties. A survey of convention battles in other populous counties showed the loyalists, with twenty-eight delegations, clearly in the Truman column. But a decision at the state meeting over control of the electoral vote may depend on which of the rival delegations are seated.

The survey showed eight counties clearly in the states' rights column and nine sending uninstructed delegations.

After the loyalists walked out of the convention here, the states' rights group voted to submit a Presidential referendum to Eighth Congressional District (Harris County) voters on Aug. 28.

TRUMAN MEN WIN TEXAS CONVENTION

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Gain Control of Democratic Meeting and States' Rights Group Marches From Hall

Wed 9-15-48

FORT WORTH, Tex., Sept. 14 (AP)—Pro-Truman Democrats won control of today's uproarious Texas State convention and the anti-Trumanites, many waving Confederate flags, began a march out of the hall.

Delegation leaders from seven counties called on their members to join the walkout.

By a roaring voice vote, the convention then formally purged the temporary roll of the anti-Truman delegations from four of the counties. Wed 9-15-48

The convention approved a resolution creating a committee to make certain that all Democratic electors from Texas cast their ballots for the Truman-Barkley ticket.

The Truman forces won by two decisive test votes on the question whether to seat the anti-Truman Harris County delegation, one of those walking out.

The Trumanites won the first, 1,339 to 757, and the second, 1,349 to 734.

The convention had been in session five and a half hours before the Truman group broke down the opposition. It elected C. C. McDonald of Wichita Falls, Tex., temporary chairman. 9-15-48

After the second roll-call vote trounced the State's Righters, 1,349 to 734, J. Hart Willis of Dallas went to the microphone.

He announced he would walk out with the Harris County delegation.

Anti-Truman delegates began marching out, waving Confederate flags. The Times

R. W. Milner, chairman of the Harris County delegation, followed at the microphone. He said no rump convention would be held.

"We will leave Fort Worth quietly and go home," he said.

Connally Says He Supports Truman Ticket

Detroit Free Press
Detroit, Mich.
Sat. 7-24-48

WASHINGTON — (AP) — Senator Connally (D., Tex.), an opponent of President Truman's civil rights program, announced that he will support the Democratic ticket of Mr. Truman and Senator Barkley (D., Ky.).

"I have consistently supported the nominees of the Democratic Party in the past and I shall not deviate from that record now," Connally said in a statement.

* * *

HE ALSO TOLD reporters that in his opinion "Texas Democrats will support the national ticket in November" despite their opposition to Mr. Truman at the Philadelphia Convention.

Sat. 7-24-48

Texas was one of the Southern States which voted for Senator Russell (D., Ga.) for the top place on the ticket in protest against the President's civil rights recommendations.

Connally was the second Southern Democratic Senator in two days to announce his support of the Truman-Barkley ticket. Senator Robertson (D., Va.) made a similar statement Thursday.

Delegates Roar Unity Approval

The Constitution

340

Atlanta Ga.

FORT WORTH, Texas—(AP)—Texas Democrats yesterday promised their 23 electoral votes to President Truman, rejected four anti-Truman delegations, and roared applause to a keynoter who called for total party loyalty.

Wed 9-15-48

When the States Rights delegations from Harris, Dallas, Tarrant and Harrison Counties were scratched from the Convention roll, they marched out of the hall—some carrying Thurmond banners — followed by delegations ners—followed by delegations from Rusk, Shelby, Gregg and Limestone Counties.

Individual members of these delegations, whose sympathies were with Truman, stayed in their seats. 9-15-48

The Convention, wrangling bitterly in the battle for control, had not come to the question of certifying either Lyndon B. Johnson or Coke R. Stevenson as the Democratic nominee for the U. S. Senate.

C. C. McDonald of Wichita Falls, temporary chairman, keynoted the Convention with an appeal to fight the Republicans. He said:

The Convention approved a resolution creating a committee to make certain that all Democratic electors from Texas cast their ballots for the Truman-Barkley ticket.

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Atlanta Ga.

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Wed 9-15-48

R. W. Milner, chairman of the Harris County delegation, followed at the microphone. He said no rump convention would be held.

"We will leave Fort Worth quietly and go home," he said.

Texas Always Puts On A Good Political Show

Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.

IT IS too bad that a Texas State political convention doesn't go on tour. There simply is too much excitement to waste on a local performance in a one-day stand. The assembled and unterrified Texas Democrats lived up to tradition last Tuesday at Fort Worth.

Norfolk Va

They repelled an invasion by Dixiecrats and kept their party's Presidential electors safe for TRUMAN. Not even a flutter of Confederate flags amid the rebel band swerved them from their purpose of remaining regular. And then they counted up a total of nearly a million votes cast in the August primary, and found that only 87 votes separated the two candidates for the Senate nomination—Representative LYNDON JOHNSON, whom the microscopic majority favored, and former Governor COKE STEVENSON. It was a phenomenon that could happen only in Texas.

To the surprise of some, who had looked for uproar on this point also, the convention ratified JOHNSON'S nomination. There may be a legal contest by STEVENSON, "Mr. Texas" himself, in view of the close finish and its virtual invitation to demand a recount. But as the matter stands now, Texas Democrats will present as PAPPY O'DANIEL'S successor one of the youngest and most progressive of their major politicians. The country doubtless will agree that Texas has helped itself on this score.

As to over-riding the States' Righters who asked the delegates to instruct the Democratic electors for THURMOND and WRIGHT, the convention insured a hot campaign. States' Rights Democrats will have their own ticket in the November election, bidding against the regular Democrats and the Republicans as well. If they make enough noise and fulfill their boast of rolling up a big vote, the Dixiecrats might be responsible for an exciting result. It will be recalled that Texas went for HOOVER against SMITH in 1928, cast nearly 200,000 votes for DEWEY in 1944, for WILLKIE in 1940. Sun. 9-19-48

Another tight November election, with the chances of TRUMAN and BARKLEY riding on the outcome as well, was assured by Tuesday's primary in Minnesota. The dour JOE BALL won the Republican nomination for another term in the Senate, but to oppose him the Democrats selected the dynamic young Mayor of Minneapolis, HUBERT HUMPHREY. The campaign will be something to watch.

States' Rights Democrats Lose Test In Texas

Columbia Record

FORT WORTH, Tex., Sept. 15—(UP)—Texas fell in line today behind the Truman-Barkley ticket as the state's Democrats rejected the States' Rights Democrat ticket and philosophy in short order.

Loyalist Democrats, firm in the saddle during the closing hours of the state Democratic convention, certified United States Rep. Lyndon B. Johnson as the winner over former Gov. Coke Stevenson in the Aug. 28 primary run-off election.

Wed 9-15-48

House Cleaned

When the loyalists cleaned house by firing five Democratic presidential electors on grounds of disloyalty. The insurgent States Righters found the door out easily—some by invitation, others of their own free will.

Certification of Johnson, 40-year-old congressman from Austin, left Stevenson out in the cold after 30 years of political life in which he had not lost an election. Johnson won the nomination—tantamount to election—by 87 votes of the 1,000,000 cast.

Columbia S.C.

But Stevenson's attorneys weren't through. They said they would continue their battle for his election on grounds of vote fraud in several counties.

Only a few "no" votes were sounced during Johnson's certification by voice vote. Some mild boos were heard also.

Johnson pledged that as Senator "I shall support Truman and Barkley."

President Truman's followers recommended that the National Democratic executive committee replace Wright Morrow of Houston, present Texas national committeeman, with Bryon Skelton of Temple, who masterminded the loyalist convention fight.

Morrow had been elected at the state convention in May which took cracks at the President but since then had declared himself as loyal to the regular party's candidates.

John C. Calhoun of Corsicana was named to succeed R W. Calvert as chairman of the state executive committee. Calvert had declined the nomination for reelection.

Insurgents from Harris, Dallas and Tarrant counties—the State's most populous—lost their fight to have the name of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina substituted on the ballot for Mr. Truman's.

Harris county's delegation from the Houston area was forced out of the coyention. Dallas and Tarrant county (Fort Worth) followed. As result, the Shelby, Cook and Gregg county delegations walked out voluntarily and a few minutes later the Harrison county group followed.

Wed 9-15-48

As the Dixiecrats left the Will Rodgers auditorium, their seats were filled by pro-Truman Democrats. The insurgents hiked out flying Thurmond campaign banners.

R. W. Milner, Jr., leader of the insurgents, said their rejection proved that the state convention was "just a repetition" of the national party's meeting at Philadelphia.

Negroes Jim Crowed At Texas Convention

The Black Dispatch

HOUSTON — (ANP) — More Negroes than ever before participated in the Texas State Democratic convention here last week, but suffered a setback when strict segregation was enforced.

Oklahoma City

Sat 5-22-48

Even Negro and white delegates from the same precincts were not allowed to sit together. Whites sat in the main auditorium at City hall, and colored sat in the balcony. The colored delegates sat in the balcony near their fellow delegates from the same area.

The jim crowism was a victory for the states' rightists over the "liberals."

Vote Proposal Of Dixiecrats Loses In Texas

The Courier Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Austin, Tex., Aug. 9 (AP)—The State Democratic Executive Committee today certified the names of President Truman and Senator Barkley as party nominees for President and Vice-President over protests of the Texas Diviecrats.

At the same time the executive committee rejected a Dixiecrat demand that it submit a referendum on the issue to party voters in the August 28 primary.

The vote was 42 to 18 to table a resolution providing for the referendum. Tues 8-10-48

Authority Is Questioned.

Opponents—the so-called Loyalist Party faction headed by Governor Beauford H. Jester—argued the committee had no authority to submit such a referendum and that it was part of a scheme to disrupt the party. They said this would lead to destruction of the two-party system.

Proponents centered their arguments on contentions the Truman civil-rights proposals were aimed at destruction of the Southern social system and the party's long-standing principles. Democratic voters of the state should have an opportunity to speak directly on the issue, they argued.

The States'-Rights Democrats, or Dixiecrats, wanted the committee to authorize a separate ballot on this question:

"For J. Strom Thurmond and Fielding S. Wright as the nominees of the Democratic Party for President and Vice-President respectively. 8-10-48

Choice By Voters Proposed.

"For Harry S. Truman and Alben W. Barkley as the nominees of the Democratic Party for President and Vice-President respectively."

The voters would have been instructed to scratch one.

Proponents of the referendum sharply criticized Jester as having helped to start the Dixiecrat omvement, then having changed to the side of Truman.

The Dixiecrats announced they would carry the fight to the September 14 convention at Fort Worth.

NATIONAL NEWS REVIEW

The Northwest Enterprise
Seattle Wash.

Negro Member of Texas Demo Executive Committee

HOUSTON, Tex.—(G)—Last week for the first time since Civil War reconstruction days, a Negro sat as a member of the Harris County Democratic executive committee. Wed 5-12-48

The man so honored was E. S. Harrison, an automobile mechanic, chairman of Precinct 25 in Houston's Third Ward.

34d 1948 Democratic (Virginia)

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

Journal & Guide
Dat.

OBVIOUSLY, the brazen proposal of Virginia's Governor William M. Tuck is aimed at President Truman. As chastisement of the Chief Executive for his espousal of civil rights legislation it undoubtedly is unmoral. But there is nothing illegal or novel about it. 3-13-48

The framers of the Constitution contemplated that electors, no matter the manner in which they were selected, would choose the President and Vice President. They believed this method superior to the election of the President by any pre-existing body or the people.

Norfolk, Va.

GOVERNOR TUCK PROPOSED that the General Assembly change the state's elections laws so as to eliminate the names of all presidential and vice presidential candidates from the ballot. There would be listed, by party affiliation, only the names of presidential and vice presidential electors. The presidential electors, unbound to any candidate, would vote as instructed by state party leaders. 3-13-48

Other southern states were urged to take similar action. The purpose is either to force President Truman to abandon his civil rights program or to throw the election of a President and Vice President into the House of Representatives. Dat.

By clause 3, section 1, Article 2, of the Constitution, and by the Twelfth Amendment which superseded that clause, in case no nominee receives a majority of the electoral votes, the House of Representatives is to choose the President, and "the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote." Two-thirds of the total membership of the House shall constitute a quorum, and a majority of all the states is necessary to a choice.

* * *

IF THE HOUSE FAILS to make a choice before January 20, then the Vice President shall act as President. But if no candidate for Vice President receives a majority of the electoral votes, the Senate shall choose the Vice President. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the entire Senate membership, and a majority of the whole membership shall be necessary to a choice. 3-13-48

State legislatures have the exclusive authority to prescribe the method of choosing electors. Various methods have been used. Electors have been elected by the legislature itself on joint ballot, by the legislature through a concurrent vote of the two vote for representation in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of a state legislature.

Inasmuch as President Truman's civil rights program, so largely affecting the liberties of colored people, is the target of Governor Tuck and other southern politicians, it seems that it would be appropriate for colored people to insist that the Congress take appropriate action to carry into effect the penalty provision of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Reduction of southern representation in Congress would also reduce the number of electors to which the South is entitled since the Constitution provides that the number of electors shall be equal to the number of Senators and Representatives to which the several states are by law entitled at the time when the President and Vice President to be chosen come into office.

houses, by vote of the people for a general ticket, by vote of the people in districts, by choice partly by the people voting in districts and partly by the legislature, by choice by the legislature from candidates voted for by the people in districts.

The second section of the Fourteenth Amendment provides that if the right to vote is denied or abridged to any male inhabitant of the state having attained majority, and being a citizen of the United States, then the basis of representation to which each state is entitled in the Congress shall be proportionately reduced. 3-13-48

* * *

WHENEVER PRESIDENTIAL electors are selected by popular vote, and that is the method now generally used, the right to vote cannot be denied or abridged without invoking the penalty provided in the Fourteenth Amendment.' That also holds true in regard to the right to

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VA Democrats See Civil Rights As 'Slavery for Whites'

Commentator

Richmond - (ANP) - By a peculiar twist of logic and slave psychology Virginia white Democrats see in the civil rights prograr for Negroes the enslavement of the white population. The logic is if Negroes enjoy civil rights, whites will be slaves.

This kind of appeal that white leaders made last week at the Virginia Democratic State Convention. The keynote speaker assaidel President Truman's civil right program as a "hydra-headed" federal bureaucracy. . leading the 48 states and their people into bondage."

The warning was uttered by W. Taylor Murphy, of Warsawo wh added: 'The ilusion of additional civil rights is what the program offers. Control of the American people is what the program seeks.

Pontiac, Mich

Though Virginia Democrats party's black list in this state, have President Truman on the there were signs during the opening days of the convention that the revolt movement was losing momentum. Dat. 7-17-48

A Fair Proposal Of Virginia Origin

Journal & Guide

THE Newport News *Daily Press* comments favorably on a proposal presented recently to the Democratic City Committee that it amend its bylaws to admit Negro Democrats to membership. In the course of its favorable comment, the *Daily Press* strikes a note which should be taken seriously to heart by the leaders of the present southern political upheaval when it says:

> With the last twenty years or so there has-been a material change in this (the Negro's exclusive allegiance to the Republican Party). Negroes have begun to divide, naturally, on political issues just as their white fellow citizens do. The Negro vote has played a part in more than one Democratic victory in recent years, and for the South, several judicial decisions have compelled admission of Negroes to Democratic Party primary polls. If the Negro plays any genuine part in deciding elections, he has a right to consultation in Party councils.
>
> Dat. 3-20-48
>
> Even more important than this is the influence such a shift in committee policy will have on the amicable feeling between the two races. Race relations in Newport News and vicinity are unusually good, although there have been occasions when they were in danger. This is not a question of segregation in the sense of separating the two races; a thing that to a degree is automatic anyway (in public gatherings) may well contribute to the inner comfort of both. It is more a question of one race deciding for the other what is good for it and acting accordingly; and that is not democracy.

One thing that has dogged the lives of Negroes in the South, particularly in the lower South, has been the matter on which the Newport News paper placed its finger, to wit, that the race question in the South is "more a question of one race deciding for the other what is good for it and acting accordingly." The *Daily Press* goes on to say "that is not democracy."

The assumption on the part of those in political control in the South in a vast majority of cases, has been that whatever has been done to strip Negroes of civil rights has been good for both the Negro and the South. In that respect, the misguided political leaders have not taken into consideration the elements of human nature, nor equity, justice, and the basic human rights.

If every community in the South would decide for itself to consider Negroes an integral part of their political and economic life and act accordingly, the causes for racial friction and unpleasant race relations would quickly disappear. Dat. 3-20-48

Without making any fuss about the matter, Negroes have been serving on the Norfolk City Democratic Committee for several years. This committee started out by accepting one Negro to membership and this membership has now grown to four. Many other fair considerations in its political life of the community have ben given Negroes in Norfolk and these have minimized unpleasant race relations during recent years. Except in the minds of the uninformed, there is no real excitement here about what would happen if Negroes voted more freely, if generally obnoxious segregation laws on public carriers were repealed, and if equal educational facilities were provided. There is also a growing disposition here, although it is not very articulate, to give Negroes better economic opportunities. If this is being done in Norfolk it can be done in every city in Virginia, and eventually in every city in the South.

34d 1948 Democratic (Virginia)

Washington Calling

The Advertiser

Virginia Likely To Go Republican

Montgomery, Ala.

By **MARQUIS CHILDS**

WASHINGTON.

VIRGINIA is one of the most beautiful States in the Union. Next month the dogwood will come out, and the Virginia bluebells and garden week will draw tourists from all over to view the stately homes and generous gardens of the past.

Walking between the rows of fragrant boxwood, driving through the green and rolling country, the visitor will have a feeling that he is in a museum. And he will be right. Fri. 3-12-48

The past is well preserved in Virginia. That goes for the political as well as the architectural past. The homes of the great men who founded this republic have been tenderly restored and protected. But the creative force of the ideas they gave to the world, the stir and the spark of their creative imagination, is also kept behind glass—carefully locked and only a little dry with age.

Democracy in Virginia is in the custody of a few men who are prepared to tell the people what they can and cannot do. The most remarkable example in recent times was the proposal put up to the legislature by Gov. William M. Tuck.

Under that proposal, the voters of Virginia would not vote for a man for president. When they put their X in the Democratic column, as the majority of Virginians traditionally do, they would be handing the right of choice to the State Democratic organization. The party organization, in a state convention, would select the man for whom the State's 11 electoral votes would be cast.

No one in that State nominating convention would have any doubt about the man who would be chosen. It would be Sen. Harry F. Byrd, who is the boss of Virginia's Democratic machine.

THE country has heard a lot about "Boss" Hague, of Jersey City; "Boss" Kelly, of Chicago, and the late "Boss" Pendergast, of Kansas City. But the masters of city political machines could learn a lot in Virginia. 3-12-48

The controls are not exercised in the same way, of course. It is quieter and much more polite. Nevertheless, the courthouse rings that make up the Byrd machine form just as tight an organization as was ever put together in the crowded river wards on the other side of the railroad tracks in any American city you care to name, not excluding Kansas City.

Gov. Tuck's proposal was not well received. Its crudity stirred wide indignation. Many newspapers in Virginia were critical. Sen. Byrd let it be known that he had not seen the Tuck proposal before it was put to the legislature.

A compromise has been advanced which is likely to be adopted. Under the compromise, the label of the "Democratic Party" will be reserved for the State organization. But by obtaining a thousand signatures to petitions, the Truman Democrats can also get on the ballot. They will, however, have to use another tag, such as "National Democrats."

This means that Virginia voters would have a choice between Sen. Byrd and President Truman. But inasmuch as only a thousand signatures are necessary to put a candidate on the ballot, they will undoubtedly also have a chance to vote for Henry Wallace. As in other years, the name of the Republican candidate will also be on the ballot.

The Advertiser

THIS is an extraordinary advance in democracy. As a result, Virginia is likely to go Republican in November. That is the guess of some observers who, it should be said, are not admirers of the Byrd machine. Their reasoning sounds plausible. Many Virginia Democrats are resentful of the tactics of the machine. Therefore they will not vote for Sen. Byrd. But because of the antogonism stirred by the President's civil rights program, they will vote for a Republican rather than for Mr. Truman, particularly if the Republicans nominate a strong candidate such as Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg, of Michigan. Montgomery, Ala.

Herbert Hoover carried Virginia in 1928 by 24,463 votes. Four years ago, when sentiment against Roosevelt and a fourth term was running strong, the Republicans got 145,000 votes to 242,000 for the Democrats. While the Wallace vote in Virginia is likely to be small, concentrated in the area around Washington where New Deal contamination is high, it could count in a close election. Fri. 3-12-48

This kind of political calculation does not have the sound of the generous past. The spirit of that great Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, must at times be a little troubled. It might be nice to keep Virginia as a museum, beautiful, intact, untouchable. But that is hardly possible with the winds of change that are blowing across the world today. As Jefferson knew so well, history never stands still.

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Anti-Truman Bill Advances In Virginia

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

Senate O.K.'s Measure, Sends It to House

Sat. 3-13-48

By the Associated Press.

The Virginia Senate yesterday passed by a vote of 29 to 10 an amended version of Governor William M. Tuck's anti-Truman bill. The measure now goes to the House of delegates for concurrence in Senate amendments.

The vote was taken after an hour-long speech by Senator Lloyd M. Robinette, who pleaded for defeat and implored his colleagues to let the State settle its differences within the Democratic Party.

Can Name Own Candidate.

The bill will permit the Virginia Democratic Party to name its own candidate for President. President Truman, if nominated, could appear on the ballot as candidate of the "National Democratic Party" or some other name besides "Democratic Party."

Governor Tuck proposed the law as an answer to President Truman's civil-rights program. Senator Robert C. Vaden urged Senate adoption to halt a federal invasion of States' rights.

The Courier-Journal

Frank R. Kent, on the Editorial Page, and Drew Pearson, on the back page of Section 2, discuss Truman's situation.

Louisville, Ky.

In Washington, the Democratic Party's National Executive Committee decided to fight its presidential campaign on two issues: "Peace and Prices." Sat.

And from one Southerner came a prediction the Solid South would line up behind the party candidate as usual, despite the civil-rights quarrelings. 3-13-48

Truman Reply Pleases.

Mrs. Lennard Thomas of Montgomery, Ala., said she was "perfectly satisfied" with an answer President Truman gave her on the controversy and added:

"We're going to stand together and work for a Democratic victory."

Frank McHale, Indiana committeeman, said no official action on the issue was taken because "the voice of the party is its convention." 3-13-48

The convention will be held in Philadelphia in July.

"We are certain that the mass of the people will make any sacrifice for peace," McHale said. "The Republicans have missed the boat on the high-cost-of-living issue. They are putting up a tax reduction as a panacea for all the ills of the world."

President Questioned.

The Courier-Journal

Mrs. Thomas, Alabama's Democratic national committeewoman, said she asked Truman at a White House luncheon yesterday: "Can I go back and tell my people you are not going to tear up our social structure in the South and that you are everybody's President?"

She said he answered by reading to her his civil-rights message to Congress and added to her:

"I do not take back one word I've said. I stand on the Constitution of the United States. I'm everybody's President."

She said she found nothing in his message indicating it is planned to force anti-segregation upon the South.

Va. Delegates Mute on Plans

Washington [illegible]

Fri. 7-16-48

Philadelphia, July 15 (AP).—Virginia Democrats headed for home today still officially silent about the outcome of the party's national convention and their plans for November.

Pledged to fight against any candidate espousing enactment of Federal civil rights laws, they were left without a candidate for the Presidency by the convention's nomination of President Truman.

Gov. William M. Tuck declined any comment on future plans and specifically on whether the Old Dominion organization would take part in a rump convention called to meet in Birmingham, Ala., Saturday to nominate a States' rights candidate for the Presidency.

Close associates of the Governor said privately, however, that he would have nothing to do with the Birmingham convention. They doubted that any members of the Virginia organization headed by Senator Harry F. Byrd would attend.

One other course remained open, but there was no indication it would be followed.

The State convention might be recalled. This could be done under a resolution adopted at its regular session. This permits such a recall by a two thirds vote of the State central committee. But no one was willing to guess what a recalled session would do in the circumstances.

Virginia And Truman

The News

Despite the efforts of the States' Rights Democrats, the electoral votes of the Old Dominion State probably will go this Fall to President Truman and Sen. Alben Barkley. 8-26-48

The situation in Virginia has not fully resolved itself, just as it has not in most Southern states, but the present indications are that the state's 11 Democratic electors will string along with the national Democratic ticket. Before the States' Rights ticket had arisen, Virginia's electors were pledged in convention to vote for the nominee of the National Democratic Convention. Although it is theoretically possible to call another state convention and change the instructions, the state party chairman has said he will not call a meeting of the central committee in time to hold a convention.

There is still a chance that Thurmond-Wright electors will get on the ballot as independents, in which case the Democratic vote will be split. The state's electoral vote may thus go Republican, since the GOP got 37.5 per cent of the major party vote in 1944. The News

This refusal of the Democratic leadership in Virginia to go along with the Thurmond-Wright group is another sign of the fact that there are many Southern Democrats who think that the best interests of their states lie in loyalty to the national Democratic Party rather than in lining up with the States' Rights group.

Birmingham, Ala.

The South is not standing solidly behind the ticket named at the Birmingham emotion-charged rally. What is taking place in Virginia is only one sign. Another is the fact that the meeting to be held in Birmingham in the interests of getting Truman-Barkley electors on the Alabama ticket will be addressed by Rep. Estes Kefauver, brilliant Tennessee congressman who recently won that state's nomination for senator over the hitherto dominant Crump machine. Tennessee's Democratic electors are also expected to vote for Truman. 8-26-48

Thurs.

Virginia Democratic Leaders Override Liberal Element In Party

Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.

CONSIDERING how Virginians and other southerners have been agitated by the proposal of President TRUMAN that this nation extend a larger measure of civil rights to all of its citizens, it was not surprising that the Virginia State Democratic Convention devoted most of its time and its platform to the party organization's stand on states rights, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, fair employment practices, segregation of the races and federal grants-in-aid legislation.

Sat 7-10-48

The emphasis on the race question was more pronounced than in any assemblage of Virginia politicians since the convention in 1902 which re-wrote the State Constitution in order to limit education of Negroes and to eliminate their exercise of the franchise.

The state convention revived the issues of the Civil War. That war was fought on the issue of "states rights," which was a device used to cover up the real issue, which was *slavery*. The present frantic and hysterical agitation of the so-called "states rights" principle is an effort to cover the politicians desire to continue to nullify the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States which are just as much a part of the Constitution as any other part. The platform adopted by the convention suggested revolt not only against the President and the Congress, but against the Federal Judiciary.

All the hysterics about "states rights" is pure political bunkum. The politicians are just ashamed to reveal themselves as Negro-baiters in the eyes of the world. They use the fictitious issue of "states rights" in order to achieve what they really want to do—keep colored citizens of Virginia and of the South from achieving first-class citizenship and a higher standard of living.

7-10-48

The prize piece of political manipulation was brought forward by Norfolk's senator, EDWARD L. BREEDEN, and Norfolk's former senator, JAMES HOGE TYLER, III, in a resolution repudiating the civil rights proposals. These gentlemen repeated the fiction advanced by Governor TUCK that "after years of patience, education and mutual effort on the part of all races, all are

now living together in Virginia and elsewhere in our nation with an amity and forbearance heretofore unknown in the annals of history." They also incorporated in their resolutions the statement that the proposed civil rights laws were "designed to abolish and destroy the barriers of segregation and social division *long recognized by the responsible leadership of all races to be most conducive to the maintenance of peaceable and friendly relations."* (Italics ours.)

THE apparent amity and forbearance is due to a natural instinct of Negroes. It is natural and cultivated and practiced in the same manner that a bank teller behaves who is confronted with a highwayman who pokes a gun at him and tells him to hand over the money. The only thing that has come out of the South's rank system of discrimination and injustice over the past three-quarters of a century is a cultivated state of forbearance and tolerance on the part of southern Negroes.

There is not a "responsible Negro leader" in the South in any position whatsoever who would dare come out publicly and say that he is satisfied with the present conditions, or that he believes any considerable number of other Negroes are satisfied with existing conditions.

7-10-48

In an effort to make their inhumane position appear reasonable the southerners have misrepresented the Negro leadership of the South and of the country, and by using the press, the radio, and in recent months, particularly, the widely circulated magazines, have tried to create the impression in the rest of the country that Negroes in the South are satisfied with conditions as they are. This has been a huge measure of deception plus a real desire to do something to ease their burning consciences in the face of their cruelty and political mayhem.

If anybody in either race can honestly make out a good case for satisfactory and really fair and just relations between the races in this tragic era of denial of opportunity for education, for a chance at good health, for a chance at good housing, for a chance at jobs at fair wages; of sustained and studied determination to undignify human personality in the Negro race; of sustained and determined efforts to create in the minds of people in other sections of the country the false impression that

Negroes were made by God in one stereotype, and that God did not intend for them to enjoy the fruits of good living on this earth as he intended other men to do, such a person could with his tongue and pen bring together in brotherly love and goodwill JOSEPH STALIN and the members of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Virginia State Convention followed the example of Georgia and other southern states in starting a boom for General EISENHOWER as the nominee of the Democratic Party for the presidency. We may be mistaken, but we do not believe that General EISENHOWER will permit himself to be used as the instrument of a southern rebellion against human justice and democracy. If General EISENHOWER accepts the Democratic nomination, knowing that he is being thus drafted, he will deserve to be defeated as he no doubt will be.

Richmond Lawyer Plans to Challenge Seating Of Virginia's Delegation at Philadelphia

The Post Washington, D.C.
3 Tues

By a Post Reporter

Philadelphia, July 12.—Martin A. Hutchinson, Richmond, Va., lawyer, arrived here today to challenge the seating of the Virginia delegation to the Democratic national convention.

7-13-48

Hutchinson said he will ask the conventions credentials committee Tuesday to insist that Virginia's delegates be required to pledge support for whatever candidates the convention nominates.

As things stand now, Virginia's State Democratic convention has held the door open for a bolt from President Truman in November and the State central committee, by two thirds vote can reconvene the State convention after the national presidential ticket is picked and the convention then could instruct Virginia's presidential electors to cast their ballots for different candidates than these picked by the national convention.

Hutchinson will urge that Virginia's present delegates now solidly in the anti-Truman camp be accredited to the convention only if they sign a pledge saying: "I promise on my honor to support all the nominees of said (Democratic) party at the next ensuing general election.

7-13-48

The pledge is like the one which county and city Democratic committees in Virginia can require of delegates to a State convention.

Hutchinson, in 1946, sought to capture the seat of United States Senator Harry F. Byrd (D., Va.) and lost. He was a leader in the fight against Virginia's new election law put through this year as a move against President Trman. Appearing with Hutchinson at the credentials committee meeting will be Henry H. Fowler, lawyer, of Alexandria, Va.

Meanwhile, Virginia's delegates found a new wrinkle for getting friends into the convention hall.

They elected four Virginians to be honorary officials of the convention, including the resident manager of their headquarters, Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Joseph E. Mears, formerly of Hampton, Va.

Washington, D.C.

Mears was chosen honorary vice president of the convention, a job that entitles him to a badge of admission. The election went to him after Senator A. Willis Robertson (D., Va.) who has a badge, withdrew his nomination for the honorary post.

The Post

Other Virginia delegation officials chosen at a morning causus in the Benjamin Franklin were: Governor William M. Tuck, chairman; State Senator Garland Gray, of Sussex, vice chairman; Archie C. Berkeley, of Richmond, secretary; John J. Wicker, jr., Richmond, and Mrs. George W. Blow, of York County, members of the convention resolutions committee State Senator M. M. Long, of Wise County, credentials committee; Alec H. Bell, of Norfolk, committee on permanent organization; State Senator E. B. BBlackburn Moore, of Clarke on rules.

Tues.

A feature of the meeting was Governor Tuck's reminder to the delegates that they were instructed to vote against any presidential candidate who has espoused a civil rights program. With this instruction in the background, there was a big laugh when Tuck announced that nominations were open for membership on the committee to notify the presidential nominee. D. Lane Elder of Hopewell got the assignment; State Senator Raymond R. Guest, of Warren County, was assigned to the cmomittee to notify the vice presidential nominee.

Other honorary convention officials: Mrs. Floyd Holloway, of Yorktown, honorary assistant vice president; Hugh O. Colbourn, Waverly, Va., honorary secretary; and Mrs. Margaret P. Evans, Rocky Mount, honorary assistant secretary.

7-13-48

Dixie Nominates Gov. Thurmond For President

Herald Tribune
New York, N.Y.
Sun. 7-18-48

6,000 Pick So. Carolinian With Mississippi's Gov. Wright as Running Mate

By David McConnell
A Staff Correspondent

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 17.—Southern Democrats, in an uproarious anti-Truman convention here today, unanimously nominated Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina as their "states' rights" Presidential candidate in a move admittedly designed to insure the defeat of President Truman.

The 6,000 Southerners from thirteen states also unanimously named Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi as the Vice-Presidential nominee. Throughout the earlier portion of the convention it had been reported Governor Wright would head the ticket.

Governor Thurmond and Governor Wright were placed in nomination at 5:44 p. m., when Horce Wilkinson, Alabama Presidential elector, introduced a resolution calling for the South to support them.

Sun.

While the resolution in effect places a fourth party—the States Rights party—in the 1948 Presidential campaign, leaders of the movement said election laws in the various states would make it difficult to conduct an orthodox party campaign. Some were inclined to consider the move behind the two Governors as an indorsement rather than a nomination.

7-18-48

Mr. Wilkinson's resolution stressed that the anti-Truman group would seek to persuade all the South to bolt Mr. Truman and cast their electoral votes for the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

In a bid for other dissenting Democrats to join the anti-Truman move, the convention adopted unanimously a resolution to hold another "states rights" meeting Oct. 1 in Birmingham. The resolution called for invitations to be sent to Democratic party organizations in every state.

Both Governor Thurmond and Governor Wright have been leaders of the anti-Truman movement since the President advanced his ten-point civil rights program early this year. Governor Thurmond, forty-five years old and a veteran of World War II, was keynoter at the May 10 "states' rights" meeting at Jackson, Miss., when the anti-Truman revolt took form. Governor Wright, fifty-three, was host at the meeting.

In his Mississippi inaugural address on Jan. 20 Governor Wright became the first Southern Governor to attack President Truman for his stand on civil rights. In February Governor Wright made the initial move to call for a revolt of Southern Governors against the Administration.

Demonstration Greets Them

Weary delegates broke into a wild demonstration and invaded the speakers' platform with their flags and state signs when Governors Thurmond and Wright appeared at the convention at 6:50 p. m. to accept the nomination.

Introduced as the "next Vice-President of the United States,' Governor Wright asserted that "there are some people in the United States who say we aren't Democrats gathered here today.'

He added: "I say we are the Democrats.

"We have been called rebels and boasters, we will be called many things before this fight is over, but no Southerner is ever afraid to take sides for a principle. Those who believed we would never be able to carry this fight on to a successful conclusion are beginning to tremble.

"We will not, we will not turn back. This is the South's big opportunity to show that we are the Democratic party."

Following the acceptance procedure established at the Philadelphia convention of the Democrats, Governor Thurmond followed the Vice-Presidential nominee to tell the cheering throng that "no true Southerner can fail to answer the call of his people."

Charges Betrayal by Truman

Herald Tribune

"A great beginning has been made in our fight for state sovereignty," he said. "We have just begun to fight. If the South should vote for Truman this year, then we might as well petition the government to give us colonial status.

"He (President Truman) betrayed the South. We Southerners are going to cast our vote for candidates who are true believers of states' government. For our loyalty to the party we have been stabbed in the back by a President who in his mad desire to win has betrayed every principle of the Democratic party."

New York, N.Y.

The one-day convention opened this morning with adoption of a declaration of principles calling upon "all Democrats and upon all loyal Americans who are opposed to totalitarianism at home and abroad to unite with us in ignominiously defeating Harry S. Truman and Thomas E. Dewey, and every other candidate for public office who would establish a police state in the United States of America."

Sun. 7-18-48

Delegates stomped and shouted approval each time speakers condemned the President or assailed the strong civil rights plank adopted by the Democrats. Confederate flags outnumbered those of the United States, and one delegate paraded about the hall holding aloft a framed picture of General Robert E. Lee.

As the rump session developed it appeared certain that anti-Truman forces may be able to divert between twenty and thirty electoral votes from the President.

Mississippi to Divert 9

Mississippi's nine votes in the Electoral College, the vehicle by which the President is officially chosen, will not support Mr. Truman, according to Governor Wright. Alabama's eleven electors signed pledges never to vote for Mr. Truman. A scattered ten other electors from Southern states also have indicated they might withold votes or cast them as designated by the convention here.

The convention opened this morning with a prayer by the Rev. John H. Buchanan, of the Birmingham South Side Baptist Church. He called for the delegates to "purge from our hearts all prejudice" and gave thanks to God for "our heritage of our forefathers."

Eugene C. Connor, Police Commissioner of Birmingham and one of the thirteen Alabama delegates to bolt the Philadelphia convention, rose to assert that if "Al Capone hadn't been dead the Democrats would have had him on the platform." Thirteen of the Alabama delegation remained at the Philadelphia meeting.

Walter Sellers, of Rosedale, Miss., Speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives, struck the keynote of the convention when he told cheering delegates that "we are here to preserve our Southern way of life, customs and traditions." Saying that the Philadelphia convention "betrayed the true principles of the Democratic party," Mr. Sellers asserted that "we of the South will not yield to pressure of politicians and office holders" to support President Truman.

Segregation Policy Upheld

The session took on the color of a revival meeting when Frank M. Dixon, former Governor of Alabama, shouted that "we've been sold down the river." He said that the strong civil-rights plank adopted by the Democrats was "aimed at us and at securing Negro votes in doubtful states."

"Segregation is our way of life," Mr. Dixon said. Recommending that the Southern states combine behind a "true Democrat," the Alabaman said "maybe we'll take the South and the Republicans the North and then where will the Democratic party be?"

Assailing those Southern Democrats who have refused to join the anti-Truman drive, former Governor Dixon asserted that "some office holders are more afraid of losing their jobs and patronage than following the will of the people."

The assertion touched off a twelve - minute demonstration sparked mostly by students from numerous Southern universities. Delegates were seated merely by registering with the committee. University of Mississippi and University of Virginia students led the parading delegates in singing "Dixie" while the entire parading conventon kept chanting "Down With Truman" and "We want Dixie."

7-18-48

Governor Folsom Present

The convention proceedings frequetly were interrupted when such Southern politicians as William (Alfalfa Bill) Murray, former Governor of Oklahoma appeared. When Alabama's Governor James E. Folsom, 6 feet 8 inches tall, entered the auditorium he was greeted by boos as well as cheers from the audience.

Sun

Governor Folsom, appearing as an observer, told the session he hoped their fight would improve "local states' rights" government. He cited a Federal investigation of his use of National Guard aircraft as "just another invasion of states' rights."

7-18-48

Typical of the oratory which brought loud shouts of approval was a short talk by former Governor Murray.

DIXIECRATS TO ENTER PRESIDENTIAL TICKET IN ALL OF 48 STATES

The Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.

States Rights Leaders Map Strategy At Atlanta, Plan Formal Campaign

Sun. 7-25-48

PARTY NAME IS CHOSEN

Thurmond And Wright Will Accept Action Of Birmingham Convention At Texas-Wide Rally On Aug. 11

By BEM PRICE
Associated Press Staff Writer

ATLANTA, July 24.—The States' Rights Democrats Saturday decided to enter a presidential ticket in all the states of the Nation.

The action was announced in a formal statement released through George McNabb, press secretary to Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, after a strategy meeting here.

Thurmond was recommended at the Birmingham States' Rights Convention July 17 to carry the South's fight on civil rights against President Truman. His running mate, selected at the Birmingham meeting, is Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi.

"Expects To Be Elected"

The committee's announcement said the decision to campaign in all states was to give "millions of real Americans the opportunity of voting for these candidates, and to preserve our American way of Government according to our Federal and state constitutions."

Shortly after the announcement, Governor Thurmond said, "We are running for President and expect to be elected." He said he would make his first speech at Cherryville, S. C., July 31 at the Watermelon Festival.

7-25-48

The Governor also disclosed that the party's official title, adopted Saturday, is "States' Rights Democrats."

He told reporters "We are not running on a white supremacy, racial hatred or class prejudice platform. We are running primarily on the issue of States' Rights."

The 46-year-old Governor was asked how he expected to finance the campaign and he observed that they expected contributions from supporters of the States' Rights principle.

Dodges Receiving Funds

The Commercial Appeal

One reporter asked if he had heard the rumor that oil companies were backing the movement. He said he had not heard of any such thing "and not a dime has passed through my hands."

Appeal

Thurmond, asked to assess his chances of victory, replied, "we expect to carry most, if not all, the Southern states."

The States' Rights Steering Committee said the Democratic Conventions of South Carolina and Mississippi are being reconvened shortly to pledge support in the presidential race to their respective governors.

The Mississippi Convention is being called back into session Aug. 3. The date of the South Carolina session was not announced.

Merritt H. Gibson of Longview, Texas, former Gregg County judge, said Thurmond and Wright would accept action of the Birmingham convention at a statewide rally at Houston Aug. 11.

Memphis Tenn.

Closed Session Held

Saturday's meeting was a closed session. It served, however, to emphasize that most of the support for the States' Rights movement is coming from Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina.

Sun.

The South's revolt started when President Truman recommended passage of a civil rights program which asked for a Fair Employment Practices Commission, an end to segregation and the poll tax and a Federal antilynch law.

When the national party platform included these aims of the President over the South's objections, half the Alabama delegation left the National Convention and all the Mississippi delegation walked out.

7-25-48

The result was a call by Wright for the Birmingham convention. Other states with representatives were Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas.

States' Righters To Carry Fight Into All States

Herald Tribune

New York, N.Y.

Thurmond to Accept at Big Texas Rally; Place To Be Sought on All Ballots

Special to the Herald Tribune

ATLANTA, July 24.—States rights Democrats decided in closed session here Saturday to wage their fight against President Truman's civil rights program throughout the entire United States. Mon.

Virtually becoming a new national party, the group announced that Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi would be notified of their nomination for President and Vice-Persident at a mammoth rally Aug. 11 in Houston, Tex. 7-26-48

The dissenting Southern Democrats, who assembled from seven states, voted to enter the names of Governors Thurmond and Wright as candidates in all forty-eight states. Plans will be worked out later, they said, for getting the names on the ballots—the procedures being different in the various states.

Governor Thurmond, meeting reporters after the four-and-one-half-hour session of the organization's steering committee, said he was running for President "with the expectation of winning." He predicted he would carry most, if not all, of the Southern states.

The States' Rights Democrats, who officially adopted that name Saturday, expect to concentrate their opening guns on Texas's twenty-six electoral votes.

According to Judge Merritt Gibson, of Longview, Tex., who attended Saturday's meeting, the Texas States' Rights organization first will seek to obtain a referendum Aug. 14 to permit the people to decide whether States' Rights candidates' names will go on the ballot for the Aug. 28 primary. If that fail, he said, the group will seek to persuade the state Democratic convention at a meeting Sept. 14 to declare Governors Thurmond and Wright the state party's nominees. 7-26-48

Although the steering committee meeting was held in Atlanta, no Georgia delegate was present. Attending were thirty representatives, from Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana.

The states' Righters were greeted by an editorial Saturday morning in "The Atlanta Constitution" which urged them to drop their organized fight and "return to the party and assist it in a united effort to present the most effective protest which may now be made."

"That protest," the paper said, "should be made within the party by each state offering a slate of independent Democratic electors, along with the Truman slate, so that the people may choose." 7-26-48

Governor Thurmond said that a campaign committee would be named soon and that permanent campaign headquarters would be established, mostly likely in the South. Jackson, Miss., was a site suggested by conference delegates.

Governor Thurmond said he would continue to do his work as Governor of South Carolina while running for President.

"I imagine," he said, "that I can do it as well as Governor Dewey and Governor Warren."

Mississippi Denounces Truman's Orders

The Call

Kansas City, Mo.

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) — The President is willing to gamble the welfare of the American people for political expediency, Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi and vice-Presidential candidate of the Dixiecrats, said last week after hearing of the President's two orders establishing fair employment practices in federal agencies and equal opportunity for all members of the armed services.

Governor Wright said:

"It was clearly demonstrated at the Philadelphia convention that neither he nor the leaders of the administration hesitate to gamble the national welfare for political expediency." Fri.

Speaking of the armed forces order he said: 8-6-48

"All military men of prominence and ability have advised against this step. It is recognized that what the President has now decreed will inevitably result in destroying the greatest fighting force in the world.

"His order decreeing FEPC in all government agencies, bureaus, departments and offices is but another tragic capitulation to minority and radical group pressure."

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the outcome of their intensive operation.

A great many Southerners unquestionably have become deeply incensed over the civil rights plank of the Democratic national platform, put in place after a close fight as a climactic and specific endorsement of the Truman proposals in this field.

The uncompromising stand taken by some Southern delegates in opposition to those proposals intensified the dissension within the party and helped to put an acceptable compromise beyond reach. Former Gov. Sparks and others made valiant and long-sustained efforts to that end but they failed.

The successful fight for amendment of the plank on the floor was an unnecessary and bitterly divisive aggravation of the battle. The walkout of Mississippi and half of Alabama's delegates followed. Otherwise the Birmingham meeting might never have developed—at least not in the form and spirit which it took.

Birmingham, Ala.

The result is a situation that must be disturbing to all Southerners and to the entire nation. Tues. 7-20-48

If efforts now are made in Congress to press for legislation enacting the proposals advanced by Mr. Truman, the fight is sure to be further inflamed. Consequently no one can now say what the effects will be on the voting in the South in November.

The sentiment against Mr. Truman and the extremist wing of the national party has been strengthened. The projected Thurmond-Wright ticket will poll a considerable protest vote as a result. But how many electors will finally cast their ballots for it cannot be foreseen at this stage of a movement that will be influenced by the course of events yet to come.

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* *

The Birmingham convention was not, of course, a gathering in which representation was worked out according to careful, comprehensive processes. It was open to all who desired to come. It was directed by a relatively small group of leaders. Tues.

In the meantime, the regular political organizations in some Southern states have yet to determine just what their attitude will be. 7-20-48

If the spirit dominant in the Birmingham meeting spreads in force to other parts of the South, Truman and Barkley may suffer in this region a heavy loss of voters who usually have supported the Democratic national ticket. Whether that would lead to giving these Southern forces the balance of power in the electoral college is, of course, a question, but the possibility inevitably suggests itself.

However that may be, the already strong Republican trend may be so broadened by this division among the Democrats that Dewey and Warren may win an overwhelming victory. Just where that would leave the South and the Democratic Party is a matter for the most careful consideration of all Southerners.

No Predicting On This

The News

The emotional forces which have been unleashed in the states and civil rights controversy are plainly so powerful that it is impossible to predict just what will be

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GAINESVILLE DAILY TIMES

The Constitution

Georgia Wisely Stayed Away

Atlanta, Ga.

Georgia's congressional leaders and chief politicians did a good job in restraining some of the wilder heads in the State and keeping them out of the ridiculous mess that developed in Birmingham last weekend. Sens. George and Russell didn't appear. Herman Talmadge and M. E. Thompson refused to attend.

The so-called Dixiecrat convention offers nothing to Georgia, except that its loose morals and chicanery might spread within our borders like an epidemic. The Dixiecrats have nominated a ticket the names on which sound actually funny when mentioned in the same sentence with the words "President of the United States."

So far it looks as though the Dixiecrats will carry three States: Mississippi, in which electors are pledged to vote against Truman; Alabama, although the strong labor vote makes this prediction doubtful; and South Carolina, which may or may not stick with its Governor. Fri. 7-23-48

After a close look the Dixiecrat convention loses what some might consider a desperate air of martyrdom on the cross of States' rights. In the first place, this sudden concern about States' rights seems to have come up just when the Federal Government is thinking about taking over tideland oil deposits. Tideland oil is that petroleum which lies under the selves of land projecting out as the bottom of the Gulf of Mexico. It is conceivable that the expenses of the Dixiecrat conclave and that the guiding spirits are the huge oil interests that cover the underwater oil and other parties who stand to profit in oil through already established channels of personal privilege in State politics. . . .

Gerald Smith Rebuffed Fast By Dixiecrats

Courier Journal

7-20-48

Atlanta, July 19 (U.P.)—The Dixiecrat movement today received—and promptly rejected—the support of Gerald L. K. Smith, national director of the Christian Nationalist Crusade.

Smith, onetime follower of the late Huey P. Long, said he would line up his Crusade behind the Dixie States'-rights ticket because "Our 3,000,000 enrolled followers believe that the Negro and the Jew are exerting too much control in American politics."

Louisville, Ky.

Thurmond Gives Loud "No."

But the Dixiecrats, who put up Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina to oppose President Truman on an anti-civil-rights platform at their Birmingham convention Saturday, gave a loud "No" to Smith's offer.

Thurmond, when he heard of it, said, "We do not invite and we do not need the support of Gerald L. K. Smith."

In Birmingham, Horace Wilkinson, chairman of the Dixiecrats' resolutions committee, said, "We're not going to fool with a bird like Gerald L. K. Smith."

Community Sends $1,500.

The Dixiecrats meanwhile got support of a more welcome sort. The community of Inverness, Miss., notified Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi, Thurmond's running mate, that a campaign check for $1,500 was on the way.

Wright said that he would confer with Thurmond soon on their plans for bucking the Truman-Barkley ticket. But he said he personally was "very tired" and hoped he would not have to make any campaign speeches.

Dixiecrats Ruled Off

OKLAHOMA CITY, Oct. 5 (UP)—The Oklahoma Supreme Court today denied the states' rights Democrats a place on that state's ballot on the grounds that

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the new party's presidential electors were improperly chosen.

N.Y.

34d 1948

America Speaks—

Thurmond Strength In South Gaged At 14 Per Cent In Poll

Commercial Appeal

Fri. 8-20-48

340

Real Threat To Democrats Is Seen In Control Of 32 Votes In Electoral College—Both Truman, Dewey Are Ahead In Popular Strength In 13 States

Memphis Tenn

By GEORGE GALLUP

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., Aug. 19.—At the start of the campaign the "Dixiecrat" movement has the support of about one voter in seven below the Mason-Dixon line. Fri. 8-20-48

In the first survey to be conducted on the popularity of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond since his nomination for President by the States' Rights Party, Governor Thurmond polls 14 per cent throughout the 13 Southern states as a group.

In terms of popular votes he is topped by both President Truman and Governor Thomas E. Dewey in the South, but the popular vote percentage does not fully indicate the extent of the Thurmond threat to the Democratic party.

Claim 32 Electors

Fri. 8-20-48

Dixiecrat spokesmen claim that 32 electoral votes are already "in the bag" for the States' Rights ticket. These 32 consist of Alabama 11, Mississippi 9, South Carolina 8 and Florida 4 of the state's 8 votes. In those states, the Dixiecrats claim, the Democratic candidates for presidential electors already have pledged themselves to vote against President Truman.

Those 32 electoral votes are votes which the Democrats have always in the past counted on as "absolutely sure" for them. To offset their loss this year President Truman would have to take virtually all the New England states which have a total of 40 electoral votes.

Throughout the South interviewers for the Institute put the following question to Southern voters in a survey begun directly after the formation of the States' Rights Party:

"If the presidential election were being held today how would you vote—for Dewey, for Truman, for Wallace or for Thurmond?"

The results among voters who said they plan to vote in November were: Fri. 8-20-48

SOUTHERN VOTERS

Truman	41%
Dewey	34
Thurmond	14
Wallace	2
No opinion	9

With the no opinion vote eliminated the results are Truman 46 per cent, Dewey 37 per cent, Thurmond 15 per cent and Wallace 2 per cent. Fri. 8-20-48

The 13 Southern states include South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Oklahoma. Thurmond sentiment runs strongest in the first eight, comprising the so-called "deep South."

While the new party plans to make a strong effort to get on the ballot in all Southern states, it remains to be seen how successful this effort will be. Today's poll figures indicate the extent of Thurmond's popular following at the present time assuming he were on the ballot in all states in the South.

Wallace Is Low

Henry A. Wallace's figure of 2 per cent in the South compares with a national Wallace percentage of 5 per cent in the last Institute poll reported Aug. 1. Mr. Wallace plans to invade the South for an intensive campaign tour in early September. Future surveys will indicate whether his campaign efforts increase his popularity below the Mason-Dixon line.

The Dewey figure for the South—37 per cent among those with opinions—is slightly higher than the percentage he polled in the South in 1944 presidential election when he ran against the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. That year Dewey polled 31 per cent of the major party vote in the South.

President Truman's figure of 46 per cent compares with the Roosevelt figure of 69 per cent in the 1944 election. President Truman's percentage in the South is roughly comparable to the 1928 election when Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic candidate, polled 48 per cent. The low Democratic figure this year, however, is not due so much to increased Republican strength as to the split of the Democratic vote between Truman and Thurmond.

Dixiecrats

RALPH McGILL

Yes, But Who Pays for the Band?

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

I always try to see past my nose, and so I do not share the enthusiasm of some of my contemporaries for the Dixiecrat revolt. I have respect for their rights, just as I have contempt for the position of those who hired out to create the Birmingham Convention background, which had only about 2,000 delegates and pretended to be so "Southern" and so "Democratic" when every action it took was dictated from two hotel suites in town. Tue. 8-10-48

It is worth noting that the best newspaper in South Carolina—the Anderson Independent—has thought it over and is against the Dixiecrat movement. The Independent also is trying to see beyond its nose. The fact that South Carolina's Strom Thurmond is a man of character and courage makes it all the more unfortunate. Those persons who originated the Dixiecrats and who ran the Convention from hotel suites don't deserve to have that sort of a front. It is well to keep in mind that as soon as it was practical, those who own the Dixiecrat movement took it back home—to Houston, Texas.

Sabotage The Dixiecrat movement is not a movement to "save" the South. It is a movement to sabotage the Democratic Party at the expense of the South and the South's future. It proceeds with exactly the same sort of mentality and the same sort of phrases as that which took the South into the War Between the States which also was "to save the South."

It has attracted to it sincere persons and it is fronted by a sincere person—Thurmond, of South Carolina. The owners of the Dixiecrats will use him and when done with him, put him aside.

Who owns the Dixiecrats? Well, you can't say because they don't leave the proof to be picked up and printed. But you know.

Atlanta Constitution

Gerald And you can point to Gerald L. K. Smith, who was invited to Birmingham and who said, in so many words, that he was invited there by the three largest contributors and by those who organized it. Gerald is always around where the high dollar is likely to be found, and he was there at the invitation of the three men who had the money to finance the Dixiecrats. They were the same men about whom the speaker was talking at Jackson, who got up and said they would have $500,000 for the new party if they needed it.

And they have moved the Dixiecrats to Houston and the "Convention" to nominate will be held there. That's very fitting. The owners are chiefly Texans.

I am sure if the Dixiecrats get on the ballots in enough States they will carry some States. I am quite aware of the fact they will get a lot of votes from people who think they are voting for their region.

Cynically I know all that. And that is why it makes me sad to see the South's political future carried away by men who will use it cynically. And that is why it sickened me that the Confederate Flag and the tune "Dixie" were much in evidence at Birmingham—on orders from the men who were to pay those bills—and the subsequent bills—and who invited Gerald Smith there. "Play 'Dixie,'" they said, "and keep the suckers happy."

We will pay through the nose for the Dixiecrats—as we still pay for the leadership which took us into the War Between the States to "save us."

Issue What is at issue is States' rights—as guaranteed by the tenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

That's what we are fighting for.

I am for States' rights. It scares me to see more and more centralization of powers in Federal agencies.

But what fools we are to let smart promoters try to smash the two-party system and create a third or fourth party out of Southern Democrats by telling us that's the way to save States' rights.

If we don't want to vote for Truman, then let those who don't vote for Tom Dewey.

Is Harry Truman immortal? Is he going to be the issue every four years? Or is the party or the two-party system one of the two big issues?

Is Truman the issue or the Constitution of the United States?

Courts Are the Dixiecrats going to decide the interpretation of the Constitution of the United States or the Supreme Court of the United States?

Beating Truman won't have any influence on the future of States' rights. That is a constitutional issue and a constitutional issue only.

It is not at all connected with any plan to defeat Truman. Withholding electoral votes won't touch the States' rights issue.

There are two different fights—but the Dixiecrats and those who want to break up the two-party system in this country—are trying to say it is one fight. The campaign against Truman is a matter of ballots. The States' rights issue is a matter of constitutional law which only the Supreme Court can determine. The Anderson Independent is quite correct. The Dixiecrats are creating prejudice against States' rights which will make it impossible for the many friends of States' rights in the North and West to join with the Southern supporters of States' rights. The men who manipulated the Dixiecrat movement at Birmingham, and who will manipulate it from offices in Houston, count heavily on keeping the band playing "Dixie" to attract enough sincere persons to give a front to their plans.

Arena They are hollering States' rights when the Supreme Court is the arena where those rights must be determined. They are trying to make it appear that Truman is the issue—when they know he is an episode. There are two—separate—issues.

Tue. 8-10-48

We all thrill to the tune of "Dixie."

But it is well to keep in mind that Gerald L. K. Smith knew who was paying for the band.

Thurmond And Wright: 'The Men'

John Temple Graves

"In vain the Tennessean set
His breast against the bayonet
In vain Virginia charged and raged
on."

Columbia, S.C.

For its immortal soul, and its substance, too, the South can't afford to live again in the sign and psychology of a Lost Cause. Especially a lost cause within a lost cause. These states are proposing to count more than ever in the Union of States, not be counted out. It is victory they are after. They have learned the smell of it, strange as it may seem, in the Rose Bowl at Pasadena.

That meeting in Birmingham was not a convention, as its mentors tried to make clear. Neither was it a conference, even though its mentors called it that. The conferring was done over at the Tutwiler hotel beforehand and between sessions. The name for the vast conclave that shouted, waved and said "aye" to everything was mass meeting. The microphones on the floor were misleading. Nobody was expected to make a speech without invitation. There were no delegates, only aroused Southern people, to listen and look and wildly applaud. It could not have been otherwise in the circumstances and there was nothing undemocratic about it because nothing else was pretended.

Thurs. 7-22-48

What happened, therefore, is that an enormous mass meeting of people mostly from Alabama and Mississippi has passionately approved proposals of that element of southern leadership, also mostly from Alabama and Mississippi, which walked out at Philadelphia. The liveliest fire and deadliest earnest in the Southern revolt crackled from Birmingham into the radios and newspapers of America. It was a tremendous show, and a great achievement.

But it is not all of the southern revolt (or, rather, the southern revolution, for that is the name for this thing now). Another expression of the revolution is the great number of Republican votes that will be cast next November in the South. The greatest potential expression of all is the still undetermined one of those represented by the 263 votes for Dick Russell at Philadelphia, who are certain they **can't accept Truman and federal** force but who honestly don't yet know what do or where to go.

Some who heard Fielding Wright speak of withdrawing later as the meeting's nominee for vice president if a better man could be found thought such humility unbecoming. But Governor Wright was not being humble, as I understood him. He was merely pointing out that the action of the mass meeting, with its "recommendations" to the Democracies of the southern states, was necessarily tentative in a situation packed with events yet to come and decisions yet to be made. The meeting further recognized this tentative status by arranging for a more formal gathering on October 1, with voting delegates on hand.

The large immediate objective is that southern Democratic electors be free of instruction to vote for Truman. The meeting made practical and commendable arrangements in that direction. It could have named no more deserving and impressive southerners than the governor of South Carolina and the governor of Mississippi. They exactly fit the present situation, it seems to me.

Thurs 7-22-48

At Philadelphia, writes Dorothy Thompson, the national Democratic party "exchanged the support of the southern white majority to become a militant leftwing party barely step to the right of Wallace who, if he abandoned his communist allies, could rejoin it tomorrow."

Suppose Wallace does rejoin it. And suppose Dewey, when he invades these states, makes the point that his FEPC in New York is a state affair and that he does not propose federal interference with any state. And suppose Taft, who as leader of the Republican majorities in Congress is going to have more sayso than the White House, makes a speech recalling his own strong denunciation of FEPC as a bureaucratic monstrosity and a violation of states' rights, pointing to his (and therefore his party's) loyalty to states' rights principles in his education, health and housing measures. Isn't it possible that in those events the unmentioned individuals to whom Governor Wright hinted the vote of Democratic electors in the South might be turned over could be Dewey and Warren? Governor Warren would not find it strange to have both Democratic and Republican nominations. He had them in California when he ran for governor.

It is something to think of in this time for bold thinking, at any rate. If the Democratic electors of Southern states should give their votes, as Democrats, to Dewey and Warren, no principles would be sacrificed since the Republicans are at least as Democratic as the Democrats now. And there would be the vulgar but much to be desired business of being one of a victorious combine, not the broken splinter of a rotted timber.

States' Rights Forces Claim Added Support

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Hill, Sparkman, Sparks Listed But Trio Silent On Working For Ticket

Sat 7-31-48

Court Test Hinted

Langan Seeks To Force Support Of President As Nominee Of Party

By The Associated Press

States Rights forces claimed three new supporters for the Thurmond-Wright ticket Friday, but got no assurance they would go out and work for these candidates.

Birmingham Attorney Horace C. Wilkinson, who helped organize the States Rights movement, announced the new converts as **Alabama Senators Lister Hill and John J. Sparkman and ex-Gov. Chauncey Sparks.** 7-31-48

The state electors pledged themselves Thursday, to cast their 11 votes for the Thurmond-Wright States Rights ticket. Sat.

Suit Is Hinted

At Mobile, State Senator Joe Langan even hinted he might file a court suit in an attempt to force the Democratic electors to **support Truman as the nominee of their party, if he could not get a slate of Truman electors on the November ballot.**

Wilkinson followed this up with the claim that Sparks, Hill and Sparkman had come over to the Thurmond-Wright camp.

They did so, he said, in declaring they will vote the Democratic ticket in November.

All three confirmed that they will vote for all Democratic nominees in November. They did not say whether this means they will get out and work for the State's Rights ticket.

Under Rooster

Sparks, in a letter to the Selma Times-Journal, said merely he will vote under the rooster in November. He declined to discuss Wilkinson's claims and made no mention of the Thurman-Wright ticket.

The former governor said he was mainly interested in preserving the Democratic party of Alabama and added:

"By so doing we can face the future with hope that when the national Democratic party has purged itself forever of such aliens as Truman . . . we of the South can again hold our rightful place in the party with honor and pride." 7-31-48

The two senators said they took an oath to support nominees of the Alabama Democratic primaries and would do so. They, like Sparks, steered away from a commitment for the States' Rights movement. Sat.

Meanwhile, Senator Langan hinted of a court test to force Alabama's presidential elector nominees to support Truman.

He said if Truman supporters are unable to get their own elector slate on the November ballot, he might go into court to force the Democratic electors to vote for the Democratic candidate.

In Montgomery, Secretary of State Sibyl Pool said if other slates of electors are certified to her office, she would ask the State Attorney General for an opinion before having them put on the ballot.

Atty. Gen. A. A. Carmichael said he has received no request for such an opinion and has not issued one either formally or informally. The Advertiser

In hinting he might go into court to force the state's Democratic electors to support Truman, Senator Langan recalled that the State Supreme Court has held invalid a 1945 act binding electors to support their party's National Convention nominee.

This, he said, came in an advisory opinion requested by Gov. Folsom and would not be binding if an actual court test is undertaken.

He said since a federal question is involved there is a possibility of taking the question to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Special session talk was being heard again in Montgomery this week, but it apparently had nothing to do with how electors will vote. Montgomery, Ala.

Gov. Folsom is known to have conferred with several legislators in the past few days. One, who asked that his name not be used, said prospects of an extraordinary session of the Legislature were discussed. Sat. 7-31-48

One source close to the governor said there is a chance the governor will call the legislators into session if they can agree on a plan to provide more money for roads and old age pensions.

Another said if such a call goes out it won't come until after Christmas.

Campaigns Slated In Missouri, 14 Other States

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

New Parley Set

Sun. 7-18-48

Candidate Warns South Cannot Be Forced

By G. C. LONG, JR.
Staff Writer

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.—Southern states' righters, boiling mad at the treatment they had just received at the hands of the national Democratic party in Philadelphia, came up with their own presidential and vice-presidential candidates here Saturday.

With a vast throng of about 7,000 persons jammed into the Birmingham Municipal Auditorium, the states' righters named South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond their presidential candidate, and Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright as his running mate.

Great Ovation

And it was with a thunderous approval that the delegates gathered here adopted the resolution naming their candidates, followed by stony silence when the convention chairman asked if anyone disapproved of the selections.

Not satisfied to stop with the work done here, the convention voted to convene again in this city on Oct. 1 to complete any business that might come up in the meantime. It also voted to set up campaign headquarters and to provide for a general campaign chairman. 7-18-48

Force Defied

In accepting the candidacy for the presidency, Governor Thurmond, lashing into President Truman's civil rights program that was placed in the national party platform, stated, to cheers that rang throughout the vast auditorium, that there were not enough troops in the U. S. Army to force "the Southland to admit Negroes to our theaters, Swimming pools, schools and homes."

Vice - presidential Candidate Wright, like Governor Thurmond a bitter opponent of the civil rights program and advocate of state sovereignty, declared the people who said the South could not unite to fight the things that were against its traditions "are now trembling in their boots."

Noisy Convention

This convention here Saturday was not a quiet one. There were frequent demonstrations and parades, and the bedlam that followed the keynote address delivered by former Alabama Gov. Frank Dixon, Birmingham, lasted 17 minutes before the conference chairman, Mississippi House Speaker Walter Sillers, finally managed to gavel the milling throngs back into their seats.

Few of the many speakers got far without being interrupted by the famous Rebel yell.

Angered over what both candidates termed "a stab in the back" at the Democratic convention earlier this week, the tumultous meeting gave shouting agreement to assertions the South will never surrender local control on racial issues.

Primary Reasons

The President's message on civil rights, and the Philadelphia convention's endorsement of it, were the primary reasons for this regional revolt.

Neither candidate made any claim of victory, but both promised to show the national party "the real Democratic Party is in the South." 7-18-48

Campaigns were planned in 15 states including Missouri, home of Mr. Truman.

In seconding the two nominations, Senator Eastland (D), Mississippi, made the forecast that "the race next November is between Gov. Thurmond and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey."

"Truman will not get a single electoral vote," he shouted.

Nomination of both candidates was by acclamation.

According to reports the convention did not come by its final action without a struggle within the inner circle of those directing the activities.

It is reported that the top leaders were divided on just what course of action should be followed here. Some thought that the best lead for the states righters to follow would be to leave off naming candidates, at least for the present, and concentrate on getting friendly presidential electors named in the various states, while others thought that the best plan was to go ahead and put out their own candidates.

What come out of the internal struggle was a naming of presidential and vice presidential candidates for the electors of the several states to fall in behind, and thus bring about the possibility of defeating Truman in the electoral college. 7-18-48

If it would not be possible to decide the race in the editoral college, then the election of the next president would be thrown into the House of Representatives, where the South would stand a better chance of having its weight felt, according to Gov. Thurmond.

Principles Cited

Although the states righters came up with their own candidates, they did not come up with a platform that contained anything other than a denunciation of civil rights and an endorsement of states rights. And those points were covered in a declaration of principles that was approved by the convention without any opposition.

Always before the convention was the constant reminder from the leaders that the Southern Democrats were not bolting from the national Democratic Party.

Pounding away constantly on the idea, all speakers contended that the Southern Democrats are the only ture Democrats, and it was the national party that left . . . the principles of the old party and is now a new organization.

SOVIET-LIKE ACTS LAID TO LOUISIANA

The Times

Sun 9-12-48

Democratic Committee Official Calls Truman Ballot Ban Work of 'Small Clique'

New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11—A spokesman for the Democratic National Committee today likened the removal of Truman-Barkley electors from the Louisiana general election ballot to Soviet tactics.

William J. Primm Jr., assistant to the chairman, issued the statement denouncing the Democratic Central Committee of Louisiana for "a high-handed and arbitrary act which will not go unchallenged by the people of Louisiana and the Democratic party."

Declaring that the "vast majority" of Louisiana's citizens were Democrats and the right to vote for the nominees of their party had been denied to them, Mr. Primm added:

"The action of a small clique of men who have assumed dictatorial powers beyond all concept of democracy has deprived the people of Louisiana of a free ballot. This action cannot be tolerated, and will not be tolerated by the people of Louisiana. Sun 9-12-48

"Tactics employed in Louisiana to deprive the people of the right of a free choice in the general election are virtually identical with means used in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina by small groups in these states. To find a similar situation one must go behind the 'iron curtain' of Eastern Europe."

Mr. Primm said that the "Dixiecrats" had every right to form a new party, but their tactics in taking over the Democratic party machinery in certain states "are flagrantly dishonest and fraudulent."

He charged further that leaders of the "Dixiecrat" movement "have cleverly seen to it, through subterfuge, that the States' Rights party is nothing more than a wing of the Republican party and is being financed by oil and private utilities interests. Recent happenings in Indiana offer irrefutable evidence of their Republican party connections. * * *

"The Democratic National Committee has clearly stated its position that the 'Dixiecrats' are a fourth party. They are not Democrats, and the National Committee has called upon all national committeemen and national committeewomen who are supporting the "Dixiecrats" to resign."

Mr. Primm added every legal means would be employed to see that the people were not deprived of their rights "by fraud or other devious means." He did not indicate how or when the National Committee would act.

Dixie States' Righters Eye Truman Wagon (Wistful?)

Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5—(AP)—Southern States' Rights Democrats reflectively eyed the Truman bandwagon today.

Montgomery, Ala.

From States' Rights and regular Southern Democrats came telephone calls to Washington sounding out the wisdom of switching any, or all of the 38 electoral votes scheduled now for South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond for president and for Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright for vice-president. Any switch, they made clear, would be to President Truman and Sen. Barkley (D) Kentucky.

Sat. 11-6-48

Democratic National Committee representatives said the votes could be switched from the States' Rights candidates to the Democratic candidates unless specific laws prevent it.

Southerners, who declined to be quoted by name, said they hoped negotiations to raise President Truman's electoral vote total from his present 304 to 342 would bring back to South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana Democrats their "bonus" votes in the next national Democratic convention. "Bonus" votes are earned if the states cast their votes for the Democratic presidential and vice-presidential nominees in the electoral college, said Sen. McGrath (D) Rhode Island, Democratic national chairman.

The bonus for going Democratic in 1944 was four votes. Thus, South Carolina's 16 convention votes was raised to 20 because South Carolina Democratic electors voted for President Roosevelt and Sen. Truman (D) Missouri, for vice-president.

The electors meet in individual states in December, sending their ballots to the Secretary of State in Washington. He in turn presents them to the Senate for counting in the presence of both senators and congressmen on Jan. 6. It's on this so-called electoral college vote, therefore, that the Democratic convention bonuses depend. Sat. 11-6-48

It takes 266 electoral votes to elect a president and vice-president.

Some Southerners also are fearful less their straying from the Democratic fold will cut down the number of jobs which come from being loyal Democrats.

THE DIXIECRAT VOTE

IT DOES NOT PORTEND ANY IMMEDIATE POLITICAL CHANGE

Chicago, Ill.

Life Mon 11-8-1948

Probably the strangest—and most welcome—portent of the election is the difficulty of reading any long-term portent into the Henry Wallace and J. Strom Thurmond third-party movements. When Bryanism and Bull Moose insurgency were the dominant maverick impulses in our political life, they foreshadowed important changes in national legislation. But all that Wallace has proved is that a mere handful of Americans can be deluded by brummagem slogans of "peace" and "plenty" into supporting the effort of a foreign power to sow dissension among us. As for the Dixiecrat disturbance, it is somewhat more complex and enigmatic. But the very difficulty of analyzing it down into a set of durable meanings would seem to prove it a "one-shot" phenomenon.

The Southerners themselves have seemed rather mystified by the States' Rights Democratic party. Just before the election a number of Dixie editors were polled by a news service on the subject of Thurmond's presidential candidacy. Of those who answered the poll an even 90% concluded that the States' Rights party would die soon after the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

Does the record of the Dixiecrat campaign mean that "white supremacy" must forever call the tune in Southern politics, with the States' Righters eternally giving the pitch? If so, then such items as the admission of the Negro's right to vote in the South Carolina primaries are eddies on the margin of a stream that is flowing backward. But the stream is not flowing backward. In spite of the resurgence of Talmadgism in Georgia, it is impossible to believe that the movement to widen the franchise in the South can be stopped.

Undoubtedly the Dixiecrat movement has turned entirely on Southern pride—if changes are to be made in the South's social structure, most Southerners, whether liberal or conservative, would prefer to make them for themselves, without federal prodding. But to keep the federal government off their necks Southerners must retain their Democratic committee seniority and power of maneuver in Congress. Mon.-11-8-1948

This means that they cannot afford a permanent break with the official Democratic party organization. The Dixiecrat leaders have been aware of this from the start: hence their insistence that they were merely rejecting Harry Truman, not Harry Truman's party.

By analyzing the Thurmond movement down, one is compelled to proclaim it a transient thing. But this does not quite dispose of it. The really significant item in the poll of the Southern newspaper editors is the 23% who answered "yes" to a second question: "Do you think a merger of States' Rights Democrats and the Republican party is possible?" In Texas 61% of the editors envisaged a future for the States' Rights movement under a Republican banner.

This Texas response leads one to an interesting field for speculation. The Southwestern states, as distinct from the "old" South, have been having a terrific economic boom. Part of the wealth of Texas is in tideland oil, over which the states and the federal government have been contending. If Texas money forces its way eastward along the Gulf coast, as it shows indication of doing, the States' Rights issue may do much to prepare the way for the growth of an effective second party throughout the South. In which case the Dixiecrats will have unwittingly done something for the political health of a region. Mon. 11-8-1948

Dixiecrats Abandon Fight In Arkansas

Little Rock, Sept. 23 (AP)—States' Rights Democrats today abandoned an effort to have the Arkansas State Democratic convention name presidential elector candidates pledged to the States' Rights ticket.

50,000 Detroiters War On Dixiecrats

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta Ga

DETROIT—(ANP)— Fifty thousand Detroiters have declared war on the Dixiecrats through the signing of petitions circulated by the National Negro council requesting Congress to deny Dixiecrats their seats, according to Edgar G. Brown of Washington, spokesman for the organization.

Thur 12-23-48

Brown, who was in the city last week, said the petitions have been signed by more than 750,000 persons in the United States.

They urge the unseating of four senators-elect, Russell Long of Louisiana; John J. Sparkman, Alabama; James Eastman, Mississippi, and Burnett R. Maybank, South Carolina; and 24 representatives-elect. The petitions charge the Dixiecrats are violators of the Constitution.

Brown stated that the council is urging President Truman to name State Senator C. C. Wimbish of Chicago, secretary of the interior in fulfillment of his civil rights pledges. Thur 12-23-48

The Council is working to establish a National Civil Rights foundation and has started a $15,000,000 fund drive.

'States' Rights' Here To Stay

The Commercial Appeal
Sun 7-25-48
(24 D)

It's Mississippi's Child And Mississippians Lay Plans To Make Issue Respected In Years To Come

Memphis Tenn

By CARL CORBIN
Associated Press Staff Writer

JACKSON, Miss., July 24.—The States' Rights cause, suh, can point with pride to Mississippi—and that's not just Southern oratory.

Here are five reasons why:

1. Mississippi was midwife to the birth of the States' Rights movement. Governor Fielding L. Wright heralded its arrival last January in his inauguration address. Subsequently the movement developed into national importance.

2. Mississippi fostered the organization of a Southwide States' Rights movement. The mandate for the calling of a southwide States' Rights conference here on May 10 came from a Mississippi mass meeting.

3. Mississippi, along with Alabama, walked3 out of the Democratic National Convention when it became committed to a civil rights course. The currently-discussed civil rights program is held by the States' Rights movement to be at odds with its principles.

4. Mississippi produced the vice presidential choice of the States' Rights movement. He is Governor Wright. A States' Rights conference at Birmingham, Ala., on July 17 recommended to the Democratic parties in each state that they support Wright for vice president and Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for president.

Sun 7-25-48

Solid For States' Rights

5. Mississippi shows strong indications of standing solid in its States' Rights position in the Nov. 2 election, regardless of what happens in other states.

A reasonable weathervane of the strength of the States' Rights movement in this land of moonlight and magnolias is likely to be found in the reconvened meeting of the State Democratic Convention here Aug. 3.

At the first meeting of the convention on June 22, the States' Rights cause got an all-out endorsement. Not one voice was raised in protest.

At the forthcoming meeting, the leaders are inviting, even urging, anyone with an opposition point of view to speak.

The States' Rights leaders are confident that the second convention will line up as solidly behind their cause as did the first. They believe the convention will reflect the will of the majority of the voters in this predominantly Democratic state.

Governor Wright says:

"The Mississippi vote (at the polls) will be cast for a loyal Democrat, and that loyal Democrat will be Thurmond."

If his prediction is correct, the strategy of the States' Rights movement will have worked as intended, at least in Mississippi.

That strategy has been to obtain control of the electoral votes in the electoral college. Because of varying laws and party procedures from state to sate, the problem of obtaining that control is different in each state.

The planners hope that they can corral enough electoral votes to prevent the election of Harry Truman, whom they blame for leading the Democratic Party into a pledge to support a strong civil rights program.

Looks To Future

By controlling a sufficient number of votes, the States' Rights movement would become a factor to be dealt with now and in future years. It would have demonstrated that the heretofore solidly Democratic South—i.e., solidly behind the leadership of the national party—is no longer to be assumed to be solid.

J. Howard McGrath, Democratic national chairman, has predicted that the dissenters will be "back in the fold" by November. Governor Wright disagrees with him. Wright says the States' Rights movement will show McGrath that Mr. Truman cannot be elected without its support.

As originally outlined, the States' Rights strategy pointed a way for the election of a Southerner to the presidency. That is still a possibility, but the accent of the movement is on the prevention of a Truman election and on the establishment of the political potency of the South.

Eastland Outlined Program

The Mississippi Legislature early this year heard the original strategy outlined in an address by Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.). He pointed out the importance of controlling electoral votes.

If the electoral college fails to give a majority of its votes to one man, the election then must be decided by the House of Representatives. In such an election, each state has one vote. The House makes a choice from the three men who were highest in the electoral college running.

If it is a close election year—if neither of the major candidates obtains a majority in the electoral college—then the House of Representatives might have to make a choice from among the tickets of Thomas E. Dewey, Harry S. Truman and J. Strom Thurmond.

As originally planned, Eastland expressed the hope there would be enough Republicans in the House disgruntled over their candidate, and enough Democrats opposed to President Truman, to line up with Southern believers in States' Rights to elect the Southerner.

Just how much electoral college strength the States' Rights group can expect to muster may be indicated at its meeting that will be held in Birmingham on Oct. 1.

By that time, the Democratic parties in the South will have nominated their electors. The movement is at work now in the separate states seeking the nomination and election of electors who will not vote for President Truman.

Recap On Oct. 1

At the October 1 meeting—which was called by the Birmingham conference of July 17—there is to be a showing of electoral hands. The States' Rights group will solidify its expected electoral vote.

Probably some of that vote will be "pledged" by the respective states to vote for the Thurmond-Wright ticket. Other electors may come "unpledged," but could be counted on to support the States' Rights plan.

The movement hopes for electoral strength from Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. Those states represent 127 electoral votes.

Governor Wright says don't be surprised if the States' Rights movement gets support from electors in Missouri, Mr. Truman's home state, and in Kentucky, the home state of his running mate, Senator Alben Barkley.

Whether Mississippi will take steps to send its electors to the college as "pledged" to the Thurmond-Wright ticket, or "unpledged" probably will be decided at the August 3 convention.

That is one of the reasons the convention is being reconvened. It was recessed, not adjourned, after the June 22 meeting. That prevented any other group which might claim to represent the Mississippi Democratic Party from holding an "official" convention.

What the state Democratic Party does about listing its nominated electors as pledged or unpledged on the state ballot will have no material effect on the way they will vote in the college if elected, Governor Wright has pointed out.

All of the nominees already have publicly declared themselves in full support of the plans of the States' Rights movement.

Charles G. Hamilton of Aberdeen, who tried to be seated at the National Convention in place of the Wright delegation, has announced he will call a statewide rally for the purpose of framing a Truman slate of electors.

But the States' Rights group thinks few Mississippi voters will mark an "X" by Truman-supporting electors in this state where the negro population almost equals the white

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LOUISIANAN FORECASTS BACKING OF DIXIECRATS

The Commercial Appeal
(24 D)

Sees Strong Home Support—States' Righters Gather For Campaign Kickoff

Wed 8-11-48

By The Associated Press

HOUSTON, Texas, Aug. 10.—A Louisiana States' Rights Democrat Tuesday said his state's electoral votes will go to the "true Democratic ticket" headed by Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

Memphis Tenn

Leander Perez, district attorney of St. Bernard and Plaquemines Parishes (counties) and a supporter of Louisiana Gov. Earl Long, said there "is no doubt but that the people of Louisiana will strongly favor the support of our American constitutional way of government."

Wright Expected Today

Perez was among the early arrivals of States' Rights Democrats from throughout the South who were moving into Houston to formally launch [illegible]ond's presidential campai[illegible]

Confederate [illegible] along with the Stars and [illegible] were being placed at noon [illegible] street balcony of the Rice Hotel where Thurmond late Tuesday afternoon established headquarters for a busy three-day schedule of States' Rights activities.

Wednesday night the South Carolina Governor is to make his formal acceptance as the States' Rights candidate for President at a rally in the Sam Houston Coliseum in downtown Houston.

His running mate, Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, as vice presidential candidate is expected here Wednesday morning by special train.

Wed 8-11-48

Perez said Louisiana will favor the Thurmond-Wright ticket "as true Democrats, as against the action of the Philadelphia Convention which followed the New Deal repudiation of the Constitution, particularly the Tenth Amendment, which guarantees the rights of state governments."

Texans Licking Wounds

He said both the national Democratic ticket of Truman and Barkley and the Southern States' Rights Democratic ticket of Thurmond and Wright will be placed on the Louisiana ticket.

Texas Dixiecrats were licking wounds suffered Monday at Austin, the state capital.

(24 D)

The State Democratic Executive Committee certified the names of Truman and Barkley as party naminees for President and Vice President over protests of the Dixiecrats and rejected a Dixiecrat demand that it submit a referendum on the Thurmond-Wright isue to party voters in the Aug. 28 primary.

The visit here of Thurmond and Wright formally launches States' Rights campaigns for the Nation and within Texas.

Party leaders held conferences here before Thurmond's arrival on campaign plans to sweep the 127 electoral votes in the 11 Southern states.

One of those on hand to greet the South Carolina governor was H. R. Cullen, multi-millionaire oilman and philanthropist.

The Dixiecrats, or States Righters, said they would carry the fight to the Sept. 14 Texas convention at Fort Worth, and go on the stump between now and then to urge their position. The certification is "an unlawful act," they said.

PHONY SCARECROW

The Advertiser
Thur 9-9-48
Montgomery Ala.

Editor, The Advertiser:

Greed and selfishness centered in the reactionary political and economic forces have little conscience. The desired end (in this instance, the control of the government) in their philosophy, will justify the use of any means to attain that end.

The demagogues, blatherskites and synthetic and artificial statesmen leading the revolt against the Democratic Party in the South have joined hands with the reactionary interests and the leadership of the Republican Party, either consciously or as a strange coincidence, in an effort to return the government to the control of such interests. And as a necessary move in that direction, they have succeeded in splitting the Democratic Party in Alabama and other Southern States.

They are exaggerating and misrepretsenting the so-called civil rights or states rights question to conceal their real purpose. Behind the screen and curtain of inspired fear, hate and prejudice the agents and representatives of the reactionary forces are doing their dirty work. They have decided that their best chance to accomplish their purpose is through the Republican Party. The history of that party is based upon its ancient and cherished philosophy that only "the rich and well-born are fit to vote and govern."

The greatest concern of the American people and their most vital problems are presented in the following questions: (1) Shall the people retain control of their government or permit the return of that control to the reactionary political and economic interests? (2) How can the people and their government avoid another great depression? (3) How can the United States as the great leader of the Democratic world stop Russian aggression without further apeasement and without precipitating another world war. These are the real questions that concern us, and not the false, fictitious and phony scarecrow as presented in the South, designed to split the Democratic Party and divide the Democratic electors in aid of a Republican victory.

Montgomery, Ala

These predatory interests and their dissemblers on the one hand, and Henry Wallace, his Communists and fellow travelers on the other, are hell-bent on destroying the Democratic Party, though for different reasons.

Strange as it may seem, some of these same agents, puppets and stooges in Alabama acting for their masters, who bolted the Democratic Party in 1940 and in 1944 and who refused to support the Democratic nominees for president both times, but instead actively supported the Republican candidates, took the lead in the Democratic Party purge in Alabama after the 1928 presidential election. The party was purged of the leaders in Alabama who bolted Al Smith that year. Some of the purges have now joined their former enemies in the 1948 bolt against the Democratic nominee for president. The shades of Machiavelli!

These powerful agents, puppets and stooges, heeding their masters' voices, "work in a mysterious way their wonders to perform." They should be repuiated as effectively as Henry Wallace and his gang will be repudiated in the coming election.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

States' Rights And Pecans

Sun 10-31-48

Atlanta, Ga.

Pecan growers have been asking that their States' Rights be interfered with by the Federal Government.

They want the Federal Government to interfere with their individual rights, too, by putting a floor under the price of pecans . . . as the Federal Government has done for State roads, the price of cotton, tobacco, wheat and so on.

I think the Government should have done so for the pecan growers. But, as of now, they have not done so and so it looks as if the unhappy pecan grower, with a record crop on his hands, is going to be left to savor his right not to be interfered with or to have his property, pecans, interfered with by any of those snooping, nosey Federals. I'm sorry.

Indeed, the farmers of America are beginning to worry for fear Mr. Dewey, who all the polls say is going to win, may be forced by a stubborn Congress, to cease bringing outside interference to bear on the price of farm commodities. In Mr. Dewey's behalf it must be said that he has pledged to continue this interference by the Federal Government. But, if outside Federal interference is removed from the rights of the individuals to get what they can for their property, such as cotton, wheat, potatoes, and so on, there will be loud lamenting in the land and we will start on the toboggan of an economic recession. The city dweller, plagued by high prices, always forgets that when the farmer gets poor the whole economy goes to pot shortly thereafter. Federal price support is necessary.

Dixiecrats There is, as we have said, a very real issue of States' Rights and we are so strongly for States' Rights that we are against the Dixiecrats States' Rights conception, for the good and simple reason they are making it impossible for an effective fight to be made in behalf of States' Rights.

Not once has Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat candidate, talked about States' Rights. True, he has used the phrase over and over again, ad nauseum. But the only right he talks about is the rights guaranteed in the tenth amendment to the Constitution.

There are nine other amendments in the Bill of Rights.

Failure It is our failure to make good on them which causes the present trouble; which has made the South vulnerable to so many Federal Court rulings supporting the entire 10 amendments. If we had obeyed the laws we made and kept separate but equal facilities in education, recreation, travel and so on, we would not now be vulnerable.

The Dixiecrats do the South great harm and create needless fears and violence in the South by setting up a false premise.

The Federal Government obviously has got to enforce the whole Constitution under which we live. It cannot void everything else and support only the tenth amendment, as the Dixiecrats ask. It cannot support cotton prices and refuse to support tobacco.

Issues There are many great issues—Russia, the atom bomb, the Berlin crisis, the national crisis in school support; the grinding problem of inflation and of farm parity.

Strom Thurmond goes on his way, talking only about States' rights and the tenth amendment to the Constitution and ignoring all else.

The people who believe in States' rights and who are tremendously concerned to see Federal encroachment on local government halted are enormously handicapped in their fight for States' rights by the hypocritical narrowness of the Dixiecrat States' Rights party.

Sun 10-31-48

Rights Those who believe in States' rights cannot say to the people of the United States, "Come help us defend the tenth amendment." There are nine others. If Mr. Thurmond's right to speak for his party were to be questioned, he would appeal for Federal protection. That right is the first amendment. If he were to be denied the right to have his supporters gather to hear him he would appeal to the Federal courts to interfere with the rights of the State or community denying them. That right is in the first amendment.

The fourteenth amendment states that the rights and privileges of no citizen may be abridged by the States and that no citizen may be deprived of equal protection of the law by the States.

Why? Why do not the Dixiecrats, who profess to stand by the Constitution, stand by the provisions of the fourteenth amendment as well?

It doesn't make sense. The citizen who thinks about it at all will admit that a Federal Government which interests itself in the plight of the cotton farmer or tobacco farmer or the State roads must also interest itself in the plight of citizens denied the right to vote and denied equal protection of the law.

The Dixiecrats are destroying those who wish to fight for States' rights by saying that their conception of States' rights is bound up in one amendment and includes the right to ignore all the others, especially the fourteenth.

That is why the Dixiecrats are doing as much harm to the two-party system of government as the Wallace party and that is why they are harmful to the best interests of the South, which is, and cannot be otherwise, an integral part of the United States.

Look at France—and vote for either the Democrats or Republicans.

Politics Target of Frat's Spirited Digs at Dixiecrats

The Constitution

Atlanta Ga.

The Chi Phi Fraternity at Emory University has an amazing proclivity for poking fun at the South's tangled political messes. Friday night they laughed again when they staged a mock Dixiecrat convention. A year and a half ago they threw a governor's party, featuring a mock Talmadge and a mock Thompson, and proceeded to laugh hilariously at Georgia's gubernatorial tug-of-war.

On a platform bedecked with Confederate flags and heavily guarded with Confederate soldiers sat Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, "Kissin' Jim" Folsom, Roy Harris, Gerald L. K. Smith, the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, Sen. Claghorn, and two "untainted flowers of Southern Womanhood."

A band played brassy renditions of "Dixie," "Kissing, Fussin' and Fighting," and "Georgia On My Mind" and mass demonstrations followed every nomination, as the red-suspendered wool-hatted, cigar-smoking delegates "whooped it up" with ample support from their dates, who ranged from barefooted "Sugar Creek Gals" to hoop-skirted "Southern Belles."

But the man who got the nomination was the man who wasn't there. Despite the wild cheers for "Kissin' Jim," who affectionately hugged all the flowers of Southern womanhood at the party, the screams for Thurmond, who loudly refuted the well-known fallacy that Lee surrendered at Appomattox; and the demonstrations for a battered "Hummon" who attended the party with crutches, a bandaged big toe and a black eye, it was the "late departed Senator Dildo" that got it!

The Senator, who attended in a coffin, delivered a filibuster acceptance speech, promising that, if he were elected, politics would be hot.

States Rights

The Advertiser

Aim Of Grange

Thur 11-18-48

Session Starts Work On Platform For Next Year

Montgomery Ala

PORTLAND, ME., Nov. 17.—(AP)—The National Grange convention started work today on a 1949 platform expected to feature a "States' Rights" approach on national problems.

Tentative drafts of convention resolutions went strong in demands for greater local control. This was true particularly on problems relating to farming, education, health programs, waterway development, flood control and soil saving.

This stand for local control is in line with the farm organization's traditional stand. It frequently has warned that a "strong central government" soon would destroy democracy.

The Grange turned to the job of writing a new platform after granting its seventh degree to 17,008 members from various parts of the country.

This was the second highest number to be granted the degree at a national meeting. The record of 18,374 was set at Columbus, Ohio, last year.

On the controversial issue of federal financial aid to education, the Grange prepared to endorse a warning of National Master Albert S. Goss.

Thur 11-18-48

In his keynote address, Goss told the convention, it must "recognize the grave danger of having our school system fall under political control where the minds of our children could be moulded to suit the whim of the party in power."

New Approach To Old Problem?

Bham News

B'ham Ala

Representatives of the States' Rights Democratic movement spent Thursday in Birmingham. When Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas was queried as to the purpose of the meeting, he said that it was "just for a general discussion among our group simply to determine what the ideas of one another might be and consider what's happened and what to do in the future." After the leaders had been in session five and a half hours they announced an agreement to establish an institute in Washington for the purpose of upholding states' rights principles and extending membership into all states. Gov. Laney had sparked the meeting with a statement favoring a continuation of the fight to preserve states' rights which are "as sacred and necessary now as they were before the presidential election."

Sat 11-13-48

The group gathered here passed a resolution declaring that states' rights are jeopardized by a trend toward centralized government in Washington and that "the social and economic atmosphere . . . in which this nation grew . . . powerful is under constant attack by those who approve . . . bureaucratic government." It called for a committee to set up the states' rights institute which is to be informational in nature and on a "nonpartisan, non-profit basis."

Thus it seems evident that the states' righters are determined to maintain a movement in support of certain general convictions rather than to perpetuate a separate party. They are dedicating themselves to a principle which is broad enough to attract adherents who might be left cold were the objective more narrowly political and divisive. The larger objective, however, will certainly include support of a traditional way of Southern life.

* * *

By widening the field in which they stand, the states' rights group is hoping to attract many followers from all sections. The result may be a final understanding that much can be accomplished by working within the party concepts and organizations instead of outside them. Many a sympathetic Southerner who could not force himself to open break with the national Democratic Party may approve and willingly offer his help and influence toward the new objective.

Sat 11-13-48

States Righters Cannot Alter Republican Victory

The States Rights Democrats cannot have any hope of cutting in on the Republican vote for Dewey and Warren. Their only real hope—and it will be realized—is to cut down the Democratic electoral college votes, to make the defeat of Truman a rout.

But they cannot affect the election result. The Republicans will win. They would have won if the States Rights Democratic movement had never been born. They would still win if every Southern state supported the Thurmond-Wright ticket; and there is almost no chance of this. For the total Southern vote does not affect elections except in extraordinary years. And this isn't one of them.

The idea that the South can throw the election into the House of Representatives by denying Truman the South's electoral votes is based, of course, upon the theory that Harry Truman could have been re-elected President this year. It is a false idea and everybody at the national Democratic convention, except perhaps Harry Truman, knew that it was false. This is one explanation of the disregard of the South at Philadelphia. The national election was already lost. The South could threaten, but it could do no real harm.

Columbia S.C.

So the States Rights Democratic party aims are illusory. The only thing that the States Rights can hope to achieve is to make clear their protest, which already, of course, is clear enough; to say to the Democratic party that hereafter the desires of the South will have to be given some heed if the South is to be solid again. They do not hold out hope to the Republicans, of course, that they will support the Republican nominee. They still retain the Democratic label; they seek to deal through the regular Democratic organization in those states that they have any real expectation of carrying. They are caretakers for the Democratic party in the South and the preservers of the one-party system.

The weakness of their position is that they undertake to vent their wrath upon poor old Harry Truman, who, of course, is the inheritor, not the inventor of the civil rights program. The protest, which is sound enough, comes almost too late; the South long since sold its state rights birthright for a mess of federal aid.

Now Governor J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina's candidate for the presidency, undertakes to denounce the Southern Democrats who differ with him, the Southern Democrats who believe that they have more to gain working within and through the party than they have bolting it. They also may be chasing a will-o'-the-wisp, but that is beside the point.

"Now as the South undertakes this fight," he told the Cherryville (N. C.) Watermellon festival crowd, "the thing that disappoints us most is to see some of our so-called political leaders, who pretend to be against these (civil rights) proposals, turn around and support the man who stabbed the South in the back . . .

Wed 8-12-48

"These traitors in our midst deserve the censure of every right-thinking Southerner. The people . . . in their wrath will rise up and repudiate them."

What is Governor Thurmond's definition of a "traitor" to the South? It is a politician, who, even though opposed to the civil rights bills, elects to remain a Democrat in 1948, despite Truman. How much real difference is there between the position of these Democratic loyalists and the position of Governor Thurmond who is still a South Carolina Democrat today and apparently expects to be a regular Democrat again next year when the Republicans take over the White House and the Southern Democrats expect to take over the Democratic party in the Congress?

The South as a whole isn't mad enough yet to vote Republican; it isn't rising in its wrath to set up the two-party system. It is getting its feet out far enough to be able to kick Harry Truman, but its head is still in the bag.

Thurmond Answers Dixiecrat Critics

John T. Graves

"If it were so, it were a grievous fault."

Columbia Record

Mon 8-2-48

Columbia S.C.

If it is true that there is a sinister relationship between the southern revolt and one side in the tidewater oil dispute as Ralph McGill charges repeatedly in The Atlanta Constitution, Ralph is guilty of gross neglect of duty in not making the facts known. Henry Grady before him would have done so. If it is not true, or if Ralph has no facts, then he is guilty of being a common gossip, and Henry Grady would be ashamed of him.

"I know nothing of any attempt by oil interests to make any contribution whatsoever to the States' Rights Democrats," Governor Thurmond wires me from Columbia. "Not one dime has been contributed by such persons, and so far as I know there has been no suggestion of any kind to come from oil interests. We consider the tidelands oil question as a matter for the states just as we consider so-called civil rights legislation and many other like questions to be reserved to the states by the Constitution. Anyone who insinuates that there is any other intention in the States' Rights movement than that of protecting and preserving this constitutional guarantee must undoubtedly be attempting to smear our movement..."

Has it occurred to those strange southerners who criticize the Birmingham meeting because of the much playing of Dixie that when disorder broke out on the floor after a retired army officer suggested himself for President the device used to quiet the crowd and bring it to instant, respectful attention was to have Bandmaster Nappi play "The Star Spangled Banner"?

Mon 8-2-48

A proper current criticism of the States' Rights movement, I believe, is that there is a difference of opinion among leaders as to what it is. Some say it is a third party, some not. Some say Thurmond and Wright have been "nominated for President," some say they have not.

It seems to me that whether a third party comes out of the movement or not, none was created at Birmingham, and no one was officially nominated for office. The resolution which named Thurmond and Wright reads as follows:

Columbia Record

"Be it resolved, that we recommend to the Democrats of the several states that they take all necessary and appropriate action to have the electoral vote of their respective states cast for the Honorable J. Strom Thurmond, Governor of South Carolina, for the Presidency of the United States, and for the Honorable Fielding Wright, Governor of Mississippi, for the vice presidency of the United States, and that this conference cooperate with the Democrats in each state to bring about their election."

Mon 8-2-48

That is no third party, and those are no nominations. The mass meeting merely recommended that the Democratic Party in the several states give their votes to Thurmond and Wright.

The answers are so simple to these players of politics with the South on the race question, if only the facts could be brought to the nation's attention. No long economic, sociological or constitutional treaties are needed or would suffice. Here we have Congress about to make a disgraceful scene of itself in a quarrel over the poll tax while the very planet is on fire. And the fact is that the poll tax is disappearing by state action, if only the outsiders would leave states alone. Look at the record:

Columbia S.C.

The Poll Tax

Abolished by North Carolina in 1921.

Abolished by Louisiana in 1934.

Abolished by Florida in 1937.

Abolished by Georgia in 1945.

En route to abolition in Virginia, 1947.

Southwide abolition trend now halted because of new resentments and fears created by federal force proposals.

The most recent state to abolish the poll tax, Georgia, did so not because Ellis Arnall proposed it (as many think) but because the late Eugene Talmadge did. While Arnall, as governor, pussy-footed the question and was, even up to the last moment, refusing to go farther than a mere proposal that the legislature "study" it, Talmadge suddenly came out for abolition. As one of the "outs", he explained, he wanted more voters to beat the "ins" with their control of the machine. With Talmadge taking such a stand it suddenly became safe for Governor Arnall to be brave and nothing withholding, and give the nation a noble picture of himself forcing the legislature to repeal the tax.

Mon 8-2-48

The funny thing is that a poll tax exists in New England States. There is such a tax in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont. There is also one in Nebraska. Connecticut calls hers an "old-age assistance" tax because the revenue is directed to that use, but it is a take per poll, or capita, just the same. From information at hand it is not clear what penalties apply against failure to pay, except in the case of New Hampshire. In that state you must either have property or have paid your poll tax in order to vote. And you must have been assessed for your poll tax before voting whether you have property or not. Once assessed, there are, of course, penalties for non-payment. The current federal anti-poll tax bill is so worded as not to destroy New Hampshire's tax.

UPHOLDS STATES' RIGHTS

Thurmond Lambastes 'New Russian Look'

Columbia Record

Thurs 8-12-48

HOUSTON, Tex., Aug. 12—(AP)—States' Rights Democrats, their presidential campaign officially underway, today concentrate their strategy on Texas' 23 electoral votes.

Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who last night formally accepted his nomination as the Southerners' presidential candidate, speaks at 11 a. m. (EAST) before a statewide mass meeting at which Texas campaign strategy will be mapped.

Texas holds the largest number of electoral votes, an important block in the 127 vote, 11 state total on which Thurmond and his vice presidential running mate, Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, plan to concentrate.

Only a few hours before accepting his nomination, Thurmond predicted the States Rights ticket will collect more electoral votes than President Truman and placed the anticipated number of votes at over 100.

It was a noisy, rebel yelling crowd of between 8,000 and 9,000 that attended the rally last night in Houston's big Sam Houston coliseum.

It was the city's first big political rally in 20 years, the first since the late former Gov. Alfred E. Smith of New York was nominated for president in 1928 by the National Democratic convention.

The Truman-Barkley ticket, as well as Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican nominee, and Henry A. Wallace, the Progressive party leader, took a beating in last night's speeches.

Thurmond labeled the three parties as having brought "the new Russian look" to America, and told the flag and banner waving crowd that "we sound a call for a return o constitutional government in merica.

Wright said the principle of states ghts "is the only alternative to ject subjection to the tyranny of ctatorships."

Thurs 8-12-48

"The Democratic convention re-diated the principles of the Dem-ratic party and followed a pattern shioned by the nominee of the publican convention as a blue-int prepared by the nominee of Communistic Progressive party lifting the face of America and ing us the new Russian look," rmond said.

How beautiful it is for such thren—Dewey, Truman and Wal-—to dwell together in unity," added.

Dewey is not the choice of the publican rank and file," the Missippi governor said. "Truman, acknowledged loser, certainly es not represent organized Demcracy. Wallace represents Russia nd its ideology."

Four Progressive party protest pickets appeared briefly at the coliseum but proceedings of the rally were not disrupted.

Thurmond and Wright received formal notification of their nominations from Democratic leaders of three Southern states—Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina—which have named them as the party's official standard bearers.

Dixiecrat Strength Appears Concentrated In Four States Of Splintered Southland

The Advertiser – Thur 10-28-48

One-Party System Dying (?) Because Of Split-Up

By The Associated Press

ATLANTA, Oct. 27 — The South's one-party system appears to be dying; sacrificed, many say, by President Truman on the altar of civil rights.

Even as two factions of the Democratic Party in the South struggle over the remains, the Republicans are acting as chief beneficiary.

The extent of the Republicans' legacy, and the validity of their claims, will be determined in the Nov. 2 general election.

In bitterness, the South claims it was knifed to offset the desertion of many liberal elements from the party to the Progressives of Henry Wallace and to appease Northern Negroes.

But whatever the reasons, the solidly Democratic South ended when President Truman proposed to end racial segregation and the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, make lynching a federal offense and set up a fair employment practices commission.

Thur 10-28-48

The Democratic body has split asunder, giving birth in the process to the States' Rights Democratic Party which claims that the proposals invade the field of authority relegated to the individual states.

This party now claims it can muster with certainty 100 electoral votes to revenge the South and defeat President Truman.

The States' Righters real strength, however, seems to be concentrated in four states — South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana. These states have 38 electoral college votes.

As for the other votes, the States Righters say they have excellent chances of carrying Florida and Tennessee; possibly Virginia and Arkansas, and fighting chances in Texas and North Carolina. Georgia is on the doubtful list.

34d

The Republicans, meanwhile, are campaigning as they haven't since the days of reconstruction.

They are working hard in Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

Thur 10-28-48

Just how deep their strength goes is highly problematical, but Florida, Tennessee and Virginia have gone Republican in the past.

What worries the Democrats, both factions, are the strong efforts the Republicans are putting out on the congressional and state house levels.

In Texas former Gov. Coke Stevenson, who lost the race for senator recently by only 87 votes, has endorsed Republican Senatorial Candidate Jack Porter.

Something Else

There is a strong possibility that Republicans may capture three House posts in Virginia. Kentucky is certain to have one Republican in the House, maybe more. The GOP candidate in the ninth district is unopposed.

Kentucky's senatorial race is something else again. Rep. Virgil Chapman, Democrat, is having a knock-down fight against Sherman Cooper.

In Tennessee Rep. Carroll Reece, Republican, is making a stiff fight against Democratic Candidate Estes Kefauver for the Senate. The GOP's candidate for governor against Gordon Browning is the hillbilly entertainer, Roy Acuff.

Acuff and Reece together have drawn crowds estimated at 20,000 at one time, but since Acuff appears with his band, there is no way to judge whether the crowds came to support the candidates or to be entertained.

The Tennessee Democrats have confined themselves mostly to a hand-shaking, get-out-the-vote campaign.

Florida GOP Fighter

Florida's Republicans are putting up a good fight on the presidential level and on the local level in four counties — Dade, Broward, Pinellas and Orange.

The Republican's candidate for governor, Bert Acker, is making only a token fight.

Though Florida has gone Republican only once, in 1928, the election figures for 1944 show that many a Democrat voted Republican. In that year, there were only 53,935 registered Republicans, but Dewey got 143,215 votes.

There is even a chance a Republican, J. Pauline Duhe, may carry a congressional race in Louisiana. He has opposition from E. E. Willis, Democrat, in the third district, which includes much of the state's sugar industry and which is high-tarrif in sentiment.

Here are the parties appearing on the various state ballots for the presidential race:

Florida — Democrats, Republicans, Progressives and States' Rights.

Alabama — Democrats (Thurmond), Republicans, Prohibitionists and Progressives. (Truman does not appear on the ballot).

North Carolina — Progressives, Republicans, Democrats and States' Rights.

Arkansas and Tennessee—Democrats, Republicans, States' Rights, Progressives and Socialists.

Georgia—Democrats, Republicans States' Rights, Prohibitionists and Progressives.

Mississippi—Mississippi Democrats (Thurmond), National Democrats (Truman), Independent Republicans, Republicans (both for Dewey) and Progressives.

Louisiana and South Carolina—Democrats (Thurmond), Truman-Barkley Independents, Republicans and Progressives.

Kentucky — Democrats, Republicans, States' Rights, Prohibition, Progressives, Socialist and Socialist-Labor.

Virginia — Democrats, States' Rights, Republican, Progressives, Socialist and Socialist-Labor.

Texas—Democrats, Republicans, States' Rights, Prohibition, Progressives and Socialist.

A South Divided

New Republic

MEMPHIS (NR correspondent)

THE SIZE of the Dixiecrat electoral vote—40—was the only consolation the poll takers had the day after election. Governor J. Strom Thurmond and his running mate, Fielding Wright, won precisely the proportion of the electoral total the pollsters had allotted to their ticket: Alabama, 11; South Carolina, 8; Mississippi, 9; Louisiana, 10; plus 2 maverick electors out of Tennessee's 12. In popular vote, too, the Dixiecrats came close to fulfilling their own expectations. When all the votes are in, the States' Righters will approach the million mark, very close to Wallace's total.

Mon 11-15-48

New York N.Y.

The voters of the South won't have a chance to act for or against the Dixiecrats now occupying top posts in the regular Democratic organization in many states until the primary elections of 1950. Until then, the relationship of the Solid South to the national party will remain confused.

There does not seem to be definite agreement even among the leaders of the Dixiecrats on the course of the future. Governor Thurmond hastened to congratulate President Truman on his victory. He has insisted to all who would listen that he is still a Democrat, that the States' Righters are Democrats, and that the civil-rights rebellion, after all, was a "fight within our own family." But more of the top leaders of the revolt agree with Alabama's leading Dixiecrat, State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, who said: "We may be temporarily defeated, but we are not going to give up. If we could have gotten a few other Southern states to go along with us, we would have had the balance of power. We are going to work toward that four years from now."

Dixiecrat and Republican leaders in Tennessee are able to get some encouragement from the fact that the combined States' Rights and Republican votes equal the Truman total. Efforts will now be made to effect a working coalition of these two groups into a single conservative party. Neither has a chance of standing alone in the face of the smashing victories of the Democratic candidates, Estes Kefauver for the US Senate, Gordon Browning for Governor, and President Truman.

Mon 11-15-48

The weakness of Ed Crump in his home county, as revealed in this election, does not encourage Dixiecrat hopes. Although Boss Crump sent down the word for the Thurmond ticket, it ran ahead of the Truman-Barkley ticket by only 2,000. In his heyday, Crump could have counted a 55,000 plurality for any candidate of his choice. At the same time, Kefauver and Browning piled up three-to-one majorities over Crump's private choices, Carroll Reece and Roy Acuff, in the Memphis stronghold.

Despite the popular verdict, three of Tennessee's 12 electoral votes could be taken from Truman, and at least one of them is regarded as certain for the Dixiecrats. Preston Parks of Fayette County, one of two to go for Thurmond, remained adamant against Truman. One electoral post is in legal question as a result of the resignation of a Crump man as a Democratic elector, too late to have his name removed from the ballot.

Mon 11-15-48

Alabama Leaders Fly To Aid Texas Dixiecrats

The News

Mon 11-1-48

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Birmingham Ala

A campaign squad of Alabama States' Rights Democrats left Birmingham today by plane to help Texas Dixiecrats blitz voters of that state for the Thurmond-Wright ticket in the closing days of the presidential campaign.

The plane's destination was Houston, where the States' Righters will hold a rally tonight.

Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney and Frank Dixon, former Alabama governor, will be speakers.

Dixon already was in the Texas city. He left Birmingham Saturday for Little Rock, where he addressed a Thurmond-Wright meeting Sunday afternoon, before proceeding to Texas.

Alabanians going to Texas for the stretch drive blitzkreig in an attempt to overcome the lead Gallup Pollsters show President Truman has piled up in the Lone Star State include Rep. George Andrews, Union Springs, Third District congressman; George Huddleston, Birmingham, former Ninth District congressman; Robert Albritton, Andalusia, one of Alabama's 11 Democratic elector nominees; John D. Mandeville, Mobile, walkout delegate from the Democratic National Convention; O. P. Lee, Opelika attorney, and others.

Leon Nolen, executive secretary of the States' Rights Democrats' campaign headquarters here, said some 40 to 50 Alabamians would go to Texas to take part in the vote drive seeking to overcome reported leads of both the National Democratic and Republican presidential candidates there.

Truman is shown ahead in Texas, with Dewey running second. Coke Stevenson, former Texas governor who was nosed out for the Democratic senatorial nomination by Lyndon Johnson, recently declared himself for the Republican ticket.

Meanwhile, other Alabama States Righters planned to journey to Selma tomorrow for a rally to be addressed at 3 p.m. by Mississippi Gov. Fielding Wright.

The barbecue is being staged at Twilley's Lake, near Selma, by the Dallas County Farm Bureau. The Dixiecrat vice presidential nominee will speak on "Civil Rights."

Dixon will go from Houston to New Orleans to speak in behalf of the Thurmond-Wright campaign tomorrow night.

Basis Of Party Numerous Abuses And Usurpation Of Power Cited

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Sun. 7-18-48

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.— (AP) —The following is the "declaration of principles" reported by the resolutions committee of the States Rights meeting Saturday:

"We affirm that a political party is an instrumentality for effectuating the principles upon which the party is founded; that a platform of principles is a solemn covenant with the people and with the members of the party; that no leader of the party, in temporary power, has the right or privilege to proceed contrary to the fundamental principles of the party, or the letter or spirit of the Constitution of the United States; that to act contrary to these principles is a breach of faith, a usurpation of power, and a forfeiture of the party name and party leadership.

"We believe that racial and religious minorities should be protected in their rights guaranteed by the Constitution, but the bold defiance of the Constitution in selfish appeals to such groups for the sake of political power forges the chains of slavery of such minorities by destroying the only bulwark of protection against tyranical majorities. The protection of the constitutional rights of a minority does not justify or require the destruction of constitutional rights of the majority. The destruction of constitutional limitations on the power of the central government threatens to create a totalitarian state and to destroy individual liberty in America.

7-18-48

To States, People

"We believe that the protection of the American people against the onward march of totalitarian government requires a faithful observance of Article X of the American Bill of Rights which provides that: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states, respectively, or to the people.

"We direct attention to the fact that the first platform of the Democratic party, adopted in 1840, resolved that: 'Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution.' Such pronouncement is the cornerstone of the Democratic party."

Individual Liberty

A long train of abuses and usurpations of power by unfaithful leaders who are alien to the Democratic parties of the states here represented, has become intolerable to those who believe in the preservation of constitutional government and individual liberty in America.

The Executive Department of the government is promoting the gradual but certain growth of a totalitarian state by domination and control of a politically minded Supreme Court. As examples of the threat to our form of government, the Executive Department, with the aid of the Supreme Court, has asserted national dominion and control of submerged oil-bearing lands in California, schools in Oklahoma and Missouri, primary elections in Texas, South Carolina, and Louisiana, restrictive covenants in New York and the District of Columbia, and other jurisdictions, as well as religious instruction in Illinois. By asserting paramount federal rights in these instances, a totalitarian concept has been promulgated which threatens the integrity of the states and the basic rights of their citizens.

With Contempt

"We have repeatedly remonstrated with the leaders of the national organization of our party but our petitions, entreaties and warnings have been treated with contempt. The latest response to our entreaties was a Democratic Convention in Philadelphia rigged to embarrass and humiliate the South. This alleged Democratic assembly called for a civil rights law that would eliminate segregation of every kind from all American life, prohibit all forms of discrimination in private employment, in public and private instruction and administration and treatment of students; in the operation of public and private health facilities; in all transportation, and require equal access to all places of public accommodation for persons of all races, colors, creeds and national origin.

Police State

"This infamous and iniquitous program calls for the reorganization of the civil rights section of the Department of Justice with a substantial increase in a bureaucratic staff to be devoted exclusively to the enforcement of the civil rights program; the establishment within the FBI of a special unit of investigators and a police state in a totalitarian, centralized, bureaucratic government.

"This convention hypocritically denounced totalitarianism abroad but unblushingly proposed and approved it at home. This convention would strengthen the grip of a police state upon a liberty loving people by the imposition of penalties upon local public officers who failed or refused to act in accordance with its ideas in suppressing mob violence.

We point out that if a foreign power undertook to force upon the people of the United States the measures advocated by the Democratic convention in Philadelphia, with respect to civil rights, it would mean war and the entire nation would resist such effort.

The convention that insulted the South in the party platform advocated giving the Virgin Islands and other dependencies of the United States: "The maximum degree of local self- government."

Sun. 7-18-48

"When an effort was made to amend this part of the platform so as to make it read that the party favored the Virgin Islands and the several states the maximum degree of local self-government, the amendment adding the words "these several states" was stricken out and the sovereign states were denied the rights that the party favors giving the Virgin Islands.

Loyalty Cited

"We point out that the South, with clock-like regularity, has furnished the Democratic Party approximately 50 per cent of the votes necessary to nominate a President every four years for nearly a century. In 1920 the only states in the union that went Democratic were the 11 southern states. Notwithstanding this rugged loyalty to the party, the masters of political intrigue now allow Republican states, in which there is scarcely a Democratic office holder, to dominate and control the party and fashion its policies.

7-18-48

"As Democrats who are irrevocably committed to Democracy as defined and expounded by Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and Woodrow Wilson, and who believe that all necessary steps must be taken for its preservation, we declare to the people of the United States as follows:

"1. We believe that the Constitution of the United States is the greatest charter of human liberty ever conceived by the mind of man.

"2. We oppose all efforts to invade on destroy the rights vouchsafed by it to every citizen of this republic.

"3. We stand for social and economic justice, which we believe, can be vouchsafed to all citizens only by a strict adherence to our Constitution and the avoidance of any invasion or destruction of the constitutional rights of the states and individuals. We oppose the totalitarian, centralized, bureaucratic government and the police state called for by the platforms adopted by the Democratic and Republican conventions.

Racial Integrity

"4. We stand for the segregation of the races and the racial integrity of each race; the constitutional right to choose one's associates; to accept private employment without governmental interference, and to earn one's living in any lawful way. We oppose the elimination of segregation, employment by Federal bureaucrats called for by the misnamed civil rights program. We favor home rule, local self-government and a minimum interference with individual rights.

"5. We oppose and condemn the action of the Democratic convention in sponsoring a civil rights program calling for the elimination of segregation, social equality by federal fiat, regulation of private employment practices, voting and local law enforcement.

"6. We affirm that the effective enforcement of such a program would be utterly destructive of the social, economic and political life of the southern people, and of other localities in which there may be differences in race, creed or national origin in appreciable numbers.

"7. We stand for the checks and balances provided by the three departments of our government. We oppose the usurpation of legislative functions by the executive and judicial departments. We unreservedly condemn the effort to establish nationwide a police state in this Republic that would destroy the last vestige of liberty enjoyed by a citizen.

"8. We demand that there be returned to the people, to whom of right they belong, those powers needed for the preservation of human rights and the discharge of our responsibility as Democrats for human welfare. We oppose a denial of those rights by political parties, a barter or sale of those rights by a political convention, as well as any invasion or violation of those rights by the federal government.

"We call upon all Democrats and upon all other loyal Americans who are opposed to totalitarianism at home and abroad to unite with us in ignominiously defeating Harry S. Truman and Thomas E. Dewey, and every other candidate for public office who would establish a police state in the United States of America.

The Aftermath at Birmingham

For all its sound and fury, the rump convention held over the weekend at Birmingham attracted official Democratic Party representation from only three Southern States. Mississippi and Alabama, who walked out at Philadelphia, were joined by South Carolina whose Governor, Strom Thurmond, has been "recommended" for the presidency by those attending the Birmingham "conference," to use the terminology upon which its sponsors insisted.

Mon. 7-19-48

The surprise withdrawal and denunciation of the rump convention by Arkansas's Gov. Laney—who had been pushed, before adoption of the platform in Philadelphia, as a Southern presidential candidate—weakened the Dixiecrats' position. It had been thought, when he refused to allow his nomination after the civil rights plank was placed in the Democratic Party platform, that Laney would be selected as the standard-bearer at Birmingham. When he refused the "recommendation" of the "conference," branding it an ill-considered action stemming from selfish political scheming, it was an unexpected blow.

But Gov. Laney's position—"Whatever is done must be done through the official Democratic organizations in each State"—was a conclusion at which party leaders in Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Florida and even Texas had long since arrived.

Georgia's Sen. Russell, who has fought vigorously and intelligently against enactment of the President's civil rights proposals, spoke for all thoughtful Southern Democrats when, refusing to allow his name to be "recommended" at Birmingham, he declared that the South most effectively can resist encroachments on its traditions by remaining within the party.

It is our conviction that view will prevail and that the hotheads who met at Birmingham will in time be proved to have accomplished nothing more than did the fervid but futile Grass Roots Convention held in Macon a few years ago.

The Constitution

Power Behind the Dixiecrats

Mon 10-25-48

Atlanta Ga.

NEW ORLEANS—Every so often you can go right to the nub of a political situation that otherwise might be baffling by ferreting out a forceful character who combines politics with business. Knows what he wants and knows how to operate politically to get it. Such in Louisiana politics just now is Leander B. Perez, Attorney General of Plaquemines Parish, who is recognized as the real boss of the Louisiana Democrat organization which includes two of the old Huey Long clan—Huey's brother, Earl, who is Governor, and his son, Russell Long, who will be the new United States Senator from this State in the next Congress.

Mr. Perez is the power behind the Dixiecrats movement in this State and his direction of it and use of the regular organization to promote it explains why the betting today is that the Dixiecrats will run first in this State in November, with a scramble for second place between President Truman and Governor Dewey. It is possible that Mr. Truman may wind up third.

Mr. Perez's business interests, furthermore, explain the economic influences behind the Dixiecrat campaign which, as anybody might guess who knows anything about Louisiana politics, include oil, always a major factor in the State's politics.

Here in replica, too, is a diagram of the Dixiecrat movement as a whole and what is back of it as pointed out often here before. It is based upon exploitation of so-called "states rights" and the racial issue to serve selfish private interests, including oil, utilities, textile and finance, among others, to end once and for all any threat from New Dealism that Harry S. Truman took over from Franklin D. Roosevelt. New Dealism stands for a watchful eye from Washington on natural resources, such as oil and electric power, to protect the public and a watchful eye to see that other industrial interests protect workers and preserve competition. State rights means leaving such matters to the less watchful and more easily controlled state governments, which is what the powerful economic interests behind the Dixiecrats movement want.

Mon 10-25-48

The big issue here is State rather than Federal control of oil-bearing tidelands in which Louisiana is so rich. Plaquemine Parish, of which Mr. Perez is the political overlord, embraces that section of the Delta about the mouth of the Mississippi River and is reputed to have more miles of coastline than it contains square miles in its entirety.

Mr. Perez is interested in oil, among other holdings his has been one of those careers in politics that is paradoxical but, after all, not too unusual. He started out in politics as a reformer, but eventually he became involved in those complex business arrangements that go along with politics, particularly in this State, and now he is powerful in both business and politics, a winning combination. His dominant political interest just now is State rather than Federal control of tidal oil lands.

Mon 10-25-48

The Truman Administration is for Federal control. Mr. Truman, therefore, must be driven from the White House at all costs to protect the oil interests here and in other Southern States that have coastal lands.

Mr. Perez has a nice prescription to take care of that. It is to draw as many votes as possible away from the President to the Dixiecrats so that, with others that are drawn off by the Republicans, also a strong "state rights" party here, Harry Truman will be completely frozen out. He has enlisted a considerable part of the regular Democratic organization here in that little plot through his influence and organization is whipping the small fry leaders into line. Whether he knows it or not, or approves of it, Governor Dewey is being represented here by Republicans as a strong "state-righter" who is sympathetic to State rather than Federal control of tidal oil lands. The Republican candidate has taken no position publicly on this issue.

There is no organized political campaign here for the national Truman-Barkley ticket. President Truman will get strong support from labor and from Negroes but obviously this will be in the minority.

Wash Post

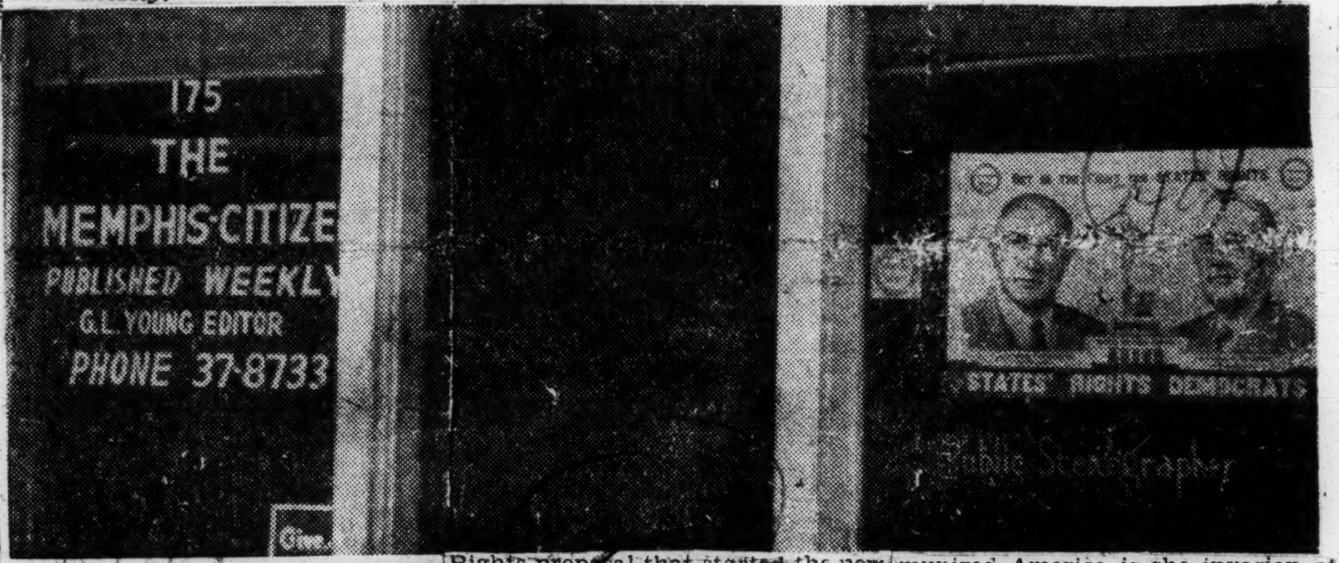
Dixiecrats Appeal To Oklahoma Court

Thur 9-30-48

Oklahoma City, Sept. 29 (AP).—States Rights Democrats asked the Oklahoma Supreme Court today to order their ticket on the November 2 general election ballot.

In a mandamus action, the party contended it was legally organized in Oklahoma at a State convention here August 14.

Wash. D.C.



Memphis World

NEGRO EDITOR SUPPORTS DIXIECRATS—This picture, and a copy of the current edition of The MEMPHIS CITIZEN, published by Rev. G. L. Young, Editor, bear witness to widespread reports that the Dixiecrats with all their AVOWED dislike for the growing importance of the Negro in the affairs of the South and nation at large cannot escape all Negroes with their fourth-Party Movement. Rev. Young, a local minister whose newspaper in its last week's edition advocates 'Patience on part of the Negro' and an understanding of the States' Righters' point of view, was not available for an interview, but the accompanying picture of his office at 175 South Third Street, near Beale, tells most of the story. The States' Rights Democrats' candidates, Governor J. Strom Thurmond, and Governor Fielding L. Wright, are pictured on the window of the Memphis Citizen's office.

Tues 10-26-48

Memphis Tenn

It was President Truman's Civil Rights proposal that started the new Rebellion in the South. Yet Editor Young, and his contemporary in New Jersey, Davis Lee, editor of the TELEGRAM, with headquarters in Newark, have played right into the hands of these reactionary forces which clearly define their attitude toward the Negro in a States Rights Information and Speakers Handbook. This book carries an editorial published by Davis Lee in his TELEGRAM, and later republished by a number of southern newspapers as a great pronouncement on the race question. This handbook under a topic entitled, "The Race Question," declares in part:

"We must face the race question frankly and fairly, as we have learned to face the question of veneral disease in this country. It must be examined by those who regard the interest of the nation as paramount. It is too important to be overshadowned by any effort at political advantage.

"The first step towards a Communized America is the invasion of States Rights by greedy politicians, ambitious for power, and determined to make life in each State conform to a Washington pattern.

"If we start out with he self-evident proposition that the whites and black are different, we will not experience any difficulty in reaching the conclusion that they are not and never can be equal. It is no crime to be different. A horse and a cow, for instance, are not equal Food that will enable a horse to perform a day's work will dry up a cow. They are not equal and cannot be treated equally, if the best interests of both are to be served Gold and silver, both precious metals, are not equal. They are unequal in almost every way.

"Justice—not equality—is the only thing possible under the law. No law enacted can make gold and silver equal.

Tues 10-26-48

The theory of equality is a communistic theory. It reduces all to a dead level. From a racial standpoint, the practical effect of the general acceptance of this theory, when carried to its logical conclusion is the merging of all the peoples and races of the world into one race."

The Columbia

N. C. STAT
PREPARE C

RALEIGH, N. C., Aug. 10—(AP)—States rights Democrats today took steps to prepare for court action in their fight to get on the general election ballot in North Carolina.

Tues 8-10-48

Columbia S.C.

Hubert E. Olive, chairman of the state board of electors, said that the states righters had requested and received permission to have petitions they presented the elections board Aug. 4 checked to determine whether the signers were registered voters.

The board last week rejected the states righters' petitions on the grounds that no check had been made to determine if the signers were registered voters and if they voted in the primaries this year.

The board had ruled that those seeking to form a new party must present at least 90 days prior to the election petitions signed by 1,000 persons who were registered and who did not vote in the primary.

The states righters had presented petitions signed by 18,000 signatures but had made no attempt to have the names checked.

Leaders of the group, which is supporting Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for the presidency, immediately announced they would take their fight to the courts.

Raymond Maxwell, secretary of the state elections board, said that decision to permit the petitions to be returned to the counties for a check was "made only for the purposes of their suit."

"It in no ways affects the action already taken by the board," he added.

Tues 8-10-48

Maxwell said the petitions would be returned to county elections board chairmen with a letter asking "but not instructing" them to make the check.

Maxwell said that no attempt would be made to check on whether the signers voted in the primaries.

He said the states' rights Democrats had offered to pay costs of having the names checked.

The checking process, Maxwell said, would require about a week. After that, the States' Rights Democrats are expected to file their suit.

Supreme Court by Sept. 1.
Attorney General Harry McMillan State
has expressed the opinion it will be
possible to take the case to the

'DIXIECRATS' GAIN MOCK ARMY UNIT

Columbia, S.C.

34d

DELAND, Fla., July 22—(UP)— Prankish law students today offered the Dixiecrats military backing in the fight for states' rights, provided every "soldier" can be a general or a colonel.

In its first communique the "Stetson Confederate army" recognized "the role of Southern womanhood in the fight for states' rights."

Columbia Record

Gen. Robert E. Lee, Jr., then formed a Women's Army corps.

Lee (his real name) appointed Miss Ray Jordan, librarian of the college of law at Stetson university here, as women's commander. She was mustered as Maj. Scarlett O'Jordan. (It is all right for a woman to be less than a colonel.)

7/22/48

Col. D. "Rhett" Butler of Orlando, Fla., was named advisor.

The students, mostly World War II veterans, were silent about their next political salient. A serious staff matter concerned them. Prof. Roy Francis Howes volunteered as a private.

This threatened to upset the table of personnel. The generals and the colonels conferred, enlisted Prof. Howes, but immediately made him private FIRST CLASS!

Candidates Of Rump Session To Hold Meet Here

Atlanta Ga.

Fri. 7-23-48

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta will be the second Southern city to be contaminated with a rally of political aspirants heading the so-called "Dixiecrats," who recently held a rump session in Birmingham and threatened secession from the Democratic Party.

It was disclosed that the vice presidential candidate of the disgruntled organization, Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, has called a meeting of his Southern rebels in Atlanta for tomorrow.

Its purpose has been labeled "strategic," with the explanation that plans will be mapped for a Southwide campaign against the election of President Truman, who won the nomination as presidential candidate of the Democratic Party.

The Mississippi governor asserted that his co-nominee for the presidency, Gov. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, will also be in attendance along with several other Southern party leaders.

7/23/48

Gov. Wright said at Jackson Wednesday that he does not consider himself and Gov. Thurmond as accredited candidates because they were not nominated at the regular convention held in Philadelphia. The action at Birmingham did not launch a new party, he added.

New Parley Set

Advertiser

Candidate Warns South Cannot Be Forced

Montgomery, Ala.

Sun. 7-18-48

By G. C. LONG, JR.

Staff Writer

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.—Southern states' righters, boiling mad at the treatment they had just received at the hands of the national Democratic party in Philadelphia, came up with their own presidential and vice-presidential candidates here Saturday.

With a vast throng of about 7,000 persons jammed into the Birmingham Municipal Auditorium, the states' righters named South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond their presidential candidate, and Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright as his running mate.

7-18-48

Great Ovation

And it was with a thunderous approval that the delegates gathered here adopted the resolution naming their candidates, followed by stony silence when the convention chairman asked if anyone disapproved of the selections.

Not satisfied to stop with the work done here, the convention voted to convene again in this city on Oct. 1 to complete any business that might come up in the meantime. It also voted to set up campaign headquarters and to provide for a general campaign chairman.

7-18-48

Force Defied

In accepting the candidacy for the presidency, Governor Thurmond, lashing into President Truman's civil rights program that was placed in the national party platform, stated, to cheers that rang throughout the vast auditorium, that there were not enough troops in the U. S. Army to force "the Southland to admit Negroes to our theaters, swimming pools, schools and homes."

Vice - presidential Candidate Wright, like Governor Thurmond a bitter opponent of the civil rights program and advocate of state sovereignty, declared the people who said the South could not unite to fight the things that were against its traditions "are now trembling in their boots."

Noisy Convention

This convention here Saturday was not a quiet one. There were frequent demonstrations and parades, and the bedlam that followed the keynote address delivered by former Alabama Gov. Frank Dixon, Birmingham, lasted 17 minutes before the conference chairman, Mississippi in charge of the Office of Selective Service Records — a "stand by" organization established to keep the old draft board records intact.

As head of the peacetime draft, he is expected to use these records in setting up the new machinery. He will have charge of the local boards in each state which will do the actual drafting. Many of these boards already are organized and ready to function.

Hershey believed in decentralization of the draft. He often said that a local board, composed of prominent and respected "friends and neighbors" of a registrant, was far better able to decide whether that registrant should bear arms or stay on his job than was an agency in Washington.

At the peak of its operation, his World War II selective service system had about 185,000 unpaid workers and about 25,000 who were paid. It inducted into the armed services a total of 10,023,599 men, about two-thirds of those who served in World War II.

His organization will be much smaller this time. Estimates are about 58,000 workers will be needed, and there will be many fewer draft boards.

House Speaker Walter Sillers finally managed to gavel the milling throngs back into their seats.

7-18-48

Few of the many speakers got far without being interrupted by the famous Rebel yell.

Angered over what both candidates termed "a stab in the back" at the Democratic convention earlier this week, the tumultous meeting gave shouting agreement to assertions the South will never surrender local control on racial issues.

Primary Reasons

The President's message on civil rights, and the Philadelphia convention's endorsement of it, were the primary reasons for this regional revolt.

Neither candidate made any claim of victory, but both promised to show the national party "the real Democratic Party is in the South."

Campaigns were planned in 15 states including Missouri, home of Mr. Truman.

In seconding the two nominations, Senator Eastland (D) Mississippi, made the forecast that "the race next November is between Gov. Thurmond and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey."

"Truman will not get a single electoral vote," he shouted.

Nomination of both candidates was by acclamation.

According to reports the convention did not come by its final action without a struggle within the inner circle of those directing the activities.

Sun.

It is reported that the top leaders were divided on just what course of action should be followed here. Some thought that the best lead for the states righters to follow would be to leave off naming candidates, at least for the present, and concentrate on getting friendly presidential electors named in the various states, while others thought that the best plan was to go ahead and put out their own candidates.

What come out of the internal struggle was a naming of presidential and vice presidential candidates for the electors of the several states to fall in behind, and thus bring about the possibility of defeating Truman in the electoral college.

If it would not be possible to decide the race in the editoral college, then the election of the next president would be thrown into the House of Representatives, where the South would stand a better chance of having its weight felt, according to Gov. Thurmond.

Principles Cited

Although the states righters came up with their own candidates, they did not come up with a platform that contained anything other than a denunciation of civil rights and an endorsement of states rights. And those points were covered in a declaration of principles that was approved by the convention . . . without any opposition.

Always before the convention was the constant reminder from the leaders that the Southern Democrats were not bolting from the national Democratic Party.

Pounding away constantly on the idea, all speakers contended that the Southern Democrats are the only ture Democrats, and it was the national party that left the principles of the old party and is now a new organization.

May Be Retired

In his keynote address, Dixon, in an effort to show that the south meant business and that the convention here was just not just a flash in the pan, declared that any public office holder in the south who attempted to lead any southern state into the Truman camp "will be retired to private life." (by the voters).

That remark touched off the first big demonstration of many that sent tremendous ovations echoing through the vast hall.

The convention was originally scheduled to get under way Saturday at 10 a.m., but it was delayed for an hour, because, some said the leaders could not agree on the procedure.

Sun.

While an almost empty auditorium waited for the beginning of the session, a shirt-sleeved band blared out music, which brought cheers from the people on hand.

With the huge auditorium showing gaping areas of blank seast, many began to wonder if the meeting was going to be a "bust."

That doubt was soon answered, however, for as the time to start neared, the onlookers and delegates began pouring in.

Wallace Pickets

Some of them were met at the entrance of the hall by pickets who carried placards asking for the election of Henry Wallace. There was a brief flurry of excitement over the fact that the presence of the pickets might cause trouble.

That failed to happen and the Wallace group soon faded away.

Meanwhile, inside the auditorium, places had been set up for Florida, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia and other states.

In addition to delegates from the states named, many others were here in the "other" classification. The chair recognized Pennsylvania, California, District of Columbia.

7-18-48

Just before the convention began its program, Birmingham City Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor, a delegate to the national convention, who walked out of that meeting, called all the Alabama and Mississippi bolters to the platform.

Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, called the meeting to order, following which Ruby Mercer, a Metropolitan Opera singer performing in Birmingham, sang "The Star Spangled Banner" and "Dixie."

McCorvey presided until the convention elected Sillers permanent chairman of the meeting.

In answering the address of welcome given by Connor, James Arrington, mayor of Collinsville, Miss., declared that the "insults heaped on the South in Philadelphia cannot and will not go unchallenged and unanswered here."

Prophetic Omen

He asserted that the convention, by refusing to hear Alabama when it demanded to be heard in Philadelphia, gave a "prophetic omen of what is to happen to Alabama and the South if the civil rights planks of either the Republican or Democratic Party is adopted."

Sun. 7-18-48

In accepting the chairmanship of the convention, Sillers stated that "we are here to vindicate the principles on which this country was founded, the principles on which we stand now, and will stand until doomsday."

Wright Says States' Rights Is Alternative To Dictatorship

The Advertiser

HOUSTON, TEXAS—(AP)—Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, declared Wednesday night that the principle of states' rights "is the only alternative of abject subjection to the tyranny of dictatorship."

Thurs 8-12-48

He said that "with a full consciousness of . . . the dire necessity for immediate and aggressive action" he accepted the nomination for vice-president of the United States tendered him by States' Rights Democrats.

"Today the present Democratic and Republican parties are philosophically bankrupt. They are mere vehicles for getting into and holding onto office," Wright said in his speech at a rally launching the states' rights group's national campaign.

Montgomery Ala.

"They veer from point to point without regard to principle, but only with an insensate desire to pander to any minority for votes. Government by bloc, by vociferous minorities, is a cowardly thing. It is a disgrace to America. It paves the way for ultimate dictatorship or Socialism.

"Only a return to American principles, to local self government, can halt the unseemly spectacle we are now witnessing."

He said Dewey wasn't the choice of the Republican rank and file; called Truman "an acknowledged loser," and said "Wallace represents Russia and its ideology."

Believes He'll Beat Truman

Wright's acceptance speech preceded one by Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, presidential candidate for the state's righters.

At a press conference earlier Thurmond had said he believed he would get more electoral votes than President Harry Truman, the National Democratic candidate.

Thurs 8-12-48

He said the states' righters are determined to get their ticket on as many state general election ballots as possible.

Wright accepted his nomination as tendered by the "Democratic Parties of South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi." The states rights group says it is trying to work similarly in the regular Democratic oaganization of as many states as possible.

"Local self government is what a majority of the people of this country are convinced is the best form of government on earth," Wright said.

"The moment that government becomes remote, distant, mysterious, and beyond the comprehension of the people themselves, danger arises and we subject ourselves to the possibility of abuse and ultimate dictatorship. This ever constant peril is visible to us at all times.

Threat Is Augmented

"In our large cities and more populous areas machine politicians and self-seeking officeholders have obtained and held an unrelenting grip on their municipalities.

"This threat of seizure of control by big city bosses and their henchmen is today greatly augmented and increased by the three million Federal jobholders, none of whom are elected by the people other than the President and vice-president."

Earlier, Thurmond told his press conference:

That he and his running mate, Gov. Wright, will receive more than 100 electoral college votes.

That "we hope" to win if the electoral college winds up in a deadlock and the final decision on the presidential election goes to the House of Representatives.

That the campaign of States' Rights Democrats will strengthen the position of Southern congressmen, will gain more respect for Southern delegations to National Democratic Party conventions of the future, and will make the American people more conscious of the present threat to the American way of life.

"We expect to carry most if not all of the Southern States and expect to receive more than 100 electoral votes," the South Carolina governor said.

He admitted the Southern Democrats were off to a late start but confidently added that "we hope to make up a lot of lost time."

Langan Joins Dixiecrat Plea For Solid Vote

The Advertiser

Truman Stand Rebuked By Rushton, McCorvey; Write-In Plan Fails

Sat 10-30-48

Repeating charges that Truman has betrayed the South, Marion Rushton and Gessner T. McCorvey, Alabama Democratic leaders, last night urged voters to "throw the South's political weight around" by voting under the rooster Tuesday.

Rushton, Montgomery attorney and Democratic national committeeman, and McCorvey, Mobile lawyer and chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, spoke over a statewide radio hookup.

Montgomery Ala.

At Mobile State Senator Joe Langan, a Truman supporter, admonished voters against "a last minute attempt to split the Democratic party." He said any move to write in names of Truman electors in an independent column would serve to split the Democratic vote and "react to the benefit of the Republicans." He warned of a possible GOP victory in the state should Democratic strength be weakened.

Denounce Folsom

In a statement, McCorvey also announced that Alabama's slate of Democratic presidential electors had denounced Gov. Folsom's "attempt to drive votes away from the Democratic ticket in Alabama." They added, he said, that "neither the governor nor the courts is going to force us to vote for Truman."

Meantime, accordnig to an Associated Press report from Birmingham, the 11th-hour drive for a write-in slate of Truman-pledged elector candidates apparently has failed. Eight of the 11 proposed as independent write-in candidates in Tuesday's election said they opposed the plan. A ninth, Senator Joseph Langan, Mobile, said he would serve. The other two could not be reached for comment.

Sat 10-30-48

McCorvey threw scathing words at the civil rights program and the rest of what he termed "outrageous proposed statutes." He asked voters not to think a Dewey vote would be a vote against Truman, but insisted that Alabamians should cast their votes on a straight Democratic ticket. "And this will be a vote for the 11 presidential elector nominees who have pledged to you that they will never, under any circumstances, vote for Harry S. Truman . . . or any man advocating his diabolical civil rights program."

McCorvey pleaded for the preservation of "white supremacy" and the States Rights doctrine. He said that a show of strength at the polls Tuesday would do much to add to the South's national prestige, and reinstate it as a bargaining power.

Had Opportunity

McCorvey hotly denounced Folsom and others who had accused the Alabama committee of denying Trumanites the right of vote in Alabama. "They know that under the Alabama code, that any caucus or mass meeting of any political party or faction could have nominated a slate of Truman electors and had their names put on the ballot in November. But through political cowardice, they failed to do so."

McCorvey concluded by saying that a display of power now would put the South in a very favorable position in the 1952 election.

Sat 10-30-48

Rushton underscored most of McCorvey's remarks, but his address was less accusing and calmer. He insisted, as he has so often in the past, that the South is capable of solving its problem alone, and that it has already made rapid strides in that direction.

Rushton said that "now that we are orphans, let us be sure before joining up with any family, that we will be received and respected on equal terms."

Already Settled

He denied that there was any validity in the proposed suit Gov. Folsom, saying, "The Supreme Court of Alabama, at Folsom's request, has already settled that question under both the state and Federal Constitutions."

As evidence of the legality of Truman's not being on the ballot, Rushton said "Although Alabama is the only state in the Union in which Truman's name is missing on the ballot, there are some 30 states in which the States Rights ticket was unable to qualify, and you don't hear us complaining."

This is the South's last chance to assert itself, Rushton added: "If we do not make an effective protest, if we slink back into the party with our tails between our legs, we will brand our-selves as political cowards and our principals will be lost forever."

Rushton said that if necessary, he advocated a two-party system in Alabama. He said that the presidential candidates have never, within the memory of his lifetime, come into Alabama on their campaign tours because "our vote has always been already cast. We must become an independent state politically."

Democratic Campaign Cost Listed As Zero

The Democrats must be pretty sure of winning next Tuesday's election in Alabama. They haven't spent any money on it.

Campaign expenditures reported to the Secretary of State Friday show seven Republican candidates have spent a total of $1,159 and one progressive nominee for presidential elector $15.

But of all the Democratic candidates, not one listed any campaign expenses.

Republican W. P. (Bill) Ivey, who's running for Congress in the Sixth District, topped the list. He said he spent $643. Another GOP Congressional nominee, Hiram Dodd in the Ninth District, was next with $200. A third, Harry J. Frahn, listed $155 as the expenses in his campaign for Congress in the Eighth District.

Four GOP candidates for presidential elector also turned in expense accounts. L. A. Carroll of Slicomb reported $75, A. M. Walker of Tuscaloosa $60, W. H. Gillespie of Clanton listed $25 and Raymond P. Wheeler of Anniston said he spent $1. It went, he said, for postcards.

The Progressive elector who paid out $15 was Joe M. Goodwin of McKenzie.

Besides the individual expenditures, the Republican state campaign committee reported expenses of $10,033 and contributions of $13,993. The Progressive Party listed donations of $2,719 but no expenditures. No report has been received from the Democratic committee.

ONE THING IF NOTHING ELSE

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery Alabama

There is one thing the most tart and resolute detractor of the Dixiecrat movement must unhesitatingly give it great credit for. The political movement has occasioned an accompanying debate over Southern racial problems that has made a wide and strong impression on the Northeast.

Sat 10-9-48

The Dixiecrat movement may not have been the most powerful and availing means of rebellion, but it unquestionably has served the cause of the South by making the people of the Northeast—who are just as sincere and good Americans as we Southerners—think with more reason and information about our racial disorders.

One of the most impressive examples of that is this week's Time Magazine, whose front cover features Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and a lengthy article on the party of which he is standard bearer. Time Magazine has been consistently unsparing and injudicious in its treatment of Southern racial problems.

The treatment has been consistently jabbing and jeering, the attitudes being as barren of comprehension and knowledge as that of the average Southerner about Britain and her imperialism. Prior pieces in the magazine were apparently always written by hot-rock junior editors with an eastern college campus patter of liberalism—by untaught experts who never perhaps observed that in all the Time-Life-Fortune empire, there was only one Negro writer they could call colleague.

But now at last the Dixiecrat stating of the South's case has evidently occasioned a conference of senior Time editors with the wits to regard the South with some reason and wisdom.

Following are excerpts from the Time article: Sat 10-9-48

. . . But if it was States' Rights that Thurmond was battling for, what was the theoretical difference between him and a lot of Northern U. S. citizens who were equally apprehensive of Big Government?

The main front of the Dixiecrats, indeed, was a Southern upper crust of mill owners, oil men, tobacco growers, bankers, lawyers, who might have felt more comfortable voting Republican. Would the Dixiecrat party be a kind of political decompression chamber for conservative Southerners, on their way to the Republican party? No; for Tom Dewey also advocated civil rights for the Negro. The Southerners wore their States' Rights with a significant difference.

No decent citizens in the South condoned the night riders, the fiery crosses and the lynch mobs. No one but a fool condoned them. But what about the Negro's right to an education, a job? As far as Strom Thurmond was concerned, he would not deny the Negro the right to an education and a job. Thurmond had to accept a federal judge's decision that the Negro had a right to vote; 35,000 voted in the South Carolina primaries this year. The so-called Southern "liberal" went further: He would and did encourage the Negro to better education, to enfranchisement as a self-respecting citizen.

But what about segregation, which was also a denial of rights? Segregation was not peculiar to the South—it was simply more universally enforced there. In the North, not only in the eyes of hotel owners and real estate dealers, but in the eyes of the vast majority of people, the Negro was still a second-class citizen. Those whites who considered the Negro their social equal were a minute exception to the general rule.

Because of the Negro, guilt haunts the whole U. S., South and North. But the North's guilt is glossed over by the hypocritical assumption that it has "solved" the Negro problem—in principle and on paper. Behind the South's gloss of "states' rights" is defiance and fear.

Beyond a certain point, the Southerner will not or cannot give a reasonable answer to the Negro problem. It is not, he feels, a reasonable problem. And it was not a problem that he brought on himself. It is his business to live with it, but it is no more capable of overnight solution than any other vexation he inherited. This sense of irrational frustration reduces most Southerners to the flat statements of defiance with which they commonly respond when a Northerner—especially a Northern "liberal"—attacks them on the subject.

On his part, the Northerner—and not just the Northern "liberal"—often finds this Southern attitude baffling, incoherent or plain infuriating.

The Southerner talks about his personal solicitude for the Negro, but to the Northerner it seems much closer to the solicitude of the master for his slave than to the friendliness of neighbor toward neighbor. What most Southerners seem to deny the Negro is human dignity, even in such small ways as refusing to call them "Mr." or "Mrs." "You've got to keep niggers in their place," they say.

Said Douglas Southall Freeman, the noted Southern historian: "There were two abolitionist movements, the Civil War movement and Mrs. Roosevelt's movement to abolish segregation. The South is too much influenced in its treatment of the individual Negro by the ignorance of the mass. But the North is too much misled by the ability of a few conspicuous Negroes." Adv. 10-7-48

The Time article goes on to make a point often hammered on on this page. That is that it is ridiculous to blame all the trouble on Truman. He is merely an incident of the disturbance and it will continue when he is gone.

It is unrealistic to assume that revolting parts of the South can go happily back into the Democratic Party once Truman has departed. It is questionable and then some that the South can then gain control of the party. The so-called Northeastern liberals overwhelmed the South at Philadelphia and it is probably they who will hold control. Time suggests that this may bring a "permanent realignment"—which means a strong G. O. P. in the South.

Not everything in the article will please Dixiecrats, but they will find assurance that the movement has brought on more talk in the North and has thus served one unchallengeable purpose. And it didn't "cost" anything—for the Democratic nominee was hopelessly defeated regardless of how the South votes.

Adv 10-4-48

Advertiser Sun. 7-18-48

Montgomery, Ala.

STATES' RIGHTS DIXIECRATS IN A CAUCUS HUDDLE—Revolting Democrats get together in one of the many caucuses preceding the opening of the States Rights Dixiecrats convention at Birmingham, Ala. Front row, left to right: Alabama's former Gov. Frank Dixon, temporary chairman of the convention; Lloyd E. Price of Fort Worth, Tex.; Palmer Bradley of Houston, Tex.; Merritt H. Gibson of Longview, Tex.; Horace P. Wilkinson of Birmingham. Back row, left to right: Arch Rowan of Fort Worth, Hamilton Rodgers of Fort Worth, Sydney Smyer of Birmingham, and Wallace Wright of Jackson, Miss. (AP Wirephoto.)

REBELS HINT THEY'LL LEAVE ELECTORS FREE Atlanta, Ga.

34d

From Wire Dispatches
Daily World

Birmingham, July 15--The South's troubled Democrats indicated tonight a plan to hamstring President Truman's election chances by leaving their electors unpledged.

The plan was indicated by Ex-Governor Frank M. Dixon and two members of the Alabama States'-Rights Committee.

Dixon, presidential elector Horace Wilkinson, and Sidney Smyer stressed that Saturday's meeting here of Democrats disgruntled over the national party's civil-rights plank would be a "conference and not a convention." Wed. 7-15-48

Wilkinson and Dixon said that leaving the presidential electors free to vote for whom they pleased would not mean throwing support to the Republican candidates.

Could Cast Votes Freely

It would mean, they said, that for electors could vote for any man. Presumably the Southern states could unite in the Electoral College as they did in the convention, when 263 votes went to Senator Russell (D., Ga.) for the presidential nomination.

Alabama already has a delegation to the Electoral College which is unpledged, save against Truman.

Wilkinson said the support by 11 Southern states of his plan would mean 127 free votes in the Electoral College. He said that before November there still was time for any Southern states to change the statute of their delegations now pledged to Truman. Daily World

7-15-48

Says It's to Pick Candidate.

Earlier, Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi had said the Birmingham conference was to nominate a presidential candidate.

W.W. Wright, Jackson, first of the Mississippi delegation to return from the convention, said the main purpose of the meeting here was to "get control of the Democratic Party back in the hands of the regular Democrats." Atlanta, Ga.

Wright admitted there was no hope of electing a Southern President, but said the conference was to "defeat the Philadelphia nominee."

The call to the Birmingham conference was issued as the delegated left Philadelphia and the scene of the Democratic National Convention.

Summoned by Wright, Dixon.

34d

The summons was issued by Governors Wright and Dixon to all those opposed to the civil-rights program and the renomination of Truman.

But whether these leaders would find the South united behind them was problematical. Wed. 7-15-48

The Mississippi delegation was scheduled to arrive in Birmingham at 8:10 p.m. tomoroo, some of the Alabama delegates from the national convention at 10:45 a.m.

Florida said it would send seven members, and Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas said he "probably" would attend. Laney may be the nominee of the "Dixiecrats" for President, if the Southern conference decides to place a candidate in the race.

Representatives of Texas and South Carolina also are expected. Louisiana and Georgia already have said their delegates would not attend. Daily World

Senator Russel, the only man the southerners found to rally around when the civil-rights plank was rammed down their throats at the convention, announced he would not be present. Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 7-15-48

Democratic Party although he feared the worst—particularly for the South.

34d

Thurmond Not Expected.

Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, keynoter of the original "States'-rights" meeting of the rebels before the convention, also is not expected to attend. His Columbia office said "previous engagements" would keep him busy elsewhere. But South Carolina Party Chairman William P. Baskin is expected to bring a delegation from his state.

Dixon, head of the arrangements committee, said Laney had told him he would lead his state's delegation here.

Laney is regarded as the Dixiecrats' logical choice for President, if they make one, because he removed himself from the Philadelphia picture before the balloting started. He was a Southern favorite-son candidate, along with Russell. But he withdrew because he said he could not run on what he considered a Socialist platform after the convention embraced the civil-rights program in full. Wed 7-15-48

George Isn't Hopeful.

The senior senator from Georgia, Walter George, said he didn't see what the Birmingham convention could hope to accomplish.

Both Russell and Editor Ralph McGill of The Atlanta Constitution said they believed the cleavage in the Democratic ranks would result in a major realignment of parties.

McGill predicted the party 10 years hence would find its strength mostly in urban areas and be further to the left than the party of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

There were other reactions to the developments at Philadelphia.

Marion Rushton and Mrs. Lennard Thomas, both of Montgomery, Ala., said they would remain on the Democratic National Committee.

At Mobile, State Senator Joseph N. Langan called on Alabama Democrats to unite behind Truman, and outlined a write-in plan whereby they could vote for him. 7-15-48

He proposed that party members who favor the President hold a convention in Montgomery August 16 to name a slate of 11 electors pledged to Truman. These candidates would run under the banner of the National Democratic Party and would appeal for write-in votes.

States' Rights Party Headed For Oblivion, Dr. Martin Says

The News
Tues. 11-9-48

"The States' Rights Democratic Party is headed for oblivion."

That's what Dr. Roscoe Martin told the Young Men's Business Club at its meeting yesterday.

Dr. Martin, head of the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Alabama, said the States' Rights Party is not a political party and has never claimed to be. He predicted that it will not cast its lot with the Republicans.

B'ham, Ala.

* * *

SPEAKING OF MINOR parties, he placed emphasis on the Progressive Party. He said no minor party has been successful except the Republicans. He compared the Progressive Party to the People's Party and said that the Democratic Party took over People's Party platform as a whole.

Dr. Martin predicted that the South will never have a two-party system because "we aren't in the mood to analyze the Republican Party in the South.

Commenting on the recent election, Dr. Martin described President Truman as an "incident." He said the people voted for the Democratic Party rather than for Mr. Truman and added, "Any other nominee would have done just as well, maybe better."

IN PREDICTING the death of the States' Rights Party, he said it has no organization and nothing to exist on. "A state party must be in with the ~~national~~ party," he emphasized. Tues 11-9-48

In other actions at the Y. M. B. C meeting, the members adopted a resolution opposing the cutting of 1,374 trees at Lane Park.

The Y. M. B. C. acted after hearing a speech by King Sparks, Jr., Park and Recreation Board superintendent Mr. Sparks said forestry experts had found the trees diseased. He said the board planned to have them cut by a contractor and sold for lumber.

Dixiecrats ban Negro in disguise from convention

Tribune
Los Angeles, Calif.
Sat. 7-31-48

BIRMINGHAM — When the Democrats' "rump" convention was held here last week, police refused admission to a handsome, swarthy man garbed in a turban and robe.

The officers gave as their reason that the man was a Negro, disguised as a foreigner.

States' Righters In Georgia Claim Victory, Talmadgeites

The Advertiser
Thur 10-14-48

By CHARLES F. BARRETT

AUGUSTA, GA., Oct. 13— (AP) — States' Rights Democrats whooped their way into Georgia's political arena today, predicting victory in "our fight for a principle."

Montgomery, Ala.

More than 300 delegates, sprinkled heavily with supporters of Democratic Governor Nominate Herman Talmadge, joined in the new party's founding convention.

They cheered as they staged Georgia's first big split in years from the Democratic Party. Speakers shouted that the national party had abandoned its basic principles in the "muck and mire" on big city machines which have "destroyed the party's soul.

The fast moving convention chose headliners in Georgia's potent Talmadge political camp to lead the fight in Georgia for South Carolina's Governor Strom Thurmond for president.

Charles J. Bloch of Macon, a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee, Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge of Athens, a cousin of the gubernatorial nominee, and Former Agriculture Commissioner J. J. Brown of Thompson were among 12 presidential electors named.

Herschel Lovett of Dublin, a Talmadge legislative chieftain for years, was named States Rights national committeeman. Mrs. Talmadge is the new party's national committeewoman.

Ed L. Willingham, Augusta businessman who spearheaded the convention, was named state party chairman. He is a long time Cracker Party leader in Augusta and a Talmadge partisan in state politics. Thur 10-14-48

"The Talmadge organization is behind us 100 per cent," he claimed to reporters.

Talmadge had no comment. He has been reluctant to join any move that might resemble "bolting the Democratic Party." Thur 10-14-48 Willingham told the convention "this is not altogether a political matter, it is just something we feel. We are fighting for a principle."

A telegram from Thurmond urged Georgia to repudiate "the trickery and treachery of the Truman leadership of the Democratic Party. When a great principle is at stake, I am sure the people of Georgia will fight for their rights."

Keynote Speaker William P. Congdon of Augusta described President Truman as "a little boy wearing papa's clothes." Republicans, he said, seek only to exploit the South for the benefit of the north.

"That leaves us the States Rights Democrats the only party with a presidential candidate who has the courage to fight in this hour of peril to preserve the principle of local government and individual dignity on which the nation and the Democratic Party were founded."

Meantime, in Atlanta, the States Rights Party, regular Democrats, Progressives and Prohibitionists qualified presidential electors for the state's general election ballot.

States Righters were the last to present credentials of electors on the final day of qualifying. Names of the electors were sent there from here immediately after they were named.

Thurmond Believes House May Settle It

LOUISVILLE, KY., Oct. 13— (AP)—J. Strom Thurmond, States' Rights Democratic candidate for president, said here tonight the House of Representatives may select this nation's next president.

The South Carolina governor said in a campaign address prepared for delivery at a party rally, that the States' Rights group "will not let our great party be kidnaped by the Pinks and the subversives." Thur 10-14-48

"We shall recapture the leadership of the Democratic Party," Thurmond said, "and restore it to the ideals and principles for which it has stood more than a century.

"It is possible that we may do so by preventing any candidate from gaining a majority of the electoral college vote, so that we can take the election to the House of Representatives. There the smaller states will be able to elect a president who will respect their rights."

Thurmond said the paramount issue of the campaign is: "Whether we Americans can put our own House of Democracy in order so that we may lead the world out of its despair."

Why Be Scapegoats?

The News

To the Editor of The News:

Alabama and Mississippi seem to be on the receiving end of a flood of criticism and ridicule by newspapers throughout the nation, including the South, due to the walkout at Philadelphia and the so-called "rump" meeting in Birmingham. I shudder to think of how Time and Life magazines are going to cut us to pieces, due to their manner of reporting the news from the South heretofore.

But the question I should like to ask is: Why should Alabama and Mississippi and maybe South Carolina alone carry the fight and the flags for the entire South on this matter? According to the editorial opinions of the newspapers of the South, and public reaction reflected therein, the sentiment of the people of the South is against this movement. Birmingham, Ala.

Unless the other Southern states, that should be deeply concerned, wish to cooperate and join hands in this matter and offer publicly and to the nation some assurance of this, why doesn't Alabama just call the whole thing off, and accept gracefully with the other Southern states whatever indignities the national Democratic Party and the rest of the nation wishes to impose upon us? Tue. 8-3-48

Why should Alabama and Mississippi be the scapegoats?

P. H. WINDHAM.
Alexander City, Ala.

* * *

Don't Force Things

Birmingham, Ala.

To the Editor of The News:

I am not concerned about segregation, first because I know it is not wanted here in the South, and, second, if this agitation keeps up the Negroes will be deprived of what little privilege we now enjoy. But I do hope the Congress will enact some laws that will give us as free access to the polls as any one else and also protection from the mob, for as it, is if one Negro commits a crime in a community all in that community stand in danger of being slaughtered. News

If the Congress can do something along the above mentioned lines there will be many grateful hearts, both white and black, here in Alabama, but the whites are afraid to come out in the open and advocate it, but once the anti-lynch and anti-poll tax bills become law you will find there will be many white, like Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathea, consenting to the way things are going, yet are powerless to do anything about it, they think. Tue. 8-3-48

Give the management of industry more power in hiring and firing and the F. E. P. C. will take care of itself. Things are not so bad as some are inclined to believe. Give the Negro a little more time to be educated. Let him first learn what it is all about and he will adjust himself to conditions satisfactorily. But I am afraid if we undertake to force things too fast it will only make bad matters worse.

REV. J. S. MYRICK (Colored).
2428 18th Street. North.

Call To Minorities

To The Editor of The News:

I write this attempting to answer some of the questions raised by Mr. Edward E. Cale. He proposes to eradicate selfishness of the Negro, and says that the Negro only bobs up when there is something for their advancement, and that he should be selfconscious and not expect white people to do all the dancing. B'ham. News

Well, I think everyone should want to advance because when a people advance that shows progress and without progress the world would stop. Tue. 8-3-48

Can we say that the law is what it should be when it is a one-sided affair? We have no Negroes in our courthouse, nor on our law force. Why not make the minority a part of the law? Some are capable of handling a position in any branch that would reduce lawlessness in many ways.

We are all selfish, great and small, to some extent, and I say truthfully it would not be as much crime and violence if every man had equal rights, political and financial. Social rights should not cross the color line. The Negro has no right to crash the white man's society, but in the political world the Negro and all minorities should have some part.

To all Negroes and minority groups: Let's all do our best and show the majority that we too are red-blooded Americans, loyal to the flag and to the republic for which it stands. Let every man do as he may but we minorities do right, continue in prayer and faith. Not for one group but all mankind. For he serves himself best who serves others most.

Should we get civil rights, let us use it in a civil way with good intention. Birmingham, Ala.

It is up to us to show our best qualities and ability. Let us see if it is our conduct that kept us behind the eight ball or our color. That's an old question. And now we may have a chance to find the answer.

8-3-48

From one who is proud of being a Negro.—LAWYER DOUGLASS.
P. O. Box 95, Sayreton, Ala.

* * *

Our Own Politburo

The News

To The Editor of The News:

Thirteen colonies made independent unity, knowing independence could be maintained only by continued unity, formed a permanent union—the U. S. A. The fed- [illegible] vereign states gave the federal vernment powers which were cessary for unity's objective—inpendence; all other powers were served to the sovereign states.

Unity of sovereign states, not unimity, made our nation the hope d beacon light of freedom and ristian idealism for all the world. ity of sovereign nations, not unmity, will make U. N. a success en Christian idealism inspires it. The destruction of sovereign states and nations for efficiency's sake makes robots of free men. Tue. 8-3-48

States' Righters have good sense. oFr their objective they should not deny voting rights to those who disagree. Electors who do not register majority will are Stalin's friends. Our state executive committee expelling Truman supporters from the Democratic Party is just as much a hated politburo as any behind the iron curtain.

Centralization of power in Washington brings on dictatorship be[illegible] relieves local citizens of [illegible] of individual responsibil[illegible]ir local affairs. Decentrali[illegible] power gives citizens the sole responsibility for their government good, bad or indifferent. In short, citizens have the kind of government which they deserve. 8-3-48

States' Righters as political party will deliver a proper spanking to Commie do-gooders in the Democratic Party. States' Righters remaing inside the Democratic Party, defying majority rule are friends of Stalin. While we are watching Stalin in Moscow, should we not also watch Alabama Stalins?

W. G. KITTS.
1216 Woodland Ave.

It Is Not "State's Rights" They Fight

No matter what is said to the contrary by candidate J Strom Thurmond and his consorts, their real fight is no for "state's rights:" it is a fight for the rights of certain whites who would impose a racial pattern on all of the United States. And the proper title for them is "white rightists," as nefarious exponents of white supremacy as was Adolf Hitler and his nazis.

Columbia, S.C.

Thurmond And Baskin To Go To Conference

Gov. Strom Thurmond said today that he would be accompanied to a Dixiecrat conference in Atlanta by State Democratic Party Chairman William P. Baskin.

Thurmond, discounting any suggestion that he resign as governor to run for president on a Dixiecrat ticket, said that Sen. R. M. Kennedy of Camden, Robert McC. Figg of Charleston, Walter Brown of Spartanburg and Baskin would attend the conference.

In Atlanta, Thurmond will meet with Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi to outline plans for the forthcoming presidential election. Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas is the campaign committee chairman.

No Manager Yet

Thurmond said that a manager had yet to be chosen. Other particulars of the campaign will be decided upon in Atlanta.

"Governors Dewey and Warren haven't resigned," Thurmond said. "And Roosevelt didn't resign while he was campaigning. Also I haven't received any reports that President Truman intends to resign."

The governor made his statement in reply to a newspaper's open letter which implied that he should resign from the governor's seat to run.

The Spartanburg Journal said, "It is a long established custom of this state, though not mandatory, that a man holding one office and seeking another underscores the sincerity of his convictions in the race he is about to make by resigning the office he holds."

Thurmond said, "The affairs of the state of South Carolina will be carried on properly.

Letters Piling Up

Meanwhile, officials in Thurmond's office said letters were piling up from all parts of the country. They said the letters, many containing contributions ranging from $1 to $100, urged Thurmond to get his name on the ballots in their states.

In North Carolina, Atty. Gen. Harry McMullan said today he still hadn't decided on what date to set the deadline for Dixiecrats and third party Progressives to file petitions for legal recognition as political parties.

7-22-48

McMullan said he was called yesterday by Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who asked what he would have to do to get his name on the North Carolina general election ballot as Dixiecrat presidential candidate.

The attorney general told Thurmond 10,000 signatures of registered voters who didn't take part in the last primary election must be filed 90 days before the election. McMullan was not sure whether that 90-day period should include Nov. 2 or not and deferred decision.

He promised to notify Thurmond as soon as a decision is reached on the point.

Beats Dixiecrats

DR. RALPH E. HANLEY

Dr. Ralph E. Hanley, noted dentist of Indianapolis, led the successful fight to remove Dixiecrats from the ballot in Indiana. He filed suit in circuit court charging the States Rights party with violating the State's "Anti-hate" law of 1947. Which assures civil rights to all minorities, something the Dixiecrats oppose.

Dixiecrats' Party Barred in Indiana

Afro-American

Sat. 9-18-48

Attorney General Aids Court Plea by Dentist

Baltimore, Md.

INDIANAPOLIS—Circuit Judge Lloyd E. Claycombe last Friday permanently enjoined the State Election Board from giving the States' Rights Democrats Party (Dixiecrats) a place on the General Election ballot.

In an unusual procedure, Cleon Foust, Indiana Attorney General, joined with the plaintiff, Dr. Ralph E. Hanley, a local dentist, in requesting that the injunction be made permanent.

GOP Governor for Dixie

On Sept. 2, the election board voted to permit the party to put the names of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President, and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for Vice President on the ballot representing the Dixiecrats.

Sat. 9-18-48

Gov. Ralph F. Gates and Edwin Steers, Republican members, voted for the Southerners, but William Steckler, Democrat, voted to keep the party off the ballot.

The State's attorney general said that some of the 11,188 signatures on the Dixiecrats' petition were found to be those of dead persons, and that not more than 700 were properly acknowledged.

He pointed out that all the signatures certified by Betty Jean Biro, who attested 8,600 of them, were obtained "on or before Aug. 31, whereas Miss Biro did not secure her notary public commission until Sept. 1."

Keep Fight In Party --Laney

Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 18—(UP)—Leaders of the second great bolt in Democratic Party history today planned an early conference to set up a campaign organization and denied they had technically pulled out of the Party.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, Dixiecrat nominee for President, said at the home of a friend in Anderson, S. C., that "We are not bolting the Democratic Party. They left us."

Arkansas' Gov. Ben Laney, who refused to let himself be designated by the Dixiecrats yesterday, again emphasized his desire to keep the civil rights fight within regular organizations.

"Whatever is done must be done through the official Democratic organizations in each State," Laney said. "I made this plain to the leadership here, and this is my position now and in the future." Only Alabama and Mississippi had regular Party representation here yesterday.

He also said, "It is not too late to avoid permanent division of our people."

Mon. 7-19-48

The statement indicated disagreement with some of the policies adopted at the State rights gathering. Gov. Laney did not attend the session at the auditorium but was in several Committee meetings.

Thurmond was resting after the tumult of a Dixiecrat Convention which nominated him in a thunder of Rebel yells here last night. It marked the first mass walkout on the regular Democratic organization since insurgent Southern Democrats nominated John C. Breckinridge in 1860.

The Dixie Presidential nominee pledged a finish fight against President Truman's civil rights program and against social equality for Negroes.

In accepting the call, Thurmond thundered that "We believe there are not enough troops in the Army to force the Southern people to admit Negroes to our theaters, swimming pools and homes."

Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, Dixiecrat Vice Presidential choice, said he and Thurmond have agreed on an early conference to set up "co-ordinating machinery" for the State-by-State drive to end the South's traditional loyalty to the Democratic Party.

7-19-48

The Southerners moved yesterday to run slates of electors in opposition to Mr. Truman and his running mate, Sen. Alben Barkley, in every Southern State and in the border States of Missouri and Kentucky.

Wright continued to call the Southern revolt group a "movement" rather than a party. "We haven't done one single thing except recommend a course of action," he said. Whether this course of action is followed, he added, depends on State Democratic organizations.

Both Thurmond and Wright today stoutly maintained that they had been "recommended," not nominated. Another Dixiecrat conference called for Oct. 1 would do the nominating, they said.

Wright admitted that the Dixiecrats may have trouble getting electors on the ballot in some States. He said there would be no trouble in his own State though where under a recent act electors will be on the ballot "For Gov (Thomas E.) Dewey, Truman Gov. Thurmond and even for Henry Wallace if nine people in Mississippi are crazy enough to vote for him."

The Texas delegation here last night planned to seek a referendum in its State on the fourth Saturday in August to decide between Truman-Barkley and Thurmond-Wright electors.

Today the band was resting after playing Dixie all day, interrupted with several performances of the Star Spangled Banner to quell disturbances. The delegates were home, or headed home to begin work in thier States after parading President Truman in effigy with a placard saying "President Truman Killed by Civil Rights."

Thurmond gave them a keynote this afternoon: "The Southern people are aroused. They are going to stick together and carry this fight to victory."

Dixiecrats Can't Make Grade For Missouri Ballot

The Defender

WASHINGTON — The states rights Democrats were recently informed that the new party can not qualify as a presidential ticket for the Missouri voting by the August 23 deadline.

Chicago, Ill.

In eight other states, the Dixiecrats predict that they will get at least 100 electoral votes and will hold the balance of power if a deadlock between President Truman and Governor Dewey forces the election into the House of Representatives. The states are: Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi.

States' Rights, Federal Aid

Herald Tribune

To the New York Herald Tribune:

It seems strange that the same Congressmen who are "States' Rights" advocates when it comes to poll-tax, anti-lynching and fair employment practice bills are the leading supporters of Federal aid for education which would benefit the "poorer" states. Apparently they practice the teaching that all children are Americans and should be treated and educated equally only when it is convenient.

New York, N.Y.

What Are States' Rights?

To the Editor of The News:

What are states' rights? We here in Alabama should seek the answer to that question before Nov. 2. When we go to the polls on that date and cast our votes, for many of us our first votes in a national election, we should know for whom, and for what principles, we are voting. What are states' rights? I challenge any of our so-called States' Rights leaders to answer that question. The public is entitled to know. Is it merely a group of politicians who are obsessed with the desire for power; power which they can hold over the heads of racial and minority groups? Or do they have a comprehensive program to work for the benefit of our great country? I, for one, am inclined to doubt the latter.

What are our federal government's rights? Is it the power to install such agencies as TVA? Has the federal government the right to set into operation a social security program? Has it the right to enforce anti-trust laws? I think about 130,000,000 Americans will agree that our federal government has these powers and is morally bound to carry them out. These functions are only a few of the thousands of things our government performs for the welfare of the public. Where would these invaluable agencies be if states' rights had been the watchword down through America's history?

Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal was a major usurpation of power by our federal government. Why did our States' Righters not rise then to fight for the narrow principles they advocate? They received benefit from those federal acts, that's why. Let the national government just mention a word which is not directly to the interest of this very small minority of our population though and watch them let out a howl that is heard, and ridiculed, around the world.

I could be wrong about the States' Rights Party. That is the main reason I am writing this letter. I, along with most of the people of the world, would like to know where the States' Righters stand. Where are they on internal improvements, social legislation, foreign policy, defense, and the host of other functions a government in our day is responsible for? Do they have a specific policy, or are they only against everyone else?

HAROLD I. GOOCH.

Student, Florence State
Teachers College,
Florence, Ala.

DIXIECRATS SEEM CERTAIN OF VOTES

Times-Picayune

May Get 8 South Carolina Electoral Ballots

(The Associated Press)

Columbia, S. C., Aug. 17.—The states' rights Democrats were assured today of South Carolina's eight electoral college votes if the state goes along with its Democratic party in November.

Wed 8-18-48

The state party's executive committee unqualifiedly endorsed the ticket headed by Governors J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi.

The committee action, at a meeting to canvass and report returns of the August 10 primary election, confirmed a mail poll of members conducted two weeks ago by Chairman W. P. Baskin.

Baskin said after that poll that the committee membership was "overwhelmingly for the Thurmond-Wright ticket." Today's voice vote of the committee brought forth but a handful of "noes."

New Orleans La.

The committee will name the elector candidates at a meeting after the August 24 primary.

The elector candidates will compete with those of the Republican party, and possibly with those of Henry A. Wallace's Progressive party and a slate expected to be put forth for President Truman by a rump state Democratic party movement.

A Letter And Answer

The News

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

Immediately after President Truman urged the enactment of his civil rights program numerous persons began searching for means for the South to protect itself from the dire consequences which would follow. It was realized that, with both major parties using civil rights as bait for the votes of minority groups, the Senate filibuster would probably no longer be effective. The repulsive proceedings at Philadelphia prove that the issue thrust upon us by Mr. Truman could not be solved within a party composed of such discordant elements.

The plan that the South use its electoral vote as a defensive weapon was recommended by Sen. Eastland. This plan was approved by a substantial majority of the Democrats of Alabama by the nomination of 11 candidates for presidential electors pledge to withhold Alabama's electoral vote from Mr. Truman if he were the Democratic nominee.

Mr. Truman and his program and this plan of combating it were the issues in the May primary. These issues were fully debated. The people in a clear voice said they did not want Alabama's electoral vote cast for Mr. Truman. If you think the people of Alabama did not understand what they were doing, you underestimate their intelligence.

During the primary campaign you wrote thousands of words belittling and ridiculing the plan of the South's withholding its electoral vote from Mr. Truman. You did not, however, make one constructive suggestion as to a means of defense the South could or should employ.

Apparently not willing to abide by the result of the May primary, you have followed the same lines in your subsequent editorials, and now you seem to suggest the election in November of pro-Truman electors. This, of course, would require that a majority of the voters who participated in the May primary dishonor their pledge to support in the general election the nominees of the primary.

The greater the unity in the South, the greater will be the success of the plan. Your unwillingness to abide the decision already made in Alabama is contributing to disunity in the South. For that you must accept responsibility.

Birmingham Ala

Those who have and are now trying to defend the South by peaceful and lawful means are sincere in their conviction that the plan advocated by them is the only effective means of protecting the South. In justice and fairness to them and to your readers, please print this letter and with it please answer these questions:

Sun 8-1-48

1. What, in your opinion, could the South have done or could it now do to defeat Mr. Truman's civil rights program?
2. Did you participate in the May primary, and, if so, do you intend to honor the pledge you then made to support the nominees of that primary, including the 11 nominees for presidential electors?
3. Do you advocate that the voters who participated in the May primary vote for presidential electors in the general election other than those nominated in the primary?
4. If you intend to repudiate your pledge or advocate that others do so, how do you justify such action?

I am taking the liberty of circulating copies of this letter among various newspapers and individuals who are interested in these matters and will await your answers to the foregoing questions with much interest.

NORMAN W. HARRIS.

Editor's Note—(1) Oppose it within party, in Congress and by any other means that seem legitimate and effective. (2), (3), (4) American federal government is based on national parties—in the main, two major parties. Many Alabama Democrats, like this newspaper, desire to have effective voice in national party affairs and an opportunity, if they wish to do so, to support the national ticket of the Democratic Party even when that ticket is not what they would prefer. They believe that elector nominees of the Democratic Party in Alabama should support the national nominees if representatives of the party participate in national party processes. They regard a pledge against supporting such national nominees, made long in advance, as a mistake. With Democratic elector nominees pledged, however, against the national ticket, many Alabamians feel justified in seeking other ways of giving support to that ticket. We have sought repeatedly to make these points clearly in discussing the present situation.

8-1-48

When States' Rights Issue Backfired

The Post

(An Editorial in The Anniston Star)

WHEN ANDREW JACKSON was president of the United States his political strength lay principally in the Southern and Western states, New England having been relegated to the position of comparative insignificance it had occupied during the first 25 years of the Union. But on Dec. 29, 1829, Sen. Samuel A. Foot, of Connecticut, introduced a resolution for the further restriction of the sale of public lands that turned the balance of power against the South.

Wed 9-22-48

The Western states resented that gesture on the part of the New England statesman, as they wanted a liberalization of the federal government's land policy instead of its restriction. Accordingly, Benton, of Missouri, got the floor and vigorously opposed the Foot resolution. Others joined in the debate which soon turned into a contest between the East and West, and while the South was not interested in the land policy it took advantage of the opportunity to widen the East-West breach.

Bham, Ala.

The objective of the Southern senators at the time was to restore the alliance between the South and West, and they did not fail to remind the Westerners of the many times when their objectives had been thwarted by the Easterners. But Foot and his allies, seeing that they were at a disadvantage, attacked the South on the issue of state rights, particularly against the South Carolina Exposition and Protest, which had been written by John C. Calhoun.

Calhoun, 10 years before, had been a liberal constructionist of the constitution and favored vesting the federal government with broader powers. But he had reversed himself in his famous Exposition, which Foot and his allies contended would have the effect of weakening the national government and might eventuate in the destruction of the Union. The West also was reminded of the many times its aim had been defeated by the South's strict constructionists.

* * *

"AT THIS POINT," says Charles S. Snyder in his great book, "The Development of Southern Sectionalism?" the Southern senators made a grave tactical error. Instead of disregarding constitutional questions and pushing ahead into the breach between East and West, they accepted the challenge and rushed to the defense of state rights. Whether Daniel Webster or Robert Y. Hayne won the great debate on the nature of the Union was of little consequence from the standpoint of immediate political advantage. The important point is that the South let New England escape from the trap of Sen. Foot's making."

Then, as now, we were placed on the defensive, whereas if we had kept the offensive by taking advantage of the quarrel between the East and West, instead of being diverted into a constitutional disquisition, the entire course of American history might have been changed. We might have been compensated for our property interest in slavery and thereby have averted a civil war, in addition to which the South and the West might have been developed industrially along with the East.

Wed 9-22-48

A SITUATION SOMEWHAT similar to that of the 1829 incident occurred at the recent Democratic National Convention. The platform committee, eager to appease the Southern dissidents, agreed on a civil-rights plank that was virtually the same as the one contained in the platform of 1944, and it also was agreed by the majority that they would not introduce a minority report unless the South undertook to do so. But when the South insisted upon a states' rights amendment before the convention, the Northern delegates were released from their pledge and Mayor Humphreys, of Minneapolis, then made his fiery speech that completely upset the apple cart.

This was a most unfortunate episode, because the interests of the South and of the West are as similar today as they were in the early days of the Republic. They both are struggling for industrial development, for equality of freight rates, for public power development, for conservation and reclamation, for farm support laws to equalize the tariff laws that are supported mainly by the East and for the ending of government by monopoly.

These advantages cannot be obtained through the agency of a sectional state-rights party and, of course, they will never be granted by the big moneyed interests of the East. They are to be attained, and maintained, only through a strong national Democratic Party, and after the Dixiecrats shall have run their course in the tradition of all other splinter parties of the past it is to be hoped that the South and West can get together again in the interest of a better balanced national economy.

Voice Of The People

The Lesser Evil

To the Editor of The News:

The News

I would like to take this opportunity in answering Carey E. Haigler, president of the Alabama State Union Council, in his attack upon the States' Rights candidate, their platform and the 11 Alabama Democratic electors pledged for the States' Rights ticket.

It seems that Mr. Haigler is somewhat perplexed for himself and organized labor as whom to vote for in November, which is an indication that he has been lacking foresight as to what the real aims of the States' Righters are. "Controllers of the state Democratic Party machinery are not Democrats but backdoor Republicans; Texas oil men and Southern lawyers are more concerned with Northern corporations than the social and political dangers that face the South, and that Gerald L. K. Smith, who was publicly denounced by the States' Righters, is an indispensable cog in the States' Rights machinery!" Mr. Haigler would have you believe this, if you are gullible.

Fri 9-10-48

Birmingham

The question is whether the working men and women of America will put their faith into a full, strong, whole Democratic Party or only a remnant of it which would do them no good for many years to come. As it stands now, the Democratic Party is helpless without the whole-hearted support of the South, but the States' Righters are determined, whatever may result, to choose the lesser of two evils, and in this they are right.

The Alabama Democratic delegates who had pledged themselves to walk out of the Philadelphia convention in case a civil rights plank was included in the platform had no other choice, but this is superficial; its significance lies in the fact that for the first time the South was demanding recognition as an indispensable part of the Democratic Party and that its success or failure rested with the South.

Fri 9-10-48

If and when the Democratic Party is defeated in November, the fault will not be the States' Righters but the "Trumanites" who have cut off their noses to spite their faces. The States' Righters and Thurman are more foresighted than one would have you believe. A Republican victory now may easily mean a Democratic victory in 1952. A Democratic victory is also a labor victory. The South must bargain cleverly and with the aid of Southern labor, but they must have patience, the final result being inevitably satisfactory to both.

JOHN W. ALTMAN.

1950 16th Avenue, South.

The Very People Who Prate About States Rights'

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER: The nominee for president of the Dixiecrat Party, speaking at Fairfield on Labor Day, said: "Party loyalty" is being urged by men who "deserting the faith of our fathers." "Those who carry party loyalty have told their political bosses in Washington that they can come into your state and the other states in the union and fix up the political fences that are badly in need of repair . . . Does this mean that we must humiliate ourselves . . .? etc."

By what sort of labored reasoning, do these ~~self~~-appointed leaders of the Dixiecrat movement (schism), think they can hoodwink ~~and~~ mislead the determinate thinking voters with the false cry about States' Rights?

The matter of states' rights was settled some 82 years ago at West Appomattox.

If this is denied . . . then, the claim was forfeited by the South's support of the Volstead Act, the creation of TVA, the laws controlling interstate commerce, and all of the New Deal legislation resting upon the welfare clauses of the Constitution.

As for humiliation . . . we who administer the affairs of the town hall, the county courthouse, and the state capitols, should be ashamed that this civic responsiblity has been side stepped, and burden after burden laid upon the federal government.

The very people who prate much about States' Rights, are perfectly willing to accept the largesse of the central government for local activities from boon-doggling—through farm subsidies—up to and including, the parents' God directed obligation to educate and to train his offspring.

Montgomery Ala

A few weeks ago the United Press survey revealed that one out of each six adults, or 15.8 million people (citizens), are now receiving money from Uncle Sam.

Shame—shame—on all this double talk and insincerity!

BOLTERS ALL

The Advertiser

"The term Dixiecrat," relates The Arkansas Gazette, "was coined by an inspired deskman on The Charlotte News for headline designation of the cumbersomely named States Rights Jeffersonian Democratic movement after it was founded last spring at Jackson, Miss. It has been generally accepted by both friends and foes of that organization, which has now developed into a full fledged fourth party with its own candidates for president and vice president. Ala.

"Although some of the Dixiecrats are twisting logic in an effort to explain that they are still loyal Democrats, the fact remains that they are engaged in an active effort to defeat the Democratic nominee. Dixiecrats, for all practical purposes, therefore, is synonymous with party bolter —and it is a label that most Southern politicians are extremely anxious to avoid."

Dixiecrat is an unfortunate name because it rawly suggests descent in a direct line from Hoovercrat. But the fourth party is now stuck with it.

The Advertiser has often been intrigued by the anguish it causes such gentlemen as Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, to be called a bolter. He struggles as if it is the embrace of a serpent. 8-1-48

Contrarily, we do not in the least object to being called a bolter. This newspaper has a long history of bolting. We regard bolting as highly laudable in the Truman case.

Mr. McCorvey contends with prodigious energy that Alabama is not bolting because it will, as always, vote under the rooster. In 1928 a man who voted against Al Smith was a bolter. But in 1948 a man who votes against Truman is not a bolter.

We believe that within the framework of Mr. McCorvey's logic we may proceed to argue that Great Britain "bolted" the Colonies in 1776. We may argue that the North seceded from the South.

But all of this is academic to The Advertiser. In 1860 this newspaper bolted the national Democratic Party (Douglas) and supported Breckenridge. In 1896 this newspaper bolted the national Democratic Party (Bryan) and supported Palmer. And it considers that in 1948 it is bolting the national Democratic Party (Truman).

What's wrong with bolting?

Mr. McCorvey is an old bolter like the rest of us. 8-1-48

Liberalism On The March

To the Editor:

President Truman's victory was not only a triumph for the man but also for the New Deal.

11-16-48

The people were fed up with two years of Republican control in Congress and the actions the Republicans took and failed to take. The people disliked the aloof, overconfident, evasive attitude of Thomas E. Dewey. They warmed to the friendly but fighting Missourian who faced the issues and told the American voters just where he stood—squarely behind the New Deal.

President Truman's smashing victory over Gov. Dewey, and the Democratic Party's sweep of both the House and Senate prove that liberalism and progress are again on the march in America, and that conservatism and reaction, after a two-year sway, have been plainly repudiated by the voters.

The American people expressed their belief in the social reforms of the New Deal and their desire for the continuation and extension of those reforms by electing Harry S. Truman and giving the Democratic Party control of Congress.

It seems to us that it is now incumbent on every one of Alabama's nine congressmen and both of our senators to give President Truman their support in the 81st Congress to pass measures that will be of benefit to the people. We refer to such measures as legislation to halt inflation; an increase in the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour; a national health insurance program; extension of social security to groups not yet covered, with benefits at least 50 per cent higher; a housing program that will relieve the terrible housing shortage; and repeal of the Taft-Hartley act with re-enactment of the Wagner act to place American labor once again on an equal footing with the corporation powers of our country.

11-16-48

On many of these issues as they came before the 80th Congress, senators and representatives from the South voted with the Republicans against the Democratic administration of President Truman.

It is time to stop such an unholy coalition! In the 81st Congress, congressmen from the South should be Democrats in fact as well as in name. If they cannot bring themselves to this, then we suggest that they become Republicans in name as they have often been in fact. The people gave President Truman a clear mandate and a majority of Democrats in both houses of Congress on the basis of the president's stand on the New Deal.

The people expect expansion of the New Deal, and no members of Congress who call themselves Democrats should stand in the way.

Alabama is in the sad and unenvied position of being the only state in the Union which denied President Truman a place on the ballot. We do not believe, and said so many times prior to the election, that the people of Alabama were in sympathy with the Dixiecrat leadership that accomplished that denial. It is our feeling that the majority of the people who voted under the rooster on Nov. 2 were doing so not to support the Dexiecrat candidate, J. Strom Thurmond, but because they felt they had a right to expect their vote in the Democratic column to be cast for President Truman.

This election has served to discredit even more so the already-discredited politicians who were the prime movers in the Dixiecrat movement. It would now seem to us that it is incumbent on any Dixiecrat who holds a position in the Democratic Party, including the state Democratic Party, to resign that position. As Dixiecrats they belong in their own party. They do not belong in the party of Truman.

CAREY E. HAIGLER,
President, Alabama State CIO Council;
EUGENE M. WELLS,
Secretary and Treasurer, Alabama State CIO Council;
SAM G. HONEY,
Alabama State CIO Political, Action Committee.

States' Rights Democrats Become A Fourth Party

The States' Rights Democratic party, despite its desire to retain its connection with the Democratic party, begins to look more and more like a fourth party.

The States' Rights candidates will be on the ticket in Texas, North Carolina, Florida as a result of action this week.

In Texas, where the regular Democratic party has been successful so far in preventing the capture of the party machinery by the State's Rights Democrats, the States Righters held their own convention Wednesday and nominated J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi as their candidates for president and vice president. For the Texas election the party dropped the word "Democrat" from its designation and will be known as the States' Rights party. In 1944 a Texas court decision held that only the Democratic party was entitled to use the word Democratic, a decision which incidentally makes more sense that the decision of the South Carolina Democratic executive committee to retain the word Democratic in its designation while supporting the States' Righters.

In North Carolina a supreme court decision held that the States' Rights Democrats had met all of the requirements of the North Carolina law and were entitled to be listed on the state ballot despite the failure of the State's Righters to secure the signatures of 10,000 voters, not members of other parties, to their petition for recognition. The state election board had required that the signers be, not only qualified electors, but also persons who had not voted in any primary of the current year. This additional requirement, the court held, was "unreasonable and invalid."

In Florida a special legislative committee voted to include Thurmond and Wright on the Florida ticket. The committee will make its report to a special session of the Florida legislature expected to be called to straighten out Florida's Democratic voter puzzle.

In South Carolina, where the States' Righters have seized the Democratic party machinery, the pro-Truman Democrats also took steps Wednesday to see to it that a regular Truman-Barkley Democratic ticket will be put out this year. Even in South Carolina the voters will have their choice, which is as it should be.

States' Rights Democrats Hold Strategy Meet

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Aug. 28.—(AP)—States' Rights Democrats held a "strategy meeting" today to map campaign plans for the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Both the party candidates, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and Fielding Wright of Mississippi, were here for the closed-door session.

There was no official announcement of matters up for consideration.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution
Wed 8-11-48
Atlanta Ga.

In Tune With the Votes

"Manipulators," in hotel suites at Birmingham, had it planned so that the band would play "Dixie" whenever the "grass roots" movement of the vast number of 2,000 persons showed signs of quieting down. "Keep 'em hollering," was the word.

Since that time the press agents, hired in the same fashion as the musicians, have been playing "Dixie" on their typewriters, demanding the South remain provincial and "Southern." One assumes their definition of "Southern" is Dixiecrat.

Well, now let's look.

People are beginning to see the Dixiecrat outfit, now gone back home to Houston and the original copyright owners, for what it is—just as Gerald L. K. Smith saw it for what it was. "The three largest contributors to this meeting invited me," said Gerald, and the "grass roots" died. That phrase, "grass roots," at least, has dropped from the writings of the Dixiecrats.

In South Carolina, Wilton Hall's Anderson Independent, the best known newspaper in South Carolina and the one with the most influence—an influence built through the years by honest opinion, honestly arrived at—has come out strongly against the Dixiecrat movement as harmful to the South and the States' rights fight.

States' rights and its friends are being cut down by the Dixiecrats who, while they have attracted sincere persons, are nevertheless dominated by those who believe not in States' rights but in States' wrongs.

People are beginning to think.

Census

It is important they think about the Dixiecrat mind, which wants to retain the status quo and to bind us with the bonds of the past, in terms of many factors—and especially in terms of the latest one—the census report.

On Monday morning newspapers published the U. S. Census reports from 1940 to 1948 which showed that the Pacific Coast led the nation in population gain, with California, Oregon and Washington State showing amazing increases, the first two increasing more than 40 percent. California, having passed Ohio and Illinois during the war is about to pass Pennsylvania and become the second most populated State in the nation.

Now, no one insists that mere population is, per se, of value. But, when the nation is revealed as in the throes of a migratory revolution, it does mean that some section is losing population at an unhealthy rate because there are attractions of opportunity elsewhere. Income and jobs are there.

Wed 8-11-48

South

So, let's look again. Nine States lost population. They are Arkansas, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Kentucky, West Virginia, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota and Montana.

Twenty-eight States showed net losses by migration, but were able to show slight population gains because of excess births over deaths. Florida alone in the South had a real increase.

The South is chiefly concerned. Only the South, as a region, continues to lose population.

Not all those leaving the South are Negroes. Not all those being born are white children.

Ask

Ask any rural community you know where its best high school graduates—girls and boys—of the 1947 class are today. And where the graduates of 1948 are going.

Georgia had enough more births over deaths to give her a gain of 15,000 persons from 1940 to 1947. Atlanta's gains were enough to save the State a net loss. Alabama had a gain of 1,000. Arkansas and Mississippi lost population.

BUT, IN ALL THESE STATES THE CITIES GAINED POPULATION.

Does that mean anything to the Dixiecrat mind?

Cities

I tried to say, from Philadelphia's Convention where the South was shaken out of the Party's decisions, that the South, too, has cities.

In Albany, Cordele, Savannah, Augusta, Rome, Macon, Columbus and other Georgia cities are gaining population—and they are—the same thing is happening in other Southern States. Consider what it means has happened to the rural regions.

That process will go on as machinery comes—and it is coming more and more every day.

There are many important things happening in, and to, the South.

The Dixiecrats plan to meet them by hiring bands to play "Dixie" and by repeating the dusty words of the heroes, long dead.

Positive

We must—here in the South—realize that what friends we had at the Philadelphia Democratic Convention could not help us because of the Dixiecrat state of mind and words.

If we save States' rights—as we must try to do—we must save them before the Supreme Court. The Dixiecrat clamor, seeking to preserve States' wrongs, prejudices the cause of States' rights.

And do not make the greatest error—in the light of the census returns—of thinking that the big city machines, which now control the Democratic Party, acted contrary to public opinion in their cities. They were out to get votes.

Wed 8-11-48

And where are the South's votes going more and more each year?

Look at the census reports.

And look ahead another 10 years.

Shall we act positively? Or form a splinter party which may be effective for four or eight years—which is not very long, as time goes.

Tomorrow I want to shell down some corn.

Strength Of Gov. Thurmond, While Cutting Truman's Lead, Not Enough For Dewey Victory

Commercial Appeal
Mon 10-3-48
Memphis Tenn.

In Contrast To South Carolina, Where States' Rights Party Holds Big Lead, Only Few Voters Favor Dixiecrats

By GEORGE GALLUP

Director, American Institute Of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., Oct. 2. — Inroads of the insurgent Dixiecrats on the regular Democratic vote in North Carolina and Kentucky are today not large enough to take those states out of the Truman-Barkley column.

In contrast to South Carolina, where the States' Rights Party holds a substantial lead, only 5 per cent of Kentucky voters and 13 per cent of North Carolina voters today say they will vote for J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina's governor and States' Rights Party nominee for president.

Dr. Gallup

Mon 10-3-48

While Kentucky today gives a popular vote advantage to the Democratic ticket, the lead over Dewey is slim compared to 1944. The poll reported today was taken before last week's visit by President Truman to Kentucky, home state of his running mate, Senator Alben W. Barkley.

Kentucky Holds Interest

The election in Kentucky holds more than ordinary interest for political observers because of the importance of the senatorial race there to the Republican control of the Senate. Today's survey would indicate that the Republican candidate, Senator John S. Cooper, is not going to be helped substantially by the fact that Dewey heads the national G.O.P. slate.

President Truman's lead in North Carolina also is materially below that customarily given a Democratic candidate, primarily because of Governor Thurmond's following. As of the moment Governor Dewey is supported by about one out of every three North Carolina voters, which is roughly the strength he showed there four years ago against Roosevelt.

Institute interviewers in both states asked a representative cross section of voters this question:

"If the presidential election were held TODAY, for whom would you vote—for Dewey, for Truman, for Wallace or for Thurmond?"

The results:

KENTUCKY

(11 Electoral Votes)

Truman	45%
Dewey	42
Thurmond	5
Wallace	2
No opinion	6

NORTH CAROLINA

(14 Electoral Votes)

Truman	44%
Dewey	33
Thurmond	13
Wallace	1
No opinion	9

While neither of these states, politically speaking, is considered part of the "Deep South," they have seldom wandered out of the Democratic column. Both went Republican when Alfred E. Smith was the Democratic candidate in 1928 and Kentucky also went Republican in 1924.

In each of Roosevelt's four elections, Kentucky gave him better than 54 per cent of its major party vote. However, Republican candidates for Congress in 1946 were successful in getting 53 per cent of the major party votes cast that year. North Carolina's vote for Roosevelt never fell below 67 per cent.

Previous polls showing presidential standings in Southern states have revealed Governor Thurmond leading in South Carolina, and President Truman far ahead in Texas.

'States'-Rights Democrats to Youall, Suh'

Detroit
Mon 8-23-48
Detroit Mich.

ATLANTA—(U.P.)—Don't call us Dixiecrats, the Dixiecrats appealed.

"Call us States'-Rights Democrats, Jeffersonian Democrats, even Southern Democrats — but don't call us Dixiecrats," they urged.

Leaders of the southern revolt said the Dixiecrat tag put them behind the eight-ball in other parts of the country. It's a psychological penalty in talking to voters of the North, Middle West and Far West.

* * *

THE NAME "Dixiecrat," coined by a headline writer, has stuck despite the efforts of the states'-rights group.

"I don't like it," said Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, Dixiecrat presidential candidate, of South Carolina, "because our movement is a national one.

"Most papers have used the term with good intention, but some have used it in a manner calculated to throw unfavorable light on us."

JENNINGS PERRY

Dixiecrats Must Give Way

New York P.

Perry

348

Gov. Strom Thurmond's "God-help-you" wire to Harry Truman has stirred up some guesses that the prodigal States Righters soon will be looking for a way to get back into the Democratic party. On the other hand, as astute an onlooker as the *New Republic's* Helen Fuller, out of the deep South herself, believes (or did before the election) the revolting Dixiecrats will lay to their "carefully laid scheme for *taking over* the whole Democratic party between now and 1952." I think Miss Fuller will want to cast another look—for if anything was blown right out of the water by last Tuesday's electoral explosion, it was the possibility that any such scheme could hope to succeed—ever.

Mon 11-8-48

The Dixiecrats have put themselves into outer darkness in the cold and unbearable company of their own moral turpitude. They will be looking for a way back—a way "with honor" of course. There is no question about that. The question is whether the Democratic *party* can find a way of letting the Dixiecrats come back—without dishonoring itself.

Good Riddance

At Philadelphia, the Democratic party under H. Truman did for itself what even under FDR it could not bring itself to do. It refused at last to compromise with the Southern Bourbons for the sake of what the late Mr. Dewey doted on calling "unity." It refused to weasel-word its platform on either civil rights or tidewater oil. The Bourbons marched out with a tawdry show of mock heroics, singing "Dixie."

New York P.

This was not a calamity for the Democratic party. It was good riddance—as Tuesday proved. It made an "honest woman" out of the Democratic party as far as the great issue of civil rights is concerned. It refurbished the name of a party that often, because of the adulteration of its principles to keep the Bourbons happy, had been democratic in name only. Now, what could be calamitous for the party would be the readmittance of the erring Southern brethren on a simple kiss-and-make-up basis, as if nothing had happened. For this would be the folly of Aesop's countryman who gave the fox shelter under his coat only to have the fox eat out his vitals.

The States Righters—the avowed and the unavowed—who will be coming up to the 81st Congress, with an eye out for the prestige and patronage "being a Democrat" would give them, will be as ready as ever to continue their unholy alliance with reactionary Republicans when reforms are at stake. As nominal Democrats they would have position and influence. and as in the past would not scruple at trading out the Democratic party's pledges opposed by big interests in other parts of the country to save themselves from the party's pledges aimed at their own special political and social privileges.

I see no reason why Mr. Truman's party should put up with it, why it should kiss and make up without demanding that the Dixiecrats first "wipe off that nightshirt," without requiring that the Thurmonders meet at least the minimum qualifications of a Democrat.

Poetic Justice

Mon 11-8-48

In their own 1948 campaign, the States Righters made a great to-do over selectively interpreting the Constitution according to the narrowest view: I think the Democrats very well might insist that acceptance of our social purpose in accord with the specific undertakings of the Democratic platform be a prerequisite to party membership. In their own states the States Righters are used to restricting the suffrage by a multitude of devices, including frivolous "literacy tests." It would be poetic justice, as well as an appropriate security measure, for the Democrats to require all applicants for reinstatement in the party to be able to read—and subscribe to—the party's promise to abolish the poll tax promptly and without fail.

If this were done, the Dixiecrats either could stay outside and wither with their perishing limb, or, on their indication of good behavior, come into the fold; the Democratic party would protect itself from subversion; and the restoration of free elections in the South, to which the party has given its firm parole, this time would be accomplished surely.

The States' Righters Offer No Solutions

Journal

THE States' Rights Democratic Party of THURMOND and WRIGHT, conveniently called Dixiecrats, offers nothing to the voter. It launched its campaign in Houston, Texas, with an appeal as bare of ideas touching on the problems of humanity as a block of marble. Nobody who took time to read the report of the acceptance speeches could have missed the total lack of reference to things on which people today need reassurance and clear lights.

There was no suggestion of interest or concern in foreign affairs, inflation, housing or social security, its extension or limitation. There was no mention of fiscal policies, Federal budgets, labor legislation. No speaker revealed an awareness that farm programs or curbs for monopoly have any part in our lives.

Fri 8-13-48

There was nothing but incitement of sectionalism and prejudice. What the country saw was not the birth of a party or even the splintering of an old party, but a frothing at the facts of life in the Twentieth Century. It was not a promise of help for anything that troubles the world, but a rabid scream of frustrated reaction.

These points are made and the sterility of a dubious movement, somewhat sinister in its origins, is pointed out, because Kentucky is involved. News comes simultaneously that petitions are circulated to get the States' Rights Party on the ballot here. This is comparatively easy to do. WALLACE's Progressive Party, the Socialist, Socialist-Labor and Prohibition parties will be on the ballot. There can be no quarrel with this fact or with the effort of the States' Righters as an effort by citizens exercising their legal privilege. But there is room, even a necessity, to dispute the States' Rights movement itself on principle.

Those who know their American history will see the parallel between this movement and that of the Know-Nothings who flourished, and gained a certain amount of power, in the Forties and Fifties of the last century. Banding into the American Party, with splinters within splinters into the Native American and Independent Native American parties, they even got 8 electoral votes for their candidate, MILLARD FILLMORE, in 1852. They stood for little or nothing more than taking political rights away from naturalized citizens and Roman Catholics. The name Know Nothing came from the fact that the movement issued from secret societies, whose members were required to keep silent in public.

The Dixiecrats are anything but silent, but they don't seem to say anything that matters. They are not saying anything at all about the plain evidence which indicates that the movement issued not from secret societies but from no less secret directors' chambers of special interests. Among the few positive statements in the Jackson, Mississippi, conference of States Righters last May 10 was a denunciation of the Federal Government's efforts to take domain over tideland oil; and of the President for vetoing the income tax reduction.

The former was repeated in an almost identical statement, the nearest thing to a party platform, adopted at the Birmingham conference last month, when Governor THURMOND and Governor WRIGHT were nominated. Oddly enough, both statements opposed "destruction of the constitutional rights of . . . individuals," while basing the entire movement on opposition to laws assuring civil rights to everybody.

Fri 8-13-48

Nor do they say anything about the shady, forbidding figure of GERALD L. K. SMITH who, in person or through representatives of his Christian Nationalist Crusade, hovered on the fringes of both conferences. They say only that States' Rights (by their own narrow definition) must be preserved. And this in a day when the only hope of peace in the world lies in success of united effort among nations of the world, with natural adjustment even of national sovereignty.

States' Righters' Aim Is to Cure Old Party, Thurmond Declares

Commercial Appeal
Fri 10-22-48
Memphis Tenn!

'RECLAIM LEADERSHIP'

Candidate Blasts Truman As A 'Confused Little Man' Holding To Machine

By HARRY WOODBURY

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, States' Rights Democratic presidential candidate, put the Nation on notice last night that his party is here to stay, despite the outcome of the Nov. 2 election.

The Governor's 45-minute speech at Ellis Auditorium set the stage for a Southwide conference of States' Rights Democrats called into session at the Peabody Sunday to consider making the party permanent.

Recapture Control

However, by use of the word "permanent" it was obvious that Governor Thurmond is hopeful that the States' Rights Democrats can recapture control of the National Democratic Party. There would be a new party in the sense that present Democrat leaders and their ideals would be eliminated.

"... I believe we are all agreed," he said, "that the two-party system is best for this country . . . We must use our votes in this election to reclaim leadership of the Democratic Party, and to return it to its rightful place in the two-party system in this Nation."

Governor and Mrs. Thurmond arrived at Memphis Municipal Airport in a private plane at 6:30 last night, and were greeted with the strains of "Dixie." About 300 Memphians and students from the University of Mississippi, Southwestern, Memphis State and the Southern College of Optometry gave out a big cheer when the plane rolled to a halt before the terminal building.

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Mayor Pleasants shook hands with the Governor as he alighted. E. W. Hale, chairman of Shelby County Commission, also was present, along with all of the city and county commissioners.

Parade of 50 Cars

Walter Simpson of Greenville, S. C., one of 15 members of the South Carolina Undergraduate Optometric Association at the College of Optometry, presented Mrs. Thurmond with a bouquet of red roses. The Thurmond car preceded a police-escorted parade of about 50 cars into the city.

Harold H. (Doc) Earthman of Murfreesboro, former representative, who will accompany the Thurmonds on their cross-state junket also greeted them when they arrived at the airport.

The South Carolina governor said he was not the kind of Democrat "who will debase the party by yielding to the hysterical demands of a Truman or a McCrath or a Humphrey."

He said there were millions of good Americans "in both the Democratic and Republican parties" who value "loyalty to real American principles."

"Acting together in this election," he said, "we shall teach these false leaders what loyalty really means. And when this election is over, we shall continue to act together until the Democratic Party has been cleansed so that it can regain its rightful place in our ~~Nation's~~ political affairs."

No Brief Struggle

Fri 10-22-48

Governor Thurmond cautioned his audience, including listeners to eight Tennessee radio stations, not to be "misled by those who tell you we are going to make a brief struggle and then give up the fight.

"Ours is a cause that can never be relinquished if American ideals of self-government and individual freedom are to be maintained.

"Our purpose is not to seek temporary power in the Government, although we have an excellent chance to throw the election into the House of Representatives, where our ticket will be respected.

"Instead, we have as our purpose the permanent establishment in this Nation of a Democratic Party dedicated to constitutional, representative government. The party has always been symbolic of true democracy in the past. There is no good reason why it cannot be made to remain so, in the future, no matter what its false leaders have done in this political year."

Governor Thurmond had something pointed to say about each of his three major opponents.

He said the States' Rights Democrats intended to see that they "are not betrayed by those who seek to win elections by turning the United States Constitution into a scrap of paper."

Choice Between Evils

There was once a day, he declared, when the American voter's great difficulty was chossing between "two good men" in presidential elections. "After the Philadelphia convention in 1948, however, it appeared that his difficulty had now become that of choosing between evils," the candidate said.

Apparently referring to both President Truman and Governor Dewey, the Democratic and Republican nominees, he said voters previously "did not feel it necessary to trim those offices down to fit the size of pigmy politicians who demanded them."

Fri 10-22-48

Obviously meaning President think it necessary to deliver up the thing it necessary to deliver up the office of president on a silver platter to an inefficient and confused little man who had brought his machine connections into the executive chambers with him."

About Governor Dewey, he said: "Nor did we believe it desirable to hand over the office to a pennyweight glamour boy who had shoved himself into the limelight with the best vaudeville techniques, and who had used the machine minorities of the big city states to capture the nomination."

Speaks of Wallace

Then turning to Henry Wallace, he added: "Neither did we find it desirable to boost into office a tool of the subversives who had publicly announced his willingness to turn over security to the Communists."

Governor Thurmond did not refer to his opponents by name.

He gave five reasons why the States' Rights Democrats were making a vigorous fight:

(1) We will not yield our state control of elections and of voting qualifications to an AntiPoll Tax Bill, which will open the way to Federal control of the manner in which we choose our representatives in Congress.

(2) We will not yield our control of state courts and our state laws to an AntiLynching Bill, which uses the horrors of an almost nonexistent crime as a pretext to turn state laws into Federal laws.

Social Legislation

(3) We will not yield control of our social legislation, which permits us to solve the problems of our race relations in a manner best suited to our own states. We will not break down separation of the races in the states where such action would promote lawlessness and discord.

4. We will not yield the rights of our business men to employ whom they please so that an FEPC law may be passed to please the Communists and the selfish racial groups. We will not yield the right of our working men to associate with whom they please, so that votes may be purchased by violation of the Constitution.

5. And we most certainly will not permit a Federal police force to roam this land, meddling with our private affairs, to enforce an invasion of our personal liberties.

Governor Thurmond went back to the "first formal platform" of the Democratic Party in 1840 to find support for the position his party is now taking on the States' Rights issues.

Fri 10-22-48

One of the platform resolutions was intended to reserve to the states powers not specifically granted to the Federal Government by the Constitution, and the other specified that the "Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states."

"There you have the party's voice ringing in the ears of its leaders today," Governor Thurmond said.

"It is interesting to wonder what crusty old Andy Jackson would have said, if he could have spoken to the Democratic convention in July, 1948. No doubt he would have measured his words by his convictions, yielding nothing to the radical temper of that infamous convention.

"For that July convention wrote a sorry page in the history of the Democratic Party, when it strayed away from the historic principles that had made it great.

"I cannot believe Andrew Jackson would have endorsed a repudiation of the rights of the states, and promise to violate the letter and ~~spirit~~ of the Constitution."

South Not 'In Bag'

Fri 10-22-48

Governor Thurmond concluded his address by declaring:

"The States' Rights Democrats stand on the faith that our great party can be and will be restored to the type of leadership that gave us Jackson and Cleveland and Wilson. To that end, we invite the support of Americans everywhere, whatever they may have called themselves in the past.

"And while we are at it, we shall demonstrate to the Nation that the great South is not 'in the bag,' to be kicked around for political purposes. We shall restore to the South a position of respect in the political life of this country which she has not had since 1860. We shall bring our great Southern States back into the full enjoyment of all the privileges that combine to make ours the greatest Nation on this earth.

"The voice of the States' Rights Democrats will tell all the world that the American people value their hard won liberties, and that they will not relinquish them to the demands of any foreign pilosophy, whether it be Fascist or Communist or what not."

Dixiecrats Now A Dead Party Dr. Mays Tells M'house Students

Atlanta Daily World
Fri 11-5-48

In a post-election political analysis Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, speaking to the Morehouse students in the College chapel, said that "after today the Dixiecrats are forever dead."

Atlanta Ga.

The popular educator, religious leader and writer based his predictions on the fact that a political party, in order to last, must have some moral basis or RAISON D-ETRE. The South, he declared, has no future apart from that of the rest of the nation. Now, the Dixiecrats, he asserted, were born in the iniquitous and fallacious concept of the South as a separate entity. Moreover, the party's real purpose was not states' rights, as it professed, but to defeat the enforcement of the Constitution of the Untied States in so far as the protection of minorities--and especially Negroes-is concerned. Such dishonesty and lack of moral direction in the inception of a political group can only lead to disaster concluded Dr. Mavs.

President Mays attributed Mr. Truman's success to several factors: 1) Dewey's lack of popular appeal, charm and fascination; 2) the Democratic party's success in making people feel that it is the "people's party;" 3) President Truman's special session of Congress, which proved that the Congress was blocking progressive legislation; and 4) Taft's labor record. "The common people are beginning to think, to make up their own minds politically," concluded Morehouse's eminent president.

Fri 11-5-48

Dr. Mays attributed Wallace's defeat to fact that historically third parties in the U. S. A. are ineffective, to the highly effective smear campaign of which he was the object, and to his exceptionally courageous defense of minorities and especially Negroes. Here he called attention to the unpopularity of the Negro cause in this country despite progress in race relations.

Dr. Mays had correctly forecast the outcome of the elections.

FEPC Would Hit Here First, Gov. Wright Warns Alabama

He Spends Night In City And Advises McGrath That He's Mistaken

By G. C. LONG, JR.

Alabama and Mississippi would be the first to feel the power of any agency set up to enforce an FEPC law that might be enacted by the Federal government, Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, declared here Thursday night.

The Mississippi chief executive, whom the Dixiecrats named as their choice for U. S. vice-president in Birmingham Saturday, made that statement as he stopped overnight in Montgomery on his way to Atlanta where campaign strategy will be planned.

And the reason Federal agents would come to these two states first to enforce any Fair Employment Practices Commission law that might be passed would be because the entire Mississippi and part of the Alabama delegations to the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia took a walk when the convention adopted a "civil rights" program that was unsatisfactory to them.

7-23-48

As for what the Dixiecrats have up their sleeves in the way of campaign plans, Gov. Wright refused to discuss them. He said they would come out at the proper time.

He said the Atlanta meeting was going to be the first session of the Dixiecrat leaders since the Birmingham meeting and that they were going to discuss plans and see what could be done.

The Mississippi governor said he did not know who would be at the meeting but among those present would probably be those named earlier this year by Gov. Ben Laney, Arkansas, who has split with the group leaders, to plan the organization of the Dixiecrats.

Wright said that he had been receiving encouragement from all over the country since the Birmingham meeting. He would not estimate the number of responses he had received but did say that the postman who delivers the mail at the Capitol in Jackson was complaining of the increased work during the hot weather.

"But he said he didn't mind the extra work since it was for this cause," the governor said.

He stated that most of his response and encouragement came from people "who claimed to be both Democrats and Republicans" —who said they believed both major parties were straying too far from constitutional government.

Wright emphasized that he and Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina, were "recommended" for president and vice-president and are not candidates. He said that the resolutions putting forth his and Gov. Thurmond's names merely put them up as suggestions or recommendations.

He explained that the plan is for the various states are going to be requested to get electors who will vote for the two rather than the Republican or Democratic nominees.

If the South can keep its 127 electors in a unit and withhold them from President Truman, then it would be possible that no candidate would have an election in the electoral college and the naming of the president would be thrown into the House of Representatives, where the South would stand a better chance of getting a man who would be more favorable to it.

Gov. Wright said that even if the South fails to get its man elected president, it is the "golden opportunity to show that the South has been and is the backbone of the Democratic Party."

"They have ignored us and now is our chance to teach them a

7-23-48

GOV. FIELDING WRIGHT

lesson," he declared, referring to the national party's refusal to listen to the South on the civil rights question.

"The Democratic Party as it is now constituted is not the Democratic Party we have belonged to," he continued. "That party believed in strong constitutional government."

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The present controversy is a fight to preserve the Democratic Party that believed in constitutional government and not gain leadership of the party, he added.

According to the Mississippi Governor, Thurmond is assured of the electoral votes of one state—Mississippi. And, he added, the Republicans haven't a chance of carrying his state.

Not only that, he continued there will be no backing down or the part of the Dixiecrats in Mississippi.

He said the people of Mississippi had instructed the state's electors to carry through with the program even if the state stood alone.

"And Mississippi is not going to be backing Truman by November regardless of what McGrath says," he declared.

He said he was referring to a recent statement by the Democratic Party leader's statement that the Southern states would be behind the president by the time November rolled around.

When the late Senator Bilbo of Mississippi was mentioned, Wright tated:

"Senator Bilbo would be a valuable man to have in this fight. Mississippi and the South will be missing him."

Other than that he would not comment on the late Senator from Mississippi.

Governor Wright, who is traveling with his wife and adopted daughter, Elaine, said he would leave here some time today to continue his trip to Atlanta.

Dixiecrat Tells All Cousin of Nominee

MORRISTOWN, N.J.—The reason that Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Dixiecrat presidential nominee, does not resemble his half-cousin, Robert G. Thurmond, Morristown post office labor department worker, is natural because Robert G. is not of the Caucasian race.

There is, however, resemblance in their political aspirations, as it was pointed out by Mr. Thurmond here in an AFRO interview on Wednesday. Both men are political leaders.

Baltimore Md.

Their kinship was disclosed by Mr. Thurmond, who stated that Gov. Thurmond's father, James E. (Snip) Thurmond, a prosecutor in Edgefield, S.C., and his father, the late Thomas Thurmond, were half brothers, which makes them half first cousins.

Says Relationship Well-Known

Asked whether he knew Governor Thurmond personally, and whether the South Carolina State head recognized him as a relative, Mr. Thurmond said:

"I certainly do know Strom and he knows me and he knows of our relationship because we were the only Thurmonds in Edgefield. He was a youngster when I left home."

Mr. Thurmond, who is 63 years old, also explained that his brother was named after Gov. Thurmond's father.

Before coming to Morristown, Mr. Thurmond lived in New York City where he operated a barber shop. He then moved to Newark where he continued in the barber trade.

He came to Morristown in 1928, opened and operated a cafe here, popularly known as the Maple Leaf Restaurant. Most of his customers, he said, were from Newark and New York City.

It was during the period he was a bistro operator that as was drafted as Morristown's first colored Democratic leader.

Responsible for Job Openings

"When I accepted that post 15 years ago," he asserted, "there were no colored persons in any of the better jobs here, not even a cuspidor cleaner in the town's municipal buildings."

Afr 8-21-48

Although Morristown is predominantly Republican, he, a Democratic leader, figured in the employment of six other persons in the post office, of whom five are working at present.

Mr. Thurmond said he was the first colored person to gain employment in the Morristown post office, a job he has held for the past 11 years.

Looking at least 15 years younger than his actual age, Mr. Thurmond has been married twice and is the father of four children, and though he was unable to name the number of grandchildren, he did name four great-grandchildren.

Living with him at 21 Morris St. is his present wife, Mrs. Viola G. Thurmond.

He has one sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Holmes, who lives at 385 Morris Ave., Newark. One of his sons, the Rev. Ramsey Thurmnod, is a Baptist minister in Augusta, Ga.

Mr. Thurmond is a member of Bethel AME Church where he has been a member of the trustee board for the past seven years, and is a member of the Pride of Morris Elks Lodge.

Afr 8-21-48

An ardent gardner, he spends several hours after regular work each day on a small vegetable farm several miles outside of Morristown.

His farming skill drew wide interest in Jersey two years ago, when he harvested a crop of cotton, a product that is a rarity in this section of the country.

Believes Cousin Made Mistake

On the subject of Governor Thurmond, to whom he voluntarily referred as "my cousin," Mr. Thurmond said that he believed that the South Carolina Governor made the worst mistake of his life in accepting the nomination for U. S. President on the Dixiecrat-State's Rights Party since the Democratic Party in the State is no longer a "franchised club" and colored persons are permitted to vote.

Afr 8-21-48

As a matter of fact, he had planned to write Governor Thurmond to explain his views.

Mr. Thurmond said he never had corresponded with the Governor but he kept close tab on him through the newspaper reports.

Mr. Thurmond stated that he believed that the Governor of South Carolina would be one of the more liberal leaders in that State if he "had his own way about things."

ROBERT THURMOND

J. STROM THURMOND

Alabama Politics Whirl; Folsom Object Of Attack

The News
Sat 10-30-48

Anti-Truman Demo Elector Nominees Blast Governor

B'ham Ala

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Alabama's political fronts were churned with campaigning Saturday as divided Democrats and Republicans slugged away at each other.

The state's slate of anti-Truman Democratic elector nominess blasted Gov. Folsom, who fired shots back at them as he took the stump again at Gadsden and Huntsville in behalf of the president and the "straight Democratic ticket."

"Neither the governor nor the courts are going to force us to vote for Truman," State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey and the other 10 elector nominees, who are pledged to the States' Rights ticket of Thurmond and Wright, declared in a joint statement.

Alabama Republican Chairman Claude Vardaman, leading a GOP upsurge in this state, repeated his attacks on both the Truman-led National Democrats and the "Dixiecrat splinter party" at a Chilton County rally at the courthouse in Clanton.

Sat 10-30-48

AT MOBILE, State Sen. Joe Langan, pro-Truman spearhead, said Republicans offered a strong threat in Alabama and warned against last-minute efforts to split the Democratic vote. His warning was against an attempt to put out a write-in slate of Truman-pledged elector candidates, which had completely collapsed 24 hours earlier.

McCorvey and the other Democratic elector nominees denounced what they said was Gov. Folsom's "attempt to drive votes away from the Democratic ticket in Alabama."

They were referring to Folsom's stumping campaign for Truman, to his effort to proceed directly with the U. S. Supreme Court to force the electors to vote for the president and his announced intention of instituting like proceedings the next day after Tuesday's voting.

THE STATEMENT APPEALING to "every Democrat in Alabama to vote under the rooster," was signed by McCorvey, Tom Abernethy, Bob Albritton, Ed Blair, Ben Bloodworth, Walter Givhan, Tully Goodwin, Norman Harris, John Lusk, Walter Miller and Horace Wilkinson.

Statewide radio appeals were made Friday night by McCorvey and Marion Rushton, States' Rights campaign director, for Democrats to vote under the rooster.

Sat 10-30-48

Langan warned there is a "strong possibility that the Republicans will win Alabama." He advised that "rather than confuse the voters, it will be better not to have any write-ins at all."

"The way I see it," said the Mobile senator, "the Republicans will poll between 80,000 and 100,000 votes next Tuesday. The largest number of votes polled for a Democratic elector in last Spring's primary was 129,000. So, if there are any losses in Democratic strength there's a strong possibility the Republicans will win Alabama."

Folsom turned thumbs down on the write-in attempt, declaring that President Truman himself recently opposed such action.

* * *

BESIDES LANGAN, others proposed as write-in elector candidates were Neal Davis, Auburn; DeWitt Carmichael, Anniston; Mrs. Lucille Patterson, Enterprise; Mrs. Evelyn Hicks, Birmingham; Atty. Gen. Albert Carmichael; Jimmie Faulkner, Bay Minette; Rep. E. L. Roberts, Gadsden; W. W. Malone, Athens; William Mitch, Birmingham, and Bart Cowart, Haleyville.

Atty. Gen. Carmichael and Mrs. Patterson could not be reached for statements, but all the others, except Langan, said they had not authorized use of their names on the proposed slate.

Orrie W. Irwin, Republican nominee for Jefferson County tax assessor, announced he would speak in behalf of his candidacy at 6:10 p.m. Monday over WSGN.

THE 11TH-HOUR ATTEMPT by a Calhoun County group to project a slate of Truman write-in elector candidates quickly collapsed, as eight of 11 proposed candidates said they had not been consulted before hand and opposed the plan. Two others could not be reached for statements and only Sen. Langan, who subsequently condemned the plan, had said he was willing to run.

Sat 10-30-48

Langan said that any move to write in names of Truman electors in an independent column would "react to the benefit of Republicans." A leader of Truman forces, Langan has been urging the president's supporters to vote for the Democratic elector nominees, even though they are pledged to vote for the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

The Mobile senator has said he would join in bringing post-election proceedings in an attempt to force them to vote for Truman, however.

VARDAMAN DECLARED that "If you vote Republican on Nov. 2 at least you will know for whom you are voting. There is no split in the Republican Party."

"However," the GOP chairman said, "if you vote in the Democratic column you may be voting for Thurmond or you may be voting for Truman."

Pointing out that the courts might later direct the Democratic electors to vote for the National Democratic Party nominee, Vardaman asked: "Where will disgruntled Dixiecrat die-hards be then? The only solution to our problem is not a splinter party, but it is for the South to quit being modern Rip Van Winkles, wake up and build a much-needed two-party system in the South."

Chairman McCorvey and the other elector nominees said that, "Every citizen can rest assured that every ballot marked in the circle under the rooster will be counted for Thurmond and Wright for president and vice president."

Dixiecrat Unit Doesn't Exist, Folsom Claims

The Advertiser
Fri 11-12-48

Suit Against Governor Possible If Election Of Electors Rejected

Montgomery Ala.

By G. C. LONG, JR.

Gov. Folsom declared last night there is no Dixiecrat or States' Rights Party in Alabama, adding: "This is the record in the Secretary of State's office."

He said in a prepared statement that a group did try to defeat "the Rooster" in 1928 and "some of these same leaders tried to shanghai the Rooster in 1948." He suggested that the group be called the "Shanghaicrats."

(The rooster is the emblem of the Democratic Party in Alabama.)

"Everything looks good to me," said the Governor. "The nation went Democratic and the President looks happy. Alabama went Democratic and I know I am happy. In fact, I ain't mad at nobody."

This statement came as speculation was increasing in political circles as to what might happen should Gov. Folsom refuse to proclaim the election of Alabama presidential electors, possibly bringing a suit against himself. Rumors persisted also that the Governor is seeking a conference with the President.

Gov. Folsom denied the latter, saying: "I have no post-election business at this time."

Harrington En Route

(An Associated Press dispatch from St. Paul, Minn., said last night that Stephen H. Harrington, of St. Paul, Democratic leader, is en route to Montgomery to confer with Gov. Folsom. One of Harrington's close associates, who declined use of his name, said Folsom and Harrington, national secretary of the Truman-Barkley Club, will discuss the relationship of the States' Rights Democrats and the "regular" Democrats. Harrington, a close friend of Folsom, was prominent in Democratic circles in the South before he went to St. Paul from Memphis, Tenn.

(The article said that Folsom had sent a plane for Harrington's trip.)

Fri 11-12-48

Gov. Folsom hinted at refusing to proclaim the election of Alabama's 11 electors at the time he filed a suit in federal court here to force them to support President Truman instead of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, to whom they are pledged. Thurmond was States' Rights candidate for president.

Such a course—if followed—some observers say, might bring another suit, this time against Folsom. The electors, who received an overwhelming majority on Nov. 2, could initiate court action to compel the governor to follow the law and declare them elected, it is claimed.

According to Alabama law, Section 224, Title 17, Code of Alabama, 1940, the following action must be taken:

"Within 15 days after the time for making the returns the governor, in the presence of the secretary of state and attorney general, or either of them, in the absence of the other, must estimate the returns, ascertain who are elected, and notify them by proclamation."

Fri 11-12-48

In his suit in federal court here the governor pointed out that section of law, but went on to explain in his petition:

"Under the provisions of said statute, it would become the duty of the plaintiff (Folsom is the plaintiff) to proclaim the defendants (the 11 electors) elected at said election but as set out above it is likewise the plaintiff's duty to enforce the constitution and laws of the United States and of the State of Alabama and plaintiff should not be required to perform any act or proclaim the results of any election, if the effects of the same would be to work a fraud upon the voters of the State of Alabama."

The suit contends that Alabama's electors are bound to vote for Truman because of a 1945 legislative act that says electors shall vote for the nominees of the national parties.

However, an advisory opinion by the Alabama Supreme Court, requested by Folsom, declares the law to be unconstitutional. Because it is an advisory opinion, the law still is on the statute books and the governor therefore contends the electors are bound to vote for Truman.

The governor would not comment on what action he might take in proclaiming the election of the electors but a source close to him said he might seek a clarifying opinion from either the attorney general or the State Supreme Court.

If the chief executive decided to take such, the course of not proclaiming the electors elected, he might run into a suit himself.

Such a suit could be in the form of a mandamus to compel the governor to issue the election proclamation or a mandatory writ of injunction commanding him to issue the proclamation.

According to law counties had to canvass their returns at noon Nov. 5. County election supervisors then had five days from that date to certify their returns to the secretary of state.

Must Make Canvass

Then, 15 days following the certification of the returns to the secretary of state, the governor, with the secretary of state and-or the attorney general, must make the canvass.

It could be the latter part of November before the electors are officially elected—unless Folsom thinks such action might "work a fraud" on the voters of Alabama.

Fri 11-12-48

Meanwhile, the number of court suits against Alabama's electors increased to six. A petition was filed Thursday in Colbert Circuit Court against Walter Miller, Tuscumbia, one of the electors, to compel him to vote for Truman instead of Thurmond, and in Dallas County against Rep. Walter C. Givhan, Safford.

The suit was filed by Otis H. McRight, Tuscumbia, former ABC administrator, and former member of the ABC board, and against Givhan by Robert Thrasher, unidentified.

Similar actions were taken Wednesday in Birmingham against all 11 electors; in Decatur, against Rep. Norman Harris and Ben Bloodworth, and in Mobile against Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Other suits are still to come, said State Senator Broughton Lamberth, chairman of the Pro-Truman Rally held here Nov. 1.

Lamberth said individual petitions would be presented in court against each of the electors

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

The Dixiecrats Ignore the Facts

Fri 8-20-48
Atlanta, Ga.

We could start this off kind of fancy. We could say—

Change is a river, endlessly flowing. History is a book that floats down that river and in it the moving finger ceaselessly writes.

It has written that the walls of Boss Crump's Jericho fell down. It has written that 30,000 Negroes voted in South Carolina, which was the State most furiously busy two years ago erecting barriers against their voting.

And it writes of the Dixiecrats—who were met by the oil milions at Houston, and were guests of the oil money at a Belshazzar's feast where none looked to see the writing on the wall. . . .

It writes a message to a South, just now struggling up out of the chaos of defeat and the economic quicksands left by a war fought almost 100 years ago. And the message asks if we will allow the Dixiecrat patriots as they modestly term themselves, to set us back another 50 years?

Price If they are to lead us, and we are to follow, in a headon charge against the walls of sure defeat, then let us be sure we understand the price.

Let us understand, too, that in South Carolina Sens. Maybank and Johnson have not joined the Dixiecrats; that in Texas there is firmness in the face of political blackmail, that in Alabama there is determined resistance; that even in Mississippi there are Cassandras crying the truth. The Georgians have not gone in, nor the Texans, Tennesseeans, or North Carolinians.

So, if we are ready, let us shell down some more corn about us here in the South.

Recapture South Carolina's Thurmond believes he will get more electoral college votes than Truman. He may. If he does it will be almost entirely meaningless since he can get them only in those States where the machinery of voting is in the hands of his supporters and there is difficulty or intimidation, or both, in the way of those who seek to support the party or vote Republican.

Fri 8-20-48

These gentlemen, and many who sincerely and out of genuine fear or concern, have been drawn into the Dixiecrat fourth party movement, speak wistfully of the Dixiecrats bringing pressure on the Northern wing of the party and thereby decreasing the influence of the labor and city groups in the Eastern and Western cities. They say they will then be able to "recapture" the party. This is a political opium dream.

The gentlemen can destroy the party. They can no more "recapture" it than they can refight the battle of Gettysburg.

They ignore the facts of their own political life.

Facts The Democratic Party has never in its history won a national election except as a liberal, militant party fighting for human rights and against special privelege. Have the gentlemen forgot Jackson and the fight against the entrenched Bank of the United States? Have they forgotten that Cleveland was elected out of protest against the greed and corruption of the special privilege groups so long in power? Have they forgotten why Woodrow Wilson won and on what national crisis Franklin D. Roosevelt came to power for so many years?

It is folly to think that the most archly conservative elements of the Southern party can form a fourth party and "recapture" the National Democratic Party. The facts are it was lost long ago. When these gentlemen speak of "recapturing" the party let them recall that the Southern electoral votes were not needed to elect Franklin D. Roosvelt in any one of the four elections. They can't recapture something they didn't have.

It is necessary to shell down this corn because the Dixiecrats are damning the cause of legitimate States' rights?

Meaning Everyone knows what Mississippi's Gov. Fielding Wright means when he speaks of States' rights. Everyone knows that When Gov. Thurmond, for all his integrity, speaks of Democracy he doesn't mean popular government and a ballot open to all qualified voters. Let us examine the Mississippi Dixiecrats, for example. They control their State machine. They can do about as they please. They feel they can, thus secure, assert their will. Some of the same feeling seems to exist in Alabama.

Fri 8-20-48

This is a pipe dream. They can never gain committee chairmanships, patronage and other factors in political party strength, unless they are a part of a winning national party.

If they "recaptured," as they say, the Democratic Party, they would never win because, as the Republicans have found out, they cannot build a victorious national party without protecting the interests of the city voters in the North (and the South, too, has cities), as well as protecting the legitimate regional interests.

Tide The tide of change which makes itself felt in the South in growing industrialization, migration of population, and change from cotton to many crops built on machines, is not going to be damned up by the Dixiecrats for more than a second or so, by the cosmic watch. The electorate already is expanded by many new votes, white and colored in Georgia. It is expanded by at least 30,000 Negro votes in South Carolina and other States.

There is such a thing as States' rights. They are important. What we do about them will determine what happens to local government. It will determine whether we move more swiftly toward more bureaucracy.

But no State can protest effectively save in Congress. It will be Congress which will have to pass, or reject the legislation. It will be the Supreme Court which will decide where, between the Tenth Amendment and the Fourteenth Amendment, States' rights are to be defined. The Dixiecrats are trying to destroy the South's Senators and Congressmen—the South's only chance

All the Dixiecrats are doing is dividing the region psychoticly. The issue of States' rights is vital and real. The Dixiecrats' definition of States' rights is largely hypocritical.

RALPH McGILL

When the South Goes to Washington!

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta Georgia
Sun-11-21-48

With the Dixiecrat movement labeled "failure" and with few sincere mourners about its bier, the South obviously owes to its future an obligation to work out a constructive policy or plan.

Southern Congressmen and Senators can go back to Washington in January with the old, bitter and belligerent attitude of resisting any and everything, or they can go back with a plan of action.

It is rather obvious now that if the return is one of chip-on-shoulder and a resolve to filibuster every proposal in the field of civil rights, the majority will destroy the rule of unlimited debate. Once that is gone, much more than the civil rights fight will be gone. Forever.

Plan Compromise is the essence of our form of government. We progress only by compromise. Our entire national life, from the time of the proclaiming of liberty and the rights of man, on through the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, which almost failed of adoption, has been one of compromise.

Obviously, if two contending forces merely lock horns and struggle over an issue, one of two things will happen: Both will fall exhausted with nothing accomplished toward resolving the issue. Or, the stronger will triumph and the merit of the opposition's position will be lost, the radical measure predominating. This, for example, will happen if debate is limited through irritation with filibuster.

Procedures There is actually but one of the so-called civil rights measures which involves civil rights. This one is the antilynching legislation. A citizen certainly has the right to be protected against lynchings so that the orderly processes of law may apply to him and his case.

There isn't much doubt that antilynch legislation is unconstitutional. But there also is no doubt at all that the nation is out of patience with those counties which fail vigorously to prosecute cases of lynching. It has been suggested that a Federal law which specifically stated it would not apply to States which authorize its highest enforcement officer to prosecute persons charged with participation in lynchings and which also transfer the trials to a county not involved in the lynching, would be constitutional.

There could be no valid objection to such a law. It would leave the States as sovereign in the matter. It would do something all States should have done themselves—assure vigorous prosecution in a county not connected with the lynching. Local juries have often refused to convict even when the evidence was there.

Poll Tax Repeal of the poll tax laws is being hurried, anyhow. Arkansas has just voted to allow that State to substitute a registration system for the poll tax requirement. Tennessee is favorable to repeal. A constitutional amendment, for submission to the States, certainly would not be in the least objectionable. It would end the poll tax without any objectionable "force" or "Federal" actions. Sun-11-21-48

Segregation Here the Southern representatives must frankly admit that the Supreme Court has ruled in the matter of interstate travel and agree that the decisions of the Supreme Court must be enforced. This can be done without in the least abandoning support of the segregation in local transportation, in schools and so on, which are the features of segregation the South insists most on retaining.

FEPC We certainly must resist any suggestion of Federal police powers attached to an employment bill. A "force" bill was proposed, but due to the emotions aroused and the distortion of it, the public lost sight of the fact that even Senators Robert Taft and Joe Ball were against it. It never had a chance, anyhow.

All President Truman ever proposed was "a bill for fair employment practices."

During the war the best work of the FEPC was in the field of negotiation and conciliation. Time after time it worked out solutions satisfactory to all concerned. A bill setting up a committee in the Department of Labor to conciliate, negotiate and recommend, along the lines of the Federal Conciliation Service, certainly would not be objectionable.

If the South can go to Washington with a plan along these ideas it can be worked out and we will be wondering—when it is done—why we ever got so excited about it. Sun-11-21-48

To go back to Washington blindly determined on a negative, unreasoning opposition would, in my opinion, be to betray the South.

Southern Party Maps Plans to Sweep Dixie

Los Angeles Examiner
Los Angeles, Calif.
Mon 7-19-48

By John R. Henry
Staff Correspondent International News Service

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 18.—Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina disclosed today that the new Jeffersonian Democratic Party plans an active campaign to elect him President.

The 45-year-old war hero, who was indorsed by the initial party meeting at Birmingham yesterday, made it clear that he intends to launch a vigorous speaking tour in the "not distant future."

Thurmond conferred with his running mate, Mississippi's Governor Fielding L. Wright, and said the campaign would be carried directly to the voters.

Governor Wright said that he and Thurmond would confer "at an early date" to work out details of their battle against the Democratic and Republican nominees.

7-19-48

TEXAS MOVE——

Both made it clear that their ultimate goal is to corral the solid electoral vote of the Southern States and possibly additional support from outside Dixie.

7-19-48

A Texas group attending the birth of the Jeffersonian Party launched immediate plans for action. In a caucus last night, the Texans decided:

To plead with the delegates to the Lone Star State's September Democratic convention that they instruct Texas electors to support the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Mon. 7-14-48

2. Possibly to urge that a statewide Democratic referendum be held on August 28 to give the voters a chance to express their support of the Jeffersonian Party.

A Communication

Wash. Post

Sat 10-9-48

Because the leading daily newspapers published in South Carolina have failed to fairly state the facts as to the political situation in this State concerning the 1948 election, and because there is no hope that such newspapers will change their attitude as to this matter prior to November 2, I deem it proper that the record should be kept straight.

The simple truth is that so far as Governor Thurmond is concerned, he never exhibited the slightest interest in State's rights until the majority in the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia adopted an attitude toward the representatives from the Southern States, of which he was one, similar to that which these representatives have been displaying toward minority groups in these same States for many years.

Wash. D.C.

The first action along this line was when the Legislature of South Carolina repealed all statutes which dealt with primary elections, and this notwithstanding the fact that the constitution of this State has a provision specifically commanding the General Assembly to pass laws for the regulation of primary elections. This repealing of these statutes was done only after the United States Supreme Court had ruled that Negroes having the general qualifications for suffrage as prescribed by the laws of South Carolina could not be denied the right to participate in such primary elections.

∾

THE SECOND action was when—with deliberate purpose to evade and circumvent the laws of South Carolina as set forth in the constitution and statutes of said State—the May, 1948, Democratic convention set up in the "Voting Rules and Party Principles," the requirements that to be eligible to read and write the constitution, but also be able to *interpret* that instrument.

Also, that such persons were required to state under oath an understanding of, belief in and commitment to support "the principles of the Democratic Party of South Carolina," as well as the belief in and support of "the social, *religious* and educational separation of the races."

Sat 10-9-48

Although the distinguished gentleman who now heads the States' Rights ticket held the office of superintendent of education for Edgefield County, senator from the same county and circuit judge in addition to that of Governor of the State, he is not on record as ever having at any time, even by way of suggestion, tried to obtain for any member of the Negro race of this State the enjoyment of the right to act as a juror

The distinguished candidate certainly cannot plead ignorance of the fact that there are many Negroes in this State who are fully qualified in all respects to be jurors, and this under the laws of South Carolina.

If he is so sincerely committed to the idea that the rights of the State should be enforced, does it not seem reasonable that in the hundreds of instances in which he charged grand juries throughout the State when he was on the bench he would have pointed out this great wrong which was being done to a minority group of citizens?

∾

AGAIN, it does not seem out of place to point out that when the members of the General Assembly of South Carolina made an illegal raid on the public treasury and undertook to pay themselves a much larger sum than the plain letter of the contract provided they should receive, this same alleged preserver of the State's rights approved the Act, thereby becoming party to the rape of the State's Constitution.

Sat 10-9-48

And again, according to widely published statements in the South Carolina press, certain members of the courts of South Carolina on the Supreme and Circuit Benches have been paid and have retained large sums of money to which they are not legally entitled according to the plain letter of the constitutional contract under which they have been employed. But this same alleged defender of the State's rights has not lifted a finger or said one word by way of preserving the integrity of this most essential State's right!

∾

CERTAINLY it is true that the growth of centralized government in these United States is a grave and menacing danger to the people. Certainly it is true that our people should be instructed to the effect that "the citizen should lean on his State for nothing that his own arm can do; on his Nation for nothing that his State can do, that his home is his castle and that his sovereignty rests beneath his own hat." But the cry, "State's rights! State's rights!" should carry no conviction to the hearts of men who are sincerely committed to that system of government when such cries are made through the lips of men who have kept those lips closed until because of their illegal and unconstitutional acts the Federal courts have been compelled to declare that they have taken themselves outside of all law, both State and national. There is an old saying, but a true one, "What you do speaks so loud I cannot hear what you say."

IT IS the sincere hope of the writer that no intelligent citizen in any of the States will suffer himself or herself to be mislead into believing that any good can come to any part of this Nation through the activities of this States Rights Party.

Orators Have Own Way As Revival-Like Fever Grips Great Throng

Birmingham News

Birmingham Ala

Sun. 7-18-48

Sting Of Philadelphia Soothed; Every Line, Every Act Cheered

BY VIRGINIA VAN DER VEER
News Staff Writer

All the pent-up fever of a giant, boisterous revival meeting was loosed in Municipal Auditorium yesterday.

7-18-48

The crowd filled the 6,000-seat hall to its top rafters, jammed the aisles and swung their legs over the balcony rails.

Outdoors, loudspeakers carried the speeches, horns and rebel yells to a few hundred in shirt sleeves who munched popsicles as they listened.

* * *

Orators Have Field Day

IT WAS A RESPONSIVE, excited, sometimes hysterical crowd—and the convention orators made the most of it.

The magic names were Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis. They never failed to bring swelling roars from the audience.

The rat-tat-tat of "Dixie," played by a swing band, raised the people screaming to their feet.

The phrasemakers talked over and over about "the dagger in the back of the South." Recognizing its cue, the crowd yelled back with one, vast voice.

The swaying, state standards, Confederate banners, gyrating paraders, all bathed in the unreal lights of newsreel cameras, made a fantastic scene.

* * *

Throw That Commie Out'

EVERYBODY WAS A DELEGATE. Anybody who felt the spirit move him paraded.

It was a crowd to soothe the ruffled feelings of the men who had been booed and laughed at in Philadelphia. With a single exception, it violently approved every word the orators said.

The audience came closest to mob hysteria when a lone man spoke up in some sort of protest, nobody knew quite what.

"Throw that Communist out," the people screamed. A crowd quickly collected around the objector, who turned out to be Brig. Gen. Herbert C. Holdridge, of Washington, D. C., a retired Army officer and self-styled candidate for president.

Surrounded by yelling, angry men, Holdridge gratefully accepted police escort to an auditorium office where he was almost instantly forgotten in the excitement.

* * *

Everybody Turns Out

THE PEOPLE, THEIR radio memories of Philadelphia still vivid, seemed eager to take part in a convention of their own.

Radio broadcasts in the morning brought the curious, the sympathizers, the excitable streaming into the afternoon meeting.

They craned forward with feverish interest to see for the first time the two men they had just screamed into nomination for the presidency and vice-presidency.

If Gov. Strom Thurmond and Gov. Fielding Wright looked a little less than enthusiastic, it did not dim the crowd's ardor.

7-18-48

* * *

They Knew Their Cues

TUTORED BY NEWSREELS and pictures from Philadelphia, men and women grabbed state standards at the strategic moments and snake-danced through the aisles and across the stage.

A 77-year-old woman, who said everybody knew her as the "Wool Hat Woman of Georgia" but her real name was Mrs. Beulah Waller, jigged on the stage and the crowd yelled "Wool Hat Woman!"

The Kenutcky standard in the Thurmond parade was carried by a woman from Paducah who has lived in Birmingham the past two years.

The "Others" sign was in the hands of a Birmingham college boy.

An Alabamian held the "North Carolina" standard aloft. "Somebody's got to carry it," he yelled.

* * *

Ole Miss Boys Cut Up

THE 55 BOYS FROM "Ole Miss" University were the convention's noisiest demonstrators. "To hell with Truman, to hell with Truman," they chanted.

A young boy from Charlottesville waved the "Virginia" standard. He said he was self-appointed.

Texas' banner was in the hands of a woman who said her father had been a Philadelphia delegate and she had come to meet him.

* * *

Never Any Opposition

THE "DELEGATES" COOPERATED with vehemence. Resolutions were read from the stage. Chairman Walter Sellers moved that they be adopted.

"Is there any discussion?" he asked. There never was.

"All in favor?" asked the chairman. The crowd roared.

"All opposed?" Nobody. The resolution passed.

The people laughed a bit self-consciously—but it was fun to pass resolutions.

* * *

7-18-48

Free Food, Drink

FREE SANDWICHES and cold drinks were passed to the large press corps by a boy wearing a sign: "Courtesy of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce."

In answer, evidently, to many questions, the word "Free" had been lettered into the sign.

34d 1948

Dixiecrats

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Gov. Warren For State's Rights

Thur. 7-30-48

Atlanta Ga

I take it that there is a meeting of minds between Gov. Thomas Dewey and Gov. Earl Warren. A person as thorough as the Governor of New York would not have it otherwise.

Therefore, it seemed to me that at least all the Southern newspapers should have pulled out the stops and given an 80 or 90-point spread to the utterances of the Californian who has the No. 2 spot in the Republican campaign. Yet, I find that all of us more or less overlooked it.

And that is a pity, too, because he was promising something that has the South in a hysterical political condition which has already led it to decisions which, in the light of a more sober day, will seem incredible.

States' Rights There is a high ground of discussion for States' rights. The citizen must give thought to just how far he wants the Federal Government to go in regulating his personal and State affairs.

The great and awful pity of it is that the issue in the South should have been made a racial one. Strom Thurmond may dispute it all he pleases, and he may personally stand upon sincere ground, but his organization is anti-Negro and its front of States' rights has behind it every demagogue and every interest in the South that is committed to States' wrongs and the status quo. That such an organization should carry a few Southern States, might even carry Georgia, is an illustration of the depth of our political hysteria.

Therefore, the speech by Earl Warren was tremendously important. It was a speech on States' rights. It was pitched on a high level, recognizing, as the Southern revolt hypocritically refuses to do, that it is the Congress and the Supreme Court which will determine the issue of States' rights.

Warren Gov. Warren, asserting the 48 States were perfectly able to solve their own problems, spoke in behalf of decentralization to an audience at Springfield, Mass.

"It is neither necessary nor desirable for the national Government to depart from the spirit of the old town meeting of New England," the Californian said. "It is just as necessary now as it ever was to keep government close to the people."

"Every problem that can possibly be solved locally should be solved on the local level," he continued. "Every problem which can be solved in whole or in part through State Government should be attacked in State Government. Even when the Federal Government must participate, it should do so with the aid of our State Governments.

Thur. 7-30-48

"Unfortunately, the people of America have been propagandized to the effect that every program designed to improve their lot must be administered from Washington under the jealous, watchful eye of a paternal Federal Government. There is no magic in Washington."

That is a most significant and important statement. It attacks the problem on a high level, and not on a sordid one, as does the leadership now behind the Southern fourth party.

South There is a very real chance that if Gov. Dewey, in his North Carolina speech, and Gov. Warren, in a speech which may be delivered in Georgia and which will be given in the South, should repeat these sentiments in so many words they might carry deep South States such as Georgia.

The Dixiecrats ought, in service to the South, withdraw their ticket. But if they are to remain in, then the anti-Truman votes may be so divided between them that enough Southerners who believe strongly in the two-party system will go to the Dewey ticket, on the basis of its States' rights pledge, and give him an edge.

At any rate, we welcome Gov. Warren's statesmanlike position on States' rights—concerning which we long have taken the Warren position. The States' right party, which is supported by every Ku Klux Klan and every associated prejudice in the South, is the South's spokesman for States' rights. That this should be so is tragic.

Let Warren and Dewey come South with their message. There are more and more people who want to hear it.

RALPH McGILL

Let's Shell Down A Little Corn

The Constitution

Thur 8-12-48

Atlanta Ga

"Can you put down this States' rights issue in first grade reader fashion?" the letter asked.

I can try.

When the Constitution of the United States was completed and adopted—after a very hard fight since there was much opposition to it—those who had found it lacking in certain essentials, submitted 10 amendments. They are called our Bill of Rights. It is in these amendments that we find all our protection of free speech, rights of assembly, freedom of worship and so on.

The tenth amendment says that those rights which are not specifically granted to the Federal Government, and not prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States or the people.

It was this amendment some of the Democratic speakers asked the recent convention at Philadelphia to reaffirm in the platform.

Rights There is loose on the South an organization calling itself Dixiecrats. It met at Birmingham. Gerald L. K. Smith, who was invited there, said he was invited there by the three men who were paying the bills. Why are the three men paying the bills and what do they want? One may be sure they are not paying them for States' rights. Nevertheless, it had a right to meet and organize. It has attracted some sincere persons.

It is against Harry Truman, our President. So are a lot of other persons. That, too, is quite all right and proper.

But what is not right or proper is for these people who are against Truman to put about their organization the cloak of States' rights. And it is hypocritical of them to say they are fighting solely for States' rights. They know that States' rights are—and can only be—a matter of Constitutional law, and that Harry Truman is but indirectly involved.

We here on this newspaper have long been against the centralization of Federal power. We join with all others in being for States' rights. We have fought for them all our life.

Rights But they will be determined in Congress, which will or will not pass legislation canceling out States' rights, and, finally, by the Supreme Court, which must determine if the acts of Congress are legal, or Constitutional. The Truman fight is another fight. Both he and the Republicans have declared for certain civil rights which many think—including us—violate the Constitution. But beating Truman won't have any more to do with that than beating the Ordinary or the Sheriff in your home town. The Congress and the Supreme Court are the only arenas where States' rights will be involved.

Wrongs Now, let's shell down a little corn. The truth of it is that a good two-thirds of those who are squalling so loud about States' rights are interested in States' rights only so long as it permits them to maintain States' wrongs.

We—the South—are in bad with public opinion in the East and West, and with some of our own people, because we have had States' rights all these years and have not removed abuses and discriminations. The Negro is the chief controversial figure, although on other regions the Japanese and Mexicans are involved.

Because we have not lived up to our own laws which require us to maintain separate but equal schools and travel accommodations; and because we have not given equal protection of the law, we—the South—are under fire and the whole cause of States' rights is jeopardized by the "States' wrongs" crowd among us.

The South is not going to abandon segregation. It exists almost as absolutely in other regions. But the Federal Government is going to require the South to live up to its own laws as to schools, travel and the courts. It ought to do that. The bitter truth is, we ought to have done it. If we had we would not now be in trouble.

Losses No thoughtful Southerner can read the latest reports of the Census Bureau and not be worried. The South continues to lose population. It will lose more as farm machinery becomes more obtainable. Our cities are growing, even in States with a net loss in population. Our rural populations are shrinking much faster than we think. The South is progressing. Yes. But our share of progress is not as great as that of other regions. Our share of the progress will increase only if we have the labor supply and the skills, and only if we can attract industries to use those skills.

Thur 8-12-48

As the greatest population migration in history shakes the nation, let us shell down some more corn.

As long as roughly one-third of our population is held to menial, unskilled jobs, we will never attain the progress or the income of the rest of the nation. It just is not possible. This is a fact not possible to deny or avoid.

This does not imply social equality, mixing of the races, or anything else. It emphatically does mean that if we are to raise the South's income and purchasing power to that of the rest of the nation we cannot avoid giving the Negro economic opportunity and equal, if separate, treatment in education, and in justice.

We who believe in States' rights as a protection of the well-springs of democracy—local self government—cannot afford to allow the Dixiecrats and the groups peddling hate and discrimination to destroy our chances to retain States' rights and local government, by accepting the practice of State wrongs carried out under the protection of States' rights, until an aroused nation and outraged justice really does come forward with forceful measures.

Let us be sure who are our patriotic and loyal Southerners.

Extend That Purge

Daily World

Sun 11-14-48

Atlanta Ga

We regret that we cannot share the views of those who would limit the purge among the Dixiecrats to only the two top leaders: Governor J. Strom Thurmond and Governor Fielding Wright. Purge them, yes by all means. But let's do more than that. Let's extend the purge to include all of the leaders, party spokesmen, campaign managers, and all lesser lights, down to the precinct workers in every state.

This is no time to be wasting our sympathy on recalcitrants within the Democratic Party. Either they should be made to abide by the party rules and regulations and therefore support its program, or they should be banished once and for all before it is too late. Now is the time to teach them that object-lesson which they threatened and tried to teach to President Truman, even at the peril of wrecking the Democratic Party.

And make no mistake about it, the Dixiecrat spirit is not dead. To prove it witness the testimony of one of its spokesmen in Alabama'

"We may be temporarily defeated, but we are not going to give up. If we could have gotten a few other southern states to go along with us, we would have had the balance of power. We are going to work toward that four years from now."

Stop the Dixiecrats now by purging them for they are much more dangerous than most of us imagine.

The "Colored" Dixiecrats

(From The Lighthouse And Informer)

Atlanta Daily World
Thur. 11-4-48
Atlanta, Ga.

By U. S. Census count there are approximately 383,000 colored adults in South Carolina, each of whom, excepting a possible negligible number, could obtain a registration certificate and where necessary meet poll tax qualifications.

It is estimated that of this number, about 60,000 were qualified to vote in last Tuesday's election, for about 16 per cent of the possible voters. And this 60,000 include those who had registered between Jan. 1, 1938 and Oct. 2, 1948.

The November 2 election is now history. If its choice for the presidency is what the South Carolinians wanted, then the 16 per cent had to carry the duties of the 84 per cent that didn't vote, as well as their own. If the choice is not that the South Carolinians would have preferred, then the 84 per cent, so far as this State is concerned, are largely to blame.

There are few Negroes in South Carolina who consider it an honor to be associated with the "Dixiecrats." Unfortunately, the record indicates that most of the Negroes in South Carolina are Dixiecrats. The non-voting Negro is as great an ally of Dixiecrats as can be found. If a Negro sits quietly by and gives this diabolical element a free hand with which to slap around all our rights, he is a "friend" of the Dixiecrats, a helper, an ally and must be considered an active agent against himself.

Can They Stop the Dixiecrats?

The Constitution
Fri 9-10-48
Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—The sudden burst of aggressiveness against the Dixiecrats by the regular Democratic managers is plain evidence that they have given up hope of winning back these rebels by peaceful persuasion.

Indeed it appears that the only hope of holding the normally Democratic solid South even appreciably intact now rests on the chance that Federal courts, manned mostly by Presidents Truman and Roosevelt, will manage somehow to thwart the Dixiecrat plans.

The Supreme Court of Alabama and a lesser State court in Florida already have affirmed the right of Democratic electors to vote for or against President Truman as they please. Steps are being taken, however, to appeal these decisions to the Federal courts in the hope that the U. S. Supreme Court, before the electoral college meets, will establish the dictum that presidential electors, however named or instructed, must vote for the national nominees of their party.

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Bolters In a like situation within the Republican Party back in 1912 the aggrieved candidate, President William H. Taft, himself later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, decided against carrying the case to court. In that instance Republican electors in two States—California and South Dakota—bolted to the Progressive Party nominee, Theodore Roosevelt. President Taft was credited with no votes at all in South Dakota and he received only 3,914 write-ins in California compared with 283,610 for Roosevelt and 283,436 for Woodrow Wilson, the successful Democratic nominee in the nation.

Besides challenging the anti-Truman electoral lists, Democratic Committee lawyers are searching for legal means of barring the Dixiecrat ticket of Thurmond and Wright from the ballot in Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina and Texas.

Subject to change by court action, the Southern situation at present shapes up as follows:

The Dixiecrats have full possession of the Democratic column in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina, and four Democratic electors in Florida—just half the State's total representation—have announced their support of Thurmond and Wright.

Fri 9-10-48

There is talk in Florida of a special session of the Legislature to solidify the Democratic electors either for or against President Truman, but the indications are that, in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina, if Truman gets on the ballot at all it will have to be outside the regular Democratic column.

Georgia Everything in Georgia has been in abeyance awaiting the primary. If Gov. Thompson had been nominated, the regular Democratic electors were assured for President Truman. And although Herman Talmadge, the victor, is bitterly against Truman, there is doubt whether he will go so far as to attempt to bar him from the regular Democratic column.

In Texas, Truman seems assured of the regular Democratic setting, with a slate of Thurmond and Wright electors entered against him, and this same situation is probable in Louisiana and Arkansas.

Atlanta Ga.

Two polls recently taken in Florida have given the Republicans great hope of carrying that State. One of these, by the John N. Perry chain of newspapers, embraced 16 Florida counties, selected as typical of the whole State. It found 35.03 percent of the voters for Dewey, 34.75 percent for Thurmond, 28.1 percent for Truman and 2.12 percent for Wallace.

Another poll—of schoolteachers in Lee County, Florida—resulted as follows: Dewey 303, Thurmond 226, Truman 109.

Republicans are confident of carrying Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee, whether or not the Thurmond ticket is on the ballot. Indeed, some of the Republican managers feel that they will have a better chance in these three States if the battle is confined to Dewey, Truman and Wallace. The contention in support of this theory is that the States' rights Democrats are mad enough to vote even for a Republican if they have no other way to express their disgruntlement against President Truman.

RALPH McGILL

'Her Mouth Is Smoother Than Oil'

The Constitution
Sun 9-19-48
Atlanta, Ga.

Down in Florida a gentleman who must possess a shallow brain pan, is writing that opposition to the kept Dixiecrats is Communistic.

Well, there isn't any Communism in it on either side, but if the gentleman wishes to play that way I can convince him the Communists are very happy indeed that the Dixiecrats have come into the picture.

The Communists want to break up the two-party system.

Never forget that the two-party system is the backbone of the American way of government and life. If it ever gets broken down, as the Wallace party and the Dixiecrats are trying to break it down, our system of checks and balances of a majority and minor party in Congress will go with it. (Go look at France.)

There is no Communism in it, the Dixiecrat controversy, but the Communists are made happy by another effort in addition to their own with Henry Wallace, which has as its objective the smashing of the Democratic Party.

Decision Georgia's committee will meet late this month. It isn't really very important, except to those politically involved, what Georgia does.

I hope the committee will have the wisdom to keep Georgia independent and out of the well-kept Dixiecrat organization. Georgia acted with independent courage at Philadelphia. Georgia can act with independent courage again. To throw in with the dubious crowd behind the Dixiecrats will be of little value in the years ahead. And of even less today.

The electoral votes don't have to be cast until well after the November election They don't have to be cast "for" anyone. To cast them for the Dixiecrat candidates is to bolt the party. To withhold them and not cast them at all would have the same effect of withholding them from Harry Truman, if that is the desire. Let Georgia's electors be independent.

Nowhere on the horizon is there any reason for haste.

Future If Georgia's Herman Talmadge is to run for the Senate in 1950, as all indications have it, he will be running for the office to which Tom Watson came back after a quarter of a century of bitterness outside the party, to rejoin the party and win in 1920.

If the Democratic Party of Georgia can find a way to withhold its votes from Harry Truman and still stay in the party, history demonstrates that would be the wiser choice. That way can be found by simply withholding them when the electors are called to meet.

There are a lot of people who want to break up, for a generation or more, the Democratic Party. The Dixiecrats are the present front for that attempt to destroy the two-party system.

Sun 9-19-48

Republicans For the many citizens who wish to punish the Democratic Party, there is a simple solution. That is to vote for the Republicans.

There will be a Republican Party in Georgia, and the South, within the next four years. There always have been Republican voters in the South.

In the 11 Southern States, in the 1944 campaign, Tom Dewey got 26 percent of the total vote. Tom Dewey got 18 percent of the total vote in Georgia in that 1944 campaign.

In Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida, Gov. Dewey got about 31 percent of the vote in 1944.

That is why this year finds the Republicans concentrating efforts in North Carolina, Virginia, Florida and Tennessee. But they are trying all over the South. It is very likely, for example, that Gov. Earl Warren will visit Georgia for a speech.

Sun 9-19-48

The Year This is a fine year for all those who want to quit the Democratic Party to go over to the Republicans. Within a very few years there will be a full Republican ticket in about half the 11 Southern States, including Georgia. Harry Truman won't be around then. The issues will. It will require a vital two-party system to deal with them—not one strong Republican Party and three or four splinter parties.

Let all Democrats who wish to stay with the party think twice. The Dixiecrats have lots of money and lots of promises. They are talking of democracy, and refusing it in those States where they control. They have decked out a perfumed political bed.

Proverbs has a good verse for them:

"She is loud and stubborn; her feet abide not in her house . . . the lips of a strange woman drop as an honeycomb, and her mouth is smoother than oil. . . ."

The Democrats will do well to avoid the strange woman, smooth with oil. Votes can be withheld from Truman without breaking up the two-party system.

Truman and the Dixiecrats: Purge Or Not Purge?

Courier Journal
Louisville Kentucky
Sun-12-19-48

WHAT should happen to the Dixiecrats in Congress? Americans for Democratic Action, a fighting liberal organization, demands that the Dixiecrats be purged from the Democratic Party caucuses in both Senate and House. This would strip them of the important committee assignments several of them would normally inherit by the rule of seniority. It would appear to be the course of strict justice. There is no good reason why men who renounced the Democratic Party last summer and fall should expect to pick its choicest plums in January.

Yet other considerations must be weighed in addition to cold justice. It is not too easy to hedge off a little group in Congress and label them "Dixiecrats." Of course there were some members who were particularly loud and ugly in their denunciations of President TRUMAN on the civil rights issue, particularly truculent about supporting the States Rights Party. But there were many other borderline cases. Even such comparatively liberal Southerners as Senators HILL and SPARKMAN of Alabama felt compelled to give TRUMAN'S campaign the cold shoulder in deference to sentiment in their home State. A very large portion of the Southern delegation in Congress is at least touched with the Dixiecrat tar-brush. Sun-12-19-48

That is the reason why a purge would have to be handled with extreme care. If the President should decide to repudiate the out-and-out Dixiecrats, he might work from the minimum list suggested by JOSEPH and STEWART ALSOP: EASTLAND of Mississippi in the Senate; in the House, COX, DAVIS, RIVERS, BATTLE, HOBBS, BOYKIN, RANKIN and WILLIAMS. But he would have to make sure that such a punitive gesture would not alienate the whole Southern group of Democrats. The Deep South holds 88 seats in the House, 18 in the Senate. If extreme action from the White House should drive this whole group out of the fold, they could go over to the Republicans and organize Congress. A full combination of Republicans and Southern Democrats would hold a 259-to-175 majority in the House, a 60-to-36 lead in the Senate. Sun-12-19-48

That is the President's dilemma. On the one hand, he needs to show the liberal Democrats and independents who elected him that he means to give the country a progressive Administration. On the other hand, he must not lose control of the Democratic Party at the very moment when he has won a fresh mandate to lead it. His position calls for a fine quality of political poker playing. Fortunately, he will have the advice of two remarkably capable old hands at the game, Senator BARKLEY and Congressman RAYBURN, his chief allies in the two houses of Congress.

There are some effective things that can be done without upsetting the apple-cart. For instance, the Administration has an unsual number of places to fill on vital committees of the House. It has an opportunity to appoint probably five new Democratic members to the powerful Rules Committee, which controls what bills can get to the floor of the House. It can add seven Democrats to the Banking and Currency Committee, to deal with legislation on housing and inflation. Six or seven more can be added to the Education and Labor Committee, where action on the TAFT-HARTLEY Bill will center. Another six or seven added to Ways and Means can watch over the President's program on tax revision and expansion of social security.

We have a hunch that President TRUMAN will consider first what he can do with such opportunities. He will naturally plan to fill these vacancies with Democrats who share his liberal views. He can then take a look and decide if the new additions are heavy enough to outweigh the influence of such Old Guardsters as EUGENE COX of Georgia, who stands second on the Rules Committee by virtue of seniority. If necessary, the purge tactic can be used sparingly and guardedly. A frontal assault on the whole system of seniority will probably not be attempted, though if successful it would be a blessing to both parties. Sun-12-19-48

We believe the President can afford to focus his attention on the vital Congressional committees, the ones which really control the movement of legislation, and ignore such minor hazards as Congressman RANKIN'S chairmanship of the House Veterans' Committee, which is non-controversial. We believe Mr. TRUMAN will handle the Dixiecrats in Congress without favor (for certainly he owes them less than nothing), but also without vengefulness. It is far more important to him to get a liberal program through Congress than to punish a parcel of political enemies. Sun-12-19-48

Dixiecrats Are Men Without a Party

The Courier-Journal
Louisville Ky

IT COULD be that the THURMOND-WRIGHT ticket of States' Rights Democrats represents a sort of last stand. It could mean the approaching end of States' Rights as a political issue and of white supremacy as an argument for Southerners to vote the Democratic ticket. Wed 8-11-48

In Governor THURMOND'S own South Carolina something occurred yesterday which that State's political leaders vowed, only four years ago, would never happen. It would never happen, they shouted up and down the halls of the Capitol in Columbia, as long as there was a musket left and the name of WADE HAMPTON was known. Negroes would never vote in a South Carolina Democratic primary—but yesterday they did vote.

In Texas a furious drive by States' Righters to get a public referendum on THURMOND and WRIGHT as opposed to TRUMAN and BARKLEY was beaten down by the official Democratic organization.

It is old stuff now to say that things like these tell of the end of the Democratic Party, Southern brand. This particular variety of Democratic doctrine was rooted in emotional experience. In the pre-New Deal days there was an invariable answer from the Southern politician, or from almost any Southern voter, to the question what the Democratic Party meant to him. It meant, he would be sure to say, States' Rights and white supremacy. Occasionally he would say that it meant also strict construction of the Constitution and tariff for revenue only, but such words had come to lose meaning. There were elements in the South, stoutly and regularly Democratic, that were as hot for tariff protection (in their own interest) as any Eastern industrialist.

What now remains of the old reasons for being solidly and indiscriminately Democratic? States' Rights, perhaps? But the Democratic convention in Philadelphia refused to write a plank explicitly endorsing the idea. It refused to do so, though aware of the alternative. The party which States' Righters claimed as uniquely their own has rejected them—in Philadelphia, now in Texas. States' Rights as a fighting cause has come to be seen as a survival of the days when it took GEORGE WASHINGTON longer to get from Mount Vernon to Philadelphia, then the capital, than it now takes to circle the globe. The remoteness, the lack of communications, the impossibility then of imparting to the average citizen an intelligible meaning of national issues—all these gave a practical point to the idea of local self-government as the best, perhaps the only desirable process.

The old party, and the habit of voting in an unchanging pattern, doubtless will run for some time on its own momentum. But the very people who are shouting most loudly in behalf of the Democratic tradition—the so-called Dixiecrats of the THURMOND-WRIGHT following—are the people who say most plainly that the end has come. Nothing else has happened to make this so vividly a fact as the acceptance, unwillingly but finally, of the Negro as a Democratic voter. Wed-8-11-48

It is not to be expected, of course, that the Negro will remain a Democratic voter in the South. He enters the party because local government is Democratic Party government. If he is to find a meaning for his citizenship, he must do so within the local pattern. But the pattern soon will change. Candidates cannot talk of the old things. They must give new assurances; and positive assurances, at that. The facts of life in a world of supersonic travel and of the split atom make the appeal of the THURMOND-WRIGHT school as dead as the dodo. Evolution, not revolution, has killed it.

Two Different Kinds of 'State Rights'

Detroit Free Press

WORLD affairs have grown to be American affairs.

The farmers who sell their produce to the ECA, the workers who are enjoying high wages from a "cold war" economy, the housewives who have to pay inflated prices for the necessaries of life, all realize (or should) that we are influenced as much by Moscow, London, Paris, Berlin, as by Washington.

Why, then, if bipartisanship has worked in foreign policy, would not nonpartisanship be desirable in domestic policy?

The question is raised in The New York Times Sunday Magazine by Mark Etheridge, publisher of The Courier-Journal of Louisville. Detroit Michigan

The number of parties which entered candidates for the Presidency and Congress this year indicates to Mr. Etheridge that in a sense "we are more divided internally than we have been at any time since the Civil War." Mon-11-22-48

Were the number of major candidates merely symptomatic of a desire for power it would be a minor consideration. Actually, writes Mr. Etheridge, it is "symptomatic of deep splits, which must be healed or bridged before we can effectively approach a solution of our dilemma."

The deepest of these splits is over states rights, as Mr. Etheridge sees it.

★

THE Dixiecrats are political states righters. They are interested in retaining control in such matters as poll-taxes and lynchings. They resent Federal interference in what they regard as internal concerns of the several states.

The "economic states righters" are after different game. They are not deeply interested in "civil rights." They believe that State governments are more easily influenced than the Federal Government. Consequently they throw their weight against any proposal to take away from the States control of oil and other natural resources, which they covet.

The economic states righters include Democrats, but mostly Republicans, according to Mr. Etheridge. They seek to divide the national economy into 48 State economies in order the more easily to exploit it.

★

ADMIT, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Etheridge's indictment of states righters is well grounded.

Admit, too, that a national policy on fundamental domestic issues is highly desirable.

We are still confronted with the question of how best to achieve that policy.

With our two-party system, we have threshed out many vital issues in the past and settled them by ordeal of debate and ballot. They've stayed settled.

Would the weakening of this method of solution by the hasty adoption of nonpartisan formulas really produce the desired result?

A widely heard complaint in the recent campaign was that "there's no difference between the two old parties: they're as alike as two peas in a pod."

★

ACCORDING to Prof. Arthur W. MacMahon, the difference between the two major parties today is tempo rather than direction.

They have, that is to say, the same ultimate objective but differ as to the speed with which it should be approached.

The recent Presidential campaign seemed to show that even this difference had disappeared. Gov. Dewey tried to outstride Mr. Truman in reaching the New Deal's Valley of Happiness.

That substitutes personalities for principles.

The Republican Party isn't dead, although its recent leadership showed unmistakable signs of advanced moribundity.

Any attempt to write it off, and adopt a nonpartisan solution of vital national issues, would invite the eventual replacement of our two-party system by a one-party government.

The end of one-party government is dictatorship.

Mon-11-22-48

States' Righters And The Klan

To the Editor of The News:

With much interest, I have read a story published in The Birmingham News Sept. 1, relating to statements made by the attorney general before a meeting of churchmen in Montgomery.

I do not happen to know any Klansmen and all I know about them is what I read in the press. I do, however, know many States' Righters who are among the finest citizens in the South. They are a type of people who, like Jefferson and other such statesmen of his time, place principle above party and practice it regardless of personal gain.

In Jefferson's day the principle of states' rights was somewhat a theory but now as a practical principle of democracy it has been proved by more than 150 years of government progress without parallel in the history of the world. It is strange how men, sometimes, twist, squirm and evade to avoid facing sound principles of government as a means of attaining personal, selfish gains in political power. And stranger still is it that a man intrusted with high office will stand before an intelligent audience and state flately that he opposes certain things and with that same tongue, at the same time and from the same platform assert that he is going to follow those directly opposing the principles for which he says he stands. Then he denounces his own good fellow citizens who stand for the very same principles that he says he does but who value principles above party name.

I happen to know Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Locke and I value them along with the very best citizens of the South. I also know Mr. Carmichael and voted for him on one occasion. Before having had some dealings with him, I held him in great respect. I regret to say that in dealing with him, his actions changed my mind.

Henry Wallace differs with Harry Truman with respect to our dealings with Russia and with respect to the Marshall plan. If there is any other difference in the ideals of the two men I have failed to get it from the press or radio. For 38 years I have voted the Democratic ticket and I now feel that I would be voting just as far from Jeffersonian democracy by casting a ballot for Harry Truman as I would for Henry Wallace. As a matter of fact neither of the two want to talk about Jeffersonian democracy but both would have us forget it, do away with the constitution which guarantees states' rights and follow the Stalin plan, but thanks be to the great Master of the universe, there are too many states' righters in every state of the union to allow that to happen.

JOE L. TEAVER.

The South's Losing Battle

The Southern revolt fails to progress. Resentment persists, but the organized determination is lacking. All that the solid South could or perhaps cared to accomplish was the anti-Truman vote for Senator Russell at Philadelphia. With that done, the South had spoken its collective mind and went home to wait and see. The bolt, for all practical purposes, failed to develop. The ancient states' rights cry was not enough to force the Southerners into a unified course of opposition to their own party, and the abortive Birmingham convention, or whatever it is to be called, was the proof. Mississippi furnished the hard core, Alabama somewhat less certain, South Carolina also unsure, and that was about all. As for proposing an effective alternative, the program and leadership were still lacking. The South was no further along than the day that President Truman mentioned civil rights.

For the Democratic politicians below the Mason-Dixon line, there could have been little real doubt about their course after Philadelphia. Aside from the force of tradition, which in much of the South has practically the power of law, a Southern party regular has the same instincts as the politician anywhere. He sticks to his organization, rather than pursue futility, for practical reasons of jobs and influence. The party, despite its glum and starved look, is far more likely to endure than any individual now in sight. And in the South, at least until November tells otherwise, there is only one party.

The truth is that the South is resisting the inevitable. and losing the battle. White supremacy is not a slogan that can stand. The substance of civil rights, a cover-all term, is hard to refute, much as fair-minded people may sympathize with the South's objection to being pushed by outside force. Failure to follow Mississippi is perhaps far more than a matter of immediate practicality. Back of the political skin savers who are thinking of four years hence is, we believe, a growing realization that the whole business of minority suppression is as false and obsolete as the states' rights clamor. You can't make a good fight on a bad cause.

Be A Sport

To the Editor of The News:

E. B. Harris, of Fayette, Ala., writes in the Voice of the People: "Who nominated Mr. Thurmond and Mr. Wright anyway? It would seem that a small handful of designing and somewhat reactionary gentlemen called themselves together and selected men to their liking, whether it suited anyone else or not. I do not know of anything more undemocratic than the action taken by this small group of citizens. They have taken advantage of their positions to satisfy themselves and barred many a good Democrat from voting his or her conviction."

I would like to ask Mr. Harris just who Mr. Truman is anyway? He was not elected to the presidency by the people. He was not the choice of the Democratic Party at Philadelphia. He was thrust upon the Democratic Party by an undemocratic, ruthless minority party machine of politicos, Howard McGrath presiding.

The majority of the voters of Alabama plainly expressed themselves on what they wanted and expected done at election time. In a democracy the majority rules. The election was free and fair and square. Be sport enough to abide by it and quit whining.

If anything is done to set aside the will of the majority of the people, some political scalps are going to be pulled at the next election. Some in high places are going to be blamed if anything is pulled off in Washington.

Mr. Harris spoke of voting the Republican ticket if he could not vote for Truman. I will venture to say Alabama will go almost solidly Republican if citizens are forced to vote for Truman. A man spits tobacco juice in your eye and you go back and tell him that you have two eyes. A pro-Truman ticket for Alabama makes just as much sense to me.

If the people of Alabama do allow the pro-Trumanites to run the election over them, I hope that they will accept the consequences in good grace and quietly, federal police and all.

MRS. HOWARD M. MOORE.
1433 34th Street, Ensley, Ala.

LONG REMEMBERED

Editor, The Advertiser:

The dark storm of the Dewey-Truman-Wallace-Thurmond campaign and election is all passed over. I couldn't vote for the candidate of my choice in a real democratic legal way for the simple reason of political trickery. But later (Nov. 2) it all turned out just like Paul's journey to Damascus.

He was going there to persecute the saints and bring them back bound when he was stricken with light and blindness and he heard a voice calling him and he was persecuting Jesus unaware.

I have been wondering what kind of government of these (48) United States we would have for all of its citizens to be benefited and to serve it with officials like Gov. Thurmond and Wright as president and vice-president—both of them not being impressed with anything but states rights and opposed to civil rights. They didn't mention anything in their campaign concerning social security, housing, nor farming program, neither veteran benefits, nor labor legislation, nor foreign policy. Other things I could make mention about, nevertheless, the way of the ungodly shall perish.

My being disfranchised in a national election shall long be remembered by me and many, many others, but now speaking like Cousin Minnie Pearl, "I am sure glad to be here." These Dixiecrats, prodigal sons, should now, after their straying away into foreign lands and dwelling among the swine and losing their wealth in riotus living, should say now as the prodical son said. "In my father's house is plenty, and I perish with hunger, I shall arise and go home to my father, and say, Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight, and I am no more worthy to be called thy son." Then we could all get together and kill the fatted calf. Then feast and be mery again, and all things would work together for good for our future democracy.

Montgomery. H. G. PAYNE.

* * * *

BUS CONDUCT

Editor, The Advertiser:

I am forced to speak about this incident of Sunday night on the South Jackson bus.

When we think about race relations and what not, it is interesting to note the type of people who never want peace and harmony to exist.

I merely want to compliment the white gentleman on the bus who showed so much intelligence. He was the only white passenger on the bus. He had a seat just in front of the colored people. He was asked by one of the colored passengers to move up one seat so as to give a seat for the ones standing.

The bus driver showed his poor intellect by telling the colored man in a raised voice, "Get up nigger and move back, I don't allow colored to sit up this way when I am on this bus. Get into that alley."

Now this bus driver was wrong, so was the colored man. First, the colored man should not have taken this seat, as it is understood that the first four seats are left for white, even though there is seldom any one in them. The driver should be instructed how to speak and never let his passengers know that he is far from average.

Wed-11-24-48

As a whole we can see what it could be like if more people could always be together with clear thinking and of educational background.

JOHN CAMEL,
Montgomery. State College.

The Constitution
Fri 8-23-48
Atlanta, Ga.

14 Percent in South Favor Thurmond

PRINCETON, N. J.—At the start of the campaign the "Dixiecrat" movement has the support of about one voter in seven below the Mason-Dixon line. In the first survey to be conducted on the popularity of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond since his nomination for President by the States' Right Party, Gov. Thurmond polls 14 percent throughout the 13 Southern States as a group.

In terms of popular votes he is topped by both President Truman and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey in the South, but the popular vote percentage does not fully indicate the extent of the Thurmond threat to the Democratic Party. Dixiecrat spokesmen claim that 32 electoral votes are already "in the bag" for the States' rights ticket. These 32 consist of Alabama 11, Mississippi 9, South Carolina 8 and Florida 4 of the State's eight votes. In those States, the Dixiecrats claim, the Democratic candidates for presidential electors already have pledged themselves to vote against President Truman.

Those 32 electoral votes are votes which the Democrats have always in the past counted on as "absolutely sure" for them. To offset their loss this year. President Truman would have to take virtually all the New England States which have a total of 40 electoral votes.

Throughout the South interviewers for the Institute put the following question to Southern voters in a survey begun directly after the formation of the States' Rights Party:

"If the presidential election were being held today, how would you vote—for Dewey, for Truman, for Wallace or for Thurmond?"

The results among voters who said they plan to vote in November were:

SOUTHERN VOTERS	
Truman	41%
Dewey	34
Thurmond	14
Wallace	2
No opinion	9

With the no opinion vote eliminated, the results are Truman 46 percent, Dewey 37 percent, Thurmond 15 percent and Wallace 2 percent.

The 13 Southern States include South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky,, Tennessee and Oklahoma. Thurmond sentiment runs strongest in the first eight, comprising the so-called "deep South."

While the new party plans to make a strong effort to get on the ballot in all Southern States, it remains to be seen how successful this effort will be. Today's poll figures indicate the extent of Thurmond's popular following at the present time, assuming he were on the ballot in all States in the South.

Henry A. Wallace's figure of two percent in the South compares with a national Wallace percentage of five percent in the last Institute poll reported Aug. 1. Mr. Wallace plans to invade the South for an intensive campaign tour in early September. Future surveys will indicate whether his campaign efforts increase his popularity below the Mason-Dixon line.

Courier Journal
Louisville Kentucky

Dixiecrats Repeat False Pretension

ENGINEERS of the THURMOND-WRIGHT movement in Kentucky clutch at a delusion on which these columns have frequently commented. This is the notion, as Dixiecrat State Chairman ORVAL BAYLOR puts it, that the fight is "to restore the Democratic Party to its rightful owners."

Tues 8-31-48

It is fair to ask how far back the Dixiecrats propose to go in establishing their claim to ownership of the party. Do they think their title rests on the performances of Southerners in Washington for the last 20 years—on the filibusterers and obstructionists led by BILBO and the screamers led by the likes of JOHN RANKIN? Or do they go farther into the past, before ANDREW JACKSON fought the States' Righters of his day and wished he could hang CALHOUN?

In either case the Dixiecrats seem to persist in a program of action—of action too plainly designed to perpetuate inaction—which has come to make the country rather sick and tired. In days like these the people need and deserve something more intelligent than such a course. If it has any pretension to being a party of progress, the Democratic Party needs more substantial and responsible leadership than that of the pretenders to the title of Democratic heritage who are revealed as making up the executive committee of the THURMOND-WRIGHT movement in Kentucky.

Southern Democrats in Congress, made up largely of party hacks, owe their seniority—their very right to declaim and obstruct as committee chairmen—to the vitality of the national Democratic Party. They never won it by any enterprise or statesmanlike quality of their own. The best among them are not found on the side of Governor THURMOND or Mr. BAYLOR. They are found reasonably proposing to save the Democratic Party from itself, if it requires saving in this way, rather than to destroy the party as the Dixiecrats of 1860 (their ticket headed by another Kentuckian, JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE) destroyed it, defeated the regular nominee, elected the Republican LINCOLN and precipitated a conflict from the effects of which the South has hardly emerged today. In the next 72 years, the Democrats were in power for only 16, and then in times of national emergency or by virtue of divided opposition. The party's recrudescence with ROOSEVELT from 1932 on was no accomplishment of the Deep Southerners; rather, they were the passive (and sometimes even the querulously reluctant) beneficiaries of the party's rebirth.

A pointed comment on the THURMOND-WRIGHT movement was made a few days ago by a Southern journalist, GERALD W. JOHNSON, writing in *The New York Star:*

Tues 8-31-48

> The Dixiecrat Party is the party of inaction, the party of terrified men. No doubt they are physically brave enough. Governor THURMOND himself has an admirable war record—but so had Major General JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE. One of the tragedies of human existence is that so many men who dare to face a machine gun without flinching break and run for the rear the instant an idea whizzes close to their ears . . . Their revolt is releasing all parties, including the Democratic, from any obligation to respect Southern preferences and prejudices, and is opening up to the Republican Party the possibility of capturing three or four million additional votes among Southern Negroes. If the Dixiecrats have any idea that DEWEY will not seize that opportunity, they have grossly underestimated the ruthlessness of the man . . .

Nothing could be emptier, more false or more lacking in assurances for a world that needs fresh solutions than the words of the Dixiecrats' national chairman, MERRITT H. GIBSON of Longview, Texas, the city about which the oil derricks proliferate more amazingly than anywhere else in the world. Here to speak at the Kentucky group's meeting Sunday, he said the Dixiecrats must oppose the old parties because the latter do nothing to "preserve representative government or individual freedom." But everything the Dixiecrats have done, since the Alabama-Mississippi walkout at Philadelphia, has been a defiance of representative action, a denial of individual freedom except in terms of their own dogma.

For Thurmond And Wright

To the Editor of The News:

Because of the apparent confusion in the minds of many good citizens, I should like to say something apropos to the present political situation. To make my communication brief, I am presenting a categorical list of reasons why the Thurmond-Wright team has a good chance of throwing the election of a president into the House of Representatives:

1. Thurmond and Wright offer millions of voters the country over the right and opportunity to protest against the federal encroachment on state and personal rights and privileges.

2. Thurmond and Wright head a movement that will turn out to be the greatest educational program in civics (politics) this country has ever seen.

3. Jeffersonian Democrats will take a new interest in governmental affairs and will be encouraged to fight for a genuine democracy with every legal means possible.

4. Millions of people who live in wealthy states with practically no racial or religious problems will learn that for a man from a state like Missouri to try and settle the internal problems of the people in a state like Alabama all by himself is just as illogical as the same man trying to settle the Palestine problem, the Soviet problem or the problem of world peace strictly from a personal or party political standpoint.

5. Millions of people will learn that it is no more right for a U. S. president from the South to tell the people of California that their business interests must hire a certain percentage of Japanese, Chinese, Catholics and Jews, or what have you, than it is for a U. S. president to tell the mayor of New York City that he must hire a certain number of all nationalities, races and creeds, regardless of aptitude or qualifications for available jobs.

The News

6. Millions of people will fully realize that you cannot force economic equality in favor of one racial minority any more than you could social equality among white, Anglo-Saxon-descended, native-born Americans.

7. Millions of people will pause and consider the plights of Italy, France and Great Britain, three great liberty-loving nations whose very existence has been threatened in recent years, marked in the beginning by a trend toward socialism. They will learn more about socialism, how the New Deal was tinged by it and why the Communist Party began infiltrating our government. They will learn that centralization of government will ruin any democracy.

EDWIN W. SIMS.
P. O. Box 1590. Birmingham.

Wilkinson Vs. Primm

The News

To the Editor of The News:

I ~~object~~ to being slandered by McGrath's flunky, Bill Primm, otherwise known as "William J. Primm, Jr., executive assistant to National Party Chairman J. Howard McGrath.

In Tuesday's News (Sept. 7) he accused me of being one of the behind-the-scenes manipulators of the states' rights movement. Instead of being behind-the-scenes I have been shouting from the housetops and I am now in the front ranks of those fighting to keep Bill Primm, Howard McGrath and Harry Truman from helping Dewey and Wallace rivet a Russian pattern on our way of life.

The Democratic Party in Alabama has spoken. If Primm voted in the primary, he is obligated to support the nominees of that primary. If he is not going to keep his promise then he should resign from the Democratic Party of Alabama. If he is going to keep his promise and vote the straight Democrat ticket in Alabama in November then he should sever his connection with McGrath's payroll. Let's find out which side of his mouth he is talking out of.

Primm and McGrath's plan to purge Col. Rushton now is evidently a predicate for their undertaking to purge Sen. Hill in 1950, because Sen. Hill will vote the Democratic ticket in November, carrying with it electors pledged to vote for Thurmond and Wright. To be consistent, Primm and McGrath should ask Sen. Hill to resign. They should ask Sen. Sparkman to resign. They should ask every congressman and every other Democratic nominee in Alabama to resign. But they are too shrewd to do that. They first want to purge Rushton and then turn on the others.

I claim that Alabama Democrats should run their own affairs without suggestions of dictators from Washington and without interference from these fellows that get the Potomac fever after hanging around Washington for a spell. Once they are afflicted with that disease they can find nothing good in their own state. The only way to cure it is to give them a good dose of states' rights.

Gallup States' Rights Poll

Sat 8-21-48

The Gallup poll is not infallible; but it has a remarkable record of accuracy. Consequently the report by Dr. George Gallup on strength in 13 Southern states of the States' Rights Democratic Party commands attention.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Gallup did not immediately break his survey down by states, for that would have produced a more interesting evidence, perhaps, of where lies the greatest, and the least, States' Rights strength. That has been promised later, however. We already know that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina are probably overwhelmingly in support of Gov. Thurmond. Texas remains questionable; part of Florida's electors may go for Thurmond. Some other states may provide a measure of support for the States' Rights Party—but most show few signs of doing so now.

Dr. Gallup's figures are startling. He finds that in the 13 Southern States President Truman retains 41 per cent of Southern voters' support. Gov. Dewey runs second with 34 per cent and Gov. Thurmond third with only 14.

Of course, in measuring sentiment by statistics, it is at once apparent that only a few states with little demonstrable support for Gov. Thurmond would quickly whittle down a statistical measurement. And we have reason to believe, so far, at any rate, that in Kentucky, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina, support for States' Righters has not made much headway.

We here in Alabama—and our neighbors in Mississippi and near-neighbors in South Carolina—have been on the front doorstep of States' Rights Party headquarters. Probably an equal number of "declarations" and revelations of campaign plans have been made from the three states. Consequently we have been given more evidence of political action in this group's behalf than have Southerners in most Southern states. It is possible that this has led some among us to over-estimate the attention these candidates, Gov. Thurmond and Gov. Wright, have been receiving outside of Alabama.

Voter sentiment throughout the South is, of course, important to the success or failure of the States' Rights movement. But the immediate issue facing States' Rights leaders is and has been getting a slate of electors on the several states' ballots. If this technical battle can be won by States' Righters, then it is possible many more Southerners would actually cast votes for Thurmond and Wright.

Southern Voters

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

It seems to me that the editorial "The Dixiecrat Vote," in your issue of Nov. 7, rests upon an unwarranted assumption of fact.

The editorial says that the States' Rights campaign "showed how great a majority of Southern voters disagree with the antediluvian attitude that it represents." It also says that "when only 19 per cent of the voters of the South support an issue as clearly drawn as was that between the President and the States' Rights candidates, it doesn't seem to us they represent the real attitude of our Southern neighbors."

New York N.Y.

Unfortunately, your editorial writer does not tell us specifically what issue he is referring to. But the inference is that only 19 per cent of the Southern voters oppose the Truman civil rights program and that 81 per cent do not oppose it.

If this is the intended meaning of your editorial, I believe it to be without basis in fact. One persuasive evidence of this is that virtually all of the Southern candidates who publicly supported the Truman-Barkley ticket also proclaimed their opposition to the civil rights program, and in my opinion this is true of the great majority of Southern voters who supported the straight Democratic ticket.

Your editorial expressed the commendable hope that the new Congress will be able to repair the cleavage between North and South. This is eminently desirable, but it will not be accomplished by any effort to bridge the gap which rests on the erroneous assumption that seems implicit in your editorial. At best, the task will be difficult enough. It will be all but hopeless without an accurate appraisal of Southern sentiment on the racial question.

SOUTHERNER.

Falls Church, Va., Nov. 7, 1948.

The 'Cause' Gains

Columbia Record

"Hear me for my cause, and be silent that you may hear!"

These states are being heard for their cause. Two per cent, 14 per cent or 19 per cent, the Thurmond-Wright movement spearheads and proves the deep earnestness of a revolt which has put this region's problem, cause and philosophy before the nation as never before and identified for the nation its own basis tenets of home rule, local self-government, and States' Rights.

The movement has grown and is growing. Shadowed behind it, whatever its size, is that total vote of the South against Truman at Philadelphia, that almost 50 per cent of the whole convention against the Humphrey amendment, and the assurance in every current poll that the Democratic President will not carry the South.

The record has been made, the precedent set, the grim proof given. Never again will either of whatever two parties remain great in this land look upon the South as (1) unnecessary to win, or (2) incapable of being won.

Into every home of America has gone the southern case as a result of attention the revolt has achieved. And eveywhere there are little islands of sympathy for the South and recognition of its quarrel with federalism gone mad as something historic in timeliness and Americanism.

The islands are expanding. I have been impressed with it in letters from Pennsylvania after the Ray Sprigle stories appeared and Publisher Block of The Pittsburgh Post Gazette sportingly published in full my comments against them.

"Ray Sprigle is not the whole North," writes Beatrice Redinger of Pittsburgh. "Many of us understand the South and thoroughly dislike what he is trying to do."

"My wife and I have just returned from out first real trip into the South," writes L. A. Wright of McKeesport. "I had my eyes open all the way. I have a stronger feeling than ever that the Southerner regards, and hac never ceased to regard the Negro as a responsibility. I am a believer in States' Rights."

"Congratulations on your letter to The Pittsburgh Post Gazette," writes Mrs. Kathleen Giles of Pittsburgh. "Isn't it strange that Mr. Sprigle went to all that trouble when he could have found the same situation in his own backyard?"

"I read your comment," writes Carl Davidson of Ellwood City. "There is no question but what a lot of pressure was used on the Northern delegates (at the Democratic National convention) to have them vote for the Civil Rights resolution. In one caucus I know of they were told that the Negro voters in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan were worth more to the party than the whole South . . ."

"The Sprigle articles will be a distinct disservice and handicap to the steady and comparatively rapid progress of the Negro in this country," thinks John F. Duffy of Pittsburgh. And so forth and so forth.

"I was interested in your column on the Sprigle pieces, writes Publisher Philip J. Graham of The Washington (D. C.) Post. "We did not run them because they seemed to give an unbalanced picture of the South."

The counter-tide is setting in. Its spearhead and sign of earnest is the Thurmond-Wright ticket. No matter how great or small a vote that ticket has next November—and it will be much greater than many scoffers believe—it represents already an epochal victory for the South and for America's basic way.

CADDO DIXIECRATS CLAIM 125 NAMES

Times Picayune

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

Shreveport, La., Aug. 18.—About 125 independent Caddo parish voters have signed petitions for nominating states' rights electors for the November elections in Louisiana, it was disclosed here Tuesday by Robert G. Chandler, co-chairman of the Louisiana states' rights executive committee.

Of the 50 petitions being circulated in the parish, about 25 per cent have been completed, Chandler said. He said circulation of the documents would be finished within the next two days.

"We expect to get a minimum of 350 eligible signatures in Caddo," he stated.

Chandler asserted that Caddo's petitions will be sent to Registrar of Voters Jim Martin, who will certify signatures as belonging to valid independent electors. Petitions then will be forwarded to New Orleans to be bound with others from throughout the state and mailed to the secretary of state.

Chandler said that a Fourth Congressional District states' rights executive committee would be organized shortly after completion of the petitions.

A low bid of $112,314 was submitted Tuesday for construction of another new municipal pool in Shreveport by the General Construction Co.

Bids on the pool, to be constructed in the park section of the Louisiana state fair grounds to serve the Queensborough and Ingleside sections, were received by the city council at a special meeting.

Eight bids were received. All were referred to a committee composed of Mayor Clyde E. Fant, Commissioner of Finance John McW. Ford and Recreation Director Clyde Stallcup. The committee will tabulate the bids and make recommendations to the council.

Wright Raps 3 Foes In Marianna Address

MARIANA, FLA., Oct. 13.—(AP)—Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi tonight called upon voters to use ballots to fight "subversive forces who would destroy our way of life."

The States' Rights vice-presidential candidate told a rally that President Truman, Governor Thomas E. Dewey and Henry Wallace were on record as committing themselves "to enactment of unconstitutional laws which would give the Federal government a police force and destroy our American heritage."

He said "the Civil Rights programs of all three seek to take away Civil Rights of the majority" and that "President Truman's so-called Civil Rights measures are not enforceable without a Federal police state. They not only are unconstitutional, but are legally and morally unsound. They would destroy the right of association and the freedom of choice."

Sparkman Opposes Dixiecrats

Courier Journal

Here condensed is a copy of a letter sent to The Birmingham News by H. C. Sparkman, brother of Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama:

In your eagerness to protest States rights you are about to destroy the party that has done more for the South than any party, organization or group.

My advice, as an American citizen born in Alabama, is for you to lay down your grievances and reluctantly support Mr. Truman in this campaign. You cannot win anything without the support of all the States' Democratic organizations. You will not only lose the Presidency, but you will lose States rights and get a stronger civil rights plank than the one adopted by the Democratic Convention delegates. You will lose appointments in post offices and other agencies. The Republican Party will hamstring every appropriation, as they have in the past, that would benefit the South.

Louisville Ky.

Gentlemen, listen to reason and not to men like Senator Heflin of Alabama, and others of 1928. Don't have this fair land of ours return to the Hoover conditions we found in 1928-1932. This is a time we need unity in the Democratic Party. There is enough disunity in the world at present without the so-called solid South differing from the rest of the Party and classing itself with the Henry Wallace Progressive Party, in that it is splitting and differing from the strong Democratic organization that has been so successful.

With the thought and consideration of all the people of the South as well as the whole world in mind let us determine that those bread lines and hunger marches shall not return, and continue to be leaders in the Democratic Party and the Solid South.

H. C. SPARKMAN.

Louisville.

Dixiecrat Chieftans Map Strategy Here

Birmingham News

Birmingham, Alabama

Laney And Wright Head Up Group; Thurmond Absent

Thur. 12-16-48

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

How best to carry on the States' Rights Democratic movement and wage effective warfare on "civil rights" legislation was discussed by Dixiecrat chieftains here today.

Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney, chairman of the Laney Committee, and Mississippi Gov. Fielding Wright, vice presidential running mate of Gov. Strom Thurmond, headed the group of States' Righters.

* * *

THIS SESSION TO MAP strategy for the future of the movement got under way at 10 a.m. at the Tutwiler Hotel.

South Carolina Gov. Thurmond, who headed the States' Rights ticket that carried Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana, was unable to attend.

Gov. Wright said Gov. Thurmond was prevented from meeting with others of the top committee group because of state budget hearings at Columbia. He and Gov. Laney, with members of their families, stopped over in Birmingham last night en route to their homes from the Southern Governors Conference at Savannah. Thur. 12-16-48

Gov. Laney, who called the meeting, said:

"It's just for a general discussion among our group simply to determine what the ideas of one another might be and consider what's happened and what to do in the future."

Wallace W. Wright, Jackson, Miss., business man and co-chairman with Laney of the States' Rights directing group, also arrived last night.

"I DON'T KNOW exactly what they're going to do," Wallace Wright said with reference to members of the Laney Committee. "They'll probably lay some plans for the future and determine when we'll have a full-scale meeting, probably sometime in February or March."

The Laney Committee is made up of two members from each of several Southern states. Frank Dixon, former Alabama governor, and Robert T. Goodwyn, Montgomery, this state's members, are among States' Rights leaders attending. Thur 12-16-48

University Students Challenge The Dixiecrats

Daily World

34d

BY JAMES B. LaFOURCHE

Tue 11-16-48

NEW ORLEANS—(ANP)—Forty eight white students of Tulane university here signed their names to a circular on the eve of the recent presidential election and branded the Dixiecrats as having nothing to offer but "freedom to hate."

Atlanta, Ga.

The circular, bearing the name of "Dixiecrat Myths," was widely distributed throughout the city and marked the beginning on the part of local white college students to fight the rising tide of prejudice.

MYTHS EXPLODED

The students branded as a myth that Negroes are inferior to "pure-blooded" whites and maintained that both races are the same from a standpoint of "flesh, marrow in the bones and other respects." As to pigmentation, it was agreed that "there is no hard and fast rule."

The students denied that northern agitators were to blame for the civil rights program and held that "segregated schools, white only" civil service jobs, restricted polling booths and jim crow church pews," were in the main contributory.

Relative to the Negro not being able to attain in a short while the "culture" which it has taken the white race centuries to develop, it was held that "old buildings," "insufficient and out-od-date equipment and poorly trained teachers," were the answers to the so-called "culture" problem.

It was pointed out that "in spite of all the handicaps, the American scene shows plain evidence of the Negro's ability in, and his contribution to the national well-being and culture in every trade, art, science and profession."

Tue 11-16-48

NOT A RACIAL ISSUE

The students contended that there was no "race issue." "Human Rights," they argued, was on the altar of sacrifice. The states, they said, were given the "right to make laws and supervise their citizens' affairs" and whenever these states fail to protect their citizens, there was no other alternative, the students thought, but to petition congress to enact the necessary legislation to force the desired results.

The circular stated in its conclusion that the signers of the petition were not directing the circular in the interest of President Truman, Gov. Dewey, or Mr. Wallace. They seemed to content themselves with the fact that all three of the presidential candidates had declared themselves favorably on the "equal and impartial treatment for all Americans."

Tue 11-16-48

Dixiecrats Claim 6 States

Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, July 18—(AP)—The entrance of a "Dixiecrat ticket" into the Presidential field brought a disputed prediction today that President Truman might lose the support of up to six Southern Staes in the November election. Mon. 7-19-48

Sen. McClellan, Democrat, Arkansas, told a reporter he thought the Southern Democratic rebel ticket might help take the electoral votes of a half dozen Southern States away from President Truman and Sen. Alben Barkley, his running mate.

The new ticket—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, for President and Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, for Vice President—was put forth at Birmingham yesterday as one Dixie answer to the President's civil-rights program.

McClellan—who fought the President's nomination but did not walk out of the Democratic Convention—named Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Tennessee as possible participants in a bolt he said was almost certain to result in the regular Democratic Party's defeat in the Presidential election.

He put Tennessee in the list, McClellan said, because of a sharp local division among Democrats there. 7-19-48

He said that if the Thurmond-Wright ticket got on the ballot in Arkansas it might split the Democratic vote in his home State and give the Republicans some chance of winning there.

But McClellan's prediction drew immediate fire from Sen. Hatch, Democrat, New Mexico, close personal friend of the President.

Hatch said he didn't think the effort to place a fourth party in the field "will be effective in more than one or two States."

The New Mexico Senator predicted election of a Truman-Barkley ticket even if some of the Southerners don't go along.

Hatch hinted the Democrats thought there was some chance that Henry Wallace—scheduled to get the official nomination of his Third Party in Philadelphia next weekend—might not carry through until November. Wallace repeatedly has asserted he had no intention of quitting the race.

"I'm not so sure about what Wallace is going to do," Hatch said. Politics is in such a state of flux now that no one can say just what will happen in the next month or two."

Sen. O'Mahoney, Democrat, Wyoming, another friend of the President, said the Birmingham rump convention's action in nominating Thurmond and Wright could be "rather serious from the stand point of the Democratic Party."

"If the Southerners carry out this fight," he said, "it means that the Democratic Party as a whole will have to campaign a good deal more diligently in the South than it has heretofore." He added he did not think the entrance of the Dixiecrat ticket in the field "will have the effect of taking the South out of the Democratic column."

O'Mahoney conceded, however, that if the margin between Democrats and Republicans was close in any single state, a third party ticket might cost the Truman-Barkley ticket that state's electoral backing. 7-19-48

Rep. Clarence Brown, (Republican, Ohio), said he didn't think the Dixie rebellion would make much difference in the November outcome.

"The Dewey-Warren ticket will make such a sweep that it can win without help from the South," he predicted.

Nevertheless Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, has indicated he might make a direct bid for Southern votes. Tentative plans have been made for him to campaign in Virginia, where he got 38 percent of the vote in his 1944 race against Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Three Texas Counties Prefer Gov. Thurmond

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

HOUSTON, Tex., Aug. 31—(AP)—The States' Rights presidential ticket was preferred by Democrats of this county—Harris, which has Texas' largest voting population — and two others. Wed. 9-1-48

Brazoria and Harrison Counties also gave J. Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright, States' Rights candidates, preference in a referendum election held Saturday.

In Harris County the States' Rights received 44,936 votes to 22,721 for President Truman and Sen. Alben Barkley, his running mate.

The margin in Brazoria County was the slightest — Thurmond-Wright 933, Truman-Barkley 752.

Harrison County voters preferred the States' Rights candidates by a margin of 3,126 to 1,533. Wed

The referendum did not remove Truman and Barkley from the ballot as the Democratic candidates for president and vice president in these counties, however. It merely showed state Democratic leaders for which ticket the voters want their electors instructed. 9-1-48

States' Righters Say Campaign Finances In Hole

Talladega Editor Repeats Warning On 'Civil Rights'

Tues. 9-21-48

Instead of having received heavy chunks of dough, including a $200,000 contribution from a Texas oil man, States' Rights Democratic chieftains declared today they actually had gone in the hole with campaign finances.

A financial statement from Dixiecrat national headquarters at Jackson, Miss., said the States' Righters took in $13,890.53 the first 28 days of the movement's existence. During the period from Aug. 3 (beginning date) to Aug. 31, expenditures totaled $14,890.53, leaving a deficit of $1,440.75, according to the report filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives in Washington yesterday.

* * *

MEANWHILE, A STATES' RIGHTS speaker in Birmingham was repeating the warning that enactment of President Truman's "civil rights" program would lead to a police state, with Negroes and other minority groups suffering.

On the other hand, the States' Rights movement is "many things to many people,' declared Tom Abernethy, editor of The Talladega Daily Home, who led the ticket last May 4 when Alabama Democrats nominated a slate of 11 anti-Truman presidential electors. Abernathy and the other 10 have since pledged themselves to support the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

"Actually," Abernethy told the Young Men's Business Club at its Redmont Hotel luncheon yesterday, "the States' Rights movement battles for the Negro, just as it battles for every American who wants to retain government by home rule.'

Abernethy denied claims that the movement is founded upon the Ku Klux Klan. Tues. 9-21-48

* * *

THE TALLADEGA EDITOR took a crack at Sen. Lister Hill, challenging him to "take the stump for Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright," the States' Rights presidential aspirants.

Abernethy asserted that Sen. Hill'se position so far was one designed to "play both ends against the middle."

Regarding States' Rights campaign finances, Justice Department attaches at Washington reported Saturday they had "under consideration" the fact that the Dixiecrat headquarters had failed to file a financial report between Sept. 1 and 10. It was pointed out that the corrupt practices act requires political parties to file such reports with the House clerk between those dates.

It was said that all other political parties had filed financial reports within the specified time.

AT HOUSTON, TEX., Judge Merritt Gibson, national campaign director for the States' Righters, denied as being "without a word of truth," a report that H. R. Cullen, wealthy Houston oil man, had contributed $200,000 to the campaign fund.

Tues 9-21-48

"All our contributions will be made public at the proper time," said Gibson.

The Jackson campaign headquarters made known several contributions to the States' Rights movement, the largest of which was listed $2,672.73 from the Mississippi Democratic Party. The largest individual contribution listed was $540 from Frank Wynee, Meridian, Miss. Others included $1,590 from citizens of Inverness, Miss., and three others of more than $100 each. There were 17 contributions of $100 each and $1,297.05 in contributions of less than $100 were shown.

The financial report was made public by George Wallace, national States' Rights treasurer.

States Rights Democrats Win First Round In Courts

The Columbia Record

The States Rights Democrats have won the first round of their court battle to get on the North Carolina ticket.

Judge W. C. Harris at Raleigh ruled Friday that the States Rights Democrats are entitled to a place on the North Carolina ticket.

(34a)

The decision has been appealed, of course, to the supreme court of North Carolina and a petition filed to advance the hearing date in order to get the case argued before the supreme court in the first week of its fall term.

Mon. 8-23-48

The North Carolina board of elections had ruled that the States Rights party failed to comply with the board's requirement that all new parties must present petitions signed by 10,000 registered voters who had not participated in the primaries and denied the party the right to place its candidates on the state ticket.

The States Rights Democrats did secure the signatures of more than 10,000 registered voters in the short time available to them. They made no effort to limit signatures to those persons who had not participated in the primaries, contending that this provision of the board's requirements was illegal.

Columbia, S.C.

And Judge Harris agreed with them. The board has authority to make rules and regulations governing the qualifications for new parties in North Carolina, but the requirement that no voter who participated in the primary of another party may sign the new party petition is, he said, "unreasonable" and therefore null and void.

The board's requirement was, of course, based on the theory that no voter should be permitted to participate in the same year in two parties. But this overlooks the fact that new conditions may arise after the primaries which may suggest to any voter the need for a change and may lead him to leave the old party, in which he has formerly voted, and to join a new party.

North Carolina's requirements for the establishment of a new party and its qualification for admission to the state ballot are too rigorous. The 10,000 voters who must sign the petition is too large a figure and when South Carolina comes to adopt the Australian ballot law, as, of course, it should now do, it should not require so many signatures. Virginia requires only 1,000 signatures to get a new party on the ticket.

Mon. 8-23-48

The entry of the States Rights party into the North Carolina race will, Tarheel political observers believe, aid the Republicans. With the Progressive party and the Democratic party already on the ticket the normal Democratic vote in North Carolina will be split three ways and the Republicans with some accessions from the Democrats may be able to carry the state, even electing some members of Congress.

North Carolina, it should be remembered, was in the Republican column in 1928. And the Republican vote in North Carolina in 1944 was 33.3 per cent of the total, a rise over 1940 when they garnered only 26 per cent of the major party vote. Fourteen counties in North Carolina voted Republican and in 18 others the vote was too close for Democratic comfort.

Dixiecrat Failure

(34a)

HUMPHREY OF MINNESOTA—Hubert Humphrey, who toppled Joe Ball in the Minnesota senatorial race, is a proverbial giant killer.

Less than four years ago, Humphrey literally wore his voice out at the 1944 Democratic convention in Chicago screaming for Henry Wallace. In fact, Humphrey was such a rabid Wallace man that he refused to vote for Truman after Truman won and the convention chairman moved to make the nomination unanimous.

(34.1)

Few who watched the Democratic convention closely will ever forget the sight of Humphrey and Barney Allen, a Red River Valley farmer, their clothes half torn off their backs and their voices gone, racing through the Chicago Stadium carrying an American flag and a Wallace banner; begging and pleading with the delegates to support their man.

But that was four years ago. One year later, Humphrey, by wrapping up practical politics with a clever doorbell-ringing campaign managed to become mayor of Minneapolis.

The trigger-tongued Humphrey will bring to the Senate a clamorous voice for civil rights and social reforms. As mayor of Minneapolis, one of his first acts was to set up a council on human relations. He founded it on dreams, but made it work. Again at the Philadelphia convention, it was Humphrey who split the Democratic Party wide open by demanding a strong civil rights platform. In retaliation, the Dixiecrats poured money into the Republican campaign in Minnesota and even sent ex-Gov. Sam Jones of Louisiana up to help reelect Sen. Joe Ball.

Built on springs, Humphrey won't hold still long in the Senate. He has the breathless personality of a youth on a roller-coaster. Jet-propelled ideas shoot through his head and take off on the busiest tongue in politics. He has the vocal endurance of a phonograph, can blow up an oratorical windstorm at the drop of a gavel. But he is a man of action as well as words.

A professor-politician, Humphrey taught his classes at MacLester College to take an active part in politics; then he himself went out to practice what he preached. He brought a truce between labor and management, brought quarreling Sister Kenny and the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis together to fight the crippling polio epidemic which struck Minneapolis.

6-11-48

His ambition in the Senate will be a position on the education and labor committee.

Lincoln Said

The News.

To the Editor of The News:

It is interesting to note how the views of Abraham Lincoln on the race problem and states' rights agree with the present attitude of the Southern Democratic Party, and Lincoln is the patron saint of the Republican Party.

(34a)

I quote from a letter of Lincoln to Gen. Duff Green: "I declare that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends."

Birmingham, Ala.

The above was embodied exactly as quoted in the Republican platform of 1860, on which Lincoln was first elected.

Tue. 8-3-48

Next, I quote from Lincoln's speech delivered at Ottawa, Ill., Aug. 21, 1858, in his debate with Judge Douglas: "Free them (the Negroes) and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit this; and if mine would, we well know that the great mass of white people will not. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals.

"Anything that argues me into this idea of perfect social and political equality with the Negro is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words by which men can prove a horse chestnut to be a chestnut horse. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races."

After the War Between the States the Black Republican Party (the radicals) repudiated Lincoln and inflicted reconstruction on the South. We suffered indignities hard to forgive and forget. However, we have more in common with the Tafts, the Hoffmans and the Brickers than with the Wallaces, the Trumans, the Marcantonios and the Isaacsons.

If the Republican Party had incorporated in their platform the views of Lincoln on states' rights and the race problem, and should then enact appropriate legislation, we might ultimately come to an understanding.

E. B. TEAGUE.

837 Frank Nelson Building.

THE DIXIECRAT VOTE

The Times

The inclination of some of the Southern electors who supported J. Strom Thurmond to "yield to the election returns" and cast their votes in the electoral college for President Truman strikes us as immoral, if not illegal. Those citizens who voted through them for Governor Thurmond on the States' Rights ticket have a right to have their votes recorded. We agree with Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of the Alabama electors that to climb on the Truman bandwagon now would be a "dishonorable act."

Sun. 11-7-48

We hope that in the Eighty-first Congress the cleavage between North and South that has been widening in recent years will start moving the other way. We believe that the lead editorial of the Athens (Ga.) Banner-Herald, quoted in this newspaper yesterday morning, is more representative of the thinking of the majority of the leaders of the South than was the Dixiecrat rebellion in the Democratic convention at Philadelphia. "Our politicians must drop their tactics [of division] and seek to find a solution to the great civil-rights question, for instance, that will be in accordance with the facts and the spirit of democratic institutions," it said. We agree heartily with that. But a supine surrender in the electoral college will do nothing to promote that end. The votes were cast. Let them be recorded for history.

New York, N.Y.

The States' Rights campaign did one good thing. It showed how great a majority of Southern voters disagree with the antediluvian attitude that it represents. In the thirteen Southern States where votes for Governor Thurmond were recorded, the divisionists polled 925,115 votes. In the same states President Truman got 2,926,835 votes and Governor Dewey 1,795,665. And the President was not even on the ballot in Alabama, where the Dixiecrats got 127,643 of their total. Only in Mississippi and in South Carolina (Thurmond's home state) was the vote overwhelmingly against the President. When only 19 per cent of the voters of the South support an issue as clearly drawn as was that between the President and the States' Rights candidates, it doesn't seem to us they represent the real attitude of our Southern neighbors. We hope the Southerners in the Eighty-first Congress prove this to be a valid conclusion.

Anti-Truman Parleys Open In Magic City

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Thurs. 7-29-48

Electer Nominees Plan To Discuss Thurmond, Wright Support Pledge

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.—(AP)—Alabama's anti-Truman Democrats plan two meetings in Birmingham Thursday to discuss strategy in opposition to the national party.

The state's 11 Democratic presidential elector nominees will confer on a proposed pledge to support in the electoral college the states rights ticket of Govs. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi.

In a separate session, members of the executive committee of the Alabama states rights Democratic committee will draw up organizational plans for each of the state's 67 counties.

Closed Meeting

Former Gov. Frank M. Dixon of Alabama, said this closed meeting would be held at 11 a.m. at the Tutwiler Hotel.

Thurs.

The meeting of the 11 elector nominees will be held at the same hotel at 2 p.m.

7-29-48

John A. Lusk, Jr., Gadsden attorney and one of the electors, wired the other 10 asking that they attend the session. He declined to disclose business to be discussed, but said he expected the question of the electors pledged to vote for the states right ticket would come before the meeting.

Others Invited

The other electors asked to attend are:

Tom Abernethy, Talladega; Robert B. Albritton, Andalusia; Edmund Blair, Pell City; Ben Bloodworth, Decatur; Walter C. Givhan, Safford; Tully A. Goodwin, Florala; Norman W. Harris, Decatur; Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, state Democratic executive committee chairman; Walter F. Miller, Tuscumbia, and Horace C. Wilkinson, Birmingham.

They were elected in the May Democratic primary on a platform pledge they would not cast the state's electoral votes for President Truman.

The States' Rights Movement

New York Times

Position Explained by an Elector on Rights of Man

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

As a Presidential Elector chosen by the State of Louisiana to vote for Thurmond and Wright, I beg to thank you for the editorial entitled "The Dixiecrat vote," appearing in your paper Nov. 7.

To find Northern thinkers who can draw the line between loyalty to a cause and surrender to an outside majority, even though they confuse an "antediluvian attitude" with a constitutional stand, is heartening.

The States' Rights movement does not oppose the submission of a constitutional amendment aimed at the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting. It does not condone lynching, because the true Southerner abhors mob murder, mob mayhem, mob violence and mob coercion, but considers the punishment for such crimes, whether individually committed or done by groups, under the reserved rights of the states is theirs.

Wed 11-24-48

Our movement carries further: it upholds the natural rights of man, the "unalienable rights" of the Declaration of Independence: some rights and powers reserved to the people, the rights not delegated by the Constitution; the rights that the Government of the Union must not "deny or disparage."

We believe in freedom of choice, which is "the first principle of freedom," and has been exemplified since time began: by Adam in the Garden of Eden; in the "chosen people"; in the selection of the twelve Apostles from that "chosen people," and in the choosing of the successor to Judas by the Disciples.

It has never been better expressed than in the words of that sermon, which President Truman once called his favorite scripture, wherein we read: "Whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them. For this is the law and the prophets." Therein lies equality of justice.

We find in the textbook of Ethics, prepared by Father Hill, S. J., and used in the schools of the Society of Jesus, this precept: "Labor unions, when no violence or injustice intervenes, are quite legitimate, and ought to be countenanced by the state. But certainly one workman is allowed to refuse his services to whatsoever employer and one employer is allowed to refuse employment to whatsoever workman."

Wed 11-24-48

This is an epitome of that principle which marks the FEPC as destructive of natural rights.

The words of Justice Harlan in Adair v. U. S. confirm our position and that of Father Hill. They read: "A part of every man's civil rights is that he be left at liberty to refuse business relations with any person whatsoever," and he quotes the great legal author Cooley as holding this view.

SAYS DIXIECRATS MOVE WON'T DIE

Wilkinson States South Has 'Just Begun to Fight'

11-11-48

Asserting that "the long subservient South has just begun to fight for its political rights," Hugh M. Wilkinson, attorney, predicted Wednesday that the States' Rights movement will not die.

Addressing the Young Men's Business club at their luncheon meeting at The Roosevelt, the States' Right leader said he laughs at the suggestion of punitive steps against the so-called rebels.

"In practical politics," he asserted, "it appears much more noble to be magnanimous and forgive the prodigal sons. More important, it keeps the votes in the family. There are people who will sound off about punishing somebody, people like Meddlesome Eleanor, who has always been antagonistic to the South; people like Jimmy Comiskey, who having nothing to lose, made a long odds bet and now want to cash in. Well, he's entitled to it, but I doubt if Jimmy gets much. As I said, such people sound off about punishment, but I'll wager the party chiefs will think twice before stirring up any more rebellion."

Wilkinson, whose talk was climaxed by rousing applause, said, "You may have noticed that some of our state political leaders walked the tight ropes very expertly in this campaign.

"Do you remember seeing our governor or even our mayor or our two Senators or many of our Congressman at the big States' Right banquet? Had Truman lost, they would have been big States' Righters on Wednesday. Now, of course, they were feeling sorry for Mr. Truman all along.

"I freely predict that Congressman Eddie Hebert, who had the guts to believe in the basic principles of the movement and put his name only on the Thurmond ticket will turn out to be the next chairman of the important House committee on un-American activities—this for his splendid work in the last Congress and despite the fact that he is a States' Righter."

Thur 11-11-48

The speaker said he has been informed that there will be a meeting of States' Rights Democrats in New Orleans in the near future.

"Of course," he added, "there will be some faces missing. Rome may be regarded as the center of Christianity today, but nobody walked its streets wearing the sign of the cross when Nero was throwing Christians to the lions."

Regardless, the important fact will remain that Louisiana and three other states served notice on the world that we are not going to be kicked around any more. If a presidential candidate wants Louisiana's ten electoral votes in 1952 they had better treat Louisiana right."

Ban Dixiecrats, ADA Urges Party

(The Associated Press)

New York, Dec. 12.—Americans for Democratic Action today urged expulsion of States' Rights Democrats from the Democratic party caucuses of both House and Senate and their removal from all important congressional committee posts.

New Orleans States

The ADA, in a statement issued from the national board meeting, asserted that their retention in important posts in Congress, would, in effect, "constitute a repudiation of the people's election mandate and a sharp blow to Southerners who loyally supported the Democratic ticket."

Mon 12-13-48

The statement also called on the Democratic leadership to name liberals to all committee vacancies, reach agreement on a plan to end Senate filibusters and limit, by legislation, the power of the House rules committee.

Leon Henderson is national chairman of ADA. Members of its executive committee include Joseph L. Rauh, Senator-Elect Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and President Walter P. Reuther of the CIO United Auto Workers.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 10.—(INS)—State Senator Joseph N. Langan of Mobile urged Dixiecrats Tuesday to work toward driving President Truman from the Democratic Party rather than setting up a separate slate of candidates.

He made public a letter to Alabama Democratic Head Gessner T. McCorvey in which he urged that Alabama's 11 presidential electors run as Democrats opposed to Mr. Truman instead of electors for the States' Rights Democrats.

McCorvey is one of the 11 who have indorsed the States' Rights ticket of Governor Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Wright of Mississippi.

Langan has called for a convention of proTruman Alabamians at Montgomery next Monday to try to put Truman electors on the Alabama November ballot.

WRIGHT DENIES LANEY DESERTED MOVEMENT

Commercial Appeal

Takes Sharp Issue With Talk About 'Runout'

LAUDS ARKANSAN'S FIGHT

By W. D. SISSON

From The Commercial Appeal Democratic Convention Bureau

PHILADELPHIA, July 15.—Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi Thursday took sharp issue with a report in a Mississippi newspaer inferring that Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas had "run out" on the States' Rights movement.

"Such an impression is totally untrue," Governor Wright said shortly before leaving with the rest of the Mississippi delegation for Birmingham, where they are scheduled to participate Saturday in a States' Rights planning conference.

Fri. 7-16-48

"Plenty" To Attend

Governor Wright said he could not speak for other delegations, but anyone attending the Saturday conference will see "plenty of people there."

"It is my impression that an article appearing in the Mississippi press this morning creates the impression that Governor Laney's decision to withdraw his name as the nominee for President was a runout on the Southern states which were supporting him," Governor Wright said.

"This is totally untrue, and does Governor Laney a great injustice.

"Governor Laney withdrew his name after consultation with all the Southern delegations, and announced he could not afford to run on a platform such as the one adopted by the convention Wednesday afternoon. He repudiated the Civil Rights planks specifically, and in every way acted as a Southern gentleman and statesman should.

Fight Is Praised

"The Mississippi delegation was pledged to vote for Governor Laney, but desired to withdraw after the adoption of the platform. Governor Laney released our delegation and refused to permit his name to be offered. Every Southerner should be indebted to him for the magnificent fight he has made in our behalf."

Governor Laney said late Thursday he had not decided whether he would be able to attend the Birmingham conference, but others close to him said he "mose likely will be at the meeting.

The Mississippi delegation, which dramatically walked out of the Democratic National Convention Wednesday night along with 13 members of the Alabama delegation, spent Thursday conferring and shopping, and left early Thursday night by train for Birmingham.

States' Rights Electoral Votes Show Increase

The Advertiser Sun 9-12-48

Montgomery Ala.

Truman Gives Up Plan For Lengthy Tour Of Dixie States

ATLANTA, (AP)— States' Rights Democrats Saturday jubilantly claimed 45 electoral votes from six states and, in addition, had a place on the general election ballot of four others.

Their campaign of opposition to President Truman's civil rights program also was bolstered during the week by Herman Talmadge's "white-supremacy" victory for the governorship of Georgia.

In the face of the new party's growing strength, Truman gave up his plans for a lengthy Southern campaign tour and, according to friends, will appear only at strategic spots for one-night stands.

The States' Rights ticket of J. Strom Thurmond and Fielding L. Wright won 10 more electorial votes in Louisiana when Democrats there removed Truman's name from the presidential ballot.

The action, in effect, gives the state's 10 unpledged electors to Thurmond, now Governor of South Carolina. However, court action in behalf of Truman is expected.

Already pledged to Thurmond for president were 11 electors from Alabama, nine from Mississippi, eight from South Carolina, four out of eight from Florida and three out of 12 from Tennessee.

Sun 9-12-48

A court action in North Carolina finally was won by the States' Rights Party. Originally denied a place on the November ballot by the board of electors, the party appealed to the state supreme court.

The court rejected the board's

position that the states' righters Texas. Arkansas States' Righters Rights. name 12 unpledged electors, who
had not compiled with laws gov-have until Oct. 13 to name elec- His Democratic Party organiza-will appear on the ballot under
erning the creation of new par-tors. tion is generally acknowledged Truman's name. The electors,
ties and awarded them equal bill- In Georgia the picture was to be anti-Truman but so far no then, will be governed by the
ing with the regular Democrats. confused. Herman Talmadge effort has been made to include outcome of the November presi-
Thurmond and his running campaigned for governor, and Thurmond and Wright in the gen- dential race.
mate, the Governor of Mississip- won, on a platform of vigorous eral election voting. If Truman is overwhelmingly
pi, will appear also on the bal- opposition to a federal civil rights The State Democratic Execu- defeated, they can cast their votes
lots of Virginia, Kentucky and program and in favor of States' tive Committee is expected to for him anyway and avoid the

the party.

However, if Thurmond needs the electors, they would be his.

In Texas, Thurmond Democrats organized a States' Rights Party and prepared to name a presidential ticket. Thurmond himself attended the meeting.

His supporters were busy, as well, in the border state of Maryland where they started a petition to get his name on the ballot. Only 2,000 names are needed but ordinarily they must be filed with the secretary of state in the Spring before the general election.

Inasmuch as the secretary of state is expected to turn down the petition, a court case may follow or the States' Righters may conduct an intensive write-in campaign.

A group of "minority" Democrats in South Carolina, meanwhile, came out for President Truman. The states electors are pledged to Thurmond but the minority members of the party's executive committee want to name rival electors pledged to Truman.

Sun 9-12-48

Friday night Judge Horace C. Wilkinson of Birmingham, Ala., predicted Thurmond and Wright could win the presidency if the election were thrown into the House of Representatives.

He pointed out that the 127 electoral votes from the 11 "solid south" states, if united behind Thurmond, conceivably could prevent either Truman or Gov Thomas E. Dewey from winning a majority.

Dixiecrat Rally Orders Negro Press Jim Crowed Or Ousted

Black Dispatch

LOUISVILLE — (ANP) — Efforts to give news coverage to the first public rally of the newly-formed "Dixiecrat" party last Wednesday night were defeated when a Louisville Defender reporter and photographer were given a choice of segregating themselves or leave the auditorium.

Sat 7-24-48

Oklahoma City

Okla

The rally, attended by approximately 800 states rights supporters and about 10 Negroes, was held at the Memorial auditorium. Gov. J. Storm Thurmond of South Carolina and States Rights Presidential nominee, was the main speaker.

As he was being introduced, a man, who was later identified as M. L. Sharplep, local Dixiecrat party member and copyreader for the Louisville Times, left the auditorium stage and approached Miss Nettie Alice Broaddus, Defender staff writer, and William P. Lanier. photographer, and stated:

"You will have to move to the balcony."

When Miss Broaddus and Lanier asked why, Sharpley told them "because it is a segregated meeting." He then gave them the alternative of moving into the balcony or leaving the building. They left.

Stop The Dixiecrats

The Defender

Sat 11-27-48

Chicago Ill.

THE white-supremacy conspirators who organized the Dixiecrat party and won the electoral votes of four Southern states are now attempting to crawl back into the Democratic Party and seize for themselves some of the fruits of the great Truman victory. These snakes in the grass must be stopped now.

The issue upon which these Dixiecrats based their rebellion was civil rights, no other. President Truman and the new Democratic Party are pledged to fight for civil rights legislation and these pledges have been repeated since the election. The white-supremacy Dixiecrats have renewed their vows to stop this legislation. The battle lines have been sharply drawn and we shall never rest until this army of die-hard, anti-Negro rebels is routed and destroyed.

We cannot appease the enemies of our democracy at home or abroad. We could not appease the Nazis and we are not going to appease those white-supremacists who would sacrifice our democratic system to protect their racial prejudices.

We agree with Mrs. Roosevelt when she stated last week: "I think the people who voted for President Truman did so out of approval for civil rights bill and other progressive measures and would not want to see him hampered by having important committee chairmanships in the hands of fellows who most bitterly opposed the President."

In this hour of triumph for President Truman, the editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Ralph McGill, has asked the northern press to note that "many Southerners earnestly fohght the fraudulent and hypocritical Dixiecrat movement." Mr. McGill failed to point out, however, that Negroes in the South helped to swell the Truman vote in the Southern states that remained loyal to the President and there were close to a million Negro votes cast below the Mason and Dixon.

We believe that the new Democrat Party in the South must include those Negro leaders who fought so valiantly for President. Truman. . .Those loyal white Southern Democrats should welcome the Negro leadership and join hands in building a new Democratic Party, shutting the door against the radical white-supremacists forever. No political movement can be genuinely representative of the South unless it includes Negroes.

Sat 11-27-48

Today we stand on the threshold of full citizenship in America and we have demonstrated again in this election how seriously we regard the responsibilities of citizenship. We have stood every test of loyalty and courage. We have perservered in the face of violence and, despite all the odds against us, we have kept the faith. Now the time has come for our emancipation from the shackles of Jim Crowism and the crippling handicaps of second class citizenship.

Defense of Dixiecrats

The Constitution

Sat 7-31-48

Atlanta Ga.

Editor Constitution: I am not in sympathy with those who would criticize the Birmingham convention, although I was not there. I think that every true Southerner is in sympathy with what that convention was trying to do. And I for one resent the attacks being made on Gov. Thurmond and Gov. Wright. These men accepted their nominations with very little hope of becoming President and Vice President. Acceptance on their part meant sacrifice and hardships which they were willing to undergo for their Southland. They put principle above party expediency. And so long as they are right, and we haven't the slightest doubt that they are, we would prefer seeing them go down in defeat rather than to see them kissing the boots of insincere men. We believe that right, if we stand firm for it, will triumph over wrong and that sooner or later, these controversial issues will be submitted to the individual States for solution.

Truman Supporter

The Constitution

Sat 7-31-48

Atlanta Ga.

Editor Constitution: May I congratulate you on your Sunday's offering, "States' Rights Hurt by Claghorns?"

I think as you do about the Dixiecrats. They are absolutely disgusting, and for the most part, as despicable as the Grand Dragon of the KKK and his dupes.

I am convinced that the resurgence of the Klan in Georgia is sponsored by schemers in one of the old political clans, and that those schemers are employing race hatred and strife as one of the instruments to achieve power once again in our great State, a ruthless power, that would turn the clock back to the days of reconstruction and out-Hitler Hitlerism.

Keep telling Georgians that the Confederacy has fallen and that we are all Americans, most of us Democrats fighing for our ideals intelligently and cleanly within our proud Party. As for me, Truman is my President, worthy of a term of office in his own right.

Both my grandfathers fought four long years for a mistaken cause; but why should I, the third generation, try to dig up issues that have damned us for three-fourths of a century? We have kept and always will retain our racial integrity in Georgia in a sane, orderly, legal way. Why worry about something that doesn't exist?

Editor's Note: Following is a partial text of Col. Marion Rushton's speech in support of the Thurmond-Wright ticket at Sidney Lanier Auditorium last night. Neither the Republican nor the Wallaceite speaker furnished a text.

Montgomery Alabama

By COL. MARION RUSHTON

IT should not be difficult to explain to this audience, nor to any American, what we States' Rights Democrats believe.

In brief, we believe that the men who founded this Republic were inspired by a stroke of genius. We believe that they worked out a plan of government, as good today as it was then, which is the fairest, simplest, and most practical government mankind has yet discovered, to enable large and diverse populations to live together in peace and unity.

Under that plan there were certain things which the Federal Government was created to do—things of national concern which it could best do and of necessity ought to control—that is, war, treaties, currency and banking, interstate and foreign commerce.

We think the founding fathers were wise in granting these powers to the Federal Government. We believe with equal firmness that all other matters were, and of right should have been, entrusted to the states.

Such a system promotes unity and full power to act in national matters, yet leaves local customs, habits and laws undisturbed. We believe that this separation of powers is the great strength—the great guaranty, the great safety valve—of the Constitution.

Fri-10-8-48

We believe that the continued existence of this nation as a free people, responsible to ourselves rather than to some bureau in Washington, depends upons its preservation.

We think that this distinction between state and Federal power is important to every liberty-loving man or woman in this country, whether living in the North or in the South.

We know that it is of transcendent importance to us in the South because, by the accident of history and geography, we have on our hands a peculiar and special problem—one with which our fathers, our grandfathers, and our great-grandfathers have struggled for over 200 years.

I am not here tonight to debate that problem, though I do not fear to do so. If I did, I should contend as Senator Borah did, that "the Southern people have met the race problem and dealt with it with greater patience, greater tolerance, greater intellignce and greater success than any people in recorded history, daling with a problem of similar nature.

Fri-10-8-48

Dixiecrats of Louisiana Join the Hi-Jacking Gang

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky

THE Democratic official organization in Louisiana has seceded from the national party. That State's central committee substitutes the names of **Thurmond** and **Wright** for those of **Truman** and **Barkley** as the party's candidates. Thus in effect it has taken over by force the familiar processes of political determination.

For in spite of their bland announcement that they are the Democratic Party, at least in their State, and so can do what they please about nominees, the Louisiana politicians must know that their title has no substance. The Democratic nominees are **Truman** and **Barkley**, selected by a national convention in which Louisiana delegates participated. No local action can change this fact. Sun 9-12-48

Actually, there is no moral difference between the Louisiana committee's action and seizure of government without popular sanction. There is certainly no difference in the mood of violence and ruthlessness involved in one or the other. As tempers are today, **Thurmond** and **Wright** may win in a Louisiana test with **Truman** and **Barkley**. But the test should be made as an issue before the people.

What the Louisianans, what Dixiecrats everywhere are after doing, is, of course, to show 'em. In a rankling and blind sense of inferiority, they are after proving that what they could not do in an open clash, face to face, they can do by an assault from the rear, a stab in the back. Sun 9-12-48

The action in Louisiana is the course which the States' Rights Democrats frankly said, at their conference in Birmingham, they would take. This is not to go to the time, cost and labor it would take to fight it out with rival ballots, **Truman** and **Barkley** against **Thurmond** and **Wright**. It is to persuade State central committees and State conventions to instruct their electors to vote against the nominees of the Philadelphia convention.

It is, in short, a job of political hi-jacking. It is an intention which does the South no credit, either as to political integrity, sportsmanship or concern for the American way. They plan to do it, as they have succeeded so far in Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Alabama, not because it is right but because the constitutional provision on the independence of electors seems to say they can do it.

However, the Constitution is yet to be interpreted on this point in light of the moral obligation which until the last four years had come to be universally accepted—the obligation of electors to support the nominees of the party in whose name they were chosen. The custom to which the Dixiecrats now would go back is the custom of a day when electoral processes in the United States were anything but democratic. In that day—say, before 1824, when the "independent elector" theory was generally discarded—electors were chosen in six States by legislatures. In the other 18 States popular elections were popular only in name. Voters must have qualified by property ownership, money and a large tax payments.

If the old custom was a travesty on democracy, so is the States' Rights Party of 1948 a travesty on political parties. It stands for nothing, offers nothing by way of platform declarations touching on problems at home or in the world. It is the expression of hysteria. Its action and intentions, as shown in the Louisiana case, are the ways of oligarchy. It invokes ignorance, prejudice and vengeance against a party whose strength in the last 16 years has kept Southern politicians in national power through seniority in Congress. Sun 9-12-48

In the fantastic notion of regaining a control it never really had, it would destroy the party whose program from 1933 on has bailed its farmers out of debt, fed people who would have starved for all that their localities could or would have done, and made the economic improvement of the South, of all regions, a major enterprise and a dedication. Louisiana's professional politicians, whose subservience to the vested interests of oil, sulphur, sugar, lumber and power was all too well revealed in the support of the **Longs'** returns to power, make plain enough the real anatomy of the Dixiecrat movement.

Who's That A-Knocking At the Democrats' Door?

Courier Journal
Mon 11-8-48

THE facts of political life have dawned on the Dixiecrats. Dispatches tell how, balked of revenge and chastened by President **Truman's** victory, finding themselves without a party, they are knocking at the door, asking for readmittance to the old family fold.

If this is the case, it is a story that shows the sordid side of politics. Seeing that the Democratic Party has moved triumphantly away from them, and this in despite of their avowed efforts to smash **Harry Truman** and the party with him, they see also a danger of losing the spoils of Democratic victory. These are the patronage, the seniority, the chances of support for their local ambitions by the now heartened and aroused regulars, the participation in party councils and conventions.

Louisville, Ky

Nobody who was politically knowing had doubted the inner purpose of the States' Righters' revolt. Theirs had been a callous calculation from the start. They had believed, like so many others, that this was the Republicans' year, and that the benefits which would have come with continued Democratic tenure were lost anyhow. It was the time for Southern conservatives to do what they had wanted to do for some ten years; that is, to throw their weight against the New Dealish tendencies of their old party.

If they could capture control of State organizations, they could go, they thought, to a shattered national party and drive a bargain for their return, for the continued solidity of the South. All this is not mere surmise. The shape of the plan was openly described in every conference they held. The high principles extolled by their orators, the incitements to racial tradition, were for the populace, the voters. There were some shrewd operators behind the scenes—the same who began toying with the idea of hi-jacking electoral votes as far back as 1940.

How different things look today! **Henry Wallace** purged the Democratic Party of a radical leftish cancer: the States Righters purged it of the Bourbons, those partners of the "unholy alliance" with Republicans in Congress. Out of the Truman victory the party emerges the stronger and more homogeneous. It would be a loss of this substantial advantage, a slap at the Southerners who remained loyal as Democrats in face of pressures and threats by the rebels, if all were forgiven and forgotten. It would be appeasement that would cost dearly in terms of newly won prestige.

The Supreme Court Heaps Coals of Fire

Courier-Journal
Thurs 10-7-48
Louisville, Ky

ONE of the routine declamations of the Southern politician is his demand that the Federal Government keep its meddling hands out of local election processes. With fire in his eyes he moves into this song and dance at the drop of a bill in Congress to outlaw the poll tax. He warns against a menace to democracy and self-government. The Constitution is being violated. A blow is aimed at the heart of the compact between sovereign States.

Now, however, the Supreme Court reminds him in effect that he can't have his States' rights and eat them too. He can't have it both ways, on one hand insisting on the authority of a State to handle its own election rules; on the other, rushing to a Federal judge when things look dark in his local scene.

The reminder comes in the disputed contest between **Lyndon Johnson** and **Coke Stevenson** for the nomination for senator from Texas. Eight justices act as one in throwing out the appeal of Mr. **Stevenson**, former Governor of Texas, to keep the name of Mr. **Johnson** off the November ballot as the choice of Texas Democrats. Thus they uphold Justice **Black**, who threw out **Stevenson's** petition a week ago and warned Federal district courts to stop umpiring local election results. It was a Federal judge in Texas who had granted **Stevenson's** original petition for injunction to keep his opponent off the ballot, though **Johnson** had been certified as the nominee by the State party convention.

Thurs 10-7-48

The reminder seems reasonable enough. There appears a kind of poetic justice in it, when you recall the super-heated declaration of principles by the Dixiecrats at their convention in Birmingham. "The executive department of the government," they declared in one flaming passage, "is promoting the gradual but certain growth of a totalitarian state by domination and control of a politically-minded Supreme Court. As examples of the threat to our form of government (it) has asserted national dominion and control of submerged oil-bearing lands . . . schools in Oklahoma and Missouri, primary elections in Texas, South Carolina and Louisiana . . ."

The Supreme Court's action points up a truth that must generally have been plain enough for some time. This is that the furious cry for States' rights though the heavens fall—the battle-cry of the **Thurmond-Wright** campaign of sectionalism—is usually a thing of fraud, weakness and political expediency, a concoction of motives rather than of principles.

We are aware, of course, that we may be unjust to Mr. **Stevenson** in all this. There is nothing in the evidence relevant to this case to show that he has ever burned for States' rights; but as a former Governor of Texas, the odds are that he would have been as stout as the next one in their nominal defense. At any rate, the Supreme Court is insisting that there are times when you have to take States' rights and like 'em, whether or no.

THE N. Y. TIMES ESTIMATE

The Advertiser

The Southern political rebellion was not well understood in the nation in the beginning and they minimized it. But its significance is being grasped now and the rebellion has the status of a page one, top head story in The New York Times.

The Times' story Monday for example, is headlined, "Southern Revolt, Gaining Strength, Aids Republicans." "Henry Wallace and Thurmond make it virtually certain," The Times says, "that Mr. Truman will lose at least 45 of the 127 electoral votes of the 11 states that make up the usually Democratic Solid South." It makes The Times think of 1912 when Teddy Roosevelt gouged so much Republican flesh out of the Taft haunch.

Thur 9-16-48

The Times made this report on Southern states:

Montgomery Ala

ALABAMA—Out of the bag for Truman. The possibility of Dewey carrying Alabama was given as "not too remote."

GEORGIA—Truman will not get Georgia's vote; it will go to Thurmond or some other Democrat.

FLORIDA—The eight electors are equally divided between Truman and Thurmond. Republicans believe they have a good chance.

KENTUCKY—Thurmond will get a flattering vote, but Truman will run far ahead of him.

MISSISSIPPI—The works for Thurmond.

NORTH CAROLINA—Cold to the Thurmond ticket, but he will appear on the ballot.

OKLAHOMA—Truman, even if Thurmond is able to make the ballot.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Strongly for Thurmond, the governor.

TENNESSEE—A convention will decide today whether or not the Thurmond ticket will be on the ballot. What worries the Democrats is not Thurmond, but the threat of the Republican Acuff, G. O. P. string band clown.

TEXAS—Truman.

VIRGINIA—Republican hopes are high Thurmond will not appear on the ballot.

States' Rights Future

The News
Wed 11-10-48
B'ham Ala

To the Editor:

"What are you going to do now, Williams, dig a hole and climb in it?" That is the general nature of questions being asked me. Last February I qualified as a candidate for delegate to the Democratic National Convention, not because I was an outstanding citizen or a crackerjack politician, but because I had certain ideas I believed in deeply and I wanted to present them to the people for what they were worth.

In my qualifying statement and before the formal revolt, I said that I would not support Truman unless the South received concessions from the party. I joined the walkout candidates and if I had been elected I would have proudly walked out. If the party parted from Jefferson's ideals and I could not support its candidate, the honorable thing for me to do would be to leave the convention.

After the Birmingham convention I preached states' rights to everyone I met. While living in Washington, D. C., I organized a states' rights club at George Washington University. I returned to the University of Alabama and carried on my fight with all of my energy.

I imagine this states' rights move means different things to different people. To some "white supremacy"; others "tidewater oil"; others "ultra-conservatism." But, to me, it is a courageous fight for a principle, a principle of government that must be maintained for the preservation of our constitution.

I supported this movement for one other reason. For years the South has gone solidly Democratic and naturally the Northern party heads have come to take the South for granted. The Democratic Party makes concessions to Negro minorities in New York, but none to the millions of Southerners. I had hoped that the South would go three ways this election — Republican, Democratic and States' Rights. If it had done so there would be more bargaining for the South's votes in 1952.

As for reprisals against us, it would be foolish. I grant that Truman owes us nothing, but we can no longer be considered "in the bag" for any party. He can kick the other Southern states around as he pleases, but, when it comes to Alabama, he must watch his step because we have proved that we will not blindly follow any party.

The suggestion by Sen. Ellender that Thurmond electoral votes be cast for Truman shows the general purpose for many people voting for and supporting Truman. He wants us to cast our votes for Truman so that we will be in line for a large slice of the Truman pie. He can take his plan and get his pie. We voted for Thurmond; we are proud we did so, and we want our electoral votes cast for Thurmond. We will cook our own pie (or goose).

Wed 11-17-48

There seems to be quite a few questions about the future of states' rights Democrats. The number of questions show just how many people never understood this movement. It is a fight within the party and will continue until we win our battle. I cannot say what steps will be taken by heads of the States' Rights Democratic organization, but I think the permanent organization should be maintained, ready for action if neded. There isn't much we can do until next election. Maybe by then we will not even be needed.

Since the rest of the country is behind Truman, I think that we states' righters should pledge our support to him also. This would add to the unity of the country, state and party. It is bad to start out angry at a person you have to live with for four years. Of course, if things get too rough for us we would be forced to part company with him and fight him through our organization. Some doubt that we are in a position to deal with Truman, but, don't forget that the Democratic Party will be dependent upon us in Congress and in '52. ROY E. WILLIAMS.

University of Alabama.

PROSPECTS FOR SECOND PLACE

The Advertiser
Tues 8-3-48
Montgomery Ala

Some discount the claim that the Thurmond-Wright ticket will outrun Truman and Barkley in November. Yet it is possible—bearing in mind that we are dealing with electoral votes and not the popular vote. It is possible for a candidate to garner a substantial popular vote total and yet get few electoral votes. Another whose strength is concentrated in such a way as to enable him to carry a bloc of states may make a far better showing in the electoral college with a much smaller total popular vote.

Consider that other memorable Southern bolt, on the eve of the Civil War. In the 1860 election the Dixiecrat candidate of that day, John C. Breckinridge, ran second to Lincoln, the victor. And Stephen A. Douglas, running on the national Democratic ticket in a role comparable to that of Truman today, finished a very poor fourth in a field of four.

Douglas did indeed run next to Lincoln on the popular vote—but that is not the way we choose our presidents. The Douglas vote was so dispersed that he received only 12 electoral votes—the nine votes of Missouri and three from New Jersey.

Breckinridge carried most of the Southern states and received a respectable total of 72 electoral votes, placing him next to Lincoln, who had 180. A fourth candidate, John Bell, running on a "constitutional union" ticket, fared better than Douglas. Bell carried Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky, with a total of 39 electoral votes.

It is possible in any event that Truman will suffer the worst defeat in November of any Democrat since Reconstruction. Although many of our presidential elections in the last 50 years have been landslides, the worst-defeated candidates have been Republicans.

Tues 8-3-48

This was because the Democrats, even in the darkest days, could count on the Solid South. When the party was hopelessly defeated, the Southern phalanx formed an unbreakable shield around the loser and enabled him to leave the field beaten but not annihilated.

Because the Republicans lacked any comparable nucleus, when the landslide went against them it was worse than anything the Democrats suffered. The climax of course was in 1936 when Landon carried only Maine and Vermont, with eight electoral votes.

Some of our younger voters, raised on the Roosevelt tradition of victory, may overlook the fact that there have been elections in which the Democratic ticket carried not a state outside the South. But that is what the record shows. And it is a factor in the resentment against Truman and the national Democratic organization—the fact that they have spurned the South which more than once was all that kept the Democrats from being blanked in the electoral college.

In 1920, and again in 1924, the Democratic candidates, Cox and Davis, failed to take a state above the Mason and Dixon Line. Cox even lost Tennessee. But the South gave them enough votes to total 127 for Cox and 136 for Davis. Although badly beaten, they received more electoral votes than did Willkie in 1940 or Dewey in 1944.

Tues 8-3-48

The worst defeat a Democrat has suffered since Reconstruction, in the electoral vote, was that of Al Smith in 1928. Smith actually carried two states outside the South—Massachusetts and Rhode Island—but this was more than offset by losses in the South and he received only 87 electoral votes.

Whether Truman will do as well probably depends upon how widespread the Dixie revolt becomes by November.

HOMELESS

Editor, The Advertiser: 7-29-48

The Advertiser
Montgomery Ala
Thurs

I notice with a great deal of regret the squabbling and dissension that is taking place among us over the "Dixiecratic" proposition. It is alright to squabble and fight politically over our state and county elections. That is a family affair that concerns no one but us.

The national situation concerning our present crisis is far too serious a matter to be divided on. It will take the same unity that we have always given to the old Democratic Party to get the results we want. The old Democratic Party of the South is gone. It has been converted into a "Yankee organization" that does not deserve the name "Democratic," as we have always known it.

It has given me a lot of respect for The Advertiser to see the safe, conservative stand it has taken in this matter. It has not been hysterical and yet it wants to find a logical solution. My ideas may be too Utopian to be worth anything, but I believe if the Solid South will unite behind a party of its own with the same unity and loyalty, we have always given the old party, we can develop a balance of power that will command the respect of both the Republicans and Yankee Democrats.

We in the South have never been given any consideration by either party, because the Republicans know they couldn't get us and the Democrats thought we belonged to them, to be led around like a pig with a ring in his nose.

It doesn't make any difference what such a party is named it can be called the Dixiecratic, the Southern Democratic, or any other name just so it stands for the old original things the old Democratic Party always stood for, states rights, fairness and justice. "A rose by any name will smell as sweet" and if we will quit our squabbling, drop state politics and personal animosities, when we cross the Mason and Dixon line and all pull together, we can have an organization that will carry its weight anywhere.

We may not develop enough strength for a long time to elect a president but we can elect representatives and senators who will work in a bloc and carry a balance of power in the Senate and in national elections we can tell the other parties that we owe no allegiance to either of them but will go with the one that offers the most to the South.

7-29-48

Don't think for a minute that either the Republican Party or the Yankee Democratic Party is a philanthropic institution. They are both controlled by leaders who are out for money and power and anyone who can help them get in will be given due consideration. They don't care for the Negro as such. Their only interest in his welfare is to get his vote. To prove this, why don't they get all hot and bothered about the poor Indian. Because none of them vote and there is nothing to gain by going to bat for his "civil rights." I guess we never can get our people to come together, though. So all I can say is that my vote and my influence, if I have any, will be Dixiecratic until something better comes along. DR. H. C. FOUNTAIN.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

No Pulsing and Singing of the Blood

Thur 10-21-48

Atlanta, Ga.

Remembering the emotions and the singing and pulsing of the blood we all knew during the campaigns of Woodrow Wilson and of Franklin D. Roosevelt, this present parade of candidates reveals an almost shocking lack of enthusiasm for any candidate.

I have an idea that the popular vote may be relatively close, with Thomas E. Dewey scoring a most impressive electoral college victory. There are enough States in the East and West already assured for Dewey to give him a heavy electoral majority. What the South does will be interesting, but will not affect the outcome.

While the major candidates create emotions, they are not of the sort which causes the voter to feel like putting down all he has and following his candidate to the wars. Thomas E. Dewey arouses a growing respect and a gnawing, fretting worry as to whether he will be able to keep off the predatory hounds which bay in the growing crescendo of exultant victory. Harry S. Truman evokes a certain pity. He is so obviously sincere; so transparently tugged hither and yon by those who tell him they know politics better than he. The people who hear him are sympathetic and feel drawn to the man, but not to the candidate. In the case of Dewey they are drawn to the candidate, not to the man. This in itself may be significant. The people want a program and an administration of it. Not emotions. They have had a surfeit of emotions. Wallace arouses a growing contempt, because of his hypocrisy and dishonesty in thought.

Pitiable

But of them all, Strom Thurmond emerges as the most pitiable. He is a man troubled, as we all are. He is torn, as many are, by the recognition that the Negro must have legal equality in education, schools and other factors of citizenship, and he vaguely yearns to give him that, but he is afraid of it and afraid to trust his instincts and his desire to do the right thing. That is the true essence of tragedy.

Here we are up against the most complex and momentous political decisions of our time. Both Truman and Dewey are discussing the dominant issues of housing, inflation, tidelands oil, public power, the future of the Taft-Hartley Act and all that is bound up therein.

Towering above it all, leering forth from the mushroom atomic cloud loosed from the bottle of force by the Jinni science, is the problem of our foreign policy and of world peace.

But, none of these is for Thurmond.

Thur 10-21-48

Rights

In all his goings about, he is a pathetically sincere Jeremiah, thrust suddenly from 1856 into 1948, crying about Federal interference, and States' rights.

It is a little silly, really, when one considers that Gov. Strom Thurmond himself, and all those behind the Dixiecrats, have eagerly aided and abetted "interference" with States' rights. Federal "interference" was all right in bringing in REA and TVA. We sought it in support of cotton prices, in pegging tobacco; in soil conservation payments; in flood control; in public works; the various aids to agriculture; for aid in public health; for increasing Federal aid to roads, and so on. And it was not so many years ago that Southern Representatives, almost without a dissenting vote, helped create a Federal police force with power to reach into every home and which had the authority to ignore State police powers.

34

History

The whole history of our region, because of its poverty, has been a loud cry for "more Federal participation," and the many schoolhouses, courthouses, community buildings, bridges, city halls and parks, built by the late PWA and WPA, testify to an invasion of States' rights.

Strom Thurmond and his crowd are trying to say the only issue is "nigger." There are about 14,000,000 Negroes in the United States and it is fantastic to label them all as "nigger"—with all that word connotes. Fitting them into the guarantees of the Constitution of the United States requires the best that is in us, not the worst. Because we must do that job properly and justly. Even the most constant and earnest liberal realizes that the FEPC will do the Negro more harm than good. Federal imposition of the FEPC would be even more unworkable and corrupting than was Federal imposition of the prohibition law, which the Dixiecrats of that day sought and got. To impose the FEPC on the Negro would not merely be unconstitutional, and harmful, but unworkable. But, for Strom Thurmond to go about the country talking only about the FEPC and the invasion of States' rights is exactly as fraudulent as if the carnival barker and his shills were to try and foist off the two-headed calf as a threat to all calves or the bearded woman as a fate about to be imposed upon all beautiful womanhood.

We can fight this thing out in our own two parties, or we can split them up and divide our strength and get nowhere.

There is a very real issue of States' rights. It is a serious question which Gov. Earl Warren is discussing. But we will lose the States' rights battle if we take the issue of States' rights to mean Thurmond's polite phrase, "minority groups," which is his polite way of avoiding use of the word all his supporters use—"nigger."

DIXIECRATS LOSING GROUND

The Afro-American

Reports from various quarters of the South indicate all too clearly that the Dixiecrats are fighting a losing battle.

Added to their difficulties in getting their candidates' names on the ballot in several States is the fact that in a number of States — Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas among them—they have been repudiated by top officials of the Democratic Party.

Sat 8-21-48

The "revolt" which was predicted during the Democratic convention in Philadelphia last month certainly has not materialized, and, as we have pointed out before, it is not likely that it will to any sizeable degree.

(34d)

While resentment against President Truman persists in the South, it is not sufficiently organized to be considered a serious threat. Aside from tradition, a Southern party regular is little different from his counterpart in other sections of the nation.

Baltimore Md.

For all practical purposes, there still is only one party in the South and the practical politicians know that patronage and influence can best be obtained through established channels. They, therefore, are not willing to gamble on a will-o'-the-wisp proposition such as offered by the Dixiecrats.

The leadership of the Dixiecrats is extremely weak and their finances are uncertain. And while they harp on States' Rights, they are not consistent about it.

They oppose antilynching, anti-poll tax and fair employment practice legislation, but they favor Federal aid to education and other similar measures from which they may benefit by the allocation of Federal funds.

To save their political skins, Southern politicians must look ahead four years. They must also take cognizance of the growing world trend to accord full human rights to all, regardless of color, creed or political affiliation.

Those who consider the situation objectively realize quickly that the program of the Dixiecrats is out of step. The slogan of "white supremacy" is outmoded. That is why the Thurmond-Wright ticket isn't causing us to lose a wink of sleep.

The Nation

Sat 11-20-48

New York N.Y.

BARELY RECOVERED FROM THE SHOCK OF the Truman victory, the Dixiecrats are now letting it be known that they were merely waging a "family fight," and Senator-elect Russell Long has kindly paid tribute to President Truman for renouncing all malice. As Huey's son interprets the President's comment. "It leaves the way open for anyone to come back who wishes." We hope not. The Dixiecrats, after all, have nothing in common with the Democratic Party as Mr. Truman presented it during the campaign, and they would surely have shown him no mercy if the election had been thrown into the House, as they planned. There is emotional ground for Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's bold advice to oust all Dixiecrats from the party, or rather to recognize their own violent withdrawal as permanent. Inasmuch as a sweeping purge of this sort might cost the Democrats the Senate, however, and possibly the House as well, party leaders are justified in looking upon such a course as a plain case of cutting off the nose to spite the face. Senator McGrath, Democratic national chairman, probably struck a more reasonable note when he made the distinction between "misdemeanors," which he said might be forgiven, and "mortal sins," which would not. Mr. McGrath also drew a line between separating active Dixiecrats from appointive jobs wherever feasible and denying them committee chairmanships in Congress. The first course is simple enough, but the second would call for the death of the seniority system at the hands of a majority in each house. Highly desirable as it is, that is a tall order and one not to be executed at the crack of a Presidential whip.

South's Problem

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Should the so-called "civil rights" legislation be enacted we will have to face the problem that [illegible] promoted plank of the Northern-controlled parties politico will surely cause. We must face this crisis as good, level-headed Americans and if principle-guided, we shall shine forth as the Southern Cross and not the KKK cross.

State laws cannot countermand Federal rulings, but we can be the masters of our own fate in this problem by enacting State laws, backed by strong powers of enforcement, raising the sanitary and mental standards of the South. Private employers should set high hygienic requirements for their employees. If the Northern-controlled Congress does not see fit to provide us with needed aid to education, then we will "paddle our own canoe" and "clean up our own back yard," which already looks much more in order than the Yankee yards.

Tue 8-3-48

Atlanta Ga

Marietta. THOMAS M. NELSON GEORGE.

'Common Sense'

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: You know it is an easy thing to criticize or misjudge another's motives. I see in your editorials an [illegible] effort to forestall hasty action in the crisis we are facing. Your position is sound. The South is the mother of the Democratic Party. We kept her alive from Reconstruction Days until the election of Grover Cleveland. Now we have been kicked out by big corrupt political machines and nowhere to go. We should do something about it but let's do it with common sense.

Tues 8-3-48

I believe the South should withhold her elec-

Atlanta Ga.

torial votes from Harry Truman. This will show the big city bosses that they can't throw a noose around our necks and lead us around like blind cattle. A vote for Harry Truman is an indorsement of the so-called civil rights bill and repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor law.

The Republican platform has no plank to repeal this law but contains the obnoxious civil rights plank. I can't vote for Truman or Dewey and I am one hundred percent against Henry Wallace.

T. J. ENTREKIN.

Tifton.

Alabama Labor Group Assails Dixiecrat Plan

Mon. 8-16-48

Montgomery Ala.

States' Rights Efforts Lead To GOP Victory, Resolution Declares

Tactics Condemned

AFL, CIO And Railroad Units Ask Pro-Truman Electors On Fall Ballot

Alabama labor leaders Sunday condemned the "dictatorial tactics and objectives" of the states' rights Democratic party.

In a resolution adopted in a special meeting here behind closed doors, they declared the states' rights movement would "insure the election of the nominess of the Republican party."

The meeting, attended by top-level officials of the Alabama Federation of Labor, the State CIO and the Alabama Brotherhood of Railway Workers, pledged labor's support to a move to place pro-Truman electors on the November ballot.

State Senator Joseph N. Langan of Mobile, who is spearheading the pro-Truman drive, addressed the session. He said he would do all he could to give labor a chance to vote for the national Democratic nominees, President Truman and Senator Barkley of Kentucky.

To Stay Over

Langan has called a meeting of pro-Truman Democrats here Monday morning, and many of the labor leaders indicated they would stay over for the convention.

The resolution adopted Sunday by the labor leaders said "certain discredited and repudiated politicians within Alabama have succeeded through subterfuge and other devious methods in circumventing the best interest and wishes of all the people."

It said the "issues now being put forth by this discredited group were not clearly defined" in the recent primaries.

"This certain group of co-called Democrats in Alabama has arbitrarily denied the people of Alabama of their constitutional right to cast their ballots for the nominees of their choice," the resolution said.

It charged the anti-Truman Democrats with bolting the national party and attempting to lead the people of Alabama out of the national organization.

Aid Republicans

"By so doing," it continued, "(they) deliberately insure the election of the nominees of the national Republican party."

The union officials resolved that "accredited representatives of all groups of organized labor in Alabama . . . do condemn the dictatorial tactics and objectives of these so-called Democrats to confuse and mislead the people . . . into unconsciously contributing to the election of a Republican president."

Among the 50 or more labor officials attending the meeting were:

Mon 8-16-48

Jack Brock, Birmingham, president of the Alabama Federation of Labor; Carey E. Haigler, Birmingham, State CIO director; Hugh Brown, Birmingham, secretary-treasurer of the Alabama Federation of Labor and president of its political action committee.

H. E. Sullivan, Montgomery, chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks' legislative committee; M. O. Jones, Mobile, executive committeeman of the political education league (AFL); Mrs. Mary Hendricks, Selma, state representative of the Ladies Auxiliary of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

William Mitch, Birmingham, president of the State United Mine Workers; R. B. Parr, Birmingham, president of the State United Steelworkers (CIO); R. T. Postman, Montgomery, representing C. B. Blankinship of Birmingham, state director of the Communication Workers, and J. P. Knight, Selma, chairman of the legislative branch of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

THURMOND DECLARES HOPE OF ARKANSANS HANGS ON DIXIECRATS

The Commercial Appeal

States' Rights Candidate Tells Marianna Hearers They Have Nothing To Lose

Fri 8-27-48

WILL RUSH ELECTOR DRIVE

Organization Prepares To Launch Immediate Campaign To Place On Ticket—'Can't Afford To Wait'

Memphis Tenn.

By DICK ALLEN
Staff Correspondent

MARIANNA, Ark., Aug. 26.—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, States' Rights Democrats' candidate for President, Thursday night declared Arkansas had "nothing to lose and everything to gain by rallying solidly behind the American Democracy of the States' Rights ticket."

Simultaneously, the States' Rights organization announced it would not wait on action of the Arkansas Democratic convention in Little Rock next month for the selection of presidential electors. The group will begin an immediate campaign to have their States' Rights electors placed on the Arkansas ballot by petition.

Can't Afford To Wait

"We are hopeful the convention will indorse our candidates and nominate electors pledged to cast votes for Thurmond and Wright," Wallace W. Wright, cochairman of the States' Rights Democrats Executive Committee declared, shortly before Governor Thurmond made his address. "But we cannot afford to await the action of that convention to open our campaign."

He said a States' Rights headquarters would be opened in Little Rock soon, and that petitions would be circulated throughout Arkansas next week to place Thurmond-Wright electors on the General Election ballot.

Governor Thurmond, in an address broadcast from Marianna over radio stations in Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee and Alabama, declared the States' Rights ticket "is the only ticket for Arkansas to support."

Fri 8-27-48

He said a vote for either Dewey or Truman in November would be an invitation for passage in January "of all those vicious bills" contained in the civil rights proposals advocated by both the Republican and Democratic parties.

Appeals to Convention

The South Carolina chief executive called on the Arkansas Democratic Convention, which meets in Little Rock next month, to name electors pledged to support the States' Rights ticket "and make us the regular nominees of the Democratic Party."

"The people of Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina remember that through the years Arkansas never has shirked from taking her place shoulder-to-shoulder with us in all our common struggles," Governor Thurmond declared. "We cannot believe she will be in the enemy's camp when the ballots are tolled in November."

The presidential candidate's speech climaxed his two-day visit in Arkansas.

Here at the invitation of John Daggett, Marianna attorney, executive director of the Arkansas Free Enterprise Association, and a member of the States' Rights Democrats Executive Committee, Governor Thurmond and his wife arrived in Marianna Wednesday morning. He was guest at a luncheon Wednesday at which some 150 official delegates to the state Democratic convention also attended.

Theme of Attack

Throughout Governor Thurmond's address he lambasted what he called an increasing trend toward centralized government in Washington and an utter disregard for the Constitution's Bill of Rights.

"We who are Democrats," he said, "have faithfully adhered to the doctrine of Jefferson and the great leaders who came after him. But evil days have fallen now on American political life. Three national conventions met in Philadelphia in 1948. All three committed themselves to principles which are subversive to the American way of life under our Constitution."

He said those who advocate the centralization of all political power in the Federal Government and who seek to destroy the reserved rights of the states are using for their purpose the so-called Civil Rights program. He said the proposed AntiPoll Tax Bill is "a measure which acts to reform election laws through Federal intervention, despite the fact that one of those matters which the Bill of Rights reserves to the states is the regulation of qualifications for voting."

"It is obvious that any kind of Federal AntiPoll Tax Law is more than a measure to end poll taxes," Governor Thurmond declared. "It is a measure which would tear down that Bill of Rights barrier which prevents the ever-expanding horde of Washington officials from dickering with our elections."

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Points To Europe

He called the proposed Anti-Lynch Bill a "Federal police measure," declaring that both Democrats and Republicans were promoting the measure because "it would be just as effective as an opening wedge toward the establishment of a Federal police power such as has been the terror of the common man of Europe for centuries."

Governor Thurmond declared the proposed Federal program to force mingling of the races is an attempt to stir up racial and religious hatred for political advantage.

Governor Thurmond charged that of all the schemes to "break down our state lines and turn our Government into some kind of dictatorship, the most vicious and un-American is the plan to place all private employers and workers under political control."

He asserted the proposed Fair Employment Practices Commission Law was "made to order for Communists and their fellow-travelers."

Governor Thurmond described the three main objectives of the States' Rights Democrats as:

To furnish the political opposition to a further centralization of power on the banks of the Potomac; to arouse the American people to a realization that the destruction of Constitutional government is threatened by the catering of both the Democratic and Republican parties to the demands of minority blocs, and to restore the South to its rightful position in the political life of the Nation.

He declared the States' Rights ticket would receive 100 votes in the electoral college, adding that if Truman and Dewey should split up the electoral votes in the states outside the South "then the election will be thrown into the House of Representatives, where each state will have one vote. The states which vote with us will then have the balance of power."

Governor Thurmond asserted:

"The States' Rights ticket is the only one people can vote for to protest the capture of their liberties by Federal political autocracy."

States' Righters Say $540 Was Largest Gift

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—The largest contribution from an individual received by the States' Rights Democrats before August 31 was $540, the national headquarters disclosed here yesterday.

Contributions, headquarters reported, totaled $13,449.78 from the time the national organization was formed on Aug. 4, until the end of the month.

9-21-48

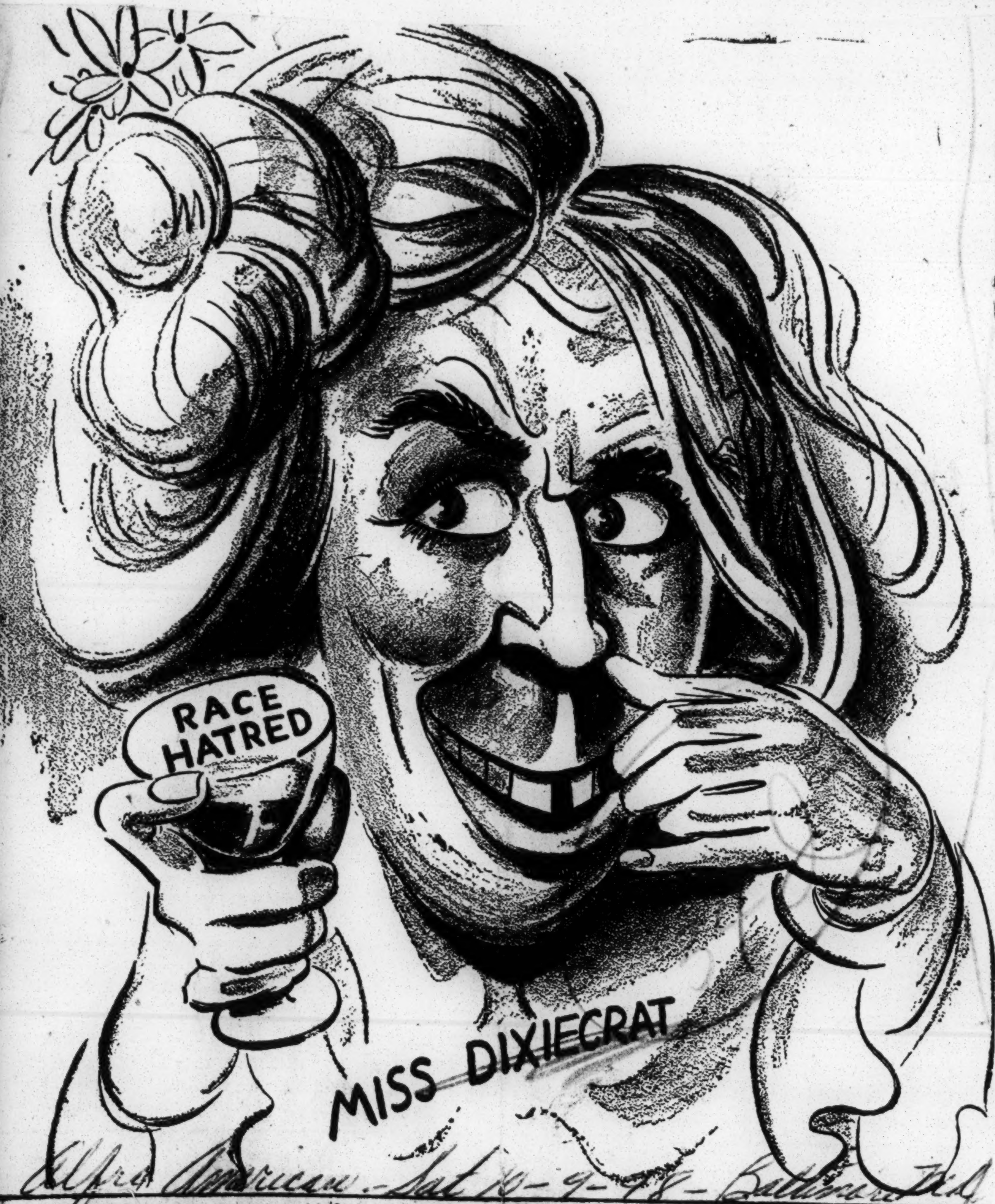
For the same period, expenditures were listed as $14,890.53. This created an overdraft then on the books of $1,440.75. The account continued into September and the overdraft was absorbed by September assets.

Simultaneously with release of the financial report, States Rights headquarters here issued a statement from Merritt H. Gibson, Director of the national campaign, who was in Houston, Texas.

The statement quoted Gibson as saying:

"It is not true that (H. R.) Cullen contributed one penny to the national States' Rights campaign. All receipts will be reported according to law and those reports will be self-explanatory."

The headquarters said the Gibson statement was a denial of a report by Columnist Drew Pearson in Washington that the campaign had received a $100,000 contribution fro mCullen, a Texan oil man.



Afro American - Sat 10-9-48 - Baltimore Md

IF THERE WAS AN ASYLUM LARGE ENOUGH SHE WOULD BE IN IT!

Montgomery Advertiser

34

Washington Calling

Exploiting Wealth Of Tideland Oil

Montgomery Ala

• WASHINGTON.

THE miserable, petty practice of congressmen who compel their employes to kick back part of their salaries or who put names on the congressional payroll of those who perform no service should be exposed. Rep. J. Parnell Thomas, of New Jersey, is involved and now similar charges have been brought against Rep. Alvin O'Konski, of Wisconsin.

But this does seem petty indeed alongside the need for investigation of what may well be a scandal of major proportions. Ever since the middle of the Summer rumors have persisted that the oil lobby would spend millions of dollars to defeat President Truman.

Their interest was in the vast wealth of tideland oil which they are now exploiting. President Truman has stood firm for keeping the oil in the tidal waters under Federal jurisdiction. He has been backed by national defense chiefs who have argued the acute necessity for military reserves.

Thurs 11-25-48

On the other hand, the Republican platform called for turning over the tideland resources to the states. Therefore, it was essential to major oil interests to insure Truman's defeat.

How was this to be done? One way was to underwrite a revolt in the states of the normally solid South. In a close election the electoral votes of three or four Southern states might provide the margin between defeat and victory.

IN AUGUST hints came from the Democratic National Committee that oil interests in Texas were providing unlimited funds for the Dixiecrat revolt. The issue of the President's civil rights program, which had engendered deep and genuine feeling throughout the South, was a convenient battle front.

The report of expenditures by the Dixiecrat party shows nothing out of the way with respect oil. But such reports, and this is true not merely of the Dixiecrats, have tended to encroach more and more on the realm of fiction.

Comparatively at least, the Dixiecrat campaign was not a costly one. There were many sources of revenue, including the large utility companies. Perhaps the oil interests did not have to come through with any big amounts, the persistent rumors may be baseless.

But we have a right to know all that can possibly be known. This whole matter is vitally related to national security and the future of a resource that is rapidly wasting.

Thurs 11-25-48

This need not be a partisan political investigation. It is too big for that. Republicans of the conviction of Senator Charles Tobey, of New Hampshire, should be willing to join with Democrats to do the digging into what may well be a sordid piece of political business.

One of the newly elected Democratic senators, Robert Kerr, of Oklahoma, has his oil company. The Kerr-McGee Company is drilling in the Gulf of Mexico about twelve miles off the coast in the open sea. Before they were overwhelmed on Nov. 2, Republicans were proposing to investigate reports that Kerr had spent $400,000 in his primary race and would spend that much or more in his drive to defeat the Republican candidate Ross Rizley.

THE farthest operation attempted in the marginal sea is that of Magnolia Oil Company, an affiliate of Socony Vacuum, which subsequently abandoned operations 28 miles out in the Gulf of Mexico off Iberia Parish, Louisiana. The Humble Oil Company, an affiliate of Standard of New Jersey, is seven miles out. The Superior Oil Company has struck oil at 9,000 feet, 17 miles out.

The public is entitled to know the status of the great treasure of oil that lies under the tidal lands, for the Supreme Court has held that those lands belong to every citizen. If oil eight or nine thousand miles away in the Middle East is vital to our security, then how much more vital is the oil on our doorstep.

The Supreme Court decision was, however, limited to the tidelands off California. Specific suits must be filed by the Federal government to recover possession of the lands off Texas, Louisiana, and other states.

At one time Attorney General Tom Clark announced that a suit would be filed covering the Texas marginal lands. There were loud outcries from prominent Texans who filed in to protest to their fellow-Texan, Clark.

Thurs 11-25-48

In dealing with the states on the tidelands issue, the Federal government has been more than reasonable, particularly on the problem of state revenues from this source. If the public's property is to be safeguarded, action is essential on Capitol Hill and in the Department of Justice.

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STATES RIGHTS GETS BACKING IN GRANGE

The Times

Drafts for '49 Platform Strong in Demand for Greater Local Control of Farms, Schools

PORTLAND, Me., Nov. 17 (AP)—The National Grange Convention started work today on a 1949 platform expected to feature a "states rights" approach on national problems.

Thurs 11-18-48

New York N.Y.

Tentative drafts of convention resolutions were strong in demands for greter local control. This was true particularly on problems relating to farming, education, health programs, waterway development, flood control and soil saving.

This stand for local control is in line with the farm organization's traditional stand. It frequently has warned that a "strong central government" soon would destroy democracy.

The Grange turned to the job of writing a new platform after granting its seventh degree to 17,008 members from various parts of the country.

This was the second highest number to be granted the degree at a national meeting. The record of 18,374 was set at Columbus, Ohio, last year.

On the controversial issue of Federal financial aid to education the Grange prepared to endorse a warning of National Master Albert S. Goss.

In his keynote address, Mr. Goss told the convention, it must "recognize the grave danger of having our school system fall under political control where the minds of our children could be moulded to suit the whim of the party in power."

The Agriculture Committee favors creation of state agricultural councils with power to coordinate work of Federal, state and local agencies handling farm programs.

Expression of Grange distrust for Federal controls could be found in resolutions opposing proposed federalization of state militias and peacetime military training.

In the matter of government control over use of land, the Grange prepared to go on record objecting to rule from Washington.

Thur 11-18-48

A resolution emphasized the need for greater effort to save the country's soil. It said this could be accomplished in part by means of land-use ordinances and by taxes on private land for building conservation projects.

Today's convention program featured award of the Grange's Community Service Prize of a fully equipped Grange hall to the Schley Grange of Hillsboro, N. C.

Greene Valley Grange, Halcott Center, N. Y., won second prize of Grange hall equipment valued at 1,500.

About 1,400 local granges in thirty-seven states competed for the prizes, which were contributed by the Sears Foundation.

LANEY LASHES STAND OF 'TRUMAN'S' PARTY

[illegible]

Arkansan Launches Attack Before 450 At States' Righters Dinner

Wed 11-17-48

By KENNETH TOLER

Memphis Press

From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Mississippi, Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 12.—President Truman's civil rights program was characterized as "the assassination of Democracy itself" here Tuesday night by Governor Laney of Arkansas at a $25 a plate States Rights Democratic Party dinner attended by approximately 450 persons.

One of the originators of the movement seeking to block the President's proposals, as well as his election, the Arkansan said the Truman program would be "the lynching of the Constitution, the crucifixion of States' Rights and the betrayal and death of personal liberty and freedom."

"Unethical Politicians"

"Can we afford to let it happen without protest?" he questioned. "Can we forget the sacrifices of those who established a nation?"

Governor Laney shared the program with James D. Arrington, editor-lawyer-mayor-humorist of Collins, who lambasted the Truman movement in Mississippi.

Governor Laney said "some well-meaning people who have not taken time to analyze the subject (civil rights proposals) are following blindly the disproved proposals of careless, unethical, politicians."

Wed 10-13-48

"For the sake of a vote, this leadership would sacrifice the integrity of themselves and the people of America. To win an election, they are ready to impose a program that has failed many times and that they do not believe in themselves.

"Those same leaders have not made any explanation as to how such proposals could be successfully operated the American way.

"If these proposals are not constitutional, if they tend toward centralized government, if they are Communistic in origin and content, if they do not conform to majority rule, if they do not accomplish the end claimed, if they are unworkable, if they are directly opposed to the foundation basic Democratic principles of our party, how can Harry Truman be a Democrat?

Calls It Amusing

How can J. Howard McGrath be a Democrat? How can those who supported the platform adopted at Philadelphia be Democrats? How can those who support Truman call themselves Democrats? Indeed, this is an amusing observation.

"There are those who say that the party must change its position, that it must be progressive. That is the position of Henry Wallace and his followers. I, too, believe in progress, but the abandonment of American principles and traditions and the substitution of doubtful, untried and tainted platforms and policies, does not mean progress to me.

"Yes, I am a Democrat. I am not a Trumanite."

Governor Laney said the changes proposed by President Truman "mean political debauchery, retrogression and degeneracy."

"It is the abandonment of the Democratic Party principles by those who support it. It is compromise to suit the occasion."

Wed 10-13-48

Governor Laney said the Sttes' Rights cause is "to save those enduring principles so long advocated by the Democratic Party. In fact, what we would to do is to save the Democratic Party, and while doing so, preserve a Nation."

Cites Purposes

"The practical politicians ask—can we elect a president? We do not know whether we can elect a president or not, but we believe that we can create respect for 30 million Southern Democrats, that we can awaken a people as to present political trends, that we can lay a basis for a sound Democratic Party, and with it all, preserve our personal and political integrity.

"Consequently, I suggest that we do some voting," Governor Laney said. "Voting for Thurmond and Wright—voting for States' Rights, voting for the preservation of respect for Southern Democrats and Americanism."

"We must now engage in the process of rebuilding the Democratic Party whih has been wrecked by disloyal members of the party. We want sane proposals. We want our party to be a Democratic Party.

"Those who are opposing Truman are making the greatest contribution to political history of the present era."

Dixie: Barrier To Totalitarianism

John T. Graves

"The South's political philosophy must, of necessity, be liberal—in the American way.

Columbia Record

The difference between an American Liberal and a national Liberal is the difference between Sam Jones and Ellis Arnall. The two men have much in common, and more apart. Arnall won Georgia's governorship by defeating the Talmadge crowd, and has now been beaten by a returning Talmadge. Jones won Louisiana's by ousting the Longs, and the Longs have come back, too. Both men made reputations in office as liberals. But Arnall is a "national liberal." He looks most to the federal scene and national favor. Sam Jones is an "American liberal." He holds himself at Lake Charles true to our most American principle. Some call it that principle home rule, some local self-government. Sam Jones calls it States' Rights. I am proud to present this famous American liberal today in example of the fact that the States' Rights movement is no one-sided cause but a move to preserve the American frame in which all our causes must be sought.

By SAM H. JONES
Former Governor Of Louisiana

Columbia S.C

In 1943, while governor, speaking at Vicksburg, I made this statement: "We of the South would prefer to solve our social economic and poitical problems within the Democratic Party, but if we canont do so, I, for one, am ready to go outside the party for a solution." The press, reporting that speech, said: "Ten thousand people present rose to their feet in applause." From that time forward I have not had the slightest doubt that, in the minds of the southern people, as distinguished from the politicians, there is going on a political change or evolution that cannot and will not be stopped.

Its first manifestation was the fight of southerners at the 1944 Chicago democratic convention to keep Wallace off the ticket for vice president. And it was southerners who did the job—not the big city bosses, nor the "clear it with Hillman" people. Had not the southerners sounded the alarm, the big-city bosses would have gone happily and stupidly along with Wallace. And Wallace would have been, today, the President of the United States.

The second manifestation is the fight today. It is in truth a fight **for states' rights** and **against regimentation.** It is as logical in the North as in the South, in New England as in Dixie. Unless it succeeds we may well see the end of American political practices, as they have existed from Jefferson down—and substitution of the centralized police state idea which has meant the death knell of every country that adopted it, with the exception of Russia whose doom is yet to come.

Under the present political setup, only the South can stop the trend toward collectivism and totalitarianism. Eliminate the South from consideration and you have two political parties vying for control. Each must depend on the "communist fringe" for victory. Each must cater to that "fringe vote." In election after election, we have moved closer to the communist objectives, not because of the will of the people, but because a small minority is skillfully using its balance of power. This has happened because the South has been effectively "blocked off" from active participation in national affairs.

Sat 9-25-48

The success of these collectivists depends on the **continued inactivity** of southerners. It is no wonder that cold water is poured from communist sources on the South's fight. The Wallace-ites know the South stopped their man in 1944. They know they have only this region to fear.

Border states have the two-party system. But the states' rights movement affords the only practical vehicle by which **deep southerners** can express themselves. It must be utilized if we are to convince Democrats and Republicans alike that henceworth we shall think for ourselves and act for ourselves. This is not a racial issue, nor are those who constittue the Southern states' rights movemet predominately reactionary, or anti-labor. They are not even the conservative bourbon type we hear so much about. Eliminate the Negro question, and the majority of southerners are liberal and progressive. This is always true of any region a large number of whose people are underprivileged. Such people are never satisfied with the status quo. But the South insists on moving forward under the banner of American political philosophy and by the use of American institutions and methods. President Truman's FEPC regimentation and police state force bills do not fit Southern ideas of Americanism. Thus we have reached an historical impasse which may well re-form American political lines.

Sat 9-25-48

The 1948 fight is merely the skirmish which will lead to the main battle of 1952 or 1956. In one of these two future elections the left-wingers will make their all-out bid for the control of America. But "the 1948 skirmish" will determine whether their appeal is sufficient to seize and maintain control of the machinery of one of our major political parties. It will also determine whether southerners are ready to act logically to prevent the control of our government by those embracing foreign ideologies.

It is the job of the South "to hold the line" until either the national Democrats or the Republicans come to their senses sufficiently to quit "playing with fire." If the existing parties are so decadent as to be unable to resist these un-American encroachments; if they are incapable of bold and aggressive action to resist these undermining influences,—then the new states' rights movement must take upon itself the task of uniting and welding together those of like faith throughout the nation.

DIXIECRAT MEMBERS ARE ASKED TO LEAVE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Commercial Appeal
Sat 9-4-48

They're No Longer Democrats, McGrath's Aide Declares—Cites Thurmond, Rushton

G.O.P. FIRES ON TRUMAN

Republicans Wonder If He Had 'Working Agreement' With The Reds During 1944 Campaign—Brannan Flays Foes

By D. HAROLD OLIVER
Associated Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, Sept. 3—A Democratic National Committee official suggested Friday that "any and all" committee members who are supporting the States' Rights presidential ticket should resign from the committee.

William J. Primm Jr., assistant to National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, made the proposal. He said such Democrats have "left the Democratic Party."

Brannan Hits Dewey

Primm's statement came in the midst of a controversy between Republicans and Democrats over Communist Party indorsement of the Roosevelt Truman ticket in 1944.

Also, Secretary of Agriculture Brannan spoke out again on the issue of Government support of some farm prices. Brannan said the G.O.P. presidential nominee, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, and other party leaders want to destroy these supports by blaming them for high food prices.

G.O.P. National Chairman Hugh D. Scott Jr., demanded that President Truman say whether he accepted Communist indorsement as Mr. Roosevelt's running mate. The Democratic National Committee replied that President Roosevelt renounced such support before his fourth term election.

Primm's resignation proposal referred specifically to Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, States' Rights presidential candidate, and Col. Marion Rushton of Alabama, who represent their states on the National Committee.

Sat 9-4-48

Promise Is Reaffirmed

He described Rushton as the "campaign manager for the Dixiecrats" in Alabama.

Primm reaffirmed the National Committee's promise of recognition to any pro-Truman group which officially organizes in opposition to the States' Rights ticket.

"If these people," he said referring to the States' Righters, "think they can fight the national party ticket and then come in and ask that they be seated or recognized by the National Committee they are certainly mistaken."

Primm denied that McGrath had said in an interview that Southern senators and representatives supporting Thurmond's candidacy would lose their party status. He said the National Committee had no authority to read out of the pary duly elected legislators.

Will Not Interfere

He said he was authorized to say that McGrath "did not take nor has he any intention of taking any action against the duly elected members of the House and Senate as has been implied."

G.O.P. Chairman Scott's challenge of President Truman on the Communist indorsement issue came in a statement from the Republican National Committee.

He accused the President of trying to "snuff out" congressional investigations of Communists by "impetuous cries of 'red herring.'"

He said he wonders if there was a "working agreement" between Mr. Truman and the Communists in 1944. If so, he asked when it was ended.

ATES' RIGHTERS HIT AS GIANT CONSPIRACY

armichael Says Sponsors Want Republicans To Win

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 1.—(AP)—The States' Rights movement in the South was called by Alabama's Atty. Gen. Albert Carmichael Wednesday a "giant conspiracy" controlled by the Republican National Committee.

Addressing a session of the Methodist Committee on Social Action, he charged the split within Democratic ranks was brought about in interests of "a handful of intensely selfish people" in Alabama and the South.

"The record is against these professional States' Righters," the attorney general said. "I urge that you look carefully behind their loud and lofty pronouncements to see if they are not really advancing this cry to insure the triumph of a political party which puts property rights above individual or human rights."

He charged the States' Rights forces with "the greatest betrayal of the best interests of the people of this state, ever seen in Alabama."

Carmichael said this is being accomplished within the framework of the Democratic Party of Alabama "by so-called leaders whose sole political, economic and personal interest is that of bringing about a national regime favorable to the clients they represent."

34d 1948 Dixiecrats

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser Montgomery Ala.

Letters to the editor must carry complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names may be used at the editor's discretion. Letters of less than 200 words are given preference. All letters may be cut.

Sun. 8-1-48

THINKING PEOPLE

MR. R. F. HUDSON, Publisher: You did exactly what I expected and wanted you to do in your brilliant and forceful editorial of July 28, headlined "The Advertiser-Journal position." Thinking people all over the world—who have their feet on the ground, will applaud you.

RUBY G. SMITH

Montgomery.

* * * *

NAIL'S HEAD

Mr. R. F. Hudson, Publisher:

I have never read a clearer and more forceful, editorial than the one which I have just read in The Advertiser, of this morning, captioned "The Advertiser-Journal Position."

You hit the nail on the head in as clear, forceful and unambiguous language as the subject could possibly be handled. Frankly, I just don't see how any Alabama Democrat could hesitate in determining what his duty was—that is, if he participated in our state primaries.

Some of those who have been inclined to criticize me and others who have taken the same position, have contended that we were not criticizing people for doing exactly the same thing as was done by the group which went off and supported Hoover as against Al Smith, in 1928. Nothing could be further from the truth. In 1928 those who bolted the Democratic Party of Alabama did not go into the general election in November and vote for the Presidential Electors nominated in the Democratic Primary, but what they did was to go into the General Election in November and vote for the Republican Presidential Elector nominees.

You have rendered a real service to the Democratic Party of Alabama in writing this forceful editorial in a paper which probably has more influence in Alabama than any other paper published in this state.

The Advertiser

I remember many years ago, when I was quite a youngster, I did a lot of work in making abstracts for some saw mill companies up in Wilcox and Monroe Counties, and I think that practically every man of any prominence in Monroeville and Camden subscribed to The Montgomery Advertiser, and those people up there would say that so far as their politics were concerned, The Montgomery Advertiser "was their Bible."

Montgomery

Again thanking you for this splendid editorial, which has been most helpful to all of us who are fighting for just what you stand for, and with kindest personal regards and all good wishes to you and your splendid organization, I am,

8-1-48

GESSNER T. McCORVEY

Mobile, Ala.

* * * *

AMERICA WILL DIE

Mr. R. F. Hudson, Publisher:

Congratulations! The Advertiser-Journal position is on solid ground.

"The older I get, the smarter my Father becomes." I remember the purple rages the late Dean Albert J. Farrah used to work himself into back in 1932 and 1934 when I was a student in his Constitutional Law Class, every time there was an encroachment on States' Rights: such as (1) packing the Supreme Court (a means of encroachment, not an end), (2) N.R.A.

Your statement: "The rights reserved to the states by the Constitution should be the foundation upon which we stand, fighting as best we can against too much of centralized government. Loss of individual freedom. camouflaged as it might be for the necessities of life in the several leading nations of the world. And in Russia, ostensibly the "worker's paradise," labor is virtual economic peonage as judged by our standards of living.

at first by innocent looking laws, will under bureaucratic interpretation grow to harass and jeopardize the basic liberties guaranteed every individual under the Constitution," is wonderful.

The Negro question is but the veneer, or less, the polish on the fundamentals involved in the States' Rights legislation, for just as sure as there is a Federal F.E.P.C. law, we will have here in Alabama a Federal police—by whatever name they are called—for its enforcement. They will be in your office and mine, harassing the hell out of us all.

America has been built on individual freedom. Freedom of action, freedom to work and produce. And just as surely as this American freedom is continually stifled, America will die. We must not relinquish our freedoms—our States Rights.

Montgomery. LUTHER INGALLS.

* * * *

REDEMPTION

Mr. R. F. Hudson, Publisher: Sun.

Please allow me to express my appreciation of your signed editorial in The Advertiser of the 28th, headed, "The Advertiser-Journal Position."

The President's proposals, which he chooses to designate "Civil Rights" viewed in its total disregard for the Constitution; all its political implications, including its effort to totally destroy States' Rights; its clearly marked path to dictatorship and in all its other absurdities, truly imposes a duty on the South to, in its own defense and indeed the defense of all our people, carry our mesasge to all the people of all the states.

8-1-48

During the days of Reconstruction, President Grant was said to remark, "The day will come when these defeated Southern States will be called upon to redeem this Republic." In the light of current experiences, brought on all of us by false and unworthy leaders, it seems to me that the day of which President Grant spoke has arrived.

OLIN H. HORTON.

Birmingham.

* * * *

A STEADYING INFLUENCE

Mr. R. F. Hudson, Publisher:

Nothing on earth ever did my heart more good than the editorial published in yesterday's Advertiser. It was an effective statement of position, and the thought in it that there was an obligation on The Advertiser and The Journal to carry the viewpoint of the South to the other states was excellent.

8-1-48

There have been many times in the past when I had to swallow when I voted under the rooster, but I never failed to follow through my primary commitment into the general election. Those who, like Joe Langan, and the group for which he is working, are trying now to work out some way to wiggle out from under their obligations, cannot possibly succeed, in my opinion, in carrying any real weight before the Alabama electorate.

Sun.

The Advertiser has always been, as both of us know, one of the great leaders in Alabama, close to the people and speaking for them. Your editorial, bringing The Advertiser back in line with the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Alabama's people, will be a beacon light and a steadying influence to our people in these trying times.

FRANK M. DIXON.

Little Headway In Dixiecrats Revolt Seen

Daily World — Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 7-31-48

Increased Negro Vote Big Factor

7-31-48

BY THE NNPA

Although Dixiecrats have decided to enter the names of Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi as Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates in all forty-eight states, a survey indicates that the States' Rights Democrats will make little headway in their revolt against President Truman over his civil rights program.

A very important factor in the political equation is the increased number of colored voters in the eleven states of the Deep South. They new constitute about 12 per cent of the vote. If there is a wide cleavage in the white vote, it is possible that coolred voters will represent the balance of power, particularly in states like Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Sat. 7-31-48

The only states in the South where colored voters now constitute less than 12 per cent of the white are Alabama, where they represent only 1.2 per cent; Louisiana where they represent only 2.6 and Mississippi, where they represent less than 1 per cent.

The Georgia Democratic executive committee has refused to identify itself with the Dixiecrats in retaliation against the civil rights program and will give its support to the Truman-Barkley ticket.

VA. SITUATION

In Virginia there is a remote possibility that the Thurmond-Wright ticket will win indorsement from Senator Harry F. Byrd's organization, although Senator O. Willis Robertson already has announced his support of the Truman-Barkley ticket. Without indorsement of the Byrd machine, it is believed President Truman will carry the state in the November electon.

The Thurmond-Wright ticket is regarded as having no chance whatever of getting on the official ballot before August 4, when the time for filing petitions expires. There are few North Carolinians who believe that Governor Thomas E. Dewey has any real chance to win the electorial vote over President Truman.

The South Carolina Democratic convention ordered the eight nominees for electors not to vote for President Truman. It appears likely that the electoral votes of South Carolina wil go for Thurmnd and Wright.

Governor Millard F. Caldwell of Florida has said he will campaign for the Truman-Barkley ticket. Half of Florida's eight Presidential electors may vote fo rthe Thurmond-Wright ticket. Three more are undecided. Frank D. Upchurch, who led Florida's delegation at the Democratic national convention, has predicted that Governor Dewey may carry Florida.

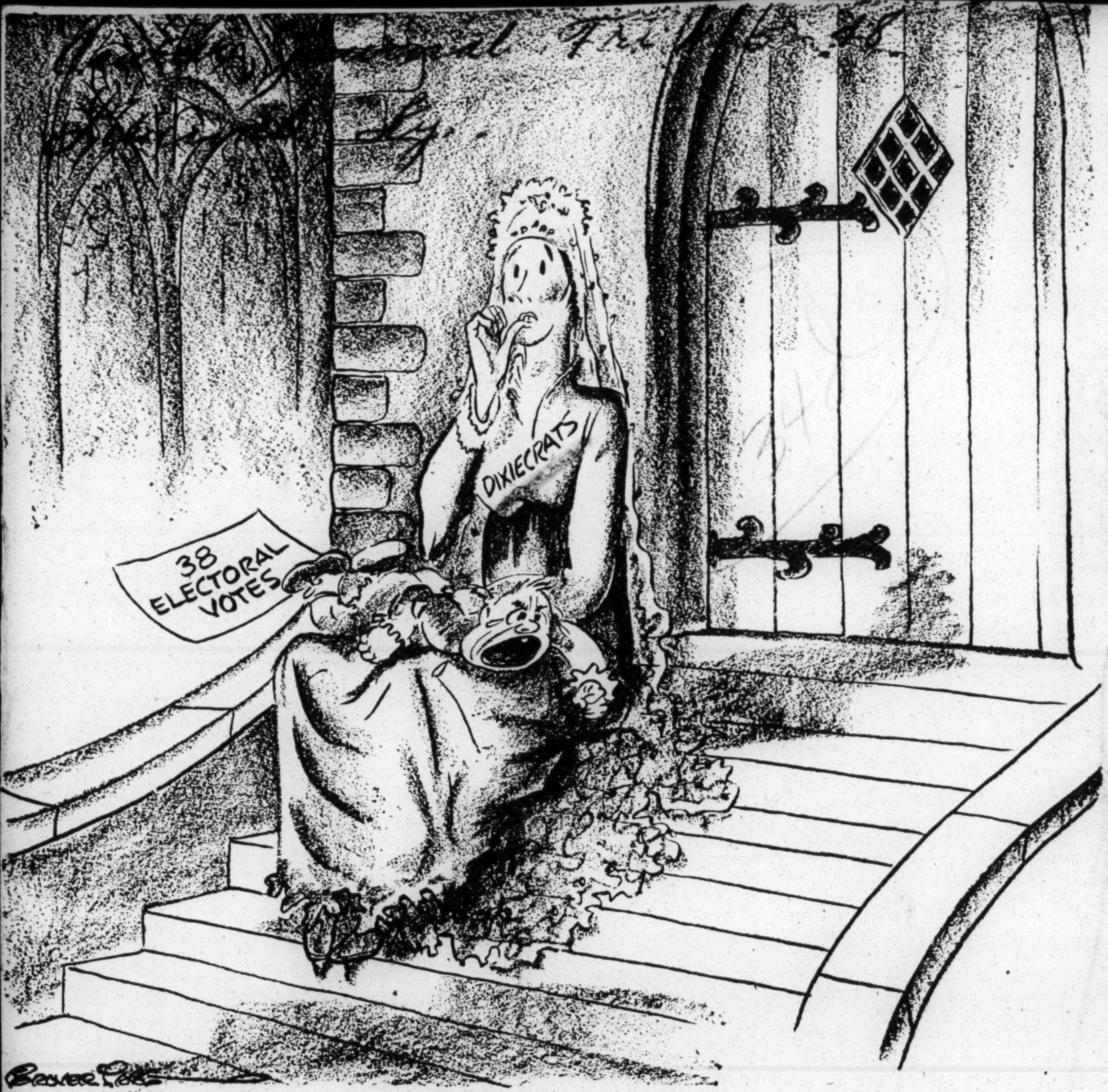
TENNESSEE DOUBTFUL

Resentful of President Truman's civil rights program, Tennessee is doubtful. Whether it supports President Truman depends upon Boss Edward H. Crump of Memphis, who was opposed to his nomination. Crump is engaged in a bitter fight over Gubernatorial and Senatorial nominations in primaries next month, and the results of the primaries may determine whether he will throw his strength to the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Despite the popularity of the revolt over civil rights, there is definite opposition to the States' Righters and there are indications that there will be a Truman slate of electors on the ballot in November.

Although opposition to the civil rights program in Arkansas is bitter, it appears that party loyalty will cause voters to support President Truman in the November election.

State Senator Joe Langan, of Mobile, has asked Senator L. Howard McGrath for funds to finance a convention in Montgomery, August 16 to put Truman electors on the ballot.



Left Waiting At the Church

DIXIECRATS HAIL HEAD OF TICKET

Times Picayune

Wed. 8-11-48

Gov. Thurmond Arrives at Houston for Rally

New Orleans La.

(The Associated Press)

Houston, Tex., Aug. 10.—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, states' rights candidate for president of the United States, arrived here by plane today for a rally which will formally launch his group's national campaign.

The seven-passenger craft in which he flew from Columbia, S. C., landed at 4:31 p. m. (CST), more than two hours later than he had been expected.

With the South Carolina governor were Mrs. Thurmond; two South Carolina state senators, George Warren and James Hammond; R. M. Figg, Charleston, S. C., attorney, and George MacNabb, Thurmond's secretary.

Col. W. B. Bates, Houston attorney and chairman of the reception committee, presented Thurmond with a ten gallon hat. The newly organized "Dixiecrat" band played Dixie.

"I am glad to be here," Thurmond said.

The reception committee included H. R. Cullen, Houston multimillionaire oil man, who was host to Thurmond at a reception scheduled soon after his arrival.

Planes Switched

Part of the delay in Thurmond's arrival was caused by a switch of planes at Columbia before the governor's takeoff.

Wed. 8-11-48

Thurmond established his headquarters at the flag-bedecked Rice hotel. Banners on the structure flared the names of the 45-year-old Thurmond and his 53-year-old vice-presidential running mate, Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi. Confederate flags and the Stars and Stripes were placed side by side on the hotel's street balcony.

Thurmond and Wright will make speeches tomorrow night accepting their nomination.

After Wright reaches here tomorrow, he and Thurmond will hold a 9 a. m. (CST) press conference, then meet in conferences with supporters before speaking at the rally (8 p. m. CST) in the Sam Houston coliseum.

The coliseum is built on the site of a temporary structure which housed the 1928 Democratic national convention that nominated the late Al Smith for president.

On Special Train

Wright was aboard a special train of States' Rights Democrats from his home state. The train left Jackson, Miss., during the afternoon; is en route here by way of New Orleans, and will arrive at 7 a. m. tomorrow.

Already here at rally headquarters was the Dixiecrat national campaign director, Judge Merritt Gibson of Longview, Tex. He arrived from Jackson today.

Early arrivals included Wallace Wright of Mississippi and Leander Perez, district attorney of St. Bernard and Plaquemines parishes, La.

Perez said his state's electoral votes would go to Thurmond and Wright. He called it the "true Democratic ticket."

The states' rights group nominated its ticket in Birmingham after the National Democratic Convention had picked President Truman and Senator Alben Barkley as candidates. The Southern group is launching a campaign it hopes will sweep the 127 electoral votes in 11 Southern states to Thurmond and Wright.

Gibson says the states' rights Democrats plan to complete their organization in August, in as many states as possible, and to meet legal requirements in the separate states for listing electors on the November 2 ballot.

Texas Dixiecrats plan to carry their fight for the state's 23 presidential electors to the Democratic state convention at Fort Worth September 1. That convention could replace or reinstruct electors now pledged to Truman if it desired.

Wed. 8-11-48

The states' rights group lost before the Texas Democratic Executive Committee in an attempt to put a presidential referendum on

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Dixiecrats Claim Louisiana Gains

New Orleans, Aug. 26 (AP).—States Rights Democrats now claim they have enough petition signatures to place a Thurmond-Wright slate of presidential electors on the November 2 ballot in Louisiana.

Googe Challenges Bloch On Dixiecrat Labor Stand

The Constitution

Fri 10-22-48

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Democratic Presidential Elector George Googe last night asked Dixiecratic Presidential Elector Charlie Bloch if he plans to jump over into the Republican Party now that the Dixiecratic Presidential candidate has come out in opposition to the Taft-Hartley labor act.

Googe recalled that Bloch was the only delegate at the Philadelphia National Democratic Convention to leap to his feet and boo when the Democratic platform plank called for repeal of the Republican-sponsored labor curbing bill.

Atlanta, Ga.

In an interview in Macon, Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, presidential candidate of the States Rights Party, expressed opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act. Bloch is the only member of the State Democratic Executive Committee to move over into the Dixiecratic Party as an Elector.

"Mr. Bloch, in nominating Sen. Russell for President at the Democratic convention, said 'We're going to remain in the Democratic Party'," Googe said. "Now he has somersaulted out of the Democratic Party to the Dixiecrats and he is my opponent as an elector from the state-at-large. I wonder if Charlie, after his present candidate has announced opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act, won't now somersault out of the Dixiecratic Party and into the Republican Party."

Googe, Southern regional director of the AFL, said labor in Georgia is as solidly behind President Truman today as it has ever been on any political issue.

ADOPTED AT BIRMINGHAM

'Declaration Of Principles' Sets Forth States' Rights Arguments

Columbia Record, Columbia, S.C.

States' rights supporters called attention again today to the "Declaration of Principles" adopted at the Birmingham convention, a set of declarations which underline the group's beilefs in reserving for the states all powers not delegated to the national government by the constitution. Thu 8-5-48

The completion "Declaration" follows:

We affirm that a political party is an instrumentality for effectuating the principles upon which the party is founded. That a platform of principles is a solemn covenant with the people and with the members of the party. That no leader of the party, in temporary power, has the right or privilege to proceed contrary to the fundamental principles of the party, or the letter or spirit of the Constitution of the United States. That to act contrary to these principles is a breach of faith, a usurpation of power, and a forfeiture of the party name and party leadership. 8-5-48

We believe that racial and religious minorities should be protected in their rights guaranteed by the Constittuion, but the bold defiance of the Constitution in selfish appeals to such groups for the sake of political power forges the chains of slavery of such minorities by destroying the only bulwark of protection against tyrannical majorities. The protection of the Constitutional rights of a minority does not justify or require the destruction of Constitutional limitations on the power of the central government threatens to create a totalitarian state and to destroy individual liberty in America.

We believe that the protection of the American people against the onward march of totalitarian government requires a faithful observance of Article X of the American Bill of Rights which provides that: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

We direct attention to the fact that the first platform of the Democratic party, adopted in 1840, resolved that: "Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution.' Such pronouncement is the cornerstone of the Democrtaic party.

A long train of abuses and usurpations of power by unfaithful leaders who are alien to the Democratic parties of the states here represented, has become intolerable to those who believe in the preservation of constitutional government and individual liberty in America.

The executive department of the government is promoting the gradual but certain growth of a totalitarian state by domination and control of a politically minded supreme court. As examples of the threat to our form of government, the executive department, with the aid of the supreme court, has asserted national dominion and control of submerged oil-bearing lands in California, schools in Oklahoma and Missouri, primary elections in Texas, South Carolina and Louisiana, restrictive covenants in New York, and the District of Columbia, and other jurisdictions, as well as religious instruction in Illinois. By asserting paramount federal rights in these instances, a totalitarian concept has been promulgated which threatens the integrity of the states and the basic rights of their citizens. 8-5-48

We have repeatedly remonstrated with the leaders of the national organization of our party but our petitions, entreaties and warnings have been treated with contempt. The latest response to our entreaties was a Democratic convention in Philadelphia rigged to embarrass and humiliate the South. This alleged Democratic assembly called for a civil rights law that would eliminate segregation of every kind from all American life, prohibit all forms of discrimination in private employment, in public and private instruction and administration and treatment of students; in the operation of public and private health facilities; in all transportation, and require equal access to all places of public accommodations for all persons of all races, colors, creeds and national origin.

This infamous and iniquitous program calls for the reorganization of the civil rights section of the Department of Justice with a substantial increase in a bureaucratic staff to be devoted exclusively to the enforcement of the civil rights program; the establishment within the FBI of a special unit of investigators and a police state in a totalitarian, centralized, bureaucratic government. Thu 8-5-48

This convention hypocratically denounced totalitarianism abroad but unblushingly proposed and approved it at home. This convention would strengthen the grip of a police state upon a liberty loving people by the imposition of penalties upon local public officers who failed or refused to act in accordance with its ideas in suppressing mob violence.

We point out that if a foreign power undertook to force upon the people of the United States the measures advocated by the Democratic convention in Philadelphia, with respect to civil rights, it would mean war and the entire nation would resist such effort.

The convention that insulted the South in the party platform advocated giving the Virgin Islands and other dependencies of the United States "the maximum degree of local self-government." When an effort was made to amend this part of the platform so as to make it read that the party favored giving the Virgin Islands and the several states the maximum degree of local self-government, the amendment adding the words "these several states" was stricken out and the sovereign states were denied the rights that the party favors giving the Virgin Islands.

We point out that the South, with clock-wise regularity, has furnished the Democratic party approximately 50 per cent of the votes necessary to nominate a President every four years for nearly a century. In 1920 the only states in the Union that went democratic were the 11 southern states. 8-5-48

Notwithstanding this rugged loyalty to the party, the masters of political intrigue now allow Republican States in which there is scarcely a Democratic office holder to dominate and control the Party and fashion its policies.

As Democrats who are irrevocably committed to democracy as defined and expounded by Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and Woodrow Wilson, and who believe that all necessary steps must be taken for its preservation, we declare to the people of the United States as follows:

1. We believe that the Constitution of the United States is the greatest charter of human liberty ever conceived by the mind of man.

2. We oppose all efforts to invade or destroy the rights vouchsafed by it to every citizen of this Republic.

3. We stand for social and economic justice, which, we believe, can be vouchsafed to all citizens only by a strict adherence to our Constitution and the avoidance of any invasion or destruction of the Constitutional rights of the states and individuals. We oppose the totalitarian, centralized, bureaucratic government and the police state called for by the platforms adopted by the Democratic and Republican Conventions.

4. We stand for the segregation of the races and the racial integrity of each race; the Constitutional right to choose ones associates; to accept private employment without governmental interference, and to earn one's living in any lawful way. We oppose the elimination of segregation, the repeal of miscegenation statutes, the control of private employment by Federal bureaucrats called for by the misnamed civil rights program. We favor home rule, local self-government and a minimum interference with individual rights.

5. We oppose and condemn the action of the Democratic Convention in sponsoring a civil rights program calling for the elimination of segregation, social equality by Federal fiat, regulation of private employment practices, voting and local law enforcement.

6. We affirm that the effective enforcement of such a program would be utterly destructive of the social, economic and political life of the southern people, and of other localities in which there may be differences in race, creed or national origin in appreciable numbers.

7. We stand for the checks and balances provided by the three departments of our Government. We oppose the usurpation of legislative functions by the executive and judicial departments. We unreservedly condemn the effort to establish nation-wide a police state in this Republic that would destroy the last vestige of liberty enjoyed by a citizen. 8-5-48

8. We demand that there be returned to the people, to whom of right they belong, those powers needed for the preservation of human rights and the discharge of our responsibility as Democrats for human welfare.

We call upon all Democrats and upon all other loyal Americans who are opposed to totalitarianism at home and abroad to unite with us in ignominiously defeating Harry S. Truman and Thomas E. Dewey, and every other candidate for public office who would establish a police state in the United States of America.

Righters Carry Drive To Talladega

BY R. E. (BUSTER) HOGAN
News Special Correspondent

TALLADEGA, Ala., Sept. 14—"The personal liberty of every citizen is in danger if the "so-called civil rights program goes through.

This was one of the warnings given a Talladega audience at a States' Rights meeting last night. It came from Rep. Sam Hobbs, of Selma.

From Judge D. Hardy Riddle came the declaration that a totalitarian nation will result if "uncontrolled power "is allowed to continue to be centered in Washington.

Borden Burr, Birmingham attorney, asserted that the present Congress is being called on to ignore the system of checks and balances and the principle of home rule" created by our forefathers." Home rule, he said, was designed as the "loadstone of the government."

"The fathers planned it this way because they did not want the government in Washington to have those powers centralized," he added.

JUDGE RIDDLE DECLARED that "the Negro is going to have the chance to advance himself in the South but that advancement must come to him in the pattern of the South's racial segregation."

He asserted that the South has given the Negro a fair deal. This policy, he expressed the opinion, will be continued "because of the basic friendship between the Eouthern white and the Negro."

"The civil rights proposals are as much a danger to the people of North Dakota or any other state as they are to the people of Alabama," Rep. Hobbs declared.

The Selma congressman added the assertion that "the centralization of power in the hands of the federal government has already gone so far that there is no need to wait for Stalin or another Hitler to grasp the reins."

"There isn't a single free man under the domination of Dewey, Truman or Wallace and they are trying to make it worse," Rep. Hobbs continued. "Let us save this nation of ours from the destruction which was prophesized by our forefathers should we ever forget home rule."

Mr. Burr explained that before home rule, the first foundation of this government was a system of checks and balances to establish the functions of the executive, legislative and judicial departments. Home rule was established because the forefathers did not want the government in Washington to have those powers centralized. he added.

THE MEASURES jammed through a radical and hostile congress after the War Between the States were mild compared to the Truman committee report on civil rights, the Birmingham attorney declared.

But even during Reconstruction he added, the system of checks and balances continued to function and a Republican Supreme Court held illegal the laws which the Congress passed over the laws of President Andrew Johnson.

The Republicans never attempted to overthrow these Supreme Court decisions, but the present Congress has been called on to ignore them, he asserted.

"These things would never have been brought up if President Truman and his advisers had not felt that the Solid South was securely in the Democratic bag," he concluded.

ATTACK CIVIL RIGHTS—A campaign against the Civil Rights program was opened at Talladega last night by the above: Left to right, Borden Burr, Birmingham attorney; Judge D. Hardy Riddle, Talladega; Ernest Campbell, Mumford, and Rep. Sam Hobbs, Selma.

States'-Righters Want Ticket In Every State

Thurmond Says He and Wright Expect to Win, Contends White Supremacy Isn't An Issue

34D

From Wire Dispatches.

Atlanta, July 24.—Militant Southern Democrats voted today to enter an anti-Truman, but Democratic ticket in every state in the Union in November.

The ticket will be under the name of the States' Rights Democrats. Candidates are Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi for Vice-President.

Thurmond and Wright were recommended as candidates at the States'-Rights convention in Birmingham July 17.

Precisely how the party intends to go about obtaining places on the November general-election ballots in the 48 states was not disclosed. Adv. 7-25-48

Immediately after the decision by the steering committee, named at the Birmingham convention, Thurmond said, "We are running for President and Vice-President and expect to be elected."

Race-Hatred Not An Issue.

He emphasized that "we are not running on white supremacy, racial hatred, or class prejudice. We are running primarily on the issue of States'-Rights."

The 46-year-old South Carolinian said other problems, domestic and foreign, would be met "at the proper time," adding that steps would be taken to set up a party organization immediately.

An announcement by the committee said the decision to campaign was "to give millions of real Americans the opportunity of voting for these candidates and to preserve the American way of life. . .

"This," it continued, "is the most feasible way to preserve our American way of government. . . ."

Speech Due July 31.

Thurmond said he would make his first campaign speech at the Cherryville, N. C., watermelon festival July 31.

Thus did dissident Southern Democrats answer President Truman for his civil-rights proposals and the national party for incorporating them in a national platform.

The committee voted to make an immediate drive to get the 23 electoral votes of Texas in the bag.

And it was announced that the Democratic conventions in Mississippi and South Carolina will be called early in August to choose presidential electors pledged to Thurmond and Wright.

Thurmond and Wright will be notified officially of their nominations at a South-wide meeting in Houston August 11, and both will make acceptance speeches at that time.

The Houston meeting was timed to be just three days ahead of the meeting August 14 of the Texas Democratic executive committee to choose electors.

Judge Merrit Gibson, Longview, Tex., said there has been a marked movement against Truman in Texas since the Philadelphia convention, and toward the Thurmond - Wright ticket since the Birmingham convention. He said that if the state committee refuses to instruct the state's electors for the new ticket, their names will be entered in the second Texas primary August 28.

23 Votes Important.

"The people of Texas now see a way to vote against Truman and still vote Democratic," Judge Gibson said. "If the people are allowed to decide, Texas will go for the Thurmond-Wright ticket."

Texas stands sixth in the nation in the number of votes in the Electoral College, and has by far the largest number of electors in the South. The state's 23 electoral votes will be important in the effort to stop President Truman.

"A candidate must have 266 electoral votes to be elected President," Judge Gibson said. "If the race between President Truman and Governor Dewey is close, the electoral votes of the South might prevent either getting a majority. Then the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives."

One committee member, however, explained the States'-righters' aims thus:

"The national party is shot, the Republicans will win, but the Southern Democrats by sticking together may well become the majority of the minority party.

Will Be Ready.

"Therefore, when the Republicans win, the well-organized Southerners will be on hand to pick up and dominate what is left of the national Democratic organization."

Exactly how much support the fourth-party movement has is problematical. Today's meeting served to emphasize that most of the support for the States'-rights movement at present is coming from Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas. Men from these states dominated today's caucus, but there were some present from Florida, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

States' Righters To Carry Fight On U.S. Powers

Montgomery Advertiser

Group Will Establish Office In Washington For Opinion Campaign

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Dec. 16 —(AP)—States' Rights Democrats decided here today to establish a public opinion headquarters in Washington to continue their fight against extension of federal powers. Adv 12-17-48

This action came at a meeting of the steering committee headed by Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas.

The Washington office will be established under the name of States' Rights Institute. Its stated purpose will be creation of "nationwide informed public opinion" on questions involving "the reserved powers of the states."

The States' Rights group left the regular Democratic party over the question of state vs. federal handling of racial problems. Their action cost President Truman four Southern states in the November election.

To Name Committee

Gov. Laney will appoint a committee "to prepare plans and arrange for the incorporation of non-partisan and non-profit corporation" to carry on the public opinion campaign."

The Arkansas governor said he would name the committee after his return to Little Rock.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmon of South Carolina, the States' Rights nominee for president, did not attend today's session. State Senator J. H. Kennedy of Camden, S. C., who came as the governor's representative, said Gov. Thurmond was kept home by pressing state matters.

Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, States' Rights candidate for vice president, was here for the session but explained he was not a member of the steering committee. Adv 12-17-48

The committee took no action to fix any general meeting of the States' Rights supporters. Such a meeting had been discussed in pre-meeting interviews with reporters. 34D

The resolution authorizing the Washington office included this statement:

"The preservation of the rights of the soverign people of each state . . . is vital to the salvation of the liberty and freedom of the American people." Adv 12-17-48

These rights, the resolution continued, are "under constant attack by those who approve the Socialist concept of a centralized bureaucratic government."

Check On Socialism

The States' Rights institute, the resolution asserted, will "provide a check on the trend toward centralization, state socialism and a dictatorship."

Here for the session today, in addition to the two governors, were:

Alabama—Former Gov. Frank M. Dixon, Birmingham; Horace C. Wilkinson, Birmingham, and W. D. Malone, Dothan.

Florida—Horace Avery and E. H. Ramsey, both of Jacksonville.

Louisiana—Leander Perez, New Orleans, and Frank J. Looney, Shreveport. 34D

Tennessee—T. Walker Lewis, Memphis; J. H. Ballew, Nashville; E. G. Higgenbotham, Memphis. Adv 12-17-48

Kentucky—O. W. Baylor, Versailles.

Maryland—E. S. Vaughan, Brooklandville.

Mississippi—W. W. Wright and George W. Godwin, Jackson.

Texas—Merritt H. Gibson, Longview.

South Carolina—J. H. Kennedy, Camden. and D. H. Kennedy,

Columbia.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

The Constitution welcomes letters on either side of any subject. They should not exceed 200 words and must be signed, although names will be withheld on request. We regret none can be returned. Address all letters to Editor Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

The Constitution

Time To Stand Together

Tues. 8-3-48

Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: Now that President Truman's campaign has taken definite form and all the issues upon which he hopes to win have been set before the public, it becomes clear that he has based his hope of success upon the peculiarly un-American and anti-American appeal which all patriotic Americans, no matter how bitter they oppose him, had hoped that he would avoid. This appeal which he is now making is, even on the surface, is a new kind of sectionalism through arraying one part of the country against another. But beneath the surface it is even worse than that. President Truman and his henchmen are organizing and directing what actually amounts to a political civil war within the sections they are arraying class against class, religion against religion and race against race.

We all understand the reasons which for so long have made the South solidly Democratic. There was justification for this and there is still reason for the South remaining Democratic in local affairs. But that reason no longer applies in national affairs, for the fundamental factor in the South's Democratic tradition has been the fear of Negro domination, and Mr. Truman has made himself the political champion of the Negroes so that his success would threaten the South's interest more gravely than they have been in many decades. All the factors in the situation, all the true issues, all of President Truman's purposes, all the things that would come with his success, should make the South vote against him.

President Truman counts on the South's blindness; he depends upon the traditions and peculiar circumstances which have kept the South Democratic for several generations to hold it solid for him while he violates its every principle, and in spite of the fact that his success would threaten irreparable injury to all its interest and to all it holds dear. This is a time when we Southerners, who are thus attacked regardless of party, must ourselves disregard party and stand together in defense of our traditions and our principles.

Why Don't They Join The Republicans?

Birmingham News

Birmingham Alabama

Tues 11-30-48

To the Editor of The News:

Seldom in the history of politics has there been a more interesting or incongruous spectacle than that of Horace Wilkinson and his electoral college disciples—on the end of he public skewer, wondering in which direction they should squirm. Should they plead for return to the good old party? Or should they continue their struggle to the bitter end, cast their votes for Thurmond, and attempt to make of the Dixiecratic movement a thing of pathetic permanence, despite the mere dribble of votes they received.

It now seems that President Truman, whose father was a Confederate officer during the Civil War, has completely out-generaled the Southern guerilla leaders—just as his aggressive strategy defeated not only the Republicans, but the left and right wings of his own party. A master strategist maneuvers his opponent into a position of complete negation. It was impossible for the last Republican Congress to act without contributing to the president's political good fortune. Whatever they did was wrong. And they committed the most fatal blunder of all—they did nothing. And so it is with the Dixiecrats; they cannot act except to their own disadvantage.

Suppose Horace and his boys plead for admission into the good old party? It will result in a total loss of face. Before the court of public opinion they will be admitting that it was a political gamble which could result only in personal political gain for themselves if successful. Chances are they would be forgiven like bad boys, only increasing the political stature of the president, the very thing they wanted least to do.

Suppose Horace and his disciples decided to vote for Thurmond in the electoral college. In that event their names will be forever emblazoned in the memory of the people of Alabama—first as traitors to the Democratic Party; next, as miserable tacticians in which few voters would place confidence in future elections. Unable to accede to the democratic process of the convention system under which they have thrived for so long, they attempted in outlaw fashion to set up what they called the true Democratic Party. They were soundly defeated at the polls. **Now, once again failing to submit to the** wishes of a majority of the voters throughout the land, certain of them say they will go to jail rather than vote for the regular nominee of the party and the people.

Tues 11-30-48

Harry Truman was the Democratic Party nominee. Now he has been chosen by all the people of the land. If Horace Wilkinson and his boys vote for Thurmond in the electoral college they will openly, publicly, officially and for all time be voting themselves out of the Democratic Party. If they so choose, such is their right. But the thoughtful voters of Alabama will ponder deeply before again allowing any or all of these men to either dominate the party or veto the right of the people to vote for the President of the United States. Why don't they be honest with both themselves and the people and join the ranks of the Alabama Republicans? There is no place for them in the Democratic Party. After all, wasn't it their own decision?

Tues 11-30-48

CHARLES WHITE McGEHEE.

Granada Hotel.

States' Righters Proposal Belated

The News

BY FRED TAYLOR

News Staff Writer

Wed 8-11-48

A proposal by Mobile State Sen. Joe Langan that States' Rights Democrats abandon their presidential ticket and attempt to replace President Truman with a compromise candidate was termed "impractical" today by states' rights leaders.

Birmingham Ala

The surprise request by Sen. Langan, who has been seeking to get names of pro-Truman elector candidates on the Alabama ballot came as states' righters from over the South gathered at Houston, Tex., for a Thurmond-Wright rally.

Albert Stapp, Birmingham business man and delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention and states' rights campaigner, characterized Langan's plan as "impractical at this late date."

"Sen. Langan's proposal that we ditch President Truman is exactly what we tried to before and during the Philadelphia convention," said Stapp. "We needed his help then. If we had had the help and support of every loyal Democrat in the South then, we might have been able to get a real Democrat nominated in Truman's place."

* * *

SID SMYER, attorney and member of the States' Rights Democrats executive committee directing the Thurmond-Wright campaign in this state, likewise considers Sen. Langan's proposal belated and impracticable.

"We had a pre-convention caucus at Philadelphia and tried to do just what Sen. Langan now proposes," said Smyer. "They booed and insulted us. Sen. Langan should have come forward with his proposal sooner with regard to Mr. Truman.'

As for the states' righters abandoning the Thurmond - Wright ticket, Smyer said "The States' Rights Democrats could not possibly do this."

"Our fight is a cause—a long range campaign not only to defeat President Truman but to recapture the Democratic Party and place in charge of it those who believe in states' rights and constitutional government."

SOUTH CAROLINA Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright will make acceptance speeches as nominees of States' Rights Democrats at the Houston rally tonight. Their addresses will be broadcast, beginning at 9:30 p.m., over ABC-WSGN, CBS-WAPI-WAFM and NBC-WBRC.

Langan's plan was outlined in a letter to State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, one of 11 Alabama Democratic presidential elector nominees. McCorvey is among several Alabamians attending the Houston meeting. As spokesmen for the elector nominees, he will formally notify Thurmond and Wright of the group's pledge to support them for president and vice president in the electoral college.

The Mobile senator has called a convention of Democrats for 10 a.m. Monday at Whitley Hotel, Montgomery, to seek ways and means of placing a slate of pro-Truman elector candidates on the Nov. 2 general election ballot.

In his letter to McCorvey, he proposed "A convention of all Democratic electors could be called to meet and decide who would be president."

Wed 8-11-48

* * *

BUT SUCH A PLAN would be contingent on whether Democrats or Republicans win a majority of electoral votes in November balloting. He pointed out that if the GOP wins, it would be "immaterial" which way the South votes. His plan would come into play only if Democratic electors are in the majority.

"If the Democratic electors outside the South did not have a majority, then the South could demand a change in the platform and a different person other than Truman for president."

McCorvey was quoted by The Associated Press as saying he did not attach much importance to the Langan plan.

* * *

THE MOBILE lawmaker cited the Alabama Supreme Court ruling that electors of this state can vote as they please. He added that "if this ruling is sound, then all the Democratic electors of the nation would be free agents."

Langan said he personally was opposed to Truman and his "civil rights" program, but since Alabama participated in the national party convention "We should therefore support the party even though we are not in accord with some of the platform or Truman's stand regarding some of the platform."

The senator said the "ideal solution" would be to have two slates of electors running on the Democratic ticket—one favoring and the other opposing Truman. Then, he said, Alabama Democrats would be able to express their choice.

Licked States' Righters to Fight Truman's Racial Policies

Thurs 11-4-48

Atlanta, Nov. 3 (AP)—President Truman's triumph today left his Southern States' Rights opposition licked, temporarily at least, but in no frame of mind to quit its fight against his racial policies.

Some party leaders issued warlike pronouncements for renewal on the 1952 political battleground of the struggle against the President's proposals. Other Southern politicians, not directly aligned against the President this time, suggested the issues be fought out inside the party and in Congress.

The States' Righters hoped by a vote barrage to "stringhalt" the President's plans for laws against racial segregation, the poll tax, and lynching and for a fair-employment-practices commission. They corralled 38 electoral votes in their strongholds of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, and South Carolina.

Alabama Democratic chairman Gessner T. McCovery, a States' Rights elector, blamed the new party's downfall on failure of other states to join the movement. He predicted others would be pulled into the fight and the struggle will be more fierce and effective four years hence.

Presidential nominee J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and No. 2 standard-bearer Fielding Wright of Missouri deliberated the situation before issuing statements.

Thurs 11-4-48

McCorvey ridiculed a lawsuit which Governor James E. Folsom promised to bring to force Alabama's 11 electoral votes into the Truman-Barkley column. He said it would be "wasted effort."

Other Southerners took a moderate, if not enthusiastic, view of Truman's victory. Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, who sharply opposed Truman's nomination, said the President's winning fight was so gallant that "Roosevelt and Andrew Jackson are applauding."

Senator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, who opposed Truman's policies but voted for him, asserted the South could block the civil-rights program in Congress. He said Democratic control of Congress, giving Southerners key posts, would turn the tide.

In eight Southern states with 100 electoral votes, the States Righters generally ran behind the Republicans in yesterday's voting. These states are Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The outcome, though, was no more palatable to the Republicans than to the States' Righters.

THOMAS L. STOKES

Will the Dixiecrats Last?

The Constitution

WASHINGTON—Will the Dixiecrat Party continue?

While some of its leaders profess to think so, the consensus of most informed political observers contacted by this reporter on a pre-election tour of the South is that it was a one-shot, one-election party and will disappear. Its prejudiced spirit, however, probably will continue as an influence in Southern politics to some extent for some time, ready to be exploited in one place or another by recurrent demagogues

Mon 11-1-48

Though the Party captured regular Democratic organizations in four States for this election—Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and South Carolina—there are practical reasons to believe this is only temporary. These reasons will become valid and apparent in the result of the national election.

In the first place, this election will remove the symbol that fired this revolt, Harry S. Truman and his civil rights program, and will transfer the symbol to the Republican Party which espouses the program and will be in a position to do something about it. That should tend to assuage friction within the Democratic Party and raise it up outside. Historically Democrats tend to forget their differences when in the minority and present a more united front.

Atlanta Ga

The election also will remove the symbol of Roosevelt New Dealism, which also was Harry S. Truman, and thus eliminate the motive of the powerful interests behind the Dixiecrats who want to get rid of New Dealism and used the Dixiecrat cloak behind which to operate. Where Franklin D. Roosevelt made only infrequent gestures on civil rights, and drew back strategically from time to time so that a successful revolt could never be stirred up against him in the South, Harry Truman gave these interests their long-awaited opportunity when he struck directly and thus raised the sensitive issue that would arouse the whole Southern people.

Mon 11-1-48

But, while President Truman struck a very delicate chord very indelicately, many people in the South will not desert him on this account in the election, as returns will show. Many, in fact, are very much ashamed at the nauseous spectacle the Dixiecrat movement has presented to the rest of the nation. Four States, which is all the Dixiecrats count, hardly offer the basis for a new party, nor in this election will they even constitute a balance of power which was supposed to be the Dixiecrat objective.

Regular party leaders, themselves, bear the best witness that the Dixiecrat Party success this year, such as it is, is the final explosion that will end a movement long generating rather than the beginning of a chain reaction. While regular Southern leaders ran hastily for cover in the storm stirred up over the racial issue, and are still in hiding, all but a very few kept out of the new Party very assiduously. They have too much at stake. Their attitude is a good clue, because politicians follow the first law of nature which is self-preservation, and they usually know, from long experience, what is necessary for self-preservation.

For another thing, the Dixiecrats have no real issue on which to found a permanent party. All they have is the racial issue and our history is full of political parties that fell on such prejudice. They offer nothing in the way of economic and social betterment in the South. To the contrary, big interests behind it would check economic and social reform.

Mon 11-1-48

As for "states' rights," the Southern people know as well as anybody else how phony this is in this day and age. They are fully aware that it was through initiative of the Federal Government, not the States, that great changes for the better in the South were brought about in recent years. In those who are crying "states' rights" also they recognize many who have spent much time in Washington trying to tap the Federal till for money for things which States could not finance.

In the long look, the rapid changes now going on in the South offer the best arguments against the perpetuation of the Dixiecrat Party. Some in the South hopefully see the current spectacle as the last gasp of the alliance of reaction and prejudice. They envisage economic improvement, education, and education on economic issues such as is now being provided by labor unions which are growing with the swift advance of industrialization in the South, as gradually increasing political progressivism in that section and also removing the causes of racial antagonism upon which reaction flourishes.

The Birmingham Meeting

(Note: The Columbia Record here reprints an article from the Wall Street Journal, by Albert Clark, a member of its staff, on the "Dixiecrats'" meeting at Birmingham. In doing so, The Record desires to give varying views on that meeting and the current political situation in the South.)

Wed 7-21-48

Dixie Democrats in open revolt against President Truman have taken steps to split the "Solid South."

Saturday a group of "states' rights" Democrats who bolted the Democratic convention at Philadelphia last week picked a ticket at a rump convention here to run against the president.

The dissenters were from three states—Mississippi, South Carolina and Alabama. They claim a total of 28 electoral votes. They picked Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, a leader in the anti-Truman movement, as their candidate for president and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi as his running mate.

Electors Named

Alabama Democrats already have named their 11 electors, all pledged to vote against Mr. Truman or any other candidate who supports the so-called civil rights legislation. A slate of nine electors has been hand picked by an anti-Truman state convention in Mississippi. It was tacitly understod they'd never vote for Mr. Truman. Governor Thurmond is expected to have little trouble carrying his own state of South Carolina which has eight electoral votes.

But the militant "states' righters" will find it difficult to add to their strength.

The "states' rights' 'ticket will meet a lukewarm—if not cool reception in such upper south states as North Carolina and Virginia.

Tar heel politicians have been reluctant from the beginning to bolt the national party, through some of the state's leaders may give the Truman-Barkley ticket only passive support. Virginia, under the leadership of Gov. William Tuck and Sen. Harry Byrd, was one of the originators of the revolt movement. However, Messrs. Byrd and Tuck **have adopted a cautious attitude in recent weeks and failed to show up here Saturday.**

Some southern politicians say that there's an outside chance that some of the "border" southern states like Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Florida will go for the G.O.P.'s Dewey-Warren ticket.

Thurmond, Wright Not First Choices

In turning to Governors Thurmond and Wright, the anti-Truman Democrats did not pick their first choices. They had hoped to line up a ticket of better known men with wider appeal in the south. They pleaded unsuccessfully with Senator Byrd at Philadelphia last week to carry their banner. Senator Russel of Georgia "reluctantly" permitted his name to go before the Philadelphia conclave, and he garnered 263 southern votes. But he refused to get involved in the Birmingham meeting.

Wed 7-21-48

The Birmingham session itself broke up on a discordant note. Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas, who came to this convention city but did not attend the meetings, issued a statement soon after the pow-wow broke up calling for party "unity" and warning against vindictive action. However, Mr. Laney sidestepped an endorsement of either President Truman or Mr. Thurmond.

The rebel convention was under the control of a small group of officials and ex-office holders in Missisipppi, Alabama and South Carolina. They included Sen. James O. Easterland and Governor Wright of Mississippi, Governor Thurmond, and former Gov. Frank Dixon of Alabama and Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee.

Byrd, Tuck Not Represented

Senator Byrd and Governor Tuck were without representation. Nobody showed up from North Carolina. In fact, few political leaders from any southern state except for Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina were on hand.

Frank Upchurch, who headed Florida anti-Truman delegation to the Philadelphia convention, threw his support to the Thurmond-Wright team. Texas is split on the revolt question. Some Texans would like to return to the Truman fold. Former Gov. Dan Moody has been leader in the Lone Star State against the president. Texas did not join the walk-out at Philadelphia but withheld its votes from Mr. Truman to the last.

An estimated 5,000 to 6,000 Alabamians packed the municipal auditorium where the convention was held.

Wed 7-21-48

Immediately after his "nomination," Governor Thurmond launched a campaign based on white sepremacy and against civil rights concentration of power in the federal government. Governor Wright told the convention that the national Democratic party in Philadelphia "thought we were bluffing. Now we have called their bluff. There will be no weakening."

Despite declarations that there will be "no turning back' 'to President Truman, the "states' rights" group did not close the door behind them. The called another meeting of anti-Truman Democrats to be held here October 1 and there were some here who believed that even the three-state movement could callapse by that date if a way can be found to go back to the Truman fold without losing face.

34d 1948

Dixiecrats

The Dixiecrats: Past, Present, Future

The Advertiser

The Movement Was A Scorched Earth Operation

FORMER Gov. Chauncey Sparks says the Dixiecrat movement should be disbanded. Many Alabamians will agree with him.

Jun 11-7-48

It is certain that only the bitter-enders and those dispossessed of realism will now contend that the Dixiecrat movement has a future of any consequence.

Montgomery Ala

It was a worthy undertaking. It was an honorable cause. And, as we shall try to show, it served an important purpose.

But also the Dixiecrat movement was an asset to the man it was uncorked to defeat—President Truman. Beginning with the Alabama walk-out at the Philadelphia convention, the inflamed reprisals of the revolters stimulated the ardor and stiffened the resolution of Truman backers—which, as it turns out, seems to be a majority of the American people.

We venture the assertion—with no fear of contradiction by any competent witness attending the Philadelphia convention—that without the help of the walk-out spectacle of the Alabama and Mississippi delegations, Mayor Humphrey, eastern machine bosses and associated zealots could never have won adoption for the all-out Truman civil rights platform plank.

On that Wednesday in the Philadelphia convention, every delegate was alerted to the impending walk-out of 13 members of the Alabama delegation. All eyes, the photographers and portable radio microphones were centered on the half of the Alabama delegation that was going to go over the top at the zero hour.

Whether justly or unjustly, this activity incensed the delegates of other states because they felt it was the act of a group that wouldn't play on the team unless it ran the show.

That is why your radio brought you a thunder of boos from the convention hall when the Alabama walk occurred.

Jun 11-7-48

THE result was that Truman got his all-out plank, he ran on it and was elected. Logically, he construes that as a mandate.

In saying all of that, we want to make it abundantly clear that it is not said in a spirit of recrimination. This newspaper is in no position to do that because it was part of the Dixiecrat movement. More than that, the half of the Alabama delegation that walked out did precisely that which they had pledged the people of this state they would do.

So much to remark the untoward results of the Dixiecrat movement. As we said, the movement served the cause of the South, and to a lesser degree, the cause of the nation.

The insignificant 38 votes Thurmond was able to plop in the deep freeze influenced nothing. But the dramatic revolt served a larger and important purpose to the nation by setting off a national debate on States' Rights. That issue is today much more a part of the consciousness of the American people than it would have been had there been no Dixie rebellion.

More important, the Dixiecrat operation caused large groups of Americans—just as sincere and as good Americans as those in the South—to learn for the first time something about the South's oppressive race problem. The Dixiecrats thus won untold numbers of non-Southerners over as sympathizers.

THE Dixiecrat movement made it possible, for example, for this newspaper to have a long editorial on our race problem reprinted in Boston and Baltimore newspapers. That is true of other Southern papers. These relayed editorials were read by thousands of thoughtful, generous minded Americans whose solicitude for justice is not inferior to that of the South.

It even compelled—to sum up—the South-baiting Time Magazine to put its senior editors to work taking a second and penetrating look at the Southern problem and brought forth an article tartly delineating Northern hypocrisy in racial segregation. Such examples might be multiplied without end.

Therefore, one need not have been a Dixiecrat to see clearly that the movement was far better than nothing. Certainly repose and acquiescence in the Truman proposals was not indicated.

National attention was drawn to the South's problem. Our case was broadcast on a network that would not have been available but for the Dixiecrat incident.

Jun 11-7-48

It served, we may hope, to alter the party's viewpoints as other splinter parties, such as the Populists and the LaFollette Progressives, have done.

But by the standards of the Populists and Progressives, the voting strength of the Dixiecrats was not formidable. At the meridian of Southern anger, the party got but 38 electoral votes. It failed even to carry such Deep South states as Georgia and Texas. Its popular vote was less than that cast for the deranged Communist candidate, Henry Wallace.

IN THE strict sense, the Dixiecrats were not a political party. Its one concern was civil rights. Its one purpose, that avowed, was to scorch the earth before Truman. Its standard bearer never mentioned war and peace, social security or the high cost of living. The party used aliases. The official name was the States' Rights Party and was so used in some other states, but in Alabama we appropriated the Democratic rooster and infringed the name patent.

We do not agree with Gov. Sparks' inference that the four Dixiecrat states should return to the national party seeking amnesty, hat-in-hand. We revolted, we lost and it would cost us respect to say we're sorry.

Gov. Sparks, however, is altogether correct in observing that the civil rights issue will have been settled this way or that before the next election. And it will be settled, as he always pointed out, in one of two places—the courts and Congress.

Jun 11-7-48

Our present view is that despite the Truman mandate, there is an excellent chance of blocking civil rights legislation. And however galling it may be to some, we're going to be placing our reliance on such men as Senator Hill and Senator Sparkman. Their standing in Congress and the nation is such that the Democratic Party may forgive them their Dixiecrat excursion, permit them to keep their swords and continue in powerful committee posts.

Convention Pros And Cons; Dissatisfaction Is General

Advertiser
Montgomery Ala.

By RHEA CUMMING

The taxi driver and the Judge, the merchant and the man who works for him, all have one opinion or another about Act II of the Democratic Convention drama.

The news, as dead as yesterday's newspaper, is still wiggling around on the tongues of numerous disgusted Montgomerians. None seemed to be pleased with the outcome, but a few argued in defense of it. And the views were as varied as the colors of hair on a peroxide blonde.

One said the delegates from Alabama who had walked out of the Convention had "ruined themselves politically in the state."

Jun. 7-18-48

Another, still lamenting Eisenhower's refusal, thought only secondarily of Truman, and, even after it was all over in Philadelphia, he continued to wonder about Eisenhower.

"The men who served under him were drafted for the war," he said. "They didn't want to go either. They would like to have stayed at home and done what they wanted to do. But they went. Eisenhower knew that. Why wouldn't he be drafted when he was called to serve?"

Others, in argument, said Eisenhower had been drafted once like everybody else—why should he be drafted again.

Just Disgusted

The majority, however, were disgusted with the whole thing. They didn't like Alabama, as one said, "falling in its same old place—backwards."

If there were those who were glad Truman made it they didn't say so or they didn't cross our path. Only one came near it when he said, "I don't say the delegation was paid to walk out—but they could have been."

"By whom," he was asked.

"Don't you think Stalin would like to see Dewey come in?"

Others said they didn't like Truman even before he had to take a stand on "civil rights" plank.

7-18-48

"He just never made sense," one said of Truman. "He even looks like a puppet," another sneered.

Some said they didn't feel the delegates had a right to "walk out."

7-18-48

"They were there to vote. We voted for them to vote for us. And they went to the convention knowing that. That means that nearly half of us didn't cast even an opinion for Senator Russell, much less a vote."

Walk Approved

And then the other stand that: "We voted for them, knowing they would walk out. They had said publicly that they would and they couldn't do much else."

All in all, Montgomerians seem to feel that neither the turn to the right nor the turn to the left was right. Nothing seemed to fit—and a lot of them only knew the North couldn't force federal policing on the South. Others knew it could be done.

From extreme to extreme, it seems to be the only bit of news that has remained news over 24 hours. because Montgomerians weren't told anything solid that they could bank on happily. They had nothing to keep them from being baffled.

"Gessner McCorvey has the right idea, I think," a judge's assistant said. "The vote ought to be thrown into the House.

Some even lambasted the Constitution, saying that back in the late 1780's votes by electors were good things when communication was difficult and voters were few —"But now," she said, "with 147,000,000 population—"

One man said he admired the President after his speech.

"He knew he was licked—but doggonit, he was fighting anyway."

7-15-48

Other speech opinions were "Blasting the Republican Party and only telling a part of the truth," "It was the speech of a cheap politician," "When Truman tries to be funny, he's disgusting."

Dixiecrats' Presidential Nominee Favor 'Gradualism' For Negroes

BY HENRY LESESNE

COLUMBIA, S. C., Sept. 11—(NANA)—What sort of fellow is the Dixiecrat nominee for president, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina?

As to personal habits, he shuns not only alcohol, but tobacco and coffee and, at 45, is a tireless walker.

Although a total abstainer himself, he has promised, in his two years as governor of his state, to sign any liquor law the Legislature passes.

"I am no prude," he says, "and certainly I have no holier-than-thou attitude."

Sun 9-12-48

Is the Dixiecrat nominee a Southern reactionary or Southern liberal?

Certainly, until the current controversy over the president's civil-rights program, the South Carolina governor was considered a liberal by all Southern standards.

He subscribed to the Southern philosophy of gradualism—that is, that any reform in the South respecting the Negro issue must be gradual and the change must come from within, and not by any federal or outside dictation.

Like most Southerners, he holds to the belief that the Negro has made more progress in the shortest period of time than any other race, but that his progress in the South must remain within the pattern of segregation.

Although he is opposed to any federal anti-poll tax law, for two years he has advocated that the South Carolina Legislature repeal the state's $1-a-year poll tax.

* * *

THE POLL TAX IN South Carolina, however, is not considered a deterrent to voting, as it applies only to the general election, whereas the Democratic primary, in which Negroes have recently won the right to participate, is the actual election.

South Carolina is the only state in the union without a secret ballot. That is, every party must furnish its own ballot in a general election. This is one of the factors which makes a responsible second party virtually impossible here. It takes a courageous soul to ask for a Republican ballot.

For two years the governor has strongly recommended to the Legislature a secret-ballot law. The state Democratic convention likewise urged it this year. The Legislature has balked, however.

The Dixiecrat presidential nominee is unalterably opposed to a federal anti-lynching law, but he abhors mob violence as much as any man. He has been a jurist many years.

A few months after Thurmond's inaugural as governor, the South's biggest lynching case in a decade broke in an upstate county. A mob of taxi drivers lynched a Negro who had allegedly stabbed a white cabbie.

The governor rushed his constabulary to the scene. Four days later, after 31 members of the mob had been arrested, the governor announced:

"We, in South Carolina, want the world to know we will tolerate no mob violence."

* * *

HE ASSIGNED special prosecutors to aid the local prosecutor. The state's handling of the case was without criticism. But the jury refused to convict.

Southerners argued the mere arrest of the mobsters was a deterrent to lynching, but even had the case been tried in a Federal Court, the verdict would have been the same.

Sun 9-12-48

The governor, in his two years in office, has plugged for "local government" among the counties, and for a new streamlined constitution to replace the present one. He got through the 1948 Legislature a measure to reorganize the state government with a view to eliminating waste and duplication of services.

Thurmond doesn't like the word "Dixiecrat," which the newspapers coined for the Southern bolters. The party's actual name is States' Rights Democrats.

The governor says the word "Dixiecrat" is a five-yard penalty against party elsewhere in the nation. The issue of states' rights is not purely a Southern issue, he points out.

The presidential nominee of the Dixiecrats comes from the rural county of Edgefield, in South Carolina. At Clemson College, he was an athlete! Summertimes he worked in a cotton mill.

After his graduation from college, Thurmond entered upon a career of public service — school teacher, school superintendent, state senator, circuit judge.

* * *

HE IS A VETERAN of World War II and holds 12 military medals. He served with the First Army in Europe and was with it all the way across the continent after landing on Normandy.

He has married since becoming governor. He hit the front pages in November, 1947, when he wed his office secretary, Miss Jean Crouch.

Thurmond is a tireless worker and often burns the midnight oil, frequently made out-of-state trips in the interest of trying to bring new industry to South Carolina.

Sun 9-12-48

He is an able and vigorous campaigner. Regardless of whether the Dixiecrat revolt amounts to more than a token protest, he is certain to be often in the headlines between now and November.

He says the Dixiecrats are not bolting the national party, but are fighting within the party to defeat the renomination of President Truman.

Sun 9-12-48

"Those who believe in the principles of state sovereignty will be the real Democratic Party when the fight is finished," he says. "The present Democratic Party will be discredited and totally ineffective as a national party after November."

Dixiecrat Leader's State Burns 2 Crosses in Night

Afro American Sat 8-7-

Baltimore Md.

COLUMBIA, S.C.—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond's race-baiting speeches in his bid as leader of the Dixiecrats for the presidency, last Thursday, reaped a harvest in two cross-burnings at schools in the State within a 40-mile distance of each other.

Six-foot tall, burlap-wrapped, gasoline-soaked crosses were set afire on the same night at Bettis Academy on the Aiken and Edgefield County line near Trenton and at Booker Washington Heights Elementary School here in Columbia.

Sat 8-7-48

It is believed that the same group of masked and robed men, who cruised around in both places in a cloth-covered automobile while the crosses were burning, were responsible for the outrages; but no effort has been made to apprehend the mauraders.

White Youths Evacuated

Bettis Academy is the junior high school from which a score of white Pennsylvania orphan children were ordered away early in July after they came there several weeks before to help the school's colored pupils build a dormitory.

At the time they were here, the Rev. A. C. Hightower, school principal, held out for a week against six or seven deputy sheriffs from the two counties, who patroled the school grounds at half-hour intervals seeing that segregation laws were observed, before yielding to pressure and suggesting that the group leave.

Sat 8-7-48

Terrorized 4-H Campers

The young people were sent to Bettis Academy from Philadelphia, by the American Friends (Quakers) Association, to do some bricklaying at the school, which the Friends partially support, that otherwise would not be done because of lack of funds.

The cross-burning at Bettis, Thursday night, was thought to have been done in an effort to demoralize members of 4-H Clubs in the Piedmont section of the State holding an annual summer camp in the area.

Ignorant whites, seeing some light-complexioned youth in the group, are believed to have thought this another interracial group.

Columbians Don't Scare Easily

The cross-burning at Columbia, latest since such incidents in West Columbia several weeks ago, was regarded as an attempt to intimidate the record turnout of colored voters expected for the Aug. 10 Democratic Primary, first in which they have been given the unquestionable right to participate.

Sat 8-7-48

Meanwhile, preparations are going forward for the record vote despite the fiery crosses. In the city, in Ward 9—largest enrolled membership in Richland County—1400 of the 1700 voters are colored. It is estimated that 3,500 of the approximate 15,000 primary voters will be colored, in the city alone.

Runs As Dixiecrat Opposing Dixiecratic Nominee

The Columbia Record

William B. Martin of Greenville, former Parker school teacher, who has announced his intention to make the race for sheriff of Greenville as a States Rights candidate in the general election, complicates things.

The regular Democratic party ticket, containing the names of the successful candidates in the Democratic primary, is the States Rights ticket, as Mr. Martin can discover by reading the declaration of principles adopted by the Democratic party of South Carolina.

Thur 8-19-48

Apparently Mr. Martin, a veteran of World War II, has been confused by the fact that the States Rights Democrats is not a new party in South Carolina although it is one in North Carolina, for example. In South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi the States Righters have captured the Democratic party and are on their way, leaving the loyal Democrats in those states to shift for themselves as they may. Elsewhere the party is a new party.

Thur 8-19-48

But then isn't confusion the normal thing in South Carolina politics this year?

Columbia S.C.

Walter White

The Defender
Sat 8-28-48
Chicago, Ill.

WATCH THE DIXIECRATS

It would be most unwise for Negroes to fail to take into account what is at least part of the motivation back of speeches and other statements by Dixiecrats. We need to remember at all times that some of these statements are deliberately made to infuriate a certain type of southern white man by raising the bogey man of "Negro political dominance" for quite cynical purposes.

But after taking this factor into account, it is both amusing and enlightening to read some of the current outbursts of southern oratory. For example, a friend has sent me a clipping from the **Delta Democrat-Times** of Greenville, Mississippi. It is a story by Hodding Carter of a speech made by Representative Walter Sillers who led the Mississippi delegation as it walked out of the Democratic convention in Philadelphia.

"The most powerful political figure in the Uniter States," Mr. Carter quotes Mr. Sillers as saying, "is Walter White, the president of the N. A. A. C. P. whose organization not only directs the policies of the Republican, Democratic and Communist-supported Progressive parties, but also the activities of their candidates."

TWO CRITICISMS TO OFFER

I have two criticisms and objections to Mr. Sillers' statement. The first is that it is not true. The second is that if it were true that I controlled the political parties, the record of the 80th Congress and of the do-nothing special session which has just adjourned would have been vastly different. The 80th Congress would have amended the Senate rules, passed the anti-lynching, F. E. P. C. and anti-poll tax legislation, done something fundamental about high prices and housing, and in other ways done the job the people of America wanted the Congress to do.

I have also a copy of the July 23rd issue of **Alabama,** a weekly news magazine published at Birmingham. From the advertisements by coal, textile, lumber, insurance and other corporations—many of them owned, financed and operated from the North—it is not difficult to see the tie-up between the Dixiecrats and conservative Republicans.

The entire issue is devoted to the recent Dixiecrat convention and is interspersed with attacks on Negro voters. The Democratic Party, so **Alabama** asserts, is now owned body and soul by "radical, minority pressure groups and crossbreeds." It belabors southern delegates to the Democratic convention who did not walk out, "It was a strange sight to see some Southerners sticking around in face of the humiliating platform the convention threw at the South. The insulting planks embraced every demand of Northern radicals, who drove pell-mell for full control under leadership of Walter White and his 'National Association for Advancement of Colored People.'"

"ALABAMA" and "STATES' RIGHTS"

Alabama has put us deeply in their debt as has **States' Rights,** an eight page tabloid also published at Birmingham, by reprinting in full the now famous advertisement, "Let 'Em Walk," which the NAACP and twenty other national Negro organizations published in the Philadelphia **Bulletin** during the Democratic convention. According to **States' Rights,** "The convention bowed to the Negro pressure and agreed to do all that was asked of it by White and his crowd," and "thereby turned down all that the South had asked."

Sat 8-28-48

May I take this opportunity to express deep gratitude to **Alabama, States' Rights** and to all the other Southern publications which are giving wide circulation—and for free too—to the clear cut and convincing words which Roy Wilkins wrote in this advertisement. We did not have the money to place the advertisement in as many papers as we wished. That is why we are delighted that the Dixiecrats are helping Negro organizations to carry the Negro's demand for full freedom throughout the South.

There is one lesson of very great significance in all this. By discarding politicians of the old school who were venal, by becoming independent, intelligent and uncompromising, the Negro has put the fear of God and his ballot in the minds and hearts of his enemies. For the first time in American history, he has put the reactionary South desperately on the defensive. If we continue to use courage, intelligence and unselfishness, we shall be able not only to better immeasurably the Negro's status, but to help America itself.

THE DIXIECRAT VOTE

IT DOES NOT PORTEND ANY IMMEDIATE POLITICAL CHANGE

Life
Mon 11-8-48
Chicago, Ill.

Probably the strangest—and most welcome—portent of the election is the difficulty of reading any long-term portent into the Henry Wallace and J. Strom Thurmond third-party movements. When Bryanism and Bull Moose insurgency were the dominant maverick impulses in our political life, they foreshadowed important changes in national legislation. But all that Wallace has proved is that a mere handful of Americans can be deluded by brummagem slogans of "peace" and "plenty" into supporting the effort of a foreign power to sow dissension among us. As for the Dixiecrat disturbance, it is somewhat more complex and enigmatic. But the very difficulty of analyzing it down into a set of durable meanings would seem to prove it a "one-shot" phenomenon.

The Southerners themselves have seemed rather mystified by the States' Rights Democratic party. Just before the election a number of Dixie editors were polled by a news service on the subject of Thurmond's presidential candidacy. Of those who answered the poll an even 90% concluded that the States' Rights party would die soon after the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

Does the record of the Dixiecrat campaign mean that "white supremacy" must forever call the tune in Southern politics, with the States' Righters eternally giving the pitch? If so, then such items as the admission of the Negro's right to vote in the South Carolina primaries are eddies on the margin of a stream that is flowing backward. But the stream is not flowing backward. In spite of the resurgence of Talmadgism in Georgia, it is impossible to believe that the movement to widen the franchise in the South can be stopped.

Life
Mon 11-8-48
Chicago, Ill.

Undoubtedly the Dixiecrat movement has turned entirely on Southern pride—if changes are to be made in the South's social structure, most Southerners, whether liberal or conservative, would prefer to make them for themselves, without federal prodding. But to keep the federal government off their necks Southerners must retain their Democratic committee seniority and power of maneuver in Congress.

This means that they cannot afford a permanent break with the official Democratic party organization. The Dixiecrat leaders have been aware of this from the start; hence their insistence that they were merely rejecting Harry Truman, not Harry Truman's party.

By analyzing the Thurmond movement down, one is compelled to proclaim it a transient thing. But this does not quite dispose of it. The really significant item in the poll of the Southern newspaper editors is the 23% who answered "yes" to a second question: "Do you think a merger of States' Rights Democrats and the Republican party is possible?" In Texas 61% of the editors envisaged a future for the States' Rights movement under a Republican banner.

Mon 11-8-48

This Texas response leads one to an interesting field for speculation. The Southwestern states, as distinct from the "old" South, have been having a terrific economic boom. Part of the wealth of Texas is in tideland oil, over which the states and the federal government have been contending. If Texas money forces its way eastward along the Gulf coast, as it shows indication of doing, the States' Rights issue may do much to prepare the way for the growth of an effective second party throughout the South. In which case the Dixiecrats will have unwittingly done something for the political health of a region.

Mrs. Dixiecrat

34d

Birmingham World
Tues 12-28-48
Birmingham, Ala.

WHILE GOV. TALMADGE of Georgia plots new ways to prevent Negroes from voting, a group of whites and Negroes gathered in the small town of Due West, S. C., to honor the town's No. 1 citizen—Dr. W. L. Pressly, recently named "family doctor of the year." One distinguished guest was gracious Mrs. Strom Thurmond, Dixiecrat candidate for presi-

dent who sat on the platform not far from a Negro preacher, Rev. Naggie Voss. Of the 400 people admitted to the small hall to pay honor to Dr. Pressly, who has administered to colored patients as well as white, 150 were Negroes.

States' Righters Plan Washington 'Bastion'

Birmingham News
Fri 12-17-48
Birmingham, Ala.

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

States' Rights Democratic chieftains and their followers today looked to the early establishment of what will amount to national campaign headquarters, in Washington.

Decision to set up the "public opinion" office to be known as the States' Rights Institute in the nation's capital was made at a Southwide conference here yesterday of a 16-member steering committee headed by Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney.

Its purpose is to continue the fight for the "States' Rights cause," which Gov. Laney said is "just as sacred and necessary" as before the presidential election.

This public opinion headquarters will serve as a spearhead aimed to combat extension of federal powers and specifically to work for defeat of President Truman's "civil rights" legislation.

From the Washington bastion, the States' Righters will campaign to spread principles of constitutional government and membership into every state in the union.

* * *

A RESOLUTION ADOPTED by representatives from 10 states meet-by Mississippi Gov. [illegible] Wright, vice presidential [illegible] mate of Gov. Strom Thur[illegible] called for Gov. Laney to appoint a committee to place the plan into operation Thurmond was unable to attend.

This committee, which the Arkansas governor was to name after his return to Little Rock, will arrange for incorporation of a "non-partisan and non-profit" corporation. That will be the "public opinion" institute. Fri 12-17-48

MAP DIXIECRAT STRATEGY—How best to carry on the States' Rights Democratic fight was discussed in a Southwide strategy meeting of Dixiecrat leaders at Tutwiler Hotel yesterday. Two of the the States' Rights chieftains attending were Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney, who called the meeting, and Mississippi Gov. Fielding Wright, vice presidential running mate of Gov. Strom Thurmond, who was unable to attend. Snapped in a conference outside the session room are Gov. Wright (left) and Gov. Laney.

Governor J. Strom Thurmond Lies

IN THE course of a demagogic attack on President Truman's civil rights proposals before the Dixiecrats in Houston, Tex., last week, Governor J. Strom Thurmond, Dixiecrat candidate for President of the United States, told a GREAT BIG BLACK LIE.

Sat 8-21-48

Governor Thurmond told the Dixiecrats that the idea and plan for the FEPC came from material worked up by Joseph Stalin in 1920 when he was leader of the Russian All Races Congress. Thurmond said that the FEPC was born in Communist Russia.

That is a DELIBERATE, DECEITFUL LIE.

Pittsburgh Pa

The FEPC came to the mind of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in June, 1941, when he was alarmed by the prospect of a march on Washington which had been threatened by A. Philip Randolph and some others. That is history which many people know.

Sat 8-21-48

However, the question of the origin of the FEPC is not too important.

What is important is that the Dixiecrats are sponsoring a **liar** for President.

All Christians must have been shocked when this man, concluding his address, called for the blessing of God upon this **lie** and his other mendacious sophistries.

The Dixiecrats are backing a man for President who, in terms of the above noted **lie**, has neither **truth, honesty** nor **integrity** in him or on his side.

Thurmond Tells Dixiecrat Plan

News Digest

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WASHINGTON.—In one of the frankest denials of democratic intent ever uttered by a candidate for public office, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, States Rights Democrat candidate for President, last week told reporters: "We're not interested in the popular vote. We're more concerned with the electoral vote. That's what determines elections."

Wed 10-6-48

Thurmond declared that the aim of the Dixiecrats is to throw the election into the House of Representatives by taking enough southern votes away from President Truman and Governor Dewey to deny either of them a majority in the electoral college. When a presidential election is thrown into the House each state delegation, regardless of the state's population, has just one vote.

This, Thurmond explained, means that "the small states will have a chance to make themselves heard."

The Dixiecrat leader asserted that he will get at least 127 electoral votes, claiming all of the southern states. Texas, which he explicitly claimed, was revealed last week by the Gallup poll to have a 63 per cent vote for President Truman.

The States Rights movement began with Truman's endorsement of the report of his Commission on Civil Rights, Thurmond said. He characterized civil rights legislation as "the beginning of the police state," and likened the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Dep't to "Hitler's secret police."

In addition to preventing Truman's reelection in '48, Thurmond said that the Dixiecrats aim at forcing the Democratic Party into retreating from the progressive human rights position expressed in its platform.

Candidate Thurmond vigorously denied frequent press reports that western oil interests are financing his campaign. He said his party is "pinched" and that the people who've contributed to it are "just plain people who previously have supported national Democratic tickets."

Wed 10-6-48

He said that most southern politicos are really for him, but are afraid to speak out for fear of political reprisals by "the Trumanites." Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas, at least will speak out for him, however, Thurmond promised. He added that he is "not disturbed over the position of Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia."

The States Rights chieftain abandoned his frankness, however, when he was asked about the Taft-Hartley law. "You want me to say I'm for it or against it," he remarked "but it's too complicated for that. I'm for labor legislation that will be fair to labor, management and the public."

Wed 10-6-48

Thurmond, who once bragged about his support of federal aid for education, now says that he's uneasy about it since the civil rights bills have been put forward.

States' Rights And -Rousers

"Nature abhors a vacuum . . ."

Some of the dead-bent critics of the States' Rights movement would have [illegible] [illegible], without emotion, without eloquence, without any of the sentiments and excesses to which all humans are prone, and, mirabile dictu, without mention of the race problem. It is all right to talk States' Rights, they feel, but you must do it very quietly and be as dull as possible about it. And if you so much as mention the Negro you are a fascist, a rabble-rouser and a first cousin of Theo. Bilbo.

The Columbia Record

34

Here is The Owosso (Michigan) Argus-Press, printed in Thomas E. Dewey's old home town, vowing that with all his good intentions, Governor Thurmond can no more escape the fascist-minded rabble-rousers in his movement than Henry Wallace can get away from the Communist plotters in his. The Michigan paper misunderstands Governor Thurmond if it thinks his statement that States' Rights and not "White Supremacy" is the issue in his campaign involves the hypocrisy of pretending the Negro question is not the animus behind Southern stress on States' Rights. What the governor means is that [illegible] don't have to agree with us on that question to see the justice, Americanism and common sense of leaving this and other matters to state control.

Columbia Record

It isn't rabble-rousing, fascism, Ku Kluxery or Bilboism-and-Southernbile to speak forcefully of the Southern race problem in advocating the basic American principles of States' Rights and local self-government. Indeed, many, many people throughout this nation—as this writer has discovered—are hard to interest in an abstraction like States' Rights but easy to interest, and win, when you tell them of the practical race problem that makes the South feel so deeply about States' Rights.

Columbia S.C.

In Owosso, the population is 16,000. The Negro population is—zero. There are no Negroes at all. If Owosso's population were divided as, say, Birmingham's is, there would be 8,280 whites and 7,720 colored. Merely to point this out to Owossans and ask them to wonder how they would feel in those circumstances—is to argue for States' Rights with them, even though you base it on the race problem.

Of course, as former Governor Frank Dixon, of Alabama, is pointing out, the States' Rights issue runs to more than the race problem today and, by that token, is entitled to far more national support than the race problem alone can win for it. "You have the heritage of freedom, based on hard-won victories in the past," he told University of Alabama students Monday night. "In its place you are offered a series of governments, borrowed from Eastern Europe, where all life is regimented, where all men are slaves. You are offered time-dishonored forms of centralized government, indistinguishable from the tyrannies of the past from which your forebears fought their way to freedom . . ."

Columbia S.C.

"We are feeding and supplying the world through our system of free enterprise and personal freedom—yet there are those who would throw all this away and go to that which a thousand times has been proved hopeless."

The Columbia Rec

"How dear to my heart are the scenes of my childhood." Tom Dewey ought to consider his old home town not for its editor's talented but uninformed comments but for two circumstances that result from the fact that Owosso has no Negro population. Because Owosso is unlike Alabama in this, Owossans don't really propose to tell Alabama how to behave. Not when they stop and think, for they are fine people there in Owosso and their Americanism is rock-bottom. And similarly, because Owosso is unlike New York, Owossans don't have to consider politics and an organized Negro minority when they wrestle with their consciences over the un-American business of trying to tell Alabamians how to behave.

Dixiecrats In Louisiana Push Truman Off Ballot

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky
Sat 9-11-48

States' Righters Make Thurmond and Wright Democratic Party Nominees for Election

By the Associated Press.

Baton Rouge, La., Sept. 10.—President Truman's name was knocked off the Louisiana ballot today. He will be only a write-in candidate in the November 2 general elections.

The States' Rights Democratic candidates—Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President and Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for Vice-President—were declared the Democratic Party nominees in Louisiana.

The Louisiana Democratic State Central Committee took this action by unanimous vote on a resolution by Judge Leander Perez of St. Bernard and Plaquemines Parishes (counties).

Pro-Truman forces are expected to counter the Louisiana move, but Chairman J. Howard McGrath of the Democratic National Committee said at Washington that he would have no comment until he had examined the legal aspects of the action at Baton Rouge.

Sat. 9-11-48

Thurmond Ends Texas Tour.

Regular Democratic electors are pledged to the States' Rights candidates in Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina. States' Rights leaders said they have qualified electors in Kentucky,

State Central Committee . . . to support candidates for President and Vice-President who will preserve the traditions of the people of this state and protect their right of self-government and all other State's rights in accordance with our American way of constitutional Government as opposed to candidates for said offices who are pleged to support the enactment of federal laws to regiment our people, to destroy their right of State Government and to force upon them foreign ideologies such as the Russian 'All-Races Law,' called here the F.E.P.C., which contains a fundamental threat to our American way of life and which would set up a federal police state for the certain destruction of our American freedom and liberties."

Party Symbol to Be Used.

Sat. 9-11-48

The resolution also declared that Thurmond and Wright "both have pledged themselves to support, defend, and preserve the right of the people of each state to local self-government and all State's rights and property within our American constitutional framework of Government."

Judge Perez explained the ballot would be headed by the regular Democratic Party's rooster symbol. Immediately beneath it will appear the names of Thurmond and Wright; then will follow the electors' names, and after them the names of candidates nominated in the August 31 Louisiana Democratic primary. The committee met to certify the primary election returns.

Write-in Basis Set.

To "prevent a split in the vote" for the nominees of the August 31 primary in the general election, Perez said States' Rights electors who have qualified with the secretary of state will be asked to withdraw. John U. Barr, New Orleans, Louisiana States' Rights leader, was not available immediately for comment.

Judge Perez said the names of Truman and Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky, vice-presidential candidate, would not appear on the ballot, and they can be voted for only on a write-in basis.

The Louisiana election law on write-in candidates provides that 10 persons in the state must notify the clerks of the court of their willingness to stand as electors. These names are posted on election day and must be written into the ballot.

Sat. 9-11-48

Electors Unpledged.

The state's 10 Democratic electors were not pledged officially to the Thurmond-Wright ticket by the central committee's action. They are unpledged. Louisana electors customarily are unpledged. In reply to a question from the floor during the meeting, Judge Perez said "It isn't necessary. These are men who have told us they would not vote for Truman. I am one of them. I know them."

Perez told the committee the party is "at a crossroads."

"It's a matter of self-preservation," he declared "Are we going to lie down supinely and see the resurrection of carpetbagging in the South?" he asked.

Committee member Dudley Desmare, New Orleans, asked, "Does this mean we're leaving the Democratic Party?"

"No," shouted Chairman Henry Sevier of Tallulah. "This is the Democratic Party."

Both the Republican and Progressive Parties have qualified elector slates to appear on the ballot.

Sat. 9-11-48

States' Righters Barred From Indiana Ballot

Indianapolis, Sept. 10 (AP)—The States' Rights Party will not be on the Indiana general election ballot.

Circuit Judge Lloyd E. Claycombe today permanently enjoined the State Election Board from giving the Southern Democrats a place on the ballot.

In an unusual procedure Cleon Foust, Indiana attorney general, joined with the plaintiff, an Indianapolis Negro dentist, in asking that the injunction be made permanent. Foust told the court:

"As a result of our investigation, I am of the opinion that the States' Rights petition is highly irregular. I believe the Election Board, if not defrauded, was misled. I believe the injunction should be made permanent."

Foust said that not more than 700 of the 11,188 signatures on the petition were properly acknowledged.

THURMOND TICKET ACTION DEMANDED

Times Picayune

Extra Session for Place on Ballot, Passman's Plea

BY EDGAR POE
(The Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

Washington, July 31.—A Louisiana congressman today called on the "officials of my state" to summons the Legislature in an extraordinary session to pave the way for a Thurmond-Wright ticket of president electors.

Rep. Otto E. Passman, Fifth District, simultaneously advocated indirectly defeat of both President Truman and Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican standard bearer.

Declaring that the "grass roots movement" in Louisiana and other sections of the South is "growing by leaps and bounds," Congressman Passman said if the South's political leaders will speak out and lend some assistance, the states rights ticket has a good chance of rolling up a greater number of presidential electors than the Truman-Barkley ticket.

Says South Insulted

"If the political leaders of Louisiana and some other states fully realized," he said, "what is going on in Washington and some other centers in this country to tear down the traditions in the South, they would be doing everything in their power to defeat it.

New Orleans, La.

"The time has come for all true Southerners to stand up and be counted. The South is being insulted right and left, by both the Northern Democrats and the Republicans. Only this week President Truman issued an executive order setting up an FEPC in all federal departments, and calling for anti-segregation in the armed forces."

Congressman Passman charged that the president's directives are "nothing but a surrender to the radicals and Communists in this country." He said Mr. Truman, politically, "is bad and Dewey worse." Both the Northern Democrats and Republicans are "demagoguing of the worse sort" with the civil rights proposals, he added.

'Thrown Into House'

Upon his return to Washington, he said he has received from colleagues and others fresh reports that the "states rights" Democrats' movement, headed by Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, is spreading.

"If a states rights presidential ticket can get on the ballot all over the South. I would not be surprised to see the election of the next president thrown into the House of Representatives. To be elected, a presidential candidate must get at least 266 electorial college votes and there is a possibility that neither Truman or Dewey will get that many if the South withholds its votes."

In his dictated statement, Congressman Passman used the word "officials" instead of "governor" in advocating a special session of the Legislature to provide for a Thurmond-Wright set of electors. Under present law of Louisiana, it is necessary to obtain at least 1000 citizens who are not now registered voters to register and sign a petition to pave the way for a set of electors that would be pledged to the "states' rights" ticket in the November 2 general election.

States' Rights Lead Reported In Monroe

MONROEVILLE — If a sample poll conducted by the Monroe Journal in Monroeville and vicinity last week is indicative of the political pulse in this area, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and his States' Right ticket will walk away with the vote in Monroe County come the presidential election in November.

Of 50 persons interviewed from all walks of life, some 37 indicated they would support the presidential electors pledge to the States' Rights candidate, Gov. Thurmond of South Carolina and his vice-president running mate, Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi.

Ten persons said they thought Southerners should remain with the National Democratic Party and fight out differences with President Harry Truman over civil rights within the party.

Eight farmers from various sections of the county were polled and all favored the States' Rights ticket. Of 11 women voters interviewed, seven favored the National Democratic Party and four were States' Rights.

Some persons were asked if they would vote for President Truman if the present electors were pledged to cast their electoral votes for him. Eight said they would and 14 declared they would not vote for him under any circumstances.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York, Republican candidate, received two votes in the sample poll. Both persons said they had never voted the Republican ticket before but believed Mr. Dewey was the best man in the race.

Henry wallace and his Progressive Party did not receive a vote in the sample poll. One man declared he was not in favor of any of the candidates and would not vote in the November election.

Among the persons interviewed were business men, farmers, clerks, bankers, housewives, doctors, lawyers, carpenters, and saw mill workers.

Dixiecrats Pull Floperoo In Houston

Sunday Worker

HOUSTON, Texas.—The "huge" Dixiecrat "States Rights" rally held in Houston on Oct. 18, was a dismal political flop. Heralded by expensive full-page ads, radio and news stories, and offering barbecue and drinks free after admission for $1.20, the announced full scale program of Southern Governors, Senators and Congressmen failed to draw more than about 1200 people.

The audience was sparsely scattered in the huge Coliseum which can hold ten thousand, and the people who did attend began a prompt exit when a collection speaker got started. Somebody must have been left holding a lot of beef—barbecue had been prepared to feed 7,500 people!

The main speaker of the evening, Gov. Ben Lancy of Arkansas, trotted out the usual Dixiecrat line. He was introduced by H. R. Cullen, Houston oilman and noted arch-enemy of all labor and progressive causes. Multimillionarie Cullen is a chief financial backer of the Dixiecrats.

The Houston rally was intended as a great sendoff for a whirlwind tour of the state by a large number of spread-eagle Dixiecrat orators, eager to capture Texas' 23 electoral votes. With its multimillionaire backing, the States Rights Party is carrying on a formidable radio and newspaper campaign.

Meanwhile, the Labor Committee of the Progressive Party has begun distribution of tens of thousands of copies of a leaflet entitled: DIXIECHAT KU KLUXISM MENACES ALL LABOR. Printed in both English and Spanish, the leaflet hits hard at the favorite Dixiecrat argument that FEPC will cost the white workers jobs and lower their wages. The leaflet exposes who is backing the system of Jimcrow and discrimination and how it lines their pockets with profits. Finally the leaflet exposes the failure of the Democrats and Republicans to fight for FEPC or any legislation of benefit to the workers.

RALPH McGILL

Remember the Prohibition Law?

The Constitution

Our ears continue to be assaulted with the phrases, "civil rights" and "States' rights."

There is a very real difference between them. But as they are hurled through the air and pressed on paper with ink, they have come to mean, to many persons, the same thing.

That, in fact, is what confuses the current issue.

Certain States' rights are covered, specifically, in the Constitution of the United States. In the first 10 amendments to the Constitution, which are themselves the basis of our individual rights as citizens—and therefore guarantee our civil rights—the tenth one reads:

Tues 7-27-48

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people."

These States' rights may be said generally to cover the conduct of domestic affairs, not touching on, or in conflict with, the rights held by the United States Government. Civil rights are the rights of a citizen to freedom of speech, religion, the right to be secure against unreasonable search and seizure, the right to trial by jury, to bond, to habeas corpus, and so on.

Each State is bound by, and may not dispute, the Constitution of the United States and its interpretation by the Supreme Court.

Atlanta Ga.

Issue We have recently completed the National Convention of the nation's two chief political parties. Each has included a platform on civil rights. The plank in the Democratic platform was only a little more specific.

The issue, covered by both parties, has to do, chiefly, with the Negro citizen's rights, although also involved are citizenship rights of the lesser minority groups in the country—Mexicans in the border States and California, and citizens of Japanese and Chinese descent, as well as every numerically smaller racial groups.

Also involved, in the Fair Employment Practices proposals, are the rights to work without discrimination because of race, color or religion.

Specifically These proposed civil rights, specifically before the voters, which the States in the South insist are States' rights, are best illustrated by the proposed Federal law against lynching, and a Federal law to outlaw the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. The States argue that these are properly the affairs of States within the limits of the Constitution.

The Fair Employment Practices Act is opposed as being against the constitutional rights of individuals and organizations and their right to hire whom they choose. It ignores such vital factors as personality, congeniality and ability to work with others. It is regarded as unconstitutional also because it would impose upon the States a Federal police power nullifying their own domestic State laws and courts.

Events Nothing more clearly demonstrates the fact that we are but human than this dispute about States' rights.

Nothing more clearly proves that it is events, and not political platforms and pledges, which bring about political decisions by the people, than our history in this field of States' rights.

Tues 7-27-48

The first great test of States' rights was, of course, the attempt at secession. Many believed the States had the constitutional right to withdraw. There was an ambiguity there, and Abraham Lincoln and his party opposed. After the war was well under way, Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation. He did so, as he said, out of no primary interest in slavery, but because he believed it would help the Union. It was in open defiance of State laws, all constitutional, admitting slavery.

Others Others have followed. In our time many of the Southern States participated fanatically in supporting an anti-States' rights plank for Federal prohibition and Federal police to enforce it, against those States which had laws allowing sale of liquors, beer and wine. No States were more active in disavowing States' rights in this field than Mississippi, South Carolina and Alabama. Some of Georgia's delegates to the National Convention did vote against it. It is not always principle which rules. This law mocks us in this present fight.

When the kidnaping, growing out of prohibition's rackets, became a national menace, public sentiment everywhere demanded that Federal law step in and act because of the inefficiency of State law enforcement agents. This law is contrary to the principle.

Time So it goes. Time indeed changes many things. Jefferson wanted to abolish slavery, but specifically said the Negro could never enjoy even political equality. Yet, even at the Wallace Convention, the Negro keynoter called upon Jeffersonian doctrine. Lincoln was even more emphatic in stating that the Negro could not and should not have political or other equalities. The Democratic Party split in 1860 on the issue of States' rights. Yet now come both the parties of Jefferson and Lincoln, revealing what time and events have wrought with public opinion.

Meanwhile, whatever the Congress does with legislation in the field of civil rights will go to the Supreme Court. We shall have to wait a long time, even though the Congress may act, before we know what is left of States' rights. And by then we may have changed our minds.

Dixiecrats Costly To South

(From the ~~New York~~ Star)

The Constitution

All hands agree that Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, is a nice man; yet John Cabell Breckinridge was a nice man, too, but South Carolina, after 88 years, is still paying the bill that he ran up for her. Thurmond may not cost as much, but the South Carolinians may rest assured that he will be expensive.

The Dixiecrats of 1860 chose Breckinridge precisely because he was not a raving secessionist. This year they have chosen Thurmond because he, among other Southern political fauna, is recognizably a representative of homo sapiens and not of Alouatta ursina, the howling monkey, a species freely exported across the Potomac to Washington. In 1860 they gave Breckinridge 72 electoral votes. This year they will presumably give Thurmond 17, those of Mississippi and South Carolina, with the possibility of 23 additional from Alabama and Georgia, making a total of 40; but they may very easily give 26 more, in North Carolina and Tennessee, to Dewey, which would come to the same thing as far as the election is concerned. In 1860 they defeated Douglas, and in 1948 they have a good chance to defeat Truman.

Fri 8-27-48

Vitality After 1860 their reward was ruin so complete that the South has never entirely recovered. Their reward may be less disastrous in 1948, but it will be bad enough.

The South might well add to its litany, "From nice men in politics, good Lord, deliver us!"

Atlanta Ga

Perhaps it is utterly unrealistic to expect Southern politicians to do anything intelligent, but it would be something of a relief if they would make a bonehead play that had some suggestion of novelty. A repetition, step by step, of the whole series of errors that wrecked the South 88 years ago is merely a bore.

In fact, the heaviest handicap that the South has dragged for the past 20 years is not that it has shocked the nation, or alarmed the nation, but simply that it has made the rest of America tired. The few Southerners in Washington who are suspected of having read a book since 1865—such men as Pepper, Hill, Kefauver and Fulbright—have all made mistakes, but they haven't bored and country and are, therefore, regarded with a certain interest and admiration.

Reward One Southerner, Arnall, of Georgia, has even given an appearance of vitality to the moldering cadaver of States' rights. He discovered that a State has a right to institute proceedings in the U. S. Supreme Court and he sued 21 railroads for conspiracy against his State. That really did startle the country, because it was the first time within living memory that the principle of States' rights had been invoked to do something, instead of to refrain from doing anything. States' rights is a principle, no doubt, but it had come to be regarded in the light of Cornford's definition: "A principle is a rule of inaction, giving valid general reasons for not doing in specific circumstances what to unprincipled instinct would seem to be right."

The Dixiecrat party is the party of terrified men. No doubt they are physically brave enough. Gov. Thurmond himself has an admirable war record—but so had Maj.-Gen. John C. Breckinridge. One of the tragedies of human existence is the fact that so many men who dare to face a machine gun without flinching break and run for the rear the instant an idea whizzes close to their ears.

Dangerous This is not to say that the white South has no cause for alarm. Of course, it has cause for alarm. A free society is always dangerous, for peril is a condition of freedom. But the peril cannot be escaped by choking the growth of freedom, or by attempts to render society static.

The Southerners who understand the peril best are not the Dixiecrats, but those leaders who, seeing the danger and understanding its dimensions far better, yet stand unterrified and ready to meet it with intelligent action. These are the forces that are being isolated and exposed by the blind panic of the Dixiecrats as James Louis Petigru, of Charleston, was isolated and exposed by the secession of 1861.

Fri 8-27-48

The strange thing is that the Thurmond followers are sincerely convinced that they are the men of courage and that the others are the runaways. It is an illusion, but unfortunately when men act in the world of illusion they produce results in the world of reality.

Their idea may be entirely gaseous, but the effect will be as solid as the Army of Occupation that held the South pinned down by bayonets for 10 years after Appomattox.

Their revolt is releasing all parties, including the Democratic, from any obligation to respect Southern preferences and prejudices, and is opening up to the Republican Party the possibility of capturing three or four million additional votes among Southern Negroes. If the Dixiecrats have any idea that Dewey will not seize that opportunity, they have grossly underestimated the ruthlessness of the man.

Gov. Thurmond has a long platform, but it is all found in Proverbs 6:10—"Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep." And the commentary follows in the next verse: "So shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth and thy want as an armed man."

The Voice Of The People

The News

Dixiecrats Should Resign

Wed 11-17-48

To the Editor:

Alabama's Dixiecrat leaders should now resign as titular heads of the Democratic Party of our state. If they do not resign, the people should throw them out and let them stand at the head of the Dixiecrat Party that they sired and brought into being.

Birmingham Ala.

As a taxpayer in Alabama, I have confidence in the Democratic Party.

Messrs. Rushton, McCorvey, Dixon, Thurmond, Wright, etc., remind one of the neighborhood boy who was fortunate enough to possess the baseball, catcher's mitt, bat, and fielder's glove, who when we gathered on a vacant lot to play, refused to participate unless he could be the pitcher, captain and umpire.

Well, in this case we were all in possession of the necessities it took to play this game. President Truman didn't need the assistance of either the Dixiecrats or Henry Wallace. So now it is imperative that the people of Alabama haul Democratic leaders who are and were friendly to President Truman.

JOHN S. TURNER, SR.
507 Cairo Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

OFFICE IN ALGIERS TO AID DIXIECRATS

Times Picayune
Nov. 17 48
New Orleans La.

For the convenience of unaffiliated voters of Algiers, who wish to sign the states' rights Thurmond-Wright "nominating petitions," headquarters has been opened in Algiers at the office of Dr. [illegible] M. Nolan, dentist, 523 Verret.

MATTER OF FACT

By JOSEPH ALSOP

The Herald Tribune

The Oligarchs and the Dixiecrats

Wed. 10-20-48

New York N.Y.

ATLANTA

Ellis Arnall, former Governor of Georgia, is, like most Southerners, an enthusiastic football fan. And thereby hangs a tale. The tale is amusing, but it also casts considerable light on one aspect of Southern politics.

Some time ago Arnall organized a party of friends to make the long trip from Atlanta to see the annual Sugar Bowl game in New Orleans. The party occupied a number of suites in an expensive New Orleans hotel. So it was with some understandable misgivings that Arnall, after the game, asked the hotel's lady cashier for his bill.

He was surprised when she smiled prettily, and replied, "That's all right, Governor, your bill has been taken care of."

He was even more surprised when he was told that it was the Mississippi Power and Light Company which had been so generous.

His amazement must have been obvious, and a sudden suspicion apparently crossed the mind of the lady cashier.

"You *are* the Governor of Mississippi, aren't you?" she asked.

Not Only Civil Rights

This little story is not without meaning. The present Governor of Mississippi is Fielding Wright. Governor Wright is also the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Dixiecrats, or States' Rights party. It is pretty generally assumed outside of the South that the Dixiecrat movement is simply the South's outraged response to President Truman's civil rights proposals. It is that, but it is also a great deal more than that.

By and large, the Democratic party in the South has been controlled by a conservative oligarchy. In other times the oligarchs were mostly big planters. Now the planters have been pretty much replaced by utility magnates, textile men, industrialists, bankers and, more and more, the new oil barons of Texas and the Gulf states. The States' Rights party is essentially the response of this conservative oligarchy to the pressures which have been steadily pushing the national Democratic party farther to the Left. Almost every States' Rights politician speaks as bitterly of Franklin Roosevelt, who never really pressed the racial issue, as of Harry Truman, who did.

There is no doubt that there has been a particularly cozy relationship between the Dixiecrats and the oil kings. Southern oil men were more enraged by the Supreme Court decision which awarded to the Federal government ownership of the last great national oil reserves in the tidelands than by the Truman civil rights proposals. Nor was this rage confined to the Gulf states, for there is good reason to believe that offshore oil deposits exist along the Southern Atlantic seaboard as well. One indication of the influence of the oil men among the Dixiecrats is that the tidelands oil issue has received at least as much attention at the various Dixiecrats' get-togethers as the civil rights issue.

Support From Oil Money

Just how much oil money has greased the Dixiecrat wheels is unknown, although the Justice Department is now hard at work trying to find out. But there is no doubt that the oil industry's support for the Dixiecrats has been more than moral.

One leading supporter has been H. R. Cullen, a fabulously rich Houston oil man (he is also fabulously generous: he recently made an outright gift to Texas charity of the fantastic sum of $160,000,000). Cullen arranged for a private plane to take H. Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat Presidential candidate, to the Houston convention, and a special train to take Fielding Wright and his Mississippi cohorts to the same meeting. He is believed to be the chief sparkplug of the oil industry's backing for the Dixiecrats. Among the oil corporations, the Humble Oil Company has reportedly particularly interested itself in the Thurmond-Wright "crusade."

The oil barons' generous enthusiasm for the Dixiecrats is now said to be waning. The Republicans are sure to win, and they are committed in their platform to removing offshore oil from Federal control. Yet in most Southern states the Dixiecrat organization will be kept alive after the elections, largely to insure conservative control of the political machinery.

There is nothing particularly unhealthy in the fact that the oil men, or the other business interests, should try to protect or improve their economic position by political means. Every economic group in the United States does the same thing. Yet there are some pretty unhealthy aspects of the Dixiecrat movement as an expression of Southern conservatism.

Wed 10-20-48

All the more malodorous hatemongers, from Gerald L. K. Smith to the decrepit "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, have gleefully leaped on the Dixiecrat bandwagon. The States' Rights propaganda paper is using the same mailing list as the "Southern Outlook," a revolting racist sheet which "The Montgomery Advertiser" accurately compared to the worst products of Nazi Germany.

In brief, the real danger is that the Southern conservative oligarchy, in an effort to preserve the threatened status quo, will be tempted to turn more and more to this sort of thing, to the end that every issue, from offshore oil to the minimum wage, may be hidden and submerged in the race issue.

DEMOCRATS URGED TO DROP DIXIECRATS

The Times

Mrs. Roosevelt Would Exclude Truman Foes, but Move Would Cost Control of Senate

Tues 11-9-48

New York N.Y.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt urged yesterday the permanent ousting of Southern Dixiecrats from the Democratic party, since President Truman won without their help and over their opposition.

"It is inconceivable to me how these Southerners who walked out of the Democratic Convention, formed their own party, won four states and did their best to beat the Democratic President can now walk back into the party, explain that 'boys will be boys' and then take up several committee chairmanships won by the uphill fights of loyal and progressive Democrats," she said.

If her suggestion for ousting the Dixiecrats were put into effect, the Democrats would forfeit control of the Senate and endanger their control of the House. Of the fifty-four Democrats in the Senate that meets Jan. 3, eight are from the four states that voted for Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, the States Rights candidate for President.

If they swung to the Republicans, that party would control the Senate, fifty to forty-six. Of the 263 Democrats in the House, thirty are from the same Southern states. Their ouster would leave the Democrats with a majority of seventeen.

New Program Opened

Mrs. Roosevelt made her plea for dropping the Southerners from the Democratic party in the first of a series of American Broadcasting Company programs entitled "Eleanor and Anna Roosevelt," which features Mrs. Roosevelt and her daughter, Mrs. John Boettiger.

Mrs. Roosevelt spoke from Paris by transatlantic telephone to the American Broadcasting studios in New York. Mrs. Boettiger spoke in Hollywood.

Among the Southerners who will be entitled to committee chairmanships if recognized as Democrats, Mrs. Roosevelt noted, are Representative John Rankin of Mississippi, who she described as one of the worst Southern reactionaries, and Senator Olin Johnson of South Carolina, who, she said, campaigned against President Truman but was one of the first on his train to congratulate the Democratic winner on his return to Washington.

"I think the people who voted for President Truman did so out of approval for his civil rights bill and other progressivee measures, and would not want to see him hampered by having important committee chairmanships in the hands of the fellows who most bitterly opposed the President," she continued.

Tues 11-9-48

Sees Only 2 Major Factions

"I have felt for a long time that there are really only two major political factions in the United States — Liberals and Conservatives. And it would be much more logical if our political parties were divided along those lines.

"The Democratic party has seemed to me to be predominantly the party of liberalism, although sometimes, through the curious evolution of politics, it embraced Southerners who number among their ranks some of the most reactionary men in public life. Similarly the Republican party is traditionally the party of conservatism, although it embraces some very fine liberals.

"Now, for the first time in history, the Democrats have won an election without the Solid South. Some of the more reactionary Southerners have chosen to break with the Democratic party and I think it would be a good idea to make the break final. Possibly the Southern conservatives would be welcomed into the Republican party, with whom they have voted so often in recent years.

"My husband tried to rid the Democratic party of some of the most reactionary Southerners some years ago, when he undertook to defeat several legislators who he felt were sabotaging the liberal measures he felt he had been mandated to put into effect. He failed in this, but now that the Dixiecrats have chosen of their own accord to walk out on their party during an election, I think the Democrats should insist they stay out."

What Is Ahead For States' Rights?

"'Where lies the land to which the ship would go?'
Far, far ahead, is all her seamen know . . ."

Columbia Record

Tues 8-31-48

Columbia, S.C.

States' Rights leaders may confer but they cannot possibly see beyond this year's election. That is because the way beyond is clear for nobody—no party, no state or nation, no individual. Governors Thurmond and Wright and their associates know only that the course upon which they are presently set is the right and practical one for them and their people, and that its greatest immediate objectives are being achieved.

"Love it as you may, you can't export Dixie," a thoughtful friend insists. He means our set-up is too special to win the nation to its cause.

But you can export the South's passion for a cause that is already national and basic to a nation's philosophy and way. Our race problem gives us stronger feeling now for local self-government and against federalism gone mad than any other Americans, but the feelings exist everywhere. They are the dominant political ones in the whole nation, reflected in both national and state elections since the war. We have no monopoly on states' rights. But because of our special situation and the strength of conviction it induces, we are called to lead in new emphasis on states' rights. That is not exporting. It is just taking your place in line—the head of the line.

In able reply to The Cincinnati Enquirer's taunt that States' Rights Democrats are "all steamed up and have no where to go," Editor Cash Stanley indicates that there are even places to go than the White House, and that "down in their hearts the citizens of Maine, or California or of Michigan or Illinois are just as hostile to remote political control from Washington. . . ."

Editor Stanley will be interested in knowing that the motto of Illinois, as it appears on the Illinois stone in the Washington monument is—"State Sovereignty."

As southern States' Rights Democrats "export" their feelings now to the country as a whole they need some speical committees, it seems to me. One would be a committee against the frivolous and in adequate term "Dixiecrat." Another, a committee against being taken by Gerald Smith or any other of the rabble-rousing lunatic fringe of un-American wavers of American flags. Another against saying "nigger" or failing to like our colored people in the South. Another for keeping the cause from being identified exclusively with conservatives since it is neither a conservative nor a liberal cause in fact but one for preserving the system under which conservatives and liberals contest.

Tues 8-31-48

And shouldn't there be a committee, too, for keeping the public advised against confusionists who say States' Rights Democrats have no place to go just because their present objectives are wisely confined to the great business of taking as many votes as possible from both Truman and Dewey in the name of (1) anti-federalism-gone-mad and (2) the South's need and right to be recognized as a prized American minority?

And, oh yes, a committee on the Upper South to persuade several fine editors there that, even though it is impudent and very irregular, wisdom can sometimes come from the Deep South and that they might be at least as unprejudiced in their judgment and as good tempered as, say, the editor of The Owosso, (Mich.) Argus-Independent, in Dewey's boyhood home.

Dixiecrat Revolt Had Some Benefit

New York, N.Y.

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Perry

Star 11-11-48

Of course Mrs. Roosevelt has no right to say anything about the South because she was not born anywhere below the Potomac. I am inclined to make allowance for her, nevertheless. The dear lady is in Paris busy with the UN, and so something out of touch with our forms and mores over here. Besides, what she says makes very excellent sense: the Democratic party has the chance of a lifetime to stay out of adultery, has all to gain and nothing to lose by leaving the Dixiecrats out of the family circle till their table manners improve.

New York, N.Y.

This would not be "reprisal" (a low-class word Democratic Party Chairman J. Howard McGrath tastefully shuns) but justifiable self defense. Why should the party tie the millstone about its neck? Already, we have retiring Rep. Fred Hartley telling Rotary in Atlanta that "the South" will have to stand with the Republican Old Guard against repeal of the Taft-Hartley law – just as, throughout the campaign, it was the other father of that execrated labor-control measure, Sen. Robert Taft, who toured all the way to the warm Gulf assuring the bourbons that, Dewey or no Dewey, the GOP in Congress would continue to be their natural ally against reforms even more important to the Republic than retraction of the labor law.

Logical Recommendation

If the Dixiecrats come back into the party unreconstructed, in name only, this nominal adherence will bring the party only embarrassment and chagrin. The party will not be ahead even in numbers, since on the crucial issues the Dixiecrats will vote with the opposition. On the other hand, the administration will not be able to disavow these saboteurs sitting on its own side of the House and accepted into the Democratic fellowship.

Mrs. Roosevelt's recommendation follows a logic absolute; she is not harsh, but radical; she projects an honest division of the major parties on the ideological line for the benefit of the people, to permit clarity in the elective choice. Certainly this is desirable, and is sufficient grounds for a firm decision, removed from maudlin sentimentality, on the part of the Democratic leadership.

It is tangent reasoning to make much of the fact that the party "owes nothing" to the Dixiecrats. This is true only in the strictly partisan sense that the Dixiecrats did all they could in the campaign to defeat Truman and elect Dewey. In a larger sense (the one Mrs. Roosevelt is talking about) the party is indebted to the Dixiecrats – for walking out. For it is apparent that the public confidence in the Democratic party would not have risen or held, even after the adoption of the uncomprisingly liberal platform at Philadelphia, if the bourbon heretics had not gone off plangorously to form a separate party.

Claim to Liberalism

But for this severance, the electorate would not have seen good faith in the Democratic promises: the walkout itself, not the willingness of the convention to risk it, was the clincher to the party's claim of genuine liberalism. By the same token, and looking to the legislative battles ahead and to other elections to come, the Democratic party cannot "lose character" more promptly and surely than by folding the unrepentant Dixiecrats back into its arms.

Star 11-11-48

I say "unrepentant" advisedly, for repentance should be the shibboleth Some of the Southern bolters may have seen the light in the election returns – as much light, at least, as Joe Martin says he has seen. For these, Mr. McGrath conscientiously could spread the welcome mat. For the rest, who will continue to stand against what the New Deal Democratic party stands for, it were far better to leave them adrift, seeking their natural mates in some other association, than to give them the chance to begin boring from within anew.

Mrs. Roosevelt is right, and Mr. McGrath can be right. It is not a question of reprisals, but one of restoring the popular faith in the party system by which we endeavor to maintain responsive and responsible government.

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser

Letters to the editor must carry complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names may be used at the editor's discretion. Letters of less than 200 words are given preference. All letters may be cut.

Mont 4

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RIGHT FOR ONCE

Editor, The Advertiser:

For once I think Mrs. Roosevelt is right. All Dixiecrats should be expelled from the Democratic Party for I don't see how any honest Dixiecrat would care to be affiliated with the present Democratic Party.

There is no need for any Southerners to worry about the Dixiecrats. What we should be worrying about is whether our cousins across the Mason and Dixon Line realize what an important part the Negroes voting the Democratic ticket played in this election.

Montgomery, Ala.

They smashed Dewey's band wagon and broke down all poll predictions. Well there is one thing certain: A good dose of President Truman's civil rights along with some other Democratic policies will go a long way in making Northern Republicans and Southern Bourbons see eye to eye.

The Truman Democrats need not crow too loud or be too cocky, for there will be another day.

ROBERT C. RIVES

Forest Home, Ala.

* * * *

REPLY TO WILKINSON

Editor, The Advertiser:

Replying to Mr. Horace Wilkinson's letter that appeared in your paper several days ago with reference to the slums and slags of the American people electing Mr. Truman as our President, wish to state to Mr. Wilkinson that the slums of our country did not elect Mr. Truman, but that the better class of our people were the ones who elected him.

I do not consider that the majority of the working people are of the slums, and the working people are still true Democrats and not Dixiecrats. President Truman was elected without Mr. Wilkinson's support and without the support of any other Alabamian because they did not have the opportunity of voting for him.

I, for one, being a working man, resent this statement and believe all working people in this country will concur with me in this resentment.

F. C. WRIGHT

Montgomery.

Dixiecrat Votes

Wash Post

Mon 11-8-48

Wash D.C.

Fortunately the country escaped an indecisive election that would have thrown the choice of President into the House of Representatives. Such a catastrophe would have put Congressmen with Dixiecrat sympathies in a strategic position to barter votes in exchange for concessions in respect to the civil rights program. Although the 38 electoral votes of the four States in the Thurmond column were not sufficient to defeat President Truman, the fact that the regular Democratic Party machinery was captured by the Dixiecrats in four States, and that the Thurmond adherents polled substantial votes in several other Southern States, gives warning of a bitter battle ahead should the President attempt to push his civil rights program.

Effective opposition to the civil rights program cannot be gauged by the number of votes cast for Thurmond, since that vote was so concentrated as virtually to insure that members of Congress representing the disaffected areas will present a united front on this controversial issue. Moreover, Representatives from Dixiecrat States can no doubt count on the sympathetic support of a good many members from the Southern States who clung to the party, though sharing the opinions of the Dixiecrats.

Predictions that the schism in the ranks of the Southern Democrats would result in the creation of a third party that would constitute a permanent challenge to the regular organizations appear unlikely of fulfillment. The Southern Democrats have, however, learned from their experience that it is possible to put pressure on the regular party organization by separatist movements that serve bad as well as good causes. **This kind of protest voting is not calculated** to further efforts to break the stranglehold of party regularity that has handicapped the South, but rather to enable the South to exploit a docile electorate that is a product of the region's traditional adherence to a single party.

Mon 11-8-48

For Human Rights

The News

8-24-48

B'ham Ala.

(348)

To the Editor of The News:

Amid all this shouting about states' rights, members of organized labor would do well to take a peep at who is doing the shouting, and see just what and why of the fuss. Who was the attorney who represented Greenwood Cafe in the injunction case against a union? Who put the secret police on the busses in Mississippi and broke the bus strike? Just call the roll one by one of the so-called states' righters and examine their labor record; one peep is enough for me.

The Dixie Doodle Cats walked out of the Democratic convention in Philadelphia, and have since, throughout the South, preached a doctrine of race hatred, discrimination and ill-will. The voters of Alabama selected a group of delegates to the convention. Who elected the so-called delegates to attend the rump convention held in Birmingham by the seceders?

States' rights is not the issue. States' rights is a coat of many colors which the Southern rebels are using to cover up the main issues, race discrimination and the disfranchisment of the Negro. This same group of seceders were the backers of the "Boswell amendment." Does Alabama, Mississippi or Texas need more states' rights than does California, Illinois or Kentucky? Where were these noble defenders of states' rights when Congress passed an act making it a federal offense to rob a bank in Alabama or any other state?

8-24-48

I believe in the Declaration of Independence, which reads, "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." No one denies the Negro the right to pay the same taxes as do the white. No one denied him the right to bear arms and bleed and die for his country. This is as it should be. But why deny him any of his rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution of the United States? The Negro is the only race of people which did not come to this country by choice. Good or bad, intelligent or ignorant, educated or unlettered, honest or dishonest, the Negro is just what the white man made out of him.

What does this group of political gad-abouts want? I am glad that I belong to an organization (U. M. W. of A.) that stands for, not states' rights, but human rights.

34d 1948

Dixiecrats

RALPH McGILL

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

In 1860 They Had A Rump Convention

Footnotes to History:

In 1856, under attack from Northern radicals, the South became ultra-sensitive at much of the false and unjust criticism. There also was the deep conviction that slavery was a matter for the States and not the Federal Government.

There were efforts made by the moderates to bring about Federal legislation which would abolish slavery, but which at the same time would reimburse the Southern slave owners (not many Southerners owned slaves) for their property, out of Federal funds. This effort was not a new one. It was made first by Thomas Jefferson. It was last made by Abraham Lincoln. He had made it previously, but he repeated it at the illfated "peace conference" at Hampton Roads in February of 1865. This was attended, among others, by Georgia's Alexander Stephens, then Confederate Vice President. But the Peace Commissioners were so restricted in their instructions by President Jefferson Davis that nothing came of it save futility. Stephens went home, never again to speak to Davis during the war, and to consider the Mississippian as having once more ruined the chance of the Confederacy for an honorable peace or end to the war.

Mon. 7-14-48

Birmingham

So, in the end everything was lost. I try here to speak of what I conceive to be the best interests of the South. I do not think they are being served by the sound and the fury of the Birmingham rump meeting of disaffected Democrats. Even if they have some little success in the primaries and the election of November, they are doing harm to the future interests of the South. I am willing to concede they believe they are serving those interests. But the thoughtful Southerner will see they are not.

As in 1856-60 when we were led to defend slavery as God-given and God-indorsed; when we were so needled and infuriated by the Northern politicians, who were often false and hypocritical, that we stubbornly made slavery the "keystone" of the new nation, we were tricked and pushed into supporting a moral wrong.

That is about to happen to us again.

The position of the Birmingham rump meeting is, for the moment, a popular one. It is the place where the bands play "Dixie" and men cheer the old shibboleths.

But, the true Southerner will see that, despite the hypocricy and the infuriating smugness of the North, we cannot longer oppose civil rights. It is true that they are pushed cynically by the big city machines for votes. But, the fact remains that under the Constitution, all citizens have a right to vote and to the protection of the law. We cannot defend a moral wrong. The Convention showed that every State outside the South was against us.

Protection

We still have the protection of the Supreme Court and the Constitution of the United States. There are rights reserved to the States under the Constitution. It is true that many persons have come to believe the Supreme Court is too liberal in its interpretation of the Constitution. But, even so, they cannot remove it entirely. The fact is, citizens have a right to vote. But qualifications can be made. The fact is, citizens have a right to protection of the law, from the gang killings of the East and lynchings in the South. We shall have to take what the Supreme Court says about that when the legislation has been passed and tested in the courts. The South may not lose everything it fears. I doubt if life in the South will be greatly changed. Basic segregation will remain.

Atlanta, Ga.

Equality

The platform calls for "equal treatment" in the armed services. Whether that means an end to segregation in the services remains to be seen. The laws have not been written, much less introduced, passed and court-tested. The platform calls on Congress to pass legislation giving equal rights in employment. The laws relating to that have not been written or introduced. They may or may not contain features greatly objectionable to the South. These laws, generally referred to as the FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Act), are the ones most objectionable to the South. Whether they be constitutional has not yet been determined. There is no mention of social equality.

The point is—~~nothing had been~~ done as yet.

Solution

Now, how does the South propose to meet these threats? Some go to Birmingham. As far as I am concerned, those who go to Birmingham are on the road to a political Damascus with the scales still on their eyes. Their sort of action can withhold electoral votes, which will be meaningless if the Republicans win as expected.

Those really devoted to the South are seeking the long-time answer.

As of now, there seem to be but two. One is for all those who want to quit the Democratic Party to do so and join in an effort to establish the Republican Party. You don't do that merely by voting for it. You do it by establishing Party machinery at the precinct level.

The second procedure is for those who stay in the Party to uphold the hands of our Congressmen and Senators, and not to destroy them and remove them from committees by setting up a Southern ticket which will destroy even their minor committee and prestige positions.

7-14-48

We have got to do the best we can. The rest of the nation is against us. The Republican Party proposes the identical measures. This time we have got to act differently and with less blindness than in 1856-60 when they also walked out and held a rump meeting and played "Dixie" and whooped and hollered. It sounds good and is exciting. But the results are disastrous. We don't seek disaster.

Primm Against Civil Rights If It's Left Up To Congress

By A. F. MAHAN, JR.

WASHINGTON — (AP) —W. J. Primm, Jr., assistant to the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, doesn't favor enactment of President Truman's civil rights program—by Congress.

He said this May 27 when he became chief aide to Senator J. Howard McGrath, party chairman, and he told a reporter Monday: "I haven't changed."

There are some things in the civil rights program to which Primm said he could agree, but he believes that "under the constitution they should be handled by the legislatures of the several states, rather than through the National Congress."

"I am opposed to the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting," he said in an interview, "but I strongly believe its abolition is up to the people within the states and their legislatures."

He did not say with what other, if any, parts of the President's civil rights program he agrees—provided action is taken within the states.

His stand puts him in direct conflict with the views of the President, nominal party head, and with his boss, McGrath.

"They knew how I felt when I was appointed," the 38-year-old Alabamian said.

Primm recently called upon Democratic national committeemen in the South who are supporting the states' rights presidential candidacy of Gov. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, to resign their party posts.

"They are openly fighting the nominees of the Democratic Party, and if (Gov. Thomas E.) Dewey is elected president, I am positive the Republicans will force a civil rights program upon the South," he said.

"They're giving aid to the Republicans, splitting the Democrats."

In announcing acceptance of his committee appointment, Primm stated:

"All Democrats must settle their differences and put their shoulders to the wheel to insure that the record of progressive liberalism made by Democratic administrations since 1932 will be continued.

"I will give my wholehearted support and cooperation to efforts to unite and organize our party for victory in November."

This slender, bespectacled grandson of a Confederate general told a reporter he is serving in his party post "without salary or an expense account because I don't believe we should turn this country over to the Republicans or any other reactionary force."

Primm was born in Camden, Ala., in the heart of that state's "black belt," where the Negro population predominates. His parents reside in Montgomery, where Primm plans to cast his November ballot.

He attended both Alabama Polytechnic Institute (Auburn) and the University of Alabama, and once published two weekly newspapers in his home state, the Tuscaloosa Warrior and the Shelby County Democrat.

He came to Washington in 1943 as an assistant to the late Senator Josiah W. Bailey (D), North Carolina, whose daughter he had married in 1942. He quit in 1945 to devote himself to his own business interests—an importing firm with headquarters in Los Angeles and the Pacific Petroleum Corporation.

Primm long has identified himself with Democratic politics, having been one of the organizers of the Young Democratic Clubs of America and having been Young Democratic national committeeman from Alabama for years. He served as national young Democratic committee chairman seven years.

He was a political trouble-shooter for the late Gov. Bibb Graves, of Alabama, during his second term and spent four years setting up a third-term campaign for Graves, who died before the election.

He and the former Elizabeth Bailey have two daughters and reside on Calvert Street here.

He has retained his Southern drawl and he has a blonde Southern girl as his secretary, Carolyn Harward, of Durham, N. C.

Louisiana, Kentucky Are Dixiecrat Targets

Columbia Record

Columbia, S.C.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond's States Rights Democrats, temporarily rebuffed in North Carolina, today made battle plans for invading two other states, Louisiana and Kentucky.

Assured of 20 electoral college votes from Alabama and Mississippi, leaders of the movement yesterday said they would place Thurmond's name on presidential ballots in Kentucky and Louisiana. 8-5-48

In each state, only 1,000 names are needed on petitions before the States Righters can enter the general elections in November.

Judge Merritt Gibson of Longview, Tex., campaign manager, forsaw little difficulty in qualifying for the ticket in Kentucky, home state of

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tunity can be attained within such a framework, then its first objective must be the elimination of segregation as it now obtains in the Army and Air Force and to make real the token integration that the Navy has effected.

Of course, Army brass will oppose significant reforms. Army Secretary Kenneth C. Royall contends that there is already equality of treatment and opportunity for colored personnel in the Army.

A Reminder for Supervisors

The order establishing regulations governing fair employment practices will serve as a reminder to personnel officers in Government agencies that they are not to engage in discriminatory practices in hiring, promoting and dismissing employees.

It sets up within the Civil Service Commission a Fair Employment Board, and gives to employees the right of appeal to that board in cases where racial discrimination is alleged. Wed 9-1-48

Inasmuch, as the Federal Government is spending billions of dollars for equipment, material and supplies, President Truman might have gone further and ordered inserted in all Government contracts a provision requiring the contractor not to discriminate in his employment practices. Such a provision would be entirely legal and effective.

Texas Deep In Heart Of States' Righters

DALLAS, Sept. 10—(AP)—Texans can carry their states' rights yearnings to the polls in November.

The States' Rights Democrats, anti-Truman offshoot of the regular Democratic Party, made certain of this yesterday. At a statewide convention here the rebels formally took Texas into their Southern fold. The News

Party machinery was perfected. Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolnia was named the presidential candidate and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi was chosen his running mate.

Thurmond, here to accept the nomination, lambasted the proposed civil rights program and Presidential Candidates Truman, Dewey and Wallace in a speech last night before 600 persons. Fri 9-10-48

* * *

IN OTHER Southern states, the party is known as the States' Rights Democrats. On the general election ballot in Texas in November, however, it will be the States' Rights Party. In 1944 a Texas court decision held that only the Democratic Party was entitled to use the word Democratic on the ballot. B'ham Ala

Thurmond charged in his address that the Republicans, Democrats and Progressives borrowed their theories of government "from the cesspolls of Eastern Europe." Fri 9-10-48

He said the proposed Fair Employment Practice Commission "which is the heart and core of the misnamed civil rights program, is nothing more than an American edition of the Russian all races law.

"Stalin himself wrote that law in 1920 when he was commissar of nationalities. Under that law there can be no discrimination in employment on account of race, color, national origin, or ancestry. Fri 9-10-48

The new party named 23 electors and bound them by a loyalty pledge.

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127 Electoral Votes, Dixiecrats Hope

Birmingham News
B'ham, Ala

BY REX THOMAS
Associated Press Writer

States' rights leaders say they can pick up as many as 127 electoral votes—perhaps more—in the November election.

Here is a state-by-state survey, based on the way delegates talked at Saturday's anti-Truman conference of Southern Democrats:

Alabama—11 electoral votes already pledged against Truman.

Mississippi—9 votes, also committed to vote for someone besides Truman. Sun 7-18-48

Louisiana—10 votes not committed, but former Gov. Sam Jones says state Democratic committee can instruct electors.

Tennessee—12 electors chosen in convention, states' righters say convention has power to remove electors; therefore can make them vote any way it wants.

Georgia—12 votes. Electors still to be named in primary election.

Florida—8 electors already chosen in primary. No way to instruct them, states' righters concede, if they want to support Truman.

Texas—33 votes. Electors will be chosen by Democratic convention and can be instructed.

Arkansas—9 electors to be named in convention and can be pledged against Truman. 7-18-48

Virginia—11 representatives in electoral college. Already chosen by convention and pledged for Truman, but anti-Truman forces contend party can instruct them otherwise.

South Carolina—8 electors to be chosen by state Democratic executive committee. Electors will be pledged against Truman by state convention resolution, but subject to change because of Friday's court ruling that the Democratic Party is open to everybody. That may result in a new convention and widespread changes.

North Carolina—14 electors. Chosen in convention and not pledged but can be.

In addition, the states' righters hope to win support in Oklahoma, which has 10 votes, and Maryland, with 8, and plan to enter anti-Truman elector candidates in Missouri and Kentucky, home states of Mr. Truman and his running mate, Senator Alben Barkley.

A victory in Missouri would give the states' rights move 15 electoral votes, and Kentucky could add another 11.

B'ham News
Birmingham, Ala
Sun 7-18-48

GEORGIA "DELEGATE" DOES A JIG—Dancing on the stage during a demonstration is 77-year-old Mrs. Beulah Waller, of Byron, Ga., who said she is known to people in her state as the "Wool Hat Woman of Georgia." Mrs. Waller said she would "walk all night for Southern Democracy." At her right are Convention Leaders Gessney T. McCorvey and Eugene Connor.

Dixiecrats Plan To Give Party Harder Wallop

Birmingham News

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney and a handpicked committee will go to Washington next week in their move to revitalize and broaden the States' Rights Democratic movement. Birmingham Ala

This committee, which includes Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney, will make plans to open national campaign headquarters there. [illegible] 48

They want to give the Dixiecratic Party which carried four Deep South states against President Truman and for Strom Thurmond, a new look and more wallop.

As John Newsome, North Alabama campaign manager, revealed, they want to discard any semblance of sectionalism and shake off the name "Dixiecrats" in the nationalization process.

* * *

BESIDES LANEY and Wilkinson, other members of the committee are Leander Perez, New Orleans lawyer, close lieutenant of Gov. Earl Long and the man who was the driving force behind States' Righters in Louisiana, and O. W. Baylor, head of the Dixiecrats in Kentucky.

Plans for setting up national campaign headquarters, which will be known as the States' Rights Institute, were made in Birmingham recently by the 16-member Laney Committee. Sat [illegible] 48

It is from this national outpost—a sort of public opinion headquarters—that they will campaign to spread "principles of constitutional government" and membership into every state in the union.

This institute also is expected to serve as a lobbying headquarters from which to fight President Truman's "civil rights" legislation.

Gov. Laney and others of this subcommittee will confer with Charles W. Collins, Washington attorney and author of "Whither the Solid South," to chart the course of the nationalist.

Collins, it was said, will handle legal proceedings and other matters in getting the headquarters offices opened.

South Carolina's Electors Pledged to States'-Rights Ticket

Columbia, S. C., Aug. 7 (AP)—South Carolina's eight prospective Democratic Electoral College votes were pledged tonight to the States'-Rights Democratic ticket.

They brought the pledged total to 28 from three Southern states.

State Party Executive Committee Chairman W. P. Baskin, Bishopville, announced the South Carolina pledge after a poll by mail of the committee's 46 members.

The committee "overwhelmingly indorsed" the Southern States' Rights Democratic ticket of South Caroline Governor J. Strom Thurmond and Governor Fielding H. Wright of Mississippi, Baskin said.

Previously, Mississippi and Alabama, with a combined total of 20 Electoral College votes, pledged their elector nominees to the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

The State Democratic Convention of last May instructed the electors not to vote for President Truman or any other candidate advocating a similar civil-rights program.

In view of the combined action of the executive committee and the state convention, Baskin said, "The party's electors, although they have not yet been named, will be bound to support and vote for" the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Kicked Out Of The Party

The Lighthouse

Sun. 9-12-48

Columbia, S.C.

J. Howard McGrath and other officials of the Democratic National Committee have just about put out of the party those who are backing the Dixiecrats against president Truman.

The ouster is not what the Dixiecrats hoped for. They had felt that the national party would not dare to take the action it has. They had wanted to hold recognition in both organizations, all in the inflated contention that the national party has betrayed the South merely by recommending certain legislation under which minority groups would benefit.

The Dixiecrats are now outside of the Democratic party. They have been kicked out. If there is to be a worth the while Democratic organization in the southern states now whooping it up against civil rights, the people have the opportunity now to develop the organization.

ALABAMA TRUMANITES ATTEMPT TO CRACK DIXIECRAT COUNTRY

The [illegible]

Mon. 8-16-48

[illegible]

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 16—(AP)—Alabama followers of President Truman, backed by organized labor, meet here today to try to crack this States' Rights Democratic stronghold.

The president's supporters, headed by State Senator Joseph N. Langan of Mobile, assembled here to select a slate of electors pledged to Mr. Truman and map plans for getting their names on Alabama's November ballot.

This state's electors who were nominated in the May and June Democratic primaries are pledged to cast their votes in the electoral college for the States' Right nominees, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi.

If Langan is successful in getting a pro-Truman slate on the ballot, the voters in the general election will have a choice between the States' Rights Democrats and the national Democrats.

The pro-Truman convention goes into session knowing it has the support of organized labor in the state. Top-level union officials met here yesterday and condemned the States' Rights movement as assurance of a Republican victory at the polls.

The Mobile senator has two plans in mind:

First, he says, he will try to get a slate of electors pledged to the Truman-Barkley ticket on the ballot.

If that fails, he has hinted at a court suit to try to force the electors pledged to the States' Rights ticqet to switch to the national Democraic nominees.

Langan's proposal that both pro-Truman and anti-Truman slates of electors be placed on the ballot received a flat rejection from state Democratic chairman Gesner T. McCorvey. The party leader also warned the senator he might be written out of the Alabama Democratic party for opposing its primary nominees.

Langan addresed the meeting of labor leaders yesterday and said he would do all in his power "to give labor a chance to vote" for President Truman in Alabama.

Sectional Revolt Appears To Have Eliminated Truman

Hard Victory Won To Get Negroes Admitted To Democratic Primaries May Prove to be Futile; Foes of Civil Rights to Take Over

Nashville, The Globe Tenn.

Birmingham, Alabama— Colored Democrats were conspicuous by their absence from the Dixiecrat convention here on Saturday of last week. It was a meeting the like of which has not been held in the South since a faction walked out of the 1860 Democratic Convention and launched a movement that split the nation into Union and Confederate States.

As in 1860, the party split over the "Negro Question" but the latest crack up of the Democratic party is not likely to assume any such serious concern to the nation as the split in 1860.

But the plight of the colored man and woman who have fought valiantly in the South to become active members of the Democratic Party was rendered almost pathetic by the calling of the Dixiecrat convention and what is to result from it. The indications are that in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi, states in which ever so much money has been spent to force the admission of colored citizens into the Democratic Party, the Dixiecrats will control affairs. They issued what amounts to a demand to senators and congressmen that they come out and speak out in approval of the stand the Dixiecrats have taken on the civil rights issue. It is probable that these senators and congressmen will be forced to do this in order to hold their jobs. Thus the Democratic Party in the South will be based wholly on hostility to the Negro. No Negro will likely have either the desire or the courage to be a Democrat in any of the states that will be controlled by Dixiecrats.

Fri. 7/23/48

It now seems probable that in most Southern States the regularly elected electors will take the advice of the Dixiecrat leaders and cast the electoral votes of their states for the two nominees of the Dixiecrat majority. This will mean that a colored voter will have no chance to express his preference for President Truman.

In those states where the chosen electors feel they must vote for President Truman, the Dixiecrats will call state conventions and choose new electors to go on the ballot. The Dixiecrats pledge 127 electoral votes to their own nominees, leaving no electoral votes in the South to President Truman If this happens a colored man's vote for Mr. Truman will be worse than wasted.

7/23/48 Fri.

In Tennessee, the Dixiecrats will just about make it certain that the Republican electors will be elected. They are able to split the Democratic Party in twain, which means that they will deprive Mr. Truman of Tennessee's electoral vote. They are likely to accomplish the same thing in North Carolina and probably Virginia.

The big objective of the Dixiecrats of course is to make President Truman the worse defeated candidate for the president their party has nominated since the Civil War. They feel that Mr. Truman is not likely to carry any Northern states because of the Henry Wallace Ticket. Thus if the Dixiecrats can deprive Mr. Truman of all of the Southern electors by taking a number of them for their own candidates and making it possible for Republicans to take the remainder, Mr. Truman will be "the worse beaten candidate." He will have many millions of popular votes but no electoral votes at all.

The one bright spot in a very dark picture is that the radical Dixiecrats nominated just about the worse ticket that could have been put together. Gov Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Wright of Mississippi qualify as the most demagogic governors in the South. The states they govern are rated the most backward states in the South. It is probable that should the Democratic congressmen and senators of the South unite in providing electors for Mr. Truman in their states they could succeed in getting them elected. But at present it seems that senators and congressmen are either disposed to keep quiet or to oby the demand of the Dixiecrats that they speak out in opposition to President Truman.

The Dixiecrats, out of the mouth of one of their orators, got a slogan that is going to be heard thruout their campaign The northern wing of the party, this orator stated, was made up of "communicrats and mulattocrats.'" They bear down in opposition to the fair employment practices bill and pretend that their opposition to it is based solely on what it would do to help Negroes. But it is known that there never would have been an FEPC bill offered had it been for Negroes, only. It was meant to stop discrimination against Catholics and Jews, as well as Negroes. But they find it advisable to keep such views within the hearing of fellow-bigots.

With the help of money contributed by Republicans, both white and colored, the battle to get Southern Negroes admitted as members of the Democratic Party of the South has been won. But for 1948, at least, Negroes of the South will not want to be members of the party of their choice. It will be because all liberal Southern Democrats have been rendered helpless and are being pressured to become full-fledged Dixiecrats, or else.

Dixie and the 'Dixiecrat' Will-o'-the-Wisp

The Atlanta Constitution - Atlanta, Ga.

The first Virginia "Dixiecrat" organizations have been established, with a view to drumming up support for the Thurmond-Wright presidential ticket nominated at Birmingham on July 17. What political future is there for this movement, either in Virginia or the South as a whole?

Such third or fourth-party splinter movements have seldom made much progress in the South—or anywhere else in this country, for that matter. Usually they simply draw strength from the established parties without going anywhere much themselves. That will almost certainly be the fate of the "Dixiecrats."

Wed. 9-1-48

Insofar as it was a gesture of independence, the Birmingham convention had something to commend it. The South sorely needs a greater measure of independence. However, it needs primarily to show the Democratic Party that it is not slavishly lashed to that organization's chariot wheel and to show the Republican Party that it has enough guts and savvy to vote GOP when the Republican candidate and platform are the more appealing of the two.

It is possible that the Thurmond-Wright ticket will get a plurality of the votes cast for the four major contesting parties in Mississippi, South Carolina and Alabama, and that it will draw off enough support from Truman and Barkley to throw another State or two to Dewey and Warren. But suppose that happens: What then?

Nobody could possibly imagine that an all-Southern party dedicated to the cause of States' rights and very little else, has any real future. The South has had a hard enough time making itself felt as a minority element in the Democratic Party. If it were to divide its strength between that party and a third political group, its influence would shrink to almost nothing.

It is argued on behalf of the Thurmond-Wright ticket that this is one way of hitting back at President Truman for his "civil rights" proposals. But the truth of the matter is that the Southern objectors won't be as effective in preventing the legislation in question as determined efforts by Southerners inside the two established parties.

Wed. 9-1-48

There were delegates at the Birmingham "Dixiecrat" convention who might be termed sincere and patriotic Southerners, devoted to the cause of States' rights and anxious to promote the well-being of the Negro. But there were others who have been identified with sinister movements founded on bigotry, men who were using States' rights as a mere smoke screen. The well-intentioned and authentic members of the convention had better look about them and see in whose political bed they have landed.

The Anniston, Ala., Star, in an able analysis of the "Dixiecrat" movement, warned against "hot-headed oratory," and said: "We have a high regard for Ex-Gov. Frank M Dixon. . . . But recently he seems to have come under the influence of Horace Wilkinson (of Birmingham), and the address he made before the rump convention in Birmingham yesterday sounded, in some respects, as though he were addressing a Ku Klux Klan convocation. It was racism and sectionalism at its worst, and it will certainly do more harm than good to the cause he purported to represent."

The Arkansas Gazette, of Little Rock, in another discriminating comment on the Thurmond-Wright movement, saw in it evidence that the South's allegiance to the two major parties has been re-emphasized and confirmed by the region's unwillingness to bolt on a wholesale scale at Philadelphia, or to join up with the "Dixiecrats" immediately thereafter at Birmingham. The Gazette discerned in the phenomenon "heartening signs of a new political maturity, of the recognition by a majority of Southerners that the South cannot continue as a separate political entity. . . ." It appraised the revolt arrestingly as "in a peculiar inverted way . . . a milepost on the road to reunion."

There is much to be said for the points of view expressed by the Anniston and Little Rock papers.

More than half a century ago the Farmers' Alliance became politically powerful in the South, and it won control of half a dozen State Legislatures in the 1890 elections, and elected several Governors. But, as Francis B. Simkins points out in his recent book, "The South Old and New," "The Farmers' Alliance was defeated in most Southern States in 1892 because it refused to heed ("Pitchfork Ben") Tillman's advice to remain within the Democratic Party." It was not until the presidential election of 1896 that the Alliance and the Populists teamed up with the Democrats to make their weight felt heavily in a national campaign.

Wed 9-1-48

In that election, too, a small group of Democrats bolted to Palmer and Buckner because of William Jennings Bryan's espousal of Free Silver. Yet, like the Democrats of 1948, the "Gold Democrats" of 1896 were powerless to accomplish anything of importance.

The South's future does not lie in such erratic political behavior, however sincere its motivation. Far more is to be gained by working within the two major parties. Virginians and other Southerners who cast ballots for Thurmond and Wright in November will merely help to insure the election of Gov. Dewey, who certainly gives no indications that he will offer them the slightest encouragement in their desire to defeat "civil rights" bills.

The way to build a sorely needed two-party system below the Potomac is for the Southern electorate to show conclusively that it can never hereafter be counted in advance as in the bag for either the Democrats or the Republicans. We must become politically emancipated and vote for whichever of the two major parties offers us a candidate and platform most to our liking. States' rights are extremely important, but to go chasing off after the States' rights will-o'-the-wisp, represented by the candidates of an all-Southern rump outfit gathered at Birmingham, is neither intelligence nor wise. It is a good way to kill the influence of the South with both parties.

The States' Righters and the Oil Kings

The Constitution

Thur. 10-21-48

Atlanta Ga.

Ellis Arnall, former Governor of Georgia, is, like most Southerners, an enthusiastic football fan. And thereby hangs a tale. The tale is amusing, but it also casts considerable light on one aspect of Southern politics. Some time ago, Arnall organized a party of friends to make the long trip from Atlanta to see the annual Sugar Bowl game in New Orleans. The party occupied a number of suites in an expensive New Orleans hotel. So it was with some understandable misgivings that Arnall, after the game, asked the hotel's lady cashier for his bill.

He was surprised when she smiled prettily and replied, "That's all right, Governor, your bill has been taken care of."

He was even more surprised when he was told that it was the Mississippi Power & Light Company which had been so generous.

His amazement must have been obvious, and a sudden suspicion apparently crossed the mind of the lady cashier.

"You are the Governor of Mississippi, aren't you?" she asked.

This little story is not without meaning. The present Governor of Mississippi is Fielding Wright. Gov. Wright is also the Vice Presidential candidate of the Dixiecrats, or States' Rights Party. It is pretty generally assumed outside of the South that the Dixiecrat movement is simply the South's outraged response to President Truman's Civil Rights proposals. It is that, but it is also a great deal more than that.

By and large, the Democratic Party in the South has been controlled by a conservative oligarchy. In other times, the oligarchs were mostly big planters. Now the planters have been pretty much replaced by utility magnates, textile men, industrialists, bankers, and, more and more, the new oil barons of Texas and the Gulf States. The States' Rights Party is essentially the response of this conservative oligarchy to the pressures which have been steadily pushing the National Democratic Party further to the left. Almost every States' Rights politician speaks as bitterly of Franklin Roosevelt, who never really pressed the racial issue, as of Harry Truman, who did.

There is no doubt that there has been a particularly cozy relationship between the Dixiecrats and the oil kings. Southern oilmen were more enraged by the Supreme Court decision, which awarded to the Federal government ownership of the last great national oil reserves in the Tidelands, than by the Truman civil rights proposals. Nor was this rage confined to the Gulf States, for there is good reason to believe that offshore oil deposits exist along the Southern Atlantic seaboard as well. One indication of the influence of the oil men among the Dixiecrats is that the Tidelands oil issue has received at least as much attention at the various Dixiecrat get-togethers as the civil rights issue.

Just how much oil money has greased the Dixiecrat wheels is unknown, although the Justice Department is now hard at work trying to find out. But there is no doubt that the oil industry's support for the Dixiecrats has been more than moral.

One leading supporter has been H. R. Cullen, a fabulously rich Houston oil man (he is also fabulously generous—he recently made an outright gift to Texas charity of the fantastic sum of $160,000,000). Cullen arranged for a private plane to take H. Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat Presidential candidate, to the Houston convention, and a special train to take Fielding Wright and his Mississippi cohorts to the same meeting. He is believed to be the chief sparkplug of the oil industry's backing for the Dixiecrats. Among the oil corporations, the Humble Oil Company has reportedly particularly interested itself in the Thurmond-Wright "crusade."

The oil barons' generous enthusiasm for the Dixiecrats is now said to be waning. The Republicans are sure to win, and they are committed in their platform to removing offshore oil from Federal control. Yet in most Southern States, the Dixiecrat organization will be kept alive after the elections, largely to ensure conservative control of the political machinery.

Thur 10-21-48

There is nothing particularly unhealthy in the fact that the oil men, or the other business interests, should try to protect or improve their economic position by political means. Every economic group in the United States does the same thing. Yet there are some pretty unhealthy aspects of the Dixiecrat movement as an expression of Southern conservatism.

All the more malodorous hate-mongers, from Gerald L. K. Smith to the decrepit "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, have gleefully leapt on the Dixiecrat bandwagon. The States' Rights propaganda paper is using the same mailing list as the "Southern Outlook," a revolting racist sheet which the Montgomery Advertiser accurately compared to the worst products of Nazi Germany. In brief, the real danger is that the Southern conservative oligarchy, in an effort to preserve the threatened status quo, will be tempted to turn more and more to this sort of thing, to the end that every issue, from offshore oil to the minimum wage, may be hidden and submerged in the race issue.

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States' Righters Fail To Qualify In Missouri

The Columbia Record
Sat 8-14-48
Columbia S.C.

Group Investigates Ballot Laws In Kentucky, Colorado, Elsewhere

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14—(AP)—The States Rights Democrats can't challenge President Truman in his home state of Missouri next November.

The new party's headquarters was informed it can't qualify its presidential ticket for the ballot by the Aug. 23 deadline.

Making this known today, W. Austin Seay of Winona, Miss., director of the anti-Truman group's Washington headquarters, told a reporter, however, that States Righters are checking up ballot possibilities in other states.

Sat 8-14-48

The group is investigating ballot laws in Kentucky, Colorado and elsewhere, Seay said.

The Missouri situation was outlined to Seay in a message from national hadquarters in Jackson, Miss., he reported.

The message said that Missouri law provides that a new party, to get on the ballot, must have 22,000 notarized signatures by Aug. 23, or hold a state convention truly representative of the whole state at whch electors would have to be named from each congressional district and two at large.

The message went on to say it is regretted that the new party could not qualify in Mr. Truman's state "as indications are that Missouri will not go far for him and does not want to go to Dewey. A lot of voters will stay at home in Missouri on election day."

In other directions, the Southern civil rights revolt appeared to be tapering off slightly as a serious threat to Mr. Truman's election chances.

Developments in Texas and Arkansas this week have made some administration lieutenants more optimistic than ever that Mr. Truman may grab every Dixie electoral vote, as Democratic national Chairman J. Howard McGrath has predicted repeatedly.

Sat 8-14-48

Texas backers of the Dixiecrat ticket apparently face serious trouble in getting their candidates on the ballot, with Gov. Beauford Jester pictured as a possible obstacle to their control of the forthcoming state Democratic convention.

The states' rights ticket—headed by Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and his running mate Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi—is sure of a place on the ballot in South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi.

But Dixiecrats also want a crack at Texas' 23 electoral votes, the largest bloc in the South.

The apparent victory of Sidney McMath, 36-year-old Hot Springs prosecutor, in the Arkansas governor's race is pointed to by President Truman's backers as another straw blown their way by the political winds.

No Commitment

While there has been no public commitment from McMath, administration lieutenants predict he will hold his state's party in line for the president.

Sat 8-14-48

Most politicians here think the 28 electoral votes of South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi may be lost to Mr. Truman.

But the administration camp has been talking of possible court suits to force those electors to support the President—if he should carry the three states.

Their loss could be fatal in a close presidential race. Although the South's electoral vote hasn't tipped the result in many years because most recent presidents have been elected by margins rolled up elsewhere, this year promises to be different.

Sat 8-14-48

The South, which had become sort of a step child in national elections—contributing heavily to the Democratic war chest but getting little attention from any of the candidates—may be the scene of fairly heavy campaigning before the November elections.

Strategists have told Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York, the GOP presidential nominee, he has a chance to carry some Dixie states and he may therefore drop below the Mason and Dixon line for some speech-making, his running mate, Gov. Earl Warren of California, is almost certain to do so.

McGrath already has said Mr. Truman is thinking about campaigning in the South. His No. 2 man, Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky, knows the ground well and can be expected to get in some political licks there.

The Mission Of The Dixiecrats

"The itch of disputing . . . ."

I don't know how other Southern editorialists feel about it, but as for me I am having a perfectly wonderful time arguing with some of them on the great history in which we are playing a part this year. And I think it is good for us and for the public, too.

The Savannah Morning News insists that the "practical thing" for the South to do is support the Republican ticket this year. "But it seems to me that the practical thing is to get as many protest votes in the South as possible, and in my part—and The Savannah News'—you can do that with a Thurmond-Wright ticket. The News knows that if we had to depend on persuading people in these parts to vote Republican, even now, there would not be half as much response as there is going to be from asking them to vote for Thurmond and Wright.

Thurs 8-26-48

Even Editor Peter Molyneaux, of The Southern Weekly, who is sure that voting Republican is the answer in Texas, writes that "in Mississippi, in Alabama, and in South Carolina, where the Republican vote is negligible and where the Dixiecrats are the official Democratic party—Thurmond and Wright are doing a great service to the South. But in Texas and some other Southern states the proper course is to vote Republican!" Even though the Georgia situation is not yet come to a head anti-Truman, pro-Thurmond, feeling is at least as strong in that state as in the adjoining ones—and will dominate before November.

Thurs 8-26-48

It is our practical problem here in the South that gives us our passion for States' Rights, true. That is why the Deep South is named by destiny now to speak the great nation-wide move, a move more precious in what it seeks to save and restore than the fate of either the Republican or the Democratic party. The Deep South people are in the strange new position of being in line with people all over America in this movement. Listen to Editor Robert E. McClure, in The Santa Monica, (California) Evening Outlook: "We believe the Republican party will be well advised to let the South alone in this matter of the poll tax. If and when the present clamor for federal force against the South subsides, most of the Southern states can be trusted to accomplish this reform, as four have already done . . . ."

"Moreover," says the California paper, "the principle of States' Rights which has been invoked by the South is one which has been strongly championed by the Republican party in recent years, and its reassertion is needed to correct the present great extension and abuse of the federal power."

Thurs 8-26-48

From Ellwood City, Pa., Carl C. Davidson writes to endorse this column's comments—reprinted in The Pittsburgh Post Gazette—on the Ray Sprigle stories of Negro life in the South. "You know what you are talking about," he says. "Ray is very clever. He is a good writer, but he does not give a damn for the Negro." Mr. Davidson adds that "the strength of the Democratic party in the North is in the slums of the cities," and that "there is a lot of difference between a Southern and a Northern Democrat."

Thurs 8-26-48

Editor Dabney grants in The Richmond Times-Dispatch that the Thurmond-Wright ticket may win in Mississippi, South Carolina and Alabama, and may give "another state or two" in the South to the Republicans. It must be that, like Editor Chapman in The Roanoke (Va.) Times, he sees his own Virginia going Republican. But when you consider how the Democrats of Virginia led the whole South initially against Truman, and when you consider how large a Democratic majority exists in that state for ordinary purposes, it is at least a fair bet that Virginia's electors will end up pledged, as Democrats, to Thurmond and Wright. Why should Virginia Democrats risk having their Congressmen defeated in a party division just to have their electors loyal to the Harry Truman they so bitterly oppose?

Dixiecrats Told to Quit Democrat Committee

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky

McGrath Aide Pledges National Party To Support All Groups Backing Truman

Sat. 9-4-48

By the Associated Press.

Washington, Sept. 3.—A Democratic National Committee official suggested today that "any and all" committee members who are supporting the States' Rights presidential ticket should resign from the committee.

William J. Primm, Jr., assistant to National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, made the proposal. He said such Democrats have "left the Democratic Party."

Primm's statement came in the midst of a controversy between Republicans and Democrats over Communist Party indorsement of the Roosevelt-Truman ticket in 1944.

Also, Secretary of Agriculture Brannan spoke out again on the issue of Government support of some farm prices. Brannan said the G.O.P. presidential nominee, Governor Thomas E. Dewey and other party leaders want to destroy these supports by blaming them for high food prices.

Brannan contended that farm-price supports are not responsible for high living costs. He pointed out that wheat prices have dropped almost a dollar a bushel, "but bread prices have not come down."

F. D. R.'s Statement Recalled.

G.O.P. National Chairman Hugh D. Scott, Jr., demanded that President Truman say whether he accepted Communist

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Dixie De

Birmingh

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 17—(UP)—"Away down south in the land of cotton, old times here are not forgotten. . . ."

Sat 7-17-48

You can hardly hear the words for the noise.

Dixiecrats jam Birmingham hotel lobbies and the wide sidewalks. They sang "Dixie" all last night and it's keeping on today. The official band is warming up for today's meeting with "Dixie" about the only tune they'll play.

The bandsmen won't need their music sheets.

"Look away, look away. . ."

'Alfalfa Bill' Present

Look away down there in the Tutwiler lobby, and you'll see "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, governor of Oklahoma 15 years ago, who was one of the first bolters against the modern Democratic party.

He left in 1933, one year after a futile bid for the presidential nomination which went to Franklin D. Roosevelt. He disputed the national recovery administration and has since voted for Republican presidential losers.

Look away over there by the cigar-stand, snake-dancing. It's a gang of students from the University of Mississippi, official delegates from the campus to the Dixiecrat meeting. Most of them wear the wide-brimmed black hats of julep-sipping planters.

Student Meet Governor

The students met Gov. Fielding L. Wright of their home state when he got to town last night to continue sparkplugging the anti-civil rights campaign.

Murray, now 79 and living in a hotel at Tishomingo, Okla., author of a recent book on the race question, says he just came as an observer. His eyelids fan slowly behind thick glasses as he says he has no advice—just wants the men here to know he's behind them.

Drawing Up Plans

Look away up to the upper floors, where leaders of the revolt are drawing final plans in rooms as smoke-filled as any in Philadelphia earlier in the week. Soon they'll present them to the 6,000 expected in the auditorium to determine what course will be set for the South's voters.

"In Dixie land I'll take my stand, . . ."

Sat 7-17-48

The walking delegates of Alabama and Mississippi couldn't get the Democratic band to play it while they marched out of the Philadelphia meeting. The tune was slow to come for the demonstration for Senator Richard Russell of Georgia.

But in Birmingham you hear it everywhere.

34

Glover Blasts Carmichael; Asks Names Of Camp Raiders

The Advertiser

Thur 9-16-48

Montgomery Ala

By G. C. LONG, JR.

Alabama Atty. Gen. Albert A. Carmichael is still feeling the repercussions of the blast he let loose recently on the States' Rights movement at a meeting of a group of Methodist ministers here.

The latest criticism of the attorney general for his speech comes from Ben Glover, state senator from Leroy, in the form of a letter to Carmichael. The letter was released by Glover.

Glover said he felt it was "very unfortunate" that Alabama's attorney general "has taken it upon himself to create confusion, making wild assertions that are not in the least true."

Carmichael said Wednesday that he knew nothing of Glover's letter, that he had not received it and, therefore, could not answer any of the senator's criticisms.

Glover said that since he was one of the "early believers" in the States' Rights movement he considered the attack by the attorney general on the leaders of the movement a personal attack upon himself.

Carmichael's Speech

In his speech, Carmichael stated:

"The August, 1948, version of States' Rights includes, as an auxiliary, a small bunch of thugs, bums and hoodlums, covered by sheets, acting under the instruction of some revolutionaries who hold high places in the States' Rights organization in the Birmingham area. The sole purpose of this organization of revolutionaries, bums and thugs is to so weaken democracy in Alabama and throughout the South as to make a Republican victory certain."

Thur 9-16-48

Writing the attorney general that he had made some "rather rash statements," Glover said that he, himself, was being called a member of the Ku Klux Klan by Carmichael and a person who "wants to pit race against race."

The attorney general also said in the speech that some of the leaders in a Klan raid on a Birmingham area Negro girl Scout camp some weeks ago were "pretty well" known and would be revealed in "due time."

Offers Challenge

Glover called on Carmichael to reveal the names of the "guilty ones in this raid and see how many leaders of the States' Righters are involved."

The senator also declared that the attorney general "intimated that we people in Alabama who believe in principle instead of political patronage had something to do with a raid in Jefferson

Thur 9-16-48

Glover said that he was proud to cast his vote with such leaders in the States' Rights movement as Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee; Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney; Hugh Lock, Birmingham, and former Gov. Frank Dixon, Birmingham.

He said he was proud to vote with those and "many thousands" in Alabama "who value principle above petty personal Truman patronage."

Text of Letter

The text of Glover's letter, dated Sept. 11, which Carmichael said he had not received, is:

"I notice in some weekly publications that you appeared last Tuesday night before a Methodist committee and made some rather rash statements."

"I consider myself one of the early believers in States' Rights. I attended the early meetings that were called by Gov. (Fielding L.) Wright of Mississippi (who is the vice-presidential candidate on the States' Rights ticket.)

"I feel that in your attack on the leaders of the States' Righters that you are in a way attacking me. You are accusing me of being a member of Ku Klux Klan. You are accusing me of being a person that wants to pit race against race. You have intimated that we people in Alabama who believe in principle instead of political patronage had something to do with a raid in Jefferson County. Why do you not name the guilty ones in this raid and see how many leaders of the States' Righters are involved?

"I feel that it is very unfortunate that the attorney general of the State of Alabama has taken it upon himself to create confusion, making wild assertions that are not in the least true.

"I am happy that you have found another Rooster that you could vote under. That is your privilege, but for me, I am proud to vote under the Alabama Rooster with the McCorveys, the Wilkinsons, the Locks, the Dixons and the many thousands in Alabama who value principle above petty personal Truman patronage."

Will Dixiecrats Give Georgia to GOP?

Atlanta Constitution - Atlanta Georgia

Gov.-Nominate Herman Talmadge won't be the only State leader "sitting out" the first doubtful presidential campaign in Georgia since Reconstruction days. Georgia's Sen. Russell, who received the votes of the South for the Democratic presidential nomination at Philadelphia, will remain Democratic, of course. He showed that when he refused the Dixiecratic presidential nomination to stay in the Democratic Party. In view of his battle against the so-called civil rights program, however, it is unlikely that he will take the stump for Truman.

Russell and most of Georgia's congressional delegation—all opponents of the so-called civil rights program, and all in a good position to fight such legislation as long as they are Democratic leaders—may sit still and let Truman do his own fighting to carry Georgia. The Dixiecrats drew their full strength when they obtained the indorsement of Rep. Eugene Cox. It is possible that Rep. Henderson Lanham may speak a good word in behalf of the National Democratic Party.

Wed 10-6-48

Georgia's Democratic presidential electors are outstanding, influential, and capable enough to put up a powerful battle. They include such men as Abit Nix, of Athens, and Claude Pittman, of Cartersville, former candidates for Governor; Quimby Melton, of Griffin, editor, and Harry Strozier, of Macon, liberal attorney and writer.

The Republican Party also is putting up some outstanding, capable and influential men as presidential electors in Georgia for this election. Harry Sommers and Elbert Tuttle, both of Atlanta, and Mayor Roy Foster, of Wadley, are among their electors. Sommers and Tuttle were considered as candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, but the party decided not to enter candidates until 1950. Many Democrats would have voted for this pair.

With National Chairman Hugh Scott speaking at a victory dinner here Friday night, the Republicans are making their greatest bid to carry Georgia. The split in the Georgia party has been healed, and the party is led by outstanding persons.

Wed 10-6-48

The organization of the States' Rights Party as a fourth party in Georgia (Henry Wallace's Progressives are the third party) is giving the Republicans their best chance to carry this State.

What Georgia leaders will permit their names to be used as electors for the Dixiecrats is a matter for conjecture. The States' Rights Party is yet to be organized. Rep. Cox said that 85 percent of his people would vote for Gov. Thurmond. Talmadge leaders in the State Democratic Committee said privately that many, many Georgians who voted for Talmadge on the anti-Truman civil rights program would cast their ballots for Thurmond. Bill Morris, Augusta publisher who unsuccessfully claimed the title of State Democratic Chairman under Acting Gov. Thompson's direction, is supporting the Dixiecrats.

Many believe the Dixiecrats will push the Democrats—and may let the Republicans win.

Two Southern Editors Consider Dixiecrats Dead

Courier Journal - Mon 11-22-48

Louisville Ky.

Pair Predicts States' Righters Out of Picture

Remember the Dixiecrats? Two Southern newspaper editors believe you might as well forget them.

They think the Dixiecrats may continue some sort of political existence for a time in some Southern states. But that's all.

McClellan Van de Veer of The Birmingham Age-Herald and Harry Ashmore of The Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, agree that the States' Rights Party, nicknamed Dixiecrats, is dead so far as national power is concerned.

Based On 'White Supremacy.'

The Dixiecrats based their appeal in the just-past election, their first, on something closely approaching the familiar cry of "white supremacy." They were against any Federal legislation for Negroes' rights or protection, or for nonsegregation. The avowed reason for the party's birth was to uphold States' rights against President Truman's civil-rights proposals—anti-poll tax, antilynching and the like.

Van der Veer and Aashmore expressed their views on the party while attending a meeting of the National Conference of Editorial Writers which closed here Saturday.

Van der Veer told an interviewer he thought the Dixiecrats might remain dormant in Alabama and some few other states. This depends, he said, on whether the national Administration tries to press civil-rights proposals too strongly "without seeking Democratic unity."

Mon 11-22-48

Dislike Outside Compulsion.

The trouble in Southern states is opposition to compulsion from outside, Van der Veer said.

"If Washington will try for a compromise, which I think can be found, then the Dixiecrat movement will die quickly," he said. Otherwise, they may succeed in holding a measure of control in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina for the sake of political power alone, he believes, if not for the sake of the party's principles.

Van der Veer attributed the success of the Dixiecrats in Alabama largely to a ready-made rupture in the Democratic Party there. Two main elements existed in the state Democratic committee. The larger, he said, went into the States' Rights movement. Whether the others will be able to put up slates of local candidates that will beat the Dixiecrat element remains to be seen.

Admits Negro's Right to Vote.

As Van der Veer sees it, the Alabama situation is one in which the local Dixiecrats attempt to use race feeling as a weapon for political maneuvering.

Ashmore said he considered the racial issue of the Dixiecrats a false front for ultraconservative policies on other matters. "It is a dead issue and it won't do the job as it has in the past," he said.

Mon 11-22-48

His paper has acknowledged the right of the Negro to vote. "Twenty-five years ago we couldn't have done that and survived," he remarked.

Ashmore sees as a serious result of the Dixiecrat movement a setback to the arrival of the two-party system in the South. The Dixiecrat party is composed of Democrats who are "Republicans at heart," he said. This will slow the movement of those nominal Democrats into the Republican Party but, Ashmore believes, there ultimately will be an active Republican element and hence a two-party system in Southern states. He remarked that this would, of course, be against the wishes of the Democratic "monopoly."

Lost Out In Arkansas.

The Dixiecrats were "dead" in Arkansas before the election, he said. This was because they lost their fight to control the Democratic state machine in convention.

Touching further on the race question, Ashmore observed that 700,000 Negroes voted this year and estimated that 2,000,000 would vote four years hence. "The average citizen's mind is changed and he accepts the fact that the Negro is going to vote," Ashmore said.

For Human Rights

The News
Mon 7-26-48
B'ham, Ala.

To the Editor of The News:

After listening to the broadcast of the Dixie Democrats convention I weep with respect and disdain—respect for a country which is attempting to establish democracy throughout its borders, disdain for any group which attempts to retard the progress of democracy under the banner of states' rights. The speakers at the convention spoke with hysterical fervor of democracy, freedom, justice and equality, but the orators meant democracy for the Caucasians within the borders of the South who boast of their superiority behind barriers of segregation, Jim Crow and the dual system of justice. Of the varied definitions of democracy, their type doesn't approach the real meaning of democracy as we interpret it according to the Constitution of the United States of America. Stalin says they have democracy in Russia.

In the preamble of the constitution one finds these words, "We, the people of the United States." It is important that this government is of the people, not of the states. What do the Dixie Democrats mean when they say states' rights? Are these right superior or more essential than human and the people's rights—right to justice and equal opportunity? If this be so, let us stop at once proclaiming the United States a democracy—land of the free and haven for the oppressed. Peoples the world over are rebelling against tyranny rule; they are awakening to the typocrisy of superior and inferior races, and today voices throughout the world protest against government without representation. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The Dixie Democrats should read our Declaration of Independence and study our constitution. Both bring out the value and importance of human rights over states' rights.

Mon 7-13-48

Do states' rights mean a dual system of justice? Justice is not two-faced. Is there a type of punishment for the Caucasian and a different one for the Negro when identical crime has been committed? Punishment should be the same for everyone, regardless of race, creed, color, national origin or economic status. The success of a democracy depends upon the extending of human rights to all its citizens. If the South continues to ignore and deny these rights to all its citizens, I see no progress for this section of our great country. It will be only a region with 18th century thinking and a stagnant society, refusing to permit a change which will inevitably come like the falling of the walls of Jericho. The cup of the minorities runs over; surely there is enough human justice, freedom, opportunity and equality for all the citizens of our democracy to enjoy.

The Fuse Is Lit on This Dynamite

The Constitution
Sun 11-14-48
Atlanta Ga.

Control of the important House Committees in the Eighty-first Congress will be divided by the South and East, leaving the Far Western two-thirds of the nation without political representation in the chairmanships if the sacrosanct seniority rule is followed.

In the Senate, under the same rule, never yet violated, the South, the border territory and some of the Far Western States would get the dominant positions, leaving the East, Midwest and Pacific Northwest with no Little Democratic Jack Horners to pull out any plums.

If the rule is followed—and it always has been—only one State west of the Mississippi, Missouri, will have a House chairman. It is for this reason that the long-honored rule of seniority may be abrogated by the Democrats themselves. If there is a fight on it, and Southern Democrats may make one, unity of the majority party may be disturbed.

Under the established rules of procedure, the majority party will elect a Ways and Means Committee which will give the Democrats a 15 to 10 margin. This committee then sits as a committee on committees and makes literally all committee assignments from chairman on down the line.

The time-honored rule allows no elasticity in the naming of chairmen. The ranking Democrat simply moves up. In selecting committee members efforts are made to place men on committees for which they seem best-fitted and also to create some sort of geographical representation.

But as matters now stand the House committees will be headed entirely by Eastern and Southern Democrats, a fact which the Democrats from the Middle West and West will not like.

With basically the same situation existing in the Senate the party leaders in Key West are sure to have this unusual situation before them for study.

The fact that the South, which includes the Dixiecrats, will get 22 important committee chairmanships if the seniority rule is followed, will also make restive those Democrats who believe the members from the Dixiecrat States should not be honored with chairmanships. The party leaders will have difficulty keeping this from the floor. There are Democrats who will insist that a change be made and the election of the 15 Democrats to head up the Ways and Means Committee will be the most important one in political history. It is there the fight will be made. The Democratic caucus will elect.

The 22 Southern Democrats, including Missouri and Oklahoma as Southern States, are:

Agriculture, Representative Harold D. Cooley (N. C.); Armed Services, Representative Carl Vinson (Ga.); District of Columbia, Representative John L. McMillan (S. C.); Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Representative Schuyler Otis Bland (Va.); Public Works, Representative William M. Whittington (Miss.); Un-American Activities, Representative John S. Wood (Ga.); Veterans Affairs, Representative John E. Rankin (Miss.); Ways and Means, Representative Robert L. Doughton (N. C.).

Three other top posts would go to border State members, as follows: Appropriations, Representative Clarence Cannon (Mo.); Banking and Currency, Representative Brent Spence (Ky.); Postoffice and Civil Service, Representative Tom Murray (Tenn.).

Nine of the 15 top Senate posts will go to Southerners, as follows:

Banking and Currency, Sen. Burnet R. Maybank (S. C.); District of Columbia, Sen. Spessard L. Holland (Fla.); Expenditures, Sen. John L. McClellan (Ark.); Finance, Sen. Walter F. George (Ga.); Foreign Relations, Sen. Tom Connally (Tex.), and Postoffice and Civil Service, Sen. Olin D. Johnston (S. C.). Three would go to border States: Agriculture, Sen. Elmer Thomas (Okla.); Appropriations, Sen. Kenneth McKellar (Tenn.), and Armed Services, Sen. Millard E. Tydings (Md.).

Sun 11-14-48

This, too, will cause a straining at old leashes. The seniority rule was regarded as so holy that when Congress reluctantly submitted to the LaFollette-Monroney Committee report for streamlining legislation it barred that committee from any meddling with basic rules.

If changes are made we hope they can be established by rule changes and not by punitive decisions. That will not be good for the party. To expect the administration to turn over important committees to its sworn enemies is not good sense. The three or four so involved will be pressed to resign.

It is an important and explosive situation, and we may be sure that Key West is hearing talk about it and that there will be more later on in Washington.

FROM THURMOND

Request For Second Convention Expected

Columbia Record
Columbia, S.C.
Thur 7-22-48

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond is expected to request a second convention of South Carolina Democratic Party Chairman William P. Baskin.

Francis F. Coleman, Charleston county party chairman, said that the governor had informed him that he would make a second request of Baskin.

Prior to the national Democratic convention, Thurmond wrote Baskin urging that a convention be held following the national rally.

Baskin, meanwhile, said he had not called a state convention or a meeting of the state executive committee.

7-22-48

The chairman said he had not received a letter from Thurmond telling of his resignation as national executive committeemen. The party rules provide that a successor, in the case of death or resignation from the national committee, be appointed by the state executive committee.

The committee also has yet to name the eight members to the electoral college that will represent South Carolina.

Baskin said that he had not heard any reports that he was being considered as national executive committeeman for the state.

He declined to comment on the controversy that has waged following Federal Judge J. Waties Waring's decision opening party books and ranks completely to Negroes.

"I am one of the defendants in the case," Baskin said. "Any comment will come from my attorneys."

STATES' RIGHTS PARTY HAS RECEIVED $158,975

The Commercial Appeal

$96,542 Has Been Spent So Far In Campaign

MISSISSIPPI GAVE MOST

Fri 10-22-48

From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Mississippi, Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 21.—Contributions totaling $158,975 have been received by the States' Rights Democratic Party since its official creation on Aug. 4, national headquarters here announced Thursday.

Of the amount, $96,542 has been expended, leaving a balance as of Oct. 19 of $62,433.

Nearly Every State

George Wallace, Jackson banker and treasurer of the party, said $82,060 of the contributions were raised in Mississippi, and the remaining $76,915 from other states. He said contributions have been received from practically every state.

The party came into existence following the Aug. 3 Democratic state convention here at which Governor Thurmond of South Carolina was officially nominated for President, and Governor Wright of Mississippi selected as vice presidential nominee. Both had been recommended as standard bearers of the States' Rights at the Birmingham, Ala., Southwide rally which followed the Democratic National Convention.

Mr. Wallace said none of the funds had been used in promoting the candidacy of candidates for other office. He denied specifically the charge made by Drew Pearson that States' Rights money was being used in Senator Ball's re-election in Minnesota.

Contributions Listed

When the party came into existence, it started with a fund of $10,045 carried over from a state organization setup in Mississippi.

Largest individual contributor in Mississippi was L. O. Crosby Jr. of Pcayune, in the amount of $1000. Outside the state, the largest reported individual donation was $3500 by W. D. Malone of Dothan, Ala.

Fri 10-22-48

Other large donors reported by the party in its report to the clerk of the United States House of Representatives included: R. A. Welch of Houston, Texas, and S. W. Richrdon of Point-A-La-Hache, La., each $2500; and the following each $1000: Lester Bates of Columbia, S. C.; L. J. Williams of Yemassee, S. C.; C. F. Rowley, Joe Brown, and R. J McDougal, all of Arabi, La.; L. H. Perry of Dalcom, La.; Louis Bagueris Jr. of Arabi; Robert J. Lobrano, L. K. Nicholson, Esmond Phelps, C. S. Braselman and R. G. Robinson, all of New Orleans.

Punishment Unlikely For Dixiecrat Senators

The Columbia Record

Wed 9-8-48

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8.—(UP)—There is no likelihood that Senate Democrats will try to punish dissident Dixiecrat senators by stripping them of Democratic committee assignments, a party source said today.

This is true, the official said, despite the Democratic national committee's warning that supporters of the Dixiecrat ticket are automatically removing themselves from the Democratic party.

His statement came as the committee's efforts to swing rebels back into line extended to Texas and Alabama.

Wed. 9-8-48

Won't Be Allowed

W. J. Primm, assistant to Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, said anyone who takes part in today's Dixiecrat convention at Dallas will not be allowed at the regular Democratic convention at Fort Worth next week.

At the same time, Primm renewed his demand that Col. Marion Rushton resign as Alabama national committeeman because of his opposition to regular party nominees. He said Rushton's reported concern over the formalities of quitting are groundless—"all he has to do is simply resign."

Thus far only four of the 22 Southern senators have formally committed themselves to support the Dixiecrat ticket, although many more were making threats of bolting last spring when the civil rights issue split the Democratic party.

Columbia S.C.

Senators James O. Eastland and John C. Stennis of Mississippi have both taken an active part in the Dixiecrat movement. In Alabama, Senators Lister Hill and John Sparkman are formally committed to support presidential electors now pledged to the Dixiecrat ticket, but neither has gone beyond the formal obligation.

Even in South Carolina, home state of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, Dixiecrat presidential nominee, Senators Burnet R. Maybank and Olin D. Johnston have failed to pick sides so far. Maybank, who recently won renomination, may appear as senatorial candidate in November on both the Dixiecrat and national Democratic tickets.

First To Get Warnings

South Carolina Democrats were the first to receive "support-Truman-or-else" warnings from the Democratic national committee.

If the threat were carried through in Congress, Dixiecrat members could be denied the committee seats and seniority which they have gained as Democrats. However, action of that type apparently is not in the offing.

Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho in effect bolted the Democratic party last winter when he joined Henry A. Wallace's Progressive party movement. During the session of Congress the Democrats made no attempt to force him off his committees.

Wed 9-8-48

Power Of The Federal Government Still Growing

One out of every six American adults or 15,800,000 persons are receiving money from the federal government in the form of salaries, wages, pensions and other benefits, a survey by the United Press reveals.

And here is the proof, if any additional proof was needed, that the United States isn't what it used to be, the land of free enterprise and state rights. It isn't the republic that the founders envisaged and which we sometimes talk as if we believed it to be.

The federal government at Washington was founded as a government of limited powers and limited income. And so it remained—for years.

But it isn't so any more. The American economy is rather a mixed economy directed in great part by the federal government, which prescribes much of the conditions of employment and even the minimum wage, which regulates both employers and labor unions by extending, by judicial decision, the definition of interstate commerce to include window washers in skyscrapers when the skyscraper houses businesses engaged in interstate commerce.

Sat 9-25-48

The council of economic advisors estimates the wage and salary payments to civilian employes of the federal government, exclusive of postoffice wages and salaries, as now running at an annual rate of $4,600,000,000; payments to members of the armed forces, currently being increased, as now running at an annual rate of $3,300,000,000; social insurance benefits at a $2,000,000,000 rate; subsidies and other payments to farmers at $700,000,000.

This vast accumulation of federal power is due primarily to three things: the series of wars, civil and international, in which the United States has been engaged since the 1850's; the writing into the constitution of the United States in 1913 of the Sixteenth amendment giving the Congress power to lay and collect taxes on incomes; and, finally, the practice, culminating in the New Deal, of looking to the federal government for the solution of any and every kind of problem, economic, agricultural, governmental, educational.

The federal government has found it advisable in almost every war, dating back at least to the Confederate war, to assume the powers deemed necessary to conduct and win the war. And after each of these assumptions of power the nation has never quite been able to get back to the status quo ante bellum. The land grant colleges set up by the act of July 2, 1862, created a precedent for other federal grants in aid.

It was not until the income tax amendment was made law, however, that the federal government had the money to finance this system of usurpation of state rights for which it had been prepared. Washington didn't even have the money to construct the vast bureaucracy which now bedevils individuals wherever they may be in these United States, almost made over into what the Charleston News and Courier calls the United State. All this was remedied as the income tax went into effect and the rates climbed steadily. The federal government had the money to bribe the states from which the money came, to surrender one right after another, to set up bureaucracies of their own in order to spend these federal funds and the "matching" state funds. The process has been both insidious and rapid, gaining velocity with the years.

In 1920 the year which marked the peak of inflation after World War I government expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30 were less than one-sixth as much as they are today and federal taxes constituted only nine per cent of national income as compared with 19 per cent or more today. The difference is to be explained by the fact that we've had another world war and before that a depression and the New Deal. The New Deal went beyond anything else that had ever been undertaken in the United States, contravening the Democratic platform of 1932, but it was the legitimate child of what had gone on before under Republican administrations. It was simply an extension of the Republican farm bills, the Republican protective tariffs and the Republican system of grants in aid to the states; even W.P.A. had its Republican ancestor in Herbert Hoover's emergency relief fund.

And we can never quite be the same again. Maybe we do not even want to be the same again. There is the system of social insurance, set up by the New Deal, which instead of being curtailed will unquestionably be expanded and diversified. There is the farm aid and control program, originally a Republican conception, which neither the Democrats nor the Republicans, no, not even the States Righters, propose to abandon. And there is a whole system of regulatory controls over business, industry and labor which may be changed but not repealed. Finally as a result of the series of wars, there have been added to the federal obligations the necessity of maintaining a large army of civilian employes to keep the federal money rolling out to the veterans. And each war has increased the scope of federal benefits as well as the number of beneficiaries.

Sat 9-25-48

Finally federal expenditures are swollen now by the necessity of supporting a military establishment which is huge by comparison with peace time forces in former years, even though it is none too adequate for today's threatening world situation. And on top of this the United States is spending also for defense billions in its foreign aid program, made necessary by the fact that it has not been able to work out a modus vivendi with Soviet Russia.

The United States can never return to the "good old days" unless it is willing to eliminate some of the functions which the federal government has assumed. If it wants to subsidize agriculture, subsidize housing, subsidize business, regulate labor relations, provide governmental social insurance, it will have to pay for them, not once but two or three times in maintaining the subsidies and at the same time maintaining federal and at state bureaucrats to expend the money, which other bureaucrats have collected. The problem which confronts us today is perhaps not the repeal of any major portion of these acts but the preservation of the narrowing field still reserved for free enterprise. The States Rights advocates have a bigger issue if they would seize upon it. Already they are doing some good in calling attention to the dangers inherent in the one big state idea. But they concentrate too much on the so-called civil rights program, limiting their appeal almost entirely to the South.

Thinking Aloud

Old South Faces Its Problem!

Examiner

By PAUL GALLICO

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

Los Angeles Calif.

ONE of the most encouraging items to come out of the so-called Dixiecrat Rebellion, it seems to me, is the wave of horror that appears to have swept many of the leaders at the discovery that some of what was said and done at Philadelphia had made them eligible to be propositioned by Gerald L. K. Smith, and his baying pack of rabble-rousers and hate-mongers. He wants to cuddle, which is enough to give any self-respecting human being the horrors. Jrl. 7-30-48

Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, presidential candidate of the Dixiecrat splinter ticket, with all possible speed shoved Gerald out of the bed with the flat statement: **"We do not invite, we do not need the support of Gerald L. K. Smith or any other rabble-rousers who use race prejudice and class hatred to inflame the emotions of our people."** Period.

The South also very quickly, once it had cooled off and gathered in conclave, switched its campaign to a states rights movement when an examination into the convention speeches and behavior might make it appear that they were **"agin"** *liberte, egalite, fraternite,* as our French cousins put it back in the 18th Century when they got the aristocrats and the feudal system off their necks.

THE extreme left-wingers will probably tell you that this states rights issue is nothing but a cover for the deeper and more explosive problem of racism, but, you know, I don't believe it.

I believe that the South can, wants to and will work itself out of the bondage of mediaevalism to which it has fallen heir from past generations and different human concepts, and will make a better job of it IF NOT INTERFERED WITH.

Examiner

The North has never really understood or sympathized with the South and its problems, or, for that matter, very much cared about its difficulties.

There is more to the Negro question than meets the eye or than can be solved by laws. For it is above all a human problem with which the North has not dealt too ably in the past. Los Angeles Calif.

The North which never has been emotionally tangled with the Negro has only just now brought itself to the stage where a Negro can become a member of a major league baseball team, travel with the whites and enter a first-class hotel.

Slowly, and only with infinite patience and effort, our hidden Jim-Crowism is being broken down.

It has been the work only of our own consciences and the slow but inevitable unfolding of the human spirit. There has been no outside pressure of any kind to complicate our development. But I wonder how we would have reacted had, let us say, a bloc of Western Senators attempted to legislate us into tolerances and understandings that are being reached by education and our human need to live and think in the 20th century.

Jrl. 7-30-48

THE educated white Southerner in some ways is worse off than the Negro. For the Negro has the moral lift and some of the dubious pleasures of being oppressed and discriminated against, but the Southerner must live with the guilt of being an oppressor and discriminator which by nature, desire and breeding he is not. When this feeling reaches into the higher echelons of culture and society it must be well nigh intolerable.

The South did not invent slavery. As late as 1944, the Germans, a supposedly enlightened people, practiced it. The Russians are still using slave labor and robbing victim peoples of all human rights. Generations to follow in those countries will pay a terrible price for this.

If the Northerner could only understand how desperately anxious the South must be to be quit of this heritage of the entanglement of the soul, and how slow and painful is the process, it would aid the difficult task of their fellow Americans below the Mason-Dixon line with sympathy and understanding rather than handicapping them by attempted coercion.

There is no **"rebellion"** in the South, but only the evidence of a lonely and harrowing struggle.

N. C. DIXIECRAT FIGHT HEADS FOR TOP COURT

Columbia Record

Sat 8-21-48

RALEIGH, N. C., Aug. 21—(UP)—The fight by North Carolina Dixiecrats to get their slate on the state ballot in November was headed for the state Supreme Court today after the States' Righters won the first legal round in Superior Court.

The Dixiecrats fought a state board of elections ruling that the Dixiecrat petition was invalid because too many of the signers had voted previously in a primary election.

But Judge W. C. Harris said the rule barring primary election voters from signing a petition for a new party was "an unreasonable regulation."

The board of elections rule is stiffer than state law, which requires only that signatures of 10,000 registered voters appear on the petition and does not exclude those who voted in other party primaries.

The board of elections said it would appeal Judge Harris' ruling to the state Supreme Court.

Raymond Maxwell, executive secretary of the board of elections, admitted that the Dixiecrats had met state requirements by submitting a petition bearing the names of more than 10,000 registered voters.

Columbia, S.C.

Sat 8-21-48

Dixiecrats Will Top Truman Ticket—Rushton

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 15—(AP)—More electoral votes will be cast for the States' Rights presidential ticket than for the national Democratic candidates, Marion Rushton predicted.

Wed.

Rushton, Alabama's Democratic national committeeman, did not give any figures.

Addressing a Civic Club last night, Rushton said the national party now realizes that "the once solid South is no longer in the bag." 9-15-48

"THE STATES' RIGHTS group is now in a bargaining position," he added, "and it is going to use that position to further its purpose."

He said the several states were supposed to have control over all matters not specifically delegated to the federal government.

"But," the Montgomery attorney continued, "it seems the Democratic Party has decided that the national government should take over such things as segregation within the individual states, murder, voting, marriage and employment, which rights the states have had since their organization years ago."

Discussing segregation, Rushton declared:

Wed.

"We do not need and do not want someone who doesn't understand the problems of the South to come down and tell us what we should do about segregation. 9-15-48

"Negroes are not our equal and they should be treated thus. As they progress, the South will give them their chance to show it."

* * *

(WILLIAM J. PRIMM, JR., assistant to National Democratic Chairman Howard McGrath, criticized Rushton recently for retaining his national party office while actively supporting the States' Rights movement.

(Rushton replied he had submitted his resignation to the State Democratic Executive Committee, which has not acted on it. He said he could not resign "on my own motion.")

Thurmond Repeats Hopes Of Support

States' Rights Democrats expect to get on the general election ballot in every state where it is possible to do so, their presidential candidate said yesterday.

Thurs 8-26-48

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, who heads the national ticket, repeated predictions that they would carry almost, if not all, of the Southern states."

KENNEDY TO FILL IN

The Columbia Record

Daniel Resigns As Thurmond's Aide

Sat 8-14-48

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond announced today that his executive secretary, Col. William Lowndes Daniel, Jr., of Columbia and Greenwood, has resigned his position.

He said Colonel Daniel had indicated to him some months ago that he would like to return to private life. A date for the resignation had been agreed upon, but Colonel Daniel has remained longer than anticipated because of unforeseen developments connected with the governor's nomination as a presidential candidate.

Columbia, S.C.

"It is with considerable regret that I have accepted Colonel Daniel's resignation," Governor Thurmond said. "His service to the State of South Carolina has been of exceptionally high quality, and he has handled the exacting duties of the office with great ability.

"My association with Colonel Daniel has been a genuine pleasure to me, and I greatly appreciate his energetic assistance in the Governor's office," the Governor added.

Colonel Daniel has served as executive secretary throughout Governor Thurmond's administration, having accepted the position at the time of the inauguration in January, 1947.

During the war he was a colonel and was a member of the War Department General Staff under General Marshall. He was one of the planners of the Joint Chiefs of Staff for the world-wide troops of the Army, Navy, Marines, and Coast Guard.

Sat 8-14-48

"I have profound admiration for Governor Thurmond and for his able, progressive, determined, and courageous leadership in the affairs of our State," Colonel Daniel said. "I also admire the firm stand he has taken in matters that affect the Nation and the world at this critical time. I feel that Governor Thurmond is one of South Carolina's outstanding statesmen of all time and one of the Nation's greatest men. The Nation and the world will hear more and more of him as time goes on. Those who are attempting to tear down what our ancestors struggled so hard to establish and fought so hard to preserve, will have to reckon with him in no small way."

Colonel Daniel expressed his personal appreciation to all those with whom he has been associated in connection with the duties of the office.

He said he planned to leave immediately for a vacation trip of several weeks. Because of leaving over the weekend he said he would be unable to say goodbye personally to those with whom he has been associated, but that he hoped to visit them for that purpose upon his return to the state.

Col. D. H. Kennedy, of Williston, will serve as acting secretary until the new executive secretary, not yet announced, reports for duty in the next several weeks, Governor Thurmond said.

States Righters Still Call Themselves Democrats

The Columbia Record

Times 8-24-48

Columbia, S.C.

The Charleston News and Courier persists in its idea that the States Rights Democrats is a fourth political party and that it is here to stay.

"An American who has been a Democrat cannot vote for Dewey and Warren" it points out, "and be counted a Democrat, though he be a United States Senator. An American cannot vote against Truman and Barkley, voting for Thurmond and Wright, States Rights candidates, and be counted a Democrat though he be a member of the House of Congress . .

"In the United States Senate of the Eighty-first Congress will be at least three political parties. The fiction that Southern 'Democrats' often voting with Republicans to defeat Truman measures remain 'Democrats' will be abandoned.

"The likelihood that the Democrats will control the Senate next year does not exist."

It is pretty hard to get around The News and Courier's logic. But the States Rights Democrats manage somehow to accomplish this feat, not only in South Carolina, but also in Mississippi and Alabama.

The News and Courier is the South Carolina organ of the States Rights Democrats, but it has no influence with them.

MISSISSIPPIANS VOTE 10 TO 1 FOR THURMOND

The Commercial Appeal

States' Righters Apparently Lose Recognition

Memphis, Tenn.

AMENDMENTS DEFEATED

From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Mississippi, Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 3.—States' Rights Democrats won the presidential election in Mississippi Tuesday, but apparently sacrificed national party recognition through refusal to support its nominees.

The Thurmond-Wright States' Rights presidential electors won an easy victory in the Magnolia state, cornering about 88 per cent of the votes cast. In view of President Truman's national victory, he will not need the state's nine electoral votes which he lost to Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the opposition wing's nominee.

Amendment Vote One-Sided

Mississippi voters, also by a one-sided tally, rejected two proposed constitutional amendments, one prescribing "good morals" as a prerequisite to vote, and the other for annual instead of biennial ses- [illegible]

On the basis of tabulations from 1253 of the state's 1725 precincts, the presidential election stood:

Thurmond	128,622
Truman	13,631
Dewey (Ind.)	1880
Dewey (Reg.)	1781
Wallace	235

The "good morals" amendment was downed, 197,226 to 28,717, while the annual session proposal lost, 73,783 to 25,815.

In view of the committee chairmanships slated to go to Southerners in the Congress, it is not unlikely that the Democratic State Convention, which pledged the party's electors to the States' Rights ticket, may meet and rejoin the party and attempt to work out their differences within the ranks. The state convention is in recess and can be convened by Chairman Tom Dunn of Meridian. That course, however, will likely be bitterly opposed by States' Rights leaders, including Governor Wright, the faction's vice presidential nominee.

Tabulations indicated that many voters remained away from the polls. Figuring in the smaller than anticipated vote was the good weather which permitted voters to remain in the fields and harvest the cotton crop. It is unlikely the total will reach the conservative 180,000 vote estimate.

Abernathy Wins

Representative T. G. Abernethy of the Fourth Congressional District, the lone incumbent Democrat opposed, won without effort over his Republican opponent, W. B. Smith, of Vaiden. Mr. Abernethy is a member of the House Agriculture Committee and with victory of the Democrats is placed in a more strategic position to help farmers.

Democratic nominees unopposed in Tuesday's general election were:

Senator James O. Eastland, Representatives John Rankin, First District; Jamie Whitten, Second; W. M. Whittington, Third; Arthur Winstead, Fifth; W. M. Colmer, Sixth, and John Bell Williams, Seventh.

Supreme Court Justices W. G. Roberds, incumbent, Northern District; Julian P. Alexander, incumbent, Central District; Percy M. Lee Sr., Central District for term commencing in January, 1951, and Lee Hall, Southern District, for term being relinquished in January by Justice V. A. Griffith.

Chancellor Herbert Holmes, Third Judicial District, and John Greene Jr., 16th Circuit Court District judge for unexpired term of Senator Stennis.

States' Righter Denies Charge Movement Is 'Political Hoax'

BATON ROUGE, La., Aug. 13—(AP)—A charge that the "Dixiecrat" movement, opposing President Truman's civil rights program, is a scheme to elect one party by dividing another, met prompt denial from the Louisiana States' Rights chairman, John U. Barr, of New Orleans.

The charge was made last night in Baton Rouge by E. H. Williams, president of the Louisiana Federation of Labor, on behalf of the AFL Labor League for Political Education.

Terming the AFL statement "propaganda," Barr replied:

"Mr. Williams will have plenty of time between now and November to plead the Truman case. But on Nov. 2, after the people have given the Thurmond-Wright (States' Rights) ticket the biggest vote in Louisiana political history, I'm certain that Mr. Williams will realize that there is no division of genuine Democrats in Louisiana."

* * *

WILLIAMS CALLED the Dixiecrat" movement "a collossal political hoax," and declared it was "conceived, fostered and put into effect by fair-haired radicals of the Wall Street money interests."

The Labor League charged Barr with previously attempting "to divide the Democratic Party in the South," and called upon the "Dixiecrat" leadership "to declare itself in fact affiliated with the Republican Party."

Shreveport Veteran First Petition Signer

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 13—(AP)—A Shreveport war veteran, C. P. Chandler, was declared today the first signer of a petition for nominating States' Rights electors for the November election in Louisiana.

The claim was made for Chandler last night by Robert Chandler, Shreveport attorney and co-chairman of the States' Rights Executive Committee in Louisiana.

The Shreveport co-chairman said circulation of the nominating petitions was started in that city yesterday.

The States' Rights electors will be given a place on the Louisiana ballot if the secretary of state is presented petitions containing 1,000 names of unaffiliated voters.

To Bar Truman

Dixie Deal On Electors Reported

Wash Post

Nov-11-8-48

By the United Press

Radio Commentator Charles Parmer said yesterday he had learned that States Rights Democrats are planning a "sensational political maneuver" to deprive President Truman of the election if he refuses to bury his civil rights program for the next four years.

Speaking over station WEAM, Arlington, Va., Parmer said "a southern statesman of outstanding integrity" (whom he did not name) told him about the plan "which, if carried through and if successful, might close the White House doors to Mr. Truman on January 20," Inauguration Day.

He said Senators Byrd (D., Va.) and George (D., Ga.) have been chosen by the States Righters to "spearhead a movement" to obtain "a most solemn pledge that the Administration will not again propose to Congress its civil rights program."

If that pledge is not given, Parmer went on, the plan calls for enough southern presidential electors to withhold their electoral college votes from Mr. Truman to throw the election into the House of Representatives "where a real upset might happen."

Southern Democrats already hold enough congressional "balance of power" in a coalition with Republicans, to defeat important parts of the President's legislative program if they want.

Defeated at the polls in their "States Rights" drive to oust Mr. Truman, many members of the Dixie bloc reportedly are ready to return to the regular Democratic fold and compromise on major issues if the price isn't too high. But observers believe they will balk at any compromise on the President's Civil Rights program, which started the Southern revolt last spring.

Parmer said the States' Rights group was going even farther than this, and planning to exact a pledge to scuttle the controversial anti-poll tax, antilynching, antisegregation and fair employment practice bills for four years.

To Truman or McGrath

Demand for the pledge, he said, will be made either to President Truman directly or to Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, "together with northern Democrats in the Senate."

He said that since the election attempts are being made "to sew up all southern Democratic electors—to get them to vote for Governor (J. Strom) Thurmond in the electoral college if the pledge is not given."

He went on to say that the 87 southern Democratic electors, added to the 38 elected on the Thurmond-Wright ticket, would total 125 votes—"not enough to elect, but more than enough to throw the contest into the House."

States' Righters Jubilant Over Louisiana Vote

Hope For 10 Electoral Bids After Truman Name Is Scratched

BATON ROUGE, La., Sept. 11—(AP)—With President Truman's name scratched off the ballot, States' Rights Democrats were jubilant today over prospects of bagging Louisiana's 10 electoral votes in November.

Sept 9-11-48

In unprecedented action the Louisiana Democratic State Central Committee eliminated the National Democratic Party ticket from the Nov. 2 general election ballot. At the same time the committee in its unanimous decision yesterday substituted the States' Rights ticket of Govs. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi as the Democratic nominees on Louisiana ballots.

* * *

THE COMMITTEE'S ACTION was a protest over the president's civil rights program.

States' Rights reaction was immediate and exultant at the move which eliminates President Truman except as a write-in candidate.

Gov. Thurmond, winding up a Texas tour at San Angelo, said he expects other states to follow suit in designating him and Gov. Wright as the nominees of "the real Democrats."

Gov. Wright declined comment but Judge Merritt Gibson, National States' Rights campaign director, interpreted the action as "further confirmation" of a Southern sweep leaving President Truman "without a single Southern state."

U. S. Sen. James Eastland (D., Miss.) told a States' Rights rally at Memphis, Tenn., President Truman is "hopelessly defeated," and added "the least the South will gain is control of the Democratic Party." He said the race lies between the States' Righters and the Republicans in November.

* * *

THE STATES' RIGHTERS now claim 45 eltctors in six states. It takes 266 of the total 531 to win. The States' Righters' count is Louisiana, 10; Alabama, 11; Mississippi, 9, and South Carolina, 8; plus four of Florida's eight and three of Tennessee's 12. The Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina counts represent the total electors in those states.

The States' Righters will also appear on tickets in four states with 59 electors, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina and Texas; and they are trying to get on ballots in Arkansas, Georgia, North Dakota, Minnesota.

The New Orleans Times-Picayune in a poll of the electors reported five said they would vote for Thurmond and Wright; two said they had no comment, and three could not be reached

Thurmond Opens Drive To Land Arkansas For States' Righters

(*Pictures on Section Page*)

By DICK ALLEN
Staff Correspondent

The Commercial Appeal

MARIANNA, Ark., Aug. 25.—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, candidate for president on the States' Rights Democrats' ticket, brought his campaign to Arkansas Wednesday and sought to convince state Democratic leaders that they should throw their weight behind the States' Rights cause.

Thur 8-26-48

The South Carolina Governor will officially open his Arkansas campaign with a full scale address here Thursday night, but he arrived in Marianna a day early for conferences with delegates to the Arkansas Democratic Convention in Little Rock next month.

Memphis Tenn

Lunch With Delegates

The convention will decide whether Governor Thurmond and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, his running mate, will have their electors on the Arkansas ballot as the regular Democratic nominees, or whether they will have to go on the ballot as independents.

Escorted from Memphis to Marianna by the Tennessee and Arkansas Highway Patrols, Governor Turmond immediately went to the Bear Creek Lake resort, seven miles from Marianna, for a luncheon with convention delegates and chairmen and secretaries of various county central committees in East Arkansas.

An executive session pow-wow, from which newspapermen were barred, followed the luncheon.

John Daggett, Marianna attorney, member of the States' Rights Executive Committee, and executive director of the Arkansas Free Enterprise Association, said the conference after the luncheon was confined to "an informal discussion" of strategy which the States' Rights group is following.

"We felt the delegates wanted to meet Governor Thurmond and get an idea of what he is trying to do," Mr. Daggett declared. "It was an informal meeting and no decisions concerning the future actions of East Arkansas delegates to the convention were reached."

Thur 8-26-48

Favors Race Separation

Governor Thurmond admitted that he tried "to sell the delegates" on the idea of supporting the States' Rights ticket.

The presidential candidate, accompanied here by his wife, told newspapermen that "we would like to be the regular Democratic nominees of Arkansas in the general election."

"Of course,' he said, "if we are not the nominees we will get on the ballot as States Rights candidates."

Governor Thurmond said he believed Arkansas people "feel like other Southerners."

"We are fighting for the principles of our Nation," he said. "We believe that if any of the proposals advocated by either Dewey, Truman or Wallace are adopted, then the American way of life will be changed."

Thur 8-26-48

Here in the heart of one of Arkansas' most heavily populated negro sections, Governor Thurmond flatly asserted:

"I favor the separation of the races. Both Truman and Dewey have advocated abolishing segregation."

He then attacked all of the Civil Rights legislation proposed by the Democratic and Republican parties, adding that he would have more to say on that subject in his Thursday night speech.

Governor Thurmond said he was confident the cause of the States' Righters would be successful. He revealed that after his Arkansas appearance, he would speak in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Texas and Virginia. He predicted that he would carry Tennessee.

Laney Is Absent

Lieut. Gov. Nathan Gordon and his wife were the official representatives from Arkansas at Wednesday's luncheon, due to the absence from the state of Governor Laney. Although advance notice on the meeting had said that Governor-designate Sid McMath was "assured" of being present, a telegram was received saying Mr. McMath was "sick in bed" at a Colorado vacation resort.

Governor Wright of Mississippi also was absent.

Governor Thurmond and his wife will be entertained at various social functions while in Marianna. Thursday the Governor will visit the University of Arkansas Cotton Experiment Station near here before making his four-state radio broadcast from the Marianna ball park Thursday night.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond's speech will be broadcast over WREC at 9:30 tonight.

Dixiecrat 'Cause'

Do States' Rights Demos Have Eye On Future, Observers Here Wonder

BY FRED TAYLOR

Some speakers at States' Rights Democratic rallies have gone to considerable pains to explain that the movement has no political motivation.

Sun 9-12-48

Instead, they emphasize that it is a "cause"—a "crusade."

There have been intimations that leaders of the States' Rights movement have a lot more in the back of their minds than the November presidential election.

TAYLOR

* * *

POTENT ISSUE—It is pointed out that the war on President Truman's "civil rights" recommendations, generally regarded as one of the biggest political blunders a Democratic presidential candidate ever made, has given some professional politicos a golden opportunity to attempt a comeback.

Bham Age

There is no question but that the "civil rights" issue is about the hottest one ever plopped into the laps of Southern politicians. It is comparatively easy to rally the rank and file of Alabama Democrats to fight the president's program.

You don't have to be a crystal ball gazer or employ a political divining rod to determine that Mr. Truman is a very unpopular man hereabouts. If he had skipped nimbly around such recommendations, which really were a groin blow to Southerners, as the masterful Roosevelt did, then the picture would be an entirely different one in Alabama and the South.

But if the president had a slate of elector candidates, or even if his name were on the November ballot, the votes he would receive in Alabama would fall far short of a majority.

Sun 9-12-48

* * *

STATES' RIGHTS SLATE—But apparently Mr. Truman was thinking more of Henry Wallace's program and that of the Republicans aimed at heavy-voting minorities of the East and North than he was of the Southern vote. His advisers must have convinced the president that the South would fall in line anyway, as it always had.

Anyway, there has been talk for some time that the States' Righters planned to put out a slate of candidates in this state in 1950. Reports are they contemplate projecting candidates for offices ranging from U. S. Senate and governor down to the smallest state and county jobs.

This undoubtedly prompted the question put by William J. Primm, executive assistant to Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, the other day when he blasted away at Frank Dixon, Horace Wilkinson and Marion Rushton.

Primm, who is a native of Wilcox County, formerly lived in Montgomery but now resides in Washington, asked:

"Could it be that the Dixiecrats are organizing in Alabama for 1950 in an attempt to elect the next governor and United States senator?"

DISAVOW RACE INTENTIONS—Dixon, former governor, reiterated to this column some weeks ago that he did not intend running for senator, for governor or for any other political post.

He admitted that strong efforts were being made to get him into one of these races, but that he intended to continue his law practice.

John Newsome, former Ninth District congressman, who was pressed into service as North Alabama director of the States' Rights campaign, has emphasized and reemphasized he has no personal political ambitions—that he is not running for office and doesn't intend to.

Furthermore, Newsome declared that the States' Rights campaign is not aimed at any Alabama officeholder in 1950 or any future year. Rather, he said, it is aimed toward consolidation of opinion expressed by a majority of Alabama Democrats in the primary last May.

Sun 9-12-48

DIFFERENT VIEW—Sidney W. Smyer, Birmingham attorney and former Jefferson County legislator, recently expressed an entirely different view.

But Smyer, who is executive committeeman for the States' Rights campaign in Jefferson, gave no intimation that he planned to make any political race.

What he did say at a county States, Rights rally was this:

"Reports that we are not political are wrong. We are political. That's why we've organized. What we take up in the future is up to you."

* * *

"GIVEN UP"—Jay G. Hayden, writing from Washington for the North American Newspaper Alliance, said:

"The sudden burst of aggressiveness against the Dixiecrats by the regular Democratic managers (McGrath, Primm, et al), is plain evidence that they have given up hope of winning back these rebels by peaceful persuasion.

"Indeed, it appears that the only hope of holding the normally Democratic Solid South even appreciably intact now rests on the chance that Federal Courts, manned mostly by President Truman and Roosevelt, will manage somehow to thwart the Dixiecrat plans."

Sun 9-12-48

Alabama's Supreme Court and a Florida Circuit Court have ruled that Democratic electors may vote as they please. But steps are being taken to appeal these decisions to the Federal Courts in the hope that the U. S. Supreme Court, before the electorial college meets, will establish the dictum that presidential electors, however named or instructed, must vote for the nominees of their party.

STATES' RIGHTERS AIM AT 35 STATE BALLOTS

Commercial Appeal

Co-Chairman Says Movement Is Gaining Momentum

Fri 8-20-48

'DEMOCRATS LEAN TO LEFT'

By The Associated Press

HATTIESBURG, Miss., Aug. 19.—States' Righters have hopes of placing the names of Govs. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi on the ballots in as many as 35 states.

This was revealed Thursday by Wallace W. Wright of Jackson, cochairman of the National States' Rights Democrats.

For Entire Country

Wright said in an interview that the States' Rights movement is gaining momentum steadily and may sweep the entire Nation.

"This movement is gathering force like a rolling snowball," he declared. "The interest is not confined to the South for the reason that the principles involved affect every man, woman and child in the country, irrespective of where they may reside . . .

"The States' Righters offer the only opportunity for conservative people of this country to express themselves by their vote, since both major political parties unmistakably lean to the left and the new Progressive Party to the extreme left."

Fri 8-20-48

Wright, who is no relation to the Mississippi governor, admitted that the biggest task facing the States' Righters was the winning of the electoral votes of Texas.

He is serving as cochairman of the new party with Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas.

SOMERVILLE, Tenn., Aug. 19.—(AP)—A Tennessee leader of States' Rights Democrats predicted Thursday that electors pledged to the Southern party's nominees will appear on the ballot in this state.

Charles A. Stainback, Somerville attorney and chairman of States' Rights Democrats here, said he had reecived assurance of sufficient statewide support to get the States' Rights electors on the ballot.

Will Seek Pledges

Stainback said an effort will be made to get the state's 12 regular Democratic electors to pledge themselves to vote for Governor Thurmond for president and Governor Wright of Mississippi for vice president.

Fri 8-20-48

If this effort fails, he said, a statewide convention will be held and electors will be selected to represent the States' Rights group.

Regular Democratic electors pledged to vote for the Thurmond-Wright ticket will be included on the States' Rights slate, he said, but electors will be named to oppose those who do not agree to forsake the Truman-Barkley combination.

Tennessee law provides, in effect, that electors named by a statewide convention may be placed on the ballot.

Governor Warren States The State Rights Case

Sat 8-14-48

Columbia S.C.

Governor Earl Warren of California, Republican candidate for the vice presidency, has come forward in a Saturday Evening Post article with a workable state rights program.

The Southern Democrats, setting up their States Rights Democratic party, revolving around the state rights issue as applied to Truman's civil rights program, are plagued by the fact that the South has been anything but consistent in supporting the state rights doctrine. Even yet some of them believe in federal aid for state-owned power projects and nearly all of them probably will admit to advocating federal aid for agriculture. Governor J. Strom Thurmond believes in federal aid for the aged, dependent children and the blind.

Governor Warren's plan is to see to it that every problem capable of being solved at the local level be solved there. The state can step in and solve it when it cannot be solved on the local level. The federal government should intervene only when the problem is a national problem, incapable of solution on either local or state levels.

"We operate this state on the premise that in government every problem capable of solution on the local level ought to be solved on that level," Governor Warren says. "When a task is too big for the community or brings distress, the state must step in and see that government's obligation to the individual is fulfilled.

"Similarly, everything that can be solved by the state should be solved on that level. Only if problems cross the boundary line or when the state can't care for the needs of the people does it become the duty of the federal government to act, and even these programs should be carried out, wherever possible, without setting up a central administration in Washington.

"We want decentralization of authority because the strength of the republic depends largely upon the virility of the state and local governments. Unfortunately, one school of political thought puts the reverse English on this principle, and that is responsible for the top-heavy, expensive government bureaus that are a public burden today. The greatest evil is not the cost of these bureaus, but the fact that they get farther and farther away from the people."

This is roughly, of course, the position that the Democratic party used to take. It is roughly the position adopted by the States Rights Democrats. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, when he was governor of New York, was a state rights advocate, pointing out that the existence of the states as effective governments was the guarantee to the United States that there would never be a Hitler or a Stalin here. The sovereignty of the states must first be destroyed if there is to be dictatorship in the United States, he said.

Sat 8-14-48

This was sound when Franklin D. Roosevelt advocated it—later, of course, he was to do more than anyone else to defeat his own words and to persuade the states to surrender to the one big state idea; it is sound now when Governor Warren and Governor Thurmond advocate it.

If Governor Warren can hold on to these principles, as Governor Roosevelt, made President, did not; if he can persuade his presidential running mate Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York to subscribe to them—he may of course already subscribe to them—and apply them to the so-called civil rights measures the Republican party may make itself the dominant party of the South as the Democratic party used to be and it certainly can make it so that the Republicans have a chance hereafter of winning in any Southern state.

The South and Governor Warren are together in principle. The Republican platforms of 1936, 1940, 1944 and 1948 make the Republican party a state rights party. "The New Deal administration," the platform charged in 1936, "constantly seeks to usurp the rights reserved to the states and to the people."

The one important conflict with the state rights principle embodied in the 1948 Republican platform is the F. E. P. C. plank. "This right of equal opportunity to work and to advance in life should never be limited on any individual because of race, religion, color or country of origin," the plank reads. "We favor the enactment and just enforcement of such federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right at all times in every part of the republic."

And even this plank, thanks to that saving phrase "as may be necessary," could be brought into conformity with the state rights doctrine as enunciated by Governor Warren.

The anti-lynching law and the anti-poll tax law sections of the Republican platform contain no pledge to enact federal legislation.

That pledge is made in the Democratic party platform.

The exceptional Negro, of course, has greater economic opportunities in the South, where he has made most of them for himself, than in the North where he can find employment only in business or industry operated by whites. The F. E. P. C. may be needed in New York therefore; it may be needed in Massachusetts, Michigan or Illinois. These states and all others should be protected in their right to enact F. E. P. C. laws. There are other states, however, in which the enactment now of F. E. P. C. laws would do harm rather than good to the Negroes themselves, states in which F. E. P. C. would be simply another experiment noble in motive to undermine all law enforcement. And these states should be protected in their right to decline to enact such a measure.

Sat 8-14-48

"The racial problems of such a heterogeneous nation as ours cannot be 'solved' except by gradually expanding tolerance over great periods of time," Dorothy Thompson points out. "We have to live with them, as we have to live with all our real problems—each of us, of whatever race, bearing his share of the burden, with as much justice, mercy and humor of which he is capable. Unroll the whole issue of race and religious prejudice in an attempt at a radical solution and, instead of brotherly love, you will promote hate; instead of social peace, civil war; instead of mercy, persecution; and instead of justice, revenge."

Nominee Of States' Rights Party Is 6 To 4 Favorite In South Carolina Polling

The [illegible] News

Sun 9-12-48

BY GEORGE GALLUP

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, presidential candidate of the Southern States' Rights Party, holds a long lead in his home state of South Carolina at present, although the Truman forces in the state are actively working to change the situation in the seven weeks remaining to election day.

The first complete survey report finds that if an election were held today, Gov. Thurmond would poll nearly six out of every 10 votes cast. In the same poll the voters expressed a desire to change the election balloting system of South Carolina, only state which does not have a true secret ballot.

The poll question on candidates was:

"If the presidential election were being held today, how would you vote—for Truman, for Dewey, for Thurmond or for Wallace?"

The following table gives the vote with the percentage of undecided voters included in the first column and eliminated in the second:

SOUTH CAROLINA
(8 Electoral Votes)

Thurmond	52%	59%
Truman	26	29
Dewey	10	11
Wallace	x	1
Undecided	12	

xLess than 1 per cent.

* * *

Other States Affected

SOUTH CAROLINA is normally the staunchest Democratic state in the union, its electoral votes always being considered a sure thing for the party. But this year the Democrats face not only the possible loss of South Carolina, but also the possible loss of electoral votes in Mississippi and Alabama, where the regular Democratic electors are reported pledged to cast their electoral votes for Gov. Thurmond. In Florida, half of the electoral votes are reported to the Thurmond ticket. This makes a total of at least 32 possible Thurmond electoral votes—a serious threat to the Democrats at a time when they will need every electoral vote they can scrape up.

Sun 9-12-48

Ballot System Unique

SOUTH CAROLINA'S election balloting system differs from other states in that the names of the opposing party candidates are not printed on the same ballot. Voters must ask for the ballot of the party they wish to support. If they ask for the Democratic ballot, they are handed a ballot with only the Democratic candidates listed, not the Republican candidates. If they wish to vote Republican the ballot they receive lists only the Republicans. Each party in the state prints its own ballots for use on election day.

The issue of whether this system should be changed was put up to South Carolina voters by the Institute poll as follows:

"Do you think voters in South Carolina should or should not have the right to vote by secret ballot in general elections—that is, to mark their choice of any presidential candidate secretly and on the same ballot?"

Should	80%
Should not	8
No opinion	12

The unusual balloting system in South Carolina may be one reason for the one-sided vote usually found in the state. Many of its counties turn up with virtually unanimous votes for the Democrats.

In 1936 Lancaster County and Horry County went 100 per cent Democratic, not a single vote being cast for the GOP. In 1944 Calhoun County went Democratic by 99.8 per cent, and McCormick County by 99.7 per cent.

The whole state went Democratic by 98½ per cent in 1936, 95½ per cent in 1940 and 95 per cent in 1944.

* * *

Summary Of Polls

TODAY'S REPORT on South Carolina is the fourth of a series of reports by the Institute on individual states. These have shown the following, with the percentages based on the number of voters expressing a choice, the undecided vote being eliminated:

	Dewey	Truman	Wallace
New York	47%	37%	16%
Pennsylvania ...	57	40	3
Missouri	41	59	x

xFailed to qualify on Missouri election ballot.

States Rights Democrats Frown at Name 'Dixiecrats' Devised to Fit Paper's Headline

9-5-48

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Sept. 4 (NANA) — The Dixiecrats don't like the name "Dixiecrats."

"I don't care for it," says Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the party's nominee for President. He said that it puts the States Rights Democrats behind the eight ball in other sections of the nation.

Gov. Thurmond added: "It is not only an eight ball, but it's a five-yard penalty in talking to the voters of the North, the Midwest and Far West."

The States Rights Democrats have Bill Weisner, telegraph editor of the Charlotte News, to thank for putting Dixiecrat into the American vocabulary.

Mr. Weisner was writing a headline on a story about the States Rights Democrats which would not fit. Dixiecrats would.

He admits that he first thought of "SRD," as would some headline writers in these days of alphabetical agencies, to identify the party bolters.

But Mr. Weisner took the view that he shouldn't use it; opposition politicians might make capital of it. They might have said the initials stood for "Standing Room for Democrats," or something like that.

Way "Up" In Dixie

We have a feeling that when the Dixiecrats get the real lowdown on the ancestry of their theme song they will repudiate it and try enthusing their congregations with most any other ballad except "Dixie."

"Dixie" has a noble ancestry and does not mean what the Dixiecrats think it means. For proof we quote from The American Educator Encyclopedia, a widely circulated set of books, used by school teachers. Vol. 3, page 1086 gives, in part, the following enlightenment:

"DIXIE or DIXIE-LAND, a term which came, by popular error, to be identified with the South durnig the Civil War. The story goes that early in the nineteeth century a man named Dixie lived in Manhattan (New York) Island and kept there a large number of slaves, whom he treated with great kindness. When feeling against slavery began to grow intense, Dixie sent some of his Negroes South, and they sorrowfully at leaving their kind master 'sighed for Dixie's land.'"

7/23/48

And so "Way up in Dixie" is the original version of the song of which the present version, "Way Down in Dixie," is a sort of parody and one that misconstrues the views colored folk in the days of slavery had regarding life down South compared to life on Manhattan Island.

7/23/48

It is stated that the author of even the "Dixie" that pictures the longing of the Negro for the slave-life of the South later regretted ever having written it when, in the Civil War, it became the rival of "Yankee Doodle." Dixie's author ,as might be expected was, himself, a Northerner. And as might be expected, originally "Dixie" was a Negro melody. Which reminds one of Hambone's observation that: "It sure is terrible the way white folks can beat the Negroes stealing."

When Mr. Roosevelt had something to give out in the shape of postoffices and WPA the Dixiecrats could sing "Happy Days Are Here Again" in perfect unison with Mr. Marcantonio and the delegates from Harlem. But now in days that are "dark and dreary" they propose to fall back on a distorted version of dear old "Dixie."

Sound And Fury

The trouble with the Dixiecrats is that they started their crusade too late to arouse any serious concern among the people of the United States. They are looked upon merely as a windy, amusing faction, wholly bereft of any power to thwart the general purpose of the nation to fulfill its destiny as a real, rather than a ritualistic democracy.

It is fortunate for the nation, and unfortunate for the Dixiecrats, that native-born Southerners are on the firing line, writing in the greatest newspapers of the country, and interpreting the Southern revolters to the nation. The most noted of these is Thomas L. Stokes, the eminent columnist, who constantly reminds the world that the professional Southerners who make newspaper headlines by their mouthings do not express the sentiments of the intelligent and God-fearing people of the South. Their seeming importance comes from the fact that, by resort to all kinds of political rascality, they have captured and control the people's governments. Mr. Stokes also shows that they are mere stooges of Northern Big Business interests that use these politicians to exploit the South.

7/23/48

These windy politicians have also been notably caricatured by Kenny Delmar's Senator Claghorn, and just to prove that they could ,better employ their time and talents trying to raise the economic, educational and cultural standards of their section, instead of constantly bragging about having the world's most illustrious strain of human beings, Erskine Caldwell, native-born Southerner, has debunked the braggarts with his "Tobacco Road," and "Now You See Their Faces."

The fact that the United States has elected to assume leadership of the world--a world in which darker races are in the majority,—makes it a certainty that this country must reject race discrimination and the corny interpretations of the Federal Constitution that Dixiecrat politicians seek to give it.

Also the fact that this nation more than four-score years ago fought a bloody civil war to re-affirm that "We the People," rather than "We the States" founded the Federal government makes it unthinkable that the nation will sanction a revocation of the righteous, though costly, decision that was reached at the end of that war.

Real Showdown Will Come

The Columbia Record.

And what of this Southern revolt and the future?

There is, of course, occasion for it. The Republican party has never been a spokesman for the South. The first Republican victory resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln and it was a Republican Congress or the "radicals" in that Republican Congress which imposed upon the South the many evils of the reconstruction regime. It was this error—Republican error—which tied the South to the one party system.

Now the Democratic party, which once represented something of the South's ideas and in which the South had a considerable voice until 1932 has been changed into a radical party, somewhat left of center, in which the South has no real voice, which treats the South with a disdain that even the Republicans cannot equal.

Many Southerners cannot in logic continue their alliance with the Democratic party. They served notice upon the party before the Philadelphia convention that unless some attention was given to their views they would bolt the party.

There are other Southerners, the labor group in particular, who still feel an attachment for the Democratic party and there are politicians who value their party seniority over principle and who desire, therefore, to still maintain their places in the Democratic party. Fri. 8-6-48

At the same time that the Democratic party was being changed the Republican party also was changing. But the South still lacks any real voice in Republican party affairs and cannot get it until we build up in the South a real Republican party.

Columbia, S.C.

What are the South's remedies in this situation? There is the remedy adopted by the Dixiecrats of setting up the States Rights Democratic party as a fourth party. Even though Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the nominee of the Birmingham mass meeting or conference-convention, for president, talks about actually being elected his advisors know he does not have a chance. South Carolina's vote will probably go to him. So will Alabama's and also Mississippi's. He has only an outside chance of getting his name on the ticket at all in North Carolina and a fighting chance of getting his name on the ticket in Texas. Any Southern party is doomed to be a minority party from the beginning, even if it carried all of the Southern states. The real race will be between Dewey of the Republicans and Truman of the Democrats. The States Rights party has no value except to voice a political protest. 8-6-48

Logic would have suggested that these States Rights leaders in deserting the Democratic party go over to the Republican party. That would have made their protest effective and it would have given the South an effective voice in the councils of both parties since those who prefer to remain Democrats could have been left in control of the Democratic party in the Southern revolt states.

The States Rights party movement is designed to prevent just this. It is designed to make certain that the Southern revolt is not effective. It is devised to preserve the one party system in the South and to make certain that the South is back in the bag again for the Democratic party in 1952. Some of its leaders may not recognize the fact. They are sincere advocates of the state rights position in opposing the so-called civil rights bills.

But they want to conduct their campaign through the Democratic party organizations in the South wherever possible. The 11 electoral votes of Alabama will be granted the States Rights party nominees through the Democratic party of Alabama. When an Alabama voter supports the regular Democratic ticket—the rooster ticket—he will be voting for Thurmond and Wright whether he desires to do so or not. This course will be followed in Mississippi also. And it will be the same thing in South Carolina. The state Democratic executive committee is empowered to name the candidates for electors and to instruct them how to cast their votes. 8-6-48

The States Rights Democratic party is therefore actually not a fourth party. It is not intended to be a fourth party. It is intended simply to be a caretaker for the Democratic party in the South. And when the Truman era ends as it will, and the Republicans are elected as they will be in November, both without the aid of the States Rights Democrats, the Democratic party of South Carolina and Mississippi and Alabama will carry on like the Democratic party of Georgia, Florida, Texas, Arkansas Oklahoma, Louisiana and North Carolina.

Southern Democrats will control the Democratic party in Congress for the next four years. They will determine the party's policies and make the party's decisions. They will get the pick of the Democratic committee assignments.

But when the convention meets in 1952 the South will discover again that it is the red-haired stepchild in national Democratic party affairs. It will find itself left out in the cold as it was in 1948.

Then the South will possibly come to recognize the futility of political protests, may even come to recognize the grave mistake it is being led into this year by the States Rights proponents, the mistake of wasting its energy on a splinter party movement instead of concentrating on the upbuilding of a decent Republican party. For now except for the States Rights diversion is the time to set up a real two-party system in the South. 8-4-48

The possibility is that it may be the last chance for the South if it hopes to prevent the enactment of the unconstitutional civil rights measures. For by 1952, when the South will have had its lesson, it may be too late. The civil rights measures may be law.

History Plagues The Southerners On State Rights

Columbia Record

Mon 8-16-48

Columbia S.C.

Arthur Krock of the New York Times draws a parallel between the state rights fight of the Southern Democrats in the 1948 national convention against Truman's civil rights program and the anti-state rights fight put up by some of them in the 1932 convention against the Al Smith anti-prohibition plank.

In 1932 a strong minority of the Southern Democrats, Mr. Krock points out, were Federalists on the issue which divided that gathering—national prohibition and its federal enforcement through the Volstead act.

At the 1932 convention, over the protest of some of Mr. Roosevelt's Southern spokesmen, a majority of the platform committee voted for a plank calling for the outright repeal of prohibition. Al Smith defended the majority report with a state rights argument. "Since when," he wanted to know, "has it become any violation of fundamental Democratic party creed to declare emphatically in favor of the rights of the states?"

And, as Mr. Krock notes, the same language and precedents were cited in 1932 to support the repeal argument as are being cited this year to support the Southern idea that the federal government has no right to invade the police power of the states.

The Southern vote was split in 1932 with 139 Southerners voting in favor of state rights for the repeal of prohibition and 117 against state rights and for the compromise plank.

The Southern vote stood:

For the Al Smith plank—Alabama 3, Arkansas 5, Florida 13, Georgia 0, Louisiana 17, Mississippi 0, North Carolina 8, South Carolina 18, Tennessee 18, Texas 46, Virginia 11.

Against the Al Smith plank—Alabama 21, Arkansas 13, Florida 1, Georgia 28, Louisiana 3. Mississippi 20, North Carolina 18, South Carolina 0, Tennessee 6, Texas 0, Virginia 13.

The majority of the Southern states were actually recorded as opposed to state rights when applied to prohibition. On the state basis the vote stood six to five against state rights, with Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina and Virginia voting against the repeal plank.

Only two states, in both 1932 and 1948, had perfect state rights records. These states were South Carolina and Texas. Florida, with one dry vote against state rights in 1932, has an almost consistent record and Louisiana is not far behind. Tennessee voted three to one for state rights.

It is significant that Mississippi the delegation from which walked out of the Philadelphia convention in 1948 voted unanimously against state rights in 1932 and Alabama half of whose delegation also walked out, was seven to one against state rights when the issue was prohibition.

Mon 8-16-48

The same charge of inconsistency, of course, applies to the Northern states which in 1932 were voting for state rights and prohibition's repeal—New York for example —and in 1948 were voting against state rights and in favor of more Negro and "liberal" votes.

But these two votes—and the inconsistency of the South would be still more apparent if the comparison should be made between the Southern votes in Congress on prohibition and on any of the civil rights bills—make it apparent what difficulties the State Rights Democrats labor under in trying to make state rights the issue. For the South has always reserved the right to throw state rights overboard when it suited its convenience.

Mon 8-16-48

Representative Joseph Bryson of South Carolina is an advocate of state rights on civil rights, but he is also the leading congressional advocate of national prohibition.

States Rights Party Cannot Make Up Its Mind

The Columbia Record

Mon 8-23-48

Columbia S.C.

Says the Charleston News and Courier, which boasts that it is the South Carolina organ of the States Rights Democratic party as it used to boast of its independence:

"The national States Rights party is not Southern. It is the party that enters the field for the protection of Minnesota, Maine, the Dakotas and all the states subject to domination by great cities controlling states, which cities are subject to machines, the Arveys, the O'Dwyers, the Frankie Hagues —and Walter White, Philip Randolph, other colored citizens.

"No matter what the result in November shall be, the national States Rights party will stay in the field for the security of the republic. It is the defense of the Republic against secret enemies, the enemies that assail from the dark.

"Without states' rights can be a United State.

"Without states' rights cannot be the American republic."

Apparently The News and Courier considers the States Rights Democratic party a new fourth party. If this is to be so the party should repudiate its alliance with the Democratic party of South Carolina, the Democratic party of Mississippi and the Democratic party of Alabama and spurn their proffer of the Democratic electoral votes in these three states. No fourth party, called the States Rights party, should masquerade as the Democratic party in South Carolina, Alabama or Mississippi or any other state. It should leave the Democratic party organization to the Democrats, to whom it belongs.

Mon 8-23-48

The truth is that the States Rights party isn't yet a true party, despite The News and Courier's wishful thinking. It is simply a protest and to make this protest effective it is more interested in electoral votes—hence its alliance with the Democratic party in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina —than in principles.

Like the Democratic party of South Carolina it is confused. Some of its spokesmen talk as if it were a fourth party; some talk as if it were still the real Democratic party —and it still retains the word Democratic in its name—and predict that after the election it will take over the Democratic party in Congress.

The Dixiecrats

(From The Hale County News, Moundville)

The Times

[illegible]

The Southern bolters of the Democratic Party, dubbed Dixiecrats, forms the most unique development in the presidential campaign. Ostensibly their aim is the defeat of Truman and of all civil rights legislation on the national level. They have taken up the battle cry of "states' rights" and claim to be the defenders of the individual's liberty and freedom. Actually the real issues are entirely different. Their protestations against civil rights and for states' rights are merely a camouflage to cover their real purposes. The bolt has been led by a coalition of entrenched reactionaries who are primarily interested in maintaining their privileged stations. Their stranglehold upon the politics of their respective states has been challenged and seriously endangered by the sweep of a liberal movement across the South that is interested in progress and the development of our resources. The reactionaries have seized upon the strategy of stirring up prejudice and fomenting racial strife as a blind to their real purposes.

Voice Of The People

Birmingham News

He Would Sell His Soul

To the Editor of The News:

He would sell his soul and his country for the Negro and Zionist vote. That is what the president's program means. It also means that there will be no more states' rights.

He says he is fighting communism abroad. Is he trying to cram it down the throats of his own people? We certainly do not want a police state in the United States.

As far as I can see, if anyone, regardless of color or race, wants to organize an industry or business of his own, if within the law he is at liberty to do so. No one is going to say no.

The white man is responsible for America's great industries. They are, mainly, the ones who pay the taxes that keep the country going. They are the ones who gave this country all the great statesmen. They are the ones who built the hospitals, colleges, schools, churches, amusement and recreational facilities. They are the ones that should have the right to choose their own employes and to promote those who should be promoted. No one is forced to work for any individual concern. If they don't like their jobs or the rules of the company, let them seek employment elsewhere.

Birmingham, Ala.

The white men came to this country with nothing but faith in God, a will to work and a burning desire for freedom. They are the ones who have built this great country of ours. Why try to tear it down because someone wants to be elected to some political office, an office they are not capable of holding, at the expense of our freedom?

Until we learn that we are, in fact, God's people, His servants, and that we must put all our trust and faith in Him and look to Him for guidance we will have neither peace nor prosperity.

Thurs. 7-22-48

The reason that Southerners believe in states' rights so strongly, and stick together as they do, is because most of them are pure Anglo-Saxons. They are a race of peculiar people, peculiar to God. They are a race chosen, by God, for service to Him.

The Southern Negro is treated as well or better than his Northern brother. They have the sympathy and true Christian assistance of the Southerner. They have mutual understanding, something that one sees in no other part of the country. They are given almost any kind of employment. There are professional men among them. They have their own businesses, their own homes, churches, schools and amusement facilities. If they have the industry to work, earn and save, as have the white race, no one begrudges their prosperity. This is a free country and as a man does so is he.

STEPHEN N. NOBLE.

Heflin, Ala.

SENATOR HILL A BOLTER

The Advertiser

Editor, The Advertiser:

Several years ago, a controversial bill was pending in Congress, and a committee of ladies was sent to interview a senator who was obstructing its passage. During the conversation with him a member of the committee reminded him that his constituents were strongly for the measure.

"That may be true, but I am unalterably opposed to it, and will never vote for it," he answered, seemingly a little vexed.

"Suppose they should demand, that you as their elected representative, support it, what course would you follow?" I asked.

After some hesitation, he replied, "I would hand them my resignation, as that would be the honorable way out."

Sun 9-12-48

In the past few months I have thought many times of his, "that is the only honorable way out," in connection with the apparent hostile attitude of our two senators. They are definitely opposing the will of a majority of Alabama voters.

When Senator Hill was a candidate for delegate he promised that he would oppose the nomination of Truman in every way possible. I wonder if he and Mr. Sparkman consider what they are said to have done—not in a smoke filled room in Philadelphia—but at a buffet supper attended by all the senators present, the night before Truman's nomination, keeping the promise they had made to the voters back home.

Montgomery Ala

Suppose they have announced that they will support the States' Rights ticket, who cares for their two little votes? What the States' Rights ticket needs is their support and influence. If they can't give this they are evidently aiding Truman, and the majority of the voters should notify them that they will consider them as bolters in the future . . .

(MISS) EPPES JONES

Samson. Ala.

Louisiana States' Rights Papers Are Presented

BATON ROUGE, La., Aug. 26.—(AP)—Louisiana States' Rights Democrats Thursday filed nominating papers to place electors for the Thurmond-Wright presidential ticket on the Louisiana ballot.

Stamps Farar, New Orleans attorney representing the States' Righters Legal Committee, said the petitions had 1200 signatures, 200 more than are required under Louisiana law.

8-27-48

Secretary of State Wade O. Martin Jr. said the States' Righters' elector candidates' names would appear on the November ballot.

"I have received the nominating papers, the attorney general has checked and approved them for form and legality, and the names of the nominees will go on the ballot," Martin said.

For ballot purposes, the States' Rights Democrats in this state are using the names "States' Righters." Louisiana law prohibits use of the word "Democrat" for any nominees other than those named by the Democratic Party under regular procedure.

Cutting Off Your Nose To Spite Your Face

The State Press

34d

The action of Dixiecrats, State Righters, or what-have-you, reminds us of the familiar saying: "cutting off your nose to spite your face". Their action is just as contemptible. However, the action of these southern would-be-politicians is not surprising to any person with a decent mind, for that is an aristocracy of the south.

In the first place the rebelious program is motivated through hate, therefore leaving clairvoyant powers unnecessary for the analysis of the sponsors.

Fri 10-1-48

The whole program of the Dixiecrats grew from fear of Mr. Truman's Civil Rights proposal to get legislation to combat hate in an effort to set a pattern in our own country that we are attempting to set in foreign territories. This aroused the ire of these men who immediately saw their government (established within our national government which is violating the federal constitution) destroyed, taking away their self-gained power to deal with the Negro as they felt.

Little Rock, Arkansas

The enigma of the whole controversy is that the Dixiecrats are hollering that such a program as outlined by Mr. Truman in his proposal, "is infringing upon our constitutional rights". They have become so imbued in their ideas that they have really lost all concepts of the constitution. They think they are right. The statistical facts that the section of the country they govern is far below any standard of comparison to the rest of these United States have no bearing on their reasoning power.

Just what do the Dixiecrats expect to accomplish? The only thing they can accomplish is the defeat of Harry Truman. And that will have to be with the help of Henry Wallace. They will never defeat Civil Rights. The defeat of Harry Truman will not delay Civil Rights, neither will it hasten them. Among the first of the proposals to become effective will be the ones the southerners hate most. They will not become effective because of the defeat of Truman, or the election of Dewey, nor will the defeat of Dewey and the election of Truman bring Civil Rights. They are coming because they are the will of the people, and nothing Dixiecrats, State Righters, or southern politicians can do will stop them.

Fri 10-1-48

The people whose minds are open to decency have discovered how hate can retard progress and bring on disaster. They saw recently the world-wide suffering, property destruction and lives of young men, women and children snuffed out because of hate programs. So only a warped mind can entertain any remote idea that the people are going to sit idly by and let a minority section of the country continue to spread hate. The people have realized from practices in other countries that to limit liberty is the surest way to destroy it.

This is no condemnation of the Dixiecrats. We feel that an organized force of men who fear democracy is one of the best things that could happen at this time. It gives the entire world an opportunity to see the men, who have been parading under the cloak of democracy, who actually engaged in retarding the progress of America.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

The Dixiecrats Kill States' Rights

Tues 10-19-48

Atlanta Ga.

I read an editorial from the Dixiecrat organ in Augusta. It was written right out of the cliche-handbook. "Dire dangers" leaped from its shallow depths. Even our old friend, "enlisting in this crusade," was there, a little shabby, to be sure, but still on the job. "Imposing the yoke" was there, overworked and down at the heel. "This hour of peril" was well down in the latter paragraphs. A little anemic, it is true, but clinging to the sentence structure. Somewhat embarrassed to be in such shabby company, "the Ark of the Covenant" jostled wearily with "the party of Jefferson and Jackson." "The cobwebs of misunderstanding" were on duty, ready to be "wiped away from before the eyes." "Breed anarchy and havoc" was well down in the last paragraph.

What it was trying to say was that there wasn't anybody else in the States' Rights Dixiecrat coop but "us blue-blooded political chickens."

Piety

Why, the word "racial" wasn't even mentioned from the platform or the floor, protested the editorial with great piety. Naturally, almost every one chosen to serve for the party has a long record on the subject. There were exceptions, but they were few.

This was the most rib-tickling statement of all. The truth is, and the inescapable truth is, that in the Dixiecrat coop is every Ku Klux element in the State; the Gerald L. K. Smith legion; all the Columbian Fascist remnants; all the old gang that fought Roosevelt for 14 years, plus the old crowd that has been behind every reactionary front in the past 16 years. It is harmful to the states' right fight which, if lost, will be lost because of the Dixiecrats. For all its protesting in the name of the South it is the most harmful force operating against the South's future. That it should fool some well-meaning persons is to be expected.

Tues 10-19-48

Of Course

Certainly there are some good and excellent people in the Dixiecrat movement. There are many such in the Ku Klux Klan who have been led by emotions and unfounded fears to hurry behind its sheets for promised protection. I understand perfectly why many such persons join the Klan and I do not criticize them. They have fears and grievances and neither their local, State nor national government provides an opportunity for them to express them. The klansmen I hold in contempt are those who go into it hoping they can beat, whip or kill persons and be secure. They are the same sort of persons who did the beating, the torturing and the murdering at Hitler's concentration camps and gas chamber. Others who are contemptible are those who go into it for the fat profits to be made in it and who deliberately make uninformed, good people afraid so as to take their money in dues and in payment for uniforms, which cost about $2 and sell for $15. These are in the Dixiecrat movement—all of them.

So, of course, there are good people in the Dixiecrat movement. The pity is they are not running it. The Dixiecrats are being run from Houston, Texas, and from sub-stations in Birmingham, Ala., and Jackson, Miss.

Issue

There is a very real problem of states' rights. It is an important one and one vital to America. Only Gov. Earl Warren, the Republican vice presidential nominee, is talking about it in its true light.

The crux of the issue is how far the Federal Government can go in taking over the problems of local governments. The issue will be met by the next Congress. It is an issue important to all the States, not just the South.

Yet, the tragedy of it is that the South is trying to say to the nation that the issue is the lynching bill and the poll tax bill and the right of the States to discriminate against the Negro if they wish. and the right of the States to maintain existing failures to provide equal school opportunity.

Facts

Inevitably, therefore, in the eyes of the nation the legitimate and important issue of states' rights is dirtied up and corrupted until the rest of the nation cannot join in to fight for it. The Dixiecrats are killing off the chance for states' rights to win.

It is an inescapable fact that the Dixiecrat States' Righters are doing the South and the things in which the South believes great and probably irreparable harm. That is, in fact, what the real and invisible backers of the States' Rights Dixiecrats plan. The Dixiecrats are fighting the best interests of states' rights.

The rest of the nation would like to fight with us for states' rights. But they won't fight with us for wrong and for narrow sectionalism.

Tues 10-19-48

Look at France and at Italy, where many parties have broken down government.

Let us fight this thing out within the two-party system.

Dixiecrats and the G. O. P.

Winston Salem Journal

AN ASSOCIATED PRESS dispatch from Indianapolis says that the Republican State Chairman of Indiana now admits that petition forms on which signatures were obtained to put Dixiecrat candidates on the ballot in that state were printed in Republican state headquarters. It remains to be seen whether or not the Dixiecrats will get the names of their candidates on the ticket. A restraining order against such action has been issued by the court and the question is to be settled later.

Fri 9-10-48

Winston Salem, N.C.

But there seems no question that the Dixiecrats will be on the Indiana ticket if the Republican organization of that state has its way. And that is true, no doubt, in all other states. Republican leaders everywhere, we are confident, would like to see the Democratic Party split into factions, because they know that would insure the election of a Republican President.

The Indiana Republicans are encouraging the Dixiecrats for the same reason that the Alabama Republicans are. The Attorney General of Alabama made a speech the other day in which he intimated that the men who are crying loudest for states' rights are really working to divide the South in order "to insure the triumph of a po-

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litical party which puts property rights above individual rights." Liaison between the Republican Party and certain so-called leaders in Alabama, he said, is complete. He declared that the Democratic Party machinery in Alabama was being prostituted for the purpose of helping elect a Republican.

As for the race issue, the Alabama Attorney General declared it was not nearly so much involved as some persons would have it appear. Although this matter is a serious one, he charged that a goodly part of the professed concern for states' rights revolves around special interests rather than around racial adjustments. "The States' Righters dearly love that old red herring, the race issue," he said, adding that they do not want the race issue settled as it is their stock in trade.

The Attorney General of Alabama is a native of that state whose family long has served Southern causes. His name is Albert A. Carmichael, and he has been mentioned during the past few months as a possible candidate for Governor. He is supporting the Democratic ticket headed by President Truman. His forthright statement of his convictions concerning the Dixiecrats no doubt will have tremendous weight with the voters of his state.

Fri 9-10-48

The overwhelming majority of the voters of Alabama, like the voters of North Carolina, are Democrats. And we are confident that the more they think about it, the more determined these Democrats will become not to help the Republican Party win the Presidential election this year.

Before this campaign is over the vast majority of Democrats in North Carolina, we are sure, will reach the conclusion that *The Durham Herald* arrived at this week, when it said:

"It is to be hoped that the elections will bring a Democratic Congress back to power and continue Mr. Truman in office. The Republicans are no more capable of sound leadership than they were when they were last in complete control of the government. The 80th Congress has proved that beyond a shadow of a doubt."

The States' Rights Movement

The News

All answers to the question of what will become now of the states' rights movement led by the Thurmond-Wright ticket must be tempered by the realization that the question really breaks down into several parts. Will, and should, the revolt continue to live under a separate organization? How should the battle for states' rights be continued?

For there is no question of the fact that Southerners will carry on their efforts to assure state handling of matters they believe can best be taken care of through local or state governments. That cause was not defeated. What lost was the effort to turn the states' rights issue into a national movement.

Fri 11-5-48

Southerners have battled for the cause for many years. The question of forcing upon the South civil rights measures as conceived in other sections of the country has been before Congress repeatedly. And repeatedly the South has been able to present its viewpoints in such a way as to forestall hasty and ill-timed action. The South will continue to press for its views.

Charlotte

* * *

But how should it do this? What is the most effective way of carrying on the cause?

The South must face the fact that the civil rights issue is not dead. In one sense it will never die, for it is a matter of human rights, the approach to which continually changes as people and their circumstances change. But as an immediate political issue, it is still very much with us.

President Truman is expected to continue his efforts in behalf of his civil rights program. In a speech in Harlem, New York, in the closing days of his campaign, he recommitted himself to his full 10-point program, four points of which had so aroused the South. This making of a civil rights speech during his campaign underscored his commitment on the subject. Before the Philadelphia convention, he could have avoided a split with the South on the issue. Afterwards he could have soft-pedaled it. He did neither. The issue is almost certain, therefore, to come before the next Congress.

When the issue is joined, President Truman will hold office in his own right. He could have lost all of the old South to Thurmond and Wright, instead of only four states, and still have received more electoral votes than Dewey got. The South is not as strong in the Democratic Party as it used to be.

* * *

The South, however, still has power. It is still strong enough in Congress to form alliances to kill undesired legislation. How far it should go in doing this is another question, but the ability to do so is a threat that national leaders cannot overlook.

How, then, shall we battle for that which we think right? Before the election, this newspaper expressed the conviction that the South's fight should be carried on within the national Democratic Party. That conviction is all the stronger now that the strength of the party has been so forcefully demonstrated.

Fri 11-5-48

Already the South has alienated itself to some extent from the national Democratic Party. We have lost influence in its counsels. Those who openly supported the revolt and thereby jeopardized the party's success may find themselves greatly reduced in political influence for a time.

That phrase, "for a time," is important. The damage is not irreparable. But to improve the relations, or even to keep them from becoming worse, will require tolerance and forbearance and patience on all sides. There was a lot of heat in the campaign. There was much untruth and misunderstanding. Now, however, that the election is over, the time has come for cool heads and calm hearts to prevail. If that is done, then the net result of all that has taken place may be good.

Oligarchs And Dixiecrats

The News

ATLANTA, Ga.—Ellis Arnall, former governor of Georgia, is, like most Southerners, an enthusiastic football fan. And thereby hangs a tale. The tale is amusing but it also casts considerable light on one aspect of Southern politics.

Thurs 10-21-48

Some time ago, Arnall organized a party of friends to make the long trip from Atlanta to see the annual Sugar Bowl game in New Orleans. The party occupied a number of suites in an expensive New Orleans hotel. So it was with some understandable misgivings that Arnall, after the game, asked the hotel's lady cashier for his bill.

B'ham, Ala

He was surprised when she smiled prettily and replied, "That's all right, governor, your bill has been taken care of."

He was even more surprised when he was told that it was the Mississippi Power and Light Company which had been so generous.

His amazement must have been obvious, and a sudden suspicion apparently crossed the mind of the lady cashier.

"You are the governor of Mississippi, aren't you?" she asked.

* * *

Meaning Of Story

THIS LITTLE STORY is not without meaning. The present governor of Mississippi is Fielding Wright. Gov. Wright is also vice presidential candidate of the Dixiecrats, or States' Rights Party. It is pretty generally assumed outside of the South that the Dixiecrat movement is simply the South's outraged response to President Truman's Civil Rights proposals. It is that, but it is also a great deal more than that.

By and large, the Democratic Party in the South has been controlled by a conservative oligarchy. In other times, the oligarchs were mostly big planters. Now the planters have been pretty much replaced by utility magnates, textile men, industrialists, bankers, and, more and more, the new oil barons of Texas and the Gulf states. The States' Rights Party is essentially the response of this conservative oligarchy to the pressures which have been steadily pushing the national Democratic Party further to the left. Almost every States' Rights politician speaks as bitterly of Franklin Roosevelt, who never really pressed the racial issue, as of Harry Truman, who did.

There is no doubt that there has been a particularly cozy relationship between the Dixiecrats and the oil kings. Southern oilmen were more enraged by the Supreme Court decision, which awarded to the federal government ownership of the last great national oil reserves in the tidelands, than by the Truman civil rights proposals. Nor was this rage confined to the Gulf states, for there is good reason to believe that offshore oil deposits exist along the Southern Atlantic seaboard as well. One indication of the influence of the oil men among the Dixiecrats is that the Tidelands oil issue has received at least as much attention at the various Dixiecrat get-togethers as the civil rights issue.

* * *

Oil Men's Support

JUST HOW MUCH OIL MONEY has greased the Dixiecrat wheels is unknown, although the Justice Department is now hard at work trying to find out. But there is no doubt that the oil industry's support for the Dixiecrats has been more than normal.

One leading supporter has been H. R. Cullen, a fabulously rich Houston oil man (he is also fabulously generous—he recently made an outright gift to Texas charity of the fantastic sum of $160,000,000). Cullen arranged for a private plane to take H. Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat presidential candidate, to the Houston convention, and a special train to take Fielding Wright and his Mississippi cohorts to the same meeting. He is believed to be the chief sparkplug of the oil industry's backing for the Dixiecrats. Among the oil corporations, the Humble Oil Company has reportedly particularly interested itself in the Thurmond-Wright "crusade."

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The oil barons' generous enthusiasm for the Dixiecrats is now said to be waning. The Republicans are sure to win, and they are committed in their platform to removing offshore oil from federal control. Yet in most Southern states, the Dixiecrat organization will be kept alive after the elections, largely to ensure conservative control of the political machinery.

* * *

Unhealthy Aspects

THERE IS NOTHING PARTICULARLY unhealthy in the fact that the oil men, or the other business interests, should try to protect or improve their economic position by political means. Every economic group in the United States does the same thing. Yet there are some pretty unhealthy aspects of the Dixiecrat movement as an expression of Southern conservatism.

All the more malodorous hate-mongers, from Gerald L. K. Smith to the decrepit "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, have gleefully leapt on the Dixiecrat bandwagon. The States' Rights propaganda paper is using the same mailing list as The Southern Outlook, a revolting racist sheet which The Montgomery Advertiser accurately compared to the worst products of Nazi Germany. In brief, the real danger is that the Southern conservative oligarchy, in an effort to preserve the threatened status quo, will be tempted to turn more and more to this sort of thing, to the end that every issue, from offshore oil to the minimum wage, may be hidden and submerged in the race issue.—©

Southern Farmer

Attorney General Albert Carmichael aimed a blast at the States' Righters in an address before the Methodist Committee on Social Action held Tuesday, September 1st at Dexter Avenue Methodist Church, Montgomery.

9-48

He charged the split within the Democratic Party was brought about by a "handful of intensely selfish people . . . whose sole political, economic and personal interest is that of bringing about a national regime favorable to the clients they represent."

Montgomery Ala

Links Dixiecrats And Ku Klux Klan

Linking the Dixiecrats and the Ku Klux Klan, the attorney general charged that the States' Rights Party is tied to the Ku Klux Klan.

"The August version of States' Righters includes an auxiliary, a small bunch of thugs, bums and hoodlums, covered by sheets, acting under the instructions of some revolutionaries who hold high places in the States' Rights organization in the Birmingham area.

Describing the whole States' Rights movement as a "giant conspiracy and controlled directly by the National Committee of the Republican Party," Carmichael further charged that, "Liaison between the Republican Party and certain so-called leaders in Alabama is complete."

Party Rights Over Human Rights

"The record against the professional States' Righters is complete," the attorney general said. "I urge you to look carefully behind their loud and lofty pronouncements . . . to see if they are not really advancing this cry to insure the triumph of political party rights above individual or human rights."

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Carmichael charged the Dixiecrats with "the greatest betrayal of the best interest of the people of this state, ever seen in Alabama."

"Funds? Why, do you think the war chest of the National Republican Party is going to allow things to go to ruin with the States' Righters down in Alabama? Certainly not."

"I Am A Democrat"

"I am a Democrat," he declared, "and I don't propose to be a party to the prostituting of the machinery of the Democratic Party for the purpose of helping elect a Republican..."

Citing his record of opposition to Federal interference with those spheres of government which rightfully fall within the domain of state governments, he declared, "I shall continue to oppose the enactment of any so-called Civil Rights legislation by the Congress of the United States . . . believing this to be something which the framers of our Constitution wisely addressed to each of the sovereign states."

States' Righters Block State Efforts

Carmichael declared that the leaders of the States' Rights movement had been the very people who in the past had blocked every effort to enact legislation by the state legislature to remedy the evils which call forth the Federal proposals.

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He declared, "The whole truth of the matter is that the states have not been able to exercise their rights. Why? Because those interests who are so in favor of giving the states their rights bring powerful lobbies to the state legislature and prevent the states from exercising their rights . . ."

"The last fifteen years has demonstrated that great things may be done for the people on a nation-wide basis, but doing those things is costly to those paying the bills. 'Let's start this old hoax,' they say, 'called States' Rights. Let's place these rights where they can't be exercised.'

"Our founding fathers visualized free states, not states whose legislatures are practically helpless in the face of powerful lobbies."

Where Does The Money Come From?

"Do you think for one minute that this fabulous financed campaign in favor of States' Rights is conducted with a view to benefiting the people as a whole? Not on your life. The 1948 version of States' Rights revolves around the dollar bill. Do you think for one minute that these rabid States' Righters are interested in the race issue? Do you think for one minute they are interested in solving the race question . . .?

"Most of the leaders of the States' Righters do not want the race issue settled. It is their stock and trade. The States' Righters dearly love that old red herring, the race issue."

Promises Court Action

Carmichael reminded his listeners of the time when the Methodist Church was struggling to unify its Southern branch with their Northern brethren. "That bloody wart on the body of our social structure sometimes referred to as the Ku Klux Klan, slithered forward and requested that the matter be turned over to that crowd of bums."

In the most forthright and courageous statement made in years by any top-ranking public figure in Alabama, Carmichael declared that the hoodlum leaders responsible for the racial disturbances in Birmingham are "pretty well known."

9-48

"Their identity," he predicted, "will be revealed in due time, accompanied, I hope, by proper indictment, and followed, I trust, by trial and conviction. That's a fine crowd, that Ku Klux Klan. They perform such acts of bravery—covering their heads with sheets, and invading the private quarters of two white women."

Off The Bench

The Fight For States' Rights

Montgomery Advertiser

REGARDLESS of the outcome of the presidential election next month, the citizens of America, and there are many millions of them, but not as vocal as they should be, who believe that the welfare of the United States depends upon adherence to the principles of the American Constitution, drawn up in 1787, should continue the fight for States' Rights all down the line, from constable to president. It may be that it is now too late to do much about it, though I don't think so.

Mon 10-25-48

JONES

The doctrine, a fundamental one, has had some terrible batterings. The years 1865, with all their varied amendments to the federal constitution (several of them declared to be a part of the constitution by fraud and force) witnessed the weakening of the independent States of the Union to build up the great octopus on the banks of the Potomac. But the heretofore time-honored doctrine of States' Rights received its worst blows during the New Deal years, 1933-1945, and to relate regretfully, many of these blows were struck by some of our Southern leaders at Washington and in the States of the Deep South.

Montgomery Ala

The pendulum now seems to be swinging back toward respect for the Constitution of the United States, and it may be that in a few years the Democratic Party, traditional custodian of States' Rights, will return to its ancient moorings and lead the battle for Constitutional Government in this country. But, if the party is to do this, it must be placed in the hands of plain Democratic Americans, men and women, with a will, a determination to make the Democratic Party stand for democratic ideals and principles as these are known in the history of our country.

If our party is to live, and be an influential factor in the life of our people, it must purge itself of those who believe in doctrines that smack of Communism, who wish to use the party to build up a strong national government at Washington and to weaken the States at home, and to destroy the last vestigase of local self-government and home rule. These forces, powerful minority groups at the North, and quislings at the South, will continue to increase their infleunce, if the Southern people don't fight.

Mon 10-25-48

THE crisis the South faces today, in many respects, is greater than that of 1861. I hope that our old line, and now embattled, Democrats can hold the fort within the party and return it to the doctrines on which it was founded and which have made it a factor for good in American history. But, if it is not possible to do this, the South might try, perhaps as one remedy, the issuance of a declaration of political independence and form its own political party, dedicated to the preservation of the American way of life.

All real Southern Democrats are disgusted with some of the things the party now stands for, things so utterly repugnant to our sound constitutional principles, and so plainly a cowardly effort to wheedle minority votes at the North. And, we are tired, too, of the unholy control exercised over the Democratic Party by the big bosses and political gangs at the North and in the West, among them the Pendergasts, the Hagues, the Kellys and others. The average Southern Democrat is mighty tired of the ukases and directives which come to him daily from National Party Headquarters in Washington.

If Mr. Truman is defeated next month, and it now seems he will be, a good part of the defeat can be fairly attributed to the inept management of the party bosses at Washington. If the big debacle takes place November 2, and the party is denied a return to the White House, then the rank and file of Democrats in the country who have been kicked around for years should insist on a thorough house-cleaning, cellar to garret. The old political bosses should be ousted from their party offices, and some plain old-fashioned, simple American-loving Democrats should take their places, put the old Democratic ship back on an even keel and chart her off of the shoals and rocks which its present leadership has put her on.

Mon 10-25-48

A CAREFUL study of events in the the United States since 1933, of the laws enacted by Congress, and thorough study of the U. S. Supreme Court's decisions on constitutional questions and States' Rights, will convince anyone how perilously close we are drifting toward totalitarian government, not in the States themselves, but at Washington. There is too much foreign ideology imbedded in our national laws and Supreme Court decisions.

The great principles for which the War of the Revolution was waged, and World Wars I and II, have been lost sight of. Instead of the government existing for the benefit of its people, to bless them with wise and sound laws protecting their rights to home rule and local self-government, the general idea among the pseudo-politicians who infest the places of power in Washington, an idea that is in every department of government headed by bossy bureaucrats, is that the people exist for the government, to have their daily lives and every hour of them controlled by directives and orders issued by government officials, and to be taxed without limit, to keep swarms of over-bearing officeholders on the gravy train, to consume the substance of the citizens and workers.

The writer hopes that the Democratic Party can be brought back to its fundamental principles, can be weaned from the totalitarian and foreign ideologies it now follows, and become again a great and powerful party, interested in preserving the noble American doctrines which have made our country so great and useful.

The Question of State Rights

The Black Dispatch, Okla, Okla.

"The wicked flee when no man pursueth"

Just why Governor Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, the Dixiecrat candidate for president of the United States, had to take time out last week to announce that there is a difference between civil rights and state rights is the $64 question. The good governor could not wait for his watermelon festival July 31, to explain the difference between these two vital issues; he suddenly had to rush into print with his apostacy, all of which causes us to remember the admonition of one of Shakespeare's famous characters: Sat.

"Methinks ~~that too~~ much protestation ceases to be a virtue."

Governor Thurmond is quoted last week as saying:

> "We are not running on white supremacy, racial hatred or class prejudice. We are running primarily upon the issue of state rights."

7-8-48. Sat

Evidently someone has charged that the Dixiecrat ticket was fashioned in an atmosphere of white supremacy, racial hatred and class prejudice, for we could not conceive of a busy man, running for president of the United States, taking time out to answer a question that had not been asked. Unless, of course, we must fall back upon the Biblical admonition, "The wicked flee when no man pursueth."

Everyone knows the basic theory of state rights is vested in the belief of southern commonwealths that practically all power and authority should be vested in state government, and that only a slight amount of responsibility should be delegated to the federal structure. We think friend Strom will agree to this definition of state rights. The original thought of the colonists who attended the constitutional convention was that the purpose of the federal government was solely one of coordinating effort in opposition to foreign aggression. Life, liberty and property were placed in the hands of the state. Those old boys who wrote the constitution did a good job in reserving practically all rights to the states.

Sat. 7-8-48

But when the South went to war in 1861 it shouted state rights when all informed persons know that the real issue was human slavery. The South wanted Dixie to have the right to own, buy and sell slaves in every state in the Union. It wanted the right to enter free territory to repossess its slaves and it wanted the privilege of extending slavery into the expanding western and northern territory. It appears to the Black Dispatch that so far as slavery and state rights were concerned during ante-bellum days they were cumulative—heaped together. We are unable to see how they can be separated in the sense Governor Thurmond would.

Some months ago the white primary was outlawed in Texas, and in a still later decision relating to Georgia and South Carolina federal courts decided that Negroes should be given ballot privileges on parity with all other citizens. Immediately the South launched savage and violent discussion regarding state rights. During the war President Roosevelt issued an executive order having to do with equalizing opportunity for citizens to work. The South immediately began to shout about state rights in connection with labor, and the South went far enough during the war to arrest and maltreat representatives of the federal labor bureaus who sought black labor down in Dixie with whom to man war plants of the government. They said such action was an invasion of state rights.

And then Walter White and the NAACP went before congress asking for an anti-lynching bill. During the spirited debates in congress Southern congressmen argued at length that passage of a law by congress to halt the inhuman slaying of Negroes was another invasion of state rights which the South would fight to the last ditch. Mind you now, the South in eighty years has done nothing itself about mob murder, and it tells the federal government it can't, and stay within the precincts of the federal charter.

But the outburst regarding state rights came when President Truman called upon his civil rights committee to make its report. The President heard the committee and then made a report to congress, asking for immediate and specific legislation. No one had heard of Fielding Wright and very little of Strom Thurmond until the civil rights discussions in congress subsequent to President Truman's civil rights talk. In fact little was said four years ago when the Democrats in national convention incorporated a civil rights plank more specific in its meaning than the 1948 plank. At least Thurmond and Wright made no unfriendly comment that is recorded in protest to the 1944 plank of civil rights.

It is difficult for the Black Dispatch to discover the twilight zone upon which Governor Thurmond gazes, dividing state rights from civil rights. The state insists that all of the rights of individuals are in the hands of local government, and then it proceeds to take away fundamental rights of certain individuals. It shouts white supremacy and calls in the Ku Klux (invisible government) to enforce its unwritten laws having no statutory background.

If Governor Thurmond were honest would he not agree that just now the South is exorcised because it believes central government is going to penalize the mob, silence the Ku Klux, place the ballot in every man's hand, blot out army jim crow and grant every citizen an equal chance to earn a living? The state will not secure the black man in the above constitutional guarantees and avers that the federal government is invading the state's rights if it attempts it.

The new fourth party has been formed, and its condidates nominated without any attention whatsoever being given to general domestic questions or to foreign affairs. In the meeting at Birmingham, news stories regarding same had to do with the shrieks and screams of neurotic Southerners who jumped up and down shouting that segregation and jim crow will be maintained at any cost.

In fact, the Birmingham daily papers quoted some very strong and emphatic statements made by Governor Thurmond while making his acceptance speech, in which the South Carolinian stated that segregation and the matter of keeping the Negro in his place down in his section of the country was the major objective of the Dixiecrats. It looks as though the fourth party was organized primarily to fight again for all of the sordid things lost at Appomatix.

It should not be difficult for anyone to see that in southern psychology there is nothing that separates civil rights from state rights. At this particular time the South demands that Dixie be given the right to determine whether the Negro shall be slave or free. Somehow it tangles up white supremacy and social equality in its discussions of the subject. Governor Thurmond may be confused about it, but every teen-age white youngster below the Mason and Dixon line understands and knows the relationship that civil rights have to state rights.

States' Rights

Commercial Appeal

Mon. 10-25-48

Memphis, Tenn.

The decision of its leaders, meeting here yesterday to form a permanent States' Rights Party regardless of the outcome of the Nov. 2 elections, if carried out sincerely and vigorously, will answer some of its critics who regard it as merely a protest movement.

States' Rights, or home rule as opposed to centralized, autocratic government, is the basis of the American form of government. It is as vital to Oregon as to Mississippi. It contemplates democratic processes and the greatest good for the greatest number in preference to legislation through minority pressure groups.

Yet we feel that its purposes would be better served if the proponents would work through the two major parties to achieve their ends. The Congress is organized on the basis of numerical party representation and seniority. While the hope for a balance-of-power situation may be achieved by the States' Rights group for the moment, think of the chaos that would result if other dissident blocs or sectional proponents were to set up their own parties.

It is no secret that WALTER REUTHER is driving to bring union members into a Labor Party. There are other factions in our economic and political life who would like to band together for their own purposes and with little or no regard for the overall welfare of the Nation.

We have only to look at chaotic France to know what to expect. We have seen the Communists, numerically weak but extremely vocal, cunningly maneuver their faction into strategic power in multiple-party countries.

Certainly we should advocate states' rights. But within the two major parties. If the Democratic Party is defeated in the coming elections, as certainly it will be under President TRUMAN, then the stalwart believers in states' rights will have the opportunity to regroup and drive the left-wing autocrats from control of the party and its conventions.

States' Righters Will Live On

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Mon. 10-25-48

MEMPHIS, TENN.

(AP)—States' Rights Democrats here today resolved their party shall not die—regardless of the outcome of the Nov. 2 election.

Representatives from 10 Southern states adopted a resolution that, in effect, left the movement within the framework of the Democratic Party, but pledged to fight the issue of states' rights to a finish. The resolution read:

"The States' Rights movement came into being to save constitutional government and individual liberty in America. We will continue this fight until the fight is won.

"Therefore, be it resolved that our organization continue its fight until its objective has been achieved."

Judge Merritt H. Gibson of Longview, Texas, the party's national campaign director, interpreted the statement to mean the party would continue its fight until the Democrats recognized what he called "local self government," or until the States' Rights Democrats gained control of the party.

To Bolt the Bolters?

Poor Fielding Wright, "recommended" by the Fourth Party for the Vice Presidency, is always asking for it. At Philadelphia there was always a scurry at the Southern caucus session to try and keep poor Fielding, who is enamored of his own demagogics, from monopolizing the floor.

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

And now, just when he has blasted The Atlanta Constitution, among others, for asking who financed last week's rump convention at Birmingham, by announcing with great piety that the expenses were paid by the patriotic delegates themselves, and not as most people thought by the interests behind the tidelands oil lobby—now comes, of all persons, Gerald L. K. Smith. wed. 7-21-48

Says Gerald: "As to my presence in Birmingham, I was invited to the conference by one of THE THREE HEAVIEST FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS. I was invited to speak by some of the very individuals who effected Thurmond's nomination." wed. 7-21-48

So, there goes poor Fielding's pious explanation of the financing of the dismal doings at Birmingham. The boys ought really not to let poor Fielding say things before they check them over.

The latest development in the Birmingham farce is that Gov. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, who was "recommended" for President, has now cracked down on the "white supremacy" followers in a surprise action, saying that he believed in Negro rights and was campaigning on States' rights, not white supremacy.

Gerald L. K. Smith has already left him, in bitterness, with a declaration that white supremacy is the Governor's platform "whether he realizes it or not!"

wed. 7-21-48

This repudiation by Gov. Thurmond makes it necessary, we suppose, for the "white supremacy" rebels to bolt the bolters and hold still another rump convention and form still another rebel party.

We are in no mood to say "we told you so," but as the developments unfold, our analysis of the revolt is sustained and for Democrats the answer is plain enough. They must either fight it out within the Party, as Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, decided after Philadelphia, or they can quit the Party and go over into the Republican Party and spend eight or 12 years helping to build it from the ground up here in the South. There isn't any other answer. wed. 7-21-48

There were but 600 registered persons at Birmingham. The others were all "interested onlookers," like Gerald Smith, eager to see if there was grist there for their mills.

Where will those who will bolt the bolters on Gov. Thurmond's statement hold their convention?

We suggest Gov. Wright's office.

It will be large enough.

South's Fourth Party

Herald Tribune

Indignant Southern Democrats, hoping to punish President Truman for his civil rights program, embarked upon a campaign for their "fourth party" ticket—Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President, and Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for Vice-President. They faced an uphill battle.

In the first place, the Southern insurgents were not entirely harmonious among themselves. Their extremists—men like "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, Oklahoma's former Governor—laid the emphasis on "white supremacy," meaning that Negroes must be treated as a subservient race. Governor Thurmond, however, disliked that emphasis. He said he was "not interested one whit in the question of white supremacy." New York, N.Y.

Thurmond stressed "states' rights," meaning that the Federal government should keep hands off and let the Southern states solve the racial problem in their own way. He said he had always advocated better facilities for the Negroes. He pointed out that he favored repeal of the poll tax, which prevents many Negroes from voting; and that he insisted on apprehending and bringing to trial twenty-three persons in connection with the lynching of a Negro in Greenville, S. C., in April, 1947. All were acquitted.

Sun, 7-25-48

Loyal Democrats Shy Away

The second big obstacle which confronted Thurmond's states'-rights campaign was that most Southern Democratic leaders thought it would be better to retain party orthodoxy. Among those who were cool to the "fourth party" were Governor Thompson of Georgia, Governor Earl Long of Louisiana, Governor Laney of Arkansas, Senator Byrd, of Virginia, and Edward H. Crump, of Tennessee. 7-25-48

The dissident Democrats were fairly sure of swinging twenty votes in the Electoral College for Thurmond. The prospective votes were from Mississippi and Alabama, but they would scarcely be sufficient in themselves to upset Truman if there were a November swing in his direction. The Thurmond Southerners, therefore, planned a campaign through the South between now and October. Their goal was to persuade loyal Democratic organizations in various states to select as their state electors men who were against Truman and for Thurmond—regardless of what the individual voters might prefer.

Nix To Dixiecrats

~~The Tuscaloosa News~~ The Advertiser

On a national basis the Dixiecratic revolt convention looks like a little potato indeed. But it has a real danger to the South.

That danger lies in two facts:

First, the persons set upon attending this convention are by no means representative of the progresisve South. By and large they are of the reactionary type, as has been shown so clearly during the pre-primary campaign and the fight on the futile walkout issue. Mixed and mingled with the group are dyed-in-the-wool Democratic bolters of 1928. Look behind the masks of some of these men and you will certainly see Republicans in disguise, men who have been working for weeks and months to remove Alabama from the Democratic Party and help insure a Republican victory in November.

It is tragic indeed that some of the stalwarts of Alabama Democracy through the years, have been hood-winked by the machinations of these pseudo-Democrats and past-master string-pullers. Mon.

Second point of danger is the fact that this unrepresentative, unrestrained, self-centered group may libel the South throughout the nation with its antics which are almost certain to transpire.

It seems that Saturday will be a day for Senator Claghorns in Birmingham, and the joke senator of Fred Allen will take on flesh and blood. That is a danger to this state and the South, because all know that Claghorns have no place in this modern picture. Montgomery, Ala.

Yet a third danger to Alabama Democracy is that Saturday's convention may bring a permanent, visible split in the political ranks of the majority party in this state. It may even reach down to the grass roots of county politics, certainly in close Democratic-Republican counties, of which there are a few in Alabama.

Many will not think this is much of a danger, as they have been hoping all along for something to develop a two-party system in this state. 7-19-48

THE ROAD TO NOWHERE

The Advertiser

The South will get nowhere with the Dixiecrat movement. It is the road to nowhere.

It's leadership is bankrupt.

It quite evidently does not even command a wide Southern following. Montgomery, Ala.

It is entirely negative in its approach. Its inflamed and uninspired leaders did little more than bellow and cry "nigger." That is far short of an answer to the South's grave problem.

The Advertiser has no doubt that the South's standing has been greatly damaged by that which boiled out of the nation's radio sets from the Birmingham cauldron. Tues. 7-20-48

The Advertiser believes that we are more than ever estranged from our allies, present and potential.

As a result of the Birmingham convention, Senator Claghorn is a less fictional character to the nation than before. Like it or not, we have got to have the goodwill of the people of other regions of the United States. We will not avail ourselves of it by shouting "nigger." We cannot win friends by hoarse blasphemies and the appearance of unreasoning obstinacy.

THE BIRMINGHAM convention even lacked the intelligent leadership to make it plain to the nation that we in the South mean to give the colored man his break, that we are providing him schools and health protection and encouraging his economic advancement. Tues,

Instead of this constructive and impressive approach, the Dixiecrats featured the wild and crude Horace Wilkinson with his lewd "nigger" stories.

The meeting was of a kind such as attracted the clammy and sinister presence of Gerald L. K. Smith, who mutters darkly that the Jews and Negroes are getting too much power.

By 1 o'clock the American Broadcasting Company had cut the convention off its network because it was too inflammatory.

THE convention was by no means representative of the South. Few states had full delegations.

Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas was in Birmingham but held to his hotel suite and did not fully participate in the proceedings. He declined to be the nominee of the convention.

Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, who has so often and so ably carried the fight against civil rights measures in congressional struggles, sent word aforetime that he would not allow his name to be used.

Alabama's two senators remained away from the meeting, as did its congressmen with the exception of Birmingham's Laurie Battle.

The governors, senators and congressmen of other Southern states were not in Birmingham. They were conspicuously absent. The South's leadership was not attracted.

AS THE ANNISTON STAR says, it was more a "Roman holiday" than convention. The Advertiser

The convention shouted "nigger" and burned President Truman in effigy. That is not the kind of thing to disarm and convince the people in other regions that the South is responsible and decent. Montgomery, Ala.

The leading newspapers of the South are unanimous in deploring the ugly carnival scene. Tues. 7-20-48

The South does not want to be judged by what went on in Birmingham. But in large and melancholy degree it will be so judged, and at a time when we need to command the maximum in good will. We will be hobbled by malice and glee over the grotesque marathon spluttering.

Gov. Laney said:

"The spirit of obstinacy and revenge is not the spirit of the Southland."

But the convention will make a lot of people think so.

Alabama's presidential electors are pledged to withhold Alabama's votes from Truman, but they are not pledged to travel with these vengeful despoilers of our dignity and good name.

Top Dixiecrat Has 'Southern Liberal' Views

Post

Washington, D.C.

Sun. 7-25-48

By Henry Lesesne

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 24.—Although hardly an Ellis Arnall, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the States' rights candidate for President, was known as a liberal by all Southern standards before the civil rights controversy came along.

In his campaign two years ago, Thurmond eschewed all appeal to racial prejudice and was even accused by some of his opponents of being a Communist. In fact, his election was interpreted as confirming a long-felt suspicion that the Southern people are more advanced in their thinking than professional Southern politicians believe.

He is an anti-poll taxer. For two years he tried to get the South Carolina Legislature to repeal the State's poll tax, but unsuccessfully. Post,

It should be said that in South Carolina the $1-a-year poll tax applies to the general election and not to the Democratic primary, which heretofore has been the only meaningful election. There are certain qualifications for voting in the general election, but almost any white man could enroll in the Democratic Party and vote in the all-important primary. Washington, D.C.

The 45-year-old Governor did get through this year's Legislature a bill he considered No. 1 on his program—to modernize the State government. It creates a commission which has broad powers to eliminate overlapping and duplication.

Sun. 7-25-48

Prosecuted Lynch Mob

ALTHOUGH he has opposed Federal intervention in State affairs, even in lynching cases the Governor is a vigorous foe of lynching and the mob spirit. This was demonstrated a few months after he took office, when a mob of taxi drivers lynched Willie Earle in an upstate county.

The Governor sent members of his constabulary to aid in the investigation, and four days later, when 31 members of the mob had been rounded up, he announced: "We in South Carolina want the world to know we will tolerate no mob violence."

Thurmond instructed the Attorney General's office to assist the local prosecutor "to the limit," and although the jury acquitted the defendants, there was no criticism of the State's handling of the case.

For two years the Governor has strongly recommended to the Legislature the enactment of a secret voting law for South Carolina. This is the only State which does not have some semblance of secret ballot, and it is even impossible to vote a split ticket.

Each party prints its own ballot. In the last general election there were six different ballots for Federal office representing the candidates of six different parties or factions. The single ballot is regarded as a means of providing a chance for the development of a two-party system.

The Legislature balked, but at the State Democratic convention—in the only floor action that got beyond the control of the party leaders—the delegates strongly endorsed the Governor's recommendation.

Assailed 'Invasion'

THURMOND nevertheless, is Governor of a State which has deliberately tried for four years to circumvent the Texas case decision of the Supreme Court that Negroes must vote in the South's white Democratic primaries.

When the Supreme Court upheld a decision declaring South Carolina's "private club" primary unconstitutional, Thurmond criticized the ruling as an invasion of States' rights.

Thurmond is particularly bitter, on the same grounds, about the Truman proposal for a National Fair Employment Practices Act. He says it would mean an end to the Southern way of life.

Thurmond's program for South Carolina includes a new constitution to replace the wordy and outmoded one adopted in 1895. He has asked for a merit system for State employes and for "home rule" for the counties and municipalities. At present local affairs of each county are handled by the Legislature, which sits for several months each year.

The Governor got through the last Legislature a proposed constitutional amendment limiting the Governor's pardon and parole power to capital cases. This power has been notoriously abused in the past, but Thurmond has not issued one pardon or parole.

A Tillman Disciple

THE Governor comes from the rural county of Edgefield and learned the art of handshaking as a farm boy from the late Senator Benjamin Ryan (Pitchfork Ben) Tillman, who led the agarian movement in South Carolina.

Thurmond was an athlete at Clemson College. During vacations he worked in a cotton mill. Ever since finishing college he's been in public service—school teacher, school superintendent, State Senator and circuit judge. He resigned from the bench to run for Governor. Post.

He has a large farm in his home county and owns the only hotel in Edgefield. He is a combat veteran of World War II, holding the rank of lieutenant colonel. He has 12 military medals, including the Purple Heart, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star, Belgian Cross of the Order of the Crown and the French Croix de Guerre. Sun. 7-25-48

Thurmond has shown an interest in education and advocated a permanent higher pay scale for teachers, which was passed in 1947. He favors Federal aid to education— provided the States control the spending of the money. Washington, D.C.

In November, 1947, the Governor hit the front pages when he was married to his pretty secretary, the former Jean Crouch. He was strongly urged by labor groups to run for the Senate this summer against Senator Burnet R. Maybank. He refused, saying he had been elected Governor and that he intended to serve the full four years.

Reaction To Dixiecratting

Claghornesque Antics

The Richmond Times-Dispatch

IT IS GOOD to know that Virginia took no official part in yesterday's Claghornesque goings-on at Birmingham. However much most Southerners resent the treatment the South received at Philadelphia, there is no political nourishment in the Alabama conclave.. Among the characters in prominent roles there are persons with whom a self-respecting group of Southerners could scarcely afford to be associated. Montgomery, Ala.

Southern reporters who attended the caucus of rebellious Dixie delegates in Philadelphia a week ago today, say that they were made positively ashamed by the antics there. The worst caricatures of Southern politicians seemed not to exaggerate the statements and the attitudes manifested on that occasion. Some of the same people gathered yesterday at Birmingham.

Virginia's delegation at Philadelphia showed clearly that it was embarrassed at being catalogued in the mind of the convention with some of the mountebanks from the lower South, James Latimer declares in an article on another page today. Fortunately this state is not officially involved in the Confederate flagwaving and futile posturing in Alabama.

Wed. 7-21-48

Birmingham Aftermath

The Atlanta Constitution

FOR all its sound and fury, the rump convention held over the week end at Birmingham attracted official Democratic Party representation from only three Southern states.

Mississippi and Alabama, who walked out at Philadelphia, were joined by South Carolina whose governor, Strom Thurmond, has been "recommended" for the presidency by those attending the Birmingham "conference," to use the terminology upon which its sponsors insisted.

Wed. 7-21-48

The surprise withdrawal and denunciation of the rump convention by Arkansas's Gov. Laney—who had been pushed, before adoption of the platform in Philadelphia, as a Southern presidential candidate—weakened the Dixiecrats' position. It had been thought, when he refused to allow his nomination after the civil rights plank was placed in the Democratic Party platform, that Laney would be selected as the standard-bearer at Birmingham. When he refused the "recommendation" of the "conference," branding it an ill-considered action stemming from selfish political scheming, it was an unexpected blow. Wed. 7-21-48

But Gov. Laney's position—"Whatever is done must be done through the official Democratic organizations in each state"—was a conclusion at which party leaders in Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Florida and even Texas had long since arrived.

Georgia's Senator Russell, who has fought vigorously and intelligently against enactment of the President's civil rights proposals, spoke for all thoughtful Southern Democrats when, refusing to allow his name to be "recommended" at Birmingham, he declared that the South most effectively can resist encroachments on its traditions by remaining within the patry.

It is our conviction that view will prevail and that the hotheads who met at Birmingham will in time be proved to have accomplished nothing more than did the fervid but futile Grass Roots Convention held in Macon a few years ago.

Dixiecrats Cloak Their Ambitions With a Show of Southern Piety

Courier Journal - Sat. 10-16-48

(34)

By John Ed Pearce

Courier-Journal Staff Writer

Louisville, Ky

THERE were no fiery crosses burned here when J. Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat Presidential nominee, came to town. No white-robed Klansmen rode to the public meeting here, nor to the one in Lexington. On the contrary, they were orderly gatherings in which a few hundred people listened and cheered while Mr. Thurmond warned of the threat to States Rights and promised to protect Southern Tradition against Communism, greed in Washington, and mixing of the races.

A Dixiecrat meeting is the strangest type of political gathering of our time, if indeed it can be called a political gathering. The present is a time for the most momentous political decisions of our history. The issues of labor, conservation, flood control, public power, public lands, tidelands oil, tariffs, wages, inflation, housing, and the frightening question of foreign policy must be studied and decided by the political candidate.

But not by Mr. Thurmond. For him these issues simply do not exist. Judging from his addresses in Kentucky, the one burning issue in our world today is that of States Rights. The rest are not even worthy of his mention. Not once in his talks here and in Lexington did the chief Dixiecrat refer to any problem, foreign or domestic, other than the threat to local self-government by the vote-crazed politicians of other parties, and the iniquity of the F.E.P.C. with which Truman and Dewey would destroy the American way of life.

The Dixiecrats and Mr. Thurmond could be largely forgiven the silliness of their movement if one could believe that their incessant prating of States Rights was based on nothing more evil than a desire to cling to a dream of the Old South. For the problems of the South are more complex and difficult, especially for those who must continue to live in the South, than is imagined by those who see its evils from the outside. And even among the most earnest liberals of the South is a sincere doubt of the wisdom of Federal imposition of a Fair Employment Practices Commission on a people whose hatred of the Negro has been enlarged, ingrained and exploited for generations by politicians and industrialists who see in the system of segregation a vast cheap labor pool, and a source of endless political profit.

Behind the Thurmond demand for State Rights, two real issues lie hidden

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BUT this constant scream of States Rights and the horrors of F.E.P.C. is the shallowest sort of sham. There is too much evidence that the Dixiecrats—organizers, backers, listeners and principals—have no honest concern for the entire field of States Rights. For 16 years the South has eagerly abetted such "invasions of States Rights" as R.E.A., T.V.A., Federal road projects, public works, aid to farmers, flood control, school lunch programs and the dozens of measures by which the States have fed at the Federal trough. Southern legislators in Washington have voted for Federal aid to education and health with more consistency than the representatives of any other section.

Sat 10-16-48

States Rights is the issue only insofar as it concerns the right of States to solve—or refuse to solve—their race problems. The real issue is one word, and that word is never spoken. It is one thought, and that thought is never expressed.

The issue is Nigger.

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NOT Negro; not the 14,000,000 citizens of our democracy who are trying to raise themselves to a higher standard of life and living through the equal rights and opportunities guaranteed them by our Constitution. Not the people who are striving against disheartening odds to take a decent, respectable place in society, despite the efforts of those who object to their difference in skin coloration.

The issue is not the Negro, the human being who exists and struggles. It is Nigger, that non-existent creature which lives only in the hate-filled minds that conceived it. The word is never spoken, yet it hangs in the air, sweaty, rancid, brutish, hulking and menacing, bespeaking the fear and ignorance of the minds that bore it. On the platform Mr. Thurmond and his fellow travelers shout of Americanism, our way of life, the right to choose one's associates, Communism, Reds. But they mean Nigger.

MR. THURMOND, of course, never says the word; he's not the type. And it is comical to listen as he tiptoes around the issue, like an old-fashioned father trying to explain sex to his son without saying the words. He creeps up close to the issue, sidles in with an innuendo, and then eases past the danger point with a side-step and a show of studious piety.

It is as obvious and awkward an effort as that of a man trying to get his shoes off and get into bed without waking his wife. Not that he's fooling his audience. They know what he's talking about. They know and they love it. They came to hear him preach segregation, the right of the white man to "keep the Negro in his place," the right of the South to "handle its own problems."

They string along with his platitudes, just as they string along with the advice of underlings who caution against intolerance, but they don't take it seriously. No sooner had Orval Baylor warned the Louisville audience to beware of race friction and intolerance than a committeeman waddled down from the speakers' platform and ordered from the floor two Negro reporters who were sitting in the same room with the white people (though apart from them).

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J. STROM THURMOND never utters the coarse words they would like to hear, but they know what he means. It it as though he were whistling the tune of a dirty song, to which the audience knows the dirty words. Mr. Thurmond never says the dirty words, but his listeners laugh and slap their thighs when he reaches the part where the dirty words are supposed to be. "Catering to minority groups," he says, but the old codger down front in Lexington's Woodland Auditorium knows what he means. "You mean the nigger vote!" he cackles.

Behind this sordid foofaraw lies a plan of cool, quiet calculation. Behind Mr. Thurmond are men who foresee the day when control of the Democratic Party returns to the South. "We will recapture control of the Democratic Party and return it to its traditional principles," declares Mr. Thurmond, and these words have more than nostalgic meaning.

Sat 10-16-48

They mean political control and the economic spoils that accrue from it. With control of the party in Southern hands, States Rights could really mean something—control over tidelands oil, control over public grazing lands, public forests, public power.

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THE financial interests of the Dixiecrat circus must chuckle to see the race issue serve their purpose. For to them States Rights means something entirely different. It means the power to auction off to the highest private bidders the right to exploit our nation's power and resources. They can foresee a day of financial gain from political control, when the rights to public power, tidelands oil and public lands is handed over, for a price, to the same men who have fought the Congressional fight against Government conservation, who financed the original Dixiecrat organization, and who hope to use the States Rights issue as another route to a vast grab of our national resources. To them the race issue on which Mr. Thurmond's strange crusade depends is a tool to be used as Hitler used the Jewish issue, an appeal to baseness which cloaks a grab for power.

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BETWEEN these two groups—the race haters on one side, the spoilers on the other—Mr. Thurmond is almost a pathetic figure. His deep-seated desire for Southern welfare would rebel at the economic despoilation that his fellows plan. He probably meant it when he declared last June that he was not "one whit interested in White Supremacy."

Yet without white supremacy his campaign would collapse. Were he not the champion of white supremacy, the protector of Southern womanhood—and he is, whether he wants to be or not—J. Strom Thurmond couldn't draw enough people to start a checker game.

It is strange that such a man as he is could lead a movement motivated by the grossness which keeps this one alive. Here is a man with the one easily understandable, clear-cut uncontroversial issue in the whole campaign, an issue to which he holds sole rights—the issue of white man versus Negro. Yet he uses it only by innuendo, though it is an issue of magic appeal to many people.

For J. Strom Thurmond is not the classic race-hater. He is a man deeply troubled by threat of a social change that would destroy a way of life to which he is accustomed, and raise into a position of legal equality a people he has been reared to regard as inferior.

He is torn, as the majority of sincere Southerners are torn, between a desire to be a decent Christian man, and an inner insistence on a racial system that is, in itself, un-Christian.

Sat 10-16-48

The Dixiecrats Have Their Youth, Too

Courier Journal

Thur 9-9-48

And they are as unattractive as those who yelled for Wallace at Philadelphia

Louisville Ky

By Tarleton Collier

SOME of my colleagues on these pages, and no less the word-intoxicated Rebecca West, have made a number of penetrating observations about the young people in the Wallace movement. The idea seemed to be that youth, in this case, is not the youth of hobbledehoy and sweet-scented manuscript but a kind of hebephrenic perversion of "the glad season of life." Miss West particularly saw them as the lack-luster and unsavory products of frustration, seeking a desperately needed fulfilment in the promises of a messiah.

Without arguing the point, although this might be done at some length, I should like only to give into their hands for dissection the young gorillas of the other side.

These are the ones who threw most of the eggs at Henry Wallace, shouted most of the indecencies ("What color is your father?" "Where's your black girl friend?"), kicked and pounded most savagely at his automobile, roved the Wallace meetings in shirt-tailed mobs. They were capable of almost anything in their irresponsibility.

Now and then you got the idea that they were only kids out for a lark. There were, true enough, signs of prank-playing in the Hallowe'en spirit. But the older they came, the more bitter were the contortions of their faces, the more they ran in gangs. They were almost of an age and temper to be eager recruits for the Klan, with the solidification of its ritualistic mumbo-jumbo.

Thur 9-9-48

THEY were healthy and muscular. Unlike their opposites, the introverts, they showed no signs of being "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." Looking at them as types, you were likely to find a meaningless and empty ring in Wallace's talk of the need of a quart of milk for every child in the South. Their frustrations, if any, were the frustrations and limitations of their communities, their homes, their schools and their churches.

And this is the point. With few exceptions they were not chided. They were actually abetted here and there. As the Wallace motorcade moved through Albertsville, Ala., for example, the lumbering sound truck, shrouded in Wallace-Taylor posters, lagged behind. A town policeman called out to the crowd: "Who wants this one?" With a whoop a young sharp-shooter let fly the inevitable egg, blurring the legend: "Vote for Wallace—Peace, Freedom, Security."

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WALLACE himself had several words for them, which varied according to his mood and experience. They were "young hoodlums" or they were "deluded people"—or, when they pressed about him taunting, almost within arms' reach, they were "gentlemen with a right to express their opinions," just as he asked, faintly pleading, for the right to express his.

In such moments, the strain upon the Progressives' Presidential candidate was plain to see. The man has no craft at all to serve him in the give-and-take of political routine. A professional campaigner knows how to turn heckling back upon the hecklers, as Alabamans found out when they tried to bait big Jim Folsom. Wallace stands stiffly and self-consciously. Once the eggs and garbage flew, Wallace stood up to them stoutly enough; but until they came, or even if they did not come at all, he talked as if out of but half of his thought, the other being held paralyzed by a dreadful anticipation. He fumbled, thrown off his mental balance by the punctuation of boos. He seemed never to have recovered entirely from the shock of the first onslaughts, in the North Carolina leg of his Southern invasion.

Those were unexpected. But you came to get the impression that they were not unwelcome to anybody in the Wallace organization except Wallace himself, that pathologically shy and introverted man. Every meeting interrupted or broken up was like money in the bank for the Progressives. And how they lack money and need it! Except for cash the Wallace managers collected from newspaper correspondents in advance for the latters' share of the daily automobile hire, there were no signs of folding money in hand.

So brief and hurried were all of the meetings after the party moved south from North Carolina that there was no time, or any congenial atmosphere, for the Progressives' routine of raising money from the audiences. Only once thereafter was it tried, and that in the friendly surroundings of a group made up about three-fourths of Negroes, in a small church in Knoxville. Even then time pressed, as the party had to dash off to catch a plane. Clark Foreman, the party treasurer, got less than $200, with $10 as the largest contribution. However, the profitable appeals will come later, in other regions, with the experiences of the Southern trip as an eloquent talking point.

Thur 9-9-48

EXCEPT in his radio talks, nowhere else than in the final meeting in Knoxville was Wallace able to extend himself on his campaign theme. Generally his talks were swift highlights. There were the pictures of the little man opposed by the exploiting big interests, the quart of milk a day, a promise of Southern development through greater farm production, soil improvement, a billion for these purposes and for business stimulation—with emphasis always on small business. The billion was the round sum Wallace held up as now going to "a totalitarian Government in China, undemocratic regimes in Greece and Turkey." And along with all this was his incessant harping on the need of partnership and a common cause among the races, his advocating an end of segregation as the first and greatest need of Southern progress, income, use and sharing of resources.

Only once was Wallace faced with a definite demand for an airing of his views on peace and understanding with Russia. This came in Little Rock, when Harry Ashmore, editor of The Arkansas Gazette, pressed him in a radio interview. The result was unmistakably a revelation that Wallace is without a clear idea of a plan, with no pattern for the talk face to face with Stalin that he has proposed for the President of the United States: perhaps himself. What, asked Ashmore, would Wallace say or do? What would he ask Stalin to do? What would he concede for the United States?

"I would utilize the men down the line in the State Department," Wallace said. "There are good men in the State Department. I would utilize them to state and reconcile the issues. I don't know what concessions should be asked or given. Perhaps no concessions would be necessary. I have repeatedly called on both the Democrats and Republicans to say what concessions, if any, they would ask or make. I would urge on Secretary Marshall that he use all his efforts to get a peace with Russia."

Thur 9-9-48

SO IT will be seen that for clarifications, for practical assurances on a course of action by a candidate for office, the Southern tour of the Progressive leader had not the slightest value. But it was given importance by other things. One of these was Wallace's bid for the Negro vote, in the name of the Progressive Party, by his proposals of absolute equality.

Here was a promise that is not deliverable by any man, because it suggests that attitudes as old and deep as time may be brushed aside by swift, apocalyptic visitation of superhuman grace. It was not based on tangible proposals of laws to be passed but on conversion. And it is to be judged in light of the fact that there are more than 5,000,000 Negroes of voting age in the Old South—more than the total number of voters in the 11 States in the 1944 election. An attempt to capture these votes is on, as the one-party system breaks down under impact of Supreme Court decisions. Wallace was borne South on a wave of political history.

Poll Supports Position of State's Righters

348

Times Picayune

By ELMO ROPER

Thur 10-7-48

Harry Truman's stand on civil rights has been one of the historic acts of his administration. It is also his Achilles' heel in this presidential election.

Of course, Mr. Truman might not have been elected even with the usual solid Democratic support of the South. But it is clear from a recent poll by Archibald Crossley (a careful public opinion researcher) that Truman has no chance of winning WITHOUT the 113 electoral votes of the states below the Mason-Dixon line. On the basis of Mr. Crossley's poll, Truman now appears to be in a precarious position in the states of Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and possibly Louisiana—and may lose those 38 electoral votes to the States' Rights party.

* * *

THE CIVIL RIGHTS issue in the past has been a delicate tightrope which presidential candidates have always walked with the greatest of caution. In many pivotal Northern states, such as New York and Illinois, the vote of Negroes and other minorities has sometimes decided the outcome. Almost always presidential nominees have paid at least lip service to the rights of these groups. Almost never, however, has the issue become a major national campaign controversy.

Mr. Truman took the bull by the horns and he recommended sweeping federal laws governing civil rights.

The latest Fortune survey indicates that neither federal anti-poll tax legislation nor a fair employment practices commission has the support of a majority of the American people. A cross-section of voters was asked:

> Do you think Congress should pass laws that will insure Negroes the same chance to vote that white people have, or do you think each state should decide its own election rules?

	Congress Should Pass Laws	Should Be Left to the States	Express No Opinion
Total voters.	42.6%	49.0%	8.4%
Total non-Southern voters	50.0	40.9	9.1
By regions:			
Northeast .	51.5	38.0	10.5
Mid-West .	47.0	44.0	9.0
South	21.6	72.1	6.3
Far West .	53.8	39.7	6.5

Thur 10-7-48

THESE RESULTS reveal that federal laws insuring the rights of Negroes at the polls are favored by every section of the country except the South. But the three-to-one margin of opposition in the South tips the national scales of opinion against the measure. The opposition of the voters below the Mason-Dixon line is more unified than is the advocacy of such laws in the North.

But if the country is divided fairly evenly between federal and state action on the poll tax measure, this is not the case with the FEPC. Fortune asked:

> What would you like to see done about legislation that prohibits employers—when they are hiring people—from turning them down solely because of their race or religion?

	Congress Should Pass Laws	Should Be Left to States	Should Not Have Any Laws at All	Express No Opinion
Total voters ...	24.8%	28.9%	37.4%	8.9%
By regions:				
Northeast	32.9	20.5	37.9	8.7
Mid-West	27.3	24.5	38.9	9.3
South ...	9.9	47.4	33.8	8.9
Far West.	31.0	21.5	39.7	7.8

* * *

OVER ONE-THIRD of the voters are against any FEPC legislation, while another 29 per cent would reserve to the states the right to pass FEPC measures. A vote for state control of either FEPC or the poll tax is, in many cases, simply another way of voting against it.

In spite of all this, Mr. Truman made his position clear and unequivocal. Today the Fortune survey shows that a majority of voters in every party—whether they are Republican, Democratic, Progressive or States' Rights—know where Mr. Truman stands on the poll tax and FEPC.

Thur 10-7-48

The same is not true of Mr. Dewey. The voters are not at all sure where Mr. Dewey stands on civil rights legislation. Those who are opposed to an FEPC, for example, also think the New York governor is opposed to the measure (in spite of the fact that it was under the Dewey administration that New York established a state commission against discrimination). On the other hand, those who want an FEPC think Mr. Dewey wants one, too. And those who say the issue should be left up to the states think that is the way the Republican candidate also feels about it. On the civil rights issue, Mr. Dewey draws the support of voters favoring exactly opposite things, and more than that, each side thinks Mr. Dewey agrees with them.

Off The Bench

The Advertiser

348

States' Rights

Mon 10-18-48

Montgomery Ala

TODAY, it is a good thing for the people of our country, we are having more discussion about the rights of the 48 States composing the American Union than we have had in many, many years. So I feel it is worth-while this morning to state in plain and simple language just what the words "States' Rights" mean. Many good people just don't understand today what the rights of the States composing the Union are. Many other people who believe in a far away, strong, centralized government, who are opposed to the people governing themselves, try to make it appear that the doctrine of States' Rights is an old worn-out thing, a theory partially believed in by only one section of the United States, and that States' Rights were buried at Appomattox Court House, when the brave Army of Northern Virginia, commanded by the Illustrious Confederate chiefain, Robert E. Lee, laid down its arms. So let us this morning, in so far as space will permit, try to understand the supreme importance in the life of our country of maintaining in their plentitude the rights of the States.

JONES

The American Colonists, when they declared their independence of England, the Mother Country, declared that the thirteen colonies were and ought to be free and independent and that they ought to adopt a general plan of confederation. On July 9, 1778, the delegates from each of the thirteen original colonies met and formed a government which they styled "The United States of America." The articles of Confederation, as they were called, simply bound the former colonies, now sovereign and independent States, into a league of friendship for their common defense and mutual benefit. And when they wrote and accepted the Articles of Confederation these wise old Americans, who loved liberty and home rule, said in Article II: "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." The States gave the Confederation certain powers; they named these powers, and they gave the new government no other powers. But to make sure and certain that there should be no misunderstanding about the matter, these men who founded what is now our present government declared that each State retained its sovereignty, its freedom, and its independence.

Mon 10-18-48

WHAT did the Founding Fathers mean when they spoke of a State as sovereign? What do we mean today when we use the words "sovereign" and "sovereignty" in connection with the States? "Sovereign" means independent of and unlimited by any other. It means absolute in authority, supreme, paramount. So, the Americans of Revolutionary days said that each of the Thirteen Colonies, now Thirteen States, held powers which were absolute, powers which were independent of and unlimited by any other power, that is the power of England or the Confederation. So a sovereign State, and that's what the States of this Union are, is a State which has absolute power, a State which is free and independent and can do as it pleases. But the States realized that there were many things which concerned all of them—the defense of the country, the waging of war, the making and use of money, so for the common defense and mutual benefit of the States, they delegated to their agent, in this instance the Confederation, certain powers. The States didn't give up these powers; they didn't surrender these powers absolutely; they simply permitted the agent of their designation, the Confederation, to exercise these delegated powers for the benefit and mutual interest of the States, themselves.

No, on June 21, 1788, when the State of New Hampshire became the ninth State to ratify a new constitution submitted to the States, here came into existence among the nine States a government under the "Constitution of the United States." It was a hard battle to ratify this Constitution. Only three of the nine States voted unanimously for it, and there were many votes against the new Constitution in the other States. One of the reasons for this was that Constitution did not have a Bill of Rights, and the conventions of a number of States, when ratifying the Constitution, demanded that, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of the Constitution's powers, further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added. Twelve amendments were proposed to the Constitution, ten of which were adopted. Let's see what two of these said—they are the IX and X Amendments to the United States Constitution: "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." What "People?" The people of the separate and independent States composing the Union. This amendment shows that the national government at Washington is one of delegated and enumerated powers and that the powers named are all that the United States may presume to exercise.

Mon 10-18-48

THE Founding Fathers were not satisfied with just going that far—they wanted to go a step further. They did, and here's what they said, and it is in the Constitution today as the Tenth Amendment: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people." What "people?" The people of the States respectively. So, after all, the States do have some rights. They have thousands and thousands of rights which they have never given up to the government at Washington, nor surrendered to the horde of bureaucrats which infest, like plagues of locusts, every department and branch of the government.

The States never intended to have at Washington a government which would gradually absorb and wipe out the States and make them little more than convenient subdivisions of the government.

Read the Federal Constitution through and through and you will see that the government of the United States has very limited powers, and you will see that the federal government has no power to come into a State and govern all of its domestic affairs. There is not one line in the Constitution which gives Congress the right to pass a law to say who can vote in Alabama, or to appeal any law enacted by Alabama fixing the qualifications of voters, such as poll taxes. There is not a single line in the Constitution which authorizes Congress to enact Federal Anti-Lynching Bill. There is not a single line in the Constitution which authorizes Congress to pass a Fair Employment Practice Law. There is not a line in the Constitution which authorizes Congress to pass a law to prevent the States sending white children to one school and Negro children to another. And there is not a line in the Constitution giving Congress the power to pass Mr. Truman's so-called Civil Rights Program.

We must get in the fight for States' Rights, require the federal government to stay strictly within its limits, and we must fight to the last ditch the continued encroachments by the federal government on home rule and local self-government. . . .

The doctrine of States' Rights is not political heresy. The States are citadels of democracy. We must maintain their rights and keep our States strong and vigorous.

States' Rights Party Takes Vow To Fight Until Cause Is Won

Commercial Appeal
Mon 10-25-48
Memphis Tenn

60 ADOPT RESOLUTION

Representatives Of 10 States Meet Here To Insure Work Will Go On

(Pictures on Page 22)

By HARRY WOODBURY

The States' Rights Democratic movement will live on after the Nov. 2 election until the fight "to save constitutional government and individual liberty in America" is won, leaders of the party resolved in a Southwide cenference yesterday.

After more than five hours of continuous session at the Peabody, the meeting adopted a 42-word resolution designed tog ive the States' Rights movement permanency.

Finish Fight Pledged

The resolution stated simply:

"The States' Rights movement came into being to save constitutional government and individual liberty in America. We will continue thisf ight untl the ifight is won.

"Therefore, be it resolved that our organization continues its fight until its objective has been achieved."

Sixty delegates, representing 10 Southern States, took part in the lengthy discussions of the party's future. The meeting was closed to the public.

In an explanation of the scope of the resolution, Judge Merritt H. Gibson, national campaign director, said:

"It could mean a continuation under the pattern adopted in the present campaign. That is, in those states in which the Democratic Parties of the states have joined in the States' Rights movement, they will continue to operate within the framework of the Democratic party.

Two Parties Favored

"In those states in which we now operate as the States' Rights Democratic party, they will continue to operate as such unless the Democratic parties of those states return to the fundamental principles on which the Democratic party was founded originally."

Judge Gibson declared that the National Democratic Party was founded on the doctrine that the "powers not delegated to the Federal Government by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

Mon 10-25-48

Judge Gibson said the purpose of the party is to restore "a real two-party system in the Nation, in which at least one party is dedicated to local self-government guaranteed by the Constitution and to individual freedom."

The resolution was drawn by a committee including: Judge Horace Wilkerson of Birmingham, chairman; Walter Sillers of Rosedale, Miss., chairman of the Birmingham conference; Knox Huff of Forest, Miss., chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee; Curtis Dall of San Antonio; Charles A. Stainback of Somerville, Tenn., chairman of the Tennessee States' Rights Executive Committee; Judge Leander Perez of Delcour, La., chairman of the Louisiana Executive Committee; Robert Figg of Charleston, S. C., chairman of the South Carolina Executive Committee; Oscar W. Baylor of Versailles, Ky., chairman of the Kentucky Executive Committee, and Amis Guthridge of Little Rock, chairman of the Arkansas Executive Committee.

First Draft Cut Down

The 42-word resolution was a redraft of a two page first effort, which some members of the meeting felt was too cumbersome.

Judge Gibson said there was "no argument" in the meeting on whether the States' Rights Democrats should return to the National Democratic Party after the election. He said it was agreed they could not return to the national party "under its present principles or lack of principles."

As to the strategy for continuing the fight after Nov. 2, the national campaign said the fight would be flexible "to the extent that the fight will be carried on, and will depend on conditions as they develop from time to time."

Thurmond To Arkansas

Governor Thurmand will wage his presidential campaign in Arkansas today and tomorrow. Wednesday he will dip into Louisiana for a Shreveport engagement, and end the day at a tri-state meeting for Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas at Texarkana.

Then the candidate will spend the rest of the week in a final effort to win Texas and its fat block of 26 electoral votes. He will ionclude his campaign with a Southwide broadcast next Monday night.

Governor and Mrs. Thurmond returned to Memphis by plane yesterday in time to sit in on the strategy meeting. W. W. Wright of Jackson, Miss., co-chairman of the Mississippi Executive Committee, called the strategy meeting into session.

W. W. Wright

Others attending the meeting were Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas, who presided and is chairman of the party's Executive Committee; J. H. Ballew, Nashville; A. M. Langdon, Somerville, Tenn.; Lieut. Gov. Sam Lumpkin of Mississippi; R. [illegible] Snowden, Memphis; W. B. Killebrew, Hopkinsville, Ky.; James T. Garnett, Hopkinsville, Ky.; S. L. Blakeley, Covington, Ky.; John J. Davis, Louisville, Ky.; Robert G. Chandler, Shreveport, La.

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Chalin Perez, Dalcour, La.; Bruce Cox, Stilwell, Okla.; Gomer Smith, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Clarence Needham, Oklahoma City, Okla.; F. K. Lashbrook, Memphis; R. K. Pepples, Covington, Ky.; Ed Lewis, Jackson, Miss.; George Godwin, Jackson, Miss.; Curtis Dall, San Antonio, Texas.

A. A. Sturgeon, Pampa, Texas; H. E. Harper, Memphis; L. C. Gaerig, Memphis; Stewart Broome, Jackson, Miss.; George Wallace, treasurer National Campaign Committee; Sam S. Farrington, Jackson, Miss., chief press section, National Campaign Committee; Oliver Emmerich, McComb, Miss.; former Gov. Frank Dixon of Alabama; H. T. McCaslin, Bolivar, Tenn.

James T. Perkins, Nashville; Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi; T. R. King, Forest, Miss.; John Rawling, Memphis; M. I. Bowen, St. Augustine, Fla.; E. J. Ellis, Birmingham; Troy Nunis, chairman Shelby County Committee; W. B. Humphreys, Bells, Tenn.; Sydney Smyer, Birmingham.

C. H. Bond, Wynne, Ark.; James Robertson, Wynne, Ark.; E. G. Truly, Fayette, Miss.; Talbot Feild Jr., Hope, Ark.; T. Walker Lewis, Memphis; Jo Clare Thomas, Clarendon, Ark., head University of Arkansas States' Rights Committee; M. B. Loftin, Little Rock; John L. Daggett, Marianna, Ark.; J. W. Shryock, Brinkley, Ark.; Palmer Bradley, Houston.

ANTI-TRUMAN DRIVE MOUNTING IN SOUTH NETS 45 ELECTORS

The Times
Sun 9-12-48

States Rights Party Leaders Are Jubilant Over Louisiana Ban and Vote in Georgia

New York N.Y.

LOOK TO TEXAS CAMPAIGN

President Curtails Tour Plan—Democratic Spokesman Sees 'Soviet Tactic' in Louisiana

348

By The Associated Press.

ATLANTA, Sept. 11 — States Rights Democrats today jubilantly claimed forty-five electoral votes from six states and, in addition, had a place on the general election ballot of four others.

Their campaign of opposition to President Truman's civil rights program also was bolstered during the week by Herman Talmadge's "white supremacy" victory for the governorship of Georgia.

In the face of the new party's growing strength, Mr. Truman gave up his plans for a lengthy Southern campaign tour and, according to friends, will appear only at strategic spots for one-night stands.

The States Rights ticket of J. Strom Thurmond and Fielding L. Wright won ten more electoral votes in Louisiana when Democrats there removed Mr. Truman's name from the Presidential ballot.

The action, in effect, gives the state's ten unpledged electors to Mr. Thurmond, now Governor of South Carolina. However, court action in behalf of Mr. Truman is expected.

Sun 9-12-48

[In Washington, a spokesman for the Democratic National Committee likened removal of the Truman-Barkley electors from the Louisiana general election ballot to Soviet tactics.]

Suit Won in North Carolina

Already pledged to Mr. Thurmond for President were eleven electors from Alabama, nine from Mississippi, eight from South Carolina, four out of eight from Florida and three out of twelve from Tennessee.

A court action in North Carolina finally was won by the States Rights party. Originally denied a place on the November ballot by the Board of Elections, the party appealed to the State Supreme Court.

The court rejected the board's position that the States Righters had not complied with laws governing the creation of new parties and awarded them equal billing with the regular Democrats.

Mr. Thurmond and his running mate, the Governor of Mississippi, will appear also on the ballots of Virginia, Kentucky and Texas. Arkansas States' Righters have until Oct. 13 to name electors.

Sun 9-12-48

In Georgia the picture was confused. Herman Talmadge campaigned for Governor, and won, on a platform of vigorous opposition to a Federal civil rights program and in favor of states' rights.

His Democratic party organization is generally acknowledged to be anti-Truman, but so far no effort has been made to include Governors Thurmond and Wright in the general election voting.

The state Democratic Executive Committee is expected to name twelve unpledged electors, who will appear on the ballot under Mr. Truman's name. The electors, then, will be governed by the outcome of the November Presidential race.

If Mr. Truman is overwhelmingly defeated, they can cast their votes for him anyway and avoid the stigma of bolting the party. However, if Mr. Thurmond needs the electors, they would be his.

Sun 9-12-48

In Texas Thurmond Democrats organized a States Rights party and prepared to name a Presidential ticket. Mr. Thurmond himself attended the meeting.

His supporters were busy, as well, in the border state of Maryland where they started a petition to get his name on the ballot. Only 2,000 names are needed, but ordinarily they must be filled with the Secretary of State in the spring before the general election.

Inasmuch as the Secretary of State is expected to turn down the petition, a court case may follow or the States Righters may conduct an intensive write-in campaign.

A group of "minority" Democrats in South Carolina, meanwhile, came out for President Truman. The state's electors are pledged to Mr. Thurmond, but the minority members of the party's executive committee want to name rival electors pledged to Mr. Truman.

Last night Judge Horace C. Wilkinson of Birmingham, Ala., said that Mr. Thurmond could win the Presidency if the election were thrown into the House of Representatives.

Sun 9-12-48

He pointed out that the 127 electoral votes from the eleven "Solid South" states, if united behind Mr. Thurmond, conceivably could prevent either Mr. Truman or Gov. Thomas E. Dewey from winning a majority.

of what I conceive to be the best interests of the South. I do not think they are being served by the sound and the fury of the Birmingham rump meeting of disaffected Democrats Even if they have some little success in the primaries and the election of November, they are doing harm to the future interests of the South. I am willing to concede they believe they are serving those interests. But the thoughtful southerner will see they are not. 8-14-48 Sat.

As in 1856-60 when we were led to defend slavery as God-given and God-endorsed; when we were so needled and infuriated by the northern politicians, who were often false and hypocritical, that we stubbornly made slavery the "keystone" of the new nation, we were tricked and pushing into supporting a moral wrong. The Block dispatch

That is about to happen to us again.

The position of the Birmingham rump meeting is, for the moment, a popular one. It is the place where the bands play "Dixie" and men cheer the old shibboleths.

But the true southerner will see that, despite the hypocrisy and the infuriating smugness of the North, we cannot longer oppose civil rights. It is true that they are pushed cynically by the big city machines for votes. But, the fact remains that under the constitution, all citizens have a right to vote and to the protecion of the law. We cannot defend a moral wrong. The convention showed that every State outside the South was against us. Okla, Okla.

We still have the protection of the Supreme Court and the Constitution of the United States. There are rights reserved to the States under the Constitution. It is true that many persons have come to believe the Supreme Court is too liberal in its interpretation of the Constitution. But, even so, they cannot remove it entirely. The fact is, citizens have a right to vote. But qualifications can be made. The fact is, citizens have a right to protection of the law from the gang killings of the East and lynchings in the South. We shall have to take what the Supreme Court says about that when the legislation has been passed and tested in the courts. The South may not lose everything it fears. I doubt if life in the South will be greatly changed. Basic segregation will remain.

EQUALITY

The platform calls for "equal treatment" in the armed services. Whether that means an end to segregation in the services remains to be seen. The laws have not been written, much less introduced, passed and court-tested. The platform calls on Congress to pass legislation giving equal rights in employment. The laws relating to that have not been written or introduced. They may or may not contain features greatly objectionable to the South. These laws. generally referred to as the FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Act), are the ones most objectionable to the South. Whether they be constitutional has not yet been determined. There is no mention of social equality.

The point is—nothing had been done as yet.

SOLUTION

Now, how does the South propose to meet these threats? Some go to Birmingham. As far as I am concerned, those who go to Birmingham are on the road to a political Damascus with the scales still on their eyes. Their sort of action can withhold electoral votes, which will be meaningless if the Republicans win as expected.

Those really devoted to the South are seeking the longtime answer.

As of now, there seem to be but two. One is for all those who want to quit the Democratic party to do so and join in an effort to establish the Republican party. You don't do that merely by voting for it. You do it by establishing party machinery at the precinct level.

The second procedure is for those who stay in the party to uphold the hands of our Congressmen and Senators, and not to destroy them and remove them from committees by setting up a southern ticket which will destroy even their minor committee and prestige positions.

We have got to do the best we can. The rest of the nation is against us. The Republican party proposes the identical measures. This time we have got to act differently and with less blindness than in 1856-60 when they also walked out and held a rump meeting and played "Dixie" and whooped and hollered. It sounds good and is exciting. But the results are disastrous. We don't seek disaster.

Echoes Of Another Rump Convention

Block dispatch ~~Okla~~ Okla.

Ralph McGill, of the Atlanta Constitution believes the Dixiecrats are being tricked into supporting a moral wrong, and reaches back into the pages of history to prove his point. He feels the revolters "are doing harm to the future interests of the South. 11-14-48

McGill points out that when the South "lost all" during the war between the states, the rebels was defending slavery, while today it is defending the denial of civil rights to Negroes. Both are "moral wrongs" according to McGill and "we cannot defend a moral wrong" continues the Georgia editor. 11-14-48

Senator Claud Pepper thought this editorial by McGill so significant he requested same published in the Congressional Record. It is significant to note McGill in his article points out that on the civil rights issue Dixie has opposition from the remainder of the states of the union.

The McGill [illegible] follows: 11-14-48

In [illegible] A Rump Convention

([illegible]ph McGill)

Footnote[illegible] 1856, under attacks from northern radicals, the South became ultrasensitive at much of the false and unjust criticism. There also was the deep conviction that slavery was a matter for the States and not the Federal Government. 11-14-48 Sat.

There were efforts made by the moderates to bring about Federal legislation which would abolish slavery, but which at the same time would reimburse the southern slave owners (not many southerners owned slaves) for their property, out of Federal funds. This effort was not a new one. It was made first by Thomas Jefferson. It was last made by Abraham Lincoln. He had made it previously, but he repeated it at the ill-fated "peace conference" at Hampton Roads in February of 1865. This was attended, among others, by Georgia's Alexander Stephens, then Confederate Vice President. But the peace commissioners were so restricted in their instructions by President Jefferson Davis that nothing came of it save futility. Stephens went home, never again to speak to Davis during the war, and to consider the Mississippian as having once more ruined the chance of the Confederacy for an honorable peace or end to the war.

BIRMINGHAM

So, in the end everything was lost. I try here to speak

The Dixiecrats Pose As Saviors of South

The Courier Journal Louisville Ky.

As WE seem to get the idea Governor J. STROM THURMOND is telling us that the Dixiecrat movement was really heaven-sent to the South. He affirms that it is not only saving Democrats from themselves and the South from the Democratic Party, but is also repelling an invasion by those Yankee Republicans. Otherwise, he says the latter would have prevailed this year in every Southern State, as once they did behind GRANT and SHERMAN. Sat. 9-25-48

It is an appropriate time to recite these assurances, as expressed by the Presidential candidate of the States' Rights Democrats at a rally in Augusta, Georgia. Governor THURMOND is practically in our midst, accessible to those who would give thanks to a savior. He brings the message of the fourth party to Kentucky this evening. He raises at Madisonville the banner which bears but a single device.

States' Rights, you are to assume, will put Russia in her place. States' Rights will build houses. States' Rights will give the country a solid farm program and cure inflation. States' Rights will tell the predatory Federal Government to keep its hands off our natural resources, especially tidelands oil, and let the States and their favored concessionaires exploit them as they will. And above all, the States' Rights Democrats will save the South from the Republicans.

Well, you may not be sure about all those blessings at the hands of the Dixiecrats, particularly the latter. You may recall, if Governor THURMOND does not, that even the most unpopular Democratic candidate from the South's point of view since STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS—ALFRED E. SMITH in 1928—carried more Southern States than he lost. And those that he lost were delivered to the Republicans by the 1928 counterparts of today's Dixicrats, acting on inflamed rage and prejudice. Governor THURMOND says that his fight first and last is a fight for representative government. He appears to forget also that the Dixiecrat movement took life on an impulse to reject the representative processes of the convention at Philadelphia in July. Those processes worked so decisively in the nomination of the Democratic Party's candidates that even if the old system of one-third veto of action had existed, the States' Rights insurgents would still have lost.

fourth party for what it is—not a party designed to defeat Harry Truman, but a minority group fourth party with no chance to do anything of political value for the South.

RALPH McGILL

Old Betsy and I, Hand in Hand!

The Constitution

I never would have thought it, but here Old Betsy and I are—strolling along hand in hand, like a couple courting.

Who is Old Betsy? Why, none other than The Savannah Morning News.

Mon 9-27-48

And why are Old Betsy and I holding hands and making eyes at one another like a couple of bobby soxers, which neither of us is?

Why, because Old Betsy has joined in to expose the Dixiecrat

Atlanta Ga

No Merit Says the News, following Strom Thurmond's speech in Augusta last week:

"Up until now Dixiecrat leaders have attempted to argue that their real purpose is to defeat Truman—and that they are not hurting Dewey's chances in the South—but Gov. Thurmond in his Augusta speech exploded that idea when he bluntly declared that "If our ticket had not been placed in the field, Dewey would have carried nearly every Southern State. We do not believe he will carry a single one."

"Granted that it is highly desirable, from the standpoint of the South, to defeat Truman the Morning News cannot see that the Dixiecrats can accomplish anything of value whatsoever through the medium of a third party, but that on the contrary it is a matter of sheer wisdom for this section to establish the two-party system. . . .

"It is conceivable that in the future there will be times when it will be to our interest to vote the national Democratic ticket. This year, however, there is merit from neither a sectional nor a national standpoint in the New Deal ticket, headed by Harry Truman. The Dewey-Warren ticket admittedly may not stand for everything the South wants. It is doubtful that the Thurmond-Wright ticket, pro-Southern as it is in respect to the civil rights program, if elected, would stand one hundred percent in the best interests of this region."

Sense That makes sense. I may not agree with Old Betsy all the way. Old Betsy has gone Republican. As a Democrat I urge all those who don't want to remain Democrats to go off to the Republican Party. For many, many years we have, through The Atlanta Constitution, urged that all Southerners who are not satisfied with the politics of the Democratic Party to join the Republican Party and help make of it a satisfactory second party.

The Dixiecrats are pure folly.

As Old Betsy says, they can contribute nothing of value. All they can do is split the vote and make it possible for the Republicans to carry the State. The honest thing to do—and the important thing from the viewpoint of our vital two-party system—is to vote for Dewey if that is what the Dixiecrats want to do.

If this country divides up into many parties we will wreck our form of government and dissipate the strength of our political institutions.

Truman From the start we have confused Truman with the issue. Truman isn't the issue. The issue and the party will remain after Truman is gone. It is the Congress and then the Supreme Court which will determine the constitutionality of whatever legislation Congress passes that will settle the controversial matter of civil rights.

4-27-48

The odds are that Harry Truman is sure to be defeated.

There isn't then—if the idea is to get rid of Truman—any reason why the Democratic organizations against Truman shouldn't let the people know that since Truman is eliminated they will cast their electoral votes for the ticket which bears his name. He isn't the party.

If that isn't satisfactory, then let the State go Republican. Old Betsy and I certainly see eye to eye on the two-party system being vital to this country and necessary to our region. Truman isn't the real issue.

Old Betsy, let me embrace you again. True, that cop is looking our way, but what of it! Such love comes only once in a life.

Thurmond Strom Thurmond is a fine fellow, they say. I am sure he is. He had a fine war record and I am entirely sincere when I say I believe him to be a fine fellow of good intent.

But I remain unsold.

In the first place, as Old Betsy said, he has quit his original platform—which was to defeat Truman. He now is out to elect himself. That's silly, on the face of it. He hasn't any more chance than Henry Wallace. The nation doesn't need his minority party any more than Wallace's.

In the second place, I have always been puzzled by a picture I saw of Mr. Thurmond. He stood on his head for a Life Magazine photographer and allowed himself to be photographed in that position. I never quite understood what it was meant to illustrate—the Governor standing on his head. But now I think I know. It explains a lot about the Dixiecrats.

In the third place, as Louisiana's Earl Long now sees—our Senators and Congressmen won't be in a good position to fight for us in Congress if the Dixiecrats take our States.

So I hope the State of Georgia—and other Southern States as well—will see the light, as the Dixiecrats reveal they really aren't out to beat Truman—and let our States go either way—Republican or Democratic.

Let's keep the two-party system.

Especially if the two other choices are Henry Wallace and a fellow who likes to stand on his head.

The Tattler

Sat 4-24-48

(340)

Comments on the 'Southern Revolt'

Jacksonville Fla

When the President gave his civil rights message to Congress on February 2nd, the Southern white press reacted immediately with indignant protest. Such legislation as anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, and FEPC statutes are not only unnecessary, argued Southern editors, but are downright dangerous. They maintained that valuable progress is being made in race relations and that federal laws would only serve to set back this progress, reviving old hatreds and prejudices. One large daily referred to the President's proposals as a "Moscow-like plan to enforce civil rights." Practically all of them agreed that the time-honored prerogatives of "states-rights" should be respected.

But even in this first torrent of violent protest, a few more moderate voices were heard. An editorial in the Birmingham News declared: "The gathering rebellion is putting too much energy into obstructive action and not enough on honest self-criticism and constructive self-improvement . . . There is a call for positive action on the state and regional levels".

The Little Rock Gazette sounded a similar note. It urged that we "consider the proposals of the President as a bill of indictment and measure our performance against it." An affirmative answer, continued the Gazette, would be to substitute "intelligent concerted action for the lip-service we have all too frequently given our own ideals of fair treatment for the Negro race".

The Raleigh News and Observer commented in a thoughtful, temperate editorial that "this is a time not for our angers but for our prayers — and prayerful work for the advance of all at home."

The Norfolk Virginian-Pilot deplored the fact that the controversy tended to obscure the genuine value of the Report of the President's Committee as "a serching and useful contribution to progress on the civil rights front."

As the political phase of the controversy arose to fever pitch, more and more Southern editors began to see the danger in a purely negative protest that seemed too often to be based as much on opposition to civil rights themselves as on opposition to federal legislation . The editor of the Atlanta Journal, Wright Bryan, observed: "The best answer, the only effective answer the South can make to what is being said elsewhere, is to set our own house in order."

Sat 4-24-48

The Columbia Record agreed with the Atlanta Constitution that "most Southerners would feel a little more comfortable about it all if the Southern politicians leading the present revolt against the Democratic party had sense enough and the good taste to make their issue something else than civil rights . . . No decent person can defend any proposal to deny anyone by law any of the civil rights."

Douglas S. Freeman, the biographer of Robert E. Lee and editor of the Richmond News-Leader, denounced the program of the Southern Governors in an editorial that was widely reprinted and commented upon, by other Southern papers. Wrote Dr. Freeman:

"The program of the Southern Governors is wholly unrealistic. That ought to be said in plainest terms and ought to be realized by every Southerner, even by the victims of Negrophobia. . . . We must remember that the Negro has come a long way in 80 years, that he has encouragement in the North, that he possesses a new sense of political power. In addition, he knows that his status as a veteran cannot be challenged or his advantageous position destroyed. The South will do well to understand this, too, and to decide how far it will go, by compromise and conciliation in the way of equal justice, jury service, economic opportunity and public employment. This is the minimum that will be demanded and, in time, will be won, whether we of the South like it or not".

The Richmond Times-Dispatch cut to the heart of the matter in an editorial entitled "State's Duties as Well as State's Rights": "The important thing is for Virginia and the other Southern States to remember that there are State's duties, as well as State's rights, and that mere protestations against interference with State's rights are not enough. We in the South must demonstrate convincingly that we deserve to have rights as citizens of States and localities respected."

No Dixiecrat

Editor Constitution: I have been voting the Democratic ticket for 30 years and will do so in November. We certainly in the South need to be united as never before to preserve our Southern traditions.

I never heard of such a strange animal as a Dixiecrat and I certainly am not going to vote for him.

DR. ELI SWANSON.

Atlanta.

States' Rights Headquarters Opens Here

States' Rights Democrats operated officially in South Carolina today from a newly opened branch campaign headquarters.

The office in the Wade Hampton hotel was managed by Rex Magee of Washington and was opened to serve as liaison between here and Jackson, Miss., and Washington offices.

The three offices will push the campaign of Govs. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, States' Rights candidates for president and vice president.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

Christian Science Wednesday testimony meeting will be held in the church, 1114 Pickens street at 8 p. m.

THOMAS L. STOKES

The South and the Revolt

Constitution

WASHINGTON—The current attempt of some elements in the South to break away from President Truman and split the Democratic Party in its traditional stronghold finds the South itself splitting in turn into groups to set up a counter-rebellion against the self-appointed State righters.

This is helpful, in its way, because it shows dramatically that the whole South cannot be herded together under the Confedrate flag. This resistance to the Truman movement springs from various motives—personal conviction, awareness that the War Between the States is over, and in some cases is dictated by practical political considerations.

A symbol is the South Carolina Federal Judge, J. Waties Waring, of an old Charleston family, who, even while the Southerners were rebelling at the Philadelphia convention against the Truman civil rights program, was declaring calmly from the bench that no subterfuges could be used by South Carolina Democratic Party officials to keep Negroes from voting in party primary elections. He announced bluntly that anybody who violated his decision would be jailed for contempt. Atlanta, Ga.

To the Negro standing before him who had brought a case against discrimination, he said:

"It's a disgrace and a shame when you must come into court and ask a judge to tell you you are an American."

These words might well become historic.

Wed. 7-21-48

There are many people all over the South who look upon extension of the franchise as a primary civil right that must be granted to make the South and its politics truly democratic. The Judge was merely backing up the United States Supreme Court in its outlawry of the "white primary" and the Supreme Court was only upholding the Constitution.

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

The South Carolina Democratic Party, like some in other Southern States, has used all sorts of devices to evade the dictum of the Supreme Court against the "white primary." It was a decision by Judge Waring some months ago against such a dodge that was sustained by the Supreme Court. But the Democratic Party in South Carolina cooked up another by requiring Negroes to take an oath upholding segregation before they could vote. It was this against which Judge Waring struck the other day, and the Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee subsequently directed that his order be fully carried out. That looks like progress.

Significantly an element of the South Carolina Democratic Party composed of upstate farmers and mill workers came forward recently in defense of Negro voting. This recalls an often forgotten chapter in politics of the South which was an alliance after the War Between the States of the same sort of elements with Negroes in a common front to improve their economic welfare. That alliance was destroyed during the Populist era in the South, when it became effective politically, by appeals to prejudice and institution of the "white primary" to deny Negroes the vote. Its revival today, despite similar appeals to prejudice, is a hopeful sign.

It is interesting that it happens in the State which led the way to secession in the sixties, and the State which has provided, in Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, the presidential candidate of the new Confederate movement organized in Birmingham. This alliance may impede Gov. Thurmond in lining up his State electors against President Truman. Wed. 7-21-48

It bespeaks the ferment all over the South today out of which may come something not anticipated by the Birmingham revolutionaries. For other elements in the South will refuse to go along with this rump rebellion, including church groups, labor groups, and independent citizens who are working quietly in behalf of extension of civil rights.

But the most effective deterrent, perhaps, is plain practical politics. Wed.

It is noteworthy, for example, that outstanding party leaders in the South kept aloof from the antics at Philadelphia and are having no part in the Birmingham movement, such men as Sen. Walter F. George, of Georgia, and Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia, prominent conservatives, who naturally would be enlisted first, if possible, to give the revolt weight and character. While Gov. Ben T. Laney, of Arkansas, was, for a time, the candidate of the Southern revolters for President at Philadelphia, he refused to become the candidate of the Alabama and Mississippi "walk-outs" at Birmingham. Sen. Richard B. Russell, of Georgia, who ultimately was given the votes of Southerners at Philadelphia, also refused to join the Birmingham rebellion.

Gov. Laney is reported ambitious to run for the Senate in 1950 and the others have important party posts in Congress which they do not care to jeopardize. That is a strong influence that minimizes chances of much success for the Southern rebellion.

The Birmingham Bolt

THE "statement of principles" issued by the Birmingham conference of southern insurgent Democrats amounts to a cold demand upon the people of the United States, Congress, the Supreme Court and the Executive Department of the government to leave the southern states free to nullify the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution at will and to continue to stifle the economic life of the nine-million Negroes who reside in these states. Journal & Guide

The Birmingham meeting, held in a heated atmosphere of bigotry and intolerance was a resurgence of the notorious elements in the political life of the South characterized by the TILLMANS, the BLEASES, the HEFLINS, the VARDAMANS, the COTTON-ED SMITHS, and the BILBOS. The chief ranters came from Mississippi, the birthplace of almost everything that is despicable in the political and social fabric of America. The little known governor of that state, who was the chief instigator of the southern revolt, was placed on the ticket as vice presidential candidate, and Senator EASTLAND, who stood up in Congress and notoriously slandered the Negro soldier during the last war, was his companion piece in riotous demagoguery. Norfolk, Va.

The Birmingham convention drew the presence of the notorious GERALD L. K. SMITH, Jew, Negro, and Catholic-baiter, who sat through its proceedings and later rushed into print to give them his heart-felt blessing. Former Governor DIXON and HORACE WILKINSON of Alabama, long patrons of the race-hate elements, were among the top-drawer leaders of the movement.

Norfolk, Va.

The presidential candidate put up by the Birmingham belligerents is a rural school teacher who rose to the governorship of South Carolina, which is not a noteworthy achievement politically and neither is it a thing that is hard to do if one knows how to play on the race prejudices of the relatively few white people who vote in South Carolina. As vote-getters on their own the pair will flop. Sat. 7-24-48

The gathering was a good show in southern political dramatics of a kind that almost everybody would like to see relegated to the obscurity which it deserves. The rebellious Birmingham buddies were boycotted by practically all of the responsible political leaders in the South, even those foremost in the Dixiecrat demonstration at Philadelphia. The worse that it can do is to spread hatred and bitterness for the next three and a half months, resulting in some contribution to the further disunity of the Democratic Party, and possibly to that party's certain defeat in November because of its defections as represented by the HENRY WALLACE bolt, plus the equally damaging rumpus in the southern states. All of these things will naturally help the DEWEY-WARREN ticket.

Race Vote Whipped Dixiecrats

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 7-24-48

By AUSTIN NORRIS

(Editor of The Courier's Philadelphia Edition)

PHILADELPHIA — The Democratic National Convention gave to the Nation the most important political event of our time when the South was completely defeated and routed on the issues of "States Rights" and "Civil Rights."

This fight to the death between Negroes, organized labor and the liberal forces on the one side, against the racial bigots and the reactionary South was inevitable, and a victory for the Northern forces was necessary if the Democratic party hoped to continue as the dominant party in national affairs. 7-24-48

The results of this victory are far-reaching. It has ended the dominance the South has exerted over the national Democratic party for the last eighty-three years. It is likely to lead to a two party system in many Southern States, with the rich, conservative element eventually turning Republican and the underprivileged masses, both white and black, taking over the reins of the Democratic party. Sat.

It may create a short period of intense racial feeling in the South, but this period can be made very brief and violence speedily suppressed by a firm attitude by the President and other important Federal officials.

AN EVEN CONTEST

It may mean that in several decades the South will become politically more important to Negroes than the North. It may be the first step in making the Democratic party a truly liberal party. Its immediate effect has been to enhance the chances of success of the Democratic party in the November election to the extent that an election which two weeks ago looked like a Democratic massacre is now admitted to be an even contest.

Led This Time By Thurmond And Wright

Rebels' Enthusiasm High But Chances To Win Are Low

Defender
Chicago Ill.
Sat. 7-24-48

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Cheering wildly and prancing around the floor in a spectacle matching the regular party conventions, revolting deep south Democrats last Saturday gave the green light to a states rights ticket of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi for Vice President.

To the awed onlooker, no greater show of confidence in the Thurmond-Wright ticket could possibly be mustered. But even while the 7,500 rebels yelled hoarse approval to the recommendation that Southern electors vote for their favorite sons, revolt leaders were admitting that at best the whole thing probably wind up just a die-hard protest vote against President Truman and his civil rights.

At the same time, many leading

electors could be entered in Missouri and Kentucky, home states of the President and Senator Barkley, Democratic Vice Presidential candidate. Defender

"It may be that we will take the southern states and that Truman will lose the northern states, and then which will be the Democratic party?" shouted former Gov. Frank Dixon of Alabama, conference keynoter.

That statement coincided with one made by W. W. Wright (no relation to Gov. Fielding Wright) who, though admitting the states rights Democrats had no chance of winning in November, said the conference can start the ball rolling to defeat Harry Truman's bid for reelection and "get control of the party back in the hands of the regular Democrats. Chicago, Ill

A proposed feature of the show flopped dismally, when several mailmen, saying they would not defile their government uniforms by appearing as grey-clad soldiers of the confederacy, refusing to take part in the conference. One sweating rebel however, did enter the auditorium wearing a patched up edition of the confederate grey and waving the old confederate banner'

Mississippi and Alabama, which have a total of 20 electoral votes, have pledged their electors not to vote for President Truman or any one else who supports a civil rights plank that threatens the southern economic and social system based on segregation of Negroes.

Democrats from Florida to Texas said efforts would be made to stir up grass roots sentiment that would result in the entrance of Thurmond-Wright electors to take electoral college votes away from the Truman-Barkley ticket. 7-24-48

"Our people are more aroused than they have been in years and they will repay by retirement to private life the efforts of any so-called southern leaders who hope to carry them into the camp of Harry S. Truman in the coming elections," keynoter Dixon stormed.

"We have just begun to fight," Thurmond said in his acceptance speech. We must prove to the nation that this time the South means business."

Eject Negro Newsman From Confab

Dixie 'Rebs' Say U. S. Can't Stop South's Segregation

Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 7-24-48

Sat. 7-24-48

(Special to The Courier)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Screaming, frenzied, frightened and comical, Dixie ran up the Confederate flag again here Saturday, eighty-three years after Lee hauled it down and handed it over to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse . . . and these frantic Dixiecrats bellowed their resistance to civil rights and their allegiance to the principles of the KKK.

In an illegitimate "convention" of Southern Democrats and a roaring one-day session, dissident Dixie rebels selected South Carolina's Governor J. Strom Thurmond and Mississppi's Governor Fielding Wright to head their revolt ticket in opposition to both President Truman and GOP nominee Thomas E. Dewey of New York.

Attended by some five thousand rebels, the meeting was picketed by white supporters of the Wallace-for-President group who delayed the convention's opening for forty-five mnutes. An unidentified Wallaceite was ejected from the afternoon session by policemen.

GENERAL EJECTED

Also ejected was retired U. S. Army Brigadier General Herbert C. Holdridge of Washington, self-styled candidate, who was accused of being a Communist when he protested the way nominations were made.

After the meeting, Senator John L. McClellan (D.-Ark), told reporters that President Truman as a result of the Dixiecrat ticket, stood to lose six Southern States in the November election — listing them as Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee.

The South's fourth party was launched in an atmosphere boiling wth bigotry, defiance and violent threats, and, dominated by ex-office holders, challenged both major candidates, Truman and Dewey, to a battle.

EJECTED NEGRO NEWSMAN

Negroes were barred from the meeting with Emory O. Jackson, Birmingham World editor, being escorted from the gallery by two giant police officers who confiscated his notes.

"You are in a good place to get killed. Get out of here as fast as you can and don't stop walking," one of the two officers warned Jackson, he said.

In raging oratory, Governor Thurmond in his acceptance speech bitterly thundered, "There are not enough laws on the books and not enough laws can be put on the books to break down segregation."

The angry Governor added heatedly, "There are not enough troops in the Army to force the Southern people to break down segregation." He accused President Truman of betrayal, assailing him and the civil rights program with malignant emotionalism.

SO DOES THE KKK

Passionately he called for States' rights, local rule and preservation of racial traditions. He said that the South was a friend to the Negro, attributing all of his progress to Southern kindness. He conceded that the Negro is entitled to fair treatment, Southern style, and denounced the civil rights program savagely, bill by bill.

Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor, one of the thirteen Alabama delegates to walk out the Philadelphia National Democratic convention, gave the welcome speech. Connor is the one whose police arrested Senator Glen Taylor and who figured in the Freedom Train incident here.

LAMBASTED RAYBURN

Mississippi was the heaviest represented State, other than the host State, with Senators James O. Eastland and John Stennis, Governor Wright, Mayor Arrington of Collins, Miss., among the delegation which also included fifty University of Mississippi students. Arrington blisteringly condemned Congressman Sam Rayburn for not recognizing the Alabama walkers at the Philadelphia convention.

Many of the top convention names were ex-office holders. Numbers of delegates were not official. Delegates had not been orderly selected, leaving it hard to determine how much of a grass roots rebellion they represented.

Approximately forty Birmingham Southern College students, members of Kappa Alpha Fraternity, paraded with a large portrait of General Robert E. Lee.

Identified among the Wallace pickets were Robert Travis, chairman of the People's Progressive party of Alabama, and Mrs. Pauline Dobbs, wife of Malcolm C. Dobbs, of Mobile, chairman of the Alabama branch of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

DECENT WHITES OPPOSE

Travis, a Birmingham Southern College student and chairman of the Alabama Student Conference for Civil Rights, made the following comment to a reporter:

"We just want the decent people of the South to know there are some opposed to such actions as those here."

Police dispersed the pickets by demanding that they walk fifty yards behind each other. Hecklers also made it uncomfortable for them.

"ALFALFA BILL" AGAIN

Seventy-nine-year-old former Governor "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Tshomingo, who boasted of being the father of Oklahoma's jim-crow laws at his State's 1906 constitutional convention, said: "If they pass those civil rights laws there'll be hell to pay in the North."

Judge Horace Wilkinson, one of Alabama's eleven anti-Truman electors and director of the White Supremacy League, was chairman of the platform and resolutions committee which reported an eight-point statement of principles which was unanimously adopted.

ONE OF THESE POINTS SAID:

"We stand for the segregation of the races and the racial integrity of each race; the constitutional right to choose one's associates; to accept private employment without Governmental interference, and to earn one's living in any lawful way. We oppose the elimination of segregation, the repeal of miscegenation statutes, the control of private employment by Federal bureaucrats called for by the misnamed civil rights program. We favor home rule, local self-government and a minimum interference with individual rights."

SHADES OF JEFF DAVIS

The rebel Democrats insisted that they were not bolting the party. Most of the influential party leaders of the South were absent. Robert E. Lee and Jeff Davis were rallying names sounded and praised.

Southern Revolt Throws New Curve At Truman's Chances

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Mon. 7-19-48

McClellan Asserts President May Lose Six States; Dewey Considers Direct Bid For Dixie Vote

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON—(AP)—The entrance of a "Dixiecrat ticket" into the presidential field brought a disputed prediction Sunday that President Truman may lose the support of up to six Southern states in the November election.

Senator McClellan, (D), Arkansas told a reporter he thinks the Southern Democratic Rebel ticket may help take the electoral votes of a half dozen Southern states away from President Truman and Senator Alben Barkley, his running mate.

The new ticket—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for president and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi for vice-president — was put forth at Birmingham Saturday as one Dixie answer to the president's civil rights program.

McClellan — who fought the president's nomination but did not walk out of the Democratic convention — named Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Tennessee as possible participants in a bolt he said is almost certain to result in the regular Democratic party's defeat in the presidential election. Mon.

Tennessee, Too

He put Tennessee in the list, McClellan said, because of a sharp local division among Democrats there. 7-19-48

He said that if the Thurmond-Wright ticket gets on the ballot in Arkansas it may split the Democratic vote in his home state and give the Republicans some chance of winning there.

But McClellan's prediction drew immediate fire from Senator Hatch, (D) New Mexico, close personal friend of the president.

The Mississippian [illegible]

Gerald K. Smith Dixiecrats Snub

The Dixiecrat movement yesterday received—and promptly rejected—the support of Gerald L. K. Smith, National Director of the Christian Nationalist Crusade.

Smith, one-time follower of the late Huey P. Long, said he would line up his Crusade behind the Dixie States' rights ticket because "our 3,000,000 enrolled followers believe that the Negro and the Jew are exerting too much control in American politics."

But the Dixiecrats, who put up Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, to oppose President Truman on an anti-civil rights platform at their Birmingham convention Saturday, gave a loud "no" to Smith's offer and they didn't add "thanks."

Thurmond, when he heard of it, said "We do not invite and we do not need the support of Gerald L. K. Smith or any other rabble-rousers who use race prejudice and class hatred to inflame the emotions of the people."

Smith said that he and 200 followers attended the Birmingham meeting but he stayed in the background because "I was anxious to do nothing that would introduce extraneous controversy into the wholesome and historic gathering."

[illegible]

Laney, Thurmond Are Regarded As Popular Choice

News
Birmingham
Ala
Sat. 7-17-48

Convention Takes On Philadelphia Air; Gov. Wright Arrives

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Revolting Southern Democrats convened here Saturday to wage war on the Truman-Barkley presidential ticket either by nominating candidates of their own or by a campaign to free presidential electors to vote against the regular party standard bearers.

Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney, who arrived early in the day, and South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, who was not expected to reach Birmingham until noon, were seen as likely nominees of the states-righters, if they decide to place a ticket in the field.

Laney would be their choice for president, Thurmond for vice president, in such an event.

* * *

BUT SOME OF THE STATES RIGHTS DEMOCRATS, who were expected to gather here from 15 states, were opposed to nominating candidates to oppose standard bearers of the National Democratic Party team.

They contended the cause of the Southern revolt against the adoption of a strong "civil rights" plank in the national party platform and rejection of a states rights plank the Southerners sought to have included would be better served by waging a fight to free presidential electors.

The 11 presidential elector nominees are pledged to vote against Truman. The revolters were set to take their battle for anti-Truman electors into the president's state of Missouri and at least a dozen other states.

7-17-48

* * *

AT 10:30 A.M., a half-hour after the convention originally was scheduled to start, Municipal Auditorium was about half filled. Spectators, several carrying Confederate flags, filled the balcony seats about halfway to the rear of the hall.

The floor, dotted with the standards of Southern states, was sprinkled with delegates, most of whom milled in confusion up and down the aisles.

Cheers broke out from the audience off and on as a band on the stage played such Southern tunes as "Deep in the Heart of Texas," "Dixie," "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny." A "Rebel Yell" ripped across the hall.

The convention promised to better the Philadelphia Democratic meeting in at least one respect: Cool air, generated by a fan system from the front of the auditorium, made the indoors at least 20 degrees cooler than the sunny steps outside. The News

In the front of the hall, at least 100 newsmen and radio broadcasters were working at long rows of tables. Birmingham Ala

The convention had taken on much of the atmosphere of the national convention hall in Philadelphia, out of which half of Alabama's and all of Mississippi's delegates took a walk in protest against the strong "civil rights" plank rammed into the platform. 7-17-48

These delegates, along with scores of others from Southern states, were still boiling mad at the steam-roller tactics of the Philadelphia convention and the slights and insults heaped upon them in that city of brotherly love.

* * *

GOV. FIELDING L. WRIGHT, head of the Mississippi delegation arrived in town with his cohorts last night, to reiterate the Birmingham conference is being held to press the South's fight for a principle. It was Gov. Wright who announced the call for the Birmingham convention from Philadelphia after the walkout.

The News

"Mississippi has never fought this thing as a matter of personalities," declared Gov. Wright. "We're not against Mr. Truman as a person. We're against the things he's gone on record as favoring." Birmingham

He explained the Mississippians could not have remained in the Philadelphia convention because of the national party's platform, thus making it impossible for them to stay and support Sen. Richard B. Russell. The Georgia senator got the votes of anti-Truman Southern delegates who remained in the convention. Ala.

* * *

WRIGHT EMPHASIZED that he would support Southern senators and congressmen in opposing and filibustering expected attempts by the Republican-dominated Congress to enact "civil rights" measures in the special session called by President Truman. Sat.

The Mississippi governor, when asked if he and his followers had withdrawn completely from the National Democratic Party, said:

"The only official party organ we recognize now in Mississippi is the State Democratic Executive Committee." 7-17-48

Wright, who reiterated he would not be the one to head a states' rights presidential ticket, was asked in what position withdrawal of his state and other Southern states from the national party would leave their senators and representatives.

"WHAT WE ARE DOING is of more importance to the South than any committee appointments the Democratic organization in Washington might be able to give our senators and congressmen," he continued.

Former Gov. Frank Dixon, temporary convention chairman, took the states righters' fight to the air last night in a statewide broadcast originating from WAPI. He outlined two courses open to the revolters:

1. Put out a Southern presidential ticket, or,
2. Campaign to free presidential electors of other states, as already done in Alabama, so they may vote against Truman.

Mississippi Sen. James O. Eastland predicted the nominees of the Birmingham conference would carry more states than Truman, while some of the other revolters here predicted that the Truman-Barkley ticket would not carry a single state.

* * *

DIXON DESCRIBED the meeting as a "grass roots movement," adding that he had been "amazed at the intensity of the action."

He told his radio audience that the "civil rights" program, which would include anti-segregation, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax laws, was an unconstitutional effort to "reduce us to the status of a mongrel inferior race." 7-17-48

The former governor warned that it would "crush with imprisonment our leadership and thereby kill our hopes, our aspirations, our future and the future of our children."

Gov. Folsom was due here for the convention and Oklahoma's 79-year-old former Gov. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray was already here, assailing the Truman candidacy. He advised the only thing to do in Oklahoma was to write in the name of some candidate in opposition to Truman. Birmingham, Ala.

"It'll work in Oklahoma," Murray said. "It has before. Sat.

"I'm the man who introduced Jim Crow in Oklahoma," he added. "If they pass those 'civil rights' laws, there'll be hell to pay in the North."

The News

* * *

HUDDLING FAR into the night to map conference strategy and draw up resolutions, expected to be along anti-Truman lines laid down at the Jackson, Miss., meeting, were Gov. Wright, Dixon, Wallace W. Wright, of Jackson; Gessner T. McCorvey, Sidney W. Smyer, Horace Wilkinson and others. 7-17-48

McCorvey, Alabama Democratic chairman, tried to revive the Eisenhower-for-president boom. He still insits the states' rights meeting here could bring about the election of Gen. Eisenhower in the House of Representatives. He pointed out the Southern states could name electors pledged to "someone such as Gov. Laney, who would later throw the electoral votes to Gen. Eisenhower and hand the presidency to him on a silver platter.'"

The News

SEVERAL HUNDRED delegates, newspaper, radio and television men, photographers and the hordes of others who swarm to political conventions were in Birmingham for the revolt conference.

Adding to the color of the meeting was the appearance of a delegation of 55 black-hatted University of Mississippi students, who were sent as "delegates." They emphasized they were on "serious business" and not here as "college students on a lark."

The revolters' aim was to take the solid South out of the regular party columns for the first time in 70 years.

It was pointed out that the convention was motivated by a situation somewhat similar to the Democratic Party split of 1860, which elected Lincoln president and brought on the War Between th States. Birmingham Ala.

* * *

THE CONVENTION then was Charleston, S. C., where, as at I adelphia Wednesday night, bama led the withdrawal of sev Southern states and no nominat was made. Later at Baltim more Southern states withdrew a Democrats remaining in the co vention nominated Stephen Douglas. The revolting Southern ers subsequently picked John C. Breckenridge as their standard-bearer. Sat. 7-17-48

It was a race issue then that split the party. The fight was over whether any slave owner could take his property into the territories. The scrap now is whether the federal government is to intervene to bring about greater equality among the races.

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11 Electors Pledge Vote To Thurmond

Advertiser

Similar Pledge Likely By Mississippi Group At Parley In Jackson

Montgomery Ala

Campaign Is Set

Fri. 7-30-48

Funds Will Be Sought From All Who Cherish 'Traditions Of South'

By STANLEY ATKINS

BIRMINGHAM, ALA. — (AP) —
abama Democratic elector nom-
ees Thursday night pledged the
ate's 11 electoral votes to the
iurmond-Wright states' rights
:ket.
Chairman John A. Lusk, Jr.,
adsden, said a resolution to that
fect was adopted at a special
ucus attended by seven of the
electors. He said the other
ur who were unable to be pres-
t agreed to the pledge.
The action was the first by
uthern electors in support of
e states' rights ticket chosen
the convention in Birming-
m July 17. 7-30-48
At that meeting, Gov. J. Strom
iurmond, of South Carolina,
is recommended for president
d Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of
ssissippi, for vice president.
Alabama's electors, like Mis-
sippi's, are pledged against
ting for President Truman in
e electoral college.

Meet Tuesday

Mississippi states' rights sup-
rters will meet next Tuesday
Jackson, Miss., in a reconvened
sion of the State Democratic
rty. A similar pledge to sup-
rt the Thurmond-Wright ticket
expected to be made at the
sion. Fri.
The Alabama electors' resolu-
n said in part:
"Gov. Thurmond and Gov.
right are in hearty accord with
e platform upon which we were
minated and the views of
tes' rights Democrats (through-
t the nation) for a return to
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Truman Unwanted

"We believe the Philadelphia
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Thursday's elector meeting fol-
wed an earlier session of the
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ma Democratic states' rights
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This committee announced
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right ticket and carry on a na-
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cooperation with other South-
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"Alabama states' rights com-
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io believe in states' rights, who
pose the breakdown of our
way of life, to give liberally and
give now to this cause."

Attending the elector meeting were: Chairman Lusk; Tom Abernethy, Talladega; Robert A. Albritton, Andalusia; Walter C. Givhan, Safford; Norman Harris, Decatur; Edmund Blair, Pell City; and Horace C. Wilkinson, Birmingham. Montgomery

Alabama electors not present were: Ben Bloodworth, Decatur; Tully Goodwin, Florala; State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile; and Walter F. Miller, Tuscumbia. Fri. 7-30-48

Text of the resolution adopted by Alabama Democratic elector candidates:

"Whereas, we were nominated by the Democrats of Alabama in the primary election, on a platform pledging that we would not cast the electoral votes of Alabama for Harry S Truman for President.

but would cast the electoral votes of Alabama for some Democrat acquainted and in sympathy with the problems of the South, and

"Whereas, a conference of States Rights Democrats was held in Jackson, Mississippi, on May 10, 1948, at which the Democrats in mass meeting assembled called on the Democratic parties of the several states to take the necessary steps to have the electoral vote of their respective states cast for a Democrat in sympathy with the views of our people and

Advertiser

"Whereas, at a meeting held in Birmingham, Alabama, on the 17th day of July, 1948, the Democrats of the South in meeting assembled recommended to the Democrats of the several states that they take the steps necessary to have the electoral votes of the several states cast for Honorable J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President of the United States and for Honorable Fielding Wright of Mississippi for vice-president of the United States, and

"Whereas, we have given due consideration to the recommendations made at the Birmingham meeting held on July 17, 1948, and are convinced that Honorable J. Strom Thurmond, Governor of South Carolina, is the choice of the Democrats of the other Southern states for President of the United States and that Honorable Fielding Wright, the Governor of Mississippi, is the choice of the Democrats of other Southern states for vice-president of the United States, and

"Whereas, Governor J. Strom Thurmond and Governor Fielding Wright are in hearty accord with the platform upon which we were nominated and the views of States Rights Democrats nation-wide for a return to constitutional government and the preservation of the rights of the several states in domestic matters, personal rights and personal liberties; more particularly such domestic matters as law enforcement, voting, employment practices and segregation, and

"Whereas, we regard it as vital and essential to the preservation of this republic that there be a return to constitutional government and due regard for the limitations placed on the federal government by the Constitution of the United States and due recognition of the powers reserved to the several states by that historic document, and

"Whereas, we believe the Philadelphia convention nominated a candidate for President that 90 per cent of the rank and file of the Democrats of the several states do not want. The convention was manipulated by masters of political intrigue and controlled by political bosses for selfish purposes and it deliberately thwarted instead of carrying out the wishes and will of the Democrats of the several states. We are convinced that the people do not want the nominees of the Republican convention or the nominees of the Democratic convention and the time has arrived when the people should be taken into consideration in electing men who will fill these high offices for the next four years. We prefer to present Governor Thurmond and Governor Wright as presidential and vice-presidential nominees to the Democrats of the United States and ask them to support these two men rather than having the candidates for the high office of President and vice-president picked by boss-dominated conventions.

"Now, therefore, be it resolved by the nominees of the Democratic Party in Alabama for presidential and vice-presidential electors, that we pledge the Democrats of Alabama and the Democrats of the nation that we will cast the electoral votes of the State of Alabama for the Honorable J. Strom Thurmond, Governor of South Carolina, for President of the United States and for the Honorable Fielding Wright, Governor of Mississippi, for vice-president of the United States.

"Be it further resolved, that the Honorable John A. Lusk, Jr., chairman of this meeting be, and he is authorized and requested to forward a copy of this resolution to the chairman of the State Executive Committee of the Democratic Party in each state and that the Honorable J. Strom Thurmond and the Honorable Fielding Wright, each be officially notified of the adoption of this resolution at a meeting to be held in

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States' Rights Parley Slated At Birmingham

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Thurs. 7-15-48

Delegation Will Include Delegates, Electors, Committee Executives

To Open Saturday

10 Others Are Listed Besides Committeeman And Committeewoman

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.—(AP)—A Dixie states rights' conference to adopt a plan opposing the national party's civil rights stand will be held in Birmingham Saturday, ex-Gov. Frank Dixon said Wednesday night.

Dixon, one of two Alabama members of the states rights campaign committee, said he had "been in touch with the Philadelphia convention" and that definite plans had been made to hold the meeting here.

Knife In Heart

Dixon issued the following statement:

"The National Democratic Party has put a knife in the heart of the South. I urge the good Democrats of Alabama to attend the Birmingham states rights meeting to register their protests and adopt plans for the future."

The former Alabama governor said further that first plans were to hold the meeting at the Tutwiler Hotel but arrangements had been made to have it at the 6,000 capacity city auditorium, if, he added, the response is what we expect in view of the new developments at the Philadelphia conventiton.

52-Man Group

Earlier Wednesday, State Democratic Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, named a 52-man Alabama delegation to the conference.

The Advertiser

At a recent meeting in Jackson, Miss., states' rights Democrats agreed to hold the Birmingham conference if the national convention nominated President Truman or adopted a platform on civil rights objectionable to them.

Montgomery, Ala.

Convention Delegates

The 52-man delegation includes Alabama's 26 convention delegates, 11 presidential electors, state party national executive committee and 10 other persons.

McCorvey said he was naming the delegation instead of calling the state committee into session because of the time element. With such a large delegation from Alabama, he said each delegate would have only a fractional vote.

PHILADELPHIA — (AP) — Governor Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, formally called Wednesday night for a meeting of Dixie Democrats in Birmingham, Saturday to designate a "states rights" Democratic candidate for president, opposing Harry S. Truman.

He issued the call shortly after the Mississippi delegation and half the Alabama delegates had stalked out of the Philadelphia convention in protest against the convention's endorsement of Mr. Truman's civil rights program.

"The Mississippi delegation is on its way to Birmingham," he told a reporter. "There will be a good many other states represented."

He said the Birmingham conference will suggest a man for the individual Southern states to nominate for president. The meeting will write a states rights platform, he said.

7-15-48

W. W. Wright, co-chairman with Governor Wright of the Southern States Rights Committee, joined in the announcement.

McCorvey named the following delegates to the Birmingham meeting:

J. M. Bonner, Camden; A. A. Carmichael, Montgomery; Eugene (Bull) Connor, Birmingham; Handy Ellis, Columbiana; Lister Hill, Montgomery; D. Hardy Riddle, Talladega; Chauncey Sparks, Eufaula; Albert Stapp, Birmingham; John E. Mandevill, Mobile; John L. Moore, Mobile.

Jeff B. Beeland, Greenville; Jimmie Faulkner, Bay Minette; E. C. (Bud) Boswell, Geneva; L. A. Farmer, Dothan; Tom C. King, Anniston; Graham Wright, Talladega; Roy Davis McCord, Gadsden; E. L. Roberts, Gadsden; Thomas H. Maxwell, Tuscaloosa; Henry J. Mayfield, Tuscaloosa; W. Burgess Mahan, Russellville; J. M. Miller, Cordova; W. W. Malone, Athens; Carl A. Morring, Jr., Huntsville; H. M. Abercrombie, Birmingham; J. K. Edwards, Brighton.

Fri.

Tom Abernethy, Talladega; Robert B. Albritton, Andalusia; Edmund Blair, Pell City; Ben Bloodworth, Decatur; Walter C. Givhan, Safford; Tully A. Goodwin, Florala; Norman W. Harris, Decatur; McCorvey; Walter F. Miller, Tuscumbia; Horace C. Wilkerson, Birmingham; John A. Lusk, Jr., Gadsden.

7-15-48

Marion Rushton, Montgomery; Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Montgomery; Mrs. Carolyn P. Coots, Attalla; Walter J. Price, Mobile; Nelson O. Fuller, Centerville.

John A. Altman, Carrollton; Ernest Campbell, Munford; Former Gov. Frank M. Dixon, Birmingham; Robert T. Goodwyn, Jr., Montgomery; Sam M. Johnston, Mobile; Hugh A. Locke, Birmingham; Wallace D. Malone, Dothan; B. Gaillard Robison, Jr., Carrollton; Sidney Smyer, Birmingham, and J. Earl Speight, Montgomery.

States' Rights Issue

The Post

The Democratic convention may have seemed to many rather a sorry spectacle of the breaking up of a famous old party. But, if it served no other purpose, at least it reminded us of the great basic principles on which this country was founded.

For the Southern Democrats, achieving real stature in their hour of defeat, had this to say—that the 13 colonies entered the Union to protect themselves on their right to local self-government and in their right to be free from the heavy hand of an imposed outside authority. The founders never envisioned what a hydraheaded monster their own central government would become under the leadership of unprincipled ambitious men taking advantage of a national emergency.

Washington D. C.

No amount of tinseled window dressing nor frantic eleventh hour beating of the breast at the plight of the common man (whose vote is their chief concern) can obscure the fact that once again both major parties have failed to present the country with the real issue, which is the issue of constitutional government versus statism.

7-26-48

For 16 long years the American people have been waiting for a man with vision and patriotism to lead them back to the broad free highway where there is room enough for them to march side by side.

Mon.

Dixie Democrats Alert Against Civil Rights Bills

Star
New York, N. Y.
Mon. 7-26-48

WASHINGTON, July 25 (AP)—Southern Democrats guardedly watched today for an effort by the Republican Senate majority to enact the civil rights program President Truman has urged.

Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi conceded a chance that at least one of the bills Truman asked Congress to enact would get through the special session.

Without actually saying so, acting Senate Majority Leader Kenneth Wherry of Nebraska has indicated the GOP command would call up a civil-rights bill first.

Wherry noted last week that three civil-rights bills were on the Senate calendar and ready for immediate debate. Others are pending in the House.

Mon.

The three are bills aimed at outlawing lynching, the poll tax and discrimination in employment.

Eastland and other southerners have served notice, however, that they will try to talk any of the three to death.

7-26-48

Dixiecrats May Try 'Unbeatable' Filibuster

WASHINGTON, July 25 (UP)—Parliamentary experts said today that unless someone stole a march the first day or two, the Dixie Democrats had an unbeatable filibuster technique handy to throttle any civil rights bill.

The system is known as "amending the journal." At the beginning of each new legislative day, the journal of the previous day's proceedings comes up for approval. Senate rules provide that it must be gotten out of the way before any other business can come up.

Usually the journal is "dispensed with" by unanimous consent. But if someone wants to prevent certain legislation from coming up, he can demand that it be read in full, and then start amending it.

There is no bar to the number or nature of amendments, and debate on each amendment is unlimited.

Star

What is more important, it has been held that the Senate's famous cloture rule cannot be used to shut off a talkathon based on amending the journal.

New York, N.Y.

Previous attempts to break that type of filibuster have failed. The most recent one was in January-February of 1946, when for 21 days Southern Senators "discussed" two amendments to the journal of Jan. 17 to block an effort by Sen. Dennis Chavez (D., N. M.) to get action on a fair employment practice bill.

7-26-48

States' Righters Capture Party In Louisiana

Mon. 9-13-48

The States' Rights Democrats can now add ten more electoral college votes to their total.

The senatorial campaign in Louisiana is over and Russell Long, son of Huey Long, has been nominated.

So meeting last week the Louisiana Democratic executive committee went over lock, stock and barrel to the States' Righters, eliminating the names of Truman and Barkley, the Democratic nominees, from the Democratic ballot and substituting instead the names of Thurmond and Wright, the States' Rights nominees.

Moreover, the committee, acting unanimously on motion of Judge Leander Perez, explained its unprecedented action of changing candidates in midstream in a scorching denunciation of the President's civil rights program declaring it to be its duty to "support candidates for president and vice president who will preserve the traditions of the people of this state and protect their right of self-government and all other state's rights in accordance with our American way of constitutional government."

To prevent a split in the anti-Truman vote the State's Rights Democrats, who had already qualified their electors with the secretary of state of Louisiana, will be asked to withdraw their ticket, now that they have captured the Democratic party organization. And this is, of course, expected to be done.

What the national Democratic party will do in Louisiana now is not certain. They may follow the course adopted in South Carolina where also the Dixiecrats have taken over the party machinery and set up a separate organization to put out a list of "real" Democratic electors. Or the loyal Democrats may resort to a write-in campaign. Either course, however, is likely to be futile. Louisiana, like South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama, can be written off as lost. This talk of court action against Louisiana is nonsense. The national party cannot control the state parties.

Apparently the national Democratic party had been banking on Governor Earl Long's remaining faithful to President Truman. Obviously it has proved to be a vain hope. The unanimous action of the Louisiana executive committee could not have been taken without Governor Long's approval.

And the addition of the 10 Louisiana electoral college votes to the Thurmond-Wright total would give the Dixiecrats as of today between 38 and 45 electoral votes—it takes 266 to win and Dewey will be elected—Alabama, 11; Louisiana, 10; Mississippi, 9; South Carolina, 8, plus a possibility of four more from Florida and three more from Tennessee. And in either case this is more than Landon got in 1936 and more than Taft got in 1912.

The States' Righters may of course lose their four Florida votes and be forced to make a contest of it as a result of the special session of the Florida legislature, called to straighten out the situation resulting from the announcement by four of the eight Democratic electors in Florida that they would vote for Thurmond and Wright instead of Truman and Barkley. The special session is intended to put two so-called Democratic tickets in the field in Florida, one committed to Truman and one to Thurmond, in which the case the Florida voters would decide the issue.

But the Louisiana victory is not expected to be the last such seizure of Democratic machinery in the South. There is Georgia where the Democratic primary is now over with Herman Talmadge named as the new Governor of Georgia. Talmadge conducted his campaign on what may be termed a States' Rights Democratic platform and it would be consistent and logical therefore if he should use his influence, which would be controlling, to carry the official Democratic party of Georgia over to the Dixiecrats.

And there may be others although not many.

STATES' RIGHTS KITTY SHOWS MERE $13,449

Appeal

And It's Been Overdrawn By $1446, Headquarters Says In Retort To Pearson

Tues. 9-21-48

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Mississippi, Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 20.—Despite reports that the States' Rights Democratic organization has reecived large contributions from oil interests, the national headquarters here Monday disclosed donations of only $13,449 through Aug. 31.

On top of that, expenses as of that date were $14,890, leavin a "book overdraft" of $1441.

Pearson Charge Denied

Release of the financial report was coupled with a denial by Merrit Gibson, national campaign director, of a statement Sunday night by Drew Pearson that a $200.000 gift had been made the organization by H. R. Culien, wealthy oil man of Houston, Texas.

"It is not true that Mr. Cullen contributed one penny to the States' Rights national campaign fund," Mr. Gibson said. "All receipts will be reported according to law and they will be self-explanatory."

The financial statement, covering the period Aug. 4 through Aug. 31, showed total expenses of $14,890. The $13,440 in contributions included $2672 turned over to the group by the Mississippi State Democratic Campaign Committee after it became a national party.

First official action linking the group with a national setup was Aug. 3 when the Mississippi Democratic Convention nominated Governor Thurmond of South Carolina for President, and Governor Wright of Mississippi for vice president.

Inverness Gives $1590

Tues 9-21-48

Largest contribution listed by Mr. Gibson was $1590 from citizens of Inverness in the Delta. The largest individual donation was $540 from Frank Wynne of Meridian. The H. D. Holder Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy gave $200, as did W. M. Drake of Church Hill. John S. Mosby of Little Rock, donated $250.

LET THE DIXIECRATS BEWARE

Sat 8-28-48

It is interesting, but not surprising, to note that a political Gallup poll published last week, revealed that at that time, the Dixiecrats in the Southern states had the support of one in every seven voters below the Mason and Dixon line.

On the first survey to be conducted on the popularity of Governor J. Strom Thurmond since his nomination for president by the States Rights party. Thurmond polled 14 per cent throughout the 13 southern states as a group.

Throughout the south, interviewers for the Gallup Polls institute put the following questions to southern voters in a survey begun immediately after the formation of the States Rights party: "If the presidential election were being held today, how would you vote—for Dewey, for Truman, for Wallace, or for Thurmond?" The results among those qualified, and who said they intended to vote in November, were, for: Truman, 41 per cent; Dewey, 34; Thurmond, 14; Wallace, 02; and those who gave no opinion, 09.

On the surface, this 14 per cent of the vote taken from the recognized Democratic party, can mean little more to the Dixiecrats than one cutting off his nose to spite his face. But, this is a thing characteristic of these 14 per centers, and it is a thing that for lo lo! these many years have made these 14 per centers a mill-stone about the neck of the Democratic party as a whole.

It has long been the hue and cry of this 14 per cent group that the Republicans constitutes the party of the "Special privilege class." That's the only thing they've ever said that we heartily agree with. But, on the other hand, what are they going to do about it?

Sat 8-28-48

All we are able to see is: that they are going to hash the Democratic party up into so many pieces that its own sire won't know it, and, as a result, hand the November election over to their Republican arch enemies, on a silver platter.

And why? Because the right-wing of the Democratic party has recognized the truth of and is proposing to carry out the tennets of that golden phrase by someone: that we cannot be a srong naion "half slave and half free." and let us add: half privileged, and half under privileged.

Now, this latter phrase the Dixiecrats well know, as regards themselves, and is one of the principles in life, (whether they kuew it to be a principle or not) they have long fought fast and hard for, but not including that group God made wth black faces.

Let the Dixiecrats beware!

Wright Warns South Must 'Stand Solid'

Bir. News

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

SELMA, Ala., Oct. 19—The South must either "stand solid" or "endure a shameful period of social and economic exploitation," Mississippi Gov. Fielding Wright warned in a speech prepared for delivery here today.

"We have our choice," the States' Rights vice presidential candidate told members of the Dallas County Farm Bureau. "Either we assert our political maturity by balloting overwhelmingly for constitutional government and our traditions, or we divide our strength and thus fall prey to the grasping tactics of Truman or Dewey."

Speaking before a barbecue rally attended by various political leaders from over the state at Twilley's Lake, near Selma, Gov. Strom Thurmond's running mate asserted:

"Both the Truman Democrats and the Republicans have agreed to exploit the Southern states for the sake of clamoring minority groups in the North.

"With vicious phrases and vainglorious words, the platforms written by those parties in Philadelphia were designed to create a social, economic and political wasteland South of the Mason-Dixon Line."

Meantime, State Democratic Executive Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, one of the 11 Alabama Democratic elector nominees pledged to Thurmond and Wright, was lashing out in two directions at critics of the States' Rights and in Alabama.

Striking back at the CIO-PAC in Birmingham, McCorvey characterized as "merest rot and buncombe" a claim by this organized labor group that his interest in state ownership of tidelands as an oil company attorney led him to support the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Tues 10-19-48

* * *

McCORVEY ALSO TOOK A POKE at Gov. Folsom's recent declaration for President Truman. He said that Folsom and other Truman suporters deliberately had avoided placing Truman elector candidates on the November ballot for fear of "being snowed under."

The CIO-PAC asserted that the "real issue" motivating the States' Righters was "tidelands oil money and what's best for the corporations and real estate lobbies." McCorvey was referred to as attorney for two large oil companies.

The state chairman admitted he was attorney for "some major oil companies and other corporations." But he added that none of them had "directly or indirectly" suggested the question of tidelands in connection with the States' Rights campaign.

Gov. Wright, in his Selma address, struck out against both Republicans and national Democrats, declaring that the "so-called civil rights proposals of Truman and Dewey were aimed directly at the South."

"Don't be misled," the vice presidential aspirant said, "We are the targets. The weapons were forged in Philadelphia by subversive forces who have seized control of the national Democratic Party and the Republican Party. Either we resist these forces are we are conquered."

The Mississippi executive warned that not only would social traditions of the South be disrupted by passage of "civil rights" measures of Dewey and Truman, but that the "great progress made by Southern states in agriculture, industry and commerce will be throttled."

Tues 10-19-48

* * *

WRIGHT SAID THE LINE has been sharply drawn between the States' Righters and "Democrat-Republican-Progressive," and that the political battle would continue long after the Nov. 2 election.

He pointed out that Alabama always has fought for states' rights and praised this state's senators and representatives for their stand against the FEPC and other "subversive legislation designed to injure the South."

"We of Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana and other Southern states join with you in this historic struggle," Gov. Wright told the Black Belt gathering. "We have served warning to those selfish politicians who believed they could snub the South and barter away our birthrights of freedom."

Rep. Walter C. Givhan, president of the Dallas Farm Bureau and himself one of the state's 11 Democratic elector nominees, presided at the rally. Gov. Wright and members of his party were greeted by other elector nominees (all 11 were invited) and States' Rights leaders at the Albert Hotel here before the barbecue.

Judge Wilkinson States States Rights Objectives

Columbia Record

Judge Horace C. Wilkinson of Birmingham, States Rights candidate for elector in Alabama, made out as good a case as can be made for the States Rights party or semi-party in his speech Friday night at Sumter.

Mon 8-30-48

There was in his speech some Southern oratory which would have been better omitted but the four objectives of the States Rights party as listed by him were sanely put and reasoned.

Columbia S.C.

But Judge Wilkinson's oratory and his arguments cannot conceal the fact that the States Righters are pursuing a will-o'-the-wisp. When he holds out the hope that the Thurmond-Wright ticket will get enough electoral votes to give Thurmond a fair chance of election in the House of Representatives, he is ignoring history. Only twice in history has the election of a President been thrown into the House.

The first occasion occurred in 1800 when Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, both candidates of the Republican, now called the Democratic, party received the same number of votes for the presidency. This was in the day when it was the custom of the electors to make no distinction between their votes for the president and the vice president. They simply voted for two candidates, the one receiving the largest number of votes becoming president and the one the next largest vice president. Jefferson and Burr—Jefferson was the party's choice for president—were running against John Adams and Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, the Federalist party candidates. The Republicans won but since all of the Republican electors voted for both Jefferson and Burr, the tie resulted. In the House through the influence of Alexander Hamilton, leader of the Federalist party and Jefferson's long time political rival, Jefferson was chosen as president, as the Republicans intended.

Mon 8-30-48

The second occasion that forced the election of the President by the House occurred in 1824. By that time the once strong Federalist party had become so weak it did not even attempt to put a presidential candidate in the race. But this did not mean that there was any lack of competition for the office. Four Republicans—i. e., Democrats—tried to get it. They were Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford and Henry Clay. Each received enough electoral votes to prevent any one of the others from receiving the necessary majority. Jackson led with 99, Adams had 84, Crawford 41 and Clay 37. The constitution had been amended meanwhile to provide that the House should choose the president from a [illegible] the three highest candidates. This provision automatically eliminated Clay. Before the House could convene William H. Crawford suffered a stroke which put him out of the running. The contest was, therefore, narrowed to a choice between Jackson and Adams, and Jackson having received the largest popular and electoral vote expected to be president. The House through the influence of Clay, then its speaker, chose Adams instead. Jackson had to run again four years later and this time was elected.

Mon 8-30-48

Neither of the circumstances which led to these two elections by the House are likely to occur again. Now the electors are required to vote for one man for president and one man for vice president. No party puts four candidates in the field any more. The device of the party convention, which hadn't been invented in 1824, prevents this.

The Republicans, Dewey and Warren, will be elected in November. Nothing the States Rights Democrats can do will really help or hinder them. What the States Righters can do—and it is the one positive gain from a negative movement—was suggested in Judge Wilkinson's second objective. "We will educate the people of this nation on the perilous departure from constitutional government advocated by the three nominees of the Philadelphia conventions," he said. And to a certain extent the States Rights movement has helped to advertise the importance of states rights everywhere. The weakness of the effort derives from the fact that it is not being made within the two-party system. The States Rights party, if it be a party, cannot hope to be anything but a minority party forever out in the cold. It may have right on its side—and to a considerable extent it does have—but a political party needs more than right; it needs votes.

The States Right movement, however, is suffering from schizophrenia—split personality. It is a party and it isn't. As Judge Wilkinson said, "We will preserve the Democratic party in our respective states." This makes the States Righters undertakers and embalers in the Southern states or those states in which it has taken over the Democratic party machinery for the historic Democratic party, which is as dead as Pharaoh.

The States Rights movement is a sort of halfway house. It represents the Southern attempt to cling to word worship for another four years. In 1952 when the disaster at Philadelphia is repeated, with some additional trimmings, the South may get mad enough to go the whole hog and set up the two-party system.

DIXIECRAT DOUBLE-TALK

The [illegible]

Mon 8-30-48

Wash. D.C.

The Dixiecrats, who lost their shirts at the Philadelphia Democratic convention, began dealing some fast ones from the bottom of the deck after they returned home.

They began building a political organization of their own on the cockeyed premise that their beloved "states rights" took precedence over the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

They announced they would have candidates of their own running for president and vice president. This, they said, would give Southerners an opportunity to show how they felt about that rebel Harry Truman and his dad-blasted civil rights program.

Then they began a campaign to keep Truman's name off the ballot!

Temporarily, they have succeeded in Alabama and Louisiana.

We say "temporarily" because there's a chance legal action can be taken to get Truman's name on the ballot.

The Dixiecrats, who had full opportunity at Philadelphia to vote on the party's nominee, are trying to deny citizens of two states the right to vote on the man the party nominated.

This disgraceful behavior goes with the double-talk about "rights" which has been coming from Dixiecrats.

So there will be no misunderstanding, we state flatly that we feel the same way about those who seek to keep Henry Wallace's name on the ballot.

* * *

Alabama's Votes Are Pledged To Thurmond-Wright Ticket

Commerical Appeal Memphis Tenn
memphis. Tenn.

By STANLEY ATKINS
Associated Press Staff Writer

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 29.—Alabama Democratic Elector nominees Thursday night pledged the state's 11 electoral votes to the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights ticket.

Chairman John A. Lusk Jr., Gadsden, said a resolution to that effect was adopted at a special caucus attended by seven of the 11 electors. He said the other four, who were unable to be present, agreed to the pledge. Fri. 7-30-48

The action was the first by Southern electors in support of the States' Rights ticket chosen at the convention in Birmingham July 17.

At that meeting, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina was recommended for President and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for vice president.

Pledged Against Truman

Alabama's electors, like Mississippi's, are pledged against voting for President Truman in the Electoral College.

Mississippi States' Rights supporters will meet Tuesday at Jackson, Miss., in ar econvened session of the State Democratic Party. A similar pledge to support the Thurmond-Wright ticket is expected to be made at the session.

The Alabama electors' resolution said in part:

"Governor Thurmond and Governor Wright are in hearty accord with the platform upon which we were nominated and the views of States' Rights Democrats (throughout the Nation) for a return to constitutional government and the preservation of the rights of the several states in domestic matters, personal rights and personal liberties, more particularly such domestic matters as law enforcement, voting, employment practices and segregation. Fri. 7-30-48

Score Philadelphia Action

"We believe the Philadelphia Convention nominated a candidate for president that 90 per cent of ther ank and file of the Democrats of the several states do not want.

"The convention was manipulated by masters of political intrigue and controlled by political bosses for selfish purposes, and it deliberately thwarted instead of carrying out the wishes and will of the Democrats of the several states."

Half of Alabama's 26-man delegation and all of the Mississippi delegation walked out of the Philadelphia convention over the civil rights issue.

Governors Thurmond and Wright announced Wednesday plans for an intensive national campaign opening Aug. 11. This drive is to start at a States' Rights rally at Houston, Texas, at which Governor Thurmond will formally accept the nomination. 7-30-48

Laney Did Not Know About Appointment

From The Commercial Appeal
Little Rock Bureau

LITTLE ROCK, July 29.—Governor Laney said Thursday his appointment as chairman of a Steering Committee to map campaign plans for States' Rights Democratic presidential candidates "was made without my knowledge."

The Governor received a telegram from South Carolina's Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, recommended as a presidential candidate on a States' Rights ticket, informing him of his appointment to head the Steering Committee.

"This action was taken without my knowledge," Governor Laney said. "I haven't agreed to serve so far, and will have to give the matter some consideration."

He declared he still was against President Truman's civil rights proposals, but added the civil rights question and heading a committee to run a campaign "are entirely two different things."

"I am in sympathy with this group, and will be available to assist them in some capacity," he said.

Meanwhile, John Daggett of Marianna, a member of the States Rights Democrats' Executive Committee, announced Governor Thurmond planned to speak in Arkansas on Aug. 2 6and 27. Mr. Daggett said the places would be announced later.

NEW ORLEANS, July 29.—(UP)—Al C. Terrebonne, an official of the New Orleans States' Rights Democrats, said Thursday night "The time is not too far off when the white and colored people of the South will be working together to find a solution to the horrible racial conditions in the Northern states."

". . . I want to make it clear that no sinsible citizen of the South claims that our racial situation is perfect . . . but our local conditions are 100 per cent better than the slums of New York, Chicago and Philadelphia," he said.

Terrebone, a member of the temporary General Committee, spoke over a radio station in New Orleans. Fri. 7-30-48

"I further think it is safe to say . . . that hundreds of our colored friends already know and understand that they are being used as tools by these vote-hungry Northern politicians, who keep pointing at the South to cover up the cruel and filthy conditions in their own sectionso f the country," he said.

He charged that the three presidential candidates, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, President Truman and Henry Wallace, "have proposed to short cut and detour the American form of government, home rule and constitutional States' Rights to catch the balance of power vote in November of 1948."

Mr. Terrebonne said most voters did not have the time to "read the fine print" of the civil rights proposals, and the presidential candidates were relying on this to get them to "swallow the poisonous contents of their political bottles."

"There can be no dictatorship or totalitarian government in any land that retains States' Rights and local home rule," he said.

States' Rights Report Shows $122,192 Given

Courier Journal
Sat 10-30-48
Louisville Ky.

Jackson, Miss., Oct. 29 (AP)—States' Rights Democrats' third financial report shows contributions totaling $122,192.88 and expenditures amounting to $111,644.77 for the period August 4 through Wednesday.

George C. Wallace, Jackson, national treasurer of the organization, said today the report was mailed to the clerk of the House of Representatives prior to [illegible] night Thursday in com with the Hatch Act.

Dixiecrat Denounces Rights-Klan Suggestio

The News
Birmingham Ala.

A leader in the States' Rights movement yesterday labeled as "maliciously false" the recent criticism by Atty. Gen. A. A. Carmichael of the Thurmond-Wright ticket and its supporters.

Carmichael, speaking to the Methodist Committee for Social Action in Montgomery, said the States' Righters were linked with the Ku Klux Klan and that their aim is to pave the way for a Republican victory this November.

Atty. Horace Wilkinson replied to the attorney general with this statement: 9-5-48

"Carmichael's maliciously false statement, so far as the States' Rights group is concerned, was not original with him. He only repeated some maliciously false statements that others had prepared for him.

"I greatly fear that some designing and unscrupulous politicians have taken advantage of him. Carmichael pretends that he is for Truman and against the FEPC. Two-thirds of the inmates of our asylums have more sense than to expect people to accept a statement of that kind. The only way to keep Alabama from going Republican is to vote for Thurmond and Wright.

"Wallace, Dewey and Truman all favor FEPC. All of them want to make our way of life conform to a Russian pattern. It is regrettable that Mr. Carmichael is unable to appreciate that." 9-5-48

States' Rights And Federalism

"That all should cry, 'Beware! Beware!
His flashing eye, his floating hair . . .'"

Tues 9-7-48
Columbia S.C.

Alabama's attorney general breathing hard, makes it out that the States' Rights movement is a trap for fools that has been set by knaves. But the great Baltimore Sun disagrees. Although doubting that the movement will sweep the country, The Sun calls it "the most dignified and intellectually the most honest political movement launched in the South in several generations."

This should interest the equally hard-breathing editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

"I Sat Back and Reflected," Editor McGill captions a recent column. "It being late in the evening," he explains, "and I alone in the office, I gave way to reflection." We lesser editorialists can barely manage just to put our reflections down, but Ralph obliges always with a nice pen picture of himself reflecting as he reflects. This time he is reflecting on the awful hyprocrisy of our southern people in talking States' Rights and nevertheless accepting federal monies for this and that, and even, some of us, wanting federal aid to education. "We cannot in honesty stand and say that what we are fighting for is the purity of states' rights," he reflects, sitting there, late in the evening, alone in his office.

We are not fighting for States' Rights in a vacuum or as a pure abstraction. We are fighting for the principle because we happen to have in our race problem a more powerful and peculiar need of the principle than any other people in America. The fact nominates us now to lead—as we are doing—an America turned, everywhere and for many reasons, against federalism gone mad. Tues 9-7-48

To affirm the principle which some call home rule, some local self-government, and we States' Rights, is not to propose secession from the United States, or from either the duties or the perquisites of belonging. We mean to go on being Uncle Sam's nephew, of course. We mean to go on contributing more fighting men per capita than any other Americans when war comes. We mean to go on paying our federal taxes, engaging in interstate commerce, adding our songs and loves and cultural achievements and birth rates to a nation's total. And we mean to go on participating in those governmental benefits which, in counties as regards states and in states as regards Washingt are a recognition of the fact that e are in most respects a people together, that the federal government does have an obligation to us all, and that even though there are many things the states can handle far better than the federal government there are others which can only be dealt with practically from Washington.

If your heart is in the right place, Ralph, (and if you reflect hard, all alone there, and shuck some corn), you will understand these things. There is a difference between Secession and States' Rights. Indeed they are opposites. Nobody, in the South or anywhere, wants Secession. But nearly everybody, all over the country, not just those you call "Dixiecrats," thinks this a time for reemphasis of States' Rights. Tues 9-7-48

That pronouncement from the World Council of Churches about Capitalism and Communism both being sinful and about how we need one for freedom and the other for welfare sounds so familiar that you would almost believe our American Bishop Oxnam had been made one of the Council's six presidents. And, by a singular coincidence, he has. Editor Caleb King, says in The Florida Times-Union that this selection "will disappoint Americans who had been praying that great good might come out of the work of this world wide body." Bishop Oxnam is European minded. He believes in the participating government and the participating church. But unless we Americans stand out against excesses of both, the twain are going to meet, and what will there be then?

It is indeed disappointing to most Americans, I believe, to have the World Council balance Capitalism and Communism, as it does, implying that Capitalism means freedom but Communism welfare, and that the two must get together. For Communism is not only a Godless system but it is one which, as witnesses the only land where it has ever been tried out, provides neithor freedom nor welfare. In America, the only land where capitalism is still the unblushing rule, we happen to have with all our sins more freedom and more welfare than any other nation on earth. The World Council, of course, is a council of religious, not economic leaders. That explains its mistake. But it does not explain how it is persuaded to compromise its religious leadership by going in for politics and economics. Tues 9-7-48

And then Editor Brainard Cooper, of The Chattanooga News-Free Press, makes point against the Mayor Humphrey type of oratory that says "Let's forget about States' Rights and bask in the sunlight of human rights." In the long run, he says, "you can't have human rights without states' rights." The more total and centralized and participating a government is, the more human rights are likely to be destroyed. It is something for Mayor Humphrey to think about. And Bishop Oxnam and Attorney General Carmichael, and the Lone Reflector in great Grady's chair.

SOLID SOUTH IS BROKEN BY 'DIXIECRAT' INROADS

The Times

34d

Sun 9-12-48

'Fourth Party' May Pave Way for GOP Capture of Some States

New York, N.Y.

By W. H. LAWRENCE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11—Seven weeks before the campaign ends, the four-way battle for political preferment in Southern and border states with their 148 electoral votes still is far from the climactic stage, but these trends are now developing:

The "Dixiecrats" may be able to take enough regular Democratic votes away to give the Republicans a victory in one or more of the following states: North Carolina (14 electoral votes), Virginia (11), Tennessee (12), and Oklahoma (10). This prospect is conceded privately by some Democrats, and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey intends to campaign at least in North Carolina and Virginia.

The "Dixiecrats" chalked up a surprise gain when the Louisiana Democratic Central Committee took President Truman's name off the ballot. This seems to insure Louisiana's ten votes for Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, the "Dixiecrat" candidates.

Sun 9-12-48

"Dixiecrats" also seem to have a stranglehold on the electoral votes of Mississippi (9), Alabama (11), and four of Florida's eight, with an excellent chance of winning Governor Thurmond's home state, South Carolina (8).

The regular Democratic ticket of President Truman and Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky seems to have good prospects for taking the electoral votes of Arkansas (9), Georgia (12), Kentucky (11), Texas (23), and four from Florida.

Setback in Indiana

The "Dixiecrats" stubbed their toe when they invaded Indiana in an effort to get on the ballot. They may have provided the regular Democratic organization with the ammunition needed to make the new party unpopular with Southern Democrats who are against Mr. Truman but still are not sympathetic to the Republicans.

The Indianapolis Star, an independent Republican newspaper, said Thursday that Republican State Chairman H. Clark Springer admitted that GOP headquarters had provided mimeograph equipment to prepare the petition forms upon which the "Dixiecrats" obtained 11,084 voters' signatures.

Frank Kimbrell, Jackson, Miss. attorney and "Dixiecrat" organizer, made the request for GOP help in getting on the Indiana ballot, and later paid approximately 6 cents per signature to petition passers. But the validity of the signatures now is under attack in a number of court actions.

The importance of this issue is that an attempt can now be made to label the "Dixiecrat" party throughout the South as a Republican "puppet," rather than a dissident Democratic group fighting for principles in which a majority of Southerners believe.

Democratic Efforts

This picture, as of today, represents a synthesis of views expressed by Democrats, Republicans and "Dixiecrats," with whom this correspondent has spoken. The time before the campaign ends, however, is sufficient to permit drastic changes to occur by Nov. 2.

Regular Democrats are making the major effort. Separate slates of electors are being selected to oppose the party organizations in Mississippi and South Carolina, which seceded with the "Dixiecrat" founders. A court fight will be necessary to get the President's name on the ballot in Alabama. Top Democratic leaders already have called for the resignation of Governor Thurmond and Marion Rushton of Alabama as National Committee members; if they do not voluntarily quit, their seats will be declared vacant because they have deserted the national ticket.

It is probably safe to say that the "Dixiecrat" spokesmen, in their emphasis on opposition to President Truman's civil-rights program and advocacy of state's rights, voice the sentiments of a majority of Southerners. But it is by no means clear, as yet, that this majority is willing to bolt the Democratic ticket and support a fourth slate or go Republican.

Sun 9-12-48

What the Democrats fear are defections by a sizable minority in states where active Republican organizations exist and where the margin of victory in 1944 was none too satisfactory. That is why North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Oklahoma are listed as states which might be swung into the Republican electoral column by a plurality.

The thing that is hurting the Democrats most in the South is the lack of funds and top campaigners. This section normally comes up with $1,000,000 in a Presidential campaign year, but this year there has been only a slow trickle of money. Faced with an internal fight in the South, most of the party's leading statesmen from Southern states in Congress apparently will lend aid neither to the regular Democrats nor "Dixiecrat" organizations.

Senator Barkley, the Vice Presidential nominee, is, of course, an exception. So is Senator Claude Pepper of Florida. None of the other Senators has lined up with the "Dixiecrat" movement although they are equally opposed to the President's civil-rights program which precipitated the split.

Truman Uncompromising

Sun 9-12-48

Despite the fact that he is fighting an uphill battle for re-election, President Truman has thus far given no sign of attempting to mollify either the "Dixiecrats" or those Southern leaders who, while not bolting, are not inclined to give the national ticket any help. His call for an extra session of Congress in which he reiterated his demand for the civil-rights legislation so distasteful to all Southern Congressmen was proof that he meant to fight the battle for the White House on his own terms.

The Republicans, given a liberal dose of confidence by every new published public opinion poll, are not counting on any Southern electoral votes to put Governor Dewey in the White House, but they are overlooking no bets in the long-range effort to make the two-party system more of a reality in the South. The Republicans in the South are waging one of the most intensive publicity campaigns in modern history. Herbert Brownell, GOP campaign manager, has announced that a leading Republican will speak in each Southern state for the Dewey-Warren ticket.

Mo Advertiser

Sat 10-16-48

34d

South Snubbed By Trumanites, Bloch Asserts

Georgia States' Rights Leader Says President Fooled By Dixie Stand

Montgomery, Ala.

350 Attend Rally

Thurmond Vote Is Asked By Rushton From All Supporting His Views

By WILLIAM McDONALD and FOSTER HALEY

Two fiery Dixiecrats lashed out at President Truman and his civil rights program last night at a meeting of about 350 ardent States' Righters at the City Auditorium here.

The principal speakers were Charles J. Bloch, one of Georgia's presidential electors and the man who nominated Senator Russell (D), Georgia, for president at the Democratic convention, and Col. Marion D. Rushton, an Alabama States' Rights Democratic leader.

Judge Walter B. Jones, of Montgomery, presided. A 15-piece brass band lent color and music to the event.

Bloch declared that "The Democratic Party stuck with the tenth amendment to the U. S. Constitution until beyond 1944; but abandoned it, and all States' Righters with it, at the Democratic convention in 1948 by adopting Truman's civil rights planks over heated and prolonged protest."

South Deserted

The Georgiana was emphatic in his assertion that the Democratic Party has deserted the South and the States' Rights Party.

"Truman took advantage of the solid block of votes in the South," Bloch averred. "He thought the South could be depended on to stay with the Democratic Party, but he discovered otherwise."

Col. Rushton declared: "Vote for Wallace, if you want to. Vote for Dewey, if you weer raised that way. You can't vote for Truman, but you can fuss about it. Vote for Thurmond, if you were raised that way!"

Rushton said that the Negro problem belonged to the South and no one else, adding:

"It will be settled by education, evolution, patience and growth. Legislation is not the solution, although the majority of the people outside of the South think it is . . .

"The South has to educate 120 million people outside the South to understand the problems of the 20 million that live in the South. Otherwise, the

Sat 10-16-48

"People of the rest of the country will try to MAKE the South settle the race question, and that will only stir up trouble every where and settle nothing."

The main speakers were preceded by the presentation of the Alabama flag—that was snatched from a balcony at the last Democratic Convention—to Mrs. Marie Bankhead Owen, director of the State Department of Archives and History.

The man who snatched the flag, Jesse Edwards, a delegate from Brighton ,Ala., made the presentation.

Edwards described the Truman civil rights plank as "something that must have been written by the press agent of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

"Didn't Belong There"

He explained that the reason he cut down the flag was "because it didn't belong there."

Those present i nthe audience enthusiastically greeted the anti-Truman sallies tossed frequently int othe microphone by the speakers, and were vociferous in their approval of pro-Southern sentiment.

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Mrs. Owen, in receiving the convention flag, was acclaimed by particularly hearty applause when she pointed out that "a survey made by the Library of Congress showed that the most popular and beloved song in the entire world was none other than 'Dixie'."

Sat 10-16-48

The presence of persons from Luverne, Selma, Tuskegee and other nearby towns was noted in the audience.

Ala. Advertiser

State Dixiecrat Group Will Stump For Texas Party

34d

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Oct. 17 — (AP) — A group of Alabama's States' Rights Democrats are scheduled to leave by chartered plane tomorrow for Houston, Tex., and an extensive campaign for the States' Rights Party in Texas.

Mon 10-18-48

Headquarters of the States' Rights Party here said members of the group will attend a rally and barbecue at Houston, where Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas will speak.

Montgomery Ala

The group will participate in a speaking campaign designed to carry the States' Rights platform and objectives into every county in Texas, headquarters here said.

Members of the Alabama group will include Frank M. Dixon, Birmingham, former Alabama governor; John E. Mandeville, Mobile, a delegate to the National Democratic Convention last Summer; Robert B. Albritton, Andalusia, Democratic nominee for elector from Alabama; former U. S. Representative George Huddleston, Sr., Birmingham; Col. O. P. Lee, Opelika attorney, and U. S. Representative George Andrews, Union Springs.

LANEY, THE ARKANSAS TRAVELER

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas seems to have a record of marching up the hill, then marching back down. Now he's a Dixiecrat, now he ain't.

In the beginning he was a prime mover. In Philadelphia he presided over the states rights rump convention. He was booked as the nominee of the Southern bolting element—the answer to Truman.

Sat

7-31-48

As late as Wednesday, the day Truman was nominated, Laney was anticipating his nomination. We recall that on Wednesday morning his two emissaries, Senators McClellan and Fullbright of Arkansas, arrived at the Alabama section in the convention hall to make sure that Alabama, first on the roll call, would yield to Arkansas for the purposes of Laney nomination.

Chairman Handy Ellis explained that the Alabama delegation, unwilling to take even a remote chance of Truman's name being placed first in nomination, had decided to yield or pass, to no one. Neither Arkansas senator said much, but McClellan, a man with cross black eyes, departed with a scowl on his face.

Sat

7-31-48

It is believed that Gov. Laney, a bulldoggish looking little man who speaks out of the side of his mouth, got a sore toe out of this. In any event, that afternoon the convention adopted its 21-carat version of a Civil Rights plank. And Laney announced that he could not allow his name to be used by a convention associated with anything so despicable. This was not an impressive explanation since, in any event, the convention was associated with something so despicable as Truman.

The Advertiser

Just after, in Birmingham, Laney would not take an active part in the Dixiecrat convention. He remained aloof in his hotel and issued a statement that, in essence condemned the convention. He said "revenge and obstinacy" were not the spirit of the South.

Montgomery, Ala

Some days later, back in Arkansas, Laney said we must seek deliverance within the national party.

Sat. 7-31-48

We assumed that this was exeunt Laney. But now we read that Laney will serve on a seven-man steering committee of the Dixiecrats.

His Nibs may well be called "The Arkansas Traveler."

Dixiecrat Pattern Lacks Forthrightness

(En Editorial In The Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock)

Down in Louisiana a few politicians sitting on the Democratic State Central Committee have decided that Govs. Thurmond and Wright shall be the Democratic nominees for president and vice president. As a result of their decision Dixiecrat electors will go on the Louisiana ballot under the rooster, in the place where Democrats have always appeared. And those Louisiana Democrats who want to vote for their party's nominees—Harry Truman and Alben Barkley—may do so only by writing in the names of 10 electors on the ballot.

This, Gov. Thurmond says happily, sets a pattern, and he predicts that other Southern states will follow it. An effort in that direction is being made in Arkansas—with the difference that the Dixiecrats will have to capture a whole state convention instead of a mere committee before they can deny the Truman-Barkley ticket its proper place on the ballot.

The maneuver is based on the theory that the Democratic nominees named in Philadelphia, and the platform adopted there, are not acceptable to Arkansas Democrats. But this argument comes late in the day. The issue was drawn clearly in Philadelphia. Gov. Laney, in offering himself as the Dixiecrat candidate, refused to commit himself to support the convention's nominee. As a result most of the Southern delegations which had endorsed him began to fall away, until finally Gov. Laney withdrew. The Georgia delegation, for instance, unanimously voted against Gov. Laney on the ground that it would not participate in a party bolt, and instead announced support of Sen. Russell of Georgia who had indicated that he would accept the verdict of the convention whatever it might be. It was with this clear understanding that Sen. Russell finally received the South's protest vote. The only delegates who indicated their unwillingness to support the nominee of the convention in which they had participated were those from Mississippi and Alabama who walked out. The others, including Gov. Thurmond and Gov. Laney and the entire Arkansas delegation, stayed with the convention until the end.

The moral obligation to support the party nominees implied by this record is, however, the least important aspect of the matter at hand. There is only one way to prove the Dixiecrats' contention that the national Democratic leadership is unacceptable to the South. That, of course, is to submit the proposition to the people as simply and directly as possible. And the only way to do that is to make certain that the Democratic electors are, as they always have been, committed to the nominees of the Democratic Party, while those who oppose Mr. Truman offer a slate of clearly-identified electors pledged to another candidate of their choice.

The Southern Democrats took their case against Mr. Truman to Philadelphia, presented it ably, and were voted down by an overwhelming majority. Those who cannot accept the verdict of the national convention are free to withdraw from the party and fight the Democratic nominee in the general election. The strongest indictment against the Dixiecrat cause is the apparent unwillingness of its leaders to follow that simple and forthright course. The fact that they are instead relying upon intra-party manipulation which would prevent a free expression of the popular will stands as evidence that, while they may sincerely believe in the justice of their cause, they entertain grave doubts as to its popularity.

Birmingham, Ala.

Governor Thurmond Repudiates Rabble-Rouser Support

South Carolinians generally and the Dixiecrats throughout the South may take pride for the summary way in which Governor J. Strom Thurmond, the Birmingham nominee for the presidency, dismissed and repudiated the offer of Gerald L. K. Smith's support for his state rights ticket.

The Dixiecratic movement, established on a shaky foundation by the conference-convention at Birmingham, could have died a-borning, if it had permitted itself to be identified with the Gerald L. K. Smith type of rabble-rouser.

Wed 7-21-48

Smith, who now lives in Oklahoma, announced that he had attended the convention "incognito" as a "delegate" from Oklahoma and was determined as director of the Christian Nationalist Crusade to recommend to "our leadership" that they support the state rights group in the campaign. "Our three million followers," he said, "believe that the Negro and the Jew are exerting too much control in American politics."

Governor Thurmond said he was "totally unaware" that Mr. Smith attended the Birmingham meeting and "he had no part whatever in the conference of Southern Democrats."

Columbia S.C.

"We do not invite, and we do not need the support of Gerald L. K. Smith or any other rabble-rouser who uses race prejudice and class hatred to inflame the emotions of our people," the Governor said.

"The fight of the South is not a racial fight, but an effort to protect the principle of state rights, without which the United States government cannot exist under its constitution."

Columbia Record

And that is as plain as English words can make it. The Dixiecrats, The Record believes, are pursuing a will-o'-the-wisp, trying to preserve the single-party system instead of abandoning it as they should. They are doing the South harm rather than good. But there is no need for them to compromise for the sake of votes and there is no need for them to accept association with demagogues of the Gerald L. K. Smith variety although there will doubtless be many of this type to try, as Smith did, to attach themselves to the Dixiecrat coattails.

Governor Thurmond, however, has made it clear that he wants nothing of them, nor of the effort to "smear" the movement "with the false trappings of race hatreds."

"We are interested solely in protecting the rights of states to manage their own internal affairs, which is a fundamental guarantee of the constitution of the United States," he said.

And this is a bigger issue than the so-called civil rights issue, upon which the speakers at Birmingham, Governor Thurmond among them, laid too much stress. It is the issue of whether the United States is to remain a federal government of self-governing states or is to be transmogrified into one big state in which the present states exercise no more real authority than townships in South Carolina.

But the movement toward the one great state, in which the national government is swallowing up the powers of the states, did not begin at Philadelphia in 1948. It was already far advanced when the Democratic party wrote the civil rights plank into its platform and few of the Southern politicians who are now leading the pack away from the Democratic party said or did anything to oppose the movement. The Southern states joined in the mad rush to exchange their state rights for federal money, which had, of course, been gathered from the states to begin with.

Wed 7-21-48

The Record.

And how much of a Dixiecratic movement would there be today if Truman had opposed instead of advocating the so-called civil rights program and the Democratic platform had ommitted all reference to the anti-Southern measures which have been devised as Negro vote getters in the "crucial" states? The answer is almost certainly, "None." This is the handicap that Governor Thurmond labors under in his attempt to divest the Southern dissident movement of the "racial issue" tinge. It was the racial issue that set off the dynamite. The state rights issue is the bigger issue, but that fight may have been begun too late.

Finish Fight Over Truman Seen In Texas

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Mon. 8-2-48

Success Of Dixiecrats Is Linked To Seating Of Four Delegations

AUSTIN, TEXAS—(AP)—States Rights Democrats and party members loyal to the national Democratic ticket counted delegates Sunday for a finish fight over control of Texas' 23 presidential electors.

The delegates were named in Saturday's turbulent county conventions which saw rival states set up in Harris (Houston), Dallas (Dallas), and Tarrant (Fort Worth), three counties with heavy voting strength in the state convention. The convention meets in Fort Worth Sept. 14.

States Righters, also called Dixiecrats, are trying to seize the electors for the ticket of J. Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright.

Their success in the state convention may depend on whether their states rights delegations from Harris, Tarrant, Dallas, and Harrison (in which two conventions also developed), are seated by the credentials committee

Loyalists Ahead

An Associated Press survey of convention results in the most populous Texas counties shows the Loyalists with heavy numerical strength in the number of delegations they control in the state meeting.

They will go there with at least 35 counties clearly pledged to President Truman and his running mate Alben Barkley.

The same count shows nine counties clearly in the Dixiecrat column, and 11 sending uninstructed delegations.

Texas electors are pledged now to the national ticket but the September convention can reinstate or replace them if it desires.

Dixiecrats also went after sentiment in Saturday's meetings for a presidential referendum on the Aug. 28 second primary election ballot. At least 11 county conventions endorsed that.

R. W. Calvert of Hillsboro, chairman of the state committee, opposes such a referendum, as does Gov. Beauford Jester. Wright Morrow of Houston, national Democratic committeeman, favors it. 8-2-48

Loyalists walked out in county conventions at Houston, Fort Worth, Dallas and Marshall when States rights Democrats controlled the regular conventions there. A small Dixiecrat group walked out in Jefferson County, which Loyalists controlled. Unlike the others the Jefferson group did not hold a separate convention.

Fist fights enlivened the confused Dallas convention as it struggled for four hours to organize. When anti-Truman forces gained control a liberal element, supporters of Truman, walked out. It was the first break in four years of the liberal group's control.

States' Rights Electors Sought For Minnesota

Petition Would Put State In Field To Challenge 'Civil Rights' Radicals

WASHINGTON— (AP) —Plans are underway to try to place the Thurmond-Wright ticket of the States' Rights Democrats on the ballot in Minnesota, W. Austin Seay, head of the Washington office of the party, said Monday.

He announced in a statement that Walker Wood, former Mississippi secretary of state, would go to Minnesota this week to co-operate with local supporters in circulating petitions to qualify a slate of State' Rights electors.

"It was Hubert Humphrey, Jr., mayor of Minneapolis, who maneuvered the Philadelphia convention into rejecting the historic principles of States' Rights Democracy and endorsing a plan for flagrant federal violation of constitutional processes in order to attract votes of radical Eastern minority groups," Seay said.

"We have received protests from citizens of Minnesota that Humphrey is not representative of them. The placing of a States' Rights electoral slate on the Minnesota ballot will afford Minnesota citizens a means of repudiating the Humphrey radical slant."

States' Righter Lambasts Foes In Magic City

Tues 9-7-48

Gov. Thurmond Lashes Program Of Truman; Likens It To Hitler's

'They're Deserters'

Speech In Birmingham Follows One In Florida Along The Same Lines

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.— (AP) — Gov. J. Strom Thurmond attacked the civil rights proposals Monday as "the wedge which can force open the doorway to tyranny."

The South Carolina governor and States' Rights candidate for president flew to Birmingham for a Labor Day address. It followed a similar talk at Wildwood, Fla.

Thurmond likened the civil rights program—which he said bears the endorsement of Truman, Dewey and Wallace—to the program by which the Nazis gained control in Germany.

All state legislatures were abolished there, he said, and "elected heads of the 17 (German) states were replaced with Hitler henchmen.

"The German people . . . soon learned that when constitutional rights are gone all human rights are destroyed."

The governor said the "so-called civil rights" measures of anti-lynching, anti-segregation and fair employment practices acts would lead to a "federal gestapo, with dangerous powers over the lives of our people."

Liberty Perishes

"Liberty quickly perishes under such a setup," he said, "as we have seen in Europe in our time."

Tues 9-7-48

"Party loyalty," he added, is being urged by men who "are deserting the faith of our fathers.

"Those who carry party loyalty have told their political bosses in Washington that they can come into your state and the other states in the union and fix up the political fences that are badly in need of repair. . . .

'Does that mean that we must humiliate ourselves while the party leaders drag the name of the Democratic party in the mire of political disgrace as they seek to appease groups that have never been known to be loyal to the party?

"There is but one answer. We shall be true to the principles of our fathers. We shall not be led astray by the Judas Iscariots who would profit through our defeat.

"Constitutional government must be preserved in America, and the States' Rights Democrats are the men and women who are making the fight to preserve it."

Dispute Arises

While Thurmond paid tribute to labor in Wildwood, a minor disagreement arose over his sponsorship.

He was brought to Florida by the Wildwood Labor Day committee, Incorporated, a purely local civic organization with E. R. Ward, chairman.

Somehow, the name of A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, came up and Whitney promptly telegraphed a denial.

This brought a response from Ward, a Seaboard Airline Railway conductor, and a member of Whitney's union, that "as far as I'm concerned, Whitney can go jump in the lake. We don't intend to be dictated to by national labor leaders or anybody else."

No mention of the spat was made by Thurmond who arrived at the celebration park with his bride and the four presidential elector nominees who have said they would vote for him—Mrs. Helen Hunt West, A. E. Adamson, John O. Jackson, and W. L. Coats.

The presidential candidate reiterated his previous attacks on proposed civil rights legislation.

Rebel yells, scattered cries of "Let em have it" and "Put it on" greeted his remarks about the FEPC and anti-lynching proposals.

He lashed at the "horrible example set lately by the nominees of the Republican, Democratic and Progressive parties" who are "willing to break down the separation of the races in the Armed Service, even at the sacrifice of the morale of the soldiers."

"Our boys in service should not be subjected to an unnecessary hazard," he added, terming talk of non-segregation in the Armed Forces is "simply to allow politicians to appeal to block votes."

6,000 Angry Southerners Hear Dixon

Keynoter Flays Anti-Lynch Bill

Columbia S.C.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 17 — (UP) — Former Gov. Frank Dixon charged today in a keynote speech at a States' Right meeting of rebel Southern Democrats that President Truman was plotting a social revolution in the South which would "reduce us to the status of mongrels, mixed in blood."

Dixon's keynote address was delivered to nearly 6,000 angry Southerners convened in convention here to consider putting up a presidential candidate in opposition to Mr. Truman. About 700 of those attending were registered as "delegates."

Dixon said the anti-lynching bill was "written patently to buy the Negro vote."

Race riots and killing in the North, "which have made some Northern states famous," have no equal in the South.

To Fight Truman Planned

This convention, Dixon said, is a gathering of militant Southerners who have gathered to fight the President's civil rights program "which is meant to destroy us."

He charged the program would do away with segregation in public schools, then private schools, and finally denomiational schools. It would mean, he said, white and Negroes living side by side in apartment houses. And he shouted that the FEPC would mean that 43 clerks out of every 100 in Birmingham department stores would be Negroes.

Alabama Democratic Chairman T. McCorvey banged the convention to order at 11:01 a .m. CST as "delegates" still swarmed into the seats reserved for the various state representations.

Gov. Ben T. Laney of Arkansas, leading choice for a presidential nominee, arrived just before the convention opened and huddled with leaders of the "Dixiecrat" revolt movement. Another possible candidate was retired army Brig. Gen. Herbert C. Holdridge, who said he would like a chance to speak to the group.

Wants South Cut Loose

His policy, he said, was to see the South cut loose from the Republicans, Mr. Truman and Henry Wallace.

Convention leaders said they had received more than 100 telegrams urging that the Rebels formally nominate candidates for President and vice president in opposition to the regular Democratic ticket.

A crowd of between 5,500 and 6,000 persons virtually filled the Birmingham municipal auidtorium to capacity. Only the extreme top balcony—commonly reserved for Negroes and called the "peanut gallery" was empty. Not a Negro was in the hall.

The Rev. John Buchanan of Southside Baptist church, Birmingham, delivered the invocation.

"Lord grant that we be true to those principles upon which our nation was founded," he said. "Let thou blessings rest on this conference, give us courage and strength.

Ruby Mercer, Metropolitan opera star, sang the "Star-Spangled Banner!" the crowd was quiet, then burst into yells as she sang "Dixie." The South's "national" song was repeated by the entire house, with Miss Mercer leading.

PHILLIPS DELEGATION BOUND TO DIXIECRATS

County Convention Calls For States' Rights Support

HELENA, Ark., Aug. 16.—The Phillips County delegation to the State Democratic convention was instructed Monday by the county convention to press for adoption of resolutions recognizing Governors Strom Thurmond and Fielding L. Wright as the official Democratic nominees for president and vice president.

The instruction was contained in a resolution adopted by the convention at its meeting here.

Delegates named included Al Haraway, James P. Baker, James R. Nichols, E. P. Hickey, Clarence Taylor, C. S. Fielder, D. S. Heslep, John L. Anderson and J. B. Lambert.

States Rights Dinner Friday At Kershaw

Columbia S.C.

Thu. 9-23-48

CAMDEN, Sept. 23.—State Rights Democrats of Kershaw county will meet at the Kershaw county courthouse Friday afternoon at 4 o'clock to plan for one or more state rights dinners to be held for Democrats in the near future. 9-23-48

The plural of dinner is used for the reason that Senator R. M. Kennedy, who is one of the leaders in the movement for the affair, says that there will be so many who want to attend that one seating will not begin to accommodate them.

States' Rights Petition Offered In Maryland

ANNAPOLIS, Md., Sept. 30—(AP) —Petitions bearing more than 2,000 signatures and asking that the States' Rights Democratic presidential ticket be placed on Maryland ballots were presented formally to Secretary of State Bertram Boone, II, today.

Atty. Gen. Hall Hammond said he will inform Boone the petitions are invalid because they were not filed before the April 12 legal deadline. They were filed yesterday by E. Steuart Vaughan, temporary chairman of the States' Rights Democrats of Maryland.

Hammond issued a similar opinion several weeks ago.

Signs Indicate Demos To Woo Dixie Revolters

The News Mon. 11-8-48

B'ham, Ala.

By FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

There were still more indications today President Truman and Democratic Party chieftains would seek to win States' Rights revolters back to the fold.

But a Dewey campaign adviser predicted at Mobile that unless the South now shows some initiative in granting "civil rights" to Negroes, federal legislation "probably will be forced down Southern throats.

Merlyn Pitzele, Business Week's labor editor, declared that if individual Southern states show progress in eliminating discrimination, Congress might not see fit to enact "force" legislation.

Another Dewey adviser, Stanley High, roving editor of Reader's Digest, also in Mobile for a speaking engagement, said President Truman's victory showed the American people are liberal-minded and probably in sympathy with the president's stand on "civil rights."

* * *

PITZELE SAID LABOR UNIONS would take the election results as a green light to go ahead with organization of Southern industries.

At Jasper, Labor's Non-Partisan League, made up of labor organizations in the Seventh Congressional District, was calling for States' Rights Democrats to be ousted from the Democratic organization in Alabama.

The league adopted a resolution commending Gov. Folsom's court move seeking to force Alabama's Democratic electors to vote for Truman and denouncing the Dixiecrat movement as "detrimental to the common people."

It also called on the governor to ask chairmen of all county Democratic executive committees to hold meeitngs and "oust this rump organization, and restore the Democratic Party to the people of Alabama, where it rightly belongs." The resolution stated the Democratis Party is "the only political organization that has defended the rights of the common people in the U. S."

While surprise winner Truman and close presidential advisers were vacationing at Key West, the big qestion being tossed around Washington—mostly by some of the wild-eyed boys who really want the South punished—was will there be any reprisals against Southern senators and representatives.

The Associated Press' Gordon Brown quotes Leslie Biffle director of the Senate Democratic policy committee and a man very close to Mr. Truman as saying flatly: "No reprisals."

Mon. 11-8-48

SEN. ALBEN BARKLEY, vice president-elect; Tennessee Sen. Kenneth McKellar, who will head the upper chamber's powerful appropriations committee; Arkansas Sen. Brooks Hays and others either intimated or made positive declarations there would be no reprisals against the South.

Still another Southern senator, who asked not to be quoted by name, said he thinks President Truman's post-election statements have indicated he wants unity and that he is not in a vengeful mood so far as the South goes.

Illinois Sen. Scott Lucas, who very probably will become Democratic floor leader when the election victors organize the Senate in January, declined to comment on how the South will be dealt with, saying "we'll have to get organized first."

Meantime, there were indications in the South that many of the States' Righters did not want to go back to the National Democratic Party.

State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Alabama elector and one of the States' Rights campaign leaders for Gov. Strom Thurmond, said during the campaign that "Alabama does not choose to affiliate (with the national Democratic Party) this year."

Immediately after the election, McCorvey declared the States' Righters were "only temporarily defeated" and would come back even stronger in 1952. States' Rights Democrats carried four states—Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana—with 38 electoral votes.

Mon. 11-8-48

GOV. JAMES E. FOLSOM has filed proceedings in Federal Court at Montgomery seeking to force this state's 11 electors to vote for Truman instead of Thurmond, to whom they are pledged. The governor also has called on McCorvey and the other 10 electors voluntarily to vote for Truman without being forced to do so by the courts.

McCorvey and several other electors lashed back at the governor. Among these were Tom Abernethy, Talladega, and Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham, who reiterated they would not go back on their anti-Truman pledges of the campaign.

Ed Blair, Pell City, another elector, cracked back at Folsom for shifting his position with "every political wind." As to Folsom's criticism about Truman not being represented on the Alabama ballot, Blair wired the governor:

"I would like to respectfully call your attention to the fact that, as governor of Alabama, you were the only person in this state in position to put Mr. Truman on the ballot by calling a special session of the Legislature."

It was pointed out that for Truman to have been represented on the ballot, it would have been necessary for the Legislature to change laws which require that presidential elector candidates must be qualified on or before the date of the first Democratic primary. In the recent campaign, that date was May 4.

At Montgomery Sunday, the recently-designed state chairman of pro-Truman forces were assailing States' Rights forces as "Republicans masquerading under the head of Democrats."

* * *

THIS CRITICISM was made by State Sen. Broughton Lamberth, Alexander City, in addressing the Southeastern System Council, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which ended a two-day convention at Montgomery.

Lamberth said "75 per cent of the people of Alabama are against the Dixiecrats."

Commenting on Gov. Folsom's suit to force the Alabama electors to vote for Truman, Lamberth said "We will go through with it, hell or high water."

Arkansas Sen. Hays, who led a fight in that state to keep States' Righters from taking over the Democratic Party machinery and personally supported Truman, said the president will want cooperation from Congress the next four years. He added that if Democratic National Chairman Howard McGrath and other party chieftains insisted on reprisals, hope for cooperation might be wrecked.

There is still speculation as to what will happen on patronage in Southern states which revolted.

A meeting of the Democratic National Committee, which likely will come sometime after President Truman is inaugurated Jan. 20, will be watched with great interest. McGrath has said he would recommend that the committee remove members who deserted the national party and joined the States' Righters.

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McGrath's statement was aimed personally at Gov. Thurmond, Democratic national committeeman in South Carolina, and Marion Rushton, Montgomery, Alabama national committeeman, who headed the States' Rights campaign executive committee in this state. Both Thurmond and Rushton announced their resignations as committeemen early in the campaign, but Democratic Executive Committees of Alabama and South Carolina took no action.

Shelby Elector Drops Truman To Back States' Rights Slate

The Commercial Appeal

Wed. 10-20-48

Memphis, Tenn.

Walter P. Armstrong Sr., Memphis attorney and former president of the American Bar Association, yesterday resigned as Shelby's candidate for elector on the Truman-Barkley Democratic slate.

Reason for his action, he said, was his decision to vote for the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights ticket, and his unwillingness that his position toward the national candidates might be misunderstood.

As candidate for presidential elector on the Tennessee Democratic ticket, Mr. Armstrong's name would have been listed in the Truman column on the ballot.

Mr. Armstrong's letter of resignation was sent simultaneously to Marvin A. Bryan, secretary of the State Board of Supervisors of Elections, at St. Joseph, Tenn., and to Robert L. Taylor, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee. It said:

"I hereby resign as candidate for presidential elector. I do this so that my position may not be susceptiblee of being misunderstood.

For Thurmond, Wright

"I shall cast my individual ballot for Thurmond and Wright—both splendid citizens—with whose views I am in accord as representing the best interests of the South and of the Nation.

"It will be an especial pleasure to vote for Governor Wright, of my native state of Mississippi.

"I am unwilling for anyone to be able to suggest that as candidate or elector I have any moral obligation, either personally or officially, to vote otherwise."

Mr. Armstrong supplemented his resignation letter with telegrams to Mr. Bryan and Mr. Taylor to expedite notice to them of his action.

He declined yesterday afternoon to discuss his stand in the Tennessee contests for governor and senator.

Mr. Armstrong was named one of Tennessee's 12 candidates for Democratic presidential electors by the State Democratic Convention at Nashville last Spring. The vacancy created by his resignation must be filled by the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Other Electors

To put his successor's name on the Nov. 2 ballot, the Executive Committee must act at least 10 days before the election.

The Memphis attorney is the second Tennessee elector candidate to resign from the Truman slate, and the fourth to declare his intentions to support the States' Rights ticket. Larry Morgan of Brownsville recently quit the Truman column in favor of the States' Righters. Preston Parks of Somerville and Malcolm C. Hill of Sparta remain on the Truman list after having been chosen States' Rights candidates as well.

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Mr. Armstrong, senior partner in the firm of Armstrong, McCadden, Allen, Braden and Goodman, served the 1941-42 term as president of the American Bar Association. At present he is on the Board of Editors of the American Bar Association Journal.

Thurmond Assails FEPC Proposals

The Wash Post

Tues. 10-26-48

Wash. D.C.

Little Rock, Ark., Oct. 25 (AP).—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond charged tonight that an FEPC law "would be carried out by a national police force already being trained "by President Truman.

"This means," he told Arkansas listeners, "you would be hounded by Federal police whom you never saw before and who neither know nor care what your problems are."

The South Carolina chief executive and States Rights Democrats' candidate for President, again assailed the President's civil rights proposals in an address prepared for radio delivery.

Declaring that Mr. Truman, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Henry Wallace all indorse the FEPC proposal, the candidate said a vote for any one of the three "is a vote for x x x a piece of legislation which is the first plank in the Communist platform."

He also charged his three major opponents with "having dared to insult" the people of Arkansas "by proposing that you give up your right to handle your own affairs."

Insisting that he is a staunch advocate of the two-party system, Thurmond promised "we shall reclaim and rebuild the Democratic Party x x x we shall give the people of this Nation a two-party system that means something."

Federal Court Upholds
Georgia's Ballot Stand

Atlanta, Oct. 25 (AP).—A three-judge Federal court today upheld Georgia's refusal to place the Progressive Party on the ballot for State offices. Henry Wallace, the party's presidential candidate, is on the ballot.

The court held that the suit concerned a "purely political matter" and said the Progressives suffered no serious inconvenience because State law permitted write-in candidates.

Tues. 10-26-48

"There is also impropriety in a Federal court compelling a high State officer by a mandatory injunction to do his official duty under State laws as the Federal court may thing he should," the judges said.

s Has 'Treaty' With U. S. Back Up States' Rights Cry

BY JAY G. HAYDEN

10-19-48

HOUSTON, Oct. 19—(NANA)—In Texas, "States' Rights" carries a much broader meaning than anywhere else in the South.

For more than a century, every Texas school child has had drummed into him the proud fact that his is the one state that came into the union by treaty between its previously independent republic and the Washington government, rather than by congressional gratuity.

Because Texas reserved to itself so many rights not allowed the existing states it was a long time before two-thirds in the Senate could be induced to vote for confirmation of the treaty of annexation and statehood.

Take the now-burning issue of tidelands oil. One stipulation of the Texas treaty was that all its land, including submerged coastal areas to a distance of three marine leagues, remain under state ownership.

* * *

LONG AGO ALL RECEIPTS by the state from sale of land or mineral deposits beneath it, including the tidelands oil, was set aside for educational purposes.

Therefore, Texans contend that when President Truman and former Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, aided and abetted by the Supreme Court, attempted to establish federal ownership of tidelands oil, they were not only violating a solemn international treaty but robbing Texas school children of their rightful patrimony.

It should be added that outsiders who talk of "oil" as a label of political opprobrium in Texas are very far from the mark. There is scarcely one among the 200 odd counties in this state that does not have oil wells already gushing or being drilled for by the hopeful. For Texans, the daily report of oil prices and sales is the index of economic well-being or depression. Three-fourths of Texas voters probably draw their living in whole or in part from oil.

Texas citizens do not get greatly excited when they hear, for example, that Roy Cullen, a rich oil magnate, is contributing to Republicans and States' Righters, since Mr. Cullen previously has given $160,000,000 for improvement of education and health in Texas.

* * *

SOCIALLY, TEXAS is still firmly "Southern"; but economically it is rapidly taking on Western and Northern points of view. Far from being any longer dependent on outside capital, Houston and Fort Worth millionaires now are carrying their money bags, in search of investments, all the way to New York and Detroit, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Any Texan will tell you that one day his state will be as big and as dominant along the Southern Gulf Coast as New York in the East, or California in the West.

10-19-48

The one-party system suffered its most severe setback when a Negro named Smith won from the Supreme Court in 1944 a decision forbidding exslusion of Negroes from Texas Democratic primaries. A hundred thousand Negroes not only are voting freely in Texas elections this year, but all candidates and party factions, even including the Thurmond States' Righters, are actively bidding for Negro support.

DIXIECRATS PROTECT PRINCIPLES OF U. S., GOV. WRIGHT HOLDS

8-12-48

Mississippi Governor Assails Big Parties In Accepting No. 2 Ticket Spot

THURMOND IS CONFIDENT

Governor Of South Carolina Says He'll Get A Greater Electoral Vote Than Will Truman In November

By the Associated Press

HOUSON, Texas, Aug. 11.—Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi declared Wednesday night that the principle of States' Rights "is the only alternative of abject subjection to the tyranny of dictatorship."

He said that "with a full consciousness of the dire necessity for immediate and aggressive action" he accepted the nomination for vice president of the United States tendered him by States' Rights Democrats.

'No Regard To Principle'

"Today the present Democratic and Republican parties are philosophically bankrupt. They are mere vehicles for getting into and holding onto office," Wright said in his speech at a rally launching the States' Rights group's national campaign.

8-12-48

"They veer from point to point without regard to principle, but only with an insensate desire to pander to any minority for votes. Government by bloc, by vociferous minorities, is a cowardly thing. It is a disgrace to America. It paves the way for ultimate dictatorship or Socialism.

"Only a return to American principles, to local self government, can halt the unseemly spectacle we are now witnessing."

He said Dewey wasn't the choice of the Fepublican rank and file; called Truman "an acknowledged loser," and said "Wallace represents Russia and its ideology."

Thurmond Confident

Wright's acceptance speech preceded one by Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, presidential candidate for the States' Righters.

At a press conference earlier Thurmond had said he believed he would get more electoral votes than President Truman, the national democratic candidate.

He said the States' Righters are determined to get their ticket on as many state general election ballots as possible.

Wright accepted his nomination as tendered by the "Democratic parties of South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi." TheStates' Rights group says it is trying to work similarly in the regular Democratic organization of as many states as possible.

"Local self government is what a majority of the people of this country are convinced is the best form of government on earth," Wright said.

'Remote, Distant, Mysterious'

"The moment that government becomes remote, distant, mysterious, and beyond the comprehension of the people themselves, danger arises and we subject ourselves to the possibility of abuse and ultimate dictatorship. This ever-constant peril is visible to us at all times.

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"In our large cities and more populous areas machine politicians and self-seeking officeholders have obtained and held an unrelenting grip on their municipalities.

"This threat of seizure of control by big city bosses and their henchmen is today greatly augmented and increased by the 3,000,000 Federal jobholders, none of whom are elected by the people other than the President and vice president."

Wright said that when the Constitution was drafted "it was specifically provided that the right and authority of the state to conduct its own affairs should be preserved inviolate."

The Mississippi Governor said that for almost 100 years the South "has given consistent and persistent ployalty to the Democratic Party."

He added that states' rights, since organization of the Democratic Party, had been one of its dominant principles; that the South's loyalty had "not been unreasoning and without justification."

The principle had been "consistently recognized and maintained by the Democratic Party until the present generation," Wright said.

8-12-48

Sees Repudiation

"At the Philadelphia convention for the first time in its long history this doctrine was completely and finally repudiated."

Wright said the principle of states' rights was a "living principle, as vital and essential today as it was in the foundation days of the Republic."

Earlier Wednesday, Thurmond told his press conference:

That he and his running mate, Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, will receive 100 Electoral College votes, or more.

That "we hope" to win if the Electoral College winds up in a deadlock and the final decision on the presidential election goes to the House of Representatives.

That the campaign of States' Rights Democrats will strengthen position of Southern congressmen, will gain more respect for Southern delegations to National Democratic Party conventions of the future, and will make the American people more conscious of the "present threat to the American way of life."

"We expect to carry most if not all of the Southern states and expect to receive more than 100 electoral votes," the South Carolina Governor said.

He admitted the Southern Democrats were off to a late start, but confidently added that "we hope to make up a lot of lost time."

Thurmond, in commenting on the Electoral College, said the House of Representatives would make the final decision on the presidential election should no candidate receive a majority, or 266 electoral votes.

8-12-48

Sees Balance Of Power

The House, with each state receiving one vote, would limit consideration to the three top candidates.

Thurmond said he believes the states supporting him will hold the balance of power in the House vote, and that they would be in a position to use this power "for the majority of the American people."

Asked if this power would be used to effect a compromise calling for another candidate, dropping civil rights and other anti-States' Rights legislative proposals, Thurmond said:

"We are against Dewey, Truman and Wallace. We hope to win in the House of Representatives."

General Adds To Excitement Of Gathering

Self-Styled Candidate Gets Rough Treatment As He Protests Vote

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., July 17.—(AP)—A self-styled presidential candidate, Brig. Gen. Herbert C. Holdridge, was nearly mobbed at the States' Rights Convention today after he protested the manner in which candidates were nominated.

7-18-48

The retired Washington, D. C., Army general said, after being removed from the Municipal Auditorium under police guard, that police had suggested he stay away from the meeting altogether.

Gen. Holdridge, commenting on his departure in a police car, said "they were very kind."

By Bayonets, Law

Reached at his hotel, Gen. Holdridge said "I came here in the hope of seeing Democracy in action. I believe in the States' Rights issue and I was willing to admit that on race segregation you could not solve the issue by bayonets and law.

"I listened to the nominations of (Governors) Thurmond and Wright by the resolution committee and at that point I quit. It was Philadelphia all over again.

"Truman placed himself in nomination in such fashion.

"These people protsted against the high-handed actions of machine politicians at Philadelphia," the general continued, "and they came down here and did the same thing."

The general said one woman struck him with a sign when he protested the actions of the resolutions committee and that many around "made bitter and threatening remarks."

Right To Speak

He added, though, that "I was encouraged by the young people who gathered around and insisted that I have the right to speak."

'Holdirdge for President" circulars were passed out earlier in the day by Mrs. Nell Foster Rogers, of Gainesville, Fla.

She said she had sought his selection by the Democratic party at the national convention and planned to place his name in nomination before this convention. The nomination failed to materalibze, however.

Th ebiographical material handed out by Mrs. Rogers gave his birthplace as Wyandotte, Mich., March 6, 1892.

He also was described as the "GI's General" though he did not serve overseas in either world war. He earned the sobriquet, said the printed material, because he opposed the army's caste system.

Dixiecrats In Big Vote Drive

The Defender

Chicago Ill

Sat 8-21-48

JACKSON, Miss. — Democratic States Rights advocates out to defeat President Truman and scrap his civil rights program opened national campaign headquarters here last Wednesday.

The campaign director, Merritt Gibson of Longview, Texas, said that the goal is for the Solid South's entire 127 electoral votes. He added that field workers are already promoting the campaign in several states, and their activities will eventually take on a national aspect.

Enlarging on the statement that a study is being made to determine those states in which their candidates can get on the ballot, Gibson said: "In some states where we may not be able to get on the ballot as the regular Democrats, we can still be listed as independents.

Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi accepted nominations for president and vice-president respectively at a rally in Houston, Texas, August 10.

RALPH McGILL

Atlanta, Ga.
Atlanta Constitution

Waiting for The Mail Train

Wed. 12-8-48

OHATCHEE, Ala.—We were standing in front of the post office waiting for the mail train and talking politics.

"There are a lot of explanations for why Truman got elected," said Cliff Propst. "Best one, though, is to say he got elected for the reason a man will stay married to a woman he doesn't like much for 50 years or more. He gets up in the morning and there is breakfast. He comes home at night and there is dinner. He needs clean clothes and they are in the drawer of his bureau or dresser. He gets holes in his socks and his wife mends them. He gets used to a certain comfortable routine of living and he doesn't want to change even though he doesn't think too much of the old lady. That was the way with the American people. They have enough to eat and a place to stay, a job and clothes to wear. They don't like a lot of things about the Government, but then, they don't want a change, just like the fellow doesn't leave his wife. Tom Dewey was not saying anything, but a lot of his friends were hinting things wouldn't be nearly so comfortable for the farmers, the teachers and for labor. Me, I don't like a lot of things. Many things look cockeyed to me. But I know why folks voted for Truman."

That is about the best homespun summing up I've seen of the recent election. It covers all the more technical reasons developed by the experts in politics and economics. The people didn't trust Dewey and they actively distrusted his managers.

State Politics In Birmingham and Anniston I was told the Dixiecrats are angry, bitter and on the defensive. Had Dewey won, there would not have been much reaction. But Truman won, and while Gov. Folsom is having no luck getting the Federal courts to interfere, since it is a State matter, his argument is being discussed and accepted.

The Dixiecrats took over the symbol of the Democratic Party and, in a display totalitarian in character, refused to allow the people a chance to vote for the Democratic nominee unless they went through the difficult and complicated business of writing in the vote.

Wed. 12-8-48

This was without any question un-American and unfair and it is being resented. Many persons believed, when they voted under the symbol of the Democratic rooster they were voting the Democratic ticket. Many who voted under it resent the fact they had no choice.

Whatever they believed, the total vote cast was small, indicating a majority of the eligible voters preferred not to vote at all if they could not express a choice.

Also, the true and inside story of the manipulation of the Dixiecrat Convention is getting around.

Result The result is that in almost every community the Dixiecrat leaders are on the defensive and imagine they hear whispered comments every time they pass down the streets of their home town. They do, too, and some of it isn't said in too low a whisper.

The movement reached its lowest character in Alabama in the decision not to allow the people to have a choice save by the write-in method. You can't do that to the American people and make them like it.

Harm Great harm was done to the legitimate and important issue of States' rights—an issue of great importance to local government. Those who all along tried to say that the Dixiecrat effort to saddle States' rights with the Klan, with racial hatreds, with religious prejudices and with all the sordid and vulgar-mouthed political hacks, so long in ill repute, would do the cause of States' rights and local self-government great damage, have, unhappily, proved their point.

No amount of sophistry will change that fact. And the sincere persons in the Dixiecrat movement—and there were many such—now see that they were betrayed, along with their cause, by the leaders who criminally took over them and the cause.

Farmers Alabama farmers had the Secretary of Agriculture speak to them last week. He didn't cheer them up any by reminding them that cotton no longer is king.

He spoke out for more pastures, more vegetables, more poultry, more cattle, more milk—and so on. He is exactly right, of course.

But the farmers who heard him no doubt thanked God for Truman's victory. Almost every cotton farmer, save those with large acreages in the flat lands of the cotton States where machinery can be used to replace vanishing, expensive labor, knows the Secretary is right.

But, he also knows what the city dweller does not and what even the glib commentators ignore—namely, that when you turn land into pasture it requires investment for at least three years before it is ready for cattle and any cash return. And the farmer knows, too, that he has a sort of financial security in cotton which prevents him from losing his shirt. He does not have this in vegetables or milk and not much of it in poultry and other "diversified" products.

So, for the farmers in a region losing its one-crop status after more than 100 years, there must be a Government plan to keep the farmer eating and well while he changes over.

That was one reason the President got elected. And that is another reason the Southern farmers are realizing that they are pretty lucky he did get elected, what with cotton moving west and pastures new and unprofitable until they are "made."

NO TIME TO TURN AROUND

The Afro American

Among the things proved by the recent Presidential election was the fact that the support of the Dixierats was not needed to win.

While there are some persons, like Mrs. Roosevelt, who feel that these deserters should be read out of the party, and others who feel that they should be welcomed back with open arms, we believe that there is an even more desirable solution.

Sat 11-20-48

We suggest that these revolters be given an opportunity to come back into the fold on one condition only, namely that they be deprived of any seniority to which they may lay claim, and be denied all rights of patronage and privilege.

They will drool much more by being in sight of, but out of reach of, the banquet table than if left outside the banquet hall altogether. And as they see the others partaking of the feast and feel that growing gnawing at their innards, they'll really know what it is to experience the pangs of hunger.

And if they show that they really don't want to improve their table manners, they can then be ushered out into the cold. This process may produce a few slow deaths, but it also may win some converts.

Baltimore, Md

There can be no sentimentality in this business and no exceptions to the rule. The Democratic Party, under President Truman, is headed in one direction. It can't turn back just because a few dissenters want to go the other way.

As the head of his party, Mr. Truman can be expected to consolidate his gains through a program of greatest benefit to those who helped to sweep him back into the White House.

Now that he is "in" on his own, we expect him to get rid of the mediocre advisors he has had around him and get some first-class aides who are sold on his program. Men are available now who were not available when he took office.

Once the "Men Around Truman" have been decided upon, we expect the President to get down to brass tacks on his campaign promises. The voters delivered on Nov. 2; it's his turn to deliver now.

Maryland Bars States Righters

The Montgomery Advertiser

BALTIMORE, Oct. 6.—(AP)—A superior court ruled today that the presidential and vice-presidential candidates for the States Rights Democratic Party are ineligible for a place on the Maryland ballots.

34d

The decision, handed down by Judge Joseph Sherbow, sustained the state law department's demurrer to a writ to force election officials to put the states-righters on the ballot.

Montgomery Ala

Judge Sherbow said he agreed with Maryland Attorney General Hall Hammond that true democracy called for the giving of every opportunity to voters preference on the ballot.

But, under the current election laws and a guiding decision by the Maryland Court of Appeals, the jurist said, he was obliged to deny the States Righters' petiton.

Thur. 10-7-48

He pointed out that the legislature has laid down the methods by which places on the election ballots may be obtained.

Delegates Gather For Texas Rally

Columbia Record

Wed 8-11-48

States' Rights Meeting Tonight

Columbia S.C.

BY ROBERT JEFFREY
Record Staff Correspondent

HOUSTON, Aug. 11 — South Carolina delegates to the Texas States' Rights convention hoped today to furnish the spark that would set Gov. J. Strom Thurmond successfully on course in his presidential campaign.

34d

News that Texas States' Rights supporters had suffered a setback in their attempt to place a States' Rights slate on the Lone Star ballot placed a blight on some of this delegation's enthusism.

Meanwhile, the 24 representatives, all but two of whom are from South Carolina, completed a 975-mile train journey from Columbia to Houston.

The concensus among the South Carolina Thurmond supporters was to draw as much unified backing for their champion as possible, both in Texas and in the Palmetto state.

Wed 8-11-48

Yesterday and today, as the train pounded westward, persons standing along the railroad tracks gawked at the identifying sign emblazoned across the car of the delegates.

Response to the bright red print, "States' Rights Special—Thurmond for President—Wright for Vice President," was mixed, as was the audience that viewed the banner. Negro sectionmen looked with blank stares while some white spectators waved enthusiastically.

Governor Thurmond flew to Houston yesterday and his running mate, Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, arrived this morning by train from Jackson.

Tonight, Thurmond will accept nomination for the presidency of the United States on the States' Rights ticket after more than two months delay since his name was mentioned as a presidential possibility at a Birmingham convention. Those attending the Houston convention by train from Columbia will be joined by an equal number who flew in from the Palmetto capital today.

Delegates aboard the trains were: Dr. J. W. Thurmond, brother of the South Carolina governor, North Augusta; J. W. Reel, Augusta, Ga.; J. C. Moore, Columbia; Dr. W. H. Mathis, N. Augusta; J. C. Bush, N. Augusta; Thornwell Clyburn, Bishopville; H. C. Edens, Sumter; Clifford Baxter, Hampton; R. B. Gentry, Bishopville; J. C. Todd, Columbia; Dr. E. K. DeLoach, Columbia; Allen LeGare; Charleston; J. L Stewart, N. Augusta; W. A. Cleckley, N. Augusta; Corbett Williamson, Augusta, Ga.; Furman M. Prickett, St. Matthews; Leon W. Harris, Anderson; William Baker, Hampton; Q. A. Kennedy, Williston; R. E. Grier, Columbia; Mrs. Kitty M. Willson, Easley; E. C. Rhodes, Columbia, and J. F. Buzhardt, McCormick.

Another load of Dixiecrat supporters left Columbia today by plane for Houston, Tex., to whoop it up when Gov. J. Strom Thurmond formally accepts the presidential nomination on a State's Rights ticket there tonight.

Leaders of the States' Rights Democrats arrived at Houston in force today for the formal opening of their national campaign.

They came, with their supporters, determined to shape a program which would at the least wrest the 127 electoral votes in 11 states of the traditionally solid South from the National Democratic ticket.

The climax of their gathering is a rally tonight, which the Progressive party of Texas, supporters of Henry Wallace, has voted to picket.

Then Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, States' Rights presidential nominee, and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, his running mate, make speeches accepting their nominations.

The action on picketing, voted by the Progressive party at its state convention in Dallas yesterday, didn't seem to disturb those arranging the rally.

Nowlin Randolph, president of the Houston Bar association, who will preside, grinned.

"I think if it is the Progressive party picketing us it will help us," he said.

Wright, 53, grey-haired, pipe-smoking father of the revolt, led a party from his home state. They came by special train.

The 45-year-old Thurmond already was in Houston. He and Wright arranged to meet the press this morning. From then until the rally at 8 p. m. (CST), they scheduled conferences with delegations from various states, and a reception for the public.

Pretty Jackie Nelson, 22, business agent for the CIO Food, Tobacco, and Agriculture Workers' union here, offered the resolution of picketing the rally. It was quickly passed. She is chairwoman of the Progressive party in Harris county.

The resolution proposed to picket the Dixiecrat meeting with signs which read:

"There are only two parties—Republicrats and Progressives. Take your choice: Peace or war, slave or free, prosperity or depression."

The Dixiecrats came here claiming as a certainty 11 electoral votes from Alabama, nine from Mississippi, eight from South Carolina, 10 from Louisiana, and five of the eight from Florida.

They listed Texas' 23 votes, for which they are fighting against strong Truman-loyal opposition, as a "likely prospect."

They considered probable 12 votes from Georgia; nine from Arkansas, 12 from Tennessee, three more from Florida. They labeled "possible" 14 votes from North Carolina and 11 from Virginia.

Governor Thurmond, who flew from Columbia yesterday, was greeted upon his arrival at the Texas city by a reception committee, which also welcomed Mrs. Thurmond, state Sen. James H. Hammond, R. M. Figg of Charleston, and George MacNabb, Thurmond's press secretary, all of whom accompanied Thurmond on the plane.

In addition to the rally tonight in Houston, Thurmond and Wright were scheduled to attend a series of strategy and policy meetings with other States' Rights leaders.

Evidence that the States' Rights cause has gained favor was seen in the statement of Gov. Earl Warren of California, apparently designed to convince members of the G. O. P.'s party of the Republicans' good intentions toward states' rights, and to strengthen the Republican cause with a solid timber from the States' Righters' platform.

Warren called for "decentralization of authority because the strength of the republic depends largely on the virility of the state and local governments."

"Everything that can be solved by the state should be solved on that level," he noted.

STATES' RIGHTS MOVE PUSHED AT M. S. C. W.

Committee Chairmen Named By Miss Nichols

Special to The Commercial Appeal

COLUMBUS, Miss., Sept. 26.—Chairmen of States' Rights Committees were appointed Saturday at the Mississippi State College for Women. The newly-organized group began campaign plans for 100 per cent voting of all students 21 or over.

Miss Lois Nichols, senior from Belzoni and chairman of the M.S.C.W. group, said:

"We are still keeping our States' Rights campus movement on an educational level. Our purpose is not to dictate political choices to students, but to help them gain greater understanding of our form of government."

Miss Nichols named the following chairmen:

Joy Noble, Anguilla, Membership; Jean Wells, Canton, Program; Lennie Estes, Laurel, Finance, and Regina Cowley, Smithville, Procedure.

The next meeting of the States' Rights group will be held Friday, at which time other officers will be elected. Meanwhile, the committees will work on rallies, chapel programs, lectures and forums. A campus poll will be held this week to determine if students are for the States' Rights Movement, against it, or without opinion.

Memphis Tenn.

Sparks Tells States' Righters To Join Democratic Ranks

Cause Is 'Dead Issue'; Sees No Value In 3rd Party

Sat-11-6-48

EUFAULA, ALA., Nov. 5—(AP)—States' Rights Democrats were advised by former Gov. Chauncey Sparks today to abandon their organization and "join ranks" with the Democratic Party.

The cause for which they have been fighting, he said, will be a "dead issue" after the next session of Congress. By that time, he explained Truman's civil rights proposal will "either be enacted into law, or will have been abandoned."

Sparks said the States' Rights movement was started for one purpose—to fight President Truman's racial policies. He said its backers "never had a positive program."

Sat-11-6-48

The former bachelor governor said in his opinion there is no value in a third party. Instead, he said, the States' Righters should get behind the Democratic Party.

Possible Candidate

Regarded by some as a possible candidate for governor in 1950, Sparks was one of the delegates who refused to walkout of the Democratic national convention last summer. He disagreed with Truman's civil rights program but did not actively support the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

A look at the election results, he said, shows Alabama "has an obligation to join ranks in support of the new four-year administration under President Truman."

"Alabama cannot isolate herself politically any more than she can industrially or commercially,' 'he said. "We are a part of this great nation, and we must find some way to express ourselves through channels of national scope."

Alabama was the only state in which Truman did not appear on the ballot in last Tuesday's general election.

Sat-11-6-48

Sparks suggested as to the future there should be:

"More talk about states' responsibilities as well as states' rights: Improved standards, particularly in education, for the Negro; more and better technical training for everyone, white or Negro."

Sat-11-6-48

The former governor said this year's presidential election proved that the people are thinking for themselves . . . what spells "doom to the big political machines such as those of Chicago, Memphis, Kansas City" since they can only thrive on ignorance and prejudice."

CHAUNCEY S

States' Rights Again

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed-12-15-48

With the odor and stench of the unsolved Mallard lynching still reverberating around the world, Georgia's Governor Herman Talmadge, asked the Southern Governors' conference at Savannah to give official condemnation to the program of civil rights advocated by President Truman. The conference, through its resolution committee, branded the civil rights proposal as an "invasion of States-rights" and pledged to give their support to southern congressmen in their fight against any such legislation.

It would appear that the States-Righters or Dixiecrats, as they should be called, should have enough now to convince them that the South is making itself ridiculous in the eyes of the Nation to make a plea for States-Rights only to deny, withhold from the Negro his basic constitutional rights and guarantees. Least of all, should a responsible Georgia official be expected to make any outcry against civil rights in the face of the shameful handling, or shouldn't we say, mishandling of the Mallard case at Lyons. For nearly three weeks of fumbling and stalling by first one and then another not a single arrest was made, except the arrest of Mrs. Mallard at her husband's funeral.

The sorry spectacle of law enforcement officials making wild and windy statements which no 8th grade child would want to believe, together with the uncertainty of their rights to issue warrants of arrest for murder, gave the world the impression that local sentiment is too strong to expect anything approaching justice for Negroes from the South in the foreseable future. This indeed is a bad time to bring up the old, shopworn argument of States' Rights.

Wed-12-15-48

No person having a knowledge of southern conditions could afford to risk his good sense and logic on the strength of what is taking place right before their eyes in the South week in and week out. We need more talk about civil rights and less of States-Rights.

Youngest Dixiecrat Greets Delegates—Strikers' Families Camp On Railroad Tracks

I AM A DIXIECRAT

Commercial Appeal

YOUNGEST DELEGATE — Duly registered at States' Rights Democrats meeting in Houston, Texas, is 7-month-old Larry Thomas Long of Kilgore, Texas. Young politician is visiting uncle in Houston. —Acme Telephoto

Tues 8-10-48
Memphis Tenn.

STATES' RIGHTERS EN ROUTE TO RALLY

Special Train Car Bears S. C. Supporters To Houston, Tex.

The Columbia Record
Tues 8-10-48
Columbia S.C.

By ROBERT JEFFREY
Record Staff Correspondent

ABOARD STATES RIGHTS CAR, ENROUTE TO HOUSTON, Aug. 10—Twenty-seven South Carolinians were aboard this train today headed for a Texas version of a States Rights convention.

The Palmetto residents will attend the meeting at which Gov. J. Strom Thurmond will formally accept the nomination for president on the Southerners' ticket. The occasion will be the first since 1828, when Andrew Jackson became a presidential candidate, that a South Carolinian has been nominated for the presidency.

Tues 8-10-48

Meanwhile, Governor Thurmond was winging his way to Houston aboard a special plane, that would put him in the Texas city in time for conferences with political leaders from throughout the South, prior to his acceptance speech.

A mammoth reception awaited Governor Thurmond at the Houston Municipal airport, where he was scheduled to arrive at 2:30 p. m.

Thurmond's running mate, Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, will come to Houston tomorrow morning aboard a special train from Jackson.

Added Support

This South Carolina delegation will have additional support at the convention when a chartered airliner, scheduled to leave Columbia Wednesday morning, brings more than 20 more Thurmond supporters.

The South Carolina group will present an entirely different appearance from that evidenced at a Birmingham States Rights convention July 17, when Thurmond's name was offered in a resolution to became the Southern anti-Truman candidate. The surprise move at Birmingham caught South Carolina with one of the smallest delegations on the floor.

A heavy three-day schedule awaits Thurmond in Houston. In addition to the principal rally at the Houston Coliseum Wednesday night, Thurmond will attend numerous campaign conferences, policy mapping meetings, and an organizational meeting of Texas States Rights college students.

Today, conferences were underway in Houston among States Rights leaders to plan for coraling all of the 127 electoral votes of 11 Southern states.

Tue 8-10-48

Unofficial reports claim 43 of the votes already are certain, 36 are probable, 23 likely prospects, and five as probables.

Supposedly "in the bag" are nine from Mississippi, 11 from Alabama, eight from South Carolina, ten from Louisiana, and five from Florida.

Texas' 23 votes, the largest number in the South are considered a 'likely prospect." Campaign leaders hope to start a States Rights movement rolling in the Lone Star state that will bring the votes definitely into the Thurmond-Wright fold.

Other Votes Expected

Thurmond supporters expect to gain additional votes from Virginia, North Carolina, and six unpledged votes from Florida.

The States Rights movement, which really began to gain momentum at a Jackson, Miss., rally in May, has slowly gathered support in opposition to President Truman's civil rights proposal.

Thurmond was one of the principal speakers at the Mississippi meeting and has been boomed as a States Rights leader ever since.

Although called on short notice, the Birmingham conference, held two days after Mississippi delegates to the National Democratic convention walked out of the convention in protest over the civil rights plank in the party's platform, was the first coordinated move toward concerted States Rights action.

Thurmond, although not officially nominated at Birmingham, opened his presidential campaign with a speech at Cherryville, N. C., three weeks ago.

Tues 8-10-48

The movement has hit a snag in North Carolina where Thurmond supporters have been refused a place for their slate on the ballot.

Thurmond and his party, which included his wife, left Capital airport at 11 a. m. in a converted A-26 bomber, made available especially for his flight to Houston.

South Carolinians making the 975-mile jaunt to Houston by train, will arrive there at 6:30 p. m. C.S.T. tomorrow, and will start the 32-hour trip home Thursday.

The Southern Railway company announced that space in addition to the special Columbia car, was reserved for other delegates who might board the train enroute to Houston. The train's route will be via Spartanburg, Atlanta, Montgomery, Mobile and New Orleans.

HOUSTON, Tex., Aug. 10—(AP)—States' rights Democrats met in Houston today to lay before Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina their battle tactics for conquering electoral college votes in the solid South.

Licking Wounds

Meanwhile, Texas Dixiecrats were licking wounds suffered yesterday at Austin, the state capital.

The state Democratic executive committee certified the names of Truman and Barkley as party nominees for president and vice president over protests of the Dixiecrats and rejected a Dixiecrat demand that it submit a referendum on the Thurmond-Truman issue to party voters in the Aug. 28 primary.

Launches Campaign

The visit here of Thurmond and Wright formally launches states' rights campaigns for the nation and within Texas.

Party leaders held conferences here before Thurmond's arrival on campaign plans to sweep the 127 electoral votes in the 11 Southern States.

At Austin yesterday, the Democratic executive committee voted 42-18 to table a resolution providing for the referendum.

The loyalists, headed by Gov. Beaufor Jester, argued the committee had no authority to submit it; that it was a part of a scheme to disrupt the party.

The states rights Democrats contended that the Truman civil rights proposals were aimed at destruction of the Southern social system.

The Dixiecrats, or States Righters, said they would carry the fight to the September 14 convention at Fort Worth, and go on the stump between now and then to urge their position. The certification is "an unlawful act," they said.

Texas Republicans met today at Waco to nominate a state slate, but more interest was shown in the fight over state control of the party.

The battle is between Col. R. B. Creager of Brownsville, GOP national committeeman and big wheel in the party since 1922, and George Hopkins of Dallas, state chairman.

Dixiecrat Writers

B'ham News
B'ham Ala.
Tues 12-14-48

To the Editor:

For going on eight months, now, I have been reading letters written in by members of what everybody calls the "Dixiecrats." For some reason they object to that name. "Dixie" has always been a pretty good word, so I guess it's the "cratic" they don't like. Anyway I always thought it was men who made the name mean something and not vice versa. Now these letters that I'm talking about started out in April, heavily larded with quotations from the Bible, calling Democrats "scum," "traitors," "rascals," "radicals," and maybe a "Communist" or two slipped in. The one I read in the paper not long ago said the same thing. So it seems they haven't gone very far during the eight months.

When all the civil rights trouble started, I didn't know anything but what Dixiecratic writers wrote and Dixiecratic politicians said. Newspapers didn't help much either. They just spilled a lot of ink without saying anything. But they all seemed to agree that civil rights in some way violated states' rights. Well, I didn't know much about the constitution, but I wanted to know how civil rights violated states' rights. They just talked all around the bush but they never did say.

Birmingham News
B'ham, Ala.
Tues 12-14-48

Well, sir, as I found out, it doesn't violate anything. FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission) affects only businesses engaged in interstate commerce. And I never heard of any state claiming to regulate interstate commerce. But why didn't the Dixiecrats mention that? And what part of the constitution or states' rights would an anti-lynch law violate? Anyway, lynching surely does deprive a man of "life . . . without due process of law!" I just can't understand the hullabaloo over the unconstitutionality of the civil rights program. I always thought we had a Supreme Court to decide on things like that.

I suspect these Dixiecrats are only using the states' right argument for a screen. They oppose civil rights on racial and economic grounds, but they aren't man enough to come out and say so. Even J. Strom Thurmond denied he was fighting civil rights for those reasons. Well, all I got to say is that his states' rights grounds are mighty weak.

I'm mighty tired of these letters that call names and use these long words. I want these Dixiecrats to write, so I can understand them and be more "friendly-like" with everybody, like us farmers.

ED JACKSON.

Tuscaloosa, Ala.

States' Rights Democrats

The Columbia Record

About the last thing any spokesman for the South Carolina Democratic (States' Rights) party should mention is the "cardinal Democratic principle of majority rule."

For the Democratic party of South Carolina is deliberately and willfully disregarding the "cardinal Democratic principle of majority rule." It served notice upon the Democratic convention, meeting at Philadelphia, that it would not abide by the will of the majority, unless that majority subordinated its will to the South Carolina minority.

Columbia, S.C.

The States' Righters are not Democrats—that "degraded name," the Charleston News and Courier calls it—and they should have the courage of their convictions and their principles to divorce themselves from the Democratic party.

Fri 9-24-48

They used to be Democrats, of course, some of them, and these still cling to the old Democratic ideas. But the Democratic party has moved away from them and has notified them that they are not wanted in the Democratic party, as now constituted, and do not belong there.

South Carolinians and Southerners generally are a proud people. Normally they would react promptly and violently to get out of any organization which does not want them and where both they and the organization majority agree they do not belong, to the principles of which they cannot subscribe.

Fri. 9-24-48

But political parties are more than organizations built around a set of principles, which are always changing. Basically they are all politicians' organizations, run by office-holders and office-seekers for the benefit of office-holders and office-seekers.

And these politicians' have a vested interest in maintaining the local status quo, an interest above principles. And this is why the Democratic (States' Rights) party of South Carolina still calls itself the Democratic party although it is actively campaigning to defeat the Democratic party.

This is the real weakness of the States' Rights movement. It is not a real grass roots movement, a voters' movement, but a politicians' movement.

The South had a real chance to get itself out of the bag for good this year. But the States' Rights party killed it, guaranteed that even if the South escapes for the one year it will be only for a year. For the States' Rights party is a caretaker for the Democratic party in the Southern states and when the election is over the South will be back in the bag again.

Fri. 9-24-48

The opposition in the South to President Truman's ideas which, of course, are not his own, but President Roosevelt's, had become too strong to be ignored although the politicians tried desperately to ignore it. The Roosevelt magic was no more and there was no real hope of winning again. The single-party system was ready to collapse.

And this was a real grass roots movement. The Southern voter was mad, mad enough to throw off his shackles and vote Republican. Governor J. Strom Thurmond, States' Right candidate for president, told his Augusta audience last night that Dewey "would have carried every Southern State."

But then the politicians took it in tow. At Philadelphia they tried to find a substitute for Truman, who is to be defeated, in General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who might have won. When they failed, the States' Righters held their conference-convention in Birmingham, named Thurmond and Wright as their candidates and the campaign was on to preserve, protect and defend the one-party system from the voters.

Old Dominion

The Washington Post
Wash. D.C.
11-3-48

34

Despite all the anti-Truman threats that emanated from Richmond last summer, Virginia has remained a Democratic dominion, and comfortably. The margin by which President Truman won over Governor Dewey was, to be sure, less than in any recent presidential election save that of 1928, when Virginia gave its votes to Herbert Hoover. But the 1928 upset can be traced largely to a religious prejudice against Al Smith which was lacking this year.

What the Truman victory indicates is that the States' rights issues on which the Republicans relied to split the Democratic vote were largely phony issues insofar as they concerned the Virginia electorate. Despite record Virginia turnout of more than 400,000, the Dixiecrats appear to have captured only a little more than one fifth the number of votes given President Truman. Northern Virginia counties adjoining Washington plumped for Dewey, and there was a strong Republican showing in southwest Virginia, but neither of these areas could counteract the general Truman trend.

The Truman surge is a vindication of the political wisdom of old-line Virginia party men such as Senator Byrd in remaining aloof from the lures of the Dixiecrats. It also is an implied rebuke to those State Democratic leaders who toyed with the thought of denying Truman a place on the ballot. Especially it is a repudiation of the attitude of Governor Tuck, who only a month ago coyly played host to the Dixiecrat candidate, Governor Thurmond.

No one should be surprised over the sweep of Senator A. Willis Robertson. He always was the safest of the Democratic candidates, and his switch back to the regular fold after a brief flirtation with the States' rights defection undoubtedly helped to entrench him. Representative Howard W. Smith had a tougher fight in the Eighth Congressional District, barely carrying his home city of Alexandria. Basically his victory can be attributed to the fact that the Republican sweep, upon which his opponent, Tyrrell Krum, relied, did not materialize in the rural districts—plus the fact that Mr. Krum, who predicated his campaign largely on an appeal to veterans, seemed to offer little fundamental change.

11-3-48

Arlington County voters have cause to rejoice over the fact that the school bond issue desperately needed to supply new classrooms passed by a reassuring majority. Unquestionably it was interest in the schools that brought an unprecedented vote of nearly 22,000. Arlingtonians apparently heeded the fears that a change in the school board election date would play into the hands of the "machine." They voted down the referendum on this point as leaders in the school fight had suggested. The one anomaly is the defeat of the only county board candidate who had openly supported the school bond issue, I. Lee Potter, by the incumbent, Alfred E. Frisbee. Perhaps the voters felt that, whatever the attempts to relate the issue of better schools to the county board race, they have no logical connection. At any rate, the vote to provide more classroom facilities should convince the county board that Arlingtonians feel strongly about their schools.

Four Party Complications

Columbia Record

The States Rights leaders in North Carolina are contesting the ruling of the North Carolina board of elections that in order to get the name of Governor J. Strom Thurmond on the ticket in North Carolina they must present petitions signed by 10,000 or more electors who did not vote in the primary.

Columbia, S.C.

It is the contention of the States Righters that the petition needs to be signed by 10,000 or more qualified electors. Whether they voted in the Democratic primary or not is immaterial, they say.

Tu. 8-3-48

But if the names of Governors Thurmond and Fielding Wright go on the North Carolina ticket the names of Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor will also be put on it. For the Progressive party is putting up the same kind of argument. The Progressives may even get on the ticket without the necessity of an appeal to the courts. In the 30,000 or so names they claim to have on their petition may be 10,000 or more who meet the board of elections qualifications.

This would give North Carolina voters the choice of four tickets and, the Charlotte Observer believes, "would almost certainly insure that the Republican ticket of Governors Dewey and Warren would receive a plurality of the popular vote of the state, as predicted by Senator Hoey."

"It is not in the cards," The Observer declares, "that either the States Rights or the Progressive party ticket could poll a majority, but both combined could draw so heavily on the strength of the regular Democratic party as to enable the Republicans to win a plurality.

"It is inconceivable that either the Wallace-Taylor ticket or the Thurmond-Wright ticket would attract any very substantial number of those who have been regularly voting Republican."

8-3-48

In Texas, however, where the regulars seem to have the edge over the States Righters as a result of Saturday's county conventions, despite the Dixiecrat victories in three of the four biggest counties, the entry of the Thurmond-Wright ticket into the race, should the States Righters get on the ticket, is expected to help the regular Democrats.

Tu. 8-3-48

The States Right ticket in Texas would attract Democratic votes, it is true, but they would be Democratic votes which probably would have gone to the Republican party this year. The anti-Truman forces in Texas, therefore, would be divided and Truman would benefit.

States' Rights

N.Y. Herald Tribune
N.Y. N.Y.
Sat. 11-27-48

Editor Constitution: States' Righters will be "forgiven," says Democratic National Committee Chairman McGrath.

Party harmonizers seem to overlook the pledges of the Democratic platform to enact anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and "fair employment" bills—pledges made in contemptuous disregard of the Southern delegates at Philadelphia. Although the bills are all clearly unconstitutional, few lawyers believe that the present Supreme Court will uphold the Constitution when they come before it for review.

The FEPC bill, of which Sen. Chavez is co-author, would impose fines and imprisonment without trial by jury. It is shocking that such a proposal was ever made by a political party of Jeffersonian traditions. It would be revolutionary even if we had no written constitution reserving to the states powers not specifically granted to the Federal Government. It is a reactionary, Asian monstrosity which pretends to cure injustices not remediable by law in a free country.

Doubtless Mr. Truman would like to forget and be forgiven. But backroom harmony cannot save him from a painful dilemma of his own making. There is no way to satisfy the believers in the Constitution and, at the same time, Negro leaders who hold the balance of power in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois. In 1950 and 1952, the "Democrats" will face the loss of all these states—or the loss of the Southern and Border States if the bills are forced on us. If that happens, the States' Rights Party will be stimulated and magnified to the exact extent of the Administration's own effort to discard the Constitution of our fathers.

Sat 11-27-48

New Orleans. EDWARD CAFFERY.

SOUTHERNERS NAME THURMOND TO LEAD ANTI-TRUMAN FIGHT

The Times
New York, N.Y.
Sun 7-18-48

Rebellious Democrats Nominate Wright of Mississippi With South Carolina Governor

'TRUE MINORITY PARTY'

Candidates Are Wildly Cheered by 6,000 Supporters in Contest on States' Rights Issue

Southern Democrats' statement of principles is on Page 2.

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 17—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina was unanimously chosen today by a group of rebellious Southern Democrats as a Presidential candidate to lead them in a fight to defeat President Truman in the November general elections.

An uproarious rump convention attended by 6,000 fervent followers also named Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi as a Vice Presidential running mate on a states' rights Democratic ticket. It announced a grand strategy designed to establish the group as the "only true minority party" in Congress.

Both standard bearers, whose candidacies have the effect of putting a fourth party into the national Presidential campaign, have been leading figures in the South's bitter fight against the civil rights proposals that were first introduced in January by President Truman.

From the enthusiasm of the convention crowd and the presence of several top southern political leaders it was evident that the new ticket would have a powerful attraction for the nine electoral votes of Mississippi, the eleven electoral votes of Alabama and a scattering of such votes in Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana and Texas.

Second Meeting Oct. 1

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Immediately after the naming of the candidates the convention agreed to reassemble here on Oct. 1 to make further plans with reference to the electoral votes of the various states. It was requested that each state send official delegates equal in number to its votes. It was believed this was a plan to make the meeting one of Presidential electors likely to be pledged to the new ticket.

Sun

The convention ended with a burst of shouts, cheers and rebel yells, as well as countless parades on the convention floor, with a portrait of Gen. Robert E. Lee held high. These demonstrations followed speeches denouncing President Truman and his civil rights program as "threats to make Southerners into a mongrel, inferior race by forced intermingling with Negroes."

7-18-48

In a declaration of principles, the dissident group closed the door on the possibility of throwing their strength to the Republican party by calling for the defeat of Mr. Truman and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey.

"We call upon all Democrats and upon all other loyal Americans who are opposed to totalitarianism at home and abroad to unite with us in ignominiously defeating Harry S. Truman and Thomas E. Dewey, and every other candidate who would establish a police state in the United States of America," the declaration read.

"Federal Interference Hit"

The Times

The declaration voiced opposition to the elimination of segregation, the repeal of miscegenation statutes and set forth a four-page criticism of "Federal interference" in the field of civil rights to support its conclusion that the actions of the National Democratic Convention in Philadelphia were "totalitarian."

Generally, it was a six-hour session marked by great bursts of enthusiasm inside the auditorium as speakers drew an oratorical picture of the future of the South if segregation barriers were removed. Outside there was brief picketing by ten representatives of the Southern Progressive party, who departed under a fusillade of catcalls and boos.

Sun

Governor Thurmond is 45 years old, a veteran of the second World War, leading with paratroopers in the invasion of Normandy. On May 10 he delivered the keynote speech when the states'-rights Democrats held their first gathering.

7-18-48

Governor Wright, 53 years old, started the states'-rights "revolt" and on May 8 he delivered a statewide radio address to the Negroes of Mississippi in which he told them that if they envisioned social equality with whites in schools and restaurants it would be better for them to leave the state.

Candidates Popular in South

Both men have large and enthusiastic followings throughout the South, and at each of the states' rights gatherings and on public appearances during the days of the civil rights' controversy they have been acclaimed by large crowds.

Governor Wright has had many indications that he represents the sympathies of most of the citizens of his state. There has also been political unity behind him. Senators James O. Eastland and John C. Stennis, and Representatives John Bell Williams and William P. Colmar, were at today's meeting.

Thirteen states were represented by placards on the convention floor. They were Virginia, North and South Carolina, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Texas, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky and Arkansas.

However, only a few had representation of real political power. Many seated in 'delegates' seats turned out to be college students, interested onlookers, and persons who had stopped off for the show while traveling through Birmingham on business trips or vacations.

7-18-48

There was no question about the strong representations of Mississippi and Alabama. They dominated the convention floor, overflowing their own allotment of space and taking up seats in sections set aside for other states. In this way every seat on the floor was occupied.

In the Virginia section there were four students from the University of Virginia and a young woman from Alexandria who said she had stopped off returning from a trip to New Orleans.

Some States Not Represented

In the sections set aside for North Carolina and Kentucky no one would identify himself as from those states. Oklahoma had three of its own in its section and former Gov. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray sat in the balcony.

The Times

Louisiana and Florida and Texas had delegations of from fifteen to twenty-five persons. It was reported that ten national convention delegates from Texas, three Presidential electors from Florida and two Presidential electors from Louisiana were present.

Three of South Carolina's delegates to the Philadelphia convention were on hand. Governor Thurmond brought a large retinue.

Tennessee was represented by four students from the University of Tennessee, six students from Cumberland College at Lebanon and five persons who said they were "sympathizers." J. H. Ballew of Nashville, a delegate to the national convention, sat in the rear of the hall under a placard that read "Other States."

At the first meeting of the states' rights Democrats in Jackson, Miss., on May 10, Tennessee had a strong delegation from Memphis, home of E. H. "Boss" Crump.

New York, N.Y.

Georgia, which pulled out as a participant in the states' rights movement in May, had no political representatives present. Eight men who sat in the Georgia section said they were just "interested" and "sympathetic."

Arkansas had about twelve persons present, one of them a delegate to the national convention at Philadelphia.

7-18-48

Some on the convention floor who explained that they were believers in the precepts of the states' rights Democrats said they were from Indiana, Pennsylvania and Illinois.

The convention got under way with a series of speeches by local political figures, all stressing opposition to President Truman and predicting national chaos if the South's segregation pattern was abolished. There was much old-fashioned oratory replete with colloquialisms that drew gales of laughter from the crowd. Said one speaker:

"We have no choice between the little man with the sickening smile and the little man with the little mustache."

One speaker kept repeating that if the civil rights proposals became laws the South would find both races "mingling in the beauty shops and the swimming pools."

Warning to Office-Holders

For the second day in a row the officials of the states' rights Democrats displayed their principal political weakness, when former Gov. Frank M. Dixon of Alabama told the convention crowd:

"Some of the office-holders in the South are afraid of losing their jobs if they follow us and if they think they can weasel their way through this and weather the storm we will soon retire them to private life."

Several convention officials boasted that they would have "enough money behind this move to match the Republicans or the Democrats." Leaders stressed that it was their hope to insure the defeat of Mr. Truman in November and then to gain enough support for their ticket in every state to make the states' rights Democrats the actual Democratic Party minority in Congress under a Republican administration.

"This way," they said, "we will be the dominant minority group and the northern city machines will have to come to us for their committee assignments. That way we will block this trend to knife the South."

New York, N.Y.

It was learned that the strategy of the new party's leaders would be to try to get the state conventions in all Southern states reconvened, if they have already been held, and have them name new slates of Presidential electors who are pledged against Mr. Truman or pledged to support Governor Thurmond.

Sun, 7-18-48

This move to "free the electors" is regarded as the new ticket's trump card in defeating Mr. Truman in the electoral college and giving it the dominant party position in the South.

Demonstration for Candidates

The delegates gave vent to a wild demonstration that spilled onto the speakers' platform with flags and pennants and state placards when Governors Thurmond and Wright appeared and accepted the nominations.

"We will not turn back," the Mississippi Governor said. "This is the South's big opportunity to show that we are the real Democratic party. Those who believed we would never be able to carry this fight on to a successful conclusion are beginning to tremble."

There were shouts of "no, no" when Governor Wright said he would "step down" when the states' righters met again on October "if a better candidate can be found."

7-18-48

Governor Thurmond said that "we have just begun to fight" and "if the South should vote for Truman this year we might just as well petition the Government to give us colonial status."

"President Truman has betrayed the South," he added, "and we Southerners are going to cast our votes for candidates who are true believers in states' rights principles. For our loyalty to the party we have been stabbed in the back by a President who has betrayed every principle of the Democratic party in his desire to win at any cost."

THURMOND OFF TO TEXAS FOR ACCEPTANCE

Columbia Record

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond expressed confidence in the States' Rights Democratic campaign to name him president today as he boarded a special plane for Houston, Tex.

Thurmond said that the party's headquarters in Jackson, Miss., reported the campaign to be "coming along splendidly." He said that the "people of South Carolina as well as many others in the South are responding to the principle."

Thurmond left this morning for ceremonies in his honor this afternoon prior to the official notification of his nomination by the States' Rights Democrats for president.

Accompanying him were Mrs. Thurmond, his press secretary, George M. MacNabb, State Sen. George Warren of Hampton, James H. Hammond of Columbia, and Robert McC. Figg of Charleston.

Merlin E. Jacobs, Jr., of the J. D. Reed Co., Inc., of Dallas, Tex., flew here this morning to transport the governor's party to the rally.

Governor Thurmond welcomed his special pilot today with a loyalty test—"Hello, sir, are you for Truman or Thurmond?"

The pilot, Mervin E. Jacobs, Jr., of Dallas, Texas, gracefully parried with a politician's own weapon—"No Comment." He added jocularly that he wasn't in politics.

Thurmond's friends, bidding him farewell as he left for Houston to accept formally the presidential nomiation, had teased him about the plane.

When he said it was being sent by headquarters, Sen. James H. Hammond quipped that he hoped he didn't mean "by Howard McGrath."

Thurmond and a party of five left today for Houston to attend a States' Rights Democratic rally.

Globe and Independent

Hard Victory Won To Get Negroes Admitted To Democratic Primaries May Prove to be Futile; Foes of Civil Rights to Take Over

Nashville, Tenn.

Birmingham, Alabama— Colored Democrats were conspicuous by their absence from the Dixiecrat convention here on Saturday of last week. it was a meeting the like of which has not been held in the South since a faction walked out of the 1860 Democratic Convention and launched a movement that split the nation into Union and Confederate States.

Fri.

As in 1860, the party split over the "Negro Question" but the latest crack up of the Democratic party is not likely to assume any such serious concern to the nation as the split in 1860. 7-23-48

But the plight of the colored man and woman who have fought valiantly in the South to become active members of the Democratic Party was rendered almost pathetic by the calling of the Dixiecrat convention and what is to result from it. The indications are that in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi, states in which ever so much money has been spent to force the admission of colored citizens into the Democratic Party, the Dixiecrats will control affairs. They issued what amounts to a demand to senators and congressmen that they come out and speak out in approval of the stand the Dixiecrats have taken on the civil rights issue. It is probable that these senators and congressmen will be forced to do this in order to hold their jobs. Thus the Democratic Party in the South will be based wholly on hostility to the Negro. No Negro will likely have either the desire or the courage to be a Democrat in any of the states that will be controlled by Dixiecrats.

It now seems probable that in most Southern States the regularly elected electors will take the advice of the Dixiecrat leaders and cast the electoral votes of their states for the two nominees of the Dixiecrat majority. This will mean that a colored voter will have no chance to express his preference for President Truman.

In those states where the chosen electors feel they must vote for President Truman, the Dixiecrats will call state conventions and choose new electors to go on the ballot. The Dixiecrats pledge 127 electoral votes to their own nominees, leaving no electoral votes in the South to President Truman If this happens a colored man's vote for Mr. Truman will be worse than wasted.

Globe and Independent

In Tennessee, the Dixiecrats will just about make it certain that the Republican electors will be elected. They are able to split the Democratic Party in twain, which means that they will deprive Mr. Truman of Tennessee's electoral vote. They are likely to accomplish the same thing in North Carolina and probably Virginia.

The big objective of the Dixiecrats of course is to make President Truman the worse defeated candidate for the president their party has nominated since the Civil War. They feel that Mr. Truman is not likely to carry any Northern states because of the Henry Wallace Ticket. Thus if the Dixiecrats can, deprive Mr. Truman of all of the Southern electors by taking a number of them for their own candidates and making it possible for Republicans to take the remainder, Mr. Truman will be "the worse beaten candidate." He will have many millions of popular votes but no electoral votes at all.

Nashville, Tenn.

Fri.

7-23-48

7-23-48

Globe and Independent

The one bright spot in a very dark picture is that the radical Dixiecrats nominated just about the worse ticket that could have been put together. Gov. Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Wright of Mississippi qualify as the most demagogic governors in the South. The states they govern are rated the most backward states in the South. It is probable that should the Democratic congressmen and senators of the South unite in providing electors for Mr. Truman in their states they could succeed in getting them elected. But at present it seems that senators and congressmen are either disposed to keep quiet or to oby the demand of the Dixiecrats that they speak out in opposition to President Truman.

The Dixiecrats, out of the mouth of one of their orators, got a slogan that is going to be heard thruout their campaign The northern wing of the party, this orator stated, was made up of "communicrats and mulattocrats." They bear down in opposition to the fair employment practices bill and pretend that their opposition to it is based solely on what it would do to help Negroes. But it is known that there never would have been an FEPC bill offered had it been for Negroes, only. It was meant to stop discrimination against Catholics and Jews, as well as Negroes. But they find it advisable to keep such views with in the hearing of fellow-bigots.

Nashville, Tenn.

Fri.

With the help of money contributed by Republicans, both white and colored, the battle to get Southern Negroes admitted as members of the Democratic Party of the South has been won. But for 1948, at least, Negroes of the South will not want to be members of the party of their choice. It will be because all liberal Southern Democrats have been rendered helpless and are being pressured to become full-fledged Dixiecrats, or else. 7-23-48

Wallace Backers Picket Dixiecrats

The Afro American

Baltimore, Md.

Race Issue Sole Plank of Bolters' Program

Mon. 7-24-48

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (NNPA)— Supporters of Henry A. Wallace paraded in front of the Municipal Auditorium at the opening session of Dixiecrats holding a States' Rights Convention here last Saturday.

They carried a variety of placards. One read, "End lynchings—Win with Wallace." Other placards read: "Fair Employment for All Workers—Win with Wallace," "You Can't Eat States' Rights" and "The Poll Tax Must Go."

Walter Sillers, speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives who offered one of the States' rights proposals which were rejected by the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, last week, was named permanent chairman.

Mon.

The statement of principles from the resolutions committee said:

7-24-48

"We oppose all efforts to invade or destroy" individual rights; we stand for segregation of the races and the racial integrity of each race; the Constitutional rights to choose one's associates; to accept private employment without Government interference;

"We oppose and condemn . . . a civil rights program calling for the elimination of segregation, social equality by Federal fiat;

"We call upon all Democrats and upon all other loyal Americans to unite with us in ignominiously defeating Harry S. Truman and Thomas E. Dewey.

The News

The Fourth Party

This country's federal government is not well suited for the functioning of many political parties Our method of electing a president, vice president and Congress has developed the two-party system. No other system could long endure. In order for government as we know it to operate smoothly, it is necessary for some party to command a majority following among the voters and in Congress. A coalition government such as is known in France or Italy is not feasible, except in rare emergencies, under our laws and habits.

Third, fourth or fifth parties, therefore, can be little more than protest parties. Usually they are devoted to a single cause or a single idea. Supporters may nurse the hope of seeing their movement mature into a major party, but that has happened only twice in this nation's history. The Whigs, who elected two presidents, with a third inheriting the office on death of a president, and the Republicans offer the proof that a major party can grow out of a minor party. Those are rare exceptions, however. The pages of American political history are littered with the wrecks of minor parties.

Birmingham, Ala.

What will happen to the States' Rights Democratic Party, as it was officially named at a meeting of anti-Truman Southern Democrats in Atlanta? Leaders of the party declare they are aiming at a permanent organization and capture, no less, of the presidency. They see no temporary revolt in this movement which has led them out of the national Democratic Party which Jefferson fathered.

7-27-48

The News

Either they are gifted with vision far beyond the ken of ordinary men, or they are expressing wishes as facts, or they are talking big, for effect. This paper leans to the latter explanation. It is difficult to see where the fourth party has a chance in more than a few Southern states.

This revolt is without support in the North or West except for a few individuals. It does not represent a discontent so wide that it could lead to the rise of a new major party. States' rights is such a general term and possible of so many interpretations that it cannot capture, as a political standard, the imagination of any great block of voters.

For states' rights to mean anything to the average voter, the phrase must be translated in terms of concrete problems and issues.

Birmingham, Ala.

The issues of special concern to this movement do not reach in other areas the importance they have in the South. The Southern anti-Truman Democrats may make headway in influencing the rest of the nation to have more consideration for Southern opinion on regional problems. But whether the revolt is the best method of exerting such influence is a question not yet answered. We doubt if it will be answered by using the term states' rights with any implication that those opposed to the fourth party revolt are not also for states' righs. 7-27-48

Tues.

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Editor The Advertiser:

The Advertiser

Gov. Thurmond says that he is not interested in the racial issues involved in the coming election. If he is telling the truth his candidacy presents some unusual political alliances. To anyone who accepts his statement at full value I wish to direct the following questions:

Wed. 7-22-48

1. Why is he traveling in company with Wright, McCorvey, Talmadge, and other advocates of white supremacy?

2. Why is he opposed to Truman only because of the civil rights program?

3. What is his attitude toward [illegible] RE[illegible] and other programs which require domination by the Federal Government?

Montgomery, Ala.

4. If Thurmond does not stand for white supremacy why was he nominated instead of Folsom? Folsom, you will remember, has been opposed to Truman for a long time. He believes in states' rights so much that he has advocated that our national defense be composed of 48 separate armies.

5. Would Thurmond address a non-segregated audience in New York or Pittsburgh? If so, what could he say?

A. GUY DUNCAN.

Glenwood, Ala.

★ *1—When Gov. Thurmond bluntly eschews the ugly term White Supremacy, he does so—or so we conjecture—because you can't export that stuff outside the South and because his essential cry is States Rights.*

2—Would Thurmond address a non-segregated audience in New York or Pittsburgh? We [illegible] undoubtedly would. So has every Southern figure who has gone as a delegate to national Democratic conventions. The convention hall in Philadelphia, for example, was entirely unsegregated. Sovereign states, exercising States Rights, had seen fit to elect Negro delegates to that convention. They sat with the whites and shared all facilities.

The editor watched with a high degree of intrigue as such Alabama delegates as Bull Conner, of Birmingham; Miller Bonor, of Camden; Handy Ellis, Hardy Riddle, Tom King, of Aniston, sat in a section with Negro delegates to the front and rear of them, notably in the Michigan delegation. That was the way it was.—Ed.

Wed. 7-22-48

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

States' Rights Democrats And Heavenly Lightning

To the Editor of The News:

The courageous patriotic movement launched by the so-called "rebels," and "bolters" from the so-called National Democratic Party, is a crusade to recover constitutional government as the rightful heritage of the people of the United States.

This worthy and necessary crusade of the States' Rights Democrats is not a descent into political Avernus, as its detractors would have us believe. To the contrary, it is a determined ascent out of Avernus into which the true Democratic Party was lured by the downward drag of the New Deal Party—a third party—which absorbed, destroyed, then masqueraded under the time-honored banner of the Democratic Party. The News

The constitution in crystal-clear language emphatically provides that each and every state in the Union shall have the sovereign right to administer its own internal affairs without intermeddling on the part of the federal government. Indeed, Section IV, of Article IV of the constitution sternly enunciates the dictum that: Birmingham, Ala.

> "The United States shall guarantee to every state in the Union, a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion: and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."

Thus we come to realize that only to prevent invasion by a common enemy, and in case of domestic violence—and then, only at the request of the Legislature or of the governor of the state so disturbed—may the federal government obtrude itself in the domestic affairs of any state in the Union. It is intensely clear that federal authority must await the invitation of the Legislature or of the executive, before it precipitates itself upon any state whose right to sovereignty within its own boundaries, the constitution has guaranteed it. Fri. 8-6-48

The "bolters" from the New Deal are not insurgents. They are, in all truth, resurgents. Were this assertion not true it would not be made. The States' Rights Democrats, stigmatized "bolters," were splendidly "struck" by the bolt of idealism and patriotism — even though they were deep-down in Avernus.

There come times when prevailing popular abuses and misuses of power cease to be sufferable to those who have sensibilities with which to suffer. There come times when the subjugation of collective intelligence and inner sovereignty of those individuals who are so endowed, becomes so broad, so deep, so unrestrained and so rampant, that, from some direction a "bolt" inevitably strikes.

The conditions engendered by the employment of gang political machines and by the abuse of federal power over the domestic affairs of our 48 states, have forged at last, the "bolt" which will strike away the chains of tyranny, and cause to stand erect again, the Democratic Party which essentially is the party of the South.

IT MAY WELL be realized now, and accepted for the truth that it is, that the leaders of this movement to recover constitutional government from the hustings are not mere political tricksters adopting tactics for self-advancement and for shoddy political expediency. They are, instead, men of as fine caliber as can be found anywhere in our country. As the leaders in the onward-sweep of this magnificent current of action, Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, as the nominee for the presidency, and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, for the vice presidency, have been wisely chosen to head the States' Rights Democratic ticket. Both possess records of proved ability to govern and to lead, of patriotism and of loyalty. Both were educated in institutions of higher learning, and, of course, both are polished and urbane. Each is exemplary in character—each is steeped in the tradition, somewhat important in the South, that high office imposes high obligation—that a trust may not be betrayed, nor power abused. Perhaps this is a quaint and outmoded ethic, but it is a gleaming ethic nonetheless. Fri. 8-6-48

The ideal of states' rights is wrought into the very warp and woof of the constitution. If it be treason to seek a restoration of the right to dignity and sovereignty of the various states in the operation, each, of its own internal affairs, then the makers of the constitution likewise were guilty of treason. If the leaders of this resurgence of the principle of state sovereignty are "rebels," charlatans and ignoramuses, they enjoy communication with distinguished personages and have for guidance the precepts of great predecessors. Let us consider a few of the utterances of certain of those predecessors:

> Said Thomas Jefferson: "If ever this country is brought under a single central government, it will be one of the most extensive corruption . . . The states should be watchful to note every material usurpation of their rights; to denounce them as they occur, in the most peremptory tones. The time to guard against corruption and tyranny is before they shall have got hold of us . . . Our legislators are not sufficiently apprised of the rightful limits of their powrs; that their true office is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, but to take none of them from us . . ."

Said Chief Justice Marshall: "We admit, as all must admit, that the powers of the government are limited, and that its limits are not to be transcended. . . . Though any one state may be willing to control its operation, no state is willing to allow others to control it. . . . No political dreamer was ever wild **enough to think of breaking down the lines** which separate the states and of compounding the American people into one common mass."

"The maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States', and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend." Lincoln, in his first inaugural address. 8-6-48

The ninth amendment of the constitution wisely provides that: Fri.

"The enumerations of the constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

Nevertheless, the Supreme Court of today, through its decisions in racial matters does "deny," and it does "disparage" certain "rights" which many of the people claim the privilege of exercising.

The News

* * *

ALL NATURE IS SELECTIVE, and it imposes upon every species of its own divine law—the law of selectivity. If this majestic law be violated the offending species will degenerate and it will vanish. The people of the South invoke this law; they invoke the right to observe or to enforce the law of selectivity, because, it is the law!

The States' Rights Democratic Party emphatically is not a fourth party. It is not a splinter party. It is, instead, the bone and essence of the unperverted, original Democratic Party which was created out of the tenets set forth in the constitution, and which was animated by Jeffersonian precepts. When this great American institution—the Democratic Party—was created, the agrarian element helped to create it. This was made possible by allowing this element the privilege of lifting up its voice in shaping the affairs of government, and by allowing the South the distinction of occupying a position of dignity and importance in government. But that voice has been hushed, the importance denied—that dignity despised, as abundantly proved at the "National Democratic Party" convention in Philadelphia, as well as by the Republican convention.

> No nation is any greater, any stronger than is the influence of its agrarian element in that nation's government. One of the chief causes of the fall of the Roman empire was the breaking up and the disregarding of her agrarian element. This republic was conceived and this government created out of the level-headed, sturdy calm, the peace-loving and down-to-earth ideals of an agrarian society. But the New Deal—the so-called National Democratic Party has despised and disregarded the agrarian influence; but has instead, 'industrialized' and so 'textalized' the dominating influence in our government, that the constitution has been machined into tatters and shreds. Fri.

Neither the national Democratic nor the Republican Party is to be commended for the sort of treatment which has been accorded the South. So alike in character have they become that each is as the end of the same stick. Birmingham Ala

* * *

"THIS COUNTRY with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. When they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it. . . . The rule of a minority as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissable; so that rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism is all that is left." Thus spake Abraham Lincoln.

The States' Rights Democratic Party proposes to exercise the constitutional right of "amending" the abuse of power in both the Republicans and the national Democratic parties. If this purpose represents a "bolt" it must be admitted that the bolt is charged with "heavenly lightning." 8-6-48

MARIAN KIDD MABRY.

P. O. Box 568, Birmingham, Ala.

Protecting S

Alabama Democrats are overwhelmingly agreed that the protection of basic states' rights is an urgent objective but they are far from united on how best to serve the cause. Birmingham News

The principle that government should remain on the local and state levels to the greatest extent compatible with the larger public and national interest remains sound, despite the increasing complexities and interdependencies of this age which tend to make for ever widening federal action.

Precisely because there are so many factors tending to make for greater centralization in government, there is all the more need for constant vigilance to prevent such action from going to extreme and unwise lengths. Birmingham, Ala.

> Many problems do call for federal attention nowadays and it would be obstructive of the public interest simply to stand out blindly against soundly conceived efforts to deal with such matters on the national level. But it is very easy to go too far in federal action and this paper agrees that President Truman's civil rights proposals present an example in point.

Thu. 7-1-48

* * *

Southern racial problems are not going to be dealt with successfully by coercion.

There is no reason to believe that a federal anti-lynching bill would be constructive and its enactment would aggravate conditions it was intended to improve.

Fair employment practices in the South certainly are not going to be served by a program imposed from Washington.

Federal prohibition of a poll tax in national elections would enormously complicate the elective processes and involve serious constitutional questions. State action would be far better.

> Upon such things Southerners are in wide agreement. But how these purposes and convictions will be served by a break away of Alabama Democrats from the national party becomes still more difficult to conceive.

7-1-48

Some of the members of the Democratic convention delegation, in response to a re-

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Arkansas Recognizes States'-Rights Party

Camden Journal

Little Rock, Sept. 24 (AP)—The States'-Rights Democrats were recognized as a new political party in Arkansas today and qualified for a place on the November 2 ballot. Sat. 9-25-48

Petitions nominating nine presidential electors were received and approved by Secretary of State C. G. Hall. Camden Ark quest by former Gov. Sparks, have suggested ideas for the party plank on civil rights. They generally emphasize civil rights. Suppose an acceptable plank were worked out and Mr. Truman was nominated, what then?

State Democratic Chairman McCorvey reiterates that Alabama electors will not vote either for Truman or Dewey. And at a dinner in Mr. McCorvey's honor a dominant note was that the South should seek to recapture its strong position in the party.

Well, how is that to be done by bolting the national party if Mr. Truman is nominated, as seems almost certain?

Mr. McCorvey himself sees little or no chance of blocking the president's nomination but clings to the hope that the election can be thrown into the House of Representatives. It could be, only if Southern Democrats held the balance of power and were willing to reject the opportunity for a Democratic victory.

Operating outside both of the major national parties, how could Southern Democrats hope to do their utmost for states' rights?

"BOLTER (NATIONAL)"

Mr. Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, has written us an avuncular but firm lecture on the use of the word bolter.

We say The Advertiser and Mr. McCorvey are bolters because we're keeping our vote away from Truman, nominee of the National Democratic Party. But Mr. McCorvey insists that he is a bolter, neither past, present nor prospective. And he says it after the following fashion:

Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser:

In your editorial in Sunday's Advertiser captioned "Bolters All," you are just about correct when you state that it causes me some anguish to be called a "bolter." The reason that I object to being called a bolter is because I am not a bolter, never have been a bolter, and never expect to be a bolter. Advertiser

Webster's New International Dictionary defines a bolter as "a voter who refuses to support his party." My party is the Democratic Party of Alabama, whose emblem is a crowing rooster, with the words "White Supremacy" above the rooster. That is the party whose nominees I am going to support. This is not the party whose delegates so insulted our people at the recent Philadelphia Convention.

Can you imagine the national Democratic organization having as a part of its emblem the words "White Supremacy"? I think not. Montgomery, Ala.

Of course, the Democratic Party of Alabama, which is the party which called our primaries, usually affiliates with the national organization which is, after all, a combination of the Democratic Parties of the various states. However, this year the Democratic Party of Alabama is not going to affiliate or even associate with the national Democratic organization.

While the 1896 bolt to which you refer was before my time, yet, when you went off and supported Palmer rather than William Jennings Bryan, you were not supporting the presidential electors who were nominated by the Democratic Party of Alabama. Wed. 8-4-48

If my memory serves me right, the Democratic Party of Alabama in that year supported William Jennings Bryan for president, and Alabama's electoral vote was cast for Bryan, and not for Palmer. Instead of supporting the presidential electors who were nominated by the Democratic Party of Alabama in 1896, which electors supported Bryan, you supported the Palmer and Buckner ticket. You were therefore surely a bolter. For this reason I don't think your illustration is very apt.

Personally, I cannot see how any Southern white man could think of such a thing as supporting Harry Truman for President of the United States after the indignities which were heaped upon the Southern people at the Philadelphia Convention, which indignities he certainly initiated, tolerated, advocated, and really permitted.

Consequently, please put me down in your book as not planning to "bolt" the Democratic Party of Alabama. I know my position is absolutely sound, and I believe that if you will think this matter over from the viewpoint above suggested, you will agree with me.

GESSNER T. McCORVEY.

Mobile, Ala.

First, something that is irrelevant: "Can you imagine the national Democratic organization having as a part of its emblem the words 'WHITE SUPREMACY'? I think not."

Neither can we. Nor, for that matter, can we imagine the Dixiecrats doing it either because of the fact that our standard bearer, Gov. Thurmond, has said repeatedly, "I am not one whit interested in WHITE SUPREMACY."

We hope Mr. McCorvey's pard, Horace Wilkinson, doesn't hear about that, but there it is. 8-4-48

But to get back to the question of whether Mr. McCorvey, like The Advertiser and everybody else who isn't going to vote for Truman, is a bolter.

The Advertiser, as was pointed out Sunday, bolted the Democratic Party in 1860 through revulsion for Nominee Douglas and again in 1896 through fear of Nominee Bryan and Free Silver. In this year of grace The Advertiser is bolting Nominee Truman for certain well known reasons, share and share alike with Mr. McCorvey.

Now in 1928, Horace Wilkinson and Tom Heflin ran out on Al Smith. They are called bolters and never was there any argument about it. In 1948 Mr. Wilkinson is running out on Harry Truman. Why isn't Wilkinson then a repeater? He was called a bolter for depriving Smith of his vote. Why isn't he within the traditional meaning of the word bolter once again when he deprives Truman similarly? When was the definition changed? Advertiser

Mr. McCorvey insists, as we have seen, that he escapes the stigmatic association with Wilkinson Hoovercrat bolters of 1928 by the fact that he's voting under the Rooster right on and the fact that Truman won't benefit is beside the point.

The national party might wish to ask us Alabamians what we're doing with the Rooster anyway. McGrath might point to the fact that when it was suggested that Alabama's walk-out faction take the Alabama standard with it, Chairman Handy Ellis said, No, it belonged to the convention and would have to stay planted after they were gone. 8-4-48 Accordingly, and we witnessed it, the walk-out half of the Alabama delegation took the standard as far as the door, but it was turned over to an alternate delegate who returned it to its stand beside the seats of the stay-put heirs of the walk-out faction.

But in deference to Mr. McCorvey, we cheerfully split the difference. He is a Democratic loyalist up to the State level; after that, and as far as the National party is concerned, Mr. McCorvey is a "Bolter (national)." Wed. 8-4-48

DIXON AND HILL

As far as we can detect, former Gov. Frank Dixon isn't doing a single thing to make life pleasant for Senator Hill and Senator Sparkman. 8-10-48

Dixon, a leader of the Dixiecrat movement, has announced that all Alabama's congressmen have assured him of their active support. Then, with the steely subtlety that is a Dixon characteristic, Dixon casually added that he hadn't heard a single word from Hill or Sparkman. Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

The fact is, of course, that Hill and Sparkman will put their mark under the Rooster, but their support of the Dixiecrat movement is grudging and is lent without belief in its future. The further fact after that is that Hill comes up for reelection in 1950, and the fact after that is that Frank Dixon and Lister Hill have personally detested and politically abhorred one another for years. It is one of the state's best established and most engaging feuds. Tues. 8-10-48

Wallace Wins Place On Ballot in South

Herald Tribune
Thur 8-5-48

But North Carolina Rules Out 'Dixiecrat' Party

New York, N.Y.

RALEIGH, N. C., Aug. 4 (UP). —The Progressive party today won the right to list Henry A. Wallace as a candidate for President on the North Carolina November election ballot, but the "Dixiecrat" party failed to gain a place for its Presidential candidate, Governor J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina.

The North Carolina Board of Elections unanimously certified the Progressive party on the strength of a petition containing more than 35,000 names of which 11,167 were ruled valid by county election boards in a required check.

The board refused to certify the states' rights group on the ground that its 18,861-name petition had not been checked and did not meet the requirements.

STATES' RIGHTS DRIVE STARTED IN LOUISIANA

The Commercial Appeal

Wright Declares Constitution Is Jeopardized

Memphis, Tenn.

HITS OTHER CANDIDATES

Mon. 9-18-48

By The Associated Press

TALLULAH, La., Sept. 17.—Vice presidential candidate Fielding L. Wright opened the States' Rights Democrats' campaign in Louisiana Friday with the assertion that the Constitution is jeapordized.

Wright, governor of Mississippi, spoke on Constitution Day at the annual Deep South Cotton Carnival. He accused President Truman, New York Governor Thomas Dewey and Henry Wallace of "campaigning for the presidency on a platform of unconstitutionality."

Liberties In Balance

"These three men are going up and down the country asking for votes and promising a platform which would mean the destruction of the Constitution," Wright said, adding:

"Our Constitution is jeopardized, all of our liberties are held in the balance."

Wright said that Germans, lulled into a false sense of security, were led to destruction and despair through Hitler's "program very much akin to America's present day threat and which is referred to as the Civil Rights Program."

Southern Democrats were lulled into a false sense of security, the Mississippi Governor continued, before abandoning the two-thirds vote necessary to nominate candidates for President and vice president.

"When our power was gone the infiltrated groups within it commenced to kick us around," he said. "We were kicked about in Chicago in 1944. We were insulted in Philadelphia in 1948.

Cites Former Dangers

"Our Constitution is in danger today just as our Democratic Party was in danger when the sinister voice of infiltration whispered into our ears and robbed us of the two-thirds rule." Mon 9-18-48

Discussing Dr. Truman's Civil Rights Program, Wright said the AntiPoll Tax Bill was an invasion of States' Rights. He described the AntiLynching Bill as "another gesture of tyranny, another effort to centralize the power of government in Washington." Wright said the Fair Employment Practices Act "upheld by Dewey, advocated by Wallace and recommended by Harry Truman" was patterned after "a Russian law written by Joseph Stalin about 1920."

Wright said that the recent action of the Louisiana State Democratic Central Committee in putting the States' Rights Democrats on the ballot in place of the Truman-Barkley ticket "will lend encouragement to real Democrats everywhere."

The Constitution

A Light Dawns on Thurmond

Atlanta, Ga.

(Ralph Jones, whose column usually appears in this space, is ill.)

Fri. 7-23-48

South Carolina's Gov. Strom Thurmond, the rebel States' Rights Democrats' choice for President, is plainly troubled. At the Birmingham conference where he was nominated, he must have seen many a sign that everybody there did not stand on the high ground of constitutional principle which he claimed as his base.

The signs were everywhere. One of them was the small, hard core of the meeting's control. The thousands of visitors and "delegates" in the hall, mostly home-towners, cheered the Confederate flags and the impassioned reminders of Reconstruction and of recent slights at Philadelphia. But a handful of men behind the scenes ran the works, wrote the resolutions, picked the candidates, gave the cues to arise, shout and parade. They were easily to be identified as representatives of large interests of which Birmingham is a citadel.

Prejudice

There were signs, too, in emotions easily aroused to a kind of screaming hysteria, that the gathering was less concerned with principle than with native legend and prejudice. The cult of white supremacy ran riot. And hovering at the edge was the sharp-eyed Gerald L. K. Smith, who, after everything was over, gave his blessing to the movement and his own notion of its meaning. "Our followers," said he, "believe that the Negro and the Jew are exerting too much pressure in American politics."

Fri. 7-23-48

Now back home in Columbia, Gov. Thurmond adds up the score and is impelled to speak his mind. He wants to keep the movement respectable and Southern in the classic sense—in the sense of John C. Calhoun and Wade Hampton, who came out of the same soil as he; not in the sense of "Cotton Ed" Smith, another South Carolinian. This surely means that he already has become doubtful. He finds it necessary to say that he is "not one whit interested in white supremacy."

Incendiarism

True, Gov. Thurmond is himself partly to blame for the turn which he deplores, and for the necessity of disavowing Gerald Smith. His speech after he found himself stuck with the nomination had its own incendiary passages. He brought his listeners to their feet amid a vivid flutter of the Stars and Bars with his shout that there are not enough troops in the country to break down segregation in the South. His reminders that he had proposed repealing South Carolina's poll tax, that he stands for equal (though separate) facilities for Negroes were lost in the thunder of cheering for his more defiant words, both in Birmingham and at the Philadelphia convention.

Gov. Thurmond was also to learn afterward that Gov. Laney, of Arkansas, one of the triumvirate with himself and Gov. Wright, of Mississippi, who were engineers of the movement, had pulled out of it and was counselling Democratic unity and regularity. It could be that still another obvious truth came more clearly into light at Birmingham. This was that behind all the tumult, the shouting and the hotspur incitement, the movement is mainly a fight to win control of Democratic Party organizations in the States and the nation. In the States where the shouting is loudest, conservative groups have come into dominance for the first time since 1932, and mean to stay there. The formula of racial division is tried and true.

The Constitution

And so Gov. Thurmond tries hard to get the thing back on to high ground. He sounds a bit disillusioned, as if he fears he cannot do it. Atlanta, Ga. 7-23-48

Dixie Plans to Block Votes for Truman

Free Press Detroit, Mich

Fri. 7-16-48

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(AP)—The South's troubled Democrats indicated a plan to hamstring President Truman's election chances by leaving their electors unpledged.

The plan was outlined by former Gov. Frank M. Dixon and two members of the Alabama States' Rights Committee.

34d

* * *

DIXON, Presidential Elector Horace Wilkinson and Sidney Smyer stressed that Saturday's meeting here of Democrats disgruntled over the national party's civil-rights plank would be a "conference and not a convention."

Wilkinson and Dixon said that leaving the presidential electors free to vote for whom they pleased would not mean throwing support to the Republican candidates.

It would mean, they said, that the electors could vote for any man.

Presumably the Southern states could unite in the electoral college as they did in the convention, when 263 votes went to Senator Russell, of Georgia, for the presidential nomination.

* * *

ALABAMA already has a delegation to the electoral college which is unpledged, except against Truman.

Fri.

Wilkinson said the support for his plan from 11 Southern states would mean 127 free votes in the electoral college.

7-16-48

He added that before November there still is time for any Southern state to change the status of its delegation now pledged to Truman.

Earlier, Gov Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi said the Birmingham conference was to nominate a specific presidential candidate.

The call to the Birmingham convention was issued by Wright and Dixon as the delegates left Philadelphia, where they were defeated twice.

* * *

THE STATES' rights Southerners lost in their efforts to block a strong civil-rights plank and to prevent Mr. Truman's nomination.

Free Press

All of Mississippi's delegates and half of Alabama's walked out of the convention.

In addition to these two states, representatives from Texas, Arkansas, Florida and South Carolina have announced that they will attend the Birmingham protest parley. Detroit, Mich

* * *

SENATOR RUSSELL predicted that the South would be kicked around some more in the special session of Congress called by President Truman. 7-16-48

But he repeated that he did not favor a rump convention by the states' rights Southerners and would not permit his name to be offered at the Birmingham meeting as a presidential nominee.

The Birmingham gathering will resemble in some ways the

Dixie Leaders Map Next Step

Star

BIRMINGHAM, July 18 (UP)—Leaders of the second bolt in Democratic Party history today planned an early conference to set up machinery for their presidential campaign. New York, N.Y.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, rebel nominee for President, said, "We are not bolting the Democratic Party. They left us." Mon 7-19-48

Thurmond was nominated amid rebel yells at a "Dixiecrat" convention here last night. It was the first mass walkout on the regular Democratic organization since insurgent southern Democrats nominated John C. Breckinridge in 1860.

Thurmond pledged a finish fight against President Truman's civil-rights program and against social equality for Negroes.

Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, "Dixiecrat" vice presidential choice, said he and Thurmond had agreed on an early conference to set up "co-ordinating machinery."

Dixie's Good-By

The Herald

"We bid you goodbye!"

Birmingham newspaper people didn't know to which the bigger headlines belonged Saturday—the meeting of southerners here or the events in Berlin. To the outside world it must seem self-conscious indeed that the South can be absorbed in a problem of its own when the planet is on fire. It seems that way to many of us in the South, too. That is one reason we are in revolution against a status which makes it necessary to concentrate on our Southern problem even when it denies us a voice in other issues of the nation and world.

Columbia, S.C.

Why shouldn't we be free to take sides among ourselves on foreign affairs, on social legislation, on the questions that divide liberals and conservatives? But we can't. Not when this southern problem is in issue. All else must be subordinated then to the awful necessity of putting this first thing first. To be emancipated for participation in other affairs, we need two new institutions, it seems to me. We need a two-party system. And we need, equally, a permanent southern organization (not new party) to make a weapon of the South's electoral college vote against either party or both when we are threatened in matters having to do without our Southern problem.

Tues. 7-20-48

When The Dothan (Alabama) Eagle came out after the convention with a front page editorial for Dewey and Warren, one of the finest traditions of the South for loyalty, courage and great "belonging"—spoke. Editor Horace Hall is one of the fighting Halls of Alabama whose best-known member was the late great Grover Hall, Pulitzer prize winner.

Mr. Hall is evidently able to find reason in his leap from the frying pan into the fire. The move, as I see it, is one part of the political revolution that has been touched off in these states. Another is the Birmingham meeting to deny the South's electoral vote to Truman and Dewey, too. Another, and let's not forget, is represented by those non-bolters who gave Senator Russell his amazing total of votes at Philadelphia and who at this moment honestly don't know what to do but are sure they can't support Truman. Out of all this the South's hope, it seems to me, is (1) the emergence of a genuine two-party system here and (2) in great addition, a permanent stand-by Southern organization which will not be a new party and will preferably exist under auspices of the state Democratic party and whose sole function will be protecting the South with its potential control of electoral votes. 7-20-48

We need two parties here, and we need an organization to guard us, at home and in the nation, against the control that can be exercised in both parties by the professional organizers of Negro minorities.

The Herald

Classic in southern history will be those words of dignity, restraint and cool resolve which Handy Ellis, of Alabama, spoke at Philadelphia. "At this time without hatred, without fear, but with disillusionment, we are carrying out our pledge to the people of Alabama. We bid you goodbye." They were the high words of a southern performance which was distinguished through the whole convention for calm, intelligence, and good manners. There was none of the ranting emotionalism, the cheap angers and rank speech which the South has on some occasions offered. These were first-class men, and their quarrel was fundamental, too "deep for sound or foam."

Columbia, S.C.

In history, too, will be the magnificent silence with which Mississippi withdrew. People expected speeches, a passionate defi, but when Handy Ellis announced that Mississippi, too, was withdrawing, the Mississippians simply stood up and moved out. A few moments when the state's name was called and there was no answer the effect was as dramatic as that empty table of South Carolina's at the Jackson dinner. Tues. 7-20-48

Dixiecrats Moving In, Strength A Question

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

Angry Men Chart Plans, Seek Their Own Platform And Presidential Candidate

Fri. 7-16-48

Angry Southern Democrats, seeking a presidential candidate and a platform of their own, today forged plans for a conference in Municipal Auditorium tomorrow that will have the trappings, at least, of a party convention.

There will be coverage by newsreel men and the radio network at this meeting, which has been called by its leaders a conference in an "electoral college fight to save the South."

Bill Nappi's band will play in the auditorium at 9:30 a.m., and the conference will be called to order at 10 a.m.

* * *

STRENGTH OF THE MEETING was still a question. Louisiana and Georgia have announced their delegates will not attend.

Governors of South Carolina, Arkansas and Mississippi will be present, it was announced by Frank Dixon, one of two Alabama members of the Southwide States' Rights Campaign Committee.

One of the leaders of the conference, W. W. Wright (no relation to Gov. Fielding Wright), of Mississippi, said frankly the states' rights Democrats have no chance of winning in the general election in November.

Fri. 7-16-48

But, said Mr. Wright, who arrived by plane here last night, the conference can start the ball rolling to defeat Harry S. Truman's bid for reelection and "get control of the party back in the hands of the regular Democrats."

Mr. Dixon, former Alabama governor, and Horace C. Wilkinson, one of 11 presidential electors pledged against Truman, said their plan was to hamstring President Truman's chance for reelection by leaving the South's electors unpledged.

"This system of reestablishing the power of the South in the political council of the nation will be effective in this election only if the Republicans do not secure a majority of the electoral college," said Mr. Dixon.

The News

"Should the Republicans not secure a majority vote, the election would then go to Congress. The top three of those who had secured the most electoral votes would be voted upon by the congressional representatives, with each state having one vote.

Birmingham, Ala.

"THE PLAN MAY ultimately lead to a new party in the South, since there seems to be no room for us who live in the South in either of the parties as at present constituted with the beliefs they have.

Fri. 7-16-48

"The Democratic Party in all the years has been the party of states' rights. The party has changed its attitude, and there is no place in that for us as at present constituted."

Members of the Alabama and Mississippi delegations to the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia were on their way to Birmingham today.

Alabama's 11 presidential electors already are pledged to vote for someone besides Truman. Mr. Wilkinson said that if at least 10 other Southern states do the same thing, it will form a block of 127 electoral votes.

* * *

WHO WILL GET the states' rights nomination for president was a matter of conjecture. Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas and Gov. Wright of Mississippi were among those mentioned. Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia, who received 263 votes for president at Philadelphia, said he will not permit use of his name as the South's candidate at Birmingham.

The News

The conference in Municipal Auditorium tomorrow is a result of the South's Philadelphia fight against civil rights proposals incorporated in the Democratic Party's platform.

These include a fair employment practice act, anti-lynching, anti-segregation and anti-poll tax laws.

Mr. Dixon said the states' righters hope to muster enough electoral votes to throw the election into the House of Representatives. That happened once before, in the Hayes-Tilden campaign of 1876. Hayes was elected.

* * *

BIRMINGHAM radio stations will give on-the-spot coverage of the conference.

Tris Coffin, ABC commentator, is expected to arrive here today. He will be assisted by the WSGN staff in covering convention details.

Griffings Bancroft, CBS commentator, will have charge of CBS coverage through Station WAPI. U. S. Sen. John J. Sparkman, Huntsville, will discuss convention events over WAPI.

W. W. Chaplin, of NBC, will be in charge of a pre-convention program over WBRC at 9:45 a.m. tomorrow.

A 30-minute program over WAPI at 7:30 tonight will feature talks by Mr. Dixon and Gov. Wright of Mississippi.

There were different reactions over the state to developments at the Philadelphia convention.

Marion Rushton and Mrs. Lennard Thomas, both of Montgomery, said they would remain on the National Democratic Committee.

The Dothan Eagle declared editorially "We are fed up" and announced its intention of bolting the Democratic Party.

"Come hell or high water, we're supporting the Republicans," the paper said.

* * *

IN A ONE-SENTENCE editorial, C. M. Stanley, editor of The Alabama Journal at Montgomery, said:

"Many a Democrat is debating whether to jump from the frying pan into the fire." He did not specify what fire he was talking about.

Said The Tuscaloosa News:

"The coalition National Democratic Party shot itself and walked the plank in a double suicide that should mean the end of the national party as it has been constituted for the last 16 years."

THE WALKOUT of Alabama and Mississippi delegates at the Philadelphia convention was described as "mere window dressing" by Robert Travis, chairman of the Alabama Progressive Party.

Adoption of the civil rights plank which led to the walkout was intended, said Travis, "to give the Democratic Party a flase appearance of being a progressive party."

Travis predicted Henry Wallace will lead Truman in the November general election. Travis said he will lead an Alabama delegation of 26 white and Negro leaders to the New Party convention in Philadelphia next week.

Sparkman, Hill, Sparks, Claimed For Dixiecrats

The News
Birmingham, Ala.,

By The Associated Press

A States' Rights leader claimed today the support of Alabama Sens. Lister Hill and John J. Sparkman and Former Gov. Chauncey Sparks for the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Horace C. Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney and one of the early organizers of the States' Rights movement, released copies of letters received from the three in which they said they would vote for the Democratic ticket in November.

Fri.

Wilkinson said that meant they would support Govs. Thurmond and Wright.

7-30-48

Alabama's Democratic elector nominees pledged themselves yesterday to cast the 11 electoral votes for the States' Rights slate.

Efforts have been made to place an additional slate of Democratic electors on the November ballot pledged for President Truman. Atty. Gen. A. A. Carmichael has held in an advisory opinion that this is not possible under Alabama law.

The attorney general said such a slate would have to be named at the time of the first Democratic primary held May 4.

State Sen. Joseph N. Langan, of Mobile, has called an Aug. 16 meeting at Montgomery in an effort to get a pro-Truman slate on the ballot.

WILKINSON, one of the 11 anti-Truman elector nominees, released a copy of a letter he received yesterday from Sen. Sparkman. This letter said in part:

Fri.

"With reference to the November election, you may recall in the first statewide radio broadcast that I made in my campaign in the Spring, I stated that when I qualified as a candidate I took an oath that I would support the nominees of the primary.

7-30-48

"You and the other 10 electors who were elected at that time were some of the nominees whom I swore to support. You may rest assured that I will abide by that oath. . .

"I have stated time after time, privately and in my campaign speeches that my vote would be under the rooster in November, and there it will be for all of the nominees on that ballot."

Wilkinson said he received telegrams prior to the May primary from Sen. Hill and Ex-Gov. Sparks. Hill and Sparks led the delegate race in the May primary on a platform opposing a walkout at the Democratic National Convention.

The telegram from Hill said:

"I am an Alabama Democrat and will always mark my cross under our rooster."

Sparks' telegram released by Wilkinson said:

"I have announced time and again my opposition to Truman and his civil rights and anyone who advocates them, but you know and I know I will not have an opportunity to vote for or against the nominee in November.

"Like all voters I am permitted to vote only for electors and will vote for Democratic electors including yourself, if nominated."

Laney Holds Fight by South on Rights Bill More Important Than Forming New Party

Times — New York, N.Y.

By WILLIAM M. BLAIR

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ST. LOUIS, July 16—The immediate task facing the Southern states is to prevent Congress from passing civil rights legislation rather than the formation of a fourth political party, Gov. Ben T. Laney of Arkansas said here today.

A leader of the anti-Truman forces in the fight over the civil rights issue, Governor Laney said "the immediate danger is the possibility of the passage of this legislation."

"We must appeal to Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike, not to pass it," he added. "We think the imposition of this legislation means a new type of government for under no consideration could it be adopted and enforced without a change in interpretation of the Constitution and a complete abrogation of the states' rights principle."

Sat. 7-17-48

He came to St. Louis with his state's delegation en route home from the Democratic national convention in Philadelphia. Later, the Governor, Mrs. Laney and two of the delegates departed for Birmingham, Ala., and the states rights convention of Southern Democrats there tomorrow.

He appeared dejected in contrast to the happy mood he displayed a week ago when he paused here on the way to Philadelphia.

"The situation is a lot worse than I thought," he said. "When I sat in the convention and heard the states' rights plank voted down and booed and heard that extreme report adopted, then I found out how serious the situation is."

The South, he said, was "in a predicament between two men who are standing for something obnoxious to the South." The position of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican Presidential nominee, on the civil rights issue already is known, he pointed out, "so there is very little choice between the candidates on that question."

Dixiecrats Get Alabama Vote

Free Press
Detroit, Mich

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(AP)—Alabama's 11 electoral votes were pledged Friday to the States' rights ticket of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi.

This action represented the first formal support of the presidential slate chosen by rebellious Southerners at the Birmingham States' Rights Conference in Birmingham July 17.

Sat. 7-21-48

Similar action is expected to be taken by Mississippi's Democratic Party in a meeting Tuesday at Jackson.

Oklahoma Bars Ballot To Dixiecrats

Herald Tribune
Wed. 10-6-48
New York, N.Y.

OKLAHOMA CITY, Oct. 5 (UP). —The Oklahoma Supreme Court today denied the States' Rights Democrats a place on the November ballot on the grounds that the new party's Presidential electors were improperly chosen. Ross Lillard, Dixiecrat state chairman, immediately announced plans for a "paste-in" campaign for the November election.

Dixiecrat Leader Quits Demo Group

News

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, presidential candidate of Southern states rights Democrats, today carried the revolt a step further by resigning from the Democratic National Committee.

This development came as the standard bearer of rebellious Southern Democrats and his followers shaped plans for fund-raising and vote-getting drives throughout Dixie to accelerate their campaign against President Truman.

At Jackson, Miss., the Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee announced opponents of the states rights program would have a chance to speak when the state convention reconvenes there Aug. 3.

Meanwhile, hope was held out to Alabama Democrats who want to support the Truman-Barkley ticket may get a chance to vote for the president and his running mate, after all.

State Sen. Joe Langan, Mobile, who has called pro-Truman party members to a state convention to be held in Montgomery Aug. 16 to name a ticket of 11 presidential elector candidates, contended names of such candidates legally can be placed on the general election ballot. The Mobile lawmaker at first planned a write-in campaign for the electors to be named. But he argued that under Section 145, Title 17, Alabama Code, names of such electors could be certified to the secretary of state not less than 60 days before the Nov. 2 general election.

Birmingham Ala

LEADERS OF ANTI-TRUMAN states-righters insisted, however, that even if Langan were successful in this, which they doubt, the separate Truman-Barkley electors actually would have to go on the ballot as "independent" candidates. They pointed out that names of anti-Truman electors nominated May 4 will go on the ballot under the regular party emblem of the crowing rooster.

Gov. Thurmond announced he had mailed his resignation as Democratic national committeeman to Democratic National Chiarman J. Howard McGrath and William P. Baskin, chairman of the South Carolina State Democratic Executive Committee. That state's Democratic convention elected Thurmond to the national committee May 19 to take the place of Sen. Olin D. Johnston, who did not offer for re-election.

Both Thurmond and his vice presidential running mate, Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright, have announced their intention of "doing everything we can to assure the defeat" of President Truman, major aim of states' rights Democrats.

J. Knox Huff, chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee, issued a formal call for reconvening of that state's convention Aug. 3. He repeated statements of Gov. Wright that the convention would give the Democratic organization a chance to approve or disapprove actions of delegates who withdrew from the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia.

Gov. Wright was quoted as saying that critics of the states' rights movement are "incorrect" in their charges that the campaign is supported by tidelands oil interests.

"Tidelands oil interests have not contributed one dime to our fight," Gov. Wright told reporters.

wed. 7-21-48

HOWEVER, THE MISSISSIPPI GOVERNOR was reported to have assured states' rights campaigners in Birmingham he could raise a minimum of $100,000 in his state to support the fight against Truman.

Wright told backers here he felt certain he could call on 100 men of his state for $1,000 each and get it.

Gov. Thurmond said at Columbia he would deliver speeches "in person and on the radio throughout many states" in a "vigorous" campaign to be made on the issue of states' rights. He said congratulatory messages had "poured in" since his and Wright's nomination at Birmingham, adding that "several hundred dollars" in contributions had been received.

The South Carolina executive said a campaign director would be named at once "because we are not going into this thing half-heartedly." It already had been revealed that a campaign finance director, probably a Texas banker, would be named soon.

The states' rights presidential standard bearer reemphasized that "We are not bolting the Democratic Party," but that "our efforts will be concentrated in the regular Democratic organizations" in each state.

"Those who believe in the principles of state sovereignty will be the real Democratic Party when this fight is finished," Thurmond declared.

wed. 7-21-48

"WHEN NOVEMBER HAS COME AND GONE the leaders of the present so-called National Democratic Party will be split 48 ways. They will be discredited and totally ineffective as a national party, but the South and all those who're going with her will be as solid as a rock."

Thurmond repeated that "our fight is not a sectional one" and "not based on racial hate or racial prejudice."

"There are millions outside the South who know the truth of our statement that constitutional government is being en-

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Thurmond Praised For His Stand

The Record

John T. Graves

"In Dixie land, I'll take my stand...."

Editor Ralph McGill makes an unequivocal (for once) charge in The Atlanta Constitution that the band played "Dixie" at the Birmingham meeting. This is serious. Elsewhere it is charged that Confederate flags were waved, that a picture of Robert E. Lee was displayed, that there was emotion and, yes, that oratory was attempted. The FBI should look into this—not to discover who done it but what the crime and, if crime there was, to take action not only against this but against all political meetings in a time of events that try men's souls, quicken their pulses, warm their tongues, recall their history and dear loves.

Columbia S.C.

There was exaggeration at the Birmingham meeting, yes, and there is worse exaggeration in the hostile remarks against the meeting. The pity is that more of these should come from some of our own Southerners than from outsiders. With all its sins, the net result of a meeting that offers so sane and gallant a gentleman as Strom Thurmond for the consideration of Southern Democrats cannot be despised. Governor Thurmond has proved his Americanism in war and in peace. His enlightened stand for states' duties as well as states' rights identifies him with the only liberalism that can get anywhere in the South, not with Bilbo-ism and bigotry.

34 wed.

In course of the wide travel that has made him so free of our Southern provincialisms, Editor McGill must have heard the Iranians speak well of Iran. He may even have heard Californians praise California, and Brooklyn people confess to a love of the Dodgers. If he has it in his cosmopolitan heart to tolerate such localisms, why cannot he forgive his homeland, too, for occasional pride and song and self-defense?

7-28-48

There was exaggeration at the Birmingham meeting. There was sure to be. There is misunderstanding, too, I think, on the part of some who took part. No new party was formed or intended. The idea is an organization to withhold votes from one or both major parties when the South's vital position is menaced, to play one party against the other for fair treatment of the Southern minority position.

7-27-48

Editor McGill points out what Dorothy Thompson had already pointed out, that the Democratic Party nationally has become now the party of the big city, labor and leftist elements. Ralph's reaction to that seems to be that, since we have big cities in the South, and leftists, and industrial labor, we should string along. But it isn't as simple as that, even if our industrial cities were, or wanted to be, carbon copies of Pittsburgh, or patterns of Patterson, N. J. When you talk of a political party of the long future you have to consider the people who will be most numerous and dominant in the long future. They will not be industrial labor people or farm people, either. Because of machinery, proportionately fewer and fewer of these will be needed to produce the nation's goods and food. More and more of us are going to be engaged in the arts, professions, crafts and services, including that great service which dominates Atlanta—salesmanship.

Pearls Before Swine

News

To the Editor of The News:

With considerable interest I read in your newspaper the letters of Horace Wilkinson, defending the position of those who walked out of the Democratic National Convention. He posed several pertinent questions which I have yet to see satisfactorily answered.

A careful reading of Mr. Wilkinson's letters would have made unnecessary the counter questions which appeared in subsequent editions of your paper. Birmingham

It seems to me the plaintive wailers who accuse the bolters of being "cry babies" and "poor losers" are themselves the poor losers, as those gentlemen who departed from the convention were instructed to do so by the **voters of Alabama.** wed. 7-28-48

True Significance Of Dixie Revolt

Advertiser

The Arkansas Gazette

HOWEVER great or small its direct effect upon this year's presidential election may be, the Dixiecrat movement has a marked long-range significance for the South. Although complicated by considerations of race, or civil rights as the polite phrase goes, it still is the product of deep-rooted political differences among the Southern people, differences that may in time finally pull down the one-party structure.

Many factors went into building the South's concept of blind and uncritical loyalty to the Democratic Party, but the peculiar racial problems of the region account for its long survival. The one-party system provided a certain means of disfranchising the Negro and for many years the federal courts upheld it.

That day, however, is clearly done. Recent United States Supreme Court decisions have defined the party primary as an integral part of the general election and therefore subject to the suffrage provisions of the constitution. The old concept of white supremacy as a legal entity, as even the Dixiecrats have had to concede, is dead, presumably forever.

Moreover, at Philadelphia the Democratic Party adopted platform planks concerning racial minorities that differ in no important respect from those of the Republican Party, the traditional champion of Negro rights.

This means that the most compelling practical reason for maintaining the one-party system has in fact vanished, and, as the Dixiecrats have so clearly demonstrated, other issues may now come into full play in determining Southern political attitudes. The spectacle of a whole region in complete agreement on the basic economic, social and political policies of a single party—particularly one that has virtually been transformed in recent years—is patently absurd. The South has always embodied a wide range of political viewpoint, from radical to reactionary, but under its peculiar party system has never had an opportunity to express it.

AS THE old shibboleth of unquestioning party loyalty fades, as it certainly must in the coming years, Southern voters will have for the first time a free choice of national candidates representing varying and often conflicting viewpoints. Some Southerners will exercise that choice this year, and the more optimistic Republican prognosticators are predicting a GOP victory in at least four states on the basis of a protest vote against Mr. Truman. There are also signs that the Republican national organization, for the first time, is paying serious attention to the possibility of making and consolidating permanent gains in the region. This is not a flash-in-the-pan emotional reaction, such as that which sent some Southern states into the Republican column after a supercharged campaign built around Al Smith's Catholicism and espousal of repeal. There are all the elements of a grass-roots movement in this, the permanent breaking away of conservative voters who no longer find their position as Democrats tenable. [illegible]

This will not be a sudden process, certainly. With the added confusion of the Dixiecrat campaign no more than one or two traditionally Democratic states are likely to break out of the one-party bag in November. But it is the beginning of a massive political realignment in the South, one that in time will change the shape of the region's political structure, and change it for the better.

PAGING SENATOR CLAGHORN!

The C I O News

We're tellin' you, suh, that those Dixiecrats are plumb set on preservin' those good old Southern traditions.

Durned if they're goin' to have H. Truman and his bureaucratic notions about civil rights clutterin' up their lives.

No, siree! Washington, D. C.

Why, dad gum it, they'd bust up the whole dad blame Democratic Party before they'd succumb to Federal interference that might imperil their blessed states' rights. Mon.

That having been said, they held a convention of their own down in Birmingham and selected Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi as their presidential and vice presidential candidates. 7-26-48

And thus the "fourth" party was born.

Some clever writers who know nothing about the South or its problems hailed the fiasco as "a rebirth of the Confederacy."

The Birmingham meeting was spoken of as a gathering of the polltaxers, the "white supremacy boys" and the Ku Kluxers.

At least one paper gave considerable attention to the fact that hate-mongering Gerald L. K. Smith attended the convention.

These things would indicate the South as a whole has done a lot of back-sliding, but such is not the case.

THERE IS MORE THAN YOU SEE

It would be a bad mistake to confuse the real trend of events in the South with the political shell game which the Dixiecrats are trying to palm off on the public as an honest battle against Federal domination of the states.

Northern and Eastern controlled corporations, whose officers are Republicans, are in this thing up to their necks—and make no mistake about it.

So are union-fighting Southern mill owners.

These groups know that adoption of a real civil rights program would encourage the growth of unionism below the Mason-Dixon Line.

And this would result in the political death of many of the lackeys who do the corporations' bidding in the legislative halls.

Actually, the future political control of the South may be at stake.

Those in power view with alarm the campaigns which have doubled the CIO membership in the region in two years and added quite a few members to the AFL rolls.

They are frightened by the growing liberal groups which are fighting the "old Southern traditions" which have kept the region from advancing economically and in the field of education.

They are worried by the growing rebellion against "outside" corporate control of the South.

DON'T FORGET HUMAN RIGHTS

We can understand and appreciate the feeling of those who are fearful that there's a trend toward creation of a powerful "super" government in Washington which will dominate and eventually control the lives of this nation's people.

Consequently we don't want to see states' rights eliminated.

But we're completely fed up with the false cries of those who shout "preservation of states' rights" every time there is a move afoot to give real meaning to the human rights supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution.

We can't go along with the Dixiecrats or any other group which seeks to use "states' rights" to perpetuate crooked, boss-ridden political machines.

And, suh, we're downright opposed to those "states righters" who fight to subjugate human rights to property rights.

Keep Fighting

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 7-25-48

Editor Constitution:—After reading Ralph McGill's editorial in Sunday's paper on, "What Can the South Do," it brought back to my mind a report card I once received in the third grade, which had large letters written across it that said, "Gives up too easy in effort." That is what I thing Ralph has been doing in recent months. His attitude on the civil rights question is, "If you cannot lick them, join them." I said at that time and I still mean it, as long as I lived that I would never receive a report card in school or out that said, "Gives up too easily," and I am saying now I shall never give up fighting this unconstitutional so-called civil rights program as long as I live on this earth. I sincerely believe that we of the South are going to win this battle, even if it means another Civil War, though I fervidly hope the situation will never become that drastic. 7-25-48

The time has come when a prejudiced U. S. Supreme Court is handing down decisions contrary to the basic principles on which the country was founded. A recent decision handed down by the high court, taking all forms of religion out of school, is going to be ignored by the South, and the teachers of America will still recite the Lord's Prayer to my child and yours. Atlanta Ga. 7-25-48

You say to me, in effect, that we have to give in to most of their principles in order to give our Senators and Congressmen more prestige in Congress. I say no! Let the politicians join the people. The civil rights program is so interwoven with roots of foreign ideologies that it ceases to be a mere political issue. Sun

East Point Constitution HIRAM DUNN.

Unique Politics

News

To the Editor of The News:

Birmingham occupies a unique position in the present political upheaval. Events that have occurred during the past years and especially during the last six months give to Birmingham this special quality of uniqueness. First, this city gave to the U. S. Supreme Court an ex-Klansman who in later years turned out to be probably the most liberal member of that great tribunal. Birmingham

A few months ago the City Commission refused to allow the Freedom Train. The City Commission evidently did not want U. S. Marines disseminating such "foreign information" as was to be found in the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence.

Next we have a member of the United States Senate locked up for trying to enter the "wrong door" to address a group of American citizens. 7-28-48

A month or two later we have the famous ride of the white-sheeted-noble-100 right through a Girl Scout camp. Ala.

Then, came the Dixiecrat convention, during which Horace Wilkinson told the convention and radio audience about the Negro from Mississippi who visited President Truman at the White House and was treated so civilly. Then Gov. Thurmond told Gerald L. K. Smith that the race issue is not one of our grievances. A few days later former Gov. Sparks told the press, "Let me think things out and see what's the best for the South." The next day a four-line news item stated that a well-known Dixiecrat was threatening to start a Dixiecrat magazine and tell everything. But the well-known Dixiecrat would not allow his name to be used. Birmingham, Ala.

Why should that sort of convention have been held in Birmingham? Why not one of the old historic cities like Vicksburg or Jackson, Miss., Mobile or Montgomery, Ala.? The answer seems to be that about 30 per cent of the voters in Birmingham are Republican and every four years they look for an excuse to vote Republican and also to sweep along as many innocent Democrats as possible.

But why play Dixie so much? Makes me want to go out and look up towards Red Mountain to see if Vulcan is holding up the same hand today that he was holding up yesterday.

EMORY McDANIEL.

1100 Saulter Road.

One Life To Give

7-28-48

To the Editor of The News:

In a recent letter to the Voice of the People a certain fellow-citizen, one Bob Andress, is yearning to give his life for the Old South. "I would like to change two words," he says, refering to the well-known remarks of a patriot who wished he "had two lives to give his country." Mr. Andress wishes to replace "my country" with "the South."

He further states that when the great showdown comes (the third Battle of Bull Run, I presume) there will be as many true Southerners fighting without the hood as with the hood, KKK cap and gown, no doubt. It was not made clear to this reader just what set of bellicose paraphernalia Mr. Andress would appear in when the Rebel ranks close in this coming blood-letting.

Being a true, 101 per cent son of the Old South who bows to the earth thrice daily, facing Montgomery (the Cradle) or Richmond, depending upon the wind velocity, humidity etc., I wish to offer some little assistance.

I have in my possession a Confederate muzzle-loading musket that was snatched from a falling soldier at Kennesaw Mountain, a cat-o'-nine-tails whip used to thrash sassy colored folks and carpetbaggers during Reconstruction and finally an embroidered pillowcase autographed by no less person than Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest himself. All of these are Mr. Andress' for the asking, if they will help him in his fight to preserve our Southern traditions, whatever they are. . . . Oh yes, $7,000 in Confederate notes will be found sewed in the autographed pillowcase.

If Mr. Andress is interested further in this offer he may contact me by tapping three times with a fiery cross on the Confederate monument on the Lee (Robert E.) County Courthouse grounds and whispering, "Beauregard sent me."

HALLACE RAST.

Opelika, Ala.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Just Like Silver Fox Furs

Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 7-30-48

I see where one of those persons whose typewriter is a sort of streetwalking trademark even as the silver fox furs were a trademark for the young ladies along London's Bond Street, is currently soliciting (for pay, one may be sure) for the Klaghorns and the Dixiecrats and saying that the time has come when we must think ~~Southern,~~ act Southern and be Southern, and wear provincialism as the proudest mark of our mind and our actions.

Well, I don't know. I figure I am as Southern as cornbread, having lived, worked, studied and thought nowhere else. My immediate Confederate ancestors, and my Welsh ancestry, which cause me to weep over sad pictures, books and lost causes, are so much a part of me that when I sat down to write the story of the Southern demonstration at the Philadelphia Convention I was so emotionally upset I had trouble writing it fast enough. But that is a part of me, and it is not for sale, and I do not use it for streetwalking solicitation in my trade. It belongs to me and I honor it as mine. I do not offer it shamelessly in the market place.

Southern In fact, I honor it so much that I can't betray it. So I try to think first of all as an American, because the South is a part of America and is going to continue to be a part of America and must fit into the future of America.

Therefore, while I certainly would not have the South stultify itself by not fighting politically against the Harry S. Truman position, even to withholding the electoral votes, I still insist the South must present a Truman slate of electors as well, so that the people may choose. We cannot follow the Dixiecrats who want to prevent the people from having a choice, and we cannot think exclusively Southern, or act exclusively Southern, or we will grievously betray the South and its best interests.

Constitution

Americans But let all of us think as Americans and plan for the future of the South as a part of America. Provincialism has some admirable qualities, especially in cooking or architecture, but it is a frail reed for action or achievement. A provincial approach will be as fatal to the South and its future as was the provincialism of the pre-1860 era, when we fiercely clung to our ways and refused to develop manufacturing to go along with our raw materials.

Atlanta Ga.

We are an agrarian region. We have made great progress in getting industry. But let us face the facts that the rest of the nation has made great progress also and that our percentage of the nation's industrially employed is about what it was in 1938. We are in a position to make great progress in the future. The eyes of the industrial peoples are turned toward us. The atomic bomb is going to scare industry down our way—as note a large airplane plant which began to move from Connecticut to Texas last May and which has about concluded one of the unique industrial movements in our time.

Wed. 7-30-48

Mentality The Dixiecrat type of mind, and the Dixiecrat type of politics, as opposed to the politics of Sen. Connally, of Texas, and Sen. Russell, of Georgia, will set the South back 30 years or more.

The provincial, antebellum mind may think that in creating such an atmosphere they are being loyal to the South. I say they are not.

Look Let us look again at our region, which has suffered so much from leadership and decisions of the past which sought to take us out of America and to keep us out and which appears now to say we should isolate the South politically.

There are labor shortages in Southern farm regions, but as machinery increases they are already largely seasonal shortages.

Go ask the farm machinery dealers about unfilled orders for tractors, hay balers, combines, peanut combines, pea shellers and so on.

Figure out what that will mean to the future population of the South, white and colored. The farms will no longer need them. Migration will not remove the pressure on our cities and our economy.

Ask Then ask yourself if those who are trying to make us take the Confederate Flag, with all its glory and honor, and warp our minds and our politics and our political planning in those glorious folds, are being honest with the South and loyal to it.

Harry S. Truman likely will be defeated in November. If so, the plan to withhold electoral votes will be empty and meaningless. If he is elected he will last four years.

But the issues that motivate him and which motivated the big city machines are in our cities, too. And they will be issues long after 1948 is gone and Harry Truman is but a name in the World Almanac's list of Presidents and a page or so in the history books.

We are up against great social, political and, even more important, we are up against great economic changes. And not just up against Truman and the "machines," as so many seem to think. They will profoundly affect the South and its future, plus the well-being of every person in it. There need not be any social mingling of the races, or any talk of mongrelization. But the Negro—those who stay, and the South must hope that many stay to be a part of the future—must be able to work at skilled jobs and receive equal, if separate, facilities from his government.

The Best This will require the best in us. It cannot be solved in an atmosphere of violence or clamor. States' rights, and their future, will depend upon public opinion. We have already seen how our loudest Klaghorns have prejudiced our case and hurt us at the convention—making it impossible for the Northern friends of States' rights to join with Georgia and others who sought them orderly and with dignity.

Therefore, we must despise those who prostitute the Confederate Flag and the song "Dixie" to their own uses. The Confederate soldier left us an example of courage and honor. We can use them both in our new fight. We must think American, because we are Americans, and we must plan for America and make ourselves powerfully felt in American life and politics. It is no time for provincialism in mind or action.

Uproarious Conference Maps States'-Righters Plan to Beat Truman In Electoral College

The Courier-Journal

Sun. 7-18-48

By TARLETON COLLIER.
Staff Correspondent, The Courier-Journal.

Birmingham, July 17.—After a long emotional orgy, the States'-rights rebels of the Democratic Party unfolded their plan of vengeance for Philadelphia and civil rights.

Their conference here late today picked J. Strom Thurmond, Governor of South Carolina, to be supported for President in the Electoral College. Fielding Wright, Governor of Mississippi, is their vice-presidential candidate.

Avoid Any New Labels.

They carefully avoided the name and organization of a new party. They laid down, through resolutions uproariously adopted, the theory that the national party is a federation of state parties. Thus by extension to politics of their doctrine of States' rights, they insisted that they may give their electoral votes, state by state, to the candidates of their choice and still remain regular Democrats; indeed, the keepers of the only ture faith.

Text of the conference's "Declaration of Principles" and other stories concerning the rebel movement are on Page 6.

While proposing that all States "take steps to have the electoral votes of their respective states" cast for Thurmond and Wright, the States-righters made it plain that they had no hope for support in this venture outside the South. But this, in their repeated explanations, would be enough to recapture the Democratic Party for the South.

"We could take the Southern states," said Frank Dixon' former Governor of Alabama, the meeting's keynoter. "And Truman would lose the Northern states. Then who would be the Democratic Party?"

Keeps Hall In An Uproar.

The selection of the two Governors as the figures in the strategy brought a roaring climax to a day of exhausting frenzies, of parades touched off swiftly by the impassioned periods of the speakers. Thurmond, in his speech of acceptance, kept the crowded hall in a constant uproar, a condition bordering on hysteria, as he described the civil-rights legislation and challenged the Government to break down segregation in the South.

"There are not enough laws in the nation," he cried, "and enough laws cannot be put on the books, to change our way of life that means separation of the races. There are not enough troops in the nation to admit the Negro into our schools, our homes, our theaters, our swimming pools. We have just begun to fight."

Groundwork Laid Carefully.

Louisville Ky.

Thurmond taunted those wha had said that the Southerners, when they walked out at Philadelphia, didn't know where they were going.

"They forgot the Constitution," he said. "The Constitution gave us a place to go, and that place is the Electoral College."

The groundwork for this plan of action had been laid carefully in another resolution, which said: "We rededicate ourselves to the principles and traditions of the Democratic Party, and repudiate the blasphemy of those who would charge us from bolting."

Another resolution, expressing the vengeful spirit of the men who had been beaten in the national convention, called for a slate of electors opposed to Truman and Barkley in Missouri and Kentucky.

To Meet Again In October.

A statement of principles of the conference was adopted. It was the identical statement approved at the Jackson, Miss., conference in May, denouncing as threats to our form of government the proposal of federal control of tidelands oil, the Supreme Court's decision on restrictive real-estate covenants, and the right of Negroes to enter Southern colleges.

Finally, the conference voted to hold another meeting in Birmingham October 1, to follow the course of the appeal for electoral votes for its candidates.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Letters to the editor must carry complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names may be used at the editor's discretion. Letters of less than 200 words are given preference. All letters may be cut.

Advertiser

NOW IS THE HOUR

EDITOR, The Advertiser: Former Gov. Frank Dixon stated many facts about these Civil Rights laws with which we should all become familiar. He explained how employers could be jailed for not hiring employes of their own choosing; how a provision of the anti-lynch law provides for a person to be taken away from his loyal community and tried in another place by a Federal judge without a trial by 12 local citizens; and how other individual rights could be taken away under threat of jail sentence.

Reflect for one moment. Do these laws have a foreign color? Are these laws in line with our heritage of free thought and action? Furthermore, Mr. Truman said he would ask for a special F. B. I. force to be set up under the Treasury Department to enforce his civil rights law. Had not we better think more deeply on the subject? Are these measures the cure for our defects in democracy? In this confusion haven't most of us overlooked the fundamental concepts of American life?

I say the Philadelphia delegates would have never put these evil rights into their platform if for one moment they thought these centralized powers would be used against them. No prognosticator or clairvoyant can tell when or where the powers will be used once they become legal tools of the government.

In each case where people lost their freedom they did not realize the full effects of centralization until too late. Look what it did for Europe—what more lesson do we need? Actually our country fought World War II over this very same principle. Yes, the underlying principle that Southerners term "State's Rights," or in essence, local self-government without federal control—we just didn't call it that. Current national politics will cause the South to be the first to feel the yoke of centralized government, but the North and West will have to take their turn along with us; they just do not realize it as yet.

Tue. 7-27-48

The basic cause of the split was the principle of local self government which lies far deeper and more serious than the incidental race question. With more political seasons ahead, the passage of the present evil rights program will not end the controversy; where will it stop? Had Mr. Humphrey understood the term "State's Rights," he never would have made the misstatement of "step out of the shadow of State's Rights into the sunshine of Human Rights." They are one and the same. The freedom of the individual in his local government is the very basic principle of human rights. Without this freedom there can be no true humanitarianism.

Aside from the basic principle involved, we Southerners received a shocking insult. Our so-called friends and potential allies at the Philadelphia Convention showed that they knew little of our problems and cared even less. When again will Southern delegates command respect if we stand for such treatment?

Today the South is in a sad political situation and most of us do not know what steps to take. We must admire the courage of the leaders who met in Birmingham, whether they are right or wrong. Certainly the answer to the South's problem is not to be a mute whipping post for Truman and McGrath. It is time for all serious thinking Southerners, whether conservative or liberal, to unite in a concerted effort to stand up for the principle of local self-government. It is folly to believe that we cannot have a liberal Southern movement and at the same time have local determination of our own affairs.

The Birmingham Conference according to all of the leaders is a movement within the Democratic Party. I have heard the cry, "Let us fight within the party." Certainly now the challenge has been flung in our face. The fight is here—now where are our fighters?

When reading your article, "The Road to Nowhere," I would have been misled about the Birmingham Conference had I not heard it. In spite of the fact that the conference was quickly gotten together, its conduct and statesmanship were much superior to the Philadelphia Convention. Before the conference it was "Go Fishing" or Dewey. Now at least we have another course. All of our leaders, conservative and liberal, should get together at the next Birmingham meeting and then we can direct a movement in the right direction, whichever way that is. If our leaders continue to do nothing and just say "What can we do?" and our papers bring condemnation upon men because they have the courage to act, our Southern states will continue to receive contempt and disgust from both major parties. Can you imagine either major party slapping the section of New England like they did the South?

Montgomery Ala

The Southern white man is the truest friend that the Negro has. Each year through our state legislature we give millions to educate the Negro and help him in a constructive way. I do not mean to imply that the Negro does not contribute to his own advancement. Our government spends billions abroad to help foreigners; why not spend millions in the South to help the Negro?

Tue. 7-27-48

It would be interesting to watch the reaction of Northern politicians if a large appropriation measure to be spent in the South would be introduced to start a real constructive program for him, one to improve his schools, hospitals and homes. This would benefit him far more than an empty, pyrotic victory from a civil rights law, a law that may some day be used against him.

The masses of politicians were not at the Birmingham Conference, but the people were there. Unless we have a definite constructive program to offer, we should not madly rush into destroy the step taken at Birmingham. The present evil rights program will not alone ruin America, but it is the beginning of a truly dangerous trend. The conference cannot lead us on a more dangerous road than the one embarked on in Philadelphia.

No, it is the "do nothing" people who are on the "Road to Nowhere," not the people at the Birmingham conference. They are on the "Road to Somewhere," at least to the respect of the people of our country.

I cannot and I shall not support Harry S. (Small) Truman and his evil rights program.

LEA HARRIS

Montgomery.

REPUBLICRATS

Editor, The Advertiser:

My neighbor, C. H. Billingsley, down at Tallassee is very much perturbed about the effects of the meeting of the Dixiecrats in Birmingham.

Advertiser

He writes, "I hope some plan can be worked out whereby we may have electors to vote for, who will cast Alabama's vote for the Democratic nominees." That was exactly what that meeting was for and Gov. Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Wright of Mississippi, were endorsed as nominees of the real Democratic Party.

Mr. Truman and his supporters are not Democrats. Would you say a man was a member of your church who did not accept and live up to its doctrines of your denomination. You absolutely would not.

Mr. Truman and his party are Republicrats, a political hybrid, or cross breed of the Republican Party and the Democratic in which the Republican characteristics predominate.

Montgomery Ala

I do not feel, and I can not understand why any one else could, that I am bolting when I refuse to support Truman and his party; in fact, they are the ones who are betraying the party.

~~Wed~~ Tue

The important question Mr. Billingsley, is not one of party fealty, but states rights, the foundation of the Democratic Party is in jeopardy.

You can readily see the trend of Truman's leadership. This is but the opening wedge. If it works, a "glut" will follow. If the national government continues to abridge or otherwise abrogate or deprive the states of their rights then Alabama or any other state could not govern itself without permission from Washington.

7-27-48

I never did nor will I ever blindly follow a leader whom I do not trust, party fealty or what not. If I feel that he is off the trail, and I am convinced Mr. Truman is, I'd desert him quickly. You no doubt have heard what the Good Book says about the blind that lead the blind.

You have heard it said, "If you bolt the party you'll be kicked out." That would just accelerate the speed by which I'd get out of a party that didn't live up to the principles upon which it stands.

Unfortunately so many voters know so little about the history of their country. They have only a superficial knowledge of the establishment of our form of government. I daresay if you should ask them why they are Democrats they could give no other reason than that grandpa was and dad was and therefore I am. To many it is a mere family tradition.

W. B. FULTON

Dadeville, Ala.

Are Bolters Sincere?

The News

To the Editor of The News:

Apparently the most sensible thing accomplished by the disgruntled politicians and would-be political dictators at the "rump" convention held in Birmingham was to fail to include a platform. Evidently they were aware that platforms are mere steps for reaching the threshold of public office and thereafter are of no further use.

Birmingham Ala.

The race issue seemed to be the featured football with states' rights as it side kick with reactionaries carrying the ball. As one contemplates the minds of those who occupied the "smoke filled rooms" at the Tutwiler while drawing up the resolutions a vivid picture of the progressive, liberal, democratic program of 1946 flashes into view and along with it a vision of those picturesque gentlemen who so vigilantly opposed and defeated it in the 1947 sessions of the Alabama Legislature. All this affords ample and just reason for questioning the sincerity of the "Rump Democrats," or Alabama bolters.

Tues. 7-27-48

One cannot reasonably conceive of the race issue as such a phenomenal monster standing in the path of states' rights when totalitarian, undemocratic, unscriptural and unjust inhibitions such as the poll tax and Boswell amendments stand guard over states' rights here in Alabama along with their first cousin, the Ku-Klux Klan. To back it up functioning effectively and in violation is the true spirit of the federal constitution. Majority rule so far as states' rights and majority mandates are concerned no longer function in the state of Alabama.

Tues. 7-27-48

Wouldn't it be more democratic, more humane, more in line with segregation policies and human rights established by the Creator and incorporated in the bill of rights to abolish the poll tax restriction on voting and abolish the Boswell amendment to the Alabama Constitution and substitute therefor an amendment providing that only members of the Caucasian race may hold public office in Alabama?

The News

Adoption of these measures would not change our policy of white supremacy. Adoption of these measures would only make it more difficult to control with dirty money the gullible vote of a low class white population who will sell a vote for a drink of liquor and the promise of a job. Adoption of measures of the kind would enfranchise those held in mind by the farmers of the federal constitution and at the same time guarantee white supremacy in Alabama. The only thing it does not guarantee is the election to public office of such reactionary and undemocratic greed and graft lovers and despoilers of human liberties here in Alabama as could be named by the dozens.

A. L. HANKS.

Talladega, Ala.

Birmingham, Ala.

SOUTH'S FLAG MAY STILL BE HANDED WRIGHT

Enterprise Journal

Representation From All States In Dixie Expected To Attend Conference

MANY PROBLEMS ARISE

Question of Nominal Leadership Posed For Leaders of States' Rights Group

McComb, Miss.

Philadelphia, July 15 — Governor Fielding Wright and the States' Rights Dixiecrats from Mississippi rolled out of Philadelphia tonight, headed for Birmingham and a special southern convention Saturday. Fri.

They were accompanied by a large number of Alabama, Louisiana and Florida delegates, a smaller number of Arkansas and South Carolinians, a very few Georgians, Texans, Tenneseeans and no North Carolinians or Virginians. 7-16-48

It appeared likely, however, that scattered representation from all the southern states would be on hand Saturday to observe, confer and consider the action of the Dixiecratic group.

The question of nominal leadership of the group was in doubt as they left Philadelphia. There is a growing feeling among many concerned that Governor Wright should be the presidential nominee chosen by the Birmingham convention. He is not seeking this honor.

Laney Better Regarded

Governor Laney of Arkansas, who backed out at the last minute at being the nominee before the national convention here, was restored somewhat to the good graces of the southerners today, many of whom were bitterly disappointed at his last-minute decision Wednesday night. Fri.

The stage had been all set for Senator John McClelland of Arkansas to nominate Mr. Laney. Governor Wright, Jim Hill of Texas and Charles Sheppard of Florida were to second his nomination. 7-16-48

Then the southern walkout was to come after Truman's nomination jus tbefore the night session began that he could not run after the adoption of the harsh civil rights platform plank, and so the Mississippi delegation and a majority of the Alabama group walked out on the convention before the nominations began.

Enterprise Journal McComb, Miss.

Russell Won't Attend

Just afterward, Senator Russell of Georgia was put in as an anti-Truman candidate and polled 263 votes from the southern states. Senator Russell said today, however, that under no circumstances would he participate in the Birmingham convention or permit his name to be used to oppose the regular nominees of the convention. This attitude rules a great many members of congress, and the Dixiecratic program is facing the opposition of many southern senators and representatives who are strong states' righters but believe the South must not bolt the party in the electoral college, as the Dixiecrats plan now to do. 7-16-48

Fri.

States' Righters To Carry Fight Into All States

Herald Tribune

Sun. July 25-1948

Thurmond to Accept at Big Texas Rally; Place To Be Sought on All Ballots

New York, N.Y.

Special to the Herald Tribune

ATLANTA, July 24.—States rights Democrats decided in closed session here today to wage their fight against President Truman's civil rights program througout the entire United States.

Virtually becoming a new national party, the group announced that Governor J. Srom Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi would be notified of their nomination for President and Vice-Persident at a mammoth rally Aug. 11 in Houston, Tex.

The dissenting Southern Democrats, who assembled from seven states, voted to enter the names of Governors Thurmond and Wright as candidates in all forty-eight states. Plans will be worked out later, they said, for getting the names on the ballots—the procedures being different in the various states. Sun. 7-25-48

Governor Thurmond, meeting reporters after the four-and-one-half-hour session of the organization's steering committee, said he was running for President "with the expectation of winning." He predicted he would carry most, if not all, of the Southern states.

The States' Right Democrats, who officially adopted that name todaly, expect to concentrate their opening guns on Texas' twenty-six electroal votes.

According to Judge Merritt Gibson, of Longview, Tex., who attended today's meeting, the Texas States' Rights organization first will seek to obtain a referendum Aug. 14 to permit the people to decide whether States' Rights candidates' names will go on the ballat for the Aug. 28 primary. If that fails, he said, the group will seek to persuade the state Democratic convention at a meeting Sept. 14 to declare Governors Thurmond and Wright the state party's nominees. New York, N.Y.

Although the steering committee meeting was held in Atlanta, no Georgia delegate was present. Attending were thirty representatives, from Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana.

The states' Righters were greeted by an editorial this morning in "The Atlanta Constitution" which urged them to drop their organized fight and "return to the party and assist it in a united effort to present the most effective protest which may now be made."

"That protest," the paper said, "should be made within the party by each state offering a slate of independent Democratic electors, along wit hthe Truman slate, so that the people may choose."

Governor Thurmond said that a campaign committee would be named soon and that permanent campaign headquarters would be established, mostly likely in the South. Jackson, Miss., was a site suggested by conference delegates.

Governor Thurmond said he would continue to do his work as Governor of South Carolina while running for President.

"I imagine," he said, "that I can do it as well as Governor Dewey and Governor Warren."

He said pledges of support had come from all over the country. The South Carolina Governor said that, contrary to rumor, he knew of no financial support by oil interests. However, he added, he would welcome campaign contributions from oil interests or any one else.

Although his campaign is based primarily on states' rights, he said, he nevertheless would comment later on other national and international questions.

Southern Revolters Inflamed

Journal & Guide

Name Presidential Candidates On 'Anti Civil Rights Plank

Sat. 7-24-48

Special to Journal and Guide

Norfolk, Va.

(See Editorial, Page 8)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Four days after the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia had renominated President Truman for the presidency with the party's forthright approval of his civil rights program, angered and rebellious southern Democrats meeting in Birmingham's city auditorium named two governors to head a campaign to defeat Mr. Truman in the Solid South in November.

THE BIRMINGHAM "REVOLT"

The Times

New York, N.Y.

An uninformed stranger in Birmingham, Ala., on Saturday might have thought that the War between the States was about to be resumed. Fortunately, it was not. The rebel yells, the waving of Confederate battle flags and the parading of a portrait of a nationally respected soldier named Robert E. Lee did not imply secession—not even the secession of the Solid South from the Democratic party. This was a mass meeting, not a convention. Its candidates can presumably count on the twenty electoral votes of Alabama and Mississippi, but whether they will get more than this will not surely be known until the new party, if it is a party, assembles again on Oct. 1. Whoever ran this gathering showed political astuteness in naming to head the ticket Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who opposes Federal intervention against lynching and against the poll tax but has fought for state action to suppress the one and put an end to the other.

Mon. 7-19-48

No such good sense was shown in the "states' rights platform" which this assemblage of self-appointed delegates and casual spectators adopted by acclamation. There is nothing in the Democratic platform which calls for "equal access to all places of public accommodation for persons of all races, colors, creeds and national origin." The words of this plank in the Birmingham program were actually borrowed from the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, which advocated that such guarantees be enacted "by the states." The Democratic platform merely asked Federal action to guarantee political equality, equality of opportunity for employment, security of person and "equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation." The Birmingham conference was shooting at something that wasn't there. Mon.

Something, of course, was and is at issue. In 1940 only 14.7 per cent of the potential voters of Mississippi actually voted. Some Southern politicians would like to continue the sort of government under which not only the Negro citizen but most white citizens either cannot or do not vote. There are liberal Southerners who do not believe the lot of the Negro—or of the disfranchised white man—can be improved by Federal action; and most of these liberals have been trying to improve conditions in their own communities. 7-19-48

But at present one would not say that this "revolt" has much political or moral logic in it. It might help to elect Mr. Dewey, who on his record and under the Republican platform is just as strongly committed as Mr. Truman to a civil rights program. And it might peter out, as did a similar "revolt" four years ago. The Birmingham demonstration is certainly not conclusive. 7-19-48

Dixie Maps Plans

Amsterdam News

WASHINGTON—(NNPA) — Defeated in their efforts to get congressional approval of a plan to set up segregated regional schools, Southern Senators plan to make another stand to maintain racial segregation and discrimination.

The next fight will be over the issue of abolition of these twin evils in the armed services.

Defeated in the Senate Armed Services Committee, Senators Richard B. Russell of Georgia, and Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina, both Democrats, have offered an amendment to the selective service and training bill, designed to prevent President Truman, as Commander-in-Chief of the armed services from ordering the abolition of segregation. 5-22-48

Anti-Truman Unit Studies Future Steps

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Mon. 7-19-48

Southern Leaders Hope To Use Regular Party Machinery Next Fall

(Convention Sidelights on Page 2)

By LEROY SIMMS

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.— (AP) — Rebellious Dixie Democrats hope to use regular party machinery to defeat Mr. Truman in the Solid South in November because of his stand on racial issues.

That was the method used in Alabama and Mississippi which turned their backs on the president before his nomination in the national party convention in Philadelphia.

The two Southerners nominated —Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, for president, and Mississippi Gov. Fielding Wright, for vice-president—made no concrete promises of any direct campaigning.

Their acceptance speeches yesterday did not hint at campaign strategy.

In many Southern states electors are named at state conventions. Backers of the Thurmond-Wright ticket say they will make determined bids in these states for the regular party electors.

Greatest Cheers

Whatever startegy is used, Southern nominees will run on a platform which specifically opposes a civil rights program. Speeches attacking anti-segregation proposals drew the greatest cheers at the meeting.

Former Gov. Frank M. Dixon, of Alabama, devoted major attention to the segregation issue in his keynote address. Nearly every other speaker of the day brought the overflow crowd to its feet yelling and waving flags, with at-

7-19-48

tacks on segregation proposals.

One member of the States' Rights command, who would not permit use of his name, said the Thurmond-Wright ticket would have the backing of Democratic electors in Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, and South Carolina.

Mon.

These states, this informant said, could be won by the insurgent Southerners without a test by ballot against the Truman-Barkley regular party slate. This could be done through state party conventions or by direction in some states of the Democratic executive committee. He said several others "probably can be carried the same way" but did not name them.

The Advertiser

Test Is Planned

In the border states, he said, the Southern ticket probably will be placed on the ballot in a test of voting strength.

In these states, this leader declared, the States Righters will be trying to win for themselves.

If they can't win, they won't be unhappy if they get enough votes away from Mr. Truman to give these states to the Republican nominee, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, of New York.

Montgomery, Ala.

Arkansas Gov. Ben T. Laney, who had been rumored as the possible presidential choice of the Southern Democrats, said the entire civil rights campaign henceforth should be handled "through Democratic organizations in each state."

Mon.

He also said, "it is not too late to avoid permanent division of our people."

7-19-48

The statement indicated disagreement with some of the policies adopted at the States Rights gathering. Governor Laney did not attend the session at the auditorium but was in several committee meetings.

SOUTHERNERS MAP FIGHT ON TRUMAN IN BORDER STATES

Claiming 20 Electoral Votes, Rebels Led by Thurmond Plan Drive for More

REGULAR DEMOCRATS COLD

Laney Avoids Convention and Urges Action Be Confined to the Official Party

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 18—Rebellious Southern Democrats, waving the flag of "white supremacy" and boasting an assured twenty Electoral College votes in Mississippi and Alabama, announced today that they would carry "a fighting campaign" to defeat President Truman into neighboring states.

J. Strom Thurmond, Governor of South Carolina and Presidential choice of the disgruntled Democrats on a "states' rights" ticket, was prepared to start a speechmaking campaign covering the solid South, the border states and "the backyards of President Truman and his running mate, Senator Alben Barkley."

Meanwhile, there were mounting indications that party "regulars," political bosses and even former "states' rights" enthusiasts were ready to dash cold water on the new ticket's hopes to gain support from a region that has solidly supported the Democratic party since Reconstruction days, except for the splintering in the Al Smith campaign of 1928.

Laney Opposes "Revenge"

Foremost in political significance among those who were taking a cautious attitude toward the Dixie "revolt" was Gov. Ben T. Laney of Arkansas, who was openly reported to be the favorite for President of the states' rights leaders up to a few hours before they selected Governor Thurmond.

Governor Laney, who remained in his hotel room yesterday rather than attend the states' rights nominating convention, issued a typewritten statement that went to the heart of the struggle ahead for the new party by declaring, "Whatever is done must be done through and by the official Democratic organization in each respective state."

Governor Laney said that he had offered his recommendation that the political dispute be kept within the party ranks to the leaders of the states' rights party as "a plea and a position" which would be his for "the present and the future."

He emphasized his belief that the South was right in opposing the civil rights proposals in the Democratic party platform adopted at the national convention in Philadelphia, but added that "the spirit of obstinacy and revenge is not the spirit of the Southland."

Warns on Permanent Split

He referred to yesterday's convention and remarked, "I do not know what the outcome of the Birmingham meeting will be." He then added that the results of the Civil War "even unto this day are well remembered" and pleaded with the civil rights proponents to act to avoid "a permanent division of our people."

The Times

Governor Laney has been a leader in the Southern opposition to the civil rights proposals introduced in January by President Truman. He was named chairman of the first States' Rights Democrats meeting on May 10 in Jackson, Miss. At the national convention in Philadelphia he announced his candidacy for the Presidential nomination but withdrew before balloting time.

N.Y.

Newspaper editorials in key southern cities today largely took a dim view of the wisdom of the "revolt" and the creation of a fourth party, but expressed sympathy with the feelings of those who insisted that the civil rights proposals had angered them to the point of rebellion.

7-19-48

There was wide discussion of the possibility that yesterday's convention, with speakers emphasizing the tenets of white supremacy and "the threats of racial intermingling," would add to President Truman's bid in the large industrial areas with heavy Negro voting strength.

Mon.

It was also being pointed out that recognized leaders of political machines, such as Edward H. (Boss) Crump of Tennessee, Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, Herman Talmadge of Georgia and Gov. Earl K. Long of Louisiana, had declined to take part in the convention and had not sent any emissaries.

Majority In Dixie Opposes Truman

The Commercial Appeal

Mississippian Says People Won't Be Browbeaten

Memphis, Tenn.

To The Commercial Appeal:

Every alarm has been sounded in an effort to "brow beat" the people of the South into supporting Harry Truman, when it is well known to everybody that the overwhelming majority of the Democrats of the South are determined that they will not do so.

If there are still those who are simple minded enough to believe that the South is in the bag for the National Democratic Party nominee, regardless of principles and personalities, then they may just wait and watch the returns from the November election.

The Republican National Convention repudiated its congressional leaders by passing up a number of senators and members of the House, in favor of two governors to head their ticket. The great majority of the Democrats of the South are determined that the people shall rule and if congressmen stand in the way, then the congressmen must go. This is written in the friendliest spirit toward all of our congressmen.

7-18-48

T. N. GORE,
Marks, Miss.

MAY TEST 14 STATES

The Commercial Appeal

Missouri And Kentucky Part Of Plan At Birmingham—Many Onlookers Due

Memphis, Tenn.

By ROLAND DOPSON

United Press Staff Writer

BIRMINGHAM, July 16.—Rebellious Dixiecrats moved Friday night to invade President Truman's and Senator Alben Barkley's home states with opposing slates of electors in November.

Sat.

On the eve of an advertised "Dixie Conventilon," they planned to put up similar slates in 12 other border or Southern states. They claimed "reliable assurance" that they can get their electors on the ballot in those states as well as Missouri and Kentucky.

Eastland Sparks Fight

Senator Eastland (D., Miss.) predicted that the "States' Righters" assembling here can take the role of minority party away from the regular Democrats headed by Mr. Truman.

7-17-48

He urged that the Dixiecrats name a candidate for President "who can carry the banner."

"We will file candidates for presidential electors in every Southern state, every border state and some Northern states," he said. He declared the group will 'igve the people a chance to protect themselves in all states."

"I don't think Truman will get any electoral votes," Senator Eastland added. "Especially if we run a strong campaign in the border states. We wil then become the minority party — the real Democratic Party. Then we would make the minority party assignments on committees in the Senate and House."

"Individuals" To Attend

W. W. Wright, convention organizer, said "individuals" from Oklahoma, Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, North Carolina, Mississippi, Texas, Florida, Tennessee and Arkansas will be on hand for Saturday's 10 a.m. assembly.

Sat.

He emphasized the word "individuals." Whole-hog participation in a bolters' convention appeared limited to Alabama and Mississippi, with Arkansas and South Carolina expected to join in to a lesser degree.

7-17-48

Most of the rest emphasized they were onlokers, with no official mandate from their state Democratic organizations." One of the late arrivals, for instance, former Gov. Sam Jones of Louisiana, said he was an observer for a group "which is very much in the minority in Louisiana."

Delegates to the "states' rights" session held an informal caucus and resolved to push their revolt into the home states of the party standard-bearers.

Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham, said if the resolution is approved by the full conference a committee will be instructed to get up a slate of Dixiecrats to put on the general election ballot in Missouri and eKntucky.

The Commercial Appeal

Plan Is Explained

Under the plan, a Southern States Rights Committee would open offices in Ketucky and Missouri and round up slates of opposition electors. In most states, a certain number of petitioners are required to get electors' names on the ballot.

The Dixiecrats got a shot in the arm Friday when Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who reportedly had turned lukewarm, announced he would attend the Birmingham parley after all.

"I am whole-heartedly in favor of continuing the great fight in which we are engaged," Thurmond announced in Columbia.

Sat.

Doubt remained, however, whether Thurmond and certain other Southern state leaders will participate in an actual "convention" to choose separate nominees for president and vice president and, in effect, create a new party.

STILL FOR TRUMAN

The Advertiser

Editor, The Advertiser:

Will you kindly lend space for these few words? The "walkie-talkies" and lukewarms have had their say and have made a complete flop. Now I think the Democrats want to have a say.

First, eleven bolters have the people's vote in their hip pocket and plan to meet and throw them away—they might as well throw them in the river.

Montgomery, Ala.

However, if the Democrats will write the name of Harry Truman and Barkley on the vallot and a majority goes for them, this State will stay in the national fold. It will be legal for Carmichael ruled it himself, and we are neither morally nor legally bound to abide by a Democratic primary. I for one will vote a Democratic ticket come November.

Sat.

Equality, Ala. 7-17-48. D. E. SHANES.

Thurmond, Candidate of Rebels, Decries 'White Supremacy' Idea

The Times New York, N.Y. Tues. 7-20-48

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to The

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 19—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who was chosen on Saturday as the Presidential candidate of the rebellious Southern Democrats, cracked down on his "white supremacy" followers today in a surprise action.

He told reporters in a telephone conversation from the executive mansion in Columbia, S. C., that he was "a progressive Southerner" interested in bettering conditions for the Negro and that he would campaign on the "state's rights" ticket soley in support of his beliefs in "the sovereignty of the states as against Federal Government interference." 7-20-48

Admittedly perturbed at the attitude of some of his followers on the subject of "white supremacy," a theme which studded many of the speeches made at the nominating convention three days ago, Governor Thurmond pointed to his record in bringing about the arrest of twenty-three white men accused of lynching a Negro in Greenville, S. C., in January, 1947.

He also emphasized that in his inaugural address two years ago he had called for repeal of the poll tax and he insisted that "at all times I have advocated better facililites for the Negroes."

The Times

He said that he was "not interested one whit in the question of white supremacy" and added that he was anxious that "the rest of the country realize that we have some pretty good guys down here."

New York N.Y.

This new development highlighted the strange ambivalent character of the Southern attitude on the subject of race relations and struck a fresh note in the many paradoxes that have developed about the segregation pattern and its interpretations in the South. 7-20-48

Governor Thurmond has always identified himself as a "progressive," although he has seemed to shy away from the "liberal" label. His public statements during the recent controversy over the civil rights proposals of President Truman, however, lost him a large part of the liberal following that acclaimed him for his forthright conduct in the Greenville lynching case.

The Times

In all of his speeches Governor Thurmond has urged improvement of facilities for Negroes, but always with a subscription to the Southern pattern of segregation based on "equal" but separate facilities.

In the south Governor Thurmond has never been linked in ideological views with liberal leaders such as former Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia or newspapermen such as Hodding Carter of Mississippi and Ralph McGill of Atlanta.

At the same time he has not been an advocate of "white supremacy" tents on a level with Representative John Rankin of Mississippi, but his appearances as a leader in the civil rights "revolt" have publicly thrown his lot with some of the most ardent advocates of "white supremacy."

It appeared that Governor Thurmond was seeking to clamp the lid on the purveyors of bigotry who attended the nomination convention here and whose records of race hatred appear likely to make the political road ahead rough for the newly-formed state's rights ticket that is out to defeat President Truman in the solid South for his civil rights proposals.

There were no signs today to indicate that Governor Thurmond's assertion that he deplored the "white supremacy" following would cause any fundamental cleavage in the make-up of the new state's rights party, but it did draw attention to the white supremacy faction aligned with the new ticket.

The state's rights Democrats have shown their greatest strength in Alabama and Mississippi, where a combined twenty electoral votes are pledged against Mr. Truman and seem very likely to be cast for the new fourth party.

New York N.Y.

It was recalled that Mississippi's Governor, Fielding L. Wright, who is Vice Presidential candidate on the state's rights ticket, told the Negroes in Mississippi in a radio address last May 8 that if they envisioned any social equality with whites in restaurants and schools they had better leave the state.

Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, who took a principal part in the nominating convention here on Saturday, is generally recognized as the "father" of a proposed constitutional amendment in Mississippi which calls for prospective voters to be of good moral character, widely revarded as a barrier aimed at Negro voting in Mississippi. 7-21-48

Frank M. Dixon, former Governor of Alabama and a leader in the state's rights party, spoke at the convention and repeatedly emphasized the "threat to the South" of the civil rights proposals, declaring that they would force the intermingling of the races and "make Southerners into a mongrel, inferior race." The Times

Horace Wilkinson, chairman of the resolutions committee for the state's rights group, told the convention a "joke" in which a Negro character delivers the punch line by telling "an occupant of the White House" that the white people of the South are "too high class" to mix socially with Negroes.

William H. (Alfalfa Bill) Murray, 87-year-old former Governor of Oklahoma, called to the speaker's platform during the convention session, told the audience that "this country became great through Christian principles and the white man's brains."

New York N.Y.

Political opponents of the state's rights movement were hinting tonight that although Governor Thurmond would confine his campaign to the issue of state sovereignty as a principle of American government it had become necessary to distract attention from the loud chorus of "hiwte supremacy" views openly expressed at the nomination convention.

On other political fronts there was still a growing indication that political bosses and Democratic "regulars" were shaping their organizational strength to defeat the state's rights party's bid to split the South, which has been traditionally Democratic since Reconstruction days.

Tues. 7-20-48

James S. Peters, chairman of the Georgia State Democratic executive committee, said his organization would "take our stand on the question of Presidential electors at the proper time."

Mr. Peters, a strong supporter of Herman Talmadge forces in Georgia, walked out of the first state's rights Democrats meeting in Jackson, Miss., on May 10, because, he said, he regarded it as a "bolt" of the Democratic party.

Dixiecrat Directors Map Plans

Atlanta Ga.

Constitution

By BEM PRICE
Associated Press Writer

Sun. 7-25-48

A steering committee of dissident Southern Democrats, some veterans of the smokefilled room, met here yesterday to plan a presidential campaign. 7-25-48

Present were Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi and the same small group which engineered the Birmingham States Rights Convention a week ago.

At that meeting, Thurmond was acclaimed as the States Rights Democratic candidate for President and Wright for Vice President.

The man who placed both names before the convention, Horace Wilkinson, of Birmingham, was on hand along with former Gov. Frank M. Dixon, of Alabama; Sidney Smyer, Birmingham attorney; W. W. Wright (no kin of the Mississippi Governor), a Jackson, Miss., wholesale grocer.

The meeting was opened by W. W. Wright, who said that those present were there by invitation only.

"They were invited by those leaders who have been in the movement from the start," Wright said. 7-25-48

His reference to the invitation was aimed at press reports which have commented on the absence of Georgia's political leaders.

Wright said the meeting would be closed to the press so that matters pertaining to the campaign could be "thrashed out."

There were representatives present from Louisiana, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Texas.

The Texas representative is Merritt H. Gibson, of Longview, former Gregg County judge and now an attorney. Gibson said the Birmingham convention "seems to have crystallized the opinion" in Texas and that plans are afoot to hold a similar state-wide, States'-rights meeting in the Lone Star State.

The Texan said they will know definitely in a "couple of weeks" when the Democratic precinct conventions are held "how sentiment is running."

Thurmond was optimistic about his campaign yesterday. He is convinced, he said, that there is strong Southern sentiment for the ticket.

"If the Southern people will just stick together," he declared, "they have the finest opportunity since the War Between the States to gain the respect of the nation."

REHABILITATED?

A minor but highly intriguing speculation is posed by a paragraph from the column of John Temple Graves:

Advertiser

> . . . If I could have explained who and what Horace Wilkinson is, I would have added that Horace himself is trying manfully now to eliminate the word (nigger) from his vast vocabulary of song, speech and story. In view of the social responsibility that has come to him with his leadership in the States Rights movement he is trying.
>
> It is hard for him to break a favorite lifelong habit but I believe he is going to win out, rather than discredit the States Rights movement as it goes national.

Does that really mean, as it were, that Wilkinson is meaning to go straight?

This note from Columnist Graves smacks of the knowledgeable. It sounds for the life of it as if Wilkinson has been spirited away by his more comprehending friends and talked to, man to man. It sounds as if the hitherto irrepressible Wilkinson has agreed to repress himself, it being a time of war. Montgomery, Ala

We don't know whether this means that Wilkinson has gone underground, or has undergone a Turkish bath that has steamed out the poisonous juices in which his lard is soaked and steeped. Fri. 8-6-48

We had observed, prior to Graves' bland suggestion, that Wilkinson was conspicuously absenting himself from The Advertiser's letter column, whence he has so happily and so energetically shelled the editorial columns. We didn't know but what the abstention was simply a pause to consolidate before unleashing a new V-weapon attack of some nature.

Be all of that as it may, The Advertiser pledges to do all in its power to fortify this new rectitude of Wilkinson's. We do not underwrite it, but neither will we scout it.

The Advertiser, then, will consider that Wilkinson has ceased to burn incense in memory of the departed Bilbo and that he has entered upon a term of probation.

Peace, Brother!

SAVANNAH MORNING NEWS

Constitution Atlanta Ga

Let's Be Sensible About It

Sun. 7-25-48

Included in the reaction to the coming out for the Republican national ticket of the Dothan (Ala.) Eagle is a letter to the editor this week from a gentleman who signs himself H. M. Shelton, of San Antonio, Texas, in which he argues that rather than support the GOP, Southerners ought to secede from the United States in a manner comparable to the partitioning of Palestine and establish what he calls a "Southern autonomy."

It strikes us that the Texan's idea is about as sensible as the argument advanced by a Negro orator from Missouri—the home state of Harry Truman—at the Wallace convention in Philadelphia that the President should send the U. S. Army into the South to see to it that Negroes are protected in their right to vote!

TWO SUCH statements by men on opposite sides of the civil rights fence are sharp reminders of the heat that has been generated over the issue by the extremely foolish procedure of the left-wingers at the late but not lamented Democratic Convention in the Quaker City.

Of equal inappropriateness were some of the shoutings and rantings at the Birmingham Convention of the state righters. Governors Thurmond and Wright, of South Carolina and Mississippi, respectively, are very fine gentlemen, but the philosophy preached by some of the fiery spellbinders in Birmingham certainly did not reflect the best thinking in the South today. 7-25-48

The Morning News, in this connection, agrees one hundred percent with the Montgomery Advertiser's statement that the Birmingham meeting was something in the nature of "an ugly carnival scene" and that "the South doesn't want to be judged by what went on at Birmingham," in so far as the oratory was concerned, a type of speech-making that was so radical the radio networks were compelled to cut off their broadcasts of it.

LET Southerners resent wholeheartedly the treatment afforded them at the New Deal Convention in Philadelphia, but for heaven's sake let us be sensible and dignified about our methods and purposes in connection with solving the problems that have been raised.

Old School Rebel

News

To the Editor of The News:

No doubt the admirers of Sen. Lister Hill are very sad about the weakkneed fight he put up against the president's civil rights program.

Birmingham Ala

Sen. Hill has proved to the people of Alabama that Northern patronage means more to him than the feelings of the true Southerner. The Northerners have said all along that the civil rights program would blow over in the South and that the South would back Harry Truman in the end. Now let us think why they knew this. They knew it because they knew that weak Southerners such as Lister Hill catered more to the Northern purse-strings than to the people of Alabama who put him in office. Wed. 7-21-48

It must be known to the Northerners that there is a difference in a true Southerner and a person just being born in the South. Speaking for myself and other true Southerners, we don't intend to have the president's civil rights program forced down our throats, come what may! As one great statesman said, "I have but one life to give for my country." Speaking for myself, I would like to change two words in that statement and say, "I have but one life to give for the South," which I would give proudly for the preservation of Southern traditions.

Some have stated that the civil rights program would return the South to the days of the Ku Klux Klan, but there will be as many of us fighting against this civil rights program without a hood as there will be those with hoods! This will be one program that no true Southerner would want to hide his face to combat, with force, if necessary.

Auburn, Ala. ROB ANDRESS.

SCORE VICTORY, SETBACK

Laney In High Post Of Dixiecrat Party

Constitution, Atlanta Ga.

Wed. 7-30-48

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 29—(INS)—States' Rights Democrats both scored a victory and suffered setbacks today in their campaign for strength in the Southern faction of the Party.

The States' Righters hailed as a sign of gathering strength the appointment of Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney as General Chairman of the Party.

Gov. Laney reportedly had been cool to proposals of the Party to nominate presidential and vice presidential candidates for President to fight against President Truman and regular Democratic Party leadership.

But today, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, States' Rights candidate for President, said that Laney has accepted the post of General Chairman of the Dixie faction.

The announcement came as the Southerners disclosed a complete campaign organization. Judge Merrit Gibson, of Longview, Texas, was named Campaign Director and national campaign headquarters were scheduled to be established at Jackson, Miss., on Aug. 9.

Gov. Thurmond and Gov. Fielding L. Wright issued joint statements that branch campaign headquarters will be opened at Washington and at Columbia. Wed

The States' Rights campaign will begin Aug. 11 at Houston, Texas.

Meanwhile, setbacks to the States' Rights campaign cause came in Louisiana and North Carolina. 7-30-48

The Louisiana attorney general ruled that only persons registered as Democrats may participate in the party primary. In Louisiana—as in most Southern States—the Democratic primary is tantamount to election.

The ruling was considered a blow to the States' Rights movement in Louisiana where leaders are striving for 1,000 signatures of persons registered as independents not affiliated with the Democratic or Republican Parties. Under the ruling, States' Righters, as independents, would be banned from voting for local and State officials.

A Democratic primary is scheduled for August in Louisiana to name U. S. Senators and Representatives and several local officials.

Meanwhile, North Carolina's Dixiecrat movement was shorn of any support it might have claimed from State Democratic leaders.

State Democratic Chairman Wilkins P. Horton, Gov. Gregg Cherry and Senator-nominee J. Melville Broughton served notice they are Democrats and intend to remain Democrats.

Chairman Horton charged that many of the so-called Dixiecrats are seeking "to hide their Republicanism behind the skirts of States' Rights."

Gov. Cherry said he "can see no good end to leaving the Party. Within it, our people can work out their own salvation."

Plot To Support Thurmond-Wright Seen By Observers

The Lighthouse and Informer

Columbia SC.

A plot to switch the votes of South Carolina Democrats from President Truman to Governor J. Strom Thurmond and Mississippi's Governor Fielding Wright, was predicted by political observers in South Carolina this week.

Significance was attached to the presence of state Democratic chairman, William P. Baskin, in Atlanta last week-end, where Thurmond and Wright mapped plans for a nation-wide campaign.

Moreover, the increased tempo in certain daily newspapers, usually the sounding board for big businesses and political bosses, indicated that such an undertaking was in the offing. Sun.

County Democrats at Sumter and in Jasper county are on record as supporting the states rightist Thurmond ticket, while scattered supporters are being paid huge sums to impress others to support the South Caroline leaders. 8-1-48

Simultaneously, first of the week, and announcement calling a second meeting of the state Democratic convention was expected from Chairman Baskin. If and when such a convention is held, it is predicted that a strong effort will be made to throw the the entire state party behind the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

A second prediction is that the new convention would attempt changes in rules which would recognize recent decisions returned by U. S. District Court Judge J. Waites Warning. Major changes expected would be those raising qualifications for voting and possibly the urging of a special legislative session.

These observers said the recourse was to have an independent ticket in the general election, backing the national party. While this possibility is known to be under consideration by several groups, there was nothing concrete on it late Monday.

Keep Fighting

Atlanta Ga. Constitution

Editor Constitution: After reading Ralph McGill's editorial in Sunday's paper on, "What Can the South Do," it brought back to my mind a report card I once received in the third grade, which had large letters written across it that said, "Gives up too easy in effort." That is what I thing Ralph has been doing in recent months. His attitude on the civil rights question is, "If you cannot lick them, join them." I said at that time and I still mean it, as long as I lived that I would never receive a report card in school or out that said, "Gives up too easily," and I am saying now I shall never give up fighting this unconstitutional so-called civil rights program as long as I live on this earth. I sincerely believe that we of the South are going to win this battle, even if it means another Civil War, though I fervidly hope the situation will never become that drastic.

'Dixiecrats' Plan to Carry Battle Into Border States

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky. Sat. 7-17-48

12 Delegations Assured As South Starts Birmingham Parley Today

From Wire Dispatches.

Birmingham, July 16.—Southern Democrats revolting against the national party on the issue of civil rights tonight named ex-Governor Frank M. Dixon of Alabama as temporary chairman for tomorrow's States'-rights convention.

The appointment was announced by W. W. Wright, Jackson, Miss., conference cochairman, after a preconvention meeting of early arrivals for the conference.

Wright said "we are assured" of representation from 12 states. He named these as Oklahoma, Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, North Carolina, Mississippi, Texas, Florida, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

Talk of Battle In Missouri.

The Courier-Journal

The Jackson attorney said preliminary plans were being drawn up pending arrival of Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi and Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas.

"At the termination of the Philadelphia convention," Wright's statement said, "all delegates completed their authority to represent the Democratic Party of their respective states and, if any attend this conference, they will attend as individual States'-rights Democrats.

"The invitation extended to them was the same that was extended to the entire nation."

Earlier, the Southern revolters discussed plans to take their battle for anti-Truman electors into the President's home state of Missouri and at least a dozen other states.

Louisville, Ky.

Thurmond Decides to Go.

The decision by the caucus on the Missouri move also included a plan to have States'-rights electors on the ticket in Kentucky, home state of Senator Alben Barkley, the Philadelphia choice for Vice-President.

Sat.

The "Dixiecrats" were encouraged today when Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who reportedly had turned lukewarm, announced he would attend the Birmingham parley after all.

7-17-48

"I am wholeheartedly in favor of continuing the great fight in which we are engaged," Thurmond announced in Columbia.

Doubt remained, however, whether Thurmond and certain other Southern leaders will participate in an actual "convention" to choose separate nominees for President and Vice-President and, in effect, create a new party.

Alabama Senators Aloof.

So far only two states were going all the way—Mississippi and Alabama—and even Alabama's two senators, John Sparkman and Lister Hill, were remaining aloof. Mississippi's senators, John Stennis and James A. Eastland, were in the vanguard of the "Dixiecrat" arrivals.

Governor Laney steered away from fourth-party talk in a statement at St. Louis where he stopped on the way here.

Laney said Southern Democrats' main job now is to work against civil-rights legislation in Congress.

"We must appeal to Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike, not to pass it," Laney said. "Imposition of this legislation means a new type of government. It could not be adopted and enforced without a changed interpretation of the Constitution and a complete abrogation of States' rights."

One leader of the Southern revolt predicted the man nominated here tomorrow would "carry more states than Mr. Truman."

Sat.

This leader declined use of his name "until tomorrow's meeting." He outlined, however, a plan of action for the meeting.

7-17-48

Alabama and Mississippi, with 20 electoral votes between them, already are committed against Truman. He named as "certain E. Dewey, the Republican candidate.

Wright, Laney Lead Fields.

The Courier-Journal

In addition to working for anti-Truman electors from these states through regular state party machinery, he said a full slate of States'-rights electors would be placed on the ticket in such border states as Oklahoma, Missouri, and Maryland.

Louisville, Ky.

Early arrivals for the meeting huddled in various hotels, as final arrangements were made hurriedly. The States'-righters will meet in the City Auditorium, which seats 6,000.

Sat.

Two chief possibilities for the States'-rights nomination are Governor Wright and Governor Laney.

7-17-48

Governor Wright called the meeting "to begin the fight to save the South."

"It has been made clear at Philadelphia," he said, "that the greatest discrimination existing in this country today is not racial or religious, but discrimination against the South."

'Solid Against Truman.'

Sat.

An Alabama delegate, still smarting from the Philadelphia defeat, said on arrival:

"We will keep the South solid—solid against Truman and his obnoxious program to deprive us of control of our domestic affairs."

He was Albert Stapp, Birmingham businessman and delegate at large.

7-17-48

"The South feels like a mother who has been kicked out of her own home by upstart in-laws," Stapp said. "We were not even given a courteous hearing at Philadelphia.

"We will never forget it—and President Truman and the city-machine bosses will never forget it either. These cynical ingrates forget that we have kept the party alive through the dark years when they had no federal patronage to dole out. We are through with them."

Plan Mapped To Hamstring Truman Vote

Montgomery Advertiser

Fri. 7-16-48

11 States Are Needed For 127 Free Ballots At Electoral College

Support Is Urged

Purpose Of Conference Is To Regain Control By Regular Democrats

By BEM PRICE

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.— (AP) —The South's troubled Democrats indicated Thursday night, a plan to hamstring President Truman's election chances by leaving their electors unpledged.

The plan was indicated by Ex-Gov. Frank M. Dixon and two members of the Alabama State's Rights committee.

Dixon, Presidential Elector Horace Wilkinson and Sidney Smyer stressed that Saturday's meeting here of Democrats disgruntled over the national party's civil rights plank would be a "conference and not a convention."

Wilkinson and Dixon said that by leaving the presidential electors free to vote for whom they pleased would not mean throwing support to the Republican candidates.

Southern Unity

It would mean, they said, that the electors could vote for any man. Presumably the Southern States could unite in the electoral college as they did in the convention, when 263 votes went to Senator Russell (D), Georgia, for the presidential nomination.

Alabama already has a delegation to the electoral college which is unpledged, save against Truman.

Wilkinson said the support by 11 Southern States of his plan would mean 127 free votes in the electoral college.

Wilkinson said that before November there still was time for any Southern States to change the status of their delegations now pledged to Truman.

To Name Candidate

Earlier, Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, said the Birmingham conference was to nominate a presidential candidate.

Dixon, Wilkinson and Smyer were at the municipal airport here to greet W. W. Wright, of Jackson, Miss. (No kin to the governor), first of the Mississippi delegation to arrive.

Wright said the main purpose of the meeting here was to "get control of the Democratic party back in the hands of the regular Democrats."

He said also that "the convention was dominated by the big city machines who have taken temporary control of the party," adding, "but I think the November election will take that control away."

Wright admitted there was no hope of electing a Southern president, but said the conference was to "defeat the Philadelphia nominee."

The call of the Birmingham convention was issued as the delegates departed Philadelphia and the scene of the national Democratic Convention, wherein they were twice defeated.

The summons was issued by Gov. Wright and Dixon to all those opposed to the civil rights program and the renomination of President Truman.

Problematical

But whether these leaders would find the South united behind them was problematical.

The Mississippi delegation was scheduled to arrive in Birmingham at 8:10 p.m. Friday. Some of the Alabama delegates from the national convention at 10:45 a.m.

Florida said it would bring seven members and Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas said he "probably" would attend. Representatives of Texas and South Carolina also are expected.

Louisiana and Georgia already have said their delegates would not attend. Some of the other southern states, who also rallied behind Sen. Richard Russell (D), Georgia, for the presidential nomination at Philadelphia, have not yet stood up to be counted.

Russell, who garnered 263 votes in convention for president, has declined use of his name as the South's candidate at Birmingham.

And the senior senator from Georgia, Walter George, has said he doesn't see what the Birmingham convention can hope to accomplish.

As a by-product of the South's convention fight and opposition to the civil rights proposals—a fair employment practices act, an anti-lynching, anti-segregation and anti-poll tax laws—Russell forsees trouble for the South.

He predicted at his Winder, Ga., home the South would be kicked around considerably in the special session of Congress called by President Truman by both Democrats and Republicans bent on enacting a civil rights program.

Fri. 7-16-48

Russell also declared he did not believe the Birmingham convention the best thing for the party at this time.

Both Russell and Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution said they believe the cleavage in the Democratic ranks would result in a major realignment of parties in this country.

McGill predicted the party 10 years hence would find its strength mostly in urban areas and be farther to the left than the party of Franklin Roosevelt.

There were other reactions to the developments at Philadelphia.

Two of the Alabama delegation, Marion Rushton and Mrs. Lennard Thomas, both of Montgomery, said they would remain on the national Democratic committee.

The Dothan (Ala.) Eagle in a page one editorial declared "we are fed up" and announced its intention of bolting the Democratic party.

Montgomery

What's more, said the paper, "come hell or high water, we're supporting the Republicans."

Other comment:

Advertiser

The Memphis Commercial Appeal: "Southern dissenters . . . are going to have a little difficulty breathing life into states' rights as an issue. Within their own ranks are many who oppose creation of a fourth party."

The Tampa (Fla.) Times: "The one party system has brought many ills and many insults and indignities to the South. . . . If the Philadelphia blow-up should mean the end of blind allegiance to old prejudices, perhaps in the long run it will have been worthwhile."

Fri. 7-16-48

Most of the comment from Southern newspapers ignored the Birmingham meeting to comment on the South's defeat in convention, some on the fact that the majority of the party had anticipated the Southern revolt by defeating it on issues dear to the South.

Gov. Wright, before leaving Philadelphia, said, the object of the Birmingham convention is to select a candidate "so that those who believe in states' rights can vote for him with confidence in November and remain within the Democratic Party."

Dixie's 'Spavined, Bedraggled Chickens'

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

H. L. Mencken In The Baltimore Sun

THE gallant Confederates who attempted a raid upon the late Democratic National Convention got a bad licking on the floor, but that licking did not dispose of them, nor even seriously punish them. What ails them now is a double handicap, both halves of it of Southern origin. The first is to be found in the fact that when they got home all the worst frauds in the South rushed up to kiss them and have since hung about their necks. The second half springs out of the general Northern assumption, unhappily well supported by recent history, that whatever originates in the South is half-idiotic, and hardly deserves to be heard.

Thurs.

That assumption is bitterly resented by enlightened Southerners, but the record is the record. The South, for years past, has been a sewer of imbecility. It has supported every major aberration, whether political or social, that has afflicted the country, and it has supported most of them with a degree of enthusiasm bordering on the delirious. I name the Bryan madness. I name Prohibition. I name Fundamentalism. I name the New Deal. I name the anti-Al Smith and Huey Long uproars. I name the two wars to make the world safe for democracy. 8-5-48

BUT there is no need to labor the list, for it would be hard to think of any lunacy that doesn't belong on it. Time was when the South, perhaps more than any other section of the country, was fertile in ideas, but even more fertile in first-rate men. But at least since the Eighties, nine-tenths of the so-called ideas that it has produced have been silly, and nine-tenths of the leaders shabby and preposterous fellows. When the last of its Civil War heroes died it went underground, intellectually speaking, and there it has remained ever since, entertaining the civilized world with such frightful burlesques of civilization as the Scopes trial, the Leo Frank lynching, and the share-the-wealth hubbub.

The result today is that the Dixiecrat movement is getting a great deal less sober attention than it deserves. It looks, from across the Potomac and Ohio, like nothing more than a fresh pestilence of Longs, Bilbos, Tillmans, Bleases, Talmadges and Pappy O'Daniels. It is, in fact, nothing of the sort, whatever the excrescences that now burden it.

It is fundamentally quite as serious in purpose, and quite as rational, as any other regional movement that has appeared in recent years, and some of its leaders are worthy of the highest respect.

Certainly it would be absurd to dismiss such men as Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and former Gov. Dan Moody, of Texas, as windbags of the common sort. They are men of intelligence and they are men of honor, and when they take to the bush it is safe to assume that they have a genuine grievance.

The colored brother, it seems to me, is hardly more than a by-stander in the combat, though he will be injured no matter what the issue. If the embattled Confederates throw Truman and company off he will see a halt in the process of liberation that has been going on for some years, with the best class of Southerners supporting it. If if the damyankee politicians, with their eyes upon the Harlem vote, push their drastic "reforms" through, he will be the chief victim of the ensuing revival of Reconstruction.

IT IS this threat of another dismal dose of Reconstruction that chiefly alarms the more intelligent Southerners. They are painfully aware of what went on in the Seventies, and they are naturally fearful of a repetition, with northerner jobholders, most of them dishonest and nearly all of them jackasses, substituted for the carpetbaggers of the first canto. They believe that they have some civil rights, too, and they are resolved not only to protect those that remain but to regain those that have been already lost to New Deal totalitarianism. They hope to do it peacefully by an appeal to Article X of the Bill of Rights, but if that appeal fails they are willing to try stronger medicines.

I must confess that I sympathize with them, despite my life-long devotion to exposing their deficiences. It must be manifest that if the whole program of the Yankee messiahs, by the Force Bill of 1890 out of the Communist Manifesto, is put through with any vigor, life will become almost impossible in large areas of the South, and a third Bull Run will begin casting its shadows before.

The Advertiser

BUT the position of the intelligent Southerners, as I have observed, is greatly weakened by the stupidity of the South as a whole. Having supported the New Deal violently for 16 years, and profited enormously by its reckless looting of the North, including Maryland, it can't complain now that the North is preparing to give it a poisonous dose out of the same black bottle.

Thurs.

It is not possible to play the idiot for years on end and then suddenly turn Aristotle.

Montgomery, Ala.

It is not possible to wallow in the buncombe of Long, Bilbo, Pepper, Lister Hill, O'Daniel and the like until all the stomachs north of the Potomac begin to turn and then appeal to reason behind a facade of Thurmonds, Moodys and Harry Byrds.

The South had its chance to come out for intelligence a long while ago. Instead it turned to Bryan, Tom Watson, Prohibition, Fundamentalism and the Ku Klux Klan. It is now paying the devastating penalty. Its spavined and beraggled chickens are coming home to roost. 8-5-48

Birmingham's Baby

The News

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

Mrs. Birmingham, amid much shouting, brought forth what appears to be a healthy baby boy, possessing some of the virtues that are dear to the South as well as all of the evils contained in the father. He has been named "Dixiecrat."

But, alas, the poor child is destined to be short-lived, for we are told that the iniquity of the father will be visited upon the child,

---

NORTON C. HAVILAND.
1418 South 13th Place.

Birmingham, Ala.
Sun. 8-8-48

Democracy At Home

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

The convention held in Birmingham by the Southern faction of the Democratic Party can be considered a disgrace to all civilized people. I am sure intelligent Southern people are peeved over the conduct of this convention.

People of color are no longer contented with second-class citizenship. We are ready to take our rightful place in a democratic society, and enjoy those inalienable rights we have fought to preserve. Bigotry, discrimination, and terrorism upon people of color are not the ideals and principles endowed by our constitution.

If these United States are expected to be considered the arsenal of democracy, and check the spread of communism, they will have to make democracy work at home. Now is the time that Southern politicians should realize that it is futile to continue to fight the Civil War. We are living in a new era in which man achieves by his merits regardless of race, creed, or color. The Southern states cannot hope to take their place among the leading states of this country as long as they cling to ancient ideals and ways.

I wish to thank Mr. Truman and Henry A. Wallace for their stand upon the issue to give the oppressed people of this great nation the full value of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. 8-5-48

JOSEPH PATTERSON.
Anniston, Ala.

Dixiecrats Snub Party By McGrath

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Fri. 8-6-48

WASHINGTON, Aug. 5—(UP) A dozen Dixiecrat Senators boycotted a "no politics" private dinner given by Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath last night because of the civil rights issue.

Sen. McGrath gave the dinner at the swank Shoreham Hotel. All Democratic Senators were invited.

The invitations stressed it would be a personal get-together just for Senate Democrats. No speeches. No politics. Just food, fun, and talk. 8-6-48

But a few hours before dinner time, word got around that McGrath's Democratic National Committee had merged its Negro and white divisions.

Letters

The Record

EX-G. I. WANTS SOUTH TO SECEDE AGAIN

To the Editor of The Record:

The South has a chance that will never come again, to set up a separate republic with a president of its own. Other states will follow the lead. They are all tired of dictatorship.

The 48 have become too cumbersome, and too top heavy to function well any longer as a unit. They should be split up into four great republics, or rather, five. The five New England states as one, the Southern block as one and so on. Washington has become corrupt through too much responsibility, too much power, and too much money. It is turning into a dictatorship.

Let us leave Washington to stew in its own juice, and have instead, the United States of New England, the United Southern States, the United Western States, the United Middle Western States, and standing by itself, the states of New York, New Jersey and Delaware, which might be named the United Atlantic States. The South will cover itself with glory by taking the lead in this mc / and better government, and prosperity will return to the South by leaps and bounds when she is free.

Tues.
7-27-48
Columbia, S.C.

Under Truman or Dewey we shall be slave states. The machine that has been running Washington has taken care to see that which ever side wins in November, it will be their man. Both Truman and Dewey will carry out the policies of that machine. We shall all be slaves, but especially the South. Secede now. Washington is forcing another war, in order to get back the powers for the president that he will never again relinquish. Truman or Dewey, whichever it is will be dictators. 7-27-48

Start campaigning for secession now, and give Truman such a headache that he will be unable to do any campaigning for himself. It will scare the daylights out of that bunch. Washington will not make war on the South as Lincoln did, nor will the North. Times have changed. The North and others are too tired of the Truman administration. They will support the South, and so will England, and the South American republic. It is not good to sign my name to a letter like this; but I am a Southerner, a retired G. I. and I will call myself Wayland Brookley. If the South gets up a campaign for cecession, just what how prices of all commodities, food and housing will tumble, and how jittery Washington will get. They will go on their knees to keep the South from seceding, and you can make your own terms, and let them be stiff ones. They will give you anything you want, just to keep you from that, and setting an example to the other states to bolt, [illegible] You will have them just where you want them. Try it and see.

WAYLAND BROOKLEY.
Boston, Mass.

Tues.

THURMOND, WRIGHT DIXIE BLOC'S CHOICES

The Times-Picayune

Battle Launched to Take South from Truman

New Orleans, La.

(The Associated Press)

Birmingham, July 17.—Rebel Southern Democrats today named two Dixie governors to lead a fight to take the Solid South from Mr. Truman in November over racial issues.

Sun.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina was selected for president and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for vice-president.

7-18-48

Earlier they had announced the Southern ticket would make the campaign in Missouri and 14 other states, including all of the Deep South, usually heavily Democratic.

The resolution nominating the two men also called another meeting of Southern revolters here October 1. Unlike today's session, the October meeting would be limited to delegates from each state numbering the same as their presidential electors.

7500 at Sessions

Today's sessions were noisy. Police Chief Floyd Eddins estimated the afternoon crowd at 7500, considerably more than capacity of the auditorium here. Eddins said several thousand more were outside, listening to the meeting over loudspeakers.

The morning attendance was estimated at 6000.

The meeting adjourned, subject to recall by the chairman, at 6:05 CST.

In seconding the two nominations, Sen. Eastland, D., Miss., made the forecast that "the race next November is between Gov. Thurmond and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey."

"Truman will not get a single electoral vote," he shouted.

Nomination of both candidates was by acclamation.

Tempers Flare

Tempers in the jampacked city auditorium flared when a self-styled presidential candidate, Herbert C. Holdridge of Washington, D. C., objected to the nominations of Thurmond and Wright. Holdridge, whose campaign literature described him as a "peace general candidate," shouted his protests and was quickly surrounded by a mob of shouting, excited delegates. He was not harmed, however, and left under police guard.

Thurmond and Wright were escorted to the platform at 5:50 p. m. (CST). Besides the usual state flags and banners, one of the demonstrators carried a framed picture of Gen. Robert E. Lee.

The band played "Dixie" as the nominees came in. In addition to the banners of the Southern states, one banner said simply, "Others." Convention Chairman Walter Sillers presented Gov. Wright first. He said he was introducing "the next vice-president of the United States."

'Great Opportunity'

Wright said "This is the South's great opportunity, it is a chance to prove to the nation that we are the Democratic party."

"We have saved the Democratic party in the past," he said, "and we will save it in the future. But we will not save it for those who have crashed into the party, seized control and led it astray."

Sun.

"These people thought we were bluffing," he added. "They thought they could bluff us. Well, we have called their bluff."

He praised Gov. Thurmond as the "type of man you will be glad to cast your votes for." He urged Southern states to pledge all their electors for the states' rights candidate

7-18-48

Not a Bolt Ticket

The Mississippi governor said repeatedly the Southern ticket "is not a bolt ticket." He contended it is the regular ticket of the Southern Democratic parties in the various states, and promised to "give you the best I have."

Sillers then introduced Thurmond as a hero of World War II. know there are some opposed to such actions as these here."

The pickets were booed and heckled by bystanders. They left after 15 minutes.

Former Governor Frank M. Dixon's keynote speech brought a parade of state flags and screaming delegates.

Dixon said the reason for today's meeting was apparent to "all of us who heard the jeers when Alabama and Mississippi walked out at Philadelphia . . . jeers from sections where not a single elective officer, not even a justice of the peace, is a Democrat."

The former governor termed the civil rights program "a shame and a fraud." He said it was a cheap political appeal for Negro votes in Northern industrial centers.

The end of segregation, Dixon said, "would mean Negroes teaching our children, from grammar school through college. The result of that program here would be just what it has been in the slum areas of the North, in which such a condition prevails."

Sillers Elected Chairman

Sillers, speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives, was elected permanent chairman of the meeting. Ralph Lee, Houston, Tex., was named secretary.

Sillers said "we are here to show that constitutional government is not dead, despite what happened at Philadelphia."

The meeting was termed "a grass roots" movement by Dixon. Although state banners were posted, any person who desired might register as a delegate. Included in the list of Deep South political figures here were Governor Wright, Governor Thurmond, Governor Laney; Gessner T. McCorvey, Alabama state Democratic chairman; James S. Peters, chairman of the Georgia delegation at Philadelphia; Frank Upchurch, St. Augustine, Fla.; former Governor Sam Jones, Louisiana; former Governor William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, Oklahoma; Senators Eastland and Stennis, Mississippi; former Governor Hugh White of Mississippi, and many others.

Ruby Mercer, pretty opera singer from New York, brought on the first big demonstration when she sang "Dixie" at the opening of the meeting. Here for the outdoor opera season next week, she told reporters she was a registered Republican in her home state.

7-18-48

A "Declaration of Principles" by states' rights committee appears on Page 12.

Split Will Hurt South, Says Hays

(The Associated Press)

Washington, July 17. — Any new party formed by Southern Democrats, Representative Hays, Democrat, Arkansas, said today, would hurt not only the South but the country's political system as well.

Hays told a reporter that he hopes that "cool heads will counsel allegiance to the two-party system, that nothing will be done to establish a parallel in America to the tragic misfortunes of Italy and France where radical and revolutionary groups seized power as a result of multiplication of political parties."

The Arkansas representative also said he thought it would be well to know who is financing the Birmingham meeting of rebel Southern Democrats.

Hays said he will support the Democratic nominees in the coming election.

However, he said, "if one admires Mr. Dewey more than President Truman, and believes that Mr. Dewey's policies will serve the nation and our state better than those of Mr. Truman, it is certainly his privilege to vote for Mr. Dewey's electors."

Sun.

Hays warned that "any hasty conclusions that the Democratic party is now disintegrating should be discarded."

"The Democratic party is still the only national party, and while we of the Southern states have a just grievance over the handling of the platform and the choice of a candidate, we must admit that honest efforts were made to compromise the differences and to avoid offending Southern delegates to the convention," he said.

Hays said since Truman announced an emergency session of Congress in accepting the Democratic presidential nomination "its political character is obvious."

"It was my judgment that the Republican leadership adjourned the Congress too soon. However, the convening of Congress under the circumstances indicates that the session can be little more than a political battle and might conceivably give the rest of the world a false impression."

Louisiana Group at Convention

(The Associated Press)

Birmingham, Ala., July 17.—Here are the names given by persons registering today at the states' rights convention:

Louisiana — Charlie Spaulding, David W. Ebeling, Mrs. Dave Ebeling, Ronald L. Ebeling, Edwin J. Rausch, W. T. Pou, John Barr, James T. Messer, all of New Orleans; W. Scott Wilkinson. D. D. Bazes, Frank J. Looney, Shreveport; Mrs. Patrick H. Jones, Monroe, Louis A. Coleman, Bogalusa; George H. Williams, George P. Harrell, West Monroe; A. W. Winstead, Natchitoches.

'Millions With Us'

"They call this a Southern fight," Thurmond added, "there are millions of Americans who are with us. We are Democrats. We voted as Democrats at Philadelphia, as real Democrats. There we were repudiated and held up to scorn. They said at Philadelphia 'Where can you go now?' When they said that, they forgot a document they have forgotten so often before. They forgot the constitution of the United States.

"Now we are going back to the real bosses of the Democratic party. We are going back to the people of the United States. In November, we shall vote together."

Turning to the civil rights program, he said "under this misleading banner, they seek to destroy the very foundations of local self government."

La

"Mr. Truman knows the so-called civil rights program is unconstitutional," he declared. "I am going to stand for an end to rule by the minority blocs in the United States."

The candidate then referred to this "damnable fair employment law."

Sun.

"If the FEPC law is ever put on the books by the Congress," he shouted, "state lines will practically be wiped out."

Turning to the segregation issue, he said Negroes in the South have made great and rapid progress in the South and will continue to do so.

"But I want to tell you," he said, "there are not enough laws on the books of the nation, nor can there be enough laws, to break down segregation in the South.

7-18-48

As the meeting proceeded, both the principal speakers and the resolutions committee's "declaration of principles" stressed resentment in this section over racial measures advocated by the president.

These proposals were endorsed by the Democratic convention earlier this week at Philadelphia. Half of the Alabama and all Mississippi delegates walked out in protest.

The statement of principles, similar to the usual party platform, devoted major attention to civil rights.

"We stand for segregation of the races and the racial integrity of each race," the committee reported. It also approved "the constitutional right to choose one's associates; to accept private employment without government interference, and to earn one's living in any lawful way."

GOV. STROM THURMOND

GOV. FIELDING WRIGHT

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
ALABAMA

The Worker New York N.Y. 8-1-48

NEGRO AND WHITE members of the Alabama delegation to the Progressive Party convention in Philadelphia raise their banner aloft during a spirited session of the meeting.

Sees Defeat of Dixiecrats If Negroes, Whites Unite

The Worker New York, N.Y.

Sun. 8-1-48

By James J. Green

HOUSTON, Tex.—Vigorous activity has begun in the South on behalf of the "States' Rights" ticket, headed by Governor J. Strom Thurmond of So. Carolina for President and Governor Fielding H. Wright of Mississippi for Vice-President. Thurmond has already announced major speeches in Greenville, S. C., and in Houston, Texas, within the next two weeks. Before the Democratic primaries just concluded in Texas (July 24), "states' righters" distributed inflammatory cards describing the terrible things that would happen if the civil rights legislation were to pass.

A half-page advertisement by the fascist multi-millionaire Geo. W. Armstrong of Fort Worth in the **Houston Post** denounced the Republican and Democratic platforms as being "internationalist" and for the "socialistic United Nations." "Both platforms," declared Armstrong, "are brazen and shameless appeals for Jew and Negro votes."

By the light of burning crosses, all the vermin and poisonous reptiles are crawling out of the dark

---

time off to take his feverish child to a doctor.

The Worker

"At this moment a young white ministry student in Houston is about to stand trial for the crime of protesting to police officers who were brutally beating a Negro accused of a traffic violation. The ministry student was mocked, beaten and arrested.

New York N.

"At this moment Negro citizens of Harrison county have had to enter suit against Texas Democratic officials who are trying to prevent them from voting.

Sun. 8-1-48

★

"THESE FEW EVENTS out of the thousands daily occurring throughout the South and in Texas expose the hypocrisy of those who are yelping that the states will take care of civil rights, and the equal hypocrisy of the "talk-but-do-nothing" Republican and Democratic Conventions.

We demand that you order an immediate investigation of the beating of John Roe, the arrest of the plantation owner, and afford protection to Roe's wife and child still on the Navasota farm. We demand that you create a special committee, to include representatives of labor and the Negro people, with the aim of investigating and exposing any and all violence against the Negro people and minorities in Texas, and denial of their civil rights. We demand that you instruct the State Department of Public Safety to arrest and prosecute local police guilty of beating prisoners under arrest."

SUCH ARE THE DEVELOPMENTS touched off by the convention in Birmingham, Alabama, where the descendants of the slaveholders raised again the flag of the Confederacy. But they were also raising in effect the slogan of the slavocracy: "Some are born with saddles on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them!" However, we must not mistake these descendants of the slaveholders; they are now the dutiful pensioners of Wall Street, the southern lackeys and lickspittles of the power trusts, the textile barons, the oil and chemical corporate monsters, the octupus banks that are draining away the blood and the wealth of the South.

New York N.Y.

These "states righters" are exactly the traitors who spare no effort to offer up the people and resources of their states upon the altar of Wall Street's greed.

★

IN RAISING THE BANNERS of the Confederacy, these "rebels" in Birmingham were no more calling for a "war between the states" than were their ancestors. **This is "civil war," they are declaring, war upon the peoples of the South, and especially against the working class, the poor farmers and the Negro people.**

Sun.

For the nightmare that haunts their dreams is not Truman on a white charger bearing a lance and banner, "Civil Rights." Their nightmare is millions of black and white calloused hands, clasped tight in unity!

8-1-48

Perhaps this new party of southern Copperheads will choose for its emblem the rope and faggot, thereby making clear its program for solving the Negro people's demands, the problem of labor unions and other such matters. It is not only natural, but also symbolic, that South Carolina and Mississippi should provide their chief executives for Presidential standard-bearers. In the roll of states, is not Mississippi 48th in the per capita income of its people, with South Carolina a close 47th? Does not Mississippi lead all the rest in the greatest number of lynchings between 1882 and 1946?

★

NOW THAT PRESIDENT TRUMAN, with his incantations over "civil rights," has raised this evil storm, what are he and his devoted adherents doing about it? Nothing—or, to be more exact, they have denied that they will do anything, that they mean to do anything. For example, Rep. Sam Rayburn, administration stalwart, fervently and vigorously denied during his primary race in Texas that he favored civil rights legislation.

Such denials, or a deathly silence, constitute the "reply" of the leading Truman forces in the South to the vicious rantings and increasing violence of the "rebels."

Sun.

However, to wait for the administration, or to tell the administration and then wait, would be stupid and dangerous. The trade unions of the South, the Negro masses, the third party forces, must unite their strength to rebuff and crush the "blitz" of the Thurmonds and the Wrights. Labor **cannot** do this so long as it trails sadly at the heels of the southern Democratic Party. It is always choosing "a lesser evil" and getting evil results.

8-1-48

★

THERE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED a "division of labor" within the Democratic Party, especially suited to the needs of winning the elections and taking care also of "special situations" in the South. The Truman wing is to try to slip on the mantle of President Roosevelt, and, in this guise, to win labor, the Negro people, the progressive voters; the Thurmond-Wright wing is to work toward smashing, in brutal and violent fashion, the alliance of the southern white workers and farmers and the Negro people which always contains the dread potential of becoming an **independent** force, sweeping to power through the third party movement.

Yet, today, the desires and demands of the southern people are beginning to flood over the levees. The false, dead-end channels of Truman or Dewey will not serve. And, despite the Thurmonds and Wrights, it's too late for dams or dynamite.

Sun

8-1-48

Democratic Rebels

The Courier-Journal

Republicans and Democrats Accused Of Starting Police-State Tactics

Sun. 7-18-48

A "Declaration of Principles" reported by the resolutions committee of the States'-rights meeting in Birmingham yesterday follows:

We affirm that a political party is an instrumentality for effectuating the principles upon which the party is founded: that a platform of principles is a solemn covenant with the people and with the members of the party; that no leader of the party, in temporary power, has the right or privliege to proceed contrary to the fundamental principles of the party, or the letter or spirit of the Constitution of the United States; that to act contrary to these principles is a breach of faith, a usurpation of power, and a forfeiture of the party name and party leadership.

We believe that the protection of the American people against the onward march of totalitarian government requires a faithful observance of Article X of the American Bill of Rights which provides that: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Recall First Platform.

We direct attention to the fact that the first platform of the Democratic Party, adopted in 1840, resolved that: "Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution." Such pronouncement is the cornerstone of the Democratic Party.

A long train of abuses and usurpations of power by unfaithful leaders who are alien to the Democratic Parties of the States here represented has become intolerable to those who believe in the preservation of constitutional government and individual liberty in America.

List 'Encroachments.'

The executive department of the Government is promoting the gradual but certain growth of a totalitarian state by domination and control of a politically minded Supreme Court. As examples of the threat to our form of government the executive department, with the aid of the Supreme Court, has asserted national dominion and control of submerged oil-bearing lands in California; schools in Oklahoma and Missouri, primary elections in Texas, South Carolina, and Louisiana; restrictive covenants in New York and the District of Columbia, and other jurisdictions, as well as religious instruction in Illinois. By asserting paramount federal rights in these instances, a totalitarian concept has been promulgated which threatens the integrity of the States and the basic rights of their citizens.

We have repeatedly remonstrated with the leaders of the national organization of our party, but our petitions, entreaties, and warnings have been treated with contempt. The latest response to our entreaties was a Democratic convention in Philadelphia rigged to embarrass and humiliate the South. This alleged Democratic assembly called for a civil-rights law that would eliminate segregation of every kind from all American life, prohibit all forms of discrimination in private employment, in public and private instruction and administration and treatment of students; in the operation of public and private health facilities; in all transportation, and require equal access to all places of public accommodation for persons of all races, colors, creeds, and national origin.

Point Out Hypocrisy.

This infamous and iniquitous program calls for the reorganization of the civil-rights section of the Department of Justice with a substantial increase in a bureaucratic staff to be devoted exclusively to the enforcement of the civil-rights program; the establishment within the F.B.I. of a special unit of investigators and a police state in a totalitarian, centralized, bureaucratic Government.

This convention hypocritically denounced totalitarianism abroad, but unblushingly proposed and approved it at home. This convention would strengthen the grip of a police state upon a liberty-loving people by the imposition of penalties upon local public officers who failed or refused to act in accordance with its ideas in suppressing mob violence.

Resent Island Plank.

We point out that if a foreign power undertook to force upon the people of the United States the measures advocated by the Democratic convention in Philadelphia, with respect to civil rights, it would mean war and the entire nation would resist such effort.

The convention that insulted the South in the party platform advocated giving the Virgin Islands and other dependencies of the United States "the maximum degree of local self-government."

When an effort was made to amend this part of the platform so as to make it read that the party favored giving the Virgin Islands and the several States the maximum degree of local self-government, the amendment adding the words "these several States" was stricken out and the sovereign States were denied the rights that the party favors giving the Virgin Islands.

Has Supported Party.

Sun. 7-18

We point out that the South, with clocklike regularity, has furnished the Democratic Party approximately 50 per cent of the votes necessary to nominate a President every four years for nearly a century. In 1920 the only States in the Union that went Democratic were the 11 Southern states. Notwithstanding this rugged loyalty to the party, the masters of political intrigue now allow Republican states in which there is scarcely a Democratic officeholder to dominate and control the party and fashion its policies.

7-18-48

As Democrats who are irrevocably committed to democracy as defined and expounded by Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and Woodrow Wilson, and who believe that all necessary steps must be taken for its preservation, we declare to the people of the United States as follows:

1. We believe that the Constitution of the United States is the greatest charter of human liberty ever conceived by the mind of man.

2. We oppose all efforts to invade or destroy the rights vouchsafed by it to every citizen of this republic.

3. We stand for social and economic justice, which we believe, can be vouchsafed to all citizens only by a strict adherence to our Constitution and the avoidance of any invasion or destruction of the constitutional rights of the States and individuals. We oppose the totalitarian, centralized, bureaucratic Government and the police state called for by the platforms adopted by the Democratic and Republican conventions.

'Stand for Segregation.'

4. We stand for the segregation of the races and the racial integrity of each race; the constitutional right to choose one's associates; to accept private employment without governmental interference, and to earn one's living in any lawful way. We oppose the elimination of segregation, employment by federal bureaucrats called for by the misnamed civil-rights program. We favor home rule, local self-government, and a minimum interference with individual rights.

5. **We oppose and condemn the action of the Democratic convention in sponsoring a civil-rights program calling for the elimination of segregation, social equality by federal fiat, regulation of private employment practices, voting, and local law enforcement.**

6. **We affirm that the effective** enforcement of such a program would be utterly destructive of the social, economic, and political life of the Southern people, and of other localities in which there may be differences in race, creed, or national origin in appreciable numbers.

Louisville K.

Want Nominees Defeated.

7. We stand for the checks and balances provided by the three departments of our Government. We oppose the usurpation of legislative functions by the executive and judicial departments. We unreservedly condemn the effort to establish nation-wide a police state in this republic that would destroy the last vestige of liberty enjoyed by a citizen.

8. We demand that there be returned to the peaple, to whom of right they belong, those powers needed for the preservation of human rights and the discharge our responsibility as Democrats for human welfare. We oppose a denial of those rights by political parties, a barter or sale of those rights by a political convention, as well as any invasion or violation of those rights by the Federal Government.

We call upon all Democrats and upon all other loyal Americans who are opposed to totalitarianism at home and abroad to unite with us in ignominiously defeating Harry S. Truman and Thomas E. Dewey, and every other candidate for public office who would establish a police state in the United States of America.

Here's South's Declaration Of War In Kentucky, Missouri

The Courier-Journal

Sun. 7-18-48

Special to The Courier-Journal.

Birmingham, July 17.—The resolution of the States'-rights Democrats proposing a special fight on the Truman-Barkley ticket in Missouri and Kentucky was as follows:

"Whereas the Democrats of Missouri have been peculiarly offended by the nomination of Harry S. Truman as a candidate for President of the United States and whereas the Democrats of the State of Kentucky have been publicly offended by Harry S. Truman's undertaking to join forces with an illustrious son of that state, for political purposes;

"Therefore be it resolved by this conference that the campaign committee of this conference be and it is hereby instructed to cooperate with Democrats in Missouri and Kentucky in having placed on the ballot in those states a slate of anti-Truman electors and to lend all possible assistance in the election of said slate of electors."

SPURNS DIXIECRAT SENATE PROPOSAL

(International News Service)

Vienna, Ga., Nov. 8.—Sen. Walter George, D., Ga., said he turned down a request by South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond that Southern senators take control of Senate reorganization in January.

George said the defeated States' Rights candidate approached him with the idea that presumably would be [illegible] block civil rights legislation.

George told Thurmond the idea was impossible. He added that he would not go for any effort to hold up Senate reorganization until civil rights proposals had been sidetracked.

Dixiecrats ban Negro in disguise from convention

The Tribune

BIRMINGHAM — When the Democrats' "rump" convention was held here last week, police refused admission to a handsome, swarthy man garbed in a turban and robe.

Sat 7-31-48

The officers gave as their reason that the man was a Negro, disguised as a foreigner.

Los Angeles, Calif

Dixie Rebels Sound Call to Convention

Washn. Post

Associated Press WIREPHOTO

SENATOR RICHARD RUSSELL of Georgia, who received 263 rebellious Southern votes for the Democratic presidential nomination in Philadelphia, said yesterday he would not attend or permit his name to used at the States Rights meeting in Birmingham, Ala.

Birmingham, Ala., July 15 (AP).—A troubled bnad of Southern Democrats, rallying to the cause of States' rights, headed for Birmingham today to name their own presidential candidate.

As they departed Philadelphia and the national party convention, wherein they were twice defeated, the call went out to all Southerners to meet in convention at Birmingham Saturday.

The summons was issued by Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi and former Governor Frank M. Dixon of Alabama to all those opposed to the civil rights prgram and the renomination of President Truman.

But whether these leaders would find the South united behind them was problematical.

Scheduled Arrivals

The Mississippi delegation was scheduled to arrive in Birmingham at 8:10 p. m. (CST) Friday night, some of the Alabama delegates from the national convention at 10:45 a. m.

Florida said it would bring seven members, and Gov. Ben Laney fo Arkansas said he probably" would attend. Repreesntatives of Texas and South Carolina also are expected.

Louisiana and Georgia already have said their delegates would not attend. Some of the other Southern States, who also rallied behind Senator Richard Russell (D., Ga.) forthe presidential nomination at Philadelphia, have not yet stood up to be counted.

Russell, who garnered 263 votes in convention for President, has declined use of his name as the South's candidate at Birmingham.

And the senior Senator from Georgia, Walter George, has said he doesn't see what the Birmingham convention can hope to accomplish.

Trouble for South Seen

As a by-product of the South's convention fight and opposition to the civil-rights proposals—a fair employment practices act, an antilynching, antisegregation and antipoll tax laws—Russell foresees trouble for the South.

He predicted at his Winder, Ga. home the South would be kicked around considerably in the special session of Congress called by President Truman by both Democrats and Republicans bent on enacting a civil-rights program.

Russell also declared he did not believe the Birmingham convention the best thing for the party at this time.

Both Russell and Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution said they believed the cleavage in the Democratic ranks would result in a major realignment of parties in this country.

U. of L. Paper Raps Teacher's Dixiecrat Talk

Courier Journal

Sat 11-20-48

The University of Louisville student newspaper, The Cardinal, yesterday rebuked Ather Lee Taylor, professor in the School of Law, for a speech he made recently in behalf of the States' Rights Democratic Party.

In an editorial signed with the initials of Dick Cohen, editor in chief, the publication said, "Mr. Taylor's general philosophy and constitutional interpretation was completely distorted" in a speech he made last week before the campus Political Arena.

Louisville Ky

The editorial stated it was written "for the benefit of any student who may have been led astray by those familiar old mouthings of John Rankin, broughh up to date by Governor Thurmond (the States' Rights' presidential nominee), and echoed by Mr. Taylor."

MRS. EDR WANTS COMPLETE BREAK

Favors Leaving Dixiecrats Outside of Party

Tues 11-9-48

(The Associated Press)

New York, Nov. 8.—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt wants the Southern States' Righters kept out of the Democratic party from now on.

She also told a radio audience today "it would be much more logical if our political parties" were divided into liberals and conservatives.

"The Democratic party has seemed to me to be predominantly the party of liberalism," she said, "although sometimes . . . it embraced Southerners who number among their ranks some of the most reactionary men in public life.

"Similarly, the Republican party is traditionally the party of conservatism,' although it embraces some very fine liberals,' she said, adding:

"Now for the first time in history, the Democrats have won an election without the Solid South. Some of the more reactionary Southerners have chosen to break with the Democratic party, and I think it would be a good idea to make the break final. Possibly the Southern Conservatives would be welcomed into the Republican party with whom they have voted so often in recent years."

Mrs. Roosevelt made her comments in the first of a series of American Broadcasting Company programs entitled "Eleanor and Anna Roosevelt." The program features Mrs. Roosevelt and her daughter, Anna Roosevelt Boettiger, in a "combination of forum and commentary."

Mrs. Roosevelt spoke from Paris where she is attending the United Nations sessions.

Farley Says Dixiecrat Movement Will Fold

The Advertiser

AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS —(AP)— James A. Farley predicted Thursday that the "Dixiecrat" rebellion against President Truman will collapse before the United States elections in November.

Montgomery Ala

Farley, former U. S. postmaster-general, arrived here on a business trip. He said:

"I don't think the Dixiecrat rebellion will last very long. In the end they will have to swing in line behind President Truman."

Farley said he will leave today for Germany.

Party Calls For Dixiecrat Resignations

The Post

Sat 9-4-48

Bolters Asked to Quit Democratic Committee; First One Is Thurmond

Wash. D.C.

By Robert C. Albright
Post Reporter

Democratic National Headquarters yesterday called for the resignation of all Dixiecrat members of the Democratic National Committee.

Resuming its drive to clear out of the party organization supporters of the Thurmond-Wright ticket, the committee began with the Dixiecrat nominee himself—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

It next opened fire at Col. Marion Rushton, Alabama State campaign manager of the Dixiecrats, and "any and all national committeemen and national committeewomen who are supporting candidates other than President Truman and Senator Barkley."

The statement was issued by William J. Primm, jr., executive assistant to Democratic Chairman J. Howard McGrath.

Recognition Offered

Acting for Chairman McGrath, Primm, himself an Alabaman, opened the Dixiecrat purge offensive Thursday by offering party recognition to "loyal" South Carolina Democrats who refused to vote for eight States' rights electors.

Sat 9-4-48

"In all honesty, Governor Thurmond, the presidential nominee of the States' Rights Party, should resign his position as Democratic national committeeman from South Carolina immediately," Primm said.

"I understand he recently tendered his resignation to the State committee, but it was not accepted."

Primm said there had been press reports of Colonel Rushton's resignation as national committeeman, but up to now the committee had received no official notification.

Would Commend Him

"Colonel Rushton is the State campaign manager in Alabama for the Dixiecrats and if he has resigned we commend him for his action, as we consider he has left the Democratic Party," Primm added.

Sat 9-4-48

Rushton later told Associated Press in Montgomery that he could not resign from the national committee "on my own motion.' He said he suggested to the State Democratic executive committee that it would no longer desire representation on the national committee, but it took no action. Later he said he advised Chairman McGrath of his offer to resign.

Rushton said Primm was "misinformed" about his being Alabama's campaign manager for the Dixiecrats.

The Democratic "war to the finish" with the Dixiecrats reached white heat as President Truman arranged to skirt Southern border territory en route West in mid-September, probably speaking in the South later on.

May Speak in Richmond

After a conference with the President, Gov. Roy J. Turner of Oklahoma, chairman of the National Truman-Barkley Club, told reporters Mr. Truman would speak in a number of Oklahoma cities en route West.

The White House also considered an invitation from a group of Young Democrats in Virginia for Mr. Truman to speak in Richmond before the election.

Another White House caller, Maury Maverick, San Antonio lawyer and former New Dealer told reporters Mr. Truman "will carry Texas, there's no doubt about that."

Sat 9-4-48

White House release of Mr. Truman's complete itinerary for his for his five-speech swing into Michigan Monday, meanwhile, booked a rear platform talk in Toledo Ohio, en route back. He will reach Toledo at 10:27 p. m., EST Monday and stay there 30 minutes.

On the GOP campaign front. Republicans continued to bang away at Mr. Truman on the Communist issue. GOP Chairman Hugh D. Scott, jr., demanded that the President say whether he accepted Communist Party indorsement in his 1944 vice presidential race.

Dennis Is Quoted

Scott quoted Eugene Dennis, Communist Party secretary, as saying in the Daily Worker on August 12, 1944, that Communists should refrain from indorsing candidates "unless this is done with full agreement with the given candidate and with our collaborators."

"If Mr. Truman did in fact accept or aprove such official indorsement of the Communists in the 1944 campaign," said Scott, "he owes it to the American people today to set the record straight. If there was a working agreement between Mr. Truman and the Communists in 1944, when was that agreement terminated?"

In reply to Scott, the Democratic National Committee quoted the late President Roosevelt as repudiating the support of Communists, Fascists or those committed to any other foreign ideology in a radio speech on October 5, 1944.

On the labor front, President A. F. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, told reporters in Rochester the Wallace third-party campaign had "flattened out." Whitney predicted Mr. Truman would be elected.

As Democratic national headquarters slammed away at the Dixiecrats for the second straight day, so-called "loyal" Democrats arranged to meet Wednesday in Columbia, S. C., to choose a slate of Truman-Barkley electors.

Convention Due Later

A convention will be called later to formally nominate the slate and choose "regular" national committee members, it was learned.

Democratic national headquarters touched off the battle Thursday by promising this group party recognition over the Dixiecrat-controlled State executive committee, which named Thurmond-Wright electors.

Sat 9-4-48

Primm meanwhile denied that McGrath had said Senators and Representatives aligned with the Dixiecrat movement would lose their party status. He said the party could not oust "duly elected members of the House and Senate."

TALK MECHANICS OF BALLOTING—Here are a couple of Dixiecrat plumpers discussing with Sheriff Holt McDowell the mechanics of voting Nov. 2. They empasize that an X under the rooster, emblem of the Alabama Democratic Party, is the way to vote for States' Rights Presidential Candidates Thurmond and Wright and also for Democratic nominees in Alabama. The picture was snapped last night by a News photographer at a get-out-the-vote rally at Redmont Hotel. Left to right are Thomas E. Huey, Sr., chairman of the Jefferson County States' Rights Committee; Sheriff McDowell, County Democratic Executive Committee chairman, and Sidney W. Smyer, States' Rights county executive committeeman.

Fri 10-22-48

Dixiecrats Press To Get Out Vote As Alabama GOP Assails Movement

The News

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

States' Right Democrats today pressed their get-out-the-vote campaign, while Alabama Republican leaders continued to assail the Dixiecrat movement for Thurmond and Wright.

Horace Wilkinson, Dixiecrat spearhead, addressing a get-out-the-vote rally last night at Redmont Hotel, told precinct organizers:

"It doesn't matter whether or not we elect Thurmond and Wright in November, if we waken the public to the facts behind this fight."

Fri 10-22-48

Speaking at the same hour last night to a Republican courthouse rally at Ashville, in adjoining St. Clair County, State GOP Chairman Claude Vardaman fired new verbal blasts at the "Dixiecrat splinter party."

"With a proven administrator like the Republican Party offers the people, why should any Southerner follow a splinter party on a snipe hunt up a blind alley?" Vardaman asked.

B'ham, Ala.

WILKINSON TOLD the beat campaigners for Thurmond and Wright that if the Republicans win the Nov. 2 election, the "civil rights" issue will be shelved for the first few months of the Dewey administration.

"Then tremendous pressure will be exerted to force this villainous program on the South," he said.

Wilkinson proposed that aid of Southern housewives be sought in the affairs of the government with competency and efficiency, after the people elect them," the GOP chairman said. "As governor of New York, Dewey has proven that he can administer wisely and well. He is both seasoned and vigorous and he surrounds himself with men of outstanding ability—something poor old complaining Truman has never been able to do."

VARDAMAN, SLASHING away at the Dixiecrats, asked his Ashville audience a series of questions, one of which was, "Just what is the platform of the Dixiecrats?"

"Other than one plan, which is based on prejudice and hate, no one knows where they stand," the Republican chairman asserted.

"Where do the Dixiecrats stand regarding communism? Where do they stand on aid to farmers? What is their position regarding the United Nations?

Where do they stand on high prices and inflation? How do they propose to deal with Russia in the difficult years ahead? Where do they stand regarding aid to Western Europe? What is their position regarding federal aid to the individual states for highway construction?

Fri 10-22-48

"Since they have cut loose from the National Democratic Party, who do they expect to intercede for them in the next national administration, regardless of whether Dewey or Truman wins?"

* * *

SIDNEY W. SMYER, Jefferson County States' Rights Executive Committee chieftain, who presided over the rally at the Redmont, outlined the ideals behind the Thurmond-Wright movement.

"And when we vote for Thurmond and Wright, we are not bolting the Democratic Party," Smyer declared.

Smyer said the Dixiecrat movement is out just to defeat President Truman, but to set up a permanent national organization.

He called on precinct leaders to contact all persons in their communities and explain the program.

The executive committeeman asked that people of Jefferson vote under the rooster, "but we are appealing to the people of this county to go to the polls and vote Nov. 2, regardless of whether they vote with us for Thurmond and Wright. We want to get out a big vote."

* * *

VARDAMAN PRAISED Dewey and Warren and told the St. Clair rally that "the Republican ticket represents the supreme hope of our country."

"They are men who can direct broadening the campaign against "this anti-South program.""

He suggested they be asked to write Northern manufacturers to threaten a boycott of their products unless pressure was brought to bear on Northern congressmen hostile to the South.

Thurmond Invited Negro As Guest

The News

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON—Believe it or not, but Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, whose Dixiecrat Party broke away from the Democrats over the Negro issue, once invited a Negro to be his house guest at the executive mansion in Columbia, S. C.

B'ham, Ala.

The incident came near going down as one of the worst social blunders in the history of the segregated South. Thurmond not only extended the hand of Southern hospitality to Gov. William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands, but invited him to bring his family along.

Meanwhile, Thurmond's own States' Rights Party has bitterly criticized President Truman for staying as the official guest of the Negro governor during the presidential visit to the Virgin Islands last February.

Ironically Thurmond's invitation to Gov. Hastie was written on official stationery, bearing the great seal of South Carolina. Thurmond wrote:

"Dear Gov. Hastie: It was indeed a disappointment to me that you were unable to attend the Governors' Conference. . . .

"It is my earnest hope that, during my term of office, you and your family will honor South Carolina with a visit to Columbia and be our guests at the mansion."

The Negro governor was most tactful. Writing on his own official stationery from Charlotte Amalie, V. I., he said: "Dear Gov. Thurmond: I was happy to receive your gracious letter. . . . You may be sure that I share your disappointment that we did not have an opportunity to meet and discuss matters of common interest. . . .

"Thank you for your gracious invitation to me and my family to make a visit to South Carolina as your guests. Because it is relatively early in my administration and because we have quite young children in the family, it has not been possible for us to travel extensively.

"We do, however, appreciate your invitation and express the hope that you and your family may be able to visit the Virgin Islands and be our guests at Government House."

Since writing the letter, Gov. Hastie has taken official leave from the Virgin Islands to come to New York to campaign for President Truman. But the discreet governor does not plan to visit South Carolina.

Just One Speech Is Made in City By Thurmond

Herald Tribune

Talks to Overseas Press Club in Only Northern Visit; Explains His Principles

Thur. 10-7-48

By John Chabot Smith

Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Dixiecrat candidate for president, made his only campaign speech north of the Mason-Dixon line here yesterday.

He said "all Americans" who want to protect their individual rights must join his States' Rights party in opposition to President Truman's "unconstitutional" civil-rights program.

New York, N.Y.

Governor Thurmond chose for his unique northern appearance an audience of 125 ex-foreign correspondents and friends at a luncheon of the Overseas Press Club in the Hotel Roosevelt. Five of his own friends who came with him did most of the applauding, but there was some applause and some sympathetic questioning from other parts of the room.

The Dixiecrat hastened to assure his audience that his motives in coming to New York were entirely different from those which took Henry Wallace, Progressive party candidate, on his egg-and-boo tour of the South. "I certainly did not approve any action which impaired Mr. Wallace's right of free speech and peaceful assemblage," said Mr. Thurmond, whose state was omitted from Mr. Wallace's itinerary.

Based on "Principles"

Mr. Thurmond said he came to New York to try and bring about a better understanding of the Dixiecrats' fight for state sovereignty and constitutional government in the United States.

"I appreciate the fact that I am addressing men and women of keen analytical minds, and I firmly believe if we can convince you our cause is right you will be intellectually honest enough to admit it," he said. "New York to some may be a city extremely foreign to the American way of life. I do not feel that way about it. . . . Many of your outstanding citizens have been through the years, and are now, Southerners."

Mr. Thurmond said his platform was based not on prejudice or racial antagonism, but on eternal principles. Without naming these principles, he said the Federal government had no right under the Constitution to pass the proposed anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, anti-segregation, and Fair Employment Practices bills, or to establish the proposed Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice to enforce them. The latter, he said, would be "a long step toward a police state in America."

"Racial Integrity"

Mr. Thurmond said that while race prejudice was not the basis of his campaign, he did believe in "racial integrity" as opposed to "race integration." Asked to explain the difference between his theory of "racial integrity" and Hitler's theory of "racial purity," he answered:

"When I talk about racial integrity and purity I mean I believe in maintaining the purity of the white race and the purity of the Negro race. . . . I do not believe their blood should be mixed so as to form some kind of yellow race."

He was twice asked if he had ever disavowed the support of the Ku-Klux Klan. The first time he said he disavowed the support of all mobs and gangs. The second time he said there wasn't any Klan in South Carolina, so the question did not arise. Then he said that mob violence and Klan activity in the South were caused by race agitators from the North.

He also said that lynching was only a kind of murder like gang murders in New York. If New York does not want Federal legislation to stop gang murders, the South does not want Federal anti-lynch laws, he said. He compared the F. E. P. C. bill to prohibition, saying that South Carolina liked to be a dry state and New York liked to have a state F. E. P. C. law, but a Federal F. E. P. C. law would be as offensive as Federal prohibition was, besides being unconstitutional, totalitarian, and an invitation to Communist infiltration.

Mr. Thurmond predicted that he would get more than 100 electoral votes, and said this might result in deadlocking the Electoral College and throwing the Presidential election into the House of Representatives. There each state will have only one vote, and for the first time in history small states will enjoy the importance they deserve in Presidential elections, he said.

He named fourteen states—all traditionally Democratic Southern states—as likely to give him their electoral votes. To deadlock the Electoral College with his 100 votes he would have to take votes away from the Republican candidate. Regardless of Mr. Thurmond's popularity, Governor Thomas E. Dewey needs only 266 electoral votes to win, out of the total of 531.

RALPH McGILL

The Radicals Are Trying Again

The Constitution

Fri 10-22-48

Atlanta Ga.

This is a quiz program—

The contestants will be asked to identify three men and explain what each is remembered for the accomplishments of each. No refrigerators will be given away and no candy bars are in the offing.

The three men are: Barnwell Rhett, William Yancey and Edward Ruffin.

There is not a person now living in America whose life has not been affected in some degree by these three men and their associates.

The philosophy and political action for which they fought—and which they managed to impose upon a people—has made inevitable much of our military, social and economic history.

Thousands of men died because of them and their philosophy. Thousands of widows and orphans resulted from their political course.

Property in vast amounts was destroyed. Fortunes were ruined. Sorrow and travail have followed their names to this day.

Few Americans indeed recognize the names and identify the men with history. There are not many Southerners, eating the bread of frustration and fear, who associate them with the causes of much that is maladjusted in the South today.

Fanatics

Yet they are the men who "made" the Civil War—the War Between the States. Neither Jefferson Davis nor Robert E. Lee nor Alexander Stephens, nor any of the others who were to fight in that great war, committed the States to war. Robert E. Lee denied the right of secession, calling it merely the right of revolution, and wished to have none of it. Alexander Stephens opposed that war strongly, and with great cost. Jefferson Davis argued against it. So did most of the Southern statesmen of that day. Not all—but most of them—wanted to avoid it.

But, South Carolina's Barnwell Rhett and William Yancey, and Virginia's Edward Ruffin (he traveled to South Carolina to fire the first shot at Sumpter), were the leaders of the Di[illegible] forces of that time which demanded secession and war, and who would have nothing else.

History is very plain about it.

The War Between the States was made by the fire-eating, no-compromise, States' Rights radicals. They had aroused the people; stirred them; given them a distorted picture.

Once they got what they wanted—war—they were finished. They could supply no leadership, no assistance, nothing that would contribute to victory. By their wild fanaticism they had insisted on war, if they could not have their way.

They got it.

Leaders

Then the conservatives had to take over. The men who didn't want the war had to fight it. They had to do the dying, endure the rains, the snows, the sorrows of battle, the fatigue of marching, riding, and of hunger.

Old Ed Ruffin, who had pulled the lanyard sending the first shell at Sumpter, his anger-twisted face lit by the flares, killed himself when it was done, being unwilling to face, as other and braver persons did, the whirlwind from the wind he and his kind had sowed.

The history books rarely teach this truth. Only the better historians so inform their classes. But it is a bitter and major fact. We tend to think too much of the war—and of the reconstruction cruelties and humiliations deliberately and radically pressed upon the brow of a defeated people—as growing out of the war. In a very real sense they did not. It was only when the radicals of the North, as radical in their way as Rhett, Yancey and Ruffin had been in theirs, got into power that they made of the South an occupied country under the heel of thieves, scoundrels and worse.

Repeat?

All that has been said about that period is true. It was a period of inhuman and unjust practices. But, while it explains the present, it does not justify or direct the present or future.

Fri 10-22-48

Today the radicals are trying again.

The South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi radicals are willing to destroy the two-party system if they cannot have their way. They are insistent on splitting the political system into many parties. They are playing into the hands of the scheming Communists who backed the Wallace Party for the same identical purpose—smashing this country's backbone—its two-party system.

They will be remembered, with their "party," in the footnotes of history.

The rest of us will pick up the check. And we haven't yet paid out the one Rhett, Yancey and Ruffin left us.

THOMASTON TIMES

The Constitution

The Dixiecrats Won't Last

Mon 10-25-48

Atlanta Ga.

There are a lot of people going to vote the Dixiecrat ticket in November. Their votes are going to be wasted, however. No third party has ever lasted long in this country. There have been third parties over the years but they soon passed away. There was the Bull Moose Party, the Populist, and others which sprung up for various reasons, mainly that a lot of people did not like the way their parties were being conducted. These parties flourished for a short time but soon died and accomplished very little.

This is a two-party country and will continue so as long as we remain strong. A multiplicity of parties weakens the structure of government.

THERE has been for many years only one strong party in Georgia and that is the Democratic Party. This party has been divided into two factions for a long time. There is room in Georgia for another strong party and some have been urging that the Repuublican Party be built up in the State. It is argued that this would give better Government to have two strong parties. However, the Times believes the Democratic Party will continue to be the strong party. The Populists were at one time quite strong in Georgia but the party soon disintegrated.

Many Democrats are not pleased with the leadership of the National Democratic Party and are going to vote the Dixiecrat ticket. We think that nothing can be accomplished by doing this. It would only weaken the influence of our Democratic senators. The Dixiecrats are not going to get anywhere and you lose your vote when you cast a ballot for them. Those who want to reprove Mr. Truman should refrain from going to the polls or vote the Republican ticket, but we do not advocate the latter

The place to fight your battle with the party leaders is within the party. Remember the history of third parties.

Thurmond Hits At Bloc Votes

LYNCHBURG, Va.—(AP)—The American people will not tolerate "an invasion of the Constitution by politicians who seek to satisfy minority factions," States Rights Presidential Nominee J. Strom Thurmond said last night.

President Truman, Gov. Dewey, and Henry Wallace all have offered to violate the Constitution in "a cheap bid for the bloc votes of a racial minority," Thurmond told a meeting of States Rights Party members here.

They have done so, he said, because the "minority bloc . . . claims to be able to swing the election in doubtful States," although it "cares nothing for the preservation of the democratic way of life."

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 3.—(UP)—John U. Barr, New Orleans attorney and a States' Rights leader in Lounsiana, said Tuesday his —group has enoug hbackers to get the names of presidential electors pledged to the Strom Thurmond-Fielding Wright ticket on the state general election ballot.

Wed.

The signature of 1000 qualified voters who are not registered in affiliation with any political party, are needed. The States' Righters advertised last week asking those who favor the Dixiecrat ticket to register so as to qualify as petition signers.

Commercial Appeal

"I am confident that we have more than 1000 eligible signers in New Orleans alone," Barr said. "There are more than 500 in Shreveport, 150 in Alexandria, 150 in Lake Charles, and 140 in Baton Rouge."

Memphis, Tenn.

Barr said an intensive campaign would be waged to win support for the States' Righters.

8-4-48

"I honestly believe," he said, "that Thurmond will end up with more electoral votes than Truman."

'States' Righters' Motives Doubted

Mississippi Democrat Thinks There's Hidden Objective

Commercial Appeal

To The Commercial Appeal:

I want to congratulate you upon your pertinent editorial of Oct. 17 wherein you indorsed the candidacy of Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican nominee for the presidency of the United States.

It is refreshing to find that even today it is possible to find openmindedness and sensitive consciousness, on and to the great issues which confront us as individuals and as a Nation.

The issues are not States' Rights as such, nor civil rights as such, but basic human rights and the dignity of the individual. Democracy as such imposes upon the individual certain restraints. The restraints imposed are a guarantee to the basic human rights and the dignity of other individuals in society.

Memphis Tenn.

The South has too long been shackled by old jealousies, cancer-out hatreds, and paralyzing prejudices. Our social system has become rigid. The term "Southern Way of Life" as such, applies to the way of life of a certain privileged few, who have sought and continue to seek preservation of their status, both social and economic, through control of the several states by utilizing the "one party system" and the overworked cliches of the past. The great need in the South is the need for intellectual honesty.

In the past, anyone who showed any degree of intellectual honesty was immediately labelled "nigger-lover," "radical," "rabble-rouser," "demagogue," "Yankee reformer," etc., and the great mass of our ill-educated people immediately took up the hue and cry, not knowing why they cried. But the crusade was on, and they went to the polls and voted like automatons to maintain a system which was actually denying to them the freedom, well-being, and progress both social and economic which they so sadly needed and so frantically desired.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser, Montgomery Ala

Letters to the editor must carry complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names may be used at the editor's discretion. Letters of less than 200 words are given preference. All letters may be cut.

Thur. 7-22-48

WELCOME

EDITOR, The Advertiser: I think it likely there are a great many readers of The Advertiser who, like myself, welcomed your editorial concerning the Birmingham meeting of last Saturday.

I think most of us listening on the radio, hoping that perchance we might learn something that would inspire us, were happy at the end that we had not heard the voices of any of our friends up there.

J. W. PATTON.

Montgomery.

* * *

Thur. 7-22-48

ONLY THE G. O. P.

Editor, The Advertiser:

I notice that quite a few people in Alabama are writing in stating that they will not vote for Truman nor will they vote the Republican ticket.

I wonder if these people have ever stopped to think that the Republican Party is at present the only political agency in the U. S. A. capable of defeating Truman's civil rights program. It may help their feelings, but it is poor politics.

ROBERT C. RINES.

Forest Home, Ala.

* * * *

SUPPORTS DEMOCRATIC TICKET

Editor, The Advertiser:

It has been my unhappy privilege to witness the disintegration of the Democratic Party. In my opinion, it will be a period of more than 25 years before a spirit of harmony will again prevail. I formed this opinion from observation of the so-called city machines led by politicians who hold up the banner of the Democratic Party but who are selfishly interested only in their own election and will maintain the power of their city machines regardless of principle or the effect that it may have on any part of the country.

Saturday and Sunday preceding the convention were filled with a continual round of caucuses to discuss various problems, mainly though to consider the organization of the Alabama delegation and to give thought to the platform. We were permitted to have read to us by ex-Gov. Sparks a preliminary report of the platform but were warned that more than likely the more drastic minority report (which was finaly adopted) would be brought out on the convention floor for a fight.

When the Alabama delegation was called together Monday morning to elect a chairman and other officers, presided over by the Hon. Marion Rushton, who definitely took a position to assist the 13 walk-out delegates, and with his assistance, they elected the various delegates of the walk-out group to all the places. The Hon. Handy Ellis likewise exerted steam-roller tactics by overruling every motion of the minority group and in so doing, gave us a complete licking by the above mentioned unfair tactics. Needless to say, there must be some remorse within them when they realize that the entire South was treated the same way by the Democratic convention that we, the non-walkers, were treated by them.

The platform adopted cannot ever be accepted by the South. The convention heard President Truman and Senator Barkley uphold this platform and the President made it a very definite part of his speech in calling a special session of Congress that he was going to insist on the Civil Rights plank being put through into law. He was sustained in this viewpoint by Senator Barkley. Our only hope of avoiding having this obnoxious program made into law is for both Democratic and Republican senators and congressmen to realize how unfair it is and cooperate not only to defeat the Civil Rights program but also to defeat every purpose of this call of Congress.

It also made me feel ashamed of the steam-roller tactics employed by the unfair ruling of Chairman Rayburn, of Texas, because in my opinion, he showed partiality to the Eastern and New England States.

Thur. 7-22-48

Convention Hall was in absolute disorder from the beginning until the convention adjourned—never did order prevail. The heat was terrific and there was not any comfort for any human being in the hall. There was very little respect paid to any speaker as the program had been pre-arranged weeks and possibly months ahead of time to do just what was done and the delegates were carried on a vicious snipe hunt.

I agree to the necessity of a fight for states rights, however I cannot agree to the idea of forming a states rights party because in so doing, an organization is formed of even a smaller minority than is represented by the Southern States who have membership in the National Democratic Party. I have no criticism to make of any of my fellow men here in Alabama or anywhere else who wish to form or become a party of a states rights party as far as I am concerned, I expect to continue my affiliation in the Democratic Party. At the present time, it is no worse than the Republican Party and frankly, I feel that it does not, at the present time, hold out any more hope for the South than does the Republican Party; however, we are already members of this party and that within itself does give us the right to express ourselves, whether we accomplish any immediate results or not.

The situation in Alabama is very disturbing, possibly more so than in any other Southern States, because of the fact that we have four or five potential candidates for governor who are so afraid that one will get prestige over the other until they do not object to the other fellow helping him load his gun, but each one wants to be the one that "killed the bear."

Thur. 7-22-48

I also find that there is a disposition on the part of some of the so-called states rights leaders and other democratic officials in Alabama to attempt to show animosity to Senator Lister Hill. This feeling is prompted by one outstanding pollywog and some other Democratic leaders who are, I fear, anxious to see a Republican victory. I do not know whether some of these leaders voted for President Roosevelt in the last election or not. Their expressions at this time would certainly leave room for doubt. In my opinion, Senator Hill and Senator Sparkman will both emerge from this chaotic condition much stronger and bigger men than any of their enemies.

I deeply appreciate the honor of having attended a convention; naturally I regret most sincerely that the convention I attended appeared to begin the disintegration of the Democratic Party. The hope of the under-privileged is in the Democratic Party and the machine politicians have deprived the under-privileged people from having a victory for many years. Our only hope for the situation, in my opinion, is to fight for states rights through the National Democratic Party.

Advertiser

JEFF P. BEELAND.

Greenville, Ala. (Convention Delegate)

Montgomery Ala

Senator Hill performed in precise accordance with his pledge to the people of Alabama. So did Handy Ellis, and Chauncey Sparks.—Ed.

Critic's View

The Constitution

7-26-48

Editor Constitution: Your editorial policy of reporting news in an opinionated and prejudiced manner is both disgusting and narrow-minded.

I refer to Editor McGill's front-page story in the July 15 issue of The Constitution which he headed "Georgians 'Protest'—'Crybabies' Quit."

I heard Mr. Bloch's speech to the convened Democrats. It was an appeal for recognition of Southern ideologies and for Party action accordingly. The speech, while it was admittedly excellent, also was colored with a rather plaintive appeal for a lost cause.

The action taken by the delegates from Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina was not only justifiable, but to my mind, admirable. This action was motivated by nothing other than supreme disgust and not, as McGill's reporting implied, running away in the face of overwhelming opposition. The thankless majority of the Democratic Party has repaid generations of devotion and solidity of the Southern Democrats by insisting on a so-called civil rights program, knowing well the repungnance we feel for such legislation. The South (Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina in particular) recognize this foul scheme for just what it is . . . a last-minute appeal to certain elements for the vote, with utter disregard for the misery and evil such a program most certainly would bring about, especially in the South.

Atlanta, Ga.

McGill's false reporting plays directly into the hands of radicals who are delighted to note dissension within the South, cleavage of the party and general ill feeling fostered by such views. McGill's column showed remarkably poor sportsmanship and poorer taste.

Mon.

Marietta. 7-26-48 HAL W. GREER.

TEXAS DIXIECRATS VIE WITH TRUMAN FACTION

Enterprise Journal

8-3-48

McComb Miss

Austin, Texas, Aug. 1.—(AP)—States' Rights Democrats and party members loyal to the National Democratic Ticket counted delegates Sunday for a finish fight over control of Texas' 23 presidential electors.

The delegates were named in Saturday's turbulent county conventions which saw rival slates set up in Harris (Houston), Dallas (Dallas), and Tarrant (Fort Worth), three counties with heavy voting strength in the state convention. The convention meets in Fort Worth Sept. 14.

Loyalists Heavy

States' Righters, also called Dixiecrats, are trying to seize the electors for th ticket of J. Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright.

Their success in the State convention may depend on whether their States' Rights delegations from Harris, Tarrant, Dallas and Harrison (in which two conventions also developed), are seated by the Credentials Committee.

Nominate Thurmond, Wright Candidates

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(SNS)—A strange conglomeration of incensed political bed-fellows, angered at the civil rights platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties, Saturday, hatched an intended booby-trap for President Harry S. Truman and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey in shouting defiance at the candidates who have agreed to press for civil rights legislation.

7-

Despite the on-lookers from virtually all of the Southern states the conference in city Auditorium was almost a bi-partisan show cooked up by Alabama and Mississippi, with South Carolina striving to get into the act.

All day long, the delegates, egged on by 6,000 shouting spectators, peformed in a circusy, sideshow manner to the applauding eation of the crowd as speakers belabored Pres. Truman, civil rights, Negroes and promised almost unendingly "not to have this so-called civil rights rammed down our throats."

SOME SPECTACLE

It was a bewildering spectacle, which almost bordered on incoherence, as speakers repeated the same half-truths, distortions and fears regarding the true implications of the civil rights program and while they lamented encroachment of the federal government on states' rights.

In the end the States Rights' Conference nominated Gov. Strum Thurmond of South Carolina as their candidate to oppose the Democrats' Truman-Barkley ticket and the Republicans' Dewey-Warren slate. Gov. Fielding Wright, who almost singlehandedly birthed the "Fourth Party" movement, was designated the vice-presidential choice.

Daily World

Once this was done and the formality of bringing Gov. Thurmond to the platform completed, the South Carolinians burst into a harangue on Pres. Truman, while repeating the fears of "Negroes in our schools, theaters, and homes." Once this trade was finished the Conference hastily adjourned with a promise to meet again.

Walter Sillers, speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives, was named permanent chairman of the conference after Alabama's race-baiting Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey opened the meeting. Ralph Lee of Houston, Texas was elected permanent chairman.

Atlanta, Ga.

The "secessionists" sported Confederate flags, pictures of Robert E. Lee, and various state standards as they paraded almost incessantly in the pandemonius-flooded auditorium.

Sun. 7-18-48

DIXON KEYNOTER

Former Gov. Frank Dixon of Alabama made the keynote address Dixon in a seditious speech attacked the civil rights pogram as "designed solely to catch the Negro vote of the North."

"We all know," Dixon stormed, "there is no lynching in the South today. Race riots have made some Northern cities famous, but we have none."

He described the meeting as being "made at Philadelphia when the convention advocated a social revolution in the South."

The States' Rights Chairman Walter Sillers thundered "We are here to show that constitutional government is not dead in this nation, despite what happened at Philadelphia.

BATTLE OF PHILLY 7-18-48

Speakers unceasingly fought "The Battle of Philadelphia in their addresses. So much so that it became repetitious as charges from the ridiculous to the impossible were grossly-magnified by the delegates whose supposed anger on civil rights was use to conceal their lobbying efforts for the tideland oil interests, which wants the federal government to hand bac kto the states the billion dollar deposits of sideland oil in Missisippi, Louisiana and Texas.

The 'puny' politicians effectively used the racial issue as a smokescreen. Unofficial candidates were present from Texas, California, Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi (all in the tideland oil orbit) North Carolina, South Carolina, Maryland, Arkansas, Tennessee, Florida, Oklahoma, Indiana, Georgia, Virginia and Kentucky.

THE WASHINGTON SCENE

Gov. Wright Urges South to Teach Party a Lesson

The Times-Picayune

BY EDGAR POE

(The Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

Philadelphia—Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, the No. 1 leader and initiator of the "states' rights" movement, called on the South before heading homeward to withhold 100 or more electoral votes from "Candidate Truman." 7-18-48

"I think we should teach the radicals and minority groups that have control of the party machinery a lesson," said Governor Wright.

New Orleans, La.

The chief executive, described by fellow Mississippi delegates as "a man with courage and deep conviction," said that every movement at the convention dealing with the Mississippi delegates has been to "try and embarrass and insult us."

Two Charges

With former Governor Hugh L. White of Columbia leading the way, the Mississippians marched out of the convention hall at the Democratic national convention as a great roar of boos and hisses from non-Dixie states, thundered over the jam-packed hall of perhaps 16,000 people. Many in the galleries joined in the boos.

The 13 "states' rights" delegates from Alabama followed the Mississippians out of the hall into the slowly falling rain. Sun.

Governor Wright said the people in charge of the convention started out by permitting George Vaughn, Negro attorney from St. Louis to make a fight to unseat the delegation on the ground they were bolters and discriminators against the Negro race. Secondly, he said, they adopted an all-out civil rights plank.

"I believe" he said, "that we should teach them a lesson with about 100 electoral votes. 7-18-48

"Every movement they made indicated that the purpose was to snare the Negro vote, and make Mississippi a whipping boy in an effort to emphasize their movements.

"We have known all along that this fight was coming and I so stated in my inaugural message on January 20.

Cites Warnings

"The Democratic party has taken our electoral vote for granted and cold-bloodly planned its strategy to capture the minority groups in the North at the expense of the South, gambling our electoral votes against the balance of power with the large industrial groups of the North.

"We have recognized this and have warned the South continuously for the past five months. Today statements in the Northern newspapers confirm that and boldly say that it was deliberately done.

"They believe they can still retain the Southern electoral vote regardless of the insults of the South and by trampling under foot the principles for which we stand."

Governor Wright said that he thought the leaders who controlled the nomination of "Candidate" Truman are doing all they can to "wean from Henry Wallace the radical and so-called liberal vote."

The World War II veteran named four states in which he thought the Truman people are trying to gather the radical vote. "They are New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and California."

Sun.

Balance of Power

"Repeatedly," said he, "we have said that this is the South's big opportunity. In his acceptance speech, 'Candidate' Truman shot the works. He appealed to every minority group and offered a platform to appeal to all these groups. 7-18-48

"With that platform, which will not appeal to the vast majority white citizens of America, and with his convening of Congress, he is making a desperate effort to capture electoral votes. If the South will stand together, and I believe it will, our Southern electoral votes will be the balance of power."

Should neither Mr. Truman nor Governor Thomas E. Dewey get a majority of electoral votes, the presidential election could be thrown in the House of Representatives.

To be elected, a presidential candidate must get 266 of the 531 electoral college votes. A close election could give the South the balance of power.

Gerald Smith Spurned By His Dixiecrat Fellow Travelers

The Argus 7-23-48

ATLANTA, July 19—(Special)—The totering Bourbon empire shunned an allie it would have gladly welcomed in previous times. The Southern Dixiecrats spurned the support of Gerald L. K. Smith, national director of the Christian Nationalist Crusade Monday. St. Louis, Mo.

Smith, who said his followers will hold a convention in St. Louis August 20-21, offered to crusade behind the Anti-Truman Democratic party revolters. He declared they are in sympathy because all 3,000,000 enrolled followers believe that the Negro and the Jew are exerting to much control in American politics.

Much to his chargrin, the Dixicrats pulled a "pot calling the kettle black" act. They bluntly stated no. Fri 7-23-48

Gov. Thurmond declared "We do not need the support of Gerald L. K. Smith or any other rabble-rousers who use race-prejudice and class hatred to inflame the emotions of the people." Fri.

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who they nominated to oppose President Truman on an anti-civil rights platform at their bolters convention in Birmingham Saturday, assumed a sheep in wolf's clothing rol in his reply. 7-23-48

In a more complimentary vien, Smith said he stayed in the background at the Birmingham convention because "I was anxious to do nothing that would introduce extraneous controversy into the wholesome and historic gathering." The Argus

In Birmingham, Horace Wilkinson, chairman of the Diviecrats Resolutions Committee, said, "we're not going to fool with a bird like Gerald L. K. Smith." St. Louis, Mo.

Smith, who lives in Tulsa has headquarters in St. Louis.

Stapp Says Constitutional Government Is Up To South

Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala

"If constitutional government is preserved in the United States, it looks like it's up to the South to lead a fight in its behalf."

This was the observation made by one of Alabama's walkout delegates to the Democratic National Convention at Thursday's meeting of the Montgomery Exchange Club. Fri. 7-30-48

The speaker was Albert Stapp, Birmingham auto parts dealer and former state commander of the American Legion.

"They just don't want any part of state's rights," he said in reference to the National Democratic Party. "They've kicked us out of the party because of it."

Political Expediency

Stapp said the civil rights issue which was "flouted in our face" was political expediency on the part of its backers.

The South's answer, he said, was the recent convention of Dixiecrats in Birmingham.

"Now we've got it fixed so Democrats can vote for Southern candidates for president and vice-president and stay Democrats," he said. Fri. 7-30-48

Stapp, who was one of 13 Alabama delegates who staged a walkout after the Democratic platform was adopted at the Philadelphia convention, recommended that the South go ahead and build up its own party.

The former American Legion commander said he felt segregation and other racial issues covered in the civil rights program advocated by President Truman are something to be solved by evolution and education and not by legislation.

Will Continue

He noted that there has been gradual improvement in the lot of Negroes in the South. This, he said, will continue barring outside interference and efforts to 'stir up trouble" between the races.

Stapp said the South can become the minority group which will get the plums from the Federal government if Southerners continue to strengthen their new party.

He said there are thousands of potential "rebels" in every state that will flock to the cause of constitutional government and state's rights if they are given a chance

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Vote Positively

The emotional appeal of the States' Rights Party, sincere and well-founded though it be, provides an ironical twist to the national elections in those states where the verdict will be close. Tennessee is one of those, and Missouri another. Sun 10-24-48

Commercial Appeal

It is a correct assumption to say that the chief objective of the States' Righters is that of rebuking President TRUMAN on his force-bill program and demonstrating to the National Democratic Party that the South no longer can be brushed off by the radical wing that has taken control. Yet, because many protest votes which would go to Governors DEWEY and WARREN now will accrue to the States' Rights candidates, the chances of DEWEY and WARREN carrying Tennessee are noticeably lessened.

Memphis, Tenn.

If the South is to have a strong two-party system, the only real and lasting hope for equity in national affairs, it cannot do it by wasting votes. The States' Righters know there is no chance to carry Tennessee. A vote for DEWEY not only is a protest against TRUMAN, but a step toward establishing the party as an instrument for further progress and effective effort.

In this crucial period the country needs administrators with the grasp and foresight, the understanding of domestic and international affairs, of the caliber of Governors DEWEY and WARREN. We should be thinking and voting in positive rather than negative terms.

'Dixiecrat' Ticket Claims Six States

Star
New York, N.Y.

WASHINGTON, July 18 (AP)—The entrance of a "Dixiecrat ticket" into the presidential field brought a disputed prediction today that President Truman may lose the support of up to six southern states.

Sen. John L. McClellan (D., Ark.) told a reporter he thinks the southern Democratic rebel ticket may take the electoral votes of a half-dozen southern states away from Truman and Sen. Alben Barkley, his running mate.

Mon. 7-19-48

Lists Six States

The new ticket—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi for Vice President—was put forth at Birmingham yesterday as one Dixie answer to the President's civil-rights program.

McClellan—who fought the President's nomination but did not walk out on the Democratic convention—named Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Tennessee as possible participants in a bolt. He contended that it was almost certain to result in the party's defeat.

He put Tennessee on the list, McClellan said, because of a sharp local division among Democrats there.

He said that if the Thurmond-Wright ticket got on the ballot in Arkansas it might split the Democratic vote in his home state and give the Republicans some chance.

But McClellan's prediction drew immediate fire from Sen. Carl A. Hatch (D., N. M.), close friend of the President.

Hatch Scoffs

Hatch said he didn't think the effort to place a fourth party in the field "will be effective in more than one or two states." Mon.

The New Mexico Senator predicted election of a Truman-Barkley ticket even if some of the southerners don't go along.

Hatch hinted that the Democrats believed there was some chance that Henry Wallace—scheduled to get the official nomination of his third party in Philadelphia next week-end—might not carry through until November. Wallace repeatedly has asserted, however, he has no intention of quitting the race. 7-19-48

Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), another friend of the President, said the Birmingham rump convention's action in nominating Thurmond and Wright could be "rather serious."

Star

"If the southerners carry out this fight," he said, "it means that the Democratic Party will have to campaign a good deal more diligently in the South than heretofore." He added that he did not think the entrance of the Dixiecrat ticket "will have the effect of taking the South out of the Democratic column."

To Bid for 137 Votes

O'Mahoney conceded, however, that if the margin between Democrats and Republicans was close in any single state, a third party ticket might cost the Truman-Barkley ticket that state's electoral backing.

New York, N.Y.

The Dixiecrat bolters made plans to bid for the 137 electoral votes of Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Virginia, South Carolina and North Carolina.

They cast around for help elsewhere in such areas as Missouri and Kentucky, home states of the regular Democratic nominees, Oklahoma and Maryland. Mon.

Thus far, however, the rebels apparently could depend only on Alabama's 11 and Mississippi's nine electoral votes, already instructed to back somebody other than Truman. Georgia still is to name its 12 electors in a primary. Arkansas will pick nine and Texas 33 in state conventions. 7-19-48

Irked 'Candidate' Nearly Mobbed by 'Dixiecrats'

Free Press
Detroit, Mich

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(AP)—A self-styled Presidential candidate, Brig. Gen. Herbert C Holdridge, was nearly mobbed at the states' rights convention after he protested the manner in which candidates were nominated.

Sun.

Police escorted him from the building. 7-18-48

Gen. Holdridge said later that "I came here in the hope of seeing democracy in action. I believe in the states' rights issue and I was willing to admit that on race segregation you could not solve the issue by bayonets and law.

"I listened to the nominations of Thurmond and Wright by the resolution committee and at that point I quit. It was Philadelphia all over again."

Biographical material handed out gave Holdridge's birthplace as Wyandotte, Mich.

Texas Dixiecrats Map Attack On Gov. Jester

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

AUSTIN, Tex., Aug. 2—(AP)—Texas Dixiecrats are planning a direct attack on Gov. Beauford Jester because he opposes a statewide referendum on the presidency.

Lloyd Price, of Fort Worth, a states' righter, said yesterday he was drafting a brief that would be submitted at a hearing of the Democratic State Committee here Aug. 9.

Mon.

Price said State Democratic Chairman Robert W. Calvert, Hillsboro, and House Democratic Leader Sam Rayburn, of Bonham, would be criticized in the brief.

8-2-48

The anti-Truman faction was victorious in three of Texas' four biggest county conventions Saturday.

They are demanding that the Democratic State Committee let the people vote on Truman in the Aug. 28 runoff primary. The question would be whether Texas' 23 Democratic presidential electors should be pledged to Truman or Gov. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina.

Meantime, Republicans carefully picked some candidates to fight Democratic nominees in the November election.

The Revolt Convention

News

Birmingham is host today to a convention of Southern Democrats disposed to carry their dislike of the platform and nominees of the Philadelphia convention to the point of an open break. It may be an historic convention, marking a definite realignment of political forces in the South and even, perhaps, the nation. And it may be the beginning of the end of an abortive dream.

On the eve of the convention, one could find many signs pointing in one direction or the other. But matters were in flux and the outcome was uncertain. When the batter is being stirred, the cook does not know exactly how the cake will turn out. And when a movement is being born, one cannot tell at the time whether it will live or be stillborn.

The feeling that lies behind this convention runs deep. But it is not a new feeling. For generations, the South has stood for a large measure of states' rights. It has wanted more freedom in handling local problems than often has been available. The present civil right issue is merely the peg on which present action is based.

The history of this feeling makes a permanent break with the national Democratic Party less likely. There have been walkouts before, quite a few of them. The breach always previously has ultimately healed. Once the Civil War intervened and prolonged the breach. But when the war was over, it was to the Democratic Party that the South returned.

Birmingham, Ala, 7-17-48

But will the movement be able to take any effective action this year? That is the present question. There are doubts on that score. Even the bolters indicated that doubt when they changed from calling the meeting a convention to a conference. The movement still lacks organization that could be called Southwide. Some of the states are represented here only by individual sympathizers with the movement. Except for Alabama, Mississippi and one or two other states, the delegations are short of support from official party organizations or public officials.

News Birmingham, Ala

From that fact there arise some practical political considerations. The bolters, in most of the Southern states, do not have that control of the party machinery which is necessary to the firm establishment of a new party or even positive effect on this year's election. Can they gain such control? That is another question. 7-17-48

The South was able to poll a good vote at Philadelphia for its champion of states' rights. It can point to the united front it presented there, barring some defection from border states. But this convention here is another matter. That was a difference within the party. This is a break with the party. This is a refusal to accept majority action. That is a legitimate and sometimes a noble course to follow. But before one does it, one should be sure that the course is wise. Will it gain the ends desired? Will the price be greater than the value received? 7-17-48

The convention should consider these points. And it should be noted that it is for this purpose that it was called. The first order of business of the convention may be to determine whether the national party shall be followed, or whether the break shall be made. Up to the time of the meeting, there apparently had been no positive decision regarding a split. Perhaps, even yet, the leaders assembled will see the futility of breaking with the party over one issue and thereby increasing the likelihood of a Republican president.

7-17-48

Dixiecrat Ballot Bar Held Matter For Legislature

Fri. 11-12-48

Annapolis, Md., Nov. 11 (AP).—Whether the law that prevented States' Rights Democratic candidates from appearing on the Maryland ballot is wise must be decided by the Legislature, the Court of Appeals said today.

Wash. D.C.

The court issued its formal opinion explaining why it had turned down the States' Righters' bid last month.

Under Maryland law, nominating petitions must be filed with the secretary of state not later than 15 days before primary elections. The States' Rights Party was not formed until after the Maryland primary this year.

Dustin' off the NEWS

BY LUCIUS C. HARPER

Defender
Chicago, Ill
Sat. 7-17-48

How To Defeat Your Candidate For President

Leading Democrats, especially those from the South, should author a book entitled: "How to Defeat Your Own Candidate for President." That is just about what they have done in their "bar-room" fight against the re-nomination of President Truman. Above all they have demonstrated, beyond all doubt, that the Democratic party in the South stands for moral and social decay, and the perpetuation of lawlessness against minority groups. They are so confused that everytime a "statesman," from that section opens his mouth, he steps in it. Ever since President Truman went before Congress and plead for decency in government; fair play and justice to all groups through the enactment of civil rights legislation, all southern governors and down to the most profane and petty politicians have joined hands to denounce him with every invective at their command. In fact, they have combined in a sort of "Southern Oligarchy" to run this country as they see fit—on a double standard, disregarding the Constitution—all for the whites, and only scraps and the leavings for the blacks.

Lucius Harper

7-17-48

An atmosphere of passionate indignation swept over the entire South following the issuance of the President's Civil Rights Committee report exposing the outrages and blunders in law enforcement typical of that section. To treat a Negro civilly has been branded as a "crime" by the governors who are now fighting Truman's re-nomination. They are making a last-ditch stand to involve Gen. Ike Eisenhower in their scheme to maintain a double-standard democracy. Ike, so far, hasn't fallen victim to the conspiracy.

* * *

In the event Gen. Eisenhower is led astray by these political idiots and offers himself as headmaster to carry out their conspiracies against good government, he will be the worst-beaten candidate in the history of this country. Unfortunately, Gen Eisenhower is vulnerable to political attacks. He has already coincided with the South on the Jim Crow plan. He has also stated that he was not in agreement with President Truman's Civil Rights Program; that he didn't believe that federal laws would make the South treat the Negro any better. He advocates the continuance of a Jim Crow army. If you doubt how he stands on the "Negro Question," read his testimony before the Military Affairs Committee which took place some months ago. No self-respecting Negro could afford to support him. If he did, we would recommend him most highly for the "Uncle Tom" award.

This corruption in the Democratic party is spelling ruin to its candidate, whoever he may be. The brawl has brought to the front all of the demoralizing forces in our political life, both in the South and some parts of the North. Imagine such a rotten, political dictator as "Boss" Hague of New Jersey naming the president of the United States. He wanted Eisenhower, but gave him "the kiss of death" by announcing his choice. This ruthless political clown had to be stopped by court injunction from suppressing free speech in his own state. He is in the same class with "Boss" Crump of Memphis. Both have made fortunes out of politics, and their records in public dealings may cause Gov. Dewey, if he's elected, to hold conference with his experts on income taxes. Who knows?

Further, this may be the very cause why so many leading Democrats want to back a "sure horse" in this presidential sweepstakes. It's not so much about civil rights of the Negro, but their own rights to dodge Uncle Sam on certain matters that have been running rather smoothly for the past 16 years.

* * *

You will note already that Gov. Dewey, who stated in his acceptance address, that he was under obligation to no man, has recently been holding some conferences with Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan. Probably he has him in mind for the Attorney-Generalship. If you want to know what type of prosecutor Senator Ferguson is, go to Detroit and inquire. As a judge there he sent the mayor, county prosecutor, commissioner of police, and every bigwig policy racketeer to the state prison. He vies with Dewey as the "great corrector." Probably the Democrats haven't overlooked this important item.

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11 State Electors Endorse Dixie's Ticket Of Revolt

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

Launch Campaign To Raise Funds; Map Organization Plans

Fri. 7-30-48

34

Alabama today became the first state to see its presidential electors pledged to support the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights Democrats ticket.

Similar action is expected to be taken by States' Rights Democrats of Mississippi at Jackson, Miss., next Tuesday.

Alabama's 11 electors signified their pledge of support to the Thurmond-Wright ticket in a strongly worded resolution adopted at a conference in the Tutwiler Hotel yesterday afternoon.

The electors previously had been pledged not to vote for President Harry S. Truman for reelection.

Their resolution said they would support Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, for president, and Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, for vice president. It added the two are in hearty accord with States' Righters seeking "a return to constitutional government and preservation of rights of the (states), particularly in such domestic matters as law enforcement, voting, employment practice and segregation."

The resolution said further that "we believe the Philadelphia convention nominated a candidate for president that 90 per cent of the rank and file of the Democrats do not want.

"We are convinced the people do not want the nominees of the Republican convention or the nominees of the Democratic convention."

* * *

THE ELECTORS' SESSION followed a meeting of the executive committee of the Alabama States' Rights Committee. Plans were announced for a fund-raising drive in Alabama to assist the nationwide campaign.

The News

The committee urged that funds be mailed to Jesse M. Williams, treasurer, Bell Building, Montgomery.

Birmingham Ala

"Funds are now the urgent need to carry forward this campaign; to take the message to every crossroad and hamlet over the air and through the press requires campaign funds," the committee said in a statement.

These funds must come from the grass roots. What those here in Alabama give will be pooled with campaign contributions of those in neighbor Southern states to carry forward the South's fight."

Fri.

The committee consists of one member from each congressional district. Members are Marion Rushton, Montgomery, chairman; Donald Comer, Birmingham, vice chairman; Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile; Robert Albritton, Andalusia; Wallace Malone, Dothan; Tom Abernethy, Talladega; Walter Lusk Guntersville; Robert Knox Greene Greensboro; Charles Wiggins, Jasper; Norman Harris, Decatur; Sidney Smyer, Birmingham.

7-30-48

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STATES' RIGHTS LEADERS said a campaign organization would be established in all of Alabama's 67 counties and in the 48 states.

Gov. Thurmond is scheduled to open the nationwide campaign in an address at a States' Rights rally at Houston, Tex., Aug. 11. He will formally accept the presidential nomination in this address.

Seven of Alabama's 11 Democratic elector nominees attended yesterday's meeting. Chairman John Lusk said the four who were unable to attend agreed to the pledge.

The News

Electors present were Mr. Lusk, Mr. Albritton, Walter C. Givhan, Safford; Mr. Harris, Edmund Blair, Pell City; Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham.

Birmingham, Ala.

Those not present were Ben Bloodworth, Decatur; Tully Good, Walter F. Miller, Tuscumbia.

Fri.

The resolution adopted unanimously yesterday by Alabama's Democratic presidential elector nominees at a special meeting here follows:

7-30-48

Whereas, we were nominated by the Democrats of Alabama in the primary election on a platform pledging that we would not cast the electoral votes of Alabama for Harry S. Truman for president, but would cast the electoral votes of Alabama for some Democrat acquainted and in sympathy with the problems of the South, and

Whereas, a conference of States' Rights Democrats was held in Jackson, Miss., on May 10, 1948, at which the Democrats in mass meeting assembled called on the Democratic Parties of the several states to take the necessary steps to have the electoral vote of their respective states cast for a Democrat in sympathy with the views of our people, and

Whereas, at a meeting held in Birmingham, Ala., on the 17th day of July, 1948, the Democrats of the South in meeting assembled recommended to the Democrats of the several states that they take the steps necessary to have the electoral votes of the several states cast for Hon. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, for president of the United States and for Hon. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, for vice president of the United States, and

Whereas, we have given due consideration to the recommendations made at the Birmingham meeting held on July 17, 1948, and are convinced that Hon. J. Strom Thurmond, governor of South Carolina, is the choice of the Democrats of the other Southern states for president of the United States and that Hon. Fielding Wright, the governor of Mississippi, is the choice of the Democrats of other Southern states for vice president of the United States, and

Fri.

Whereas, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and Gov. Fielding Wright are in hearty accord with the platform upon which we were nominated and the views of States' Rights Democrats nationwide for a return to constitutional government and the preservation of the rights of the several states in domestic matters, personal rights and personal liberties, more particularly such domestic matters as law enforcement, voting, employment practices and segregation, and

Whereas, we regard it as vital and essential to the preservation of this republic that there be a return to constitutional government and due regard for the limitations placed on the federal government by the constitution of the United States and due recognition of the powers reserved to the several states by that historic document, and

7-30-48

Whereas, we believe the Philadelphia convention nominated a candidate for president that 90 per cent of the rank and file of the Democrats of the several states do not want. The convention was manipulated by masters of political intrigue and controlled by political bosses for selfish purposes and it

SOME MINOR ASPECTS

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala

Despite the grimmness of the present political circumstance, it is not unrelieved by its droll to funny aspects. Tue. 7-27-48

Consider The Dothan Eagle. Having a bellyful of the slings and arrows that have come from generations of reflex allegiance to the outrageous Democratic Party, The Eagle went Republican. It did so for the same reason Democrats went Dixiecrats—to insure the defeat of Truman. The difference is in method, not goal. 7-27-48

Therefore the Republican organ of the Wiregrass is entirely friendly to the Dixiecrats. Until now it has seemed that they were working hand in glove.

But now something has happened to cause The Eagle, speaking for the Republicans, to admonish its axis partner, the Dixiecrats, to keep a weather eye open lest the Alabama Truman Democrats grab it and growl.

The Eagle is worried about the results of the effort to get a slate of Truman electors on the ballot in November. The Eagle calculates that all good Alabamians will naturally vote either Republican or Democrat. It knows that their combined vote will be a majority of Alabamians. But The Eagle is apprehensive that the splitting of good Alabamians into two parties might allow other Alabamians to prevail with Truman.

The Eagle says:

> If the Langan-Truman-Federal patronage crowd can make any kind of showing atall, this particular party may be able to poll a plurality in November. And in the general election a plurality is victory, even though the Dixiecrat and Demo-Republican vote combined is a majority. In other words, though most Alabamians vote against Truman by voting Dixiecrat or Republican a minority voting for Truman may win.

Advertiser Montgomery Ala

Another whimsicality is the writhing discomfort of some Dixiecrats about being called bolters. They want and steadfastly insist that the National Democratic Party "has left us." It should not, they hold, even be suggested that Alabama has left the national party. Tue

The stigma of the term bolter, of course, arises from the 1928 Hoover-Smith campaign. A lot of Alabama Democrats spurned the nominee of the national party and went to the nominee of the Republican Party. Those who did not vote for the national nominee have always been called one thing—bolters. 7-27-48

But today those who are not going to vote for the national party's nominee, Truman, and are going to vote for the fourth party's Thurmond, are not bolters, and please get that straight, bub.

Every man has a right to be called by a name of his own choosing, and in recognition of that right, we offer our good offices. Let us not say that Alabama has bolted the party. Let it read: Alabama has disaffiliated. Further, bolters are not bolters, but disaffiliates.

WE ARE constrained to wonder if Gov. Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat nominee for President, approves of the Alabama ballot. Written on the rooster is the shibboleth, "White Supremacy." Thurmond, not once but twice, has spurned the use of "White Supremacy" in his campaign. Thurmond said Saturday, "We are not running on White Supremecy."

That's entirely acceptable to The Advertiser, but how is Horace Wilkinson going to vote for a man who says a thing like that?

Birmingham Papers Draw Sharp Rebuke

Advertiser
Montgomery Ala

Norman Harris Asserts They Contribute To Disunity

Fri

Rep. Norman Harris, Decatur, has charged two Birmingham newspapers—the News and Age-Herald—with contributing to "disunity" in the South.

Harris, who is one of Alabama's Democratic Party's 11 presidential electors, declared that the two papers refused to accept the will of the people of the state when they nominated 11 men who were pledged against voting for President Truman, the Republican presidential nominee or any other nominee who supported a civil rights program like the one advocated by Truman.

Not only are the papers contributing to "disunity" in the South, according to the state legislator, they have failed to offer "one constructive suggestion as to a means of defense the South could or should employ."

Effective Plan

Harris said the men who are trying to defend the South by peaceful and lawful means "are sincere in their conviction" and their plan is the only effective way of protecting the South.

"In justice and fairness to them and to your readers, please print this letter and with it please answer these questions," he challenged: 7-30-48 Fri.

"1. What in your opinion could the South have done or could it now do to defeat Mr. Truman's civil rights program?

"2. Did you participate in the May primary, and, if so, do you intend to honor the pledge you then made to support the nominees of that primary, including the 11 nominees for presidential electors?

"3. Do you advocate that the voters who participated in the May primary vote for presidential electors in the general election other than those nominated in the primary?

"4. If you intend to repudiate your pledge or advocate that others do so, how do you justify such action."

No Suggestions

"During the primary campaign you wrote thousands of words belittling and ridiculing the plan of the South's withholding its electoral vote from Mr. Truman," Harris further charged. "You did not, however, make one constructive suggestion as to a means of defense the South could or should employ?"

The legislator told the News and Age-Herald they apparently were not willing to abide by the results of the primary and were continuing to follow their same course in subsequent editorials and now "seem" to suggest the election in November of pro-Truman electors.

"This of course would require that a majority of the voters who participated in the May primary

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Bolters May Take

The News

Truman Fight Into Missouri

Birmingham Ala.
Mon 7-19-48

Texas Banker Talked As Finance Chairman For Southerners' Fight

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

Plans were projected today to hold an early Midwest conference of states righters, probably in Missouri, to carry the revolt campaign against President Truman to his home state and a dozen or more surrounding commonwealths.

Strategy is to make the Missouri meeting a regional conference similar to that held in Birmingham Saturday, when the Thurmond-Wright revolt presidential ticket was nominated.

It had been announced earlier that rebellious Southern Democrats would challenge the Truman-Barkley regular party ticket in the president's Midwestern bailiwick.

* * *

AN EARLY HUDDLE of states rights Democrats spearheading the fight to defeat Truman will be held here, with its aims to increase the momentum of the campaign behind the leadership of South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright as Dixiecrat presidential and vice presidential nominees.

Wallace W. Wright, Jackson, Miss., who had served as co-chairman of the states righters campaign group, was seen as certain to be moved up to general chairman. He thus would take the place of Arkansas Gov. Ben Laney, original Southwide chairman of this movement, who bowed out here Saturday when he split with chieftains directing the Birmingham conference.

* * * Mon

IN BREAKING AWAY from this group, Gov. Laney made a plea for unity, urging that "Whatever is done must be done through and by the official Democratic organization in each respective state." 7-19-48

The Arkansas governor reemphasized that the South's fight is "right" in opposing the "civil rights" plank adopted by the National Democratic Party at Philadelphia. But he posed the question as to whether the revolters had lost "reason and sanity."

And he took a crack at insurrection leaders, without calling any names, when he asked:

"Shall our nation be torn with unnecessary internal strife now, when unity of our people is so vital, merely for the sake of politics, or the personal satisfaction and ambition of any man?"

Date of the Midwest regional conference of anti-Truman forces has not been fixed, but group leaders here want it held soon. The convention fixed Oct. 1 as the time for another Southwide conference, which very likely will be held in Birmingham.

* * *

PROVISION ALSO was made in resolutions for a general finance chairman to take charge of a fund-raising campaign to finance the anti-Truman fight. A Texas banker, whose name will be announced, is a tentative choice of the states' righters for this post.

Horace Wilkinson, chairman of the convention resolutions committee, said a states' rights national campaign director also would be named. He said he did not know who would be picked for this job.

FANNING THE REVOLT flames are the anti-segregation, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax proposals embraced in the Truman-sponsored "civil rights" plank. And these were the issues that fired a wildly cheering throng of 7,500 who whooped it up in Municipal Auditorium Saturday when the president and his program were denounced and Thurmond and Wright nominated.

The Southern revolters are certain of 28 electoral votes—Alabama's 11, Mississippi's 9 and South Carolina's 8—which will be cast against Truman. Observers feel that as many as 89 probably will be freed and diverted from the president.

The News

Arkansas and Florida were viewed as definitely leaning toward the course charted by Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina. Texans caucused in Birmingham Saturday night to map a plan to switch Texas' 23 electoral votes from Truman to the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

There is some question as to whether Georgia and Louisiana can be won over to the revolt ticket. And there is even more doubt as to whether North Carolina, (which Republicans are confident of winning), Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland and Oklahoma can be persuaded to follow Thurmond and Wright in the rebellion. Regular Democrats and Republicans almost invariably have tough and close fights in the border states of Oklahoma, Maryland and Kentucky.

Birmingham

Smith and his organization were labeled "Fascist" in a recent Congressional report on "Fascism in Action" in the United States. Ala.

A burly, middle-aged man, Smith and his sleek, white-haired wife, who wore a red and green printed dress, invited the press to their Tutwiler Hotel suite today. Mon

The Nationalist leader said he will leave Birmingham this afternoon for Louisiana, where he will place a wreath on the grave of his late friend, Huey Long. 7-19-48

He plans also to urge Huey's brother, Gov. Earl Long, to join the Birmingham movement to defeat reelection of President Truman.

Smith expressed disappointment that Gov. Long and Herman Talmadge, of Georgia, did not attend Saturday's meeting.

"My old friends, Huey Long and Gene Talmadge, would have been there," he said.

* * *

RABBLE-ROUSING GERALD L. K. SMITH, director of the "Christian Nationalist Crusade," showed up in Birmingham after Saturday's convention, which he said he attended but "diliberately" kept himself in the background. He said he did this "because I was anxious to do nothing that would introduce extraneous controversy into the wholesome and historic gathering."

Wilkinson said Smith would not be permitted to have "anything to do with the states rights campaign, because we're not going to fool with a bird like Gerald L. K. Smith."

SMITH ANNOUNCED he had called a convention of his followers in St. Louis for Aug. 20-21, when he will "recommend to our leadership that they support the states' rights principle in every state." He said the "Christian National Crusade" is an exponent of white supremacy, adding that "We believe the Negro and the Jew are exerting too much control in American politics." 7-19-48

Meanwhile at Columbia, S. C., Gov. Thurmond, who made a rafter-rattling acceptance speech in Birmingham, was quoted as saying Southern Democrats "won't be kicked around." News

"This is the South's opportunity to show the leaders of the National Democratic Party that we won't be kicked around," Thurmond declared, adding that his nomination was "a complete surprise."

A High-Handed Convention

To the Editor of The News:

Well, Birmingham has had its states' rights conference and has gotten a load of free publicity. Men to whom politics is a business had a grand time making speeches and never failed to get a good response when such tried and true applause-getters as "Dixie" and "Robert E. Lee" were mentioned.

I hope the rest of the nation doesn't think that the South is solidly behind this revolt, for a look behind the scenes would show that the revolt was brought about and nurtured by a small group of dyed-in-the-wool conservatives to whom revolts from the common man's party, the Democratic Party, are no new thing. News

The bolters' main contention seemed to be directed against the high-handed way their wishes were flouted in Philadelphia, but, strangely enough, the old "steam roller" used so effectively there worked just as effectively in Birmingham. Birmingham Ala

A platform was presented for adoption by Horace Wilkinson, chairman of the resolutions committee, and was adopted in one, two, three order. Two candidates were presented by Mr. Wilkinson and noisily voted in. The one lone dissenter was silenced and removed from the auditorium. Was this a one-man convention? Was this whole thing the brain child of men to whom politics is a business and to whom bolts from the only party that ever raised a finger to help the South are no new thing? Was this a disguised maneuver to insure the election of a slate of Republicans this Fall? Isn't it strange that when the Democrats do nominate a weak ticket that certain men who make politics a business pull a "bolt" and actively campaign against the Democratic nominee? Sat. 7-24-48

Think about these things, Southern Democrats! The place for us to fight these obnoxious measures called "civil rights" is from within the party. Bolting the party will bring these measures on us more quickly than would anything else. Don't let these men who have the money to finance their own conventions lead you from the common man's party, the Democratic Party. It's our party; let's fight for it!

JOHN L. ALLEN.
1313 13th Avenue, South.

Dixiecrats To Fill Fund, Tactics Posts

News

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

A campaign director and finance chairman are expected to be chosen by states' rights Democratic leaders, who will meet in Atlanta at 10 a.m. Saturday to map their fight against President Truman and his "civil rights" program.

At the same time, pro-Truman forces in Alabama, led by Mobile State Sen. Joe Langan, were appealing to national Democratic leaders for funds and speakers in a campaign to carry this state for the Truman-Barkley ticket.

Meanwhile, Maryland's Atty. Gen. Hall Hammond held that voters of that state can cast their ballots for the Thurmond-Wright states' rights presidential ticket.

But he said they could do so only by writing in names of eight electors on their ballots.

* * *

WHILE SEN. LANGAN is attempting to get a slate of pro-Truman presidential electors on the Nov. 2 general election ballot in Alabama, some attorneys contend the only way voters of this state can cast their ballots for Truman and Barkley is by the write-in method. In such case, names of 11 electors would have to be written on the ballot. Birmingham

Langan, who appealed to Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath for campaign funds and speakers, wrote the national party chieftain he believed there was a good chance for Truman to carry Alabama. ala

The state senator has called a state convention for Aug. 16 in Montgomery to name a ticket of 11 elector candidates who would vote for Truman and Barkley in the electoral college.

Rep. Norman Harris, Decatur, one of this state's 11 anti-Truman pledged presidential electors, nominated in the May 4 Democratic primary, took issue with the Mobile senator. He pointed out that Alabama Democrats made the anti-Truman decision "after a full presentation and debate of the issues."

The News today he did not expect Laney to attend the Atlanta meeting. Wed. 7-22-48

But, he added, he had just talked with Gov. Laney on the telephone and the Arkansas executive "urged me to do everything I could to further the movement."

Sen. Langan said that if Truman electors are qualified and their names go on the ballot, he would suggest they run under the emblem of the National Democratic Party, the donkey. The crowing rooster is the emblem of the Alabama Democratic Party and it is under this emblem that the names of anti-Truman pledged electors will appear on the Nov. 2 ballot.

BOTH THURMOND AND WRIGHT, who the Mississippi executive took pains to explain, only had been "recommended" for president and vice president on the rebel ticket, will attend the Atlanta session.

Gov. Wright said he did not consider Thurmond and himself "candidates" because they had not been nominated by any political party.

He predicted this state's votes in November would go as they did in May—against Truman.

Wed. 7-22-48

"IT IS NOT SURPRISING," Rep. Harris said, "that Sen. Langan is not satisfied with the results of the primary election. He was a candidate for delegate in the primaries and was soundly defeated."

The Mobile senator was beaten in the June 1 runoff for one of two delegate posts in the First District.

Langan said he would leave it to Secretary of State Sibyl Pool to ask Atty. Gen. Albert A. Carmichael for an opinion on whether pro-Truman electoral candidates can be placed on the ballot now.

Those opposing Truman contend that such elector aspirants must have been entered as candidates by last May 4 — same requirement made of 11 Wallace elector candidates whose names will be on the November ballot.

Catch The Bus

Like an unlucky horseplayer who lives in hopes of beating his bookie, the professional Southerner is forever championing lost causes. He never knows when he is up against the impossible and his passion for maikng a purse out of a sow's ear drives him beyond all reason into a realm of make-believe and fantasy. The horseplayer winds up a bum and the professional Southerner becomes a simple fool.

Last week Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina who is the presidential candidate on the Dixiecrat ticket addressed a luncheon meeting of the Overseas Press Club in New York. Among the many silly things he said, was that his platform was not based on racial prejudice.

He said he stood for racial integrity and stated "When I talk about racial integrity and purity I mean I believe in maintaining the purity of the white race and the purity of the Negro race. . .I do not believe their blood should be mixed so as to form some kind of yellow race."

We wonder if the governor has ever visited the city of Charleston in his home state. If he hasn't he certainly has a surprise in store. He will discover that his cause was lost several generations ago and, according to some reports, he better not risk having his own ancestry examined too carefully. Be that as it may, the good governor must know how ridiculous it is to lock the barn door after all the horses have fled.

348

We do not hate the governor, we pity him. If he takes his views seriously, his life will bring him unending grief. The white slave masters of the South may have believed in the principle of racial integrity as the governor defines it but they acted upon that principle much like their sons are now acting upon the principle of equality of opportunity. Sat 7-3-48

The professional Dixiecrats have confused the words democracy and hypocrisy. They not only tell lies but they believe their own lies, and that is unforgivable. We hope the day will come when white Southerners will stop kidding themselves and get off that racial merry-go-round. It is high time they caught the bu

Georgia Votes States Righters Spot On Ballot

The Advertiser

But They Lose Round In Louisiana Battle; Barred By Injunction

Montgomery Ala

Action Completed

Thompson Is Expected To Sign Bill Today With Blast At Assembly

ATLANTA — (AP) — States' Rights Democrats were assured a place on Georgia's presidential ballot Friday, but they lost, temporarily, at least, the advantage of being listing as regular Democrats in Louisiana.

A special Georgia legislative session completed action on an election reform bill opening the presidential ballot to all candidates except Communists. The action was unanimous.

The net effect was to help States' Righters. Democrats, Republicans and Progressives already had taken steps to appear on the ballot.

Georgia voters thus will get a free hand but there is no guarantee that their choice will receive the state's 12 electoral votes. Dominant legislative forces of Governor-Nominee Herman Talmadge refused to pledge presidential electors to vote for thehir party nominees.

State District Court Judge Charles Holcombe granted a temporary injunction at Baton Rouge restraining the Louisiana secretary of state from listing the States' Rights Democratic nominee — Governors J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi—on the ballot as the Democratic candidates. Hearing on a permanent injunction was set for next Wednesday.

The legal action also seeks a court order directing the Democratic State Central Committee to qualify Mr. Truman and Senator Alben Barkley, his running mate, as the Democratic nominees instead of Thurmond and Wright.

Committee To Meet

Gov. M. E. Thompson has indicated he will sign the Georgia measure Saturday, although he may take a few pot shots at the assembly for striking his proposal to pledge electors.

Georgia's Talmadge-dominated State Democratic Executive Committee also meets today to name Democratic electors. Most observers expect the candidates to be pro-Truman. But they also said some members of the committee were banking either on a victory by States' Righters in the state, or failure of any candidate to get a majority.

In the latter case, the Georgia legislature would reconvene in November to choose electors itself.

Louisiana's committee, meeting Sept. 10, declared the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights ticket to be the State Democratic Party candidates, knocking Mr. Truman off the ballot completely.

Bears 150 Signatures

A petition qualifying Mr. Truman for the Louisiana ballot was filed Friday afternoon with the secretary of state. It bore 150 signatures and was filed by Perry Turner of Baton Rouge, an AFL union official.

The ticket was headed simply "The Truman - Barkley ticket" without Democratic or further designation.

Democrats From SC Off To Meeting

Columbia Record

Sat 7-17-48

Hasty Trip Scheduled

The South Carolina Democratic party continued its anti-Truman fight today as resolved members headed for Birmingham and a hastily called "States' Rights" conference.

Suddenly changing his plans, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond announced yesterday that he would attend, and today led the state delegation.

Prior to his arrival in Columbia yesterday morning from the national Democratic convention, Thurmond had declared he would not attend the conference. He had stated there would not be enough time between the national convention and the Birmingham conference.

The Alabama meet was called by Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright shortly after the Mississippi delegation had walked out of the Philadelphia convention.

Notice was served, however, at a preliminary States' Rights meeting at Jackson, Miss., May 11, that a conference would be held at Birmingham after the national convention if President Truman or a similar civil rights sympathizer were named on the Democratic presidential ticket.

Although officials of the Birmingham meeting have stated the occasion will be one of conference, the event has been boomed within two days to a convention of considerable proportion.

Arrangement officers have hired a band and have prepared standards declaring the Dixie position, although the conference is slated to last only a few hours.

The conference procedure was not clear, but delegates are expected to formulate some definite course of action designed to drive a wedge in the campaigns of both the Truman Democrats and the Republicans.

Sat 7-17-48

Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, who received 263 votes for the Democratic nomination, has announced he will not attend the conference.

The meeting is expected to be attended by delegates from at least 12 states.

Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas, who was named permanent chairman of the State's Rights group before the Jackson convention recessed, is slated to preside at the Alabama meeting.

Thurmond was to inspect the 228th AAA group, a South Carolina National Guard unit, now in training at Camp Stewart, Ga., prior to visiting Birmingham.

The chief executive and his party left Columbia at 7:55 a. m. today. Thurmand was accompanied by Brig. Gen. James C. Dozier, State Senator R. M. Kennedy of Camden; Cliff Harper of Columbia; J. W. Hicks of radio station WCOS, Columbia; William D. Workman of Columbia, and George MacNabb, the governor's press secretary.

The group was expected to return to Columbia tonight by way of Anderson, where Governor Thurmond is due to make an address at Five Forks high school at a Masonic meeting.

DIXIECRATS TO STAGE DRIVE FOR $1,000,000

Headquarters In Washington Open Near White House

Commercial Appeal

WASHINGTON, Aug. 13.—(INS)—AntiTruman "Dixiecrats" opened Washington headquarters Friday near the White House and predicted they will win 100 electoral votes for Presidential Candidate J. Strom Thurmond.

Sat 8-14-48

The States' Rights Democrats said they will launch a county-by-county "grass roots" drive to raise a $1,000,000 war chest for the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Half-a-mile away from Dixiecrat headquarters, White House sources indicated that President Truman will fly to Detroit on Labor Day for his "kickoff" campaign speech.

The President is expected to make an all-out bid for the labor vote in his address in the union-strong motor capital of the world. He is expected to emphasize that the Democratic Party is pledged to repeal the Taft-Hartley Labor Law.

W. Austin Seay of Winona, Miss., assistant national campaign director for the Dixiecrats, asserted that the fourth party hopes to capture at least eight Southern states for Thurmond, South Carolina governor, and Fielding Wright, Mississippi governor and Thurmond's running mate.

Sat 8-14-48

Seay listed states "likely to go for Thurmond and Wright" as Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia, Texas, Florida, Arkansas and Louisiana. He conceded that North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia "are in doubt."

States' Righters Lose Ballot Spot In Indiana Voting

Columbia Record

Wed 9-8-48

INDIANAPOLIS, Sept. 8—(UP)—A court order restrained the Indiana state election board today from placing the States' Rights ticket of candidates on the state ballot.

Marion county circuit Judge Lloyd Claycombe issued a temporary order at the request of an Indianapolis voter, [illegible] Hanley, who charged that the party's policy and philosophy violates the Indiana and federal constitutions.

Columbia S.C.

Hanley sought a permanent injunction to keep the party off the ballot. He said the party "seeks to discriminate against minority groups." The election board already had given the States' Righters a place on the ballot.

Sen. Hill Says States' Rights Not Only Issue

Senior Legislator Tells Of Beneficial Laws Passed By Congress

The Advertiser

BIRMINGHAM, ALA. —(AP)— Sen. Lister Hill (D-Ala.) wants the South to consider "other rights" along with states' rights.

In a Labor Day address, the senior Alabama Senator said:

"To talk about states' rights and go no further is to tell only part of the story. There are also other rights, other duties and other responsibilities."

Tues 9-7-48

Hill said he had fought for states' rights in the Senate for 10 years and would continue to do so, but he devoted the major portion of his speech to outlining steps taken under federal laws.

Backs States' Rights

He has announced he would vote for the States' Rights ticket in November.

"Our federal government outlawed child labor and the sweat shop," he said, "gave to labor its right to collective bargaining, and provided minimum wages and decent hours of work."

He said the housing shortage could be met only by federal legislation.

Montgomery Ala

Hill listed as federal benefits, which could not have come from the states, the GI bill of rights, old age pensions, federal waterways, elimination of freight rate discriminations, federal aid to hospitals, and to education.

"Above all rights, stands the right of the people to live in peace and freedom and human dignity," he said. "As we fight for states' rights, let us fight for all rights which will help to build a strong, a free America and a world of lasting peace.

"For if war comes—atomic war in all its horror and destruction—these will be no states' rights nor any other rights upon this earth."

States' Righters Open Campaign In Louisiana

TALLULAH, LA. —(AP)— Vice President Candidate Fielding L. Wright opened the States' Rights Democrats' campaign in Louisiana Friday with the assertion that the constitution is jeopardized.

Wright, governor of Mississippi, spoke on Constitution Day at the annual deep south cotton carnival. He accused President Truman, New York Gov. Thomas Dewey and Henry Wallace of "campaigning for the presidency on a platform of unconstitutionality."

9-18-48

"These three men are going up and down the country asking for votes and promising a platform which would mean the destruction of the constitution," Wright said, adding:

"Our constitution is jeopardized all of our liberties are held in the balance."

Wright said that Germans, lulled into a false sense of security, were led to destruction and despair through Hitler's "program very much akin to America's present day threat and which is referred to as the civil rights program."

Southern Democrats were lulled into a false sense of security, the Mississippi governor continued, before abandoning the two-thirds vote necessary to nominate candidates for president and vice president.

"When our power was gone the infiltrated groups within it commenced to kick us around," he said. "We were kicked about in Chicago in 1944. We were insulted in Philadelphia in 1948.

"Our constitution is in danger today just as our Democratic Party was in danger when the sinister voice of infiltration whispered into our ears and robbed us of the two-third rule."

NC Dixiecrats Expect To Get Needed Names

Columbia Record

RALEIGH, N. C., Aug. 19—(UP)—North Carolina Dixiecrats were expected to have 10,000 certified signatures of registered voters when Wake county Superior Court opened hearings tomorrow on their suit to place Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina on the November ballot as a presidential candidate.

Thurs 8-19-48

Columbia S.C.

Raymond Maxwell, executive secretary of the state board of elections, said today county boards had certified 6,844 of the signatures on the party's petitions for a spot on the November ballot. He said 13 counties, including populous Gaston and Mecklenburg, had not yet reported on checks of party petitions. But he said "it is probable" that the Dixiecrats will have 10,000 certified names by tomorrow.

The Dixiecrats' suit contended 10,000 signatures of certified voters were all that state law required.

But Attorney General Harry McMullan said the state would defend regulations of the state board of elections which were the basis for turning down the Dixiecrats' petition on Aug 3. He said the board was within its authority in passing rules early this spring to govern formation of new parties. One of those rules disallowed signatures of voters who participated in either primary. The other required that the petitions of hopeful parties must be checked and certified by county boards of elections at a cost of 10 cents per name before the petitions were turned in to the state board of elections by midnight August 3.

Thur. 8-19-48

The Dixiecrat attorneys asked that the Wake county Superior Court declare those rules unreasonable and invalid and recognize the party's right to a place on the ballot.

The Progressive part won a place on the November ballot for Henry A. Wallace, the board of elections ruled their petitions filed August 3 met all requirements.

Here It Is

EDITOR, The Advertiser: I am disturbed about your attempt to put yourself in the same class with Gessner T. McCorvey and the writer by claiming that all of us are bolters. If there is any danger of your getting entirely on our side, I want you to notify me in advance so I can change my plan of action. I can think of nothing more catastrophic than having the approval of The Advertiser.

You charge that:

"Now in 1928 Horace Wilkinson and Tom Heflin ran out on Al Smith. They are called bolters and never was there any argument about it."

My Webster insists that a "bolter" is:

"A voter who refuses to support his party."

In 1928 I did not enter the Democratic primary and refused to do so. I merely state that for the records. Not that it makes any difference because my stand has been vindicated by history. I never attempted to influence the election of electors by the Democratic Party in Alabama for its 1928 primary further than to appeal to the Democrats of Alabama not to enter the primary. It is true we were called "bolters" by The Advertiser and others, but God forbid that what the Advertiser calls people should be taken as true.

Montgomery Advertiser

I notice that Henry Wallace has jumped the Republican and the Democratic Parties. For some strange reason, The Advertiser has never referred to him as a "bolter." I presume that Henry's pink tinge makes him sacred in the eyes of The Ad-

Montgomery, Ala

I wish I could accept without reservation your statement that The Advertiser is bolting Nominee Truman for certain well known reasons "share and share alike with Mr. McCorvey."

Sun. 8-8-48

I may be wrong about it but it is impossible for me to conceive of The Advertiser being motivated by the same high patriotic impulses that influence Gessner McCorvey. It is possible that you are both traveling in the same direction but that is all that is possible.

The hardest blow delivered to the States Rights campaign in Alabama was when The Advertiser decided to support the nominees of the Democratic Party for presidential and vice-presidential electors. We are unable to understand why this misfortune was visited upon us.

If one more newspaper like The Advertiser supports the States Rights program, it might have to fold up. 8-8-48

HORACE C. WILKINSON
Birmingham, Ala.

PROPER TO GET EXCITED

The Advertiser

Editor Ralph McGill of The Atlanta Constitution protests that he is "for" States' Rights, always has been and always will be, but complains that too many Southerners would cloak "States' Wrongs" behind "States' Rights."

Perhaps Mr. McGill has correctly put his finger on a few of our professional champions of wrongheadedness, such as rabble rouser Gerald L. K. Smith who tried to horn in on the first Birmingham States' Rights meeting. But Mr. McGill certainly overemphasizes that complaint and has not employed with equal vigor the alliterative art to complain that too many Northerners use the phrase "Civil Rights" to cloak "Civil Wrongs."

Mon. 8-16-48

Montgomery Ala

Semantics aside, States' Rights are worth getting excited about whenever they are threatened. They are certainly being threatened today in many different ways.

There are certainly as many, if not more, wrongheaded people who would impose a Civil Disturbance program on the nation in the guise of a "Civil Rights" program than there are wrongheaded ones who desire that States' Rights be protected for the fancied purpose of perpetuating wrongs.

When the Constitutional Convention finished its work on the basic body of our laws, it was immediately apparent that acceptance of the Constitution depended upon the inclusion of ten amendments. These ten amendments have come to be known as the Bill of Rights, and the tenth was a States' Rights amendment. It reads:

ARTICLE X. (Rights of States Under Constitution)

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

The framers of the Constitution were constantly in fear of creating an instrument which could be perverted to enslave the citizens instead of insure their freedom.

Being astute and realistic men, they also realized that there must be some unit of government which allowed to the people the democratic choice between a free government and a despotism. They tried by every means at their command to make sure that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to ever pervert the Federal Government into a despotism without resort to armed force. They wrought well.

The next level of government was to be the states, and it was realized then that these units could democratically decide to become despotisms. It so came to pass in Louisiana during the days of Longism.

Today we generally use the term "police state" to describe a despotic form of government.

Mon. 8-16-48

When the Constitution was being constructed despotic kings occupied the places now held by totalitarian dictators. Then as now, they were equally offensive to free men.

But the Constitution would, so most of its framers thought, assist states to recant if by some mischance a misguided people voluntarily chose to turn a representative state government into a despotism. That has also proved to be true. Nowhere else in the world is that decision a peacefully reversible one.

The foundation of any despotism is an all pervasive police force at the command of a single man. The real danger in the proposals which would abridge States' Rights is the fact that enforcement of them would require the existence of a larger and larger federal police force.

For all his sins and ineptitudes, President Truman would never misuse such a police force. It is likewise unthinkable that Mr. Dewey, if he becomes president, would misuse such a force. But there stops our vision. Beyond the horizon there are other men who will inevitably occupy that office. It is too much to assume that there is not a scoundrel among them.

That is the basic reason why one should, if he values his and his sons' freedom, get excited and heatedly oppose arrogation to the federal government of rights reserved to the states.

Down The Dark Road To Nowhere

Birmingham News

An Editorial In The Montgomery Advertiser

The South will get nowhere with the Dixiecrat movement. It is the road to nowhere.

Its leadership is bankrupt.

It quite evidently does not even command a wide Southern following.

It is entirely negative in its approach. Its inflamed and uninspired leaders did little more than bellow and cry "nigger." That is far short of an answer to the South's grave problem.

Birmingham, Ala

The Advertiser has no doubt that the South's standing has been greatly damaged by that which boiled out of the nation's radio sets from the Birmingham cauldron.

The Advertiser belives that we are more than ever estranged from our allies, present and potential.

Thurs. 7-22-48

As a result of the Birmingham convention Sen. Claghorn is a less fictional character to the nation than before. Like it or not, we have got to have the goodwill of the people of other regions of the United States. We will not avail ourselves of it by shouting "nigger." We cannot win friends by hoarse blasphemies and the appearance of unreasoning obstinacy.

* * *

The Birmingham convention even lacked the intelligent leadership to make it plain to the nation that we in the South mean to give the colored man his break, that we are providing him schools and health protection and encouraging his economic advancement.

Instead of this constructive and impressive approach, the Dixiecrats featured the wild and crude Horace Wilkinson with his lewd "nigger" stories.

The meeting was of a kind such as attracted the clammy and sinister presence of Gerald L. K. Smith, who mutters darkly that the Jews and Negroes are getting too much power.

By 1 o'clock the American Broadcasting Company had cut the convention off its network because it was too inflammatory.

Thurs. 7-22-48

The convention was by no means representative of the South. Few states had full delegations.

Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas was in Birmingham but held to his hotel suite and did not fully participate in the proceedings. He declined to be the nominee of the convention.

Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia, who has so often and so ably carried the fight against civil rights measures in congressional struggles, sent word aforetime that he would not allow his name to be used.

Alabama's two senators remained away from the meeting, as did its congressmen with the exception of Birmingham's Laurie Battle.

The governors, senators and congressmen of other Southern states were not in Birmingham. They were conspicuously absent. The South's leadership was not attracted.

* * *

As The Anniston Star says, it was more a "Roman holiday" than convention.

The convention shouted "nigger" and burned President Truman in effigy. That is not the kind of things to disarm and convince the people in other regions that the South is responsible and decent.

The leading newspapers of the South are unanimous in deploring the ugly carnival scene.

The South does not want to be judged by what went on in Birmingham. But in large and melancholy degree it will be so judged, and at a time when we need to command the maximum in good will. We will be hobbled by malice and glee over the grotesque marathon spluttering. Gov. Laney said:

"The spirit of obstinacy and revenge is not the spirit of the Southland."

But the convention will make a lot of people think so.

Alabama's presidential electors are pledged to withhold Alabama's votes from Truman, but they are not pledged to travel with these vengeful despoilers of our dignity and good name.

HILL AND AN ALL-DAY SPEECH

Montgomery Advertiser

Senator Lister Hill and former Gov. Frank Dixon are two of Alabama's most effective enemies of the Civil Disturbance proposals. But at the same time Hill is holding back the avalanche on the floor of the United States Senate, Dixon is subtly putting the screws to the senator as a malingerer in the Dixiecrat cause.

The Advertiser isn't at all inclined to compromise its neutrality in the matter nor to take sides, for both of these gents are more than able to take care of themselves. They're both tough babies, ruthless and unsparing. Montgomery, Ala.

But we call attention to what Dixon, McCorvey & Associates are trying to do to Hill because their success or failure has heavy bearing upon the destiny of the Senate seat now occupied by Hill. In what we trust will be the lush and prosperous Spring of 1950, Hill will be standing for reelection. Wed. 8-11-48

It is manifest that an effort will be made to demonstrate that Hill was a Summer soldier and a sunshine patriot of the Alabama Democratic Party.

It will be charged that he faltered, zigged and zagged in the effort to abort Truman's nomination.

It will be charged that he ratted out on the Dixiecrat cause, that he was no real enemy of the Civil Disturbance proposals.

This much is indisputably true of Hill and every other delegate Alabama dispatched to the Democratic National Convention. Hill, in Philadelphia, acted in precise accordance with his campaign pledge to the people of Alabama. He bore himself as the voters commissioned him to bear himself.

We witnessed that, it's in the record, it's unchallengeable.

DIXON is entirely privileged and justified in seeking to make Hill reveal whether he is Dixiecrat malingerer or Grenadier.

It is altogether in the public's interest that politicians seek to fry each other's fat.

We will even proceed to observe that Dixon is on a warm trail, for we conjecture that Hill takes a very dim view of the Dixiecrat defection and its future. We cannot imagine him being cuffed into active support of the Thurmond-Wright ticket, which he regards as a protest device and nothing more.

If that is true, if Dixon and associates can exploit that to Hill's detriment—so be it. Wed. 8-11-48

But that is apart from Hill's performance in Philadelphia. There, like all the other delegates, Hill proved faithful to his covenant. He even said that if nobody else would nominate Senator Russell for President, he himself would do so.

Alabama's walk-out faction could not nominate an opponent for Truman, because by the time nominations were called for, they had stalked out of the convention.

Hill's detractors like to suggest that he is lukewarm in his opposition to Civil Disturbance. While these insinuating suggestions were being sprayed about, Hill was on the floor of the United States Senate as a star performer of the 21 filibusterers obstructing the Truman proposals.

ON TUESDAY, AUG. 5, during the special session, Hill spoke the entire day to block action on the Truman anti-poll tax bill. Hill told the Senate, where laws are enacted or rejected:

> Mr. President, I am unalterably opposed to the bill making unlawful the requirement for the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in a primary or other election for national officers. I am one of the members of this body who have banded themselves together to use every parliamentary means and every power at their command to prevent the passage of this bill . . .
>
> The Congress has no power under the Constitution to pass such a bill. To do so would be to rape the Constitution . . . and if the Congress should once commit this rape, it would be opening wide the door; no one could foretell how many other illegitimate interferences there might be by the Congress . . . how many rapes there might be of the rights of the states as safeguarded and protected by the Constitution . . .

8-11-48

HILL spoke the rest of the day to this issue. He and associate filibusterers, 20 in number, blocked the Truman assault. Hill was in the front rank of the South's battle.

At the same time, Dixon and his associates were fighting the South's battle on another front with the Thurmond-Wright offensive.

Thus, Hill and Dixon are each defending Southern interests according to his opportunities and lights.

We don't care a hoot below what Dixon, McCorvey, et al do to make the most of Hill's Dixiecrat malingering. 8-11-48

But as a matter of fairness, this newspaper considers it a duty to point out that Hill in Philadelphia acted in accordance with the people's mandate, and that on the floor of the United States Senate last week he struck the blows that count.

States Rights Dinner Slated At Manning

Thur. 9-23-48

Record

MANNING, Sept. 23.—Clarendon States Righters will have a supper Friday night, September 24 at White's Streamliner in Manning.

An estimated crowd of over 200 is expected to attend. The price for each plate is $10. 9-23-48

The chairman is Charlton DuRant, Sr., one of the two presidential electors at large of the Thurmond-Wright Carolina Democracy. D. C. (Rudy) DuBose is treasurer.

James H. Hammond of Columbia, will be guest speaker at the supper. Columbia S. C.

The governor has written a letter in which he says: "I am delighted to hear that my Clarendon friends are preparing to have a supper in Manning Friday night. There is nothing more important before our people at this time than a clear definition of their rights as American citizens. I am greatly encouraged by the cooperative attitude of our people and I hope the sturdy citizens of Clarendon county will support our effort with that enthusiasm which has always characterized them."

DIXIECRATS DEMAND OKLAHOMA LISTING

[illegible]

OKLAHOMA CITY, Aug. 14 (AP)—States Rights Democrats of Oklahoma renounced today the national Democratic party and cheered the candidacies of two Southern Governors for President and Vice President.

William H. (Alfa Bill) Murray, former Oklahoma Governor, opened the morning session and called for the defeat of President Truman.

About 150 persons attended the convention to find a way of placing on the ballot the States Rights candidates, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi.

Ross Lillard, Oklahoma City attorney, elected permanent chairman, said that if the Dixiecrats failed to get a place on the ballot they would undertake a "paste-over" campaign.

"If we can't do anything else we'll print a million ballots and they'll be placed in the hands of every voter in Oklahoma," he declared. "Then the ballots with names of our candidates will be pasted over the names of those who claim to be the constitutional Democrats."

The state election board has said, however, that "paste-ons" would be considered mutilation and would cancel the ballot.

[illegible]

Named Chairman

[illegible]

MRS. MARIE BANKHEAD OWEN, director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, who has been named national chairman of the women's division of States Rights Democrats. Her appointment was announced by Campaign Manager Gibson at the national headquarters in Jackson, Miss. Mrs. Owen was a sister of the late House Speaker William B. Bankhead and the late U. S. Senator John H. Bankhead, Jr.

Montgomery Ala

Thurmond Blasts Three Opponents

Advertiser

Sat 10-2-48

BALTIMORE—(AP)—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond said Friday night the nation needs deliverance from the three politicians —Dewey, Truman and Wallace."

Montgomery Ala

He declared that all three, by stupidity or by desire, are engaged in a traitorous, dishonest attempt to buy the presidency with the force bills designed to catch the votes of minority groups.

Thurmond came into a state where his States' Right party has no official place on the ballot.

He got a welcome from Gov. William Preston Lane, Jr., as chief executive of a sister state but "not as a candidate."

Sat 10-2-48

The States' Rights Democratic nominee for president said that in an effort to buy the presidency the three politicians he listed "have devised a vote-getting program which hides the most vicious assault upon representative government ever launched in this country.

Birmingham News

Republican Support

To the Editor of The News:

It occurs to this writer that an opportunity confronts us, Republicans in Alabama, to give some weight and effect to our November voting by indorsing now and voting with the "Dixiecrats" in the forthcoming election. Now, as in the past, no number of votes cast for our national ticket, short of a majority of all votes cast in the state will have any weight and effect, and since it is well known, there is little possibility of the majority vote going to the Dewey ticket, that vote could and should be directed where it will at least have some weight. And that end could be obtained by joining the "Dixiecrats." It could be that these same "Dixiecrats" would have much to "say" in the electoral college and in the event their nominees could not win, they would be more inclined to the Dewey ticket than to the one whose head "stabbed them

Birmingham Ala

[illegible]

in the back."

Alabama Republicans are Southerners as well as Republicans and have as vital interest in the so-called "civil liberties" question as have the others. The unbroken record of their party of always sending white delegations to their national conventions indicates their attitude on the race question.

The office-holding crowd in the Democratic Party and those who want office and power will probably wage an undercover, pussy-footing campaign for the "boy who plowed the straightest furrow in his county" and it is possible the "Dixiecrats" might really heed this Republican help.

An intelligent Republican may come from the voting booth, swelled with pride for his loyalty, but what he has really done is to commit an absurd act, that of throwing his vote to the winds. Under the present setup, a vote for the Dewey ticket in Alabama means simply nothing. The voter must take his pay in pride and satisfaction.

[From Late Editions of Yesterday's TIMES.]

THURMOND EXPECTS 100 ELECTOR VOTES

States' Rights Candidate Says Ballot May Go to the House, Where He Has a Chance

New York Times

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 30—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Presidential candidate of the States' Rights Democratic party, predicted today that he would get more than 100 electoral votes, enough to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

He stressed that in this event the House must then choose among the top three tickets, and that with the small states holding the balance of power, he stood a good chance of election since each state delegation would cast a single vote.

The States' Rights candidate refused to forecast the exact states he would carry, but said that he would win "most, if not all, of the Southern states." He will appear on the ballot in eleven Southern states, which have a total of 127 electoral votes.

Sat. 10-2-48

In addition, he and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, his running mate, are on the ballot in Kentucky with eleven votes, North Dakota with four and hope to be on in Maryland with eight and Oklahoma with ten.

Mr. Thurmond denied to reporters that his party was being financed to a major degree by oil interests of Texas, or that the net effect of his candidacy would be the election of a Republican President.

"If we had not entered this campaign," he said, "Governor Dewey would have carried a great part of the South. So, instead of helping Governor Dewey, I'm actually taking votes away from him."

If elected, the candidate asserted he would see to it that members of his Cabinet were "true Americans—persons who put love of country above politics and the welfare of the country over the ballot box." He said that he would be "pleased to ask Jim Byrnes back as Secretary of State."

The Governor said that he believed the Taft-Hartley Act needed some amendments that "can be worked out," and that he had favored Federal aid to education, but had "become uneasy since the civil rights proposals were made and he had seen where they could lead."

Sat. 10-2-48

Before replying to questions Mr. Thurmond read an 1,800-word statement in which he denied that his party was founded by racial prejudice.

"Racial integrity as well as peace and good order," he said, "requires laws providing for the separation of the two races. We believe in racial integrity and are opposed to racial 'integration.'"

Student States' Rights Groups Are Developed

Mon. 9-27-48

Record 9-27-48

Organization of student groups of States' Rights Democratic supporters at colleges in the state is being pushed by a group of University of South Carolina students.

Mon.

Raymon Schwartz, Jr., of Sumter, a student and temporary chairman of the university's 200 organized student States' Righters, said the group was seeking formation of similar organizations in other colleges in the state.

He said his group would meet Oct. 5, with the 4,200 student body invited, to perfect formal organization of the University's States Rights club.

Columbia

No Electoral Votes Is Goal Of Southerners

Defender

Chicago Ill

Say President Bent On Wrecking White Supremacy In U. S.

Sat. 5-15-48

JACKSON, Miss. — Fresh from his blast at Negroes and civil rights, Sunday, Mississippi Gov. Fielding Wright was set to lead those southerners who would follow him into a 'stand-by party following a rump meeting here Monday.

Based on the idea that President Truman because of his civil rights stand, is the deadly enemy of white supremacy, the fourth party is being formed to withhold all southern electoral votes from the President in the event he is renominated for office.

Governors from four southern states, and high ranking Democratic officials from half a dozen others were represented at the session. The meeting was strictly hush-hush, but it was learned on good authority that their strategy will follow four general points.

1. Organize a "States' Rights" party based on opposition to the President and his civily rights program, and opposition to centralization of power in the Federal government.

5-15-48

2. Keep the new party standing by until the results of the Democratic convention can be foreseen. This means until it is known whether anti-Truman and anti-civil rights demands will be met.

3. Stage a walkout of all southern Democratic delegates if President Truman's nomination becomes a certainity, and call a rival rump convention.

4. Name a presidential candidate, and launch a nationwide campaign for his election. Some of the proponents hope a split in the electoral vote will throw the election into the house of representatives.

5-5-48

Most reticent to comment, was Gov. Wright himself, who is the spiritual and physical leader of the revolt. His caginess suggested that he is not sure of full southern support of his plan. He did say he is sure a program will be laid down to withhold the south's electoral vote from the Chief Executive however.

Other governors either present ar represented at the meeting in Municipal Auditorium were Ben T. Laney of Arkansas, J. Storm Thurmond of South Carolina, who made the keynote speech, and James E. "Kissing Jim" Folsom of Alabama.

Gov. Beauford J. Jester of Texas is still wavering, although Texas Democrats were in the audience. Gov. William M. Tuck of Virginia did not attend, but the group is counting heavily on Virginia's support.

States' Rights Party Handed Heavy Blow

The Advertiser

Virginia's Electors May Vote Truman Ticket; Dixie Still Has Hopes

Wed. 8-25-48

Montgomery Ala

WASHINGTON—(AP) — States Rights Democrats opposing President Truman received a jolt Tuesday with word that Virginia's 11 Democratic electors probably will string along with the Truman-Barkley ticket.

Southerners working for the Thurmond-Wright presidential ticket as a protest against Mr. Truman's civil rights program, said they are still hoping, however, to get on the Virginia ballot—as independents, if not Democrats.

Another Dixie Democrat development was the refusal of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, States Rights Party candidate for president, to call a special session of his state legislature to revise election laws. He said it would be "inadvisable."

May Be Challenged

A Greenville County Democratic executive committee requested the session. It contended that unless the legislature outlines the method for selecting presidential electors, the state's electoral college vote this year may be challenged in court. A law providing for nomination of electors by the state Democratic Executive Committee was repealed in 1944.

Thurmond left Columbia, S. C., Tuesday for campaign conferences and a speech Thursday in Arkansas.

Wed. 8-25-48

The major party candidates were quietly working out campaign plans—President Truman on the yacht Williamsburg, and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey at his farm at Pawling, N. Y.

Henry A. Wallace, Progressive Party candidate, was campaigning in Kentucky and Ohio. In a speech at Louisville, Wallace asked Mr. Truman to defer the draft and turn the present Moscow talks into a "great conference" on all differences with Russia.

Raps Jim Crow

Earlier, at Cincinnati, he told the National Convention of Negro Elks that Jim Crow (segregation of the races) is the offspring of profit-mad tycoons wedded to the proposition of divide and rule."

Thurmond Assails 'Buying' of Votes

Tribune

Calls Civil Rights Program a 'Political Trick'

New York N.Y.

MADISONVILLE, Ky., Sept. 25 (AP).—Governor J. Strom Thurmond of North Carolina, States' Rights Democratic Presidential candidate, said here today "I'd rather be right than President" in "this age of political expediency."

Sun. 5-26-48

Governor Thurmond recalled the Kentucky resolutions of Thomas Jefferson declaring "the indestructible rights of states."

"Those rights," he said, "and those of us who follow the course made clear by the United States Constitution, find our pathway obstructed by a new and evil kind of political doctrine.

"Today, the candidates of the Republicans, the radical Democrats and the Wallace reds claim to have discovered the road to great new freedoms and human rights.

"But the detour they ask us to take is the road to totalitarianism. These candidates pose as bearers of the torch of liberty. But the flame they carry is a firebrand from the steppes of Russia."

He called the civil-rights program "a cheap political trick designed to buy the votes of small but powerful racial minorities in big-city states." He said opposition quickly developed in the Southern states, "the cradle of American democracy."

Dixiecrat

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: I have just read your editorial by Ralph McGill entitled "Her Mouth Is Smoother Than Oil." I agree there isn't any Communism on either side, but what is the real purpose of your continued attacks on the Dixiecrats? If Georgia should vote the Dixiecrat ticket, thereby taking the electoral votes from Truman, would it not have the same effect as voting the Republican ticket? Personally, I do not object to voting the National Republican ticket, but prefer to vote for some of the Democratic nominees locally. There are some, however, who are unalterably opposed to Truman but consider it an unpardonable sin to vote Republican.

Mon. 9-27-48

If the Democratic Party has drifted so far from its early tenets and is controlled by large city machines it is no longer a party for the masses and should probably be broken up and reorganized on sounder principles. I do not say the Dixiecrat Party is the best instrument for accomplishing this. There may be better means. The Dixiecrats would be unknown today except as a protest to the President.

Atlanta Ga.

If the ticket for the general election should be arranged so the voters can vote the Dewey-Warren ticket for President and vote for the Georgia Democratic nominees, there will be no occasion to leave the Democratic Party and Georgia can be kept independent.
Atlanta.

Dixiecrats 'Hold Fire' Under Negro's Attack

The Constitution 7-9-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 8—(AP)—Southern Democrats held their fire today as a Negro leader called them "bigots" and demanded that President Truman's civil rights program be written into the 1948 Democratic Platform. Fri.

The Southerners not only kept quiet but one of them predicted that a compromise will be reached in the battle over racial issues which has started a small war within the Democratic Party.

Sen. Hoey, of North Carolina, told a reporter:

"I am confident that we can reach an agreement on civil rights that will be satisfactory to President Truman and probably satisfactory to the South. We do not, however, expect to satisfy the extreme elements of either end."

Walter White, of New York, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the Democratic Platform Drafting Committee: 7-9-48

"The Democratic Party has been too much dominated by those who have attained and held power through disfranchisement, lynching and racial discrimination. The day of reckoning has come when the Democratic Party must decide whether it is going to permit bigots to dictate its philosophy."

The CIO also urged that the Truman program be adopted—including laws to ban poll taxes, lynching and racial discrimination in hiring. This is the program the Southern Democrat leaders don't like.

The CIO asked the Democrats to adopt a "Roosevelt platform." And the CIO spokesman, Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey, rapped the '48 Republican platform as "one of deceit, designed to fool the people." He said there is nothing in the GOP platform that attracts the interest of labor.

The CIO proposals included repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor act, price controls, broader social security, Federal housing, Federal aid to education, health insurance, an excess profits tax and other measures.

Joseph A. Beirne, President of the Communications Workers of America, also asked for repeal of the Taft-Hartley law and proposed a lot of other planks. But unlike the CIO he said nothing about lynching, poll taxes and fair employment practices. Fri.

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, a Negro religious leader from New York, appeared with Walter White. They said they spoke for 21 national Negro organizations with 6,000,000 members. 7-9-48

The handful of Southerners on the committee said not a word. It was a surprising contrast with the stormy reception White and Tobias got when they testified before a Republican platform committee here last month.

Courier Pittsburgh Pa Sat 7-24-48

TOSSED OUT—Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World and executive secretary of the Birmingham NAACP, was ejected from the Dixiecrats "rump" convention by two burly cops.

SAYS DIXIE FEARS 'REGIMENTED LIFE'

Wright States 'Race Problem Only Side Issue

The Times-Picayune New Orleans, La.

(The Associated Press)

Washington, July 3.—Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi declared today that "the race problem is only a side issue" in the fight which he and other Southerners are waging to maintain states' rights.

The major issue, he said in a signed article in the July American magazine, is "whether America shall perpetuate and maintain the system established by the nation's founders." Sun.

"This system guarantees that the people, through their respective states, shall continue to rule themselves," he said. "Its surrender would mean eventually that a regimented, centralized government would be in a position to dictatate the course of the lives of our citizens." 7-4-48

He described the Southerners' program as "a grass-roots campaign against centralization and regimentation in government—against snooping federal 'fieldmen' sticking their noses into the business and social activity of free American citizens."

Wright served notice that the states' rights group will carry their fight to the floor of the Democratic national convention which opens in Philadelphia July 12.

Regardless of what happens there, he said, the states' righters will carry on their campaign "until the threat of a dictatorial centralized government has been removed.

Wright declared that the anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and so-called fair employment practice legislation sought by President Truman is unconstitutional as well as an invasion of states' rights.

"There are numerous Southern leaders who feel that the poll tax should be repealed, but that it's not a prerogative of Congress to repeal it by legislation," he said. "Federal repeal of the poll tax may come legally only through a constitutional amendment."

Discussing the proposed fair employment practice legislation, which would bar discrimination in employment because of race, creed or color, the Mississippi governor said: Sun. 7-4-48

"The government has no more right to tell an employer whom he must hire than to dictate to a worker the job he must take.

"Except in emergency, such as war, free Americans have the legal right to be employes, go into business and become employers, or loaf, as they see fit."

Concerted Southern Action Foreseen In Truman Battle

Montgomery, Ala.

The Advertiser Sat 7-17-48

By GEOFFREY BIRT

Alabama Journal Writer

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.—More and more angry Southern Democrats were arriving hourly in Birmingham Friday night for a big states rights conference or convention, here Saturday.

No positive program had been decided on late Friday afternoon, except for a unanimously expressed determination to keep President Truman out of the White House during the next four years. And, also, to force the national party to recognize the claims of the South.

Regain Control

All delegates converging on Birmingham seemed equally determined to try and set up a lasting Southern Democratic organization which would have the effect of regaining the lost control of the leadership of the party. Despite considerable talk in the hotels along these lines, there was, privately, and "off the record" some doubts expressed as to whether or not these objects could be obtained. Sat.

Early Friday morning, the conference began to look like a possible "fizzle" which was being organized under chaotic conditions. By 4 o'clock this afternoon, however, the conference looking very much alive, was taking shape, and ideas were crystallizing. 7-17-48

Here is a diary of events as they have occurred here Friday:

First real action in this Birmingham Dixiecrat convention or conference occurred at 10:45 Friday morning when the Silver Comet train drove into the Magic City bringing home some of the defeated Alabama delegates. A sizeable group of news, radio and camera men were on hand to receive them. One newsman said it looked as though they were waiting to receive the retreat from Gettysburg.

Flays West

There was no spirit of defeat about Birmingham's Safety Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor, however, when he arrived. "Bull" seemed as happy and excited as an Alabamian returning from the Rose Bowl after a Crimson Tide victory. Connor, nevertheless, vented his spleen in particular on California and the West for their alignment with "the big city bosses, political machines and Negroes who have seized control of the party."

"Bull" suggested that the South now start a political agitation and force the West to feed its starving Indians, and force them, also, to let the same starving Indians vote, which they are not allowed to do now.

Favors Laney

Slow speaking, methodical Albert Stapp, who, like Connor, had also been a delegate from the state at large, agreed that one of the chief objects of the conference would be to keep President Truman out of the White House "but first we must find an outstanding man in the South and the nation, such as Gov. Laney, for a presidential candidate," he said. The Advertiser

A delegate from the Ninth Congressional District, Jess Edwards, mayor of Brighton, said that Southern Democrats should now band themselves together and organize for the future. He thought the future rather than the present, would be the program of the Saturday meeting.

When his attention was drawn to the fact that so far only three Southern States—Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas—were apparently to be represented actively, and that Georgia and Louisiana were absenting themselves altogether, Edwards replied:

Concerted Action

"There are conditions in other states preventing their active participation at this point—such as gubernatorial races—but eventually all Southern States will band together and swing into action."

Edwards believed that Saturday's meeting was for the purpose of making a start in that direction. He hoped, also, that Alabama would remain united in such a cause. Montgomery Ala.

While these, and other delegates, were being interviewed, a committee was hastily trying to organize Birmingham's large City Auditorium for the meeting. No one knew who was to attend, or how many would be present. Most of the 6,000 seats, it was surmized, would be occupied by onlookers—just as was the case in Philadelphia, it was stated. Sat.

Even A Band

Some of the trappings to make it look like a real convention hall were being hastily assembled. Even a band has been hired. Electricians were putting down wiring for spotlights, and for the use of film companies and radio networks. 7-17-48

In another part of Birmingham, former Governor Frank Dixon, as Alabama's States Rights chairman, assisted by Horace Wilkinson and Sidney Smyer, were trying to arrange a definite program.

Important details could not be decided, however, until Governor Laney arrived. Laney is general chairman of the whole Southern States Rights Movement.

The gentlemen from Texas arrived here after lunch. Among them was Palmer Bradley, who looks like a big time cattle man, but is really in oil. Bradley had just come in from Philadelphia.

Texas Support

Officially, Texas is down as merely sending a group of "observers" to this conference or convention. "Well [illegible] other Texas delegate, Ralph B. Lee, said. "You should have heard of the argument we had in the hotel room before the roll call."

"Yep," said Bradley, "don't go making a hero out of Morrow. He was prepared to vote for the Democratic nominee whoever he was. Some of these chaps don't seem to realize that the people are against it down here."

Then Bradley added: "If we can all stick together we've got between us 140 votes sewed up, and we can run the country. Texas believes the same as you, and we are with you. We've got to get together."

Another Texan, J. C. Underwood, an up-state retired lawyer, said the Texas delegation had been sent to Philadelphia "to fight Truman and his principles to the last ditch—then support the party's nominee."

"But when it came to the point," he said. "there was very strong sentiment against that final action" and the votes went to Russell

To Offer Leader

Underwood believes that "the only thing we've got which we can do at this Birmingham meeting is the chance of putting up a man for president—"someone like Laney," he said.

The first visible sign of the conference's opening was the registration of delegates to the meeting in the ball room of the Tutwiler Hotel. First man to register was Bob Neblett, of Jackson, Mississippi.

The Advertiser

Northern newspaper reporters and radio men are also arriving.

The Floridians reached Birmingham about 2 o'clock. Those talked to are in favor of organizing. Those spoken to have indicated that they will take part in any debates that develop. John A. Stewart said he was in Birmingham "helping to form a program."

Montgomery, Ala.

Stewart, who comes from the far south of Florida, said that he was like other members of the Florida party, "Just one uninstructed private citizen who could speak for himself, however."

At least one Louisiana representative will be present in a private capacity—State Rep. Erwin J. Rausch, who said he was taking part "in a purely private capacity."

Sat.

By 3 p.m. numerous Alabama leaders had begun to arrive. Among these were Marcus E. McConnell, Jr., Livingston, and Robert F. Darrah, Emille, Ala. "We must combat the Democratic National Party," said McConnell, "by forming a 'wing' of the party, and thereby regaining control. Leadership has always in the past been in the South. When we've organized we shall be 'back in the saddle' within four years." he said, "and," added Darrah, "those in the North will be sending us flowers."

7-17-48

Whatever the final results, Saturday's states rights conference here in Birmingham looks as though it will produce some fireworks.

Our Common Perils

All who attended or heard by radio the proceedings of the Birmingham meeting Saturday to mobilize opposition to President Truman's civil rights proposals must have been impressed profoundly by the intensity and sweep of the feelings there manifested.

Such emotions have great power. They can lead to high achievement—or to terrible depths of peril.

Birmingham, Ala.

This newspaper hopes, with the deepest earnestness, that wisdom, insight and sound judgment will govern the course of this movement.

* * *

The aroused and resolute opposition in the South to this program—the conviction that it embraces grave menace not only to our racial relations but to the fundamental rights of states' self-government—have been acutely sharpened by the National Democratic Convention's specific endorsement of action along the very lines proposed by President Truman. This was very unwise extremism in a situation already disturbing and dangerous.

7-19-48

But Southerners opposing this program must be ceaselessly on guard lest in reaction to that extremism they resort to methods and measures that will only make matters worse and more perilous.

Mon.

Remember the security of this nation and its freedom are menaced by ominous developments in the world situation.

Remember that the security and the freedom of us all—and of other peoples throughout the world—depend upon American strength and unity.

In all our differences and contests, let us never forget that.

* * *

Just what the launching of a new national ticket headed by Gov. Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Gov. Wright, of Mississippi, will mean we do not now undertake to predict. It is obvious that tremendous forces of emotion could be unleashed. It may be that great numbers of Southerners will decide to give support to this ticket. That it could win is out of the question. That these leaders and their followers find no comfort in the Republican ticket and platform is obvious. Whether this movement would choose to bring about Dewey's election and Truman's defeat, if that became the showdown choice, we doubt. The hope expressed by some of its leaders is that it will find itself in control of a balance of power that could be exercised to bring the defeat of both and the election of an acceptable president. But, we believe, that chance is very slight. It seems all the more likely now, in any case, that Gov. Dewey will be elected.

* * *

Gov. Laney, of Arkansas, one of the original leaders in the movement, in a statement explaining his break with other leaders, made some very important and significant points. He said: "We know we have been brutally mistreated—we are getting accustomed to that—we are licking our wounds today, but our spirit is not broken, we are Americans."

The News

He asked: "Shall our nation be torn with unnecessary internal strife now, when unity of our people is so vital, merely for the sake of politics, or the personal satisfaction and ambition of any man?"

7-19-48

He declared: "What is done must be done through and by the official Democratic organization in each respective state."

Thus from one of the outstanding upholders of states' rights, one of the staunch opponents of an imposed civil rights program, a leader who might have had the endorsement of this movement for president, comes sober and wise warning.

Birmingham, Ala.

Gov. Laney sees the perils of extremism in carrying on the fight. All our people should strive with utmost realism and devotion to our country to see such perils and govern themselves accordingly.

Mon.

Southern Politics Complicated Business This Year

The Columbia Record

As to what might have happened in the South if the election had been, as it is outside of the South, simply a contest between the Republican party and the Democratic party everybody is, of course, entitled to guess and nobody can know whether the guess be right or wrong.

Governor J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina's candidate for president on the States' Rights ticket, speaking at Augusta, Ga., Thursday night made the flat statement that Governor Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican candidate, "would have carried nearly every Southern state" if "our ticket"—the Thurmond-Wright ticket—had not entered the field.

Tue. 9-28-48

"Let not your hearts be troubled by false reports that the States' Rights ticket is helping Governor Dewey by splitting the Democrats in the South," he said. "If our ticket had not entered the field Dewey would have carried nearly every Southern state. We do not believe now that he will carry a single one."

Columbia, S.C.

The Record, of course, does not believe that the Republicans could have had any honest expectation of carrying nearly every Southern state before Birmingham. It would have been too much to expect that overnight the Republican party in South Carolina could have been built up from 4.8 per cent of the voters to better than 50 per cent or that the Republican party of Mississippi could have climbed up from 6.8 per cent of the voters to more than 50 per cent.

But Governor Thurmond is right to the extent that the Republicans would have received a respectable vote in every Southern state except for the States' Righters and might have even won the electoral votes of several of them, either with direct help of dissident Democrats or their passive help in staying away from the polls. After all this is a Republican year.

And Governor Thurmond is right also in thinking of the States' Rights party as giving those Southern Democrats, who cannot vote for President Truman, a candidate for whom they can vote without casting their ballots for the Republicans, a candidate opposing both Truman and Dewey. They have a place to go, even if it turns out to be nowhere.

But both Dewey and Truman still have a chance to carry some of the Southern states. Kentucky apparently is warming up for a nip and tuck battle and so is Tennessee. The Republicans have hopes in Maryland, Arkansas, North Carolina, Virginia, Florida and Texas. And in some of these states the entry of the States' Rights ticket will help the Republicans, in others help the Democrats. In Maryland the States' Righters are not on the ticket and will have to write in the names of their electors. They would have to get only 3.9 per cent of the vote, allowing for no change in the 1944 division between the two maor parties, to make it possible for the Republicans to win. Of course the Republicans expect to carry Maryland without this aid. In Arkansas where there will be three tickets—the Democrats, the States' Rights and the Republicans—a Republican victory would be possible with only a 3.5 per cent gain in votes if the States' Righters and the loyal Democrats were to divide the normal Democratic vote equally. In North Carolina only a 0.1 per cent gain would give the state to the Republicans if the States' Righters and the Democrats split the Democratic vote equally.

Tue. 9-28-48

In Texas, however, the entry of the States' Righters will work to the advantage of the Truman-Barkley ticket. The hope of a Republican victory in Texas depends upon the Republican party's being able to attract the votes of a considerable number of anti-Truman Democrats. And the States' Righters by dividing the anti-Truman vote may keep Texas in the Democratic bag.

Politics is getting to be a complicated business this year.

Totalitarianism Seen If Local Control Lost

Basis Of Party

Numerous Abuses And Usurpation Of Power Cited

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.— (AP) — The following is the "declaration of principles" reported by the resolutions committee of the States Rights meeting Saturday:

"We affirm that a political party is an instrumentality for effectuating the principles upon which the party is founded; that a platform of principles is a integrity of the states and the basic rights of their citizens.

With Contempt

"We have repeatedly remonstrated with the leaders of the solemn covenant with the people and with the members of the party; that no leader of the party, in temporary power, has the right or privilege to proceed contrary to the fundamental principles of the party, or the letter or spirit of the Constitution of the United States; that to act contrary to these principles is a breach of faith, a usurpation of power, and a forfeiture of the party name and party leadership. 7-18-48

"We believe that racial and religious minorities should be protected in their rights guaranteed by the Constitution, but the bold defiance of the Constitution in selfish appeals to such groups for the sake of political power forges the chains of slavery of such minorities by destroying the only bulwark of protection against tyranical majorities. The protection of the constitutional rights of a minority does not justify or require the destruction of constitutional rights of the majority. The destruction of constitutional limitations on the power of the central government threatens to create a totalitarian state and to destroy individual liberty in America.

To States, People

"We believe that the protection of the American people against the onward march of totalitarian government requires a faithful observance of Article X of the American Bill of Rights which provides that: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states, respectively, or to the people.

"We direct attention to the fact that the first platform of the Democratic party, adopted in 1840, resolved that: 'Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution.' Such pronouncement is the cornerstone of the Democratic party."

Individual Liberty

A long train of abuses and usurpations of power by unfaithful leaders who are alien to the Democratic parties of the states here represented, has become intolerable to those who believe in the preservation of constitutional government and individual liberty in America.

The Executive Department of the government is promoting the gradual but certain growth of a totalitarian state by domination and control of a politically minded Supreme Court. As examples of the threat to our form of government, the Executive Department, with the aid of the Supreme Court, has asserted national dominion and control of submerged oil-bearing lands in California, schools in Oklahoma and Missouri, primary elections in Texas, South Carolina, and Louisiana, restrictive covenants in New York and the District of Columbia, and other jurisdictions, as well as religious instruction in Illinois. By asserting paramount federal rights in these instances, a totalitarian concept has been promulgated which threatens the national organization of our party but our petitions, entreaties and warnings have been treated with contempt. The latest response to our entreaties was a Democratic Convention in Philadelphia rigged to embarrass and humiliate the South. This alleged Democratic assembly called for a civil rights law that would eliminate segregation of every kind from all American life, prohibit all forms of discrimination in private employment, in public and private instruction and administration and treatment of students; in the operation of public and private health facilities; in all transportation, and require equal access to all places of public accommodation for persons of all races, colors, creeds and national origin.

Police State

"This infamous and iniquitious program calls for the reorganization of the civil rights section of the Department of Justice with a substantial increase in a bureaucratic staff to be devoted exclusively to the enforcement of the civil rights program; the establishment within the FBI of a special unit of investigators and a police state in a totalitarian, centralized, bureaucratic government. 7-18-48

"This convention hypocritically denounced totalitarianism abroad but unblushingly proposed and approved it at home. This convention would strengthen the grip of a police state upon a liberty loving people by the imposition of penalties upon local public officers who failed or refused to act in accordance with its ideas in suppressing mob violence.

We point out that if a foreign power undertook to force upon the people of the United States the measures advocated by the Democratic convention in Philadelphia, with respect to civil rights, it would mean war and the entire nation would resist such effort.

The convention that insulted the South in the party platform advocated giving the Virgin Islands and other dependencies of the United States: "The maximum degree of local self- government."

"When an effort was made to amend this part of the platform so as to make it read that the party favored the Virgin Islands and the several states the maximum degree of local self-government, the amendment adding the words "these several states" was stricken out and the sovereign states were denied the rights that the party favors giving the Virgin Islands.

Loyalty Cited

"We point out that the South, with clock-like regularity, has furnished the Democratic Party approximately 50 per cent of the votes necessary to nominate a President every four years for nearly a century. In 1920 the only states in the union that went Democratic were the 11 southern states. Notwithstanding this rugged loyalty to the party, the masters of political intrigue now allow Republican states, in which there is scarcely a Democratic office holder, to dominate and control the party and fashion its policies. 7-18-48

"As Democrats who are irrevocably committed to Democracy as defined and expounded by Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and Woodrow Wilson, and who believe that all necessary steps must be taken for its preservation, we declare to the people of the United States as follows:

"1. We believe that the Constitution of the United States is the greatest charter of human liberty ever conceived by the mind of man.

"2. We oppose all efforts to invade on destroy the rights vouchsafed by it to every citizen of this republic.

"3. We stand for social and economic justice, which we believe, can be vouchsafed to all citizens only by a strict adherence to our Constitution and the avoidance of any invasion or destruction of the constitutional rights of the states and individuals. We oppose the totalitarian, centralized, bureaucratic government and the police state called for by the platforms adopted by the Democratic and Republican conventions.

Racial Integrity

"4. We stand for the segregation of the races and the racial integrity of each race; the constitutional right to choose one's associates; to accept private employment without governmental interference, and to earn one's living in any lawful way. We oppose the elimination of segregation, employment by Federal bureaucrats called for by the misnamed civil rights program. We favor home rule, local self-government and a minimum interference with individual rights.

"5. We oppose and condemn the action of the Democratic convention in sponsoring a civil rights program calling for the elimination of segregation, social equality by federal fiat, regulation of private employment practices, voting and local law enforcement.

"6. We affirm that the effective enforcement of such a program would be utterly destructive of the social, economic and political life of the southern people, and of other localities in which there may be differences in race, creed or national origin in appreciable numbers.

"7. We stand for the checks and balances provided by the three departments of our government. We oppose the usurpation of legislative functions by the executive and judicial departments. We unreservedly condemn the effort to establish nationwide a police state in this Republic that would destroy the last vestige of liberty enjoyed by a citizen.

"8. We demand that there be returned to the people, to whom of right they belong, those powers needed for the preservation of human rights and the discharge of our responsibility as Democrats for human welfare. We oppose a denial of those rights by political parties, a barter or sale of those rights by a political convention, as well as any invasion or violation of those rights by the federal government.

"We call upon all Democrats and upon all other loyal Americans who are opposed to totalitarianism at home and abroad to unite with us in ignominiously defeating Harry S. Truman and Thomas E. Dewey, and every other candidate for public office who would establish a police state in the United States of America.

CLAYTON REITERATES STATES' RIGHTS VOW

Appeal

Candidate Winds Up Drive In Nettleton Speech

Special to The Commercial Appeal

TUPELO, Miss., Aug. 23.—Winding up his campaign for First Congressional District representative at Nettleton Monday night, Claude Clayton, combat veteran of World War II, said, "I am a strong believe in States' Rights, down to the smallest unit of government. Mississippi is a white man's country, and as your congressman, I intend to work to keep it a white man's country. We need no help from Washington or New York in handling our problems."

He denounced the FEPC as a piece of legislation that would completely destroy "our democratic way of life."

He said he was for the Tombigbee-Tennessee Waterway as much as any man in Mississippi, and would work unceasingly for an appropriation to build it.

"I firmly believe that if I had been in Congress the past two years I could have gotten an appropriation for the building of this waterway. As it is, not one cent has been appropriated," he said.

Mr. Clayton predicted the veterans of the district would support him strongly.

"I am the only candidate in this race with any real military experience. I know the veterans' needs. I am their friend. I will work with and for them to eliminate red tape and equalize benefits for all veterans." Opposing Mr. Clayton are in incumbent, Representative John Rankin and Circuit Judge Raymond T. Jarvis.

He again emphasized the need for immediate aid to the farmers by the passage of an adequate parity price bill. He urged his 11-point program.

Mr. Claytotn also spoke at Kossuth, Rienzi and Saltillo. He was heard over a five-station radio network at 7:30 Monday night.

STATES' RIGHTS GROUP STARTED AT OLE MISS

Commercial Appeal

'Buddy' Bowen Is Chosen As Permanent Chairman

Memphis, Tenn.

Special to The Commercial Appeal

UNIVERSITY, Miss., July 27.—Behind doors closed to the uninvited, an Ole Miss States' Rights Democratic organization was formed at the University of Mississippi Monday night.

John H. (Buddy) Brown of Greenville, star Rebel blocker, was chosen in absentia to be permanent chairman. Numbering 30 students, most of whom went to Birmingham July 17, the organization reaffirmed its belief in the platform adopted at the Dixiecrat convention. Wed. 7-28-48

The students were read a letter from House Speaker Walter Sillers of Rosedale, Ole Miss alumnus, who said "It was most inspiring and encouraging to know that our young men of today are so determined to stand by our cause and fight for the fundamental principles of American Government."

Lamar Triplett of Louisville was named vice chairman; John Murray of Brandon, secretary, and Miss Bonnie Mills of Carthage, treasurer. Commercial

The group devised three types of memberships; full membership to student States' Rights Democrats over 21; associate membership, students under 21; and participating membership, faculty members believing in "States' Rights."

RALPH McGILL

Constitution, Atlanta Ga.

States Rights Hurt by Klaghorns

Sun. 7-25-48

The issue of States' rights has a lot of friends. They are to be found in the West and North, in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

The painful truth about the States' rights fight, as lost at Philadelphia, is that it was lost chiefly by, and through, those most loudly claiming to be its friends. They sabotaged, presumably because of their own State political ambitions, any chance of the friends of States' rights to fight shoulder to shoulder for those rights.

The plain truth is—and it needs to be said and widely known—that the Dixie-crat element in the South did more than any other one factor to bring about the nomination of Harry S. Truman and the adoption of a strong civil rights plank in the platform.

When the civil rights message went to Congress on last February 10, the more responsible Southern leaders warned against any bolt on the subject and urged their associates to let it sink quietly into the political waters into which it was cast.

Their advice was rejected. Let us honestly face what followed.

Issue In the South the Thurmonds, the Wrights, the Rankins, and others, apparently sensing a chance to make themselves local heroes, insistently and defiantly determined to make it an issue—and to keep it loud and clamorous. Certain interests made it easy for them to do so.

Thus, the fat was in the fire. Thus the fight was lost.

The more they went rushing to Tallahassee and Jackson, with threats and defiance, the more the administration was compelled to meet the issue and fight it through.

Every plan to organize a walkout against Harry S. Truman, compelled the rest of the Democratic Party to support Truman's position the more. Sun. 7-25-48

The more they insisted the extreme of the Southern position the more these loudest of our patriots aroused the Northern wing of the Party to defend its position.

Defeat So, step by step, the Thurmonds, Wrights, Rankins and those who shouted in their wake, heedlessly, but inexorably, compelled the nomination of Harry S. Truman and created the forces which were able to push through a strong civil rights plank and which may be able to write them into law. The more responsible Southern leaders were driven into silence or into going along.

The Southern people need to know this and be guided by it, now and in the future. If States' rights are to be saved in any degree they will have to be saved on the floor of Congress and they will surely be lost there if the clamorous "Dixie-crats" continue as heedless as before.

States' Rights There are, as stated at the beginning of this article, many persons who want to hold on to States' rights.

Such national figures as Gov. Earl Warren, of California, now the Republican Vice Presidential nominee, for years has vigorously opposed the lessening of State authority and "rights."

New York's Governor Tom Dewey reportedly has said privately that he believes the FEPC is a matter for States—(as the Federal employment offices have been turned back to the States)—and he has proved it by putting in an FEPC in New York State.

We in the South are not alone in the fear that Federal authority may become so centralized that local government—the wellsprings of democracy—may be destroyed.

Ill-Fitting But, the truth is—and this, too, the South must know—that when those who spoke for Mississippi, South Carolina and the walk-out group from Alabama, tried to put on the armor of States' rights in their fight, it simply didn't fit.

It was rusted and full of holes. The spectre of special interests such as the Tidelands Oil business, showed through. So did the racial prejudice problem appear through the rents in the armor. The Ku Klux Klan could be seen beneath it. These things may be dear to many and certainly are hateful to many. But they are not States' rights.

There were many in the Northern wing of the Party equally jealous of States' rights. There were many who wanted to help the South. There were others who, knowing that the South lags behind public opinion on the race question, as the North runs ahead of it, wanted to avoid any violent disruptions of Southern concepts.

Many were aware of the difficult problem in the South where is the majority of the Negro population and where also is to be found the fewest jobs and the least income.

But all these were thrust aside by the bolters and the "Dixie-crat" type of thinking. To have pleased these elements the National Convention would have had to disavow the entire civil rights concept and the whole American tradition of equal rights and privileges for all.

Klaghorns There were a few voices raised from the South which received attention. Georgia's Charlie Bloch was heard. Cecil Sims, of Tennessee, was heard. But it was too late. The fight was lost before a single delegate got to Philadelphia. The Klaghorns had defeated the Blochs and the Sims'.

There are many Southerners now committed to helping build a Republican Party in the South—a true second party. They mean they have repudiated the Klaghorn "Dixie-crat" type of thinking The Democrat has got to do that, too—to realize that the case for States' rights has many friends in all sections of the country. But they will not follow John C. Calhoun any more today than they did in his time. The Klaghorns have been with us too long anyhow—frightening off the best Southern voices with their noise and their threats.

Who are the real friends of the South? Those who deal with the realities or those who destroy what can be done by losing what can't be won?

Clearing Up Some Of The States Rights Confusion

The Record

Columbia S.C.

Wed. 7-28-48

The Dixiecratic movement, born at a Birmingham mass meeting, seems to have been troubled from the beginning with a certain confusion, which now may now be eliminated.

Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina has been insisting that he was actually named as the group's choice as nominee for President at the Birmingham conference-convention. But Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi, the vice presidential nominee, has been saying that he was not nominated, but merely recommended.

The Birmingham mass meeting had no authority to name candidates except for itself. But apparently Governors Thurmond and Wright are now agreed that they will call themselves candidates.

At a conference, held Saturday and attended by 28 former Southern Democrats, the two candidates and their advisors, from seven Southern states—no Georgian apparently participated even though the meeting was held in Atlanta—agreed to set up a fourth party, of which they would be the candidates.

The party is to be named the States Rights Democrats—it is an improvement over the headline name, Dixiecrats, heretofore worn by the Southern dissidents since it does not erroneously identify them with all of the Southern states, some of which haven't yet joined the movement. It also plans to conduct a nation-wide campaign, according to the Atlanta announcement, an announcement which clears up the confusion caused by Governor Thurmond's statement of last week that the movement was not a "bolt."

You cannot set up a fourth States Rights party, composed of former Democrats, without admitting that it is a bolt.

The trouble with the group is that the conference-convention acted too hastily at Birmingham, without planning, without even thinking. The States Rights leaders have had to do their thinking and planning since Birmingham.

And now is the time for a little more thinking. The splinter party movement is a mistake. It is the guarantee that the South will be back in the bag in 1952. And it's a bigger mistake if its campaign is to be made on the issue of state rights, if the Southern party is to be called, as it is now proposed to call it, the States Rights Democratic party.

For the Republican party today is the state rights party as the Democratic party used to be. Governor Earl Warren of California, the Republican vice presidential nominee, has been a vigorous opponent of all invasions of state authority. Even Governor Tom Dewey of New York is committed by his record to support F. E. P. C. only on the state level. It would be perfectly consistent with his support of the New York fair employment practices act and consistent also with Republican state rights doctrines for him to insist now that the whole matter of employment practices is a matter for the states; it was the Republican party which turned back the federal employment offices to the states. Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican leader in the Senate, is on record as opposed to the enactment of the F. E. P. C. Wed

The Republicans, of course, may not carry their advocacy of state rights as far this suggests. The South now has no real representation is the Republican party, no real voice in party affairs. It cannot have until it sets up in the South the two-party system prevailing elsewhere. But the Republican party is on record in its platform as supporting the Gossett-Lodge amendment to the constitution which would abolish forever the minority threat in national elections.

But the South, at least, should wait and see what develops in the special political session of Congress. If any considerable number of Republicans stand by the South or join with Southern Senators in preventing the imposition of cloture—and the South has always heretofore been able to find enough Republican aid to do this—it will supply an acid test of the Republican state rights intentions. And it will be a test conducted under the most unfavorable of conditions. The Republicans also want Negro votes in the coming campaign—the Gossett-Lodge amendment isn't yet a part of the constitution—and the South is offering them nothing, except a chance of Republican victory in those Southern states in which the States Rights Democratic party cannot hope to make headway.

And the States Rights leaders should not get too far out on the limb until they know what is to happen. For this may be the year for the South to get itself out of the bag forever, not simply for one election.

S.C. Democrats Told to Admit Negroes

CHARLESTON, S. C.—(U.P.)—Federal Judge J. Waties Waring angrily ordered South Carolina Democrats to admit Negroes to their party.

Waring, nemesis of the State's "white primary" advocates, signed a preliminary injunction opening the party registration books to Negroes. Jail awaits any party leaders who defy the writ, the jurist said.

* * *

THREE-FOURTHS of the crowd in the small United States District Courtroom were Negroes. Also present were about 25 of the 87 defendants named in the Negroes' suit for political equality.

Speaking to the defendants, Judge Waring said: "It is a shame and a disgrace for a case of this kind to come to court. We do not need a judge to tell us if we are Americans."

The suit was filed on behalf of Negroes who said their names were purged from the party books after they had registered in accordance with the United States Supreme Court decision giving them equal ballot rights.

Rebels May Get 6 States, Senator Says

7-19-48

The Courier Louisville

Hatch Disputes Southerner's Prediction

Washington, July 18 (AP)—The entrance of a "Dixiecrat" ticket into the presidential field brought a disputed prediction today that President Truman may lose the support of up to six Southern states in the November election.

Senator McClellan (D., Ark.) told a reporter he thinks the Southern Democratic rebel ticket may help take the electoral votes of half a dozen Southern states away from Truman and Senator Alben Barkley, his running mate.

The new ticket—Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi for Vice-President—was put forth at Birmingham yesterday as one Dixie answer to the President's civil-rights program.

'Sharp Split In Tennessee.'

McClellan — who fought the President's nomination but did not walk out of the Democratic convention — named Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, and Tennessee as possible participants in a bolt he said is almost certain to result in the regular Democratic Party's defeat in the presidential election. 7-19-48

He put Tennessee in the list, McClellan said, because of a sharp local division among Democrats there.

He said that if the Thurmond-Wright ticket gets on the ballot in Arkansas it may split the Democratic vote in his home state and give the Republicans some chance of winning there.

Hatch Disagrees.

McClellan's prediction was immediately challenged by Senator Hatch (D., N. M.), close personal friend of the President.

Hatch said he doesn't think the effort to place a fourth party in the field "will be effective in more than one or two states."

The New Mexico senator predicted election of a Truman-Barkley ticket even if some of the Southerners don't go along.

Hatch hinted the Democrats think there is some chance that Henry Wallace—scheduled to get the official nomination of his third party in Philadelphia next week end might not carry through until November. Wallace repeatedly has asserted he has no intention of quitting the race.

The Courier Journal

O'Mahoney Foresees Struggle.

"I'm not so sure about what Wallace is going to do," Hatch said. "Politics is in such a state of flux now that no one can say just what will happen in the next month or two."

Senator O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), another friend of the President, said the Birmingham rump convention's action in nominating Thurmond and Wright could be "rather serious from the standpoint of the Democratic Party."

"If the Southerners carry out this fight," he said, "it means that the Democratic Party as a whole will have to campaign a good deal more diligently in the South than it has heretofore." He added he does not think the entrance of the Dixiecrat ticket in the field "will have the effect of taking the South out of the Democratic column."

Louisville

O'Mahoney conceded that if the margin between Democrats and Republicans is close in any single state, a third-party ticket might cost the Truman-Barkley ticket that state's electoral backing. 7-19-48

Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York has indicated he may make a direct bid for Southern votes. Tentative plans have been made for him to campaign in Virginia, where he got 38 per cent of the vote in his 1944 race against Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Dixiecrat bolters made plans to bid for the 137 electoral votes of Alabama, Arkansas, Missisipi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Virginia, South Carolina, and North Carolina. 7-19-48

Only 20 Votes Are Sure.

They cast around for help elsewhere in such areas as Missouri and Kentucky, home states of the regular Democratic nominees, Oklahoma and Maryland.

Thus far, however, the rebels apparently could depend only on Alabama's 11 and Mississippi's nine electoral votes, already instructed to back somebody other than Truman. Georgia still is to name its 12 electors in a primary. Arkansas will pick nine and Texas 33 in state conventions.

Rump Convention, Full of Sound And Fury, Is Gone With the Wind

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Mon. 7-19-48

A Dozen Men Staged It All

By TARLETON COLLIER.

Staff Correspondent, The Courier-Journal.

Birmingham, July 18.—The veneer of noise, restless movement, and Confederate relics melted away swiftly. It was gone minutes after the conference of rebel States'-rights Democrats adjourned here at 6:09 last night. And the foundation was to be seen as a thing of flimsy props, the handiwork of hardly more than a dozen men.

Three doughty Governors who had kept the States'-rights movement alive had dwindled to two. Ben Laney of Arkansas might have had the States'-righters' nomination as President for the taking. It was he who had headed the movement since the conference in Jackson, Miss., in May. But some kind of light struck him at Philadelphia.

Ben Laney Drops In.

He was detouring Birmingham on his way back to Little Rock when he reluctantly decided to drop by the conference and speak his conviction. This was that the fight against civil rights must be made within the party, that "permanent division of our people" should be avoided.

This left only Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding Wright of Mississippi as the bitter-enders. But there are signs that Governor Thurmond also was going to stay away from Birmingham. As late as Friday night it was announced that he had business in Columbia, and that the South Carolina state-party chairman would appear for him. Mon. 7-19-48

Thurmond Not Too Happy.

However, he showed up about midway in yesterday's conference and found himself tapped as the Southerners' choice for President. He seems to have been not altogether happy about it.

Although there were 6,000 or so persons in Municipal Auditorium, the tapping was done by the resolutions committee of the conference. As late as 1 p.m. yesterday the little group behind the scenes had been unable to get together on a plan of strategy, even a set of candidates to substitute for Truman and Barkley.

Dixon Does a Coolidge.

After Laney became unavailable—disqualified by his strange new talk and by his decision to have no part of the rebellion—there was a turning to Frank Dixon, the former Alabama Governor who whipped the conference to a shouting demonstration by his keynote speech and its warnings of mongrelization of the race. But Dixon did not choose to run.

The Courier Journal

Scurrying between the auditorium and the Tutwiler Hotel, the resolutions committee at last came out with the Thurmond-Wright ticket. As a matter of fact, the two Governors didn't have a chance to escape. They were in the enterprise so deep that the draft became a matter of saving face.

Louisville Ky.

Crowd Kept In Dark.

The big crowd in the convention hall knew nothing of all this. There were a few badges announcing "Laney for President" and a placard here and there with the penciled slogan, "Win With Ben."

Later, however, when the resolutions committee brought in the word that it was Thurmond and Wright, the college boy with one of the placards simply wrote, "Thurmond, Not Truman," on the other side and dashed whooping into the parade. "Win With Ben" remained, but you might have seen in the fact a fair symbol of the day's confusion.

Everybody's In the Act.

Everybody was a delegate. Galleries as well as the main floor joined in voting. It cost nothing and it was a lot of fun. Most of the thousands there were local citizens and their wives and children who had heard the proceedings over the radio early in the day and came along for the show. It was the coolest spot in town, too. 7-19-48

Actual registration was only about 600, but that didn't matter. Everybody was a States'-righter eager to help out. The sign marking the seat of the Kentucky delegation (a stage prop, obviously) was carried up in one of the parades by a Birmingham housewife who once lived in Paducah in another, by an Ole Miss student in black sombrero and red band. All day yesterday only one person registered as an "official" delegate from Kentucky. The name was C. H. Blumer, Louisville.

Campaign to Be Different.

The States'-Righters' choices for President and Vice-President will not be candidates in the usual sense of barnstorming, speechmaking, and appeals to massed multitudes. Their message will be for the presidential electors and the state Democratic organizations. The point will be mainly to win votes in the Electoral College and not at the polls.

It is likely, of course, that Thurmond-Wright slates of electors will be on tickets to oppose Barkley-Truman slates where late primaries still are to be held.

The States'-Righters hope to do this in Kentucky, for example, though with only the vaguest of notion how it may be done.

Talk Brave, Hopes High.

Dixon

Thurmond and Wright doubtless will get the electoral votes from Alabama and Mississippi, where electors already are named and committed to vote against Truman. They should get South Carolina, with that state's native son as a candidate. 7-19-48

The other states have yet to be won, but there was brave talk from start to end of the conference that Truman wouldn't get a state in the South. Senator Eastland of Mississippi went out on the longest of limbs in a flat prediction that Truman would draw a goose egg in the Electoral College, without even the Democratic equivalents of Maine and Vermont for salvage.

Thurmond Spurns Class-Hate Group

Record, COlUMbia. S.C.

MON. 7-19-48

Endorsed For President, S. C. Governor Slams Gerald L. K. Smith, 'Rabble-Rousers'

Record

"We do not invite, and we do not need, the support of Gerald L. K. Smith or any other rabble-rousers who uses race prejudice and class hatred to inflame the emotions of our people," Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, endorsed by the Birmingham conference of Southern Democrats for president, declared this morning.

His statement came in reply to a request for his reactions to the proffer of support made by Gerald L. K. Smith, Christian Nationalist crusader.

Columbia S.C.

"I have never met Mr. Smith, and I was totally unaware that he was in Birmingham," Governor Thurmond said. "He had no part whatever in the conference of Southern Democrats Saturday."

The South Carolina Governor said the Southern fight is not a race fight but an effort to protect the principle of States' Rights, "without which the United States government cannot exist under its Constitution."

MON. 7-19-48

Governor Thurmond said he is "deeply concerned" over the effort of opposing groups to "smear our efforts with the false trapping of race hatreds. We are interested solely in protecting the rights of States to manage their own internal affairs, which is a fundamental guarantee of the Constitution of the United States," he declared.

"I call upon all true Americans to study our form of government in order to determine the true issues in this fight. They will be on our side unless they want a Federal totalitarian form of government, and I do not believe they want it."

Smith, nationalist director of the Christian Nationalist Crusade, said today he would recommend "to our leadership" taht they support the states' rights or Dixiecrat movement in every state.

Smith revealed that he was a "silent" delegate who attended the convention here Saturday, when dissident Southern Democrats endorsed a candidate for president and vice president.

He said he and his wife registered as delegates as "Mr. and Mrs. G. L. Smith of Oklahoma." Smith was not recognized in the audience.

He said he would recommend the states' rights principle because "Our three million enrolled followers believe that the Negro and the Jew are exerting too much control in American politics."

"The Southern Revolt"

Herald Tribune

To the New York Herald Tribune:

Your July 19 editorial, "The Southern Revolt," is sadly disillusioning. Over a period of many years the Herald Tribune has established a reputation as outstanding champion of civil rights. You demonstrated inspiring courage in winning that reputation. Publication of the magnificent Bert Andrews exposure of the "Washington Witch Hunt" was a supreme example of this courage because it was costly to you. It caused the unfortunately large number of people who think that civil rights are something only for those who agree with them to murmur about the Herald Tribune. You must have been aware that you would provoke this whispering campaign when you published the Andrews articles. That's what makes your courage genuine.

But in the July 19 editorial on the Southern revolt you show a disheartening willingness to ditch civil rights in order to slap Truman. You argue that Truman's civil rights program was "in general well conceived." You hail "the plank in the Democratic platform supporting it." But you condemn Truman for lacking "leadership," "sense of timing," "magnanimity," "an enlightened understanding of the Southern point of view," and "an awareness of the sources of national unity." And you conclude with this rejection of your initial approval of Truman's civil rights position: "Yet the unity of America is itself a transcendent good, and this can be breached when small men, seeking partisan advantage, push even a good cause to dogmatic extremes."

New York H.T.

Mon.

7-26-48

This sentence is not only a renunciation of the Herald Tribune's dearly purchased reputation as a champion of individual freedom, but it is inaccurate in its implication. The President cannot be said to have "pushed" a good cause to dogmatic extremes. In fact, Truman backed the more moderate statement on civil rights sponsored by a majority of the platform committee, but amended by the convention

E. W. PROXMIRE.

Cambridge, Mass., July 19, 1948.

Thurmond's Cause Gets

The Record

N. C. Setback

But 20 Electoral Votes Assured

Columbia S.C.

Wed. 8-4-48

The North Carolina board of elections recognized the pro-Wallace Progressive party of the state today but refused to recognize the anti-Truman States' Rights Democrats.

Board Chairman Hubert E. Olive said in handing down the denial that, "I think it is clear that the petition of the States' Rights Democrats doesn't comply with rules and regulations of the board."

There was no way to determine today that qualified voters had signed petitions asking that the names of Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi be placed on the general election ballot. Thurmond is the new party's presidential candidate; Wright, its vice presidential candidate.

The States' Righters previously had said they would carry their cause to the courts if a denial were issued by the state elections board.

Olive today requested Attorney General Harry McMullan to cooperate with the new party in bringing a test case into the courts. He thought the case would be presented to the state supreme court by September 1.

Thurmond Silent

Governor Thurmond said today he would rely on his North Carolina friends to push the splinter party's cause.

He refused any other comment on the Tarheel state's election board action.

Wed. 8-4-48

Twenty Electoral Votes

Despite the seaback in North Carolina, today saw 20 electoral college votes assured for the States' Rights Democratic ticket of Thurmond and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi.

The Mississippi Democratic convention yesterday pledged its nine elector candidates to support Thurmond and Wright for the presidency and vice presidency.

Alabama's 11 Democratic electoral college votes previously were placed in the Thurmond-Wright column. Democratic nomination in both the states is equivalent to election.

There seemed little doubt that the governor's home state's eight votes would be cast for him, although the nominees have yet to be selected and directed by the state party's executive committee.

A group of 18 college students at the Mississippi convention protested that it was placing the state "in opposition to the moral trend of the nation."

8-4-48.

Wright silenced hecklers by asking that the visitors be given a "courteous hearing."

Second Convention

In Washington, United States Rep. L. Mendel Rivers of Charleston urged a second state Democratic convention to pledge this state's eight electors to Thurmond and Wright.

8-4-48

The May 19 convention instructed its electors, to be named by the state party executive committee, to vote against President Truman because of his civil rights proposals.

Rivers said in a telegram to executive committee Chairman W. P. Baskin that the convention should meet again "so that in connection with the election in November no federal judge can impose his views as a substitute for the unmistakable will of the duly elected delegates of the Democratic party of South Carolina.

"There is no question in my mind that the people of South Carolina want an opportunity to repudiate Truman just as he has repudiated us."

Wed. 8-4-48

Meanwhile, Calhoun county's party executive committee became the fourth in this state to endorse the states' rights candidates. The decision was unanimous, state executive committeeman J. A. Merritt reported.

Similar action has been taken by Anderson, Greenwood and Charleston county committees.

Writer Says South Must Defend Self

States' Rights Sacred, Declares J. Cinegarer

To The Commercial Appeal:

I think Mr. Charles G. Hamilton makes himself look strange-bizarre in his deductions on the matter of "states rights." Says he: "The war with Mexico was to protect the rights of citizens in disputed areas."

The war with Mexico was to steal Texas, Arizona and other states from Mexico. Those "citizens" in Texas were very few compared with Mexicans at that time.

Again: "The American Revolution was fought not for separate colonies but for 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' for the people."

Not exactly, brother. The colonies could have enjoyed "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" under British rule if the Brits had allowed us representation in Parliament. Canada enjoys "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" under British rule. Washington, Jefferson, Franklin and others had no idea of separating from Britain. Tom Paine's insistence on "separation" was the urge to push "separation." And all this was not strictly for human consideration. It was political only.

Again: "We fought for the human rights of Cubans in 1898." Not exactly. Cubans had as much human rights under Spain as now. We simply got mad at Spain because of the sinking of our Battleship Maine and wanted to thrash her—and it never has been proved that Spain sank the Maine.

Our government simply forgot, in toto, that during our Revolution Spain drew all of Europe into an armed neutrality which kept England in check. They were very few in Cuba who raised their voices for independence. Spain was better to us than we were to her.

The good Brother brings our immortal L. Q. C. Lamar into the picture to prove his (Hamilton's) idea that we should stick to the Democratic Party — "Northern Yankeecrats" — and swallow the President's civil rights program which Lamar would fight as viciously as a lion if he were living. Lamar was not confronted with the things we are today.

If the good Brother wants to see the Yankeecrats—in the future—force the South to have black teachers in our schools, mixed with the whites—force employers to hire black labor against their wills—force the sheriffs in the South to pay heavy fines for a "mob-killer," something beyond the sheriff's and county's control—send Federal soldiers down here to enforce these things, then he can go ahead and vote for Truman or Dewey.

Above all, the South is not going to sit down, spineless, and vote for anyone who may (potentially) crucify our beloved South on a cross of Federal bayonets.

I stand for States' Rights under the Constitution and white supremacy. Away with the demagogs. For me, it is Thurmond and Wright.

J. CINEGARER,

Shaw, Miss.

WHITE SUPREMACY WAGON?

Editor, The Advertiser:

Much is being done by the Truman forces, if the handful of people supporting him can be called forces, to deliver the state's electoral vote to the nominees of the National Democratic Party. . . .

I note certain politicians are announcing their support of the nominees of the May primary, but are failing to lend active support to the Thurmond-Wright ticket. States' rights Democrats do not need the half way support of such politicians; these publicly elected straddlers are going to have to make their stands a little clearer to Alabama Democrats. All of our senators and congressmen are either going to have to get on or get off the Thurmond-Wright wagon.

Those who fail to get on the Thurmond-Wright wagon of white supremacy and states' rights are going to get voted out of office by Alabama Democrats at the first coming primary election.

Montgomery Adv.

The 'States'

There is much talk right now about "states' rights," especially here in the South. Much of this talk is charged with political emotion, which obscures perspective on the problem.

The News

Amid such talk it is of value to have the clear, cool perspective of the scholar. A world authority on the subject of federal government—of which the "states' rights" problem is a feature—is the Australian scholar, K. C. Wheare.

In a book called *Federal Government*, Mr. Wheare—now Gladstone professor of government and public administration in the University of Oxford—has studied the governments of four federations: the United States, Canada, Australia and Switzerland.

Birmingham, Ala.

There is one general tendency in all federal governments which is apparent from Mr. Wheare's study—the general governments in all four federations have grown stronger.

Mon. 7-19-48

Why is this? "The general governments have grown in importance in comparison with the regional governments, because they began from nothing and because they were endowed with control over most of the important matters with which governments have to deal."

Except in the case of Switzerland, the general governments have not been given considerable new areas of jurisdiction. They have simply developed, through practice and interpretation, more and more intensively the area which was assigned to them originally.

Among the areas they have so developed are the control of defense and the power to make peace and war, powers over foreign relations, particularly over international trade, and in the sphere of finance.

* * *

The chief forces which have caused general governments to increase in strength at the expense of states, as Mr. Wheare sees them, have been fourfold: war, economic depression, the growth of social services and the mechanical revolution in transport and industry.

"To express the same things in different words, they were power politics, depression politics, welfare politics and the internal combustion engine." Today Mr. Wheare might have added, ". . . and atomic energy."

To survive through war and economic depression, all federations have had to submit to large measures of unitary control. "The price of victory in war and the price of economic recovery is at least temporary unification."

Consequently war, or power politics, and economic crisis, or depression politics, are the enemies of states' rights. Peace and prosperity are prerequisites for the successful exercise of states' rights.

The growth of social services, Mr. Wheare believes, need not prove destructive to states' rights.

The News

"The defect in the federal systems in the past has been largely that the regional (state) governments lacked the financial resources necessary to carry out the social services which had been committed to their jurisdiction by the constitutions. This may be remedied by a reallocation of financial powers, and the federal principle can be safeguarded even if grants from the general governments are part of the reallocation, provided that the grants are guaranteed by the constitution so that the regional governments are not left to depend upon the good will of the general government."

Birmingham, Ala.

The increasing strength of general governments has made regional or state governments more self-conscious and self-assertive. Strong desires to be separate and independent still animate some regional or state governments—witness Quebec in Canada, Western Australia, the Swiss cantons and the Southern states of America.

It is true that the rights of the states are often used to defend economic interests which do not desire to be regulated by the general governments or by any other governments. But in many respects the concern for the rights of states is genuine and desirable.

Mon. 7-19-48

"One of the most urgent problems in the world today," writes Mr. Wheare, "is to preserve diversities either where they are worth preserving for themselves, or where they cannot be eradicated even if they are not desirable, and at the same time to introduce such a measure of unity as will prevent clashes and facilitate co-operation."

That is the problem for Southern thinking on states' rights.

Many Viewpoints

To the Editor of The News:

My heart bleeds for Mr. Horace C. Wilkinson.

Re the space which you devoted to Mr. Wilkinson's tirade in your Voice of the People, congratulations again on being fair and democratic in publishing all sides of a question.

The News

Re the content of the letters in which Mr. Wilkinson poured forth his ire, NUTS! (and I use that term with all due respect for its incomparable usage at Bastogne).

Is Mr. Wilkinson Mr. Alabama? Is Mr. Wilkinson Mr. South?

If I may digress for a moment, I should like to say that I have lived in Alabama for two and a half years and expect to be here for three more months. During this time I have been an avid reader of the Voice of the People. I have noted with pleasure the practice of The News to present all sides of controversial issues and I feel that the editor's stand on them is commendable. It is unequivocal and forward-looking. True, it treads lightly in some cases but not so lightly that it can be accused of marking time. This is understandable.

Birmingham, Ala.

Until now, I have never offered a contribution to your column though I have often been prompted to do so. But now I cannot pass up the desire to comment upon Mr. Wilkinson's letters since they seem handily to roll into one unattractive ball all of the lamentable attitudes of at least one stratum in the South.

There is, first, Mr. Wilkinson's well phrased and important question: "When, should we ask ourselves, is the South ever going to become of age politically?" I echo that feeling precisely.

Mon.

When, indeed? When?

Certainly that will never be until it rids itself of the self-centered, disappointed spoiled-child, sorry-for-itself approach to the things which affect the development of the country—the things which every section of the country should and must meet squarely and seek to solve constructively.

7-19-48

Certainly that will never be so long as certain of its people believe they are Southerners carrying a cross first, and citizens of the U. S. A. second.

Certainly that will never be so long as the major vein of its political thinking evolves from the ideas behind "our traditional way of life" instead of advancement.

Certainly that will never be until competent leaders bring about the understanding in all people that a lot of country exists beyond their front gates and that they, by virtue of being Americans and shareholders in a country to which the world looks for leadership, have a deep responsibility to fulfill.

Certainly that will never be until a mature approach to social and economic responsibilities displaces a way of thinking which prompts a vociferous minority to run away from the political community, insulted because the President of the United States (no less than nearly 200 years after this has been the United States of America) advocates rights which are the basis of our government and which are the foundation of the Constitution.

Mon.

Certainly that will never be so long as any group of individuals thinks it can override the rights and privileges of even one American.

7-19-48

And another quote from Mr. Wilkinson's letter: "That vote can be delivered with clock-like regularity for the Democratic Party if that party stands for the decent things in life." Mr. Wilkinson has the gall to say that when, in another letter, he asks: "Cannot Alabama gain more by withholding its electoral vote from every candidate who favors civil rights, than it can by the unconditional surrender of the right of children yet unborn to be free from federal domination and control of such domestic matters as voting, lynch, segregation, and employment practices?"

How can Mr. Wilkinson think that voting and lynching are not matters of concern to the federal government, to the country as a whole?

States' rights? Surely states' rights, but with them people's rights. What a travesty when some people shout "states' rights" when many of their fellow citizens, underprivileged white as well as Negro, aren't allowed God-given and constitutionally endowed rights.

I do not absolve other states in other sections of the country of guilt on this count. But I do believe that the Southern ones have produced more than their share of examples. Does Mr. Wilkinson perhaps view people's and states' rights as did Huey Long in Louisiana who was so often quoted as saying, "I'm the constitution in this state!"

The News

I should like it understood that I am not an iconoclast when it comes to traditions and ways of life. I firmly believe that certain traditions should be inherent in the ways of life of the many regions in the country—but traditions which reflect honor, dignity, and human understanding. Those in conflict should be swept away, buried in shame. In the South that has too long been left undone.

Too long delayed has been the approach to an attitude which says, instead, "Let's quit whimpering and stand on our own two feet to do with our potential what can and should be done with it!"

Too long have young people been trekking away from the South feeling that they must go elsewhere in order to prove their worth.

I fully recognize and happily acknowledge the advances which are making themselves known in the South today, nurtured by people like Hodding Carter and Ellis Arnall. May these advances multiply 10,000 fold! And they will—

Birmingham

When the South grasps the mature reality that it takes knowledge and education to spearhead progress and to provide a happy and secure life for every individual.

Ala.

When it realizes that for every one of its citizens, Negro and white, who advances himself, it, too, benefits and takes one more unerring step toward the position it justly deserves and which it is responsible for attaining.

Mon. 7-19-48

No offense intended, but for Mr. Wilkinson's information, I am not a "damyankee." I was born in New Orleans and have lived in the South all my life except for some time spent flying over Germany during the recent war.

(CAPT.) H. G. LAMBERT, JR.

Craig AF Base, Selma, Ala.

STATES' RIGHTS HOPES SURGE HIGH WITH PLAN FOR ACTIVE CAMPAIGN

The Commercial Appeal

Chairman Sillers Thinks New Party Will Take Place Of New Dealers

Memphis, Tenn.

ORGANIZATION IS SHAPED

More Than 125 Electoral Votes Predicted — Thurmond Will Launch Vigorous Speaking Tour Soon

Mon. 7-19-48

By JOHN R. HENRY

International News Service Writer

BIRMINGHAM, July 18. — The chairman of the new Jeffersonian Democratic Party said Sunday that it has "an excellent chance" to become a major political power.

While preliminary plans for an all-out campaign are being mapped, Walter Sillers asserted:

"I beieve we have an excellent chance to displace the bosses of the New Deal Democrats so that the Jeffersonian faction will be recognized as the real national Democratic Party."

Faction Organized Now

Sillers, speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives, explained:

"We have a real organization now, and we are in position to carry the fight into every Southern state—even into Harry Truman's backyard." He added:

Mon.

"We believe we can obtain more electoral votes than the New Dealers. And if we do, then the Jeffersonian States' Rights Party will become the real Democratic Party of the Nation." 7-19-48

Sillers said it is possible for the States' Rights candidates, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, to obtain more than 125 ballots in the electoral college.

Thurmond was indorsed for the presidency and Wright nominated for the vice presidency in the Birmingham meeting of the States' Righters through the Democratic Party organization of each state.

These state political organizations will be asked to instruct their electors to vote for Thurmond and Wright and, by all means, against President Truman, the Democratic nominee, and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York, who carries the Republican banner.

Thurmond To Campaign

In addition, the South's battle against the Democratic convention's iron-fisted civil rights policy will be taken directly to the voters.

Governor Thurmond announced that he would launch a vigorous speaking tour in "the not too distant future." Commercial

Thurmond and Wright said they would confer at an early date to arrange speaking engagements and other campaign tactics. Appeal

Sillers, meanwhile, said that the battle against civil rights would be activated in each state by separate committees—one to prosecute the campaign and another to raise funds for it.

He said that these committees had not been appointed. They are expected to be named within the next two weeks. 7-19-48

As the Jeffersonian Democrats organized at Birmingham, they adopted an eight-point program of "principles." Memphis, Tenn.

These include a seathing denunciation of the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia last week and a staunch stand against Federal laws controlling employment and abolishing poll taxes.

SOUTHERNERS PICK LANEY

The Times

Arkansas Governor Heads States Rights Executive Committee

New York, N.Y.

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 28 (UP) —Gov. Ben T. Laney of Arkansas was named general chairman of the executive committee of States Rights Democrats today. Thurs

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, States Rights candidates for President and Vice President, announced campaign personnel in a joint statement released here and in Jackson, Miss. 7-29-48

They named fourteen other members of the executive committee which will spearhead their national drive — two each from seven Southern states.

The committee included former Gov. Frank Dixon and R. T. Goodwyn of Alabama, J. O. Emmerich and Everett Truly of Mississippi, Frank Upchurch and C. E. Shepherd of Florida, Arch Rowan and Palmer Bradley of Texas, John Daggett and C. E. Parker of Arkansas, William P. Baskin and George Warren of South Carolina, and Judge Leander Perez and Frank J. Looney of Louisiana.

Judge Merritt Gibson of Longview, Tex., was appointed national campaign director and George C. Wallace of Jackson, Miss., national campaign treasurer.

Dixiecrats Defy 'Rights' Plans

Memphis, Tenn. Memphis World

Tues 7-20-48

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(SNS)—A strange conglomeration of incensed political bed-fellows, angered at the civil rights platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties, Saturday, hatched an intended booby-trap for President Harry S. Truman and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey in shouting defiance at the candidates who have agreed to press for civil rights legislation. Tues

Despite the on-lookers from virtually all of the Southern states, the conference in city Auditorium was almost a bi-partisan show cooked up by Alabama and Missippi, with South Carolina striving to get into the act. 7-20-48

All day long, the delegates, egged on by 6,000 shouting spectators, peformed in a circusy, sideshow manner to the applauding eation of the crowd as speakers belabored Pres. Truman, civil rights, Negroes and promised almost unendingly "not to have this so-called civil rights rammed down our throats."

SOME SPECTACLE The World

It was a bewildering spectacle, which almost bordered on incoherence, as speakers repeated the same half-truths, distortions and fears regarding the true implications of the civil rights program and while they lamented encroachment of the federal government on states' rights. Memphis, Tenn.

In the end the States Rights Conference nominated Gov. Strum Thurmond of South Carolina as their candidate to oppose the Democrats' Truman-Barkley ticket and the Republicans' Dewey-Warren slate. Gov. Fielding Wright, who almost singlehandedly birthed the "Fourth Party" movement, was designated the vice-presidential choice.

Once this was done and the formality of bringing Gov. Thurmond to the platform completed, the South Carolinians burst into a harangue on Pres. Truman, while repeating the fears of "Negroes in our schools, theaters, and homes." Once this trade was finished the Conference hastily adjourned with a promise to meet again.

Walter Sillers, speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives, was named permanent chairman of the conference after Alabama's race-baiting Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey opened the meeting. Ralph Lee of Houston, Texas was elected permanent chairman. Memphis World

The "secessionists" sported Confederate flags, pictures of Robert E. Lee, and various state standards as they paraded almost incessantly in the pandemonius-flooded auditorium. Memphis, Tenn.

DIXON KEYNOTER

Former Gov. Frank Dixon of Alabama made the keynote address. Dixon in a seditious speech attacked the civil rights pogram as "designed solely to catch the Negro vote of the North." Tues.

"We all know," Dixon stormed, "there is no lynching in the South today. Race riots have made some Northern cities famous, but we have none." 7-20-48

He described the meeting as being "made at Philadelphia when the convention advocated a social revolution in the South."

The States' Rights Chairman Walter Sillers thundered "We are here to show that constitutional government is not dead in this nation, despite what happened at Philadelphia.

BATTLE OF PHILLY World

Speakers unceasingly fought "The Battle of Philadelphia" in their addresses. So much so that it became repetitious as charges from the ridiculous to the impossible were grossly-magnified by the delegates whose supposed anger on civil rights was use to conceal their lobbying efforts for the tideland oil interests, which wants the federal government to hand bac kto the states the billion dollar deposits of sideland oil in Missisippi, Louisiana and Texas. Memphis, Tenn.

The puny politicians effectively used the racial issue as a smoke-screen. Unofficial candidates were present from Texas, California, Louisiana, Alabama and Missisippi (all in the tideland oil orbit) North Carolina, South Carolina, Maryland, Arkansas, Tennessee, Florida, Oklahoma, Indiana, Georgia, Virginia and Kentucky. 7-20-48

"The Southern Revolt"

Herald Tribune

To the New York Herald Tribune:

President Truman may "lack leadership, the sense of timing and the semblance of magnanimity which might have made endurable to the South his emphasis on civil rights," as stated in your editorial of July 19, "The Southern Revolt." Yet what other President, since Lincoln, has had the courage of his convictions on an issue that may prove dynamite to a large political group?

There are thousands who feel that the timing, at least, is perfect. While millions of dollars are being spent for European rehabilitation, while the United Nations concerns itself with the troubles in Palestine, while America is settling down to peace after a long and hard war, when is the time more ripe than now for bringing to a close the long, unnecessary suffering that has been inflicted on millions of Negroes through segregation, social injustice and bigotry? New York, N.Y.

Continuing to soothe the South at the expense of the safety and comfort and liberty of the Negro race will never solve the problem of civil rights. Negroes have waited patiently for a leader who will act, not talk, and who, at the sacrifice of popularity, political prestige and even party unity, will endeavor to give to every man his due—"Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." 7-24-48

M. WILSON.

Brooklyn, July 19, 1948. Sat.

'IT'S NOT NEW PARTY,' WRIGHT POINTS OUT

The Commercial Appeal

Thurs.

Seeks Electoral Votes With Thurmond, But They Are Not Candidates

Memphis, Tenn.

By The Associated Press

JACKSON, Miss., July 21.—Governor Wright Wednesday insisted that he and Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina are not "candidates" for the offices of Vice President and President, respectively. 7-22-48

The Mississippi Governor explained he did not consider the Birmingham States' Rights Conference last Saturday the formation of a new party.

"We have not been nominated as candidates by any political party," the Governor said.

Recommended To Party

"We were recommended to the Democratic Parties in the various states as men suitable to be President and Vice President, and in accord with the principles of the States' Rights movement," he said.

Reminded by newsmen that he and Governor Thurmond are considered by many voters to be candidates in effect, Governor Wright said:

"There has never been a nomination and so far as I know there will be none on Oct. 1."

On Oct. 1 a States' Rights Conference of presidential electors is scheduled to be held in Birmingham to solidify the electoral strength for the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Governor Wright pointed out that if the Electoral College fails to give a majority of its votes to one man, the three receiving the greatest number then go into an election in the House of Representatives, where each state has one vote.

Only Moral Obligation

The Commercial Appeal

"Electors are free agents," he said. "Their pledges are a moral obligation, not a legal one. The electors who are already chosen can vote for whom they please."

The matter of getting electors to support the Thurmond-Wright ticket is being handled in each state in accordance with the individual party regulations in those states, Wright said. Memphis, Tenn.

He said the Mississippi Democratic Convention which will be reconvened here Aug. 3 is likely to "pledge" its electors to the Thurmond-Wright ticket, but may leave them "unpledged." Thurs.

Governor Wright later announced the States' Rights leaders will meet in Atlanta Saturday to plan their campaign of opposition to President Truman and his civil rights program. He said Governor Thurmond would attend the meeting. 7-22-48

Glen Taylor Plans Bill to Repeal Draft

Herald Tribune

Will Introduce Measure at Session Today

New York, N.Y.

PHILADELPHIA, July 25 (UP). —Senator Glen H. Taylor, Progressive party candidate for Vice-President, said tonight he will introduce a bill to repeal the draft law when the special session of Congress opens tomorrow. Mon

"The bill to repeal the draft will have the support of millions of Americans who cherish peace," the Idahoan told "The Young Progressives of America." The Young Progressives, meeting here, are preparing a campaign to mobilize youthful backing for Henry A. Wallace and Senator Taylor all over the country.

Representative Leo Isacson, American Labor party, of New York, has already promised to sponsor a draft-repeal bill in the House when Congress convenes.

Senator Taylor called the peace-time draft law "the culminating act of the joint Republican-Democratic drive toward a new world war." He said his repealer will be "the first legislative act" of the Progressive party.

"At the same time, we will press for elimination of segregation in the armed services," he added.

The Progressive party platform demands an anto-segregation law and repeal of the draft act.

'In Dixieland I'll Take My Stand'

The C I O News Washington, D.C

Mon. 7-26-48

By ARTHUR RIORDAN

POLITICS was boiling so heavily last week that it appeared for a while that Henry Wallace's group might lose the claim to the title of third party.

While Henry's followers gathered in Philadelphia to vote "ja" on a ready-made platform and nominate Wallace and Sen. Glen H. Taylor, the anti-Truman Dixie Democrats were already campaigning to unsolidify the Solid South.

Nominated at Birmingham, Ala., as standard-bearers for the Dixiecrats were Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina (famous for his confused metaphor at the Democratic convention: "I guess I'm giving you medicine you don't like to hear") and Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi (of whom the Atlanta Constitution said: "It would be interesting to know if Gov. Wright knows what part the tidelands oil interests have in promoting him and his fourth party?").

THE States Rights Democrats at the Alabama gathering included delegates from Maryland, South Carolina, the District of Columbia, Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee and—surprisingly—from California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana and Colorado.

Among the "notables" present: Rev. and Mrs. Gerald L. K. Smith, Alfalfa Bill Murray, Big Jim Folsom, and Frank Ellison Best (who peppered the Democratic convention in Philadelphia with literature urging that he be nominated for President and that only whites be allowed to vote).

Conspicuously absent: Gov. Earl Long, of Louisiana, and Herman Talmadge, candidate for governor in Georgia.

Gerald Smith was sad when the Dixiecrats decided that he was too hot even for them. In a statement Thurmond disavowed Smith's support. Smith, founder of the Christian Nationalist Crusade, was even sadder **for "I kept myself deliberately in the background because I was anxious to do nothing that would introduce extraneous controversy** into this wholesome and historic gathering."

But, he wasn't deterred. "I have called a convention for Aug. 20 and 21 in St. Louis of my followers and there I shall recommend to our leadership that they support the States' Rights principles in every state."

In a statement Thurmond denied that the issue was white supremacy. He declared he believes in improving the Negro's lot, but insisted that segregation was necessary.

In rejecting Smith's aid, he said: "We do not invite or need the support of any rabble-rouser who uses race hatred to inflame the emotions of the people.

"We are interested solely in protecting the rights of states to manage their own internal affairs."

Mon. 7-26-48

THE Dixiecrats held their rump session in protests against the strong civil rights plank adopted over their violent objections at the regular Democratic convention.

The keynote was the first of a number of oratorical blasts at Truman and his civil rights program. Ex-Gov. Frank Dixon, of Alabama, did some fancy keynoting. He cried: "The people of the South are determined, thank God, to preserve the basic principles of democracy and to prevent the establishment of a police state, vicious as are all police states vicious, and to prevent the end of human and personal freedom throughout this land."

The C I O News

Dixon is a corporation lawyer.

The oratory waxed warmer and warmer. And, every orator knew how to bring a lagging audience to its feet in a shouting demonstration. All they had to do was mention the magic name "Robert E. Lee" or the magic name "Jefferson Davis." Other sure-fire cheer-getters: "a stab in the back for the South" and the playing of "Dixie" by the band.

How did one get to be a delegate? All you had to do was walk in, find yourself a seat and join in the shouting. A lot of people did.

Washington, D.C

What does the fourth—or maybe it's third—party expect to do come November? Well, listen to Sen. James Oliver Eastland (D., Miss.): "Mr. Truman won't get a single electoral vote. The people of America respect integrity and honesty and they won't vote for Harry Truman."

7-26-48

In 1942, Eastland was elected to the Senate with the votes of only 51,355 of Mississippi's population of 2,183,796.

One surprise of the Dixie conference was the bolt from the gathering by Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas. Laney, who had been a leader of Southern opposition at Philadelphia, declared:

"The spirit of obstinacy and revenge is not the spirit of the South. The hasty action at Fort Sumpter and the ultimate results, even unto this day, are well remembered. We are right in our opposition to the platform planks on civil rights. But we in the South are outnumbered. We are licking our wounds, but our spirit is not broken. We are Americans."

The crowd was belligerent against any dissension. When Brig. Gen. Herbert Holdrige, a retired officer who was an announced candidate for president at Philadelphia, rose to his feet and tried to make some unheard protest, the audience screamed "throw that Communist out." A police escort helped Holdridge out of the hall. (He is NOT a Communist.)

Mon.

Odds and ends: A lady known as the "Wool Hat Woman of Georgia"

lina standard, "because someone's got to carry it" . . Texas' banner was carried by a woman who said her father had been a Philadelphia delegate and that she had come to Birmingham to meet him. . . . 55 collegians from "Ole Miss" College kept chanting "to hell with Truman." . . . When resolutions were read, the chairman would ask: "Is there any discussion?" There never was . . . When the vote was put there never was any opposition, either. . . .

It seems that the famous British historian, Arnold Toynbee, had lectured at Birmingham Southern College recently. . . . State Sen. Lloyd Price, of Florida, told the Dixiecrats he didn't like Toynbee's designation of the South as a backward section . . . "There isn't a Negro student in the whole South who doesn't know more history than Toynbee," Price declared. "He's the favorite of the lee-be-ral, leftist, in-te-lec-tua; people in this country."

7-26-48

The name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt was never mentioned at the Dixiecrat convention.

The Advertiser

THE PROSPECTS

On the present face of things, The Advertiser has seen no permanent, long-range answer to the South's grievous problem in the diversion of electoral votes to a Dixie Dummy (as yet unnamed: Thurmond was not actually "nominated" in Birmingham). But it is for every citizen to make his own assessment of the possibilities. Here is the status of the electoral votes:

Montgomery, Ala

ALABAMA—11 electoral votes already pledged against Truman.

MISSISSIPPI—9 votes, also committed to vote for someone besides Truman.

LOUISIANA—10 votes not committed, but former Gov. Sam Jones says state Democratic committee can instruct electors.

Sat. 7-24-48

TENNESSEE—12 electors chosen in convention, States' Righters say convention has power to remove electors; therefore can make them vote any way it wants.

GEORGIA—12 votes. Electors still to be named in primary election.

TEXAS—33 votes. Electors will be chosen by Democratic convention and can be instructed.

ARKANSAS—9 electors to be named in convention and can be pledged against Truman.

VIRGINIA—11 representatives in electoral college. Already chosen by convention and pledged for Truman, but anti-Truman forces contend party can instruct them otherwise.

SOUTH CAROLINA—8 electors to be chosen by State Democratic executive committee. Electors will be pledged against Truman by state convention resolution, but subject to change because of yesterday's court ruling that the Democratic Party is open to everybody. That may result in a new convention and widespread changes.

The Advertiser

NORTH CAROLINA—14 electors. Chosen in convention and not pledged but can be.

Montgomery Ala

The question is how many of these votes can be withheld from Truman. One of the handicaps is time. Another is the unspoken but indicated opposition of many high-ranking officeholders, particularly congressmen and senators. Such ones as Senator Byrd of Virginia, Senator George and Russell of Georgia, as well as Gov. Laney of Arkansas—all of whom the bolters had looked to for important help—have spurned the diversion project.

Sat 7-24-48

States Righters Appoint Personnel for Campaign

Herald Tribune New York, N.Y.

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 28 (UP).—Governor Ben T. Laney of Arkansas, was named general chairman of the Executive Committee of States Rights Democrats today.

Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, States Rights candidates for President and Vice-President, announced campaign personnel in a joint statement released here and in Jackson, Miss.

They named fourteen other members of the Executive Committee which will spearhead their national drive, two each from seven Southern states. The committee included former Governor Frank Dixon and R. T. Goodwyn, of Alabama; J. O. Emmerich and Everett Truly, of Mississippi; Frank Upchurch and C. E. Shepherd, of Florida; Arch Rowan and Palmer Bradley, of Texas; John Daggett and C. E. Parker, of Arkansas; William P. Baskin and George Warren, of South Carolina, and Judge Leander Perez and Frank J. Looney, of Louisiana.

Thurs.

7-29-48

7-29-48

Daily World

The South's New Party?

Rebellious Southern Democrats, sulking and steaming over the inclusion of a strong civil rights plank in the Democratic platform and the nomination of President Truman as the National Democratic Party standard bearer, met in Birmingham, Saturday, July 13, adopted a set of principles and nominated a Southern States' Rights ticket. 7-20-48

Many of the prominent figures in this rump "conference" were retired politicians, defeated public officers and klan-spirited leaders. But Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolnia and Arkansas had their state party leaders on hand. However, Arkansas' Governor Ben Laney, shortly after the conference adjournment, broke with the States' righters. Tues. Atlanta, Ga.

The conference was called to work out strategy to make the South count politically, to devise new barriers against human rights, to build new defenses for "white supremacy" and to provide a comeback for waning and discredited politicians. The meeting barred Negroes. The delegates were nearly all of one mind.

No spirit of democracy or sportsmanship prevailed at the conference or convention. A tight little group did all the planning, imposed het nomination of their flag-carrier and alowed no opposition.

Birmingham police were used as storm troopers. They ejected dissenters, persecuted pickets, drove Negro reporters away, in a terrible exhibition of bad policemanship. The policemen as such are blameless because they obviously carried out orders of their superiors.

If such a move by the bolters is not fatal, it is nevertheless futile. Once it puts out a ticket it becomes a party. As a party it is subject to the various Supreme Court decisions. The Thurmond-Wright ticket is most certain of court challenge in Alabama because it was done in a convention that violated the rights of Negroes. The party leaders should read the implications of Judge J. Waites Waring's recent decision on the Negro vote question. Tues. But of course, the Negro would want no part of this new program.

The two-party system is being dynamited by the Dixiecrats. Their action is a challenge to the calm, better judgment of the Nation and particularly the south. The two-party system is the answer to the situation. Then the south could bargain between the two major parties. 7-20-48

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser

Letters to the editor must carry complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names may be used at the editor's discretion. Letters of less than 200 words are given preference. All letters may be cut. Montg

Col. Rushton Ceases To Functio

Sat. 7-24-48

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER: Your editorial this morning misses the point of our conversation in the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel following the Philadelphia convention. An ambassador (as I called myself by way of illustration) cannot recall himself any more than a lawyer or other representative can abandon his case without notice and consultation with his client.

Just because the going gets rough I cannot quit on my motion or give up my credentials without authority from those who gave them. I have notified Senator McGrath that I have "ceased to function," to use your phrase, and tendered my resignation to the State Democratic Executive Committee, and hold myself subject to its action.

There has never been any doubt in my mind how I personally felt or would act in the coming campaign. I voted in the May Primary for electors who pledged themselves never to cast Alabama's electoral votes for Truman. I expect to vote for them again in the General Election in November. If it comes to a choice between the rooster and the donkey I am for the rooster always.

I AM convinced that the National Democratic Party is no longer an instrument of policy for Jeffersonian Democrats. At Philadelphia it became crystal clear through caucuses, platform drafting and other committee meetings as well as in the convention, that the presently powerful elements in what was once our party have never come to grips with the race problem, and never will, until the Negro becomes a larger percentage of the population in their states.

These gentlemen regard states' rights, or local self government, which has been the foundation of the South's immemorial faith in the Party, simply as stumbling blocks in the establishment of the single centralized government through which they hope to run this country from Washington, all according to a single pattern. In conference they frequently used such words as "obsolete," "outworn refuge of Bourbons," "vermiform appendix" and "dodo" to refer to a governmental plan of government, which is very much alive today. The Advertiser

Certainly the United States would never have signed the United Nations covenant in 1945 unless we were assured that we retained control of our domestic affairs. In fact, the Big Five, the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France and China, insisted on veto powers in addition to restrictive covenants. 7-24-48

If the United States, the most successful federation of sovereignties which the world has yet seen, establishes the precedent that in such organizations the central government will eventually swallow up the component states, you may well foresee forced upon us in the future the customs and habits of the Russians, Chinese, or even the Africans. I am a convinced states-righter, yesterday, today and tomorrow.

Montgomery, Ala.

I AM not "marking time," as you (jestingly, I hope) suggest. I know that already this is a "shooting war" in which the survival of our right to govern ourselves and to develop in our own way is at stake. I expect to do my part in that war. I know that the vigor of our protest will be the measure of our success and that if we fail now we will be a sadder position in 1952 than that in which we find ourselves today. Sat.

Now let me ask you a question. How do you propose to resolve your "political unhappiness"? Are you going to lie down and take the bitter dose served up by that quondam Democrat, Truman, or swallow the identical dish if only it is served up by the Republicans? 7-24-48

I hope that you will join hands with those who see quite clearly the practical aspects of the situation in a concededly lost Democratic year, and realize that while northern Democrats can out-talk and out-vote us in convention they still have respect for votes in the Electoral College. The more of those we put beyond their reach in November the more respect the South will command in the future.

Democratic Nationalr

MARION RUSHTON
Democratic National
Montgomery. Committeeman

An Unread Speech

The News

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

Enclosed is a copy of the speech I prepared and hoped I might get an opportunity to give at the emotional states' righters' convention. This convention was not a true American assembly, since they refused to recognize anyone with the slightest objection to their viewpoint. I was born and reared in Alabama and am at present a student at the University of Alabama. The people of the South must not be led astray by this bunch of extremists.

Birmingham, Ala

University, Ala. S. C. STUCKEY, JR.

(Enclosure)

"This meeting of the distinguished delegates from the South is outright encouragement to the Communist Party. The News

"The Republican money-changers are eager to see it succeed. 7-25-48

"I plead with you ladies and gentlemen to review and take stock of the situation before starting upon this tangent. We are not living in the 18th or 19th century—this is the 20th century, as you should be aware of with the arrival of atomic energy. It is necessary for the South to go forward and free itself from the economic bonds of the industrial Republicans of the North. This can be done by tolerance, better education, understanding and cooperation between the two races of the South. We cannot progress by going to the aid of the Republicans who will continue enslavement of the South. Franklin D. Roosevelt saved this country from the evil factions of the left and liberated it from the greed of the right. Let it not go down in history that the South threw the country into the hands of these devils. Birmingham, Ala

"I speak as an American who has seen in Europe, during two years after the recent war, the encroachment of the left and the greed of the right work for the deterioration of the people of Europe. Let this not happen in this country by remaining in the party of the common man, the great Democratic Party." Sun. 7-25-48

Hoosier and Son Join Dixie Revolt

The Times Picayune

(The Associated Press)

Birmingham, Ala., July 17. — A Hoosier businessman and his son joined the South's revolt against President Truman today because "we don't like the civil rights program." Sun. 7-18-48

Frank E. Best, a lock manufacturer from Indianapolis, sat in as a self-appointed delegate at the Southern Democrats' "states' rights" conference. With him was his son, Walter E. Best.

"We don't believe in this civil rights program," the younger Best explained. "We don't think you ought to mix up the races." His father nodded approval.

They said they have never lived in the South, but that they agreed with the principle that "you have got to have states' rights. New Orleans, La.

Dixiecrats Make South's Vote Uncertain

Post.
Washington D.C.
Mon 7-19-48

Sen. McClellan Thinks Half Dozen States May Desert Truman

Post.
7-19-48

By The Associated Press

The entrance of a "Dixiecrat ticket" into the presidential field brought a disputed prediction yesterday that President Truman may lose the support of up to six Southern States in the November election.

Senaotr McClellan (D., Ark.) told a reporter he thinks the Southern Democratic rebel ticket may help take the electoral votes of a half dozen Southern States away from President Truman and Senator Alben Barkley, his running mate.

The new ticket—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi for Vice President—was put forth at Birmingham Saturday as one Dixie answer to the President's civil rights program. Washington D.C.

States Are Listed

McClellan — who fought the President's nomination but did not walk out of the Democratic convention—named Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Tennessee as possible participants in a bolt he said is almost certain to result in the regular Democratic Party's defeat in the presidential election.

He put Tennessee in the list, McClellan said, because of a sharp local division among Democrats there. Sun.

He said that if the Thurmond-Wright ticket gets on the ballot in Arkansas it may split the Democratic vote in his home State and give the Republicans some chance of winning there. Mon. 7-19-48

Hatch Sees Truman Victory

But McClellan's prediction drew immediate fire from Senator Hatch (D., N. Mex.), close personal friend of the President, who said he doesn't think the effort to place a fourth party in the field "will be effective in more than one or two States." Washington D.C.

The New Mexico Senator predicted election of a Truman-Barkley ticket even if some of the Southerners don't go along.

Hatch hinted the Democrats think there is some chance that Henry Wallace—scheduled to get the official nomination of his third party in Philadelphia next week-end—might not carry through until November. Wallace repeatedly has asserted he has no intention of quitting the race. D.C.

"I'm not so sure about what Wallace is going to do," Hatch said. "Politics is in such a state of flux now that no one can say just what will happen in the next month or two."

Senator O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), another friend of the President, said the Birmingham rump convention's action in nominating Thurmand and Wright could be "rather serious from the standpoint of the Democratic Party."

"If the Southerners carry out this fight," he said, "it means that the Democratic Party as a whole will have to campaign a good deal more diligently in the South htan it ha sheretofore." He added he does not think the extrance of the Dixiecrat ticket in the field "will have the effect of taking the South out of the Democratic column." MON. 7-19-48

O'Mahoney conceded, however, that if the margin between Democrats and Republicans is close in any single State, a third-party ticket might cost the Truman-Barkley ticket that State's electoral backing.

Representative Clarence Brown (R., Ohio) said he doesn't think the Dixie rebellion will make much difference in the November outcome.

"The Dewey-Warren ticket will make such a sweep that it can win without help from the South," he predicted.

Nevertheless Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York has indicated he may make a direct bid for Southern votes. 7-19-48 Tentative plans have been made for him to campaign in Virginia, where he got 38 per cent of the vote in his 1944 race against Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Dixiecrat bolters made plans to bid for th 1e37 electoral votes of Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Virginia, South Carolina and North Carolina.

'Father' of Party Split Accepts Revolt Offer

The Times Picayune
New Orleans, La.

States' Rights Group Puts Wright in Second Spot

(The Associated Press)

Jackson, Miss., July 17. — Mississippi Governor Fielding L. Wright, the states' rights Democratic vice-presidential candidate, fathered the 1948 party revolt.

Wright sounded the keynote for the break with the national Democratic party in his inaugural address as governor here last January. He warned national party leadership then the South would break with them if they continued sponsorship of "anti-Southern legislation." Sun.

The quiet-mannered, 53-year-old, grey-headed, cigar-smoking governor is a native of Sharkey county—the home of some 11,000 Negroes and about 4000 white persons. His philosophy of government calls for fair treatment of the Negro in keeping with the traditions of the South. 7-18-48

His acceptance of the nomination at Birmingham, Ala., came as something of a surprise to Mississippi political observers because, from the start of the movement, he has said he wanted no such nomination. Early in the movement when the Florida Anti-Truman Club attempted to "draft" him, as presidential nominee, he declined to be "drafted."

Negroes on Juries

Wright was born in Rolling Fork, Miss., the son of a county sheriff. He attended Webb school in Bellbuckle, Tenn., and later the University of Alabama, where he was graduated in law.

He likes to tell of the days 28 years ago when he began practice of law in Rolling Fork. Seldom, he says, was there a jury chosen in Sharkey county which did not have Negroes as members. His first capital case jury, in adjoining Issaquena county, where there are four Negroes for every white person, had 11 Negroes and one white man on the panel.

Wright began his political career in 1928 when he was elected to the Mississippi Legislature. Since then he has served as presiding officer of both houses, as lieutenant governor and as governor. He became governor in November, 1946, on the death of Gov. Thomas L. Bailey. Last year he was elected to a full term of his own by the largest majority ever accorded a Mississippi chief executive. 7-18-48

Wright and the late Sen. Theo G. Bilbo were the only men who have ever been nominated as Democratic candidates for governor without a run off primary.

Served as Private

The bespectacled Methodist governor was long a political foe of Bilbo, but during his 1947 campaign he received the backing of most of the leaders in "the man's" campaign organization.

He served in World War I as a private, returning to civilian life in 1919. During the next three years he "hired out" to semipro baseball teams in the Mississippi Delta. He served as a National Guard captain from 1925 to 1928 when he resigned to accept a seat in the state Senate. He was elected lieutenant governor in 1944.

Wright is an outspoken opponent of anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, and anti-segregation legislation and particularly of the FEPC. A fair employment practices law, he says, would lead to bloodshed in the South.

He is married and has a son, Fielding L. Wright, Jr., a young attorney; and an adopted daughter, Elaine. Though he and his family maintain official residence in the governor's mansion here, he maintains his permanent residence in Rolling Fork.

Another Party Emerges

Technicalities of names aside, the meeting yesterday of Southern States' Righters in Birmingham means the emergence of a fourth party in the field—always supposing HENRY WALLACE and GLEN TAYLOR are still running on their No-Name trail.

The event is the culmination of long effort on the part of Southerners to obtain what they considered fair and adequate recognition of their consistent loyalty to the Democratic Party and of their point of view on political theories and social customs. It is, therefore, to be regarded with far more interest and respect than if it had been jumped up overnight in the heat of sudden anger.

The ticket of GOV. J. STROM THURMOND of South Carolina for President and Gov. FIELDING WRIGHT of Mississippi for Vice President reflects the sentiments of those responsible for the choice. It also means that two states which have been in the forefront of the movement all along now take the lead in its further prosecution. Commercial Appeal

The men who promoted the Birmingham meeting and carried it through are experienced political realists. They are fully aware that there is no chance for the election of their candidates this year, but they mean the drive as far more than a mere gesture of protest. The possibilities are interesting. Memphis, Tenn

What now appears to be the most practical proposal for the members of the new group is that of obtaining more electoral votes than President TRUMAN can secure. This, they argue, will make them legally the minority party in the next Congress and give them whatever powers and committee assignments that go along with that position. 7-18-48

If what has hitherto been regarded as the Solid South remains solid this year, the States' Righters may get a minimum of 127 electoral votes. If their proposed invasion of the so-called border states such as Kentucky, Oklahoma and Missouri should pay off, they would pick up a far more impressive total. At this writing, however, it seems improbable that they can get anywhere in several of the border states for one reason or another. In Kentucky and Oklahoma it appears that legal requirements would prevent their getting on the ballot.

If present plans go through, the States' Righters will carry their gospel into a number of states well outside the South and its borders, but that would fall into the category of promotion for the future rather than otherwise. Sun. 7-18-48

With 531 electoral votes to be cast, it now seems unlikely that the Southern group can muster enough strength to throw the election into the House of Representatives. That comes about only when no one man voted for in the college obtains a majority of the votes.

At the most, the campaign started in Birmingham might change the political complexion considerably. At the least, it does offer the rest of the Nation a striking illustration of the feelings of a substantial segment of the country and of the vigor with which it is prepared to defend them.

Bolters Spread Wings, Plan To Carry Fight Throughout The Nation

The News

Atlanta Caucus Devises Anti-Truman Measures; Birmingham Men Attend

Birmingham Ala.
Sun. 7-25-48

BY BEM PRICE

ATLANTA, July 24—(AP)—The States' Rights' Democrats Saturday decided to enter a presidential ticket in all the states of the nation.

The action was announced in a formal statement released through George McNabb, press secretary to Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

Thurmond was recommended at the Birmingham states' rights convention July 17 to carry the South's fight on civil rights against President Truman.

His running mate, selected at the Birmingham meeting, is Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, the vice presidential candidate.

* * *

American Way

THE COMMITTEE'S ANNOUNCEMENT said that the decision to campaign in all states was to give "millions of real Americans the opportunity of voting for these candidates, and to preserve our American way of government according to our federal and state constitutions."

"This is the most feasible way to preserve the real Jeffersonian Democratic Party in this country. We are dedicated to the preservation of states' rights in this country because this means preserving the individual rights and liberty of all the people."

Sun.

The prime movers in the rebellious South's states' rights movement caucused Saturday to plot the defeat of President Truman.

* * *

Session Secret

7-25-48

THEY MET IN CLOSED SESSION. One member, who declined to be quoted, described the meeting's objective thusly: "The Democratic Party is shot. We want to organize so that the South will be the majority in the minority party."

The meeting served, however, to emphasize that most of the support for the states rights movement is coming from Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina.

Alabamians were former Gov. Frank M. Dixon, Horace Wilkinson, Sydney Smyer and Olin Horton. The first three are attorneys: Horton represents the Alabama Mining Institute.

OLE MISS GROUP AT REBEL SESSION

Students to Take Part in Election Campaign

The Times-Picayune

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

Birmingham, Ala., July 17.—The Ole Miss delegation to the Dixiecrat convention here will play an integral part in the Mississippi campaign committee being formed to carry the states' rights candidate to the people of Mississippi, J. Knox Huff, Forest, chairman of the state Democratic committee, announced today.

Noah Sweat, Alcorn county legislator from Corinth and spokesman for the 95-man Ole Miss group, said that the delegation to Birmingham will act as a committee to inform the students of Mississippi educational institutions of the states' rights platform.

Delegates from Rebel-land had their pictures on the front pages of two newspapers today. Frank Barber and Danny Mac Currie of Hattiesburg were posed with William "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, former governor of Oklahoma. A sextette of students with their black planters' hats were also featured. They were John Murray, Brandon; Andrew Sullivan, Macon; Bernard Triplett, Union; Bobby Gene Jones, Moss Point; Cleveland Davis, Cleveland, and Eddie Wilson, Ruleville.

New Orleans, La.

Radio stations didn't neglect the group either. Mrs. Bill Tyler, Forest, made two appearances on the air while others interviewed were Sweat, Sullivan, Murray and Mays Hunter, Macon.

Sun.

Altogether there were about 12 Southern colleges and universities represented here today. The Ole Miss group was the largest.

When it was recommended to the convention that Governor Wright be supported for vice-president, Dean Dubois, Gulfport, carrying the Ole Miss flag, led the entire convention on a march across the stage. He was closely followed by the wild cheering Ole Miss group.

7-18-48

The university states' rights suporters returned to Oxford Saturday night.

REBELS CLAIM 127 ELECTORAL VOTES

The Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La

Southern Delegates Give Estimates of Strength

Sun. 7-18-48

(The Associated Press)

Birmingham, Ala., July 17.—States' rights leaders say they can pick up as many as 127 electoral votes—perhaps more—in the November election.

Here is a state-by-state survey, based on the way delegates talked at today's anti-Truman conference of Southern Democrats:

Alabama—11 electoral votes already pledged against Truman.

Mississippi—9 votes, also committed to vote for someone besides Truman.

Louisiana—10 votes not committed, but former Gov. Sam Jones says state Democratic committee can instruct electors.

Tennessee—12 electors chosen in convention, states' righters say convention has power to remove electors; therefore can make them vote any way it wants.

Georgia—12 votes. Electors still to be named in primary election.

Florida—8 electors already chosen in primary. No way to instruct them, states' righters concede, if they want to support Truman.

Sun. 7-18-48

Texas—33 votes. Electors will be chosen by Democratic convention and can be instructed.

Arkansas—9 electors to be named in convention and can be pledged against Truman.

Virginia—11 representatives in electoral college. Already chosen by convention and pledged for Truman, but anti-Truman forces contend party can instruct them otherwise.

South Carolina—8 electors to be chosen by state Democratic executive committee. Electors will be pledged against Truman by state convention resolution, but subject to change because of yesterday's court ruling that the Democratic party is open to everybody. That may result in a new convention and widespread changes.

7-18-48

North Carolina—14 electors. Chosen in convention and not pledged but can be.

Sun

In addition, the states' righters hope to win support in Oklahoma, which has 10 votes, and Maryland, with 8, and plan to enter anti-Truman elector candidates in Missouri and Kentucky, home states of Mr. Truman and his running mate, Sen. Alben Barkley.

A victory in Missouri would give the states' rights move 15 electoral votes, and Kentucky could add another 11.

Rebel Whoops Re-Echo From Dixicrat Parley

BY ROBERT JEFFREY
Record Staff Correspondent

BIRMINGHAM, July 19—Southern Democrats may have been outshouted at the National convention in Philadelphia early last week, but it was a different story when they were playing on their own home grounds in Birmingham Saturday.

Today, the Alabama city still resounded from the din created by more than 7,000 persons who whooped the States Rights convention to a noisy high that would equal any other political meeting in the nation.

Whatever the Southerners lacked in political strength, they made up in noise, enthusiasm and spirit. In two days the meeting had developed from a conference of Dixie Democratic leaders to a massive convention that drew representatives from all Southern states and four others.

From the time the convention got under way until it closed, the slightest denouncement of President Truman was enough to set off a demonstration.

The crowd, which packed the Birmingham Municipal auditorium and overflowed into the street, was in a mood of tense expectancy and upon the slightest provocation would take to the aisles to show its approval of the spoken derogation.

The hall had the political convention atmosphere although delegates were present in name only. The floor of the auditorium had been divided into sections for the

ates and standards carried their names.

Klieg lights lined the railing of the balcony and illuminated the rostrum with their glaring rays as television cameras ground. News photographers by the dozens flitted from platform to door in constant search of new subjects.

First Demonstration

The first major demonstration got under way after Alabama's ex-Governor Frank Dixon's keynote address, and lasted for 18 minutes.

Enthusiastic States Righters jammed the passageways under the

Governor J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, the presidential candidate

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Say NAACP 'Fighting' Ad Stiffened Demos' Backs

Defender Chicago Ill.

By Defender Correspondent

NEW YORK — Moral strength was loaned to northern and western delegates to the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, by a six column advertisement placed with the Philadelphia Bulletin by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, according to convention observers.

It was said to have contributed to the successful fight for a strong civil rights plank in the party platform.

The article entitled "Let 'Em Walk" declared, "There may be times for compromise, for concessions that do not sacrifice moral integrity or endanger the great and objective, but there is no room in Philadelphia in July, 1948, for compromise on human rights in the Democratic party platform."

The ad advised the convention to remain undisturbed if these southern delegates would rather walk out than agree to basic tenets of democracy.

It continued:

"If a set of men wants to organize a political party on a platform of letting lynching take care of itself, or permitting disfranchisement, or maintaining discrimination and inequality in employment, or enthroning segregation and the doctrine of superiority of one man over another on the basis of mere skin color, it is free to do so.

"In the attainment of the great end objective of a free, truly democratic nation and a free world for all men, they are a hobble, not a help. Their going would be a blessing, not a blow. Let 'em walk."

Times

DRIVE IN MISSOURI IS SET

New York, N.Y.

But a Leader of Birmingham Conclave Admits Opposition From Office-holder Class

Sat. 7-17-48

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 16—States'-rights Democrats, meeting in caucus on the eve of their convention which is designed to solidify Southern resentment against President Truman and the civil-rights issue, made a gesture of political bravado today and also disclosed their major weakness as potential vote-getters.

Horace Wilkinson, chairman of the resolutions committee of the States'-rights Democrats, announced a move to "carry the fight into Harry Truman's back yard" by having state campaign committees name a slate of Presidential electors on the ballots in Missouri and Kentucky. These would be pledged against Mr. Truman and his running mate.

He said that a resolution calling for adoption of this bold stratagem would be offered "right off the bat" at the opening session of the convention, which will get under way at 10 A. M. tomorrow in the city's municipal auditorium.

From the standpoint of organizational strength based on political patronage, the Achilles heel of the States-rights Democrats was epitomized when W. W. Wright, campaign committee chairman of Mississippi, declared that "all opposition to this movement in the South is coming from Federal and state office-holders."

Russell's Stand Involved

Mr. Wright made his statement after a newspaper reporter had asked him for an opinion on the assertion of Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia who received 263 votes at the national convention, that he would not accept a Presidential nomination from the States'-rights Democrats and would remain loyal to the national Democratic party.

"While we would like to have and want to have the support of the office-holders," Mr. Wright continued, "the will of the people and the principles involved here cannot be suboridnated to their wishes."

Sat. 7-17-48

Meanwhile, enthusiasm continued to run at a high pitch in this industrial city as delegates and interested on-lookers continued to arrive. They crowded the hotel lobbies, dressed chiefly in shirt-sleeves and broad-brimmed hats characteristic of the people of the deep South in midsummer.

Convention officials repeatedly announced that they had received personal confirmation that Governors Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, Ben T. Laney of Arkansas and J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina would be on hand late tonight or early tomorrow.

United States Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, a champion of states'-rights precepts, arrived this afternoon and held a brief conference with the states'-rights leaders on hand.

It was reported that Senator John C. Stennis of Mississippi, who fused liberal and conservative forces in Mississippi last fall to win election to the Senatorial seat of the late Theodore G. Bilbo, advocate of white supremacy, would arrive here tonight.

7-17-48

For the second day in a row the vagueness of official statements and the conflicting reports from states'-rights leaders in other areas combined to leave up in the air the exact purposes for which the convention was being called.

Among the officials at today's caucus there was a noticeable division of opinion on whether to name a Presidential candidate at tomorrow's session or to emphasize plans for having the Presidenial electors in Southern states withhold their electoral votes and try to force the national election into the House of Representatives on the theory that the South could wield the balance of power in such a development.

One group argued the best strategy would be to start a campaign "to free the Presidential electors" so they would not be bound to vote for the nominee of the Democratic party and could "exercise their own judgment."

The other group went along on the scheme "to free the electors" but insisted that it would be wiser to name also a Presidential candidate to attract the attention of the voters and "symbolize our cause."

Indications today were that delegations at tomorrow's conference with any likely political strength would come principally from Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and possibly Florida. It appeared that all other Southern states were frowning on the convention as a solution to the South's dissatisfaction with the results of the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia.

Large Crowd Is Awaited

At the same time it seemed very likely that a large crowd would be on hand when the session opens. However, the loose manner in which delegates are seated by merely pledging support to the ideal of states' rights led many to believe that most states would be represented by persons with enthusiasm rather than political power.

During the day convention officials, headed by Mr. Wilkinson, former Governor Frank M. Dixon of Alabama; John Lusk, a Presidential elector from Gadsden, Ala.; W. W. Wright of Mississippi and Handy Ellis of Alabama, met behind closed doors to "work out a plan of conduct."

This group later announced that its members were also making plans for building the states'-rights Democrats' organization into a permanent organization "to carry on this fight for the next four years."

"Our feeling is that this is a battle for our life down here," W. W. Wright asserted, "and it is something that is not going to be settled in this coming election."

There were reports today of a counter-move by supporters of President Truman and behind the scenes there was political sniping at the background and motives of some leaders in the states'-rights movement.

7-17-48

State Senator Joseph N. Langan of Mobile urged that Truman supporters in Alabama hold a meeting on Aug. 16 and name a slate of Presidential electors favorable to Mr. Truman. Names of the electors, he said, could be written in on Election Day in November.

Political opposition began to circulate rumors today that the States'-rights Democrats were "political outs" wh ohad gone down to defeat in the early New Deal days and were seeking to regain political stature by using the State's-rights Democrats for demagogic purposes.

They said that Mr. Wilkinson, an Alabama Presidential elector pledged against Mr. Truman, was leader of the forces which supported Herbert Hoover in Alabama in 1928. They also charged that former Governor Dixon and Eugene (Bull) Connor, police chief of Birmingham, had political aspirations and wanted control of the state machinery. They further alleged that a number of the States'-Rights Democrats in Alabama were closely associated with organizations known for reactionary views.

GIVING REBEL YELLS

THESE UNIVERSITY of Mississippi students, complete with the Confederate flag and "Southern planter" hats, let loose with a Rebel yell for the Dixiecrats in Birmingham, Ala. They're in town to offer noisy support to the States Rights convention. Left to right, squatting: Andrew Sullivan, Jr., Bobby Gene Jones, Lamar Triplett. Standing, left to right: Eddie K. Wilson, John C. Murray, and Cleveland Davis. (AP Wirephoto).

Dixie Editor Scores Rebels

Defender

Chicago, Ill.

COLUMBIA, S. C. — The rump convention of dixie rebels was a blow to American democracy, declared James A. Rodgers, editor of a Florence, S. C., paper, before a meeting of the Rotary Club, last week.

After reminding his audience that one of the great concepts of American thought is that all men should share the benefits of democracy, Rodgers said that in practice, many whites still argue that some citizens are not entitled to them.

Sat. 7-31-48

In meeting the issue of civil rights and democracy throughout the world, the U. S. must broaden the base of democracy at home, he said. "The best defense against communism is to demonstrate that democracy is workable where we live and work," he added.

"I do not believe that the wrath which exploded at Philadelphia and resulted in the circus at Birmingham, which resulted in a reactionary platform of racism, is the kind of medicine needed in the south and the nation to fight communism." Rodgers declared

"We are in a great crisis in South Carolina on the nation and the world. The time has come when the non-political ordinary men need to gather their resources and fight against forces which are gnawing away at our foundations," he continued.

Sat.

Rodgers addressed the group on "American Backgrounds in the Light of Today's World."

4th Party Formed By Dixiecrats

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Sun. 7-25-48

Atlanta Conferees Agree States' Rights Will Get Emphasis In Campaign

Nationwide Battle

Thurmond And Wright Formally To Accept Nomination In Houston

By BEM PRICE

ATLANTA—(AP)—The issue of states' rights Saturday drove some angry Southern Democrats to form a fourth party. They will try to enter a presidential slate in all states.

Candidates of the party, officially named "the States' Rights Democrats," are Gov. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, for president, and Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, for vice-president.

Precisely how the party intends to go about obtaining places on the November general election ballots in the 48 states was not disclosed.

Immediately after the decision by the steering committee, named after the July 17 states' rights convention at Birmingham, Thurmond said, "we are running for president and expect to be elected."

He emphasized that "we are not running on white supremacy, racial hatred or class prejudice. We are running primarily on the issue of states' rights."

The 46-year-old South Carolinian said other problems, domastic and foreign, would be met "at the proper time" by adding that steps would be taken to set up a party organization immediately.

American Way of Life

A typewritten announcement by the committee said the decision to campaign was "to give millions of real Americans the opportunity of voting for these candidates and to preserve the American way of life . . .

"This," it continued, "is the most feasible way to preserve our American way of government . ."

Thurmond said he would make his first campaign speech at the Cherryville, S. C., watermelon festival July 31.

Thus did dissident Southern Democrats answer President Truman for his civil rights proposals and the national party for incorporating them in a national platform.

The Advertiser

Earlier, a necessarily anonymous spokesman left the meeting and explained the states righters' aims thus:

"The national party is shot, the Republicans will win, but the Southern Democrats by sticking together may well become the majority of the minority party.

To Pick Up Pieces

"Therefore, when the Republicans win, the well organized Southerners will be on hand to pick up and dominate what is left of the national Democratic organization."

Montgomery Ala.

The announcement came a few minutes after Oliver Emmerich, McComb, Miss., newspaper publisher, and Merritt H. Gibson, of Longview, Texas, announced state conventions would be reconvened in South Carolina and Mississippi in early August to pledge support to Thurmond.

7-25-48

Gibson, former county judge, also disclosed that THhurmond and Wright had agreed to accept the Birmingham nomination formally at a statewide rally in Houston Aug. 11.

Exactly how much support the fourth party movement has is problematical. The Birmingham meeting drew a crowd of around 7,000, mostly from Alabama.

Saturday's meeting, however, served to emphasize that most of the support for the states' rights movement at present is coming from Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas.

Men from these states dominated Saturday's caucus, but there were some present from Florida, Louisiana and Arkansas.

The Advertiser

West Virginians Missing Their Chance

CHARLESTON, W. VA.—(AP)—Gov. Clarence W. Meadows has informed Dixiecrats that it is too late to get their slate of presidential electors on West Virginia's election ballot.

The Governor disclosed that he also told the Dixiecrat presidential candidate, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina:

"We are interested in fighting the Republicans in the general election, rather than fighting among the Democrats."

Montgomery Ala.

Meadows said Thurmond called him by telephone and that he explained that under West Virginia law, petitions containing the names of more than 7,200 voters would have to have been filed by May 10, the day before this year's primary election, in order to gain a place on the state's ballot.

You'd Better Not Bolt, McCorvey Warns

By MERCER BAILEY

Associated Press Staff Writer

Alabama's political pot, boiling furiously all year, is feeding on flames from two new sources today.

Sun.

1—Democratic National Committeeman Marion Rushton has turned in his resignation in a protest against the party's strong civil rights platform. The Montgomery attorney said he will stick with the states' rights group.

2—State Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey apparently set out Saturday to spike a move to throw this state's support to President Truman.

7-25-48

Alabama's 11 Democratic presidential electors are pledged not to support President Truman. State Senator Joseph N. Langan, of Mobile, however, has proposed an independent slate of pro-Truman electors.

The party chieftain's counter move came in a statement to the Roanoke, Ala., Leader. He warned that persons opposing Alabama's primary nominees might be denied places on the party ticket in 1950.

It was a thinly veiled threat. He indicated that Alabama Democrats who support the national party this year would be committing political suicide. In the past, independent candidates have had little luck trying to buck the state Democratic organization.

They Take An Oath

Since the 1928 election, McCorvey reminded, the state executive committee has required would-be primary candidates to take an oath that they did not "openly and publicly" oppose the state party nominees in the general elections.

It was in 1928 that Senator Tom Heflin, of LaFayette, came out against the Democratic presidential nominee, Al Smith. The party refused to let Heflin run on its ticket for the U. S. Senate.

Heflin made the race as an independent, however, and was beaten by the late Senator John H. Bankhead, Jr., the party's choice.

The Advertiser

Langan has called a meeting of pro-Truman forces in Montgomery Aug. 16 to name a slate of independent electors. He said he invited Senator Lister Hill and former Gov. Chauncey Sparks to attend the convention.

Hill and Sparks were two of Alabama's 13 delegates to the national convention who refused to walk out. Langan himself was defeated for a delegate post on an anti-walk platform.

"Stop, Look, Listen"

McCorvey warned "any Alabamian with political ambitions to stop, look and listen before fighting the nominees of our Democratic primaries."

A copy of the statement was mailed to Langan.

Langan admitted his oath as a party primary candidate bound him to support the primary nominees, but asserted these do not include presidential electors.

"The electors are merely the instruments by which the people vote for a party. Therefore, I own no more loyalt yto them than to a ballot," he declared.

The secretary of state's office has said it will ask Attorney General A. A. Carmichael to determine whether an independent slate can be placed on the ballot if one is presented. Carmichael was a non-walk delegate at the Philadelphia convention, narrowly defeating McCorvey for the post.

Montgomery Ala.

Little Time Left

Sept. 2 is the deadline for certifying candidates to the secretary of state, so Langan's forces would have only a little more than two weeks to get up a slate and qualify members. The Attorney General's opinion would take up time.

There is a possibility, a recognized legal authority said, that either side could go directly into court for a ruling on the independent slate. Langan probably could ask a writ of mandamus to compel the secretary of state to place the slate on the ballot. His opponents could ask for an injunction to prevent the names from being listed.

Sun.

Both sides, this authority said, could ask declaratory to determine the law concerning such matters.

7-25-48

Then, too, write-in votes could be cast for the independent elector candidates if they didn't get on the ballot.

Meanwhile, National Committeeman Rushton's resignation rested with the 72-man state committee. Rushton, who has held the post since 1939, said Friday he doesnt think Alabama wants representation in the national party.

No Truman, Thanks

He reasoned that Alabama—along with other Southern Democrats—is strongly opposed to President Truman and his civil rights program.

In a letter to McCorvey, the former army colonel criticized the party for refusing to "include the time-honored Democratic states rights plank, which has been the foundation of the South's faith since its organization."

Writing to Senator McGrath, chairman of the Democratic national committee, Rushton declared:

"I was elected . . . upon a platform of opposition to interference by the federal government in matters reserved to the States specifically in opposition to President Truman's civil rights program. . . .

And Not Mrs. Truman

"I regret no way has been found to impress other components of the party with the fact that the tragic problems of the South are not to be solved by congressional fiat, but by evolution, education and patience."

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Alabama's national Democratic committeewoman, Saturday announced in a statement that she would not resign.

Her statement came a few hours after the state's national Democratic committeeman, Marion Rushton of Montgomery, sent his resignation to Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile.

7-25-48

"How can we work toward a United Nations if we do not work toward a United States?" Mrs. Thomas asked. "I am an American above a partisan."

Southerners Fear Loss of Patronage

Free Press

Detroit, Mich.

BY EDWIN A. LAHEY

Of Our Washington Bureau

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The strong tug of Federal patronage is taking a lot of strength out of the revolt of the Confederate wing of the Democratic Party.

Organizers of the revolt admitted that their states'-rights conference was getting the cold shoulder from Federal jobholders and patronage dispensers, with the exception of a few die-hards.

"All the opposition to this movement in the South is coming from officeholders," said W. W. Wright, a Jackson (Miss.) wholesale grocer, who is one of the leaders of the rebels.

Sat.

* * *

"THIS IS a people's movement, dealing with a question that affects the people."

"While we would like to have the support of the officeholders, the will of the people cannot be subordinated to their wishes."

The first objective of the states'-rights group, which will hold a conference here Saturday, is to tie up the 127 electoral votes of the 11 states of the solid South by getting unpledged electors in the electoral college.

7-17-48

The rather vague strategy, if the rebels could get unpledged electors, would be to punish President Truman by withholding the Southern votes from him in the electoral college, or force him to abandon his civil rights.

* * *

WRIGHT AND Horace Wilkinson of Birmingham, one of the Alabama presidential electors who are already "unpledged," said that every state in the South would be represented in the conference.

They estimated that 1,500 or more individuals would show up.

The only public officials who could be reported as present or enroute to the conference were three governors, Fielding Wright, of Mississippi; Ben Laney, of Arkansas, and J. Storm Thurman, of South Carolina. One United States senator, Eastland of Mississippi, was here.

Eastland's colleague, John Stennis, the junior senator from Mississippi, was expected by the conference leaders, but had not shown up Friday night.

Govs. Wright and Laney are chief possibilities for the nomination.

* * *

THE REBEL leaders laid stress on the statement that this was not a temporary flareup of Southern resentment against the northern wing of the Democratic party.

"We're building for the next four years," said W. W. Wright, who is not related to Mississippi's Gov. Wright.

"This is a battle for our life, and it won't be settled by this election."

Wright and Wilkinson said that the resolutions committee at the Saturday conference would instruct the states' rights campaign committee to take steps to have anti-Truman electors put on the ballot in Missouri, the President's home state, and in Kentucky, the home of Truman's running-mate, Senator Barkley.

Former Gov. Frank M. Dixon, of Alabama, was named temporary chairman for the convention.

The appointment was announced by W. W. Wright.

Alienating Friends

The News

To the Editor of The News:

Is it not about time for Alabama Democratic voters to review with appreciation the efforts of their old Democratic friends, principally of the Middle West? These old friends established a record in favoring Alabama that has no parallel in American political history. Let us review this record.

Sen. Norris, of Nebraska, was the daddy of the TVA. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, a great crusading American newspaper, joined Norris in this endeavor. Very soon thereafter Sen. Jim Reed, also from Missouri, stepped up to the firing line to help out. These individuals and this distant newspaper crusaded under difficulties for over 20 years to help establish for the South this project that cost millions of dollars. Birmingham

The major difficulty encountered in this effort was that congressmen and senators from Tennessee, Arkansas and Alabama joined up with the power companies and desperately fought the TVA. Ala.

It can therefore be seen that the Democrats of the Middle West had the unsolicited human welfare interest and balance of power to make this TVA idea an actual reality. Later, through the guiding hand of President Roosevelt, Central City, Elyton Village and many other projects came to Alabama with regularity. This successful record of cooperation cannot be questioned, but facts are at hand today which threaten the continuation of this friendship. Fri. 8-27-48

Our local Dixiecrat and States' Rights leaders are the same old politicians who for years have preached race hatred. These well-fed brethren always appeal with feeling for their way of life. Let us review the way of life they have planned for us common white voters. They have had passed by state legislative action the following laws: The Boswell amendment, the granting of a charter to the Ku Klux Klan and a law about three years ago forbidding the government to build in Jefferson County with taxpayers' money any more low-rent housing projects. This last hypocritical law was passed to favor loan companies and real estate people. These Dixiecrats believe that the state should have the right to deprive a voter of cheap rent provided by government money. They contend this same taxpayers' money should be lent by the government to the loan companies and real estate people so they can sell and rent the voters houses at a profit to themselves.

If a voter would take a trip around Birmingham, he will observe a gigantic housebuilding program now in progress. Most of the money financing these projects is government taxpayers' money.

It is an accredited opinion that loyalty to your friends is a virtue, whereas ingratitude is a cardinal sin. The writer knows that President Truman wound up his haberdashery business in the bankrupt court. Twelve years after this bankruptcy he paid off in full all these old bills. I know he will not lie or steal from you, that he has unlimited courage and is loyal to his friends. These old-fashioned American qualifications insist that I believe Truman the best man for president.

8-27-48 **DR. F. G. LEIGHTY.**

2111 Fifth Avenue, North.

NORTH CAROLINA AND ALABAMA

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala

The Thurmond-Wright ticket is experiencing the same difficulties in North Carolina as the Truman-Barkley ticket in Alabama. Neither is having any luck so far winning a place on the ballot.

In Alabama, it's all over. Alabama has already cast its November vote. Alabama has accomplished its purpose of voting against Truman. Sat. 8-21-48

It is not so clear in North Carolina. There, it is a race between Dewey and Truman. There is agreement among observers that Dewey has a good chance of carrying North Carolina.

The Raleigh News & Observer, a pro-Truman paper, is impatient with the effort to add the Thurmond-Wright ticket to the North Carolina ballot and dismisses the effort thus:

> In all the discussion of the effort of the Dixiecrats to form a new political party in North Carolina, there has been too little discussion of the actual issues.
>
> The present effort is not being made in good faith. The inherent right of every voter to vote as he pleases has been deliberately confused with an altogether different right—the right of a candidate to appear on the official ballot.
>
> The latter right is not inherent, but is statutory. To exercise that right any citizen, or any group of citizens, must comply with the law . . . In North Carolina, the official ballot is limited to recognized political parties or those petitioned for by 25 per cent of the qualified voters . . .Surely it does not lie in the mouths of a group whose only avowed issue is States Rights to deny the State of North Carolina the authority to make its own laws or to ask the State Board of Elections or the courts to change those laws. . . .

Which is to say, the State Board of Elections denied the Thurmond-Wright ticket a ballot place. Now the Thurmond-Wright element is seeking relief in the courts. Sat. 8-21-48

The Winston-Salem Journal takes a contrary view to that of The News & Observer:

> If the Dixiecrats can qualify in proper manner, we would like to see the group obtain a place on the ballot. Democracy functions best when it affords every individual and group a fair choice in the selection of public officials . . . Those who want to vote for Gov. Thurmond should have a chance to vote for him.

The Winston-Salem Journal takes the wise attitude there, it seems to us. Here in Alabama, the anti-Truman electors and The Advertiser wish Truman the worst, but we do not object to his name on the ballot. The difference is that in North Carolina the Thurmond-Wright ticket would attract powerful support.

Dixon And The Truth

The News

To the Editor of The News:

Many persons who are opposing Mr. Truman's election are basing their opposition on the civil liberties program which he has recommended to Congress. In view of the importance which most voters have properly attached to the program it is extremely unfortunate that its contents have been misrepresented.

Frank Dixon, former governor of Alabama, discussed the program at length in an address to the Dixiecrat conference in Birmingham July 17. According to the text of his address appearing in States' Rights, Mr. Dixon said: "What is this so-called civil rights program which Truman, our Democratic president, has recommended to Congress? I do not want any misunderstanding about it among the Southern white people. Here is part of it:" Mr. Dixon then listed nine points, five of which (concerning abolition of segregation) do not appear in the president's recommendations, another of which (also concerning segregation) is largely inaccurate, and two of which state as fact highly hypothetical consequences of a Fair Employment Practices Commission. Mr. Dixon's ninth point included the assertion that "all Negroes (are) to be registred to vote without regard to intelligence or capacity." Nowhere has the president made such a recommendation.

In an address at the University of Alabama on Aug. 9, Mr. Dixon again expressed his concern for correct understanding among Southern whites and again enunciated the nine points (according to the manuscript of his speech). He concluded with the statement: "Truman sent this report to Congress with the request that its recommendations be enacted into law." Birmingham, Ala

On both occasions the speaker apparently confused the president's recommendations with the proposals which a 15-member committee on civil rights made to the president in October, 1947. The committee's report made 41 proposals, contained in 35 numbered recommendations under six general headings. In February, 1948, the president made recommendations to Congress incorporating 15 of the 41. Mr. Dixon spoke as though the president had urged the adoption of the entire program suggested by the committee. The president deliberately ignored a long list of proposals which dealt with segregation. He made only one recommendation to Congress pertaining specifically to segregation. He requested legislation making it unlawful for discrimination and segregation in interstate transportation facilities to be enforced by company employes. A Supreme Court decision had already declared that state laws requiring such segregation are unconstitutional. Fri. 9-3-48

Mr. Dixon's two speeches dealt with the most controversial subject before the Alabama electorate. The only admissible explanation of the serious errors they contained is that the author was not fully acquainted with Mr. Truman's recommendations to Congress. The text of the president's message, which contains his only proposals on the subject, appears in the Congressional Record of Feb. 2, 1948. The report of the civil rights committee can be obtained from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for $1.

University, Ala. ALEXANDER HEARD.

The Fourth Party Troubles

No matter what one feels about the controversy, there can be no argument but that from their viewpoint the Democratic National Committee members are correct in saying that the Dixiecrats are a fourth political party and that Democratic office seekers will not be regarded as Democrats if they join up with the new fourth party.

No amount of sophistry about who has left whom removes the fact that the Dixiecrats are refusing to accept the results of the Democratic convention and the party decisions.

Constitution, Atlanta Ga.

The Atlanta Constitution has been pointing out this horn of the dilemma from the first. Without attempting to here discuss the Truman proposals, on which we many times have made ourselves clear, we do wish to say again that the States themselves cannot in State elections determine anything about the civil rights proposals. That is up to Congress and, finally, to the Supreme Court of the United States. Tue. 9-7-48

The Southern States, Georgia among them, must make up their minds whether they will risk the committee position and the prestige of their Congressmen and Senators by throwing them into a fourth party with consequent loss of position. They are the troops who must win or lose the civil rights battle in Congress. They require, it seems to us, full support to do the most efficient job. Senator Richard B. Russell, for example, can do more as a Democrat than as a Dixiecrat. He can hope to attract help from Democrats from other sections so long as he is in the party. As a Dixiecrat no Democrat from States outside the South could afford to join him.

The National Committee action may be anything you wish to call it, high-handed, arbitrary, and so on, but from the party viewpoint there is no other course the Committee can take.

Let us look before we leap.

Montgomery Advertiser

LISTER'S GUN-BEARER

Atty. Gen. Albert A. Carmichael is the first major politician in Alabama to make an unreserved, slamming attack on the States' Rights Party. Senator Lister Hill made some semi-defiant observations about the movement, but it remained for Albert Augustus to say it like they both mean it.

The speech of the attorney general before a parliament of Methodist clergymen illustrates two points which have been made on this page from time to time:

1. The attorney general is likely to say anything. Montgomery Ala.

2. The Alabama bolt it going to be an issue—perhaps, even, the issue—in the 1950 races for governor and the United States Senate. Fr. 9-3-48

There is no doubt, we believe, that Carmichael is completely sincere in his hostility to the fourth party movement. As a delegate to the Philadelphia convention and acting as Senator Hill's gun-bearer, Carmichael was forthright in that hostility.

But what he has done appears to be a bold gamble. We do not believe that he would have made the attack unless he had decided to run for governor in 1950 (and not for Justice Brown's Supreme Court seat).

Carmichael is betting that the Thurmond-Wright ticket will make an unimpressive showing in November and that people will take a dim view of the experiment. By 1950 Dewey will have been in the White House for a year and will, no matter if he conducts himself with the devotion of Pericles, have done many unpopular things.

Carmichael will not have to defend the hapless Truman, who will be long gone. He can simply pot-shoot Dewey, all the while contending that things would be otherwise had the States' Rights deserters stood by the national party.

All of which is speculation on our part and is advanced as nothing else.

What is certain is that Carmichael has registered a first class act of defiance of the Thurmond-Wright sponsors in Alabama. He has, incidentally, done it with a pungence and saltiness we didn't know he commanded.

But also, he spoke with the delusive recklessness of a man who believes his political enemies are everyone equipped with cloven hoof and forked tail. Carmichael represented the Thurmond-Wright movement in Alabama as "a giant conspiracy controlled directly by the national committee of the Republican Party."

It is a "giant conspiracy" only in the sense that a vast majority of Alabama voters on May 4 made it. They voted against every candidate who showed a disposition to want to support Truman, which would have included Candidate Carmichael had he spoken up then, instead of now.

On The States' Rights Group

The News

Birmingham Ala.

The charges made this week by Atty. Gen. Albert A. Carmichael that the States' Rights Democratic Party was born out of special interest motives put no new idea in some Alabama minds. Many persons have contended for some time that the anti-Truman revolt to a considerable extent was synthetically evolved by Democrats who have never liked New Deal liberalism and are making use of the civil rights issues mainly to gain support for their aims. Fri.

The significant part about the Carmichael charges is their source. They come from a state official who is willing to risk promising political prospects by opposing a movement that is just now in the ascendancy. They provide a point about which can rally all those who are against dividing the Democratic Party in the state. 9-3-48

They come, too, from a man whose loyalty to the South and Southern traditions and to the Democratic Party is beyond question. He can match background and tradition with Gessner McCorvey and Hugh Locke and all the rest. Here is a son of the South challenging the States' Righters who claim to be the sole defenders of Southern ways of life. And to demonstrate once more that he is a Democrat, he will vote the ticket in Alabama.

* * *

But what of these charges Mr. Carmichael made? What are the real motives and purposes that lie behind the States' Rights leadership? On this point, one cannot make a blanket indictment. There are many honest and sincere and conscientious persons backing the Thurmond-Wright ticket. Some of them are motivated by a conviction that the South should be given more of a voice in the national Democratic Party and that now is the time and here is the opportunity to gain that voice. Some of them strongly oppose the tendency for more and more authority to move from the state governments to the federal. Fri.

Some of them, however, have been led to read into the Truman civil rights proposals ideas and recommendations which are not there. Scarecrows have been raised where none existed. To what extent are leaders stooping to demagogic methods for selfish, narrow purposes? 9-3-48

It is hard to answer such questions. Mr. Carmichael makes positive charges laying to Thurmond-Wright leaders the purpose of special service to big business. To some extent, Mr. Carmichael stoops to demagogic appeal hardly to be distinguished in nature from those so frequently heard from Thurmond-Wright speakers. Perhaps politicians are like that, but it is regrettable that in a question so grave there cannot be, all around, more appeals to reason and fewer to passion.

* * *

The Carmichael charges tend to put the States' Righters upon the defensive. They cannot now pose quite so easily as the sole possessors of Southern patriotism. Their leadership is in question. To some extent, the Carmichael speech has been like water upon a lot of flame. We may be seeing more clearly soon whether the flame will be enduring or whether it is being fanned by persons whose purposes raise serious questions. 9-3-48

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11 States' Rights Electors Named For Virginia

The Post

Richmond, Va., Aug. 22 (AP).—Names of the 11 States rights party presidential electors for Virginia were announced today by Frank P. Burton, jr., State chairman of the party backing the Thurmond and Wright presidential ticket.

John P. Barbour, Fairfax attorney and one of two surviving members of the Virginia constitutional convention of 1901, was named an elector-at-large, along with Burton.

Named from the State's nine congressional districts were: First, William McLeod Ferguson, Newport News attorney; Second, John Twohy, member of the Norfolk City Council; Third, Channing Hall, former Mayor of Williamsburg from 1934 to 1947; Fourth, William Gravatt, Blackstone; Fifth, Grasty Crews, Danville lawyer; Sixth, J. J. Bower, Roanoke manufacturer; Seventh, James M. Thomson, Gaylord, Clarke County, former newspaper owner; Eighth, D. Paul Petty, head of the Charlottesville Marble and Granite Co.; Ninth, A. G. Lively, lawyer and retired judge of Lebanon, Russell County. Mon 8-23-48

DIXIECRATS FIGURING ON TIGHT HOUSE GRIP

Commercial Appeal

Believe They'll Have Control Of Democratic Portion

Memphis Tenn

WASHINGTON, Aug. 1.—(AP)—Southern Democrats are considering a little reorganization of their own in the House when the new Congress convenes next January.

The victims of the projected party "purge" may be Democrats from north of the Mason and Dixon Line—the so-called Truman and New Deal wing of the party.

Up in arms over the Truman Democrats' advocacy of Civil Rights legislation which led some Southerners to bolt the Democratic National Convention, the Dixiecrats believe next January will afford an excellent opporutnity to reorganize for party control.

They are confident they will be in the majority among House Democrats at that time. Regardless of what happens in the national elections, Southren Democrats figure they are certain to be re-elected in November. Mon 8-2-48

It could be a different story for Northern Democrats when the votes are counted.

"There will be some changes made in January," a leading Southerner said Sunday. "It's certain that there will be more Southern than Northern Democrats in the House. Then is when we will move in and take over the party, for if the Democrats lose the White House, party control will be lodged in Congress, and that means in the Dixiecrats." Mon 8-2-48

Some Southerners are urging that in such a case, Northern Democrats who have been clamoring for civil rights legislation should be deprived of choice committee assignments.

Arkansas Deserts States' Rights Plan

The Advertiser

Fri 9-24-48

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.—(AP)—A plan to capture Arkansas' Democratic presidential electors for the States Rights ticket was discarded Thursday.

The result apparently will be that slates of electors for both the Truman-Barkley Democratic ticket and the States Rights ticket of Govs. J. Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright will appear on the November general election ballot in Arkansas. Montgomery

This development came shortly after the Democratic state convention opened a two-day stand here at noon. Ala 9-24-48

John L. Daggett of Marianna, a member of the States Rights Democratic executive committee, announced to the convention that an effort to have Democratic electors in this state pledged to Thurmond and Wright would not be pressed on the convention floor. Fri.

Daggett said that, instead States Righters would qualify their electors for the ballot by a petition to be filed with the secretary of state today.

This left the convention free to name electors pledged to the national Democratic presidential and vice-presidential nominees, President Truman and Senator Barkley, to name uninstructed electors. The Advertiser

Daggett said a planned convention fight had been abandoned by the States Righters in hopes of preserving "harmony within the Democratic Party of Arkansas." Montgomery Ala.

He added quickly, however, that it is the "solemn conviction of States Righters" that "any Arkansas Democrat loyal to our party traditions and principles must also oppose" President Truman. Fri 9-24-48

Anti-Truman Democrats See Senate Recaptured

The Post
Mon. 8-23-48
Wash D.C

2 Dixiecrats Say They'll Campaign For Candidates For Upper House

By The Associated Press

Two Southern Senators who fought the nomination of President Truman said yesterday they expect Democrats to regain control of the Senate in the November election.

Senators Sparkman (D., Ala.) and Olin D. Johnston (D., S. C.) told a reporter in separate interviews that despite their opposition to Mr. Truman they feel free to go out and campaign for Democratic senatorial candidates.

"I think our chances are excellent to recapture control of the Senate this fall," Senator Sparkman said. "I'll feel free to campaign for any Democratic nominee for the Senate or House."

Republicans now hold 51 Senate seats and Democrats 45 so that a switch of four could give the Democrats a narrow control and chairmanships of all the committees as well as leadership.

Hopeful in Tennessee

Republicans have been saying they will make heavy gains in the House and will also gain in the Senate. Yesterday GOP party chiefs said chances were good for them to pick up a Senate seat from Tennessee.

Senator Johnston summed up for the Democrats:

"It looks mighty good. Our chances are excellent to take Republican seats in Kentucky, Oklahoma, West Virginia and Wyoming. We also have an even break in Minnesota, Illinois and Delaware."

A third Democrat, who is supporting Mr. Truman, Senator Elmer Thomas (Okla.), agreed his party has a chance to upset the present GOP control of the Senate.

Mon. 8-23-48

Depends on Trend

"But it depends largely on how big a Republican trend there is," Thomas said. "If Governor Dewey sweeps Oklahoma and other border and northern States, he probably will carry the Republican Senate places with him."

Sparkman, who is seeking reelection in Alabama, is pledged to support Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for the presidency, along with other States Rights Democrats.

Johnston has made no announcement about supporting either Governor Thurmond, the Dixiecrat presidential candidate from his home State, or Mr. Truman since their nominations. But he was one of the most active anti-Truman leaders prior to the Philadelphia National Nominating Convention.

RULING ON BALLOT MADE

Commercial Appeal

Arkansas States' Righters To Be 'New Party'

Memphis Tenn.
Sun. 8-1-48

LITTLE ROCK, July 31.—(AP)—The Arkansas attorney general said Friday presidential elector candidates of the Southern States' Rights Democrats will have to go on the Arkansas ballot as representatives of a new party. 8-1-48

The States' Rights candidates could not get on the ballot in the November election "in lieu of the regular Democratic candidates," Guy E. Williams said.

The opinion was issued at the request of Atty. Gen. J. Tom Watson of Florida. 8-1-48

Rights Candidate Charges 'Hitlerism' In Fairfield Speech

News
Birmingham Ala.

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

The "civil rights" proposals of President Truman, Gov. Dewey and Henry Wallace are a "vicious bid for power at the expense of human rights," Gov. J. Strom Thurmond charged in a Labor Day address prepared for delivery at Fairfield this afternoon. 9-6-48

The South Carolina governor and States' Rights Democratic presidential candidate, accompanied by Mrs. Thurmond, was scheduled to arrive at Roberts Field by plane early in the afternoon.

Gov. Thurmond had a morning Labor Day speaking engagement at Wildwood, Fla., where the Wildwood Labor Day Committee, composed of Railway Brotherhoods representatives, planned a holiday celebration.

In his Fairfield speech, which was to be delivered at 4 p.m. in the city park, Gov. Thurmond assailed the standard-bearers of the national Democratic, Republican and Progressive Parties, branding measures advocated by them as "seeds of race and class hatred." 9-6-48

* * *

THE STATES' RIGHTS presidential aspirant likened the efforts of his three opponents to the "schemes of Adolph Hitler, who gained control by destroying the authority of local governments and then wormed his way into power."

"The German people were foolish enough to believe that human rights could be enlarged upon by sacrificing constitutional rights," Gov. Thurmond's prepared speech pointed out. "They soon learned that constitutional rights are in themselves human rights and that when constitutional rights are gone all human rights are destroyed."

Warning that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, Thurmond declared: News

"These candidates (Truman, Dewey and Wallace) have approved measures which are in violation of constitutional precepts. All three are the mongrel conceptions resulting from the cross of cheap political demagogery and that fraudulent sense of expediency which knows no bounds in insincerity and which has no place in the patriotism of any people." News

GOV. THURMOND AGAIN assailed the FEPC, anti-lynching and other proposals in the "civil rights" program of Truman, Dewey and Wallace, asserting the anti-lynching law is an "insult to the South and a threat to the nation as a disguised measure enabling the federal government to seize local police powers."

"The founders of our country deliberately denied the federal government any police powers over the states," Thurmond declared in his prepared speech, "because they knew, as we know, that to concentrate police powers within the federal government is to open the way to dictatorship and tyranny.

"Yet, we have President Truman's word for it that he is now training federal police to enforce the anti-lynching bill and the FEPC as soon as they become the laws of the land. Birmingham

"Only one lynching last year—think of it. And yet Harry Truman and his associates are willing to break away from constitutional government, create a police force, invade the rights of the individual states, and all this under the guise of preventing lynching." Ala

Gov. Thurmond likewise criticized the proposed "separation of the races" measure, contending that the "people of a local community have the right to use the means and methods that will best promote harmonious relations." He added that the bill is a result of "clamor from agitators and socially maladjusted persons who do not care about or understand the conditions existing in the many communities in the United States."

HE BRANDED THE FEPC proposal a "Russian-patterned measure" and said it would not "work in free America or in any free country where the dignity and worth and liberty of the individual is respected." 9-6-48

"The FEPC contains a fundamental threat to our American way of life," the South Carolina executive added. "This proposal calls for an army of federal police, empowered to spy into the affairs of each business enterprise in the United States, to control the hiring and firing of employes, promotion and demotion of employes, and to enforce rules and regulations which govern the relations between employer and employe."

THURMOND LAUNCHES DIXIECRAT CAMPAIGN

The Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn

States' Rights Candidate Hits Truman Program

RAPS DEWEY, WALLACE

Sun. 8-1-48

By The United Press

CHERRYVILLE, N. C., July 31. — Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina opened his campaign for President here Saturday night with a scalding attack on civil rights and a tongue-lashing of his political opponents.

He said civil rights would mean "a virtual revolution in the Southern States." Sun. 8-1-48

Speaks At Festival

The 46-year-old Governor, candidate of the States' Rights Democrats, spoke at the annual Cherryville Watermelon Festival. He told the crowd "I did not risk my life on the beaches of Normandy to come back to this country, and sit idly by, while a bunch of hack politicians whittles away your heritage and mine. As for me, I intend to fight!"

He denounced Democrats and Republicans for failing to guarantee States' Rights in their platforms.

One by one he took up and mauled the civil rights proposals. He struck at the antipoll tax law. "I have advocated that we repeal the tax in my state," he said. "But I cannot agree that the Federal Government has the right to force any state to abolish this tax if the people of the state want it."

He condemned any Federal anilynching law. He asked "Is there anyone left who does not know that the South also most wiped out lynching without outside assistance?"

Hits Segregation Critics

Thurmond snapped at the proposal dealing with separation of races. "If the segregation program of the President is enforced, the results in civil strife may be horrible beyond imagination," he declared.

"Let us tell them that in the South, the intermingling of the races in our homes, in our schools, and in our theaters is impractical and impossible," he added.

He said FEPC would make private business a thing of the past.

Thurmond attacked the other three presidential candidates. He called them "birds of a feather flocking together."

He said: "Tom Dewey has already set up the FEPC in New York State. Harry Truman is demanding that the so-called civil rights be forced upon every state. And Henry Wallace is the daddy of them all."

Dixiecrat Chieftains Announce Plan Here For 7,000-Mile Tour

News
Birmingham Ala.

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

States' Rights Democratic chieftains late Saturday climaxed a Southwide meeting in Birmingham by announcing plans for a 7,000-mile Thurmond-Wright presidential campaign tour into 14 states.

The States' Rights executive committee members, after a day-long session, expressed confidence that more than 100 electoral votes would bewon for their standard-bearers, Govs. J. Strom Thurmond and Fielding L. Wright, who met with them. Sun. 8-29-48

South Carolina's Gov. Thurmond, the States' Rights presidential nominee, assailed the candidacies of Truman, Dewey and Wallace and the "un-American measures they openly advocate."

"The FEPC approved by all three national conventions held in Philadelphia," is copied from Joe Stalin's code for government of the Russian people," charged by Thurmond in a statement issued at the close of the executive session.

"We will take our message by radio to all the people," added Thurmond, "and the executive committee is considering a 7,000-mile railway tour into 14 states in October, making 37 principal rallies and almost 200 back platform speeches."

8-29-48

Adopt Campaign Budget

THE STATES' RIGHTS campaign leaders, including more than a score executive committee members, attorneys and business men from 14 Southern states, adopted a campaign budget. But they declined to say how much money had been budgeted for the campaign, aimed primarily at defeating President Truman.

States' Righters, who mapped campaign plans behind closed doors at the Tutwiler Hotel, said they received reports on the status of the Thurmond-Wright ticket in 14 Southern states, as well as campaign developments in states outside the South.

"Optimism prevailed in all Southern states, with a spirit of realism tempering all reports," their statement said.

Gov. Thurmond repeated his assertion that anti-lynching and anti-poll tax proposals of Truman, Dewey and Wallace "will foster a police state on all Americans and lay the foundation necessary for communistics control of our local and state governments."

"Last but not least is the elimination of segregation promised by Truman, Dewey and Wallace," declared the South Carolina governor. "This proposal would force all races and creeds together in schools, churches, hotels, restaurants and all other public places under threat of federal prosecution. Sun. 8-29-48

Horace Wilkinson Sues Mobile Labor Journal

MOBILE, Ala., Aug. 28—(AP)—Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham States' Rights leader, Saturday filed suit in Mobile Circuit Court asking $100,000 damages from a Mobile weekly labor publication.

The suit named as defendants the Mobile Labor Journal, and Stanton Dann and W. T. Turner, individually and as partners in the publication. News

Wilkinson's complaint charged the defendants with "falsely and maliciously publishing" an article in The Journal's July 13, 1948, issue, "with intent to defame, the plaintiff." Birmingham Ala

The article discussed the convention of anti-Truman Democrats in Birmingham at which Gov. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Gov. Fielding H. Wright, of Mississippi, were named States' Rights candidates for president and vice president. 8-29-48

Senator Reviews Demo Gains, Hits GOP In Ensley Talk

Birmingham Ala
News

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

States' rights are all right and worthy of strong support but the rights and benefits which come directly from the federal government far outnumber them, Sen. Lister Hill pointed out in a Labor Day speech prepared for delivery today in Ensley.

"As we fight for states' rights," the senator asserted, "let us fight for all rights which will help to build a strong, a free America, and help build a world of lasting peace." Mon 9-6-48

The seator's address was set for delivery at 3 p.m. at a meeting in DeBardeleben Park under auspices of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion.

"Much of what we read and hear today is about states' rights," Sen. Hill declared. "I believe in states' rights. I firmly believe that the rights of the states should be fully recognized and fully protected.

* * *

"DURING THE PAST 10 years, ever since I have been your senator, I have been fighting for the rights of states. I have been one of the group of Southern senators banded together with the fixed determination that we would use every power at our command to protect the rights of states."

Sen. Hill said his first speech on the Senate floor was against the anti-lynching bill. The second longest speech he has ever made, he added, was in the Senate against the FEPC bill. His longest speech, the senator continued, was delivered last month in the Senate against the anti-poll tax bill.

The senator explained that while he favors repeal of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting he believes that such repeal should be by the state of Alabama and not by the federal government. 9-6-48 Mon

On that occasion, Sen. Hill said he spoke from noon until 7 p.m and immediately thereafter the fight for the bill collapsed.

"No man can predict what the results will be as to these measures if the Republicans elect a president and secure control of both the Senate and House," he continued. "They have solemnly announced their promise that if they win they will change the rules of the Senate. They declare they will deny free and unlimited debate and that they will pass the measures."

The senator then began an outline of the benefits which he said are rights that come to the people directly from federal sources.

"This very meeting here today to celebrate the cause of labor," Sen. Hill continued, "points out to us that to talk about states' rights and go no further is to tell only part of the story. This very meeting tells us that as much as we believe in states' rights and as determined as we are to defend and safeguard these rights, there are also other rights, other duties and other reponsibilities."

* * *

THE SPEAKER DECLARED that this meeting should remind all that the federal government recognized its responsibility to labor and in the Clayton act decreed that labor should be considered as a product of human beings and not as a mere commodity.

Child labor and the sweat shop were outlawed by the federal government which also gave to labor its right to collective bargaining and provided minimum wages and decent hours or work, the speaker added.

"Those benefits did not come from the states," he stressed "because only the federal government can protect the rights of labor.

"We know that it was our federal government that met its responsibility to our veterans and passed the GI bill of rights. No states' rights could provide these benefits."

Sen. Hill declared it "is a shocking thing" that three years after the war the world's richest nation has not provided houses for veterans, for workers and for the growing population.

He reminded his audience at that point that it was the Republican controlled Congress that passed the Taft-Hartley act "to weaken and impair labor's right to organize." Also, that the same Congress defeated the general housing bill.

"The rights of the people to be protected against the hazards of old age, of unemployment and disability, disease and death, were recognized by our federal government when it established the social sesurity program. In spite of the delays and the obstructions of our Republican-controlled Congress our federal government must increase old age and survivors' insurance benefits and extend the protection of social security to all workers not now covered, in the office, in the factory and in the field."

Birmingham Ala

IT WAS THE FEDERAL government, Sen. Hill continued, that gave Alabama its development of the Warrior River and Birmingham Port, linking the Birmingham area with Mobile "and the commerce of the seven seas."

The federal government, in addition, he said, has authorized full development of the Tombigbee River. The states, he insisted, could not give Alabama those developments. 9-6-48 Mon

The senator pointed as another federally bestowed right to the fact that the ICC and the U. S. Supreme Court had eliminated freight discriminations against the South.

States, he continued, cannot protect the many new, small independent factories and business enterprises against "the stifling hand of monopoly." The federal government, on the other hand, gives this protection.

It was the federal government and not the states, he added, that gave the states the benefits of soil conservation. States' rights, he declared, have not strung up a mile of REA lines.

"Do I need to remind you that prices today are higher than they have ever been?" he asserted. "And they are still going up. Many families are consuming their wartime savings to buy the necessities of life. Last year 3,000,000 families exhausted their savings. One-fourth of all American families have no savings of any kind for sickness, accident or other emergencies.

"Is it surprising that the American people are going into debt to the tune of $1,000,000,000 a year? Since stabilizing controls were ended two years ago a 30 per cent rise in prices has added more than $42,000,000,000 to America's cost of living.

"THE STATES are helpless before the gathering whirlwind of inflation. While we battle for states' rights let us remember that protection against inflation and all its dangers is being denied by the Republican Congress."

Sen. Hill listed among other benefits coming directly from federal authority the Hill-Burton hospital and health center construction act.

The federal government would be aiding education in the states, he added, if it had not been for the work of Republican leaders in Congress.

Sen. Hill charged Republicans in the House with attempting to sabotage America's foreign policy by seeking to deny adequate funds for the Marshall plan.

In addition he charged Republicans with "seriously crippling" the reciprocal trade agreements act.

'States' Rights' Next Issue

Commercial Appeal. Memphis

Mississippi Democrats Now Will Direct Energies Toward Piling Up AntiTruman Vote In Fall

Aug 8-29-48

By KENNETH TOLER

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 28.—Now that the Democrats have settled their state primary differences, they will probably turn to the national aspects of their status as States' Righters. Every contest in last Tuesday's party primary was settled finally without the necessity of a runoff.

An intensive campaign is expected to be waged between now and the November general election to bring out a big vote for the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights presidential ticket. It is expected to be opposed by a Truman-pledged group, along with the two sets of Republicans and possibly nine candidates for electors bearing the standard of Henry Wallace.

Mr. Toler

If the nonsegregation policies of Wallace are carried out in the electoral slate, then Lewis Henderson of Bay St. Louis, former state publisher and onetime head of the Farm Security Administration's information division, will have to make selections on both sides the racial fence. In that connection, the socalled "black-and-tan" Republican faction, the one recognized by the national convention and headed by Perry Howard, negro attorney, has an all-white set of presidential electors, although most of its members are negroes.

Old line politicians are staying in the background in the movement to qualify a Truman set of electors. They are letting the younger newcomers to politics handle the front office while they stay in the back to work the manipulations. However, not all of those supporting the Truman electoral movement are politicians by any means.

'South Won't Profit'

In connection with the States' Rights movement, Representative Will Whittington of the Third (Delta) Congressional District, told the Rotary Club at Greenwood this week that "there is no reasonable chance that Thurmond will be elected president . . . or for the election of president to be thrown into the House of Representatives." He said the South would not profit by that course as it has 1-59 of the total electoral vote now and would have only 1-48th under the other.

Representative Whittington said "in common with the people of the South, I oppose the election of Harry Truman and in voting for the Thurmond-Wright ticket I feel that I am voting for them within the Democratic party." He said the candidacy of the two governors "is a protest campaign and a vote for them is a protest vote."

The Deltan took occasion to answer some of the things being said about those members of the delegation who have not been altogether "outspoken" on the states' rights proposition.

"It has been stated that Southern senators and representatives with one or two exceptions have not been outspoken in the states' rights campaign because they are office holders interested in patronage and seniority," he said. "Governor Thurmond, as are many of the leaders in the states' rights movement, is an office-holder, and I know of no more perpetual candidate than Governor Thurmond."

Seeks Senatorship

Representative Whittington asserted that "it is generally understood that he (Thurmond) is a candidate for Senator from South Carolina."

As to the loss of patronage, the Deltan said "there will be no patronage for Southern senators and representatives from now on for unfortunately I think Dewey will be elected."

Mr. Whittington commented that "it is strange some are criticizing Southern senators and representatives in one breath and in the next breath are advocating that the same representatives elect a president of the United States and a vice president by the election being thrown into the House of Representatives."

What Representative Whittington was "striking at" were reports that some state leaders felt he was not sufficiently outspoken on the States' Rights issue and that he might face an independent opponent in November. The latter, however, is completely out of the question, although one Deltan, a former member of the Legislature, gave it a quick turnover in his mind.

Representative Whittington believes that "sooner or later, and the sooner the better," there will be a realignment and a reorganization of the two major patries. He said the Democrats and Republicans of similar views will compose the one party that will probably be known as the Conservative party, while those of socalled liberal views in both parties will compose the other party that will probably be known as the Liberal Party.

"In either event, the party must be national with a national viewpoint,' he said. Aug 8-29-48

About The Capitol

Re-election of Representative John E. Rankin two weeks ago was doubtful, but after he got on the stump, it was just a question of counting the votes . . . A survey of the district revealed he had strengthened his fences, although because of the background of his two opponents, it was believed he would be forced into a runoff . . . A politician of many years in office, President T. A. Burgin of the Lowndes County Board of Supervisors, called two of the elections almost two weeks before the prihary . . . He said Representative Rankin would win in the first primary, and that John Greene Jr., of Starkville, would be named 16th District Circuit Judge . . . He was not expressing his personal views but "giving out" with what he heard at his filling station at the crossroads of Federal Highways 82 and 45—West at Mayhew.

Commercial Appeal

More than just Governor Wright's appointment in the supreme court vacancy figured in the victory of Circuit Judge Percy M. Lee of Forest . . . The eastern sector of the Central District has had a long drought of not having a member on the bench, and felt the Delta had had it long enough . . . A check of the county returns bears that out Memphis Tenn

Circuit Judge Raymond T. Jarvis' statement conceding the election of Representative Rankin had a "futuristic" twist . . . He thanked those who "supported me in this, my first race for Congress" . . . Likewise, Representative Tom Abernethy in the Fourth will probably have to again face State Representative John Aldridge of Winona, who was making his first race for that post.

Southern Revolt Is Not Spontaneous

Courier Journal

By ERNEST K. LINDLEY

IT WOULD not be surprising if the Southern "States Rights" rebels could make good the boast of one of them that they can outdo the Democratic National Committee in raising a campaign fund. For some of them have close ties with special interests which have money and are usually ready to spend it to obtain or hold special privileges.

The Negro question has been exploited time and again by the right-wingers of the Democratic Party in the South. Under present circumstances it might be exploited rather successfully. For the strong civil rights plank adopted by the Democratic National Convention, combined with the President's decision to call a special session at which cloture almost certainly will be invoked to break a Southern filibuster, has put the more progressive Southerners at a temporary tactical disadvantage in their own States.

7-30-48

Louisville, Ky.

Liberals Are Not Bolting

It is the Negro question—and that almost alone—which divides such Southern liberals as Senators Hill and Sparkman of Alabama, Estes Kefauver and the other liberal Democratic congressmen from Tennessee and many others of like kind from other parts of Dixie from the progressive Democrats of the North and West.

In the last analysis, it was the desire to conserve the influence of such men that led many of the Northern States to oppose the A.D.A. civil rights plank in the resolutions committee at the Democratic National Convention. When the fight was carried to the floor, however, the populous Northern and Western States with diversified populations and especially those with large numbers of Negroes, had to vote for the stronger civil rights plank.

Senator Hill did not bolt. He headed the Alabama delegates who stayed behind. By announcing that Alabama yielded to Georgia he made the first formal move on the convention floor toward nominating Senator Russell of Georgia for the Presidency.

One Southern speaker after another at Philadelphia declared that the Democratic Party could not win national elections without the South. Actually, Roosevelt did not need a single Southern electoral vote in any of his four victories. Had every Southern electoral vote been transferred to his Republican opponent, Roosevelt nevertheless would have won.

Courier Journal

7-20-48

Control of Section In Balance

It is true, however, that without the support of most of the Southern delegates Roosevelt would not have been nominated for the Presidency in 1932 and so probably would never have become President. He was known then as a progressive—although the fact that he had carried the State of New York in the Republican landslide of 1928 and had been re-elected in 1930 by a plurality of 725,000 was perhaps more influential in the minds of some of his Southern supporters at the convention of 1932.

Louisville, Ky.

Roosevelt, Wilson, Bryan—all three of the great Democratic progressive national leaders of the last half century—owed their nominations in large measure to the South. The South provided many of the votes in Congress which put through their progressive reforms and, in addition, was the backbone of support of their foreign policies.

It appears that the more progressive elements in Southern democracy intend to stay in the Democratic Party. That is where they belong. The important question is not whether Mr. Truman loses some electoral votes this year but who will control the machinery of the Democratic Party in the South in the near future—the Wilson and Roosevelt Democrats, on the one hand, or the reactionaries.

A Flaming Issue Begins to Lose Heat

Courier Journal
Thurs 7-29-48

ONE fact stands out clearly in results in Democratic primaries in three States where the so-called Southern tradition claims loyalty. It is a fact that ought to give pause to the States Righters, the anti-TRUMAN, anti-civil rights forces. In neither Texas, Oklahoma nor Arkansas was the issue very effective for candidates of the rebel point of view.

Louisville, Ky

The issue was most clearly drawn in Oklahoma, where former Governor KERR was opposed for the senatorial nomination by GOMER SMITH. A rabble-rousing defender of the State's segregation laws, SMITH tore hotly into the fray with the banner of White Supremacy. This was regarded as a particularly live issue in Oklahoma, where feelings had been stirred by a recent Supreme Court decision that a Negro woman must be admitted to the State University's law school. And in Tulsa is one of the most active and prolific transmission belts of the Christian Nationalist Crusade, a front of the racist, anti-Semitic movement headed by the Rev. GERALD L. K. SMITH. Yet KERR won by a fairly wide margin.

In Texas the issue was raised by the opponents of SAM RAYBURN, former Speaker of the national House of Representatives. They charged him with betrayal of tradition by his activity for the TRUMAN-BARKLEY ticket and his service as chairman of the convention that nominated it. He won easily, getting more than twice the combined vote of two opponents.

In Arkansas, where four candidates for Governor ran neck and neck for two places in a second primary, the issue was only incidentally projected. This fact may be seen as unusual, because Arkansas' Governor LANEY was one of the early sparkplugs of the "Southern revolt," and went to the first conference of States' Righters in Jackson, Miss., with the word that his State was on fire. However, the principal point aired in the campaign was improvement of the highway system, and a debate on the familiar conflict between pay-as-you-goers and bond advocates.

Courier Journal

Only one of the four leaders (in a field of seven) tried to make anything of his opposition to the TRUMAN program—and he barely managed to get into the run-off against a young war hero and county prosecutor, SIDNEY MCMATH. The States' Rights champion is JACK HOLT, former Attorney General. It looked like a contest largely of personal followings.

7-29-48

Another glance at the Texas race shows a surprising strength for conservative, silent COKE STEVENSON, the former Governor who never got out on a limb. To succeed the unsavory "Pappy" O'DANIEL as senator, he ran well ahead of active, progressive Representative LYNDON JOHNSON, who will fight it out with him in a second primary. The final outcome doubtless will be decided by the way the third candidate's vote of nearly 200,000 is split. He is GEORGE PEDDY, a Houston lawyer, who tried to wake up Texas by his views on the international situation (he was against isolation). Texas is guessing that JOHNSON will get more of them than the non-committal STEVENSON, but whether enough to overcome the latter's 70,000 lead is to be seen. Texas is a big State, where currents run deep. Nearly 1,250,000 votes were cast in last Saturday's primary.

Louisville, Ky

GEORGIA EDITORS

The Constitution

Discuss the Dixiecrat Ticket

(Ralph Jones, whose column usually appears in this space, is ill.)

Columbus Ledger The most charitable view to take of those Democrats who met in Birmingham and purported to nominate candidates for the presidency and vice presidency is that they were deeply angry after the South's humiliation at Philadelphia, and spleens can become quite swollen in the sort of weather we have been having lately.

Sat 7-24-48

Those of us who live down South know that the Birmingham meeting was not in any way representative of all the Southern States. Indeed, only three States—Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina—were represented officially, although volunteer hangers-on did show up from some other places, with or without invitation.

Anyway, the so-called convention was strictly "rump," and the pity of it is that the whole Deep South gets the name of acting crazy because a few folks in three States went off half-cocked.

Any Democrat in his right mind knows that Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, are not really candidates for the presidency and vice presidency, and it will be a terrible mistake if any Southern State permits their names to go on the ballot, to the exclusion of Harry S. Truman's name.

Neither of these two men stands the remotest chance of occupying the White House and, as candidates, they cannot do the South the slightest good.

Atlanta Ga.

Albany Herald The Birmingham rump convention has produced what was expected of it—no more and no less. Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, was nominated for the presidency and Mississippi's Gov. Fielding Wright was named as his running-mate. It is certain that these two men can control the decisions of their States' members of the Electoral College, and it is probable that they will find support in Florida and Alabama. But to accord that ticket any more real strength is conjectural, although feelings in 10 Southern States regarding Mr. Truman's proposed "civil rights" program are hostile. It is significant that Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, who was one of the most outspoken against a civil rights plank in the Democratic platform, would have nothing to do with the bolters at this time. And our own State of Georgia, which managed its resistance to the President extremely well at Philadelphia, is not Birmingham-minded.

There is no gainsaying the political possibilities within easy reach of this protest Southern ticket. If the special session of Congress is a particularly rough one with respect to the civil rights issue, desperation, coupled with indignation, can rally many voters around the Thurmond-Wright team. In the event that the race between Mr. Truman and Mr. Dewey is close, the dissenting electors from the Southern States could conceivably throw the election into the House of Representatives. But this is not probable because the Dewey strength in other sections of the country seems overwhelming.

For the South itself, it would have been far better if the Birmingham convention had not been held at all. For the ticket has a voice, but it is a voice of anger. And it has none of the other physical parts necessary to the making of a real political party. In short, this ticket can spread resentment, discouragement and dissension, but it can offer nothing constructive to the issue at hand. It will not make our Southern Congressmen, who will have to fight the issue in Washington, any stronger as they seek allies to bolster their cause. Rather, it will weaken them and ultimately betray their position.

A foreshadowing of this uncomfortable situation is the prompt indorsement of the Birmingham convention by that rabble-rouser and race baiter, Gerald L. K. Smith. He finds this a good opportunity to "warn" the American people against an unholy political coalition between the Jews and the Negroes. Mr. Smith calls this upholding States' rights. Yet it is nothing more than the Hitler technique of persecuting helpless minorities.

Unquestionably, there will be those in Congress who might ordinarily be sympathetic to the Southern stand against restrictive Federal legislation, particularly with regard to FEPC. But they

The Constitution

Sat 7-24-48

Atlanta Ga.

will think twice before espousing a cause which is associated in any fashion with a person of Gerald Smith's character. That is the hurtful aspect of the Birmingham revolt. It does not bring reason or compromise to our problem; it brings only emotions which can destroy the dignity of our protest. We have a just case for local responsibility to present, but it cannot be presented fairly if the angry men, the little men, the vicious men are allowed to seize the issue and distort it for personal advantage.

PARLEY AFTERMATH

'Dixiecrat' Strength Seen as Doubtful

BY EDWIN A. LAHEY
Of Our Washington Bureau

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The strength of the white supremacy caucus of the Democratic party is an extremely doubtful quantity, for a number of reasons.

The delegates who nominated Gov. J. Storm Thurmond, of South Carolina, and Gov. Fielding Wright, of Mississippi, for President and Vice President on a program of "States Rights" were in Birmingham purely as individuals.

The "Save Dixie" conference had none of the formal trappings of a convention.

* * *

HOWEVER, the industrial interests of the North, from whom the Republican Party generally gets some support, were strongly, if indirectly, represented at the conference.

The leadership of the rebel conference was heavily sprinkled with corporation lawyers who are to some extent the Southern custodians of Northern property interests in steel, railroads, oil, and coal.

There were between 100 and 200 college students at the conference, from Southern schools, the largest delegation coming from the University of Mississippi.

* * *

IF THESE students, who were on a semiserious lark, and the corporation lawyers, who think in terms broader than the racial issue, are disregarded, a composite picture of a delegate to the states rights conference would show a middle aged man in a seersucker suit, tieless, red necked, and leather faced.

He is the easily inflamed type whose idea of civic mindedness would be to volunteer for night duty to chase an organizer out of town.

The only upper bracket politicians active in the movement which launched a strange new party Saturday are the Governors of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Arkansas, the two United States Senators from Mississippi, and about half of the Mississippi delegation in Congress.

* * *

IF THE PARENTS of the new party seem to be a motley collection, their opposition in the South is an unstable bloc torn between political selfinterest, economic interest, and the emotionalism of race.

The hierarchy of the Democratic party in the South is overwhelmingly opposed to the rebel group, not because of any sympathy for the Truman civil rights program which precipitated the revolt, but because of their dogmatic views on party regularity.

Democrats in the South have bolted the party before, and were punished severely in later elections by defeat and loss of patronage.

* * *

ON THE RANK and file level, the opposition to the group which met here Saturday would normally be pretty strong. There is a "populist" fringe among the small farmers in the South, whose economic radicalism evokes most of the "wool hat" demagoguery among Southern politicians.

While the South is still far from organized, there is a reasonably large group of union members in the newly industrialized area. The AFL, the CIO and the unaffiliated mine worker leaders in Alabama claim a total of 250,000 members.

Under ordinary circumstances, workers and small farmers in the South would look with suspicion upon any political movement launched by corporation lawyers and a group of men with the faces of special deputy sheriffs.

* * *

BUT THIS political issue, like all political issues in the South, gets all tangled up with that pervasive, explosive, soul-corroding question of race relations.

If that question gets heated up enough, it becomes impossible to suggest how the workers and small farmers of the South might vote.

To all but a few Southerners who like to live dangerously, segregation is not an evil, but the immutable pattern of what is called the "Southern way of life."

* * *

TWO OF THE proposals in the Truman civil rights program, antipoll tax and antilynching legislation, are irritating, but not much more than that, to the average Southern white man or woman.

But the Truman proposal for Federal legislation to outlaw discrimination strikes a chill in the heart of the Southerner on the street.

Extremely lurid pictures of life in the South under a Federal fair employment practice act are drawn by the leaders of the white supremacy caucus, and it would be unreal to assume that these accounts do not have an impact on the Southern mind.

Solid South Predicted For 'Dixiecrats'

Columbia Record
Tues. 7-27-48

WASHINGTON, July 27—(AP)—A [illegible] states rights ticket will carry the solid South in November was made today by Rep. Williams (D-Miss).

Columbia Record

He said he expects the states rights ticket headed by Governor Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Wright of Mississippi, to win more electoral college votes than President Truman.

"It may be," he told a reporter, "That Truman won't carry a single state. Thurmond will get more electoral votes than Truman, that's certain. We should carry 24 states—we will have our ticket on the ballot in at least that many."

Williams said he has no fears that representatives from Southern states will lose choice committee positions because they support Thurmond in November instead of backing President Truman, the regular Democratic nominee.

After the election, he said, Southern civil rights Democrats will make up the bulk of the house Democrats.

"We will be the Democratic party in the House," he said. "We will be the ones who will make the Democratic committee assignments. The northern Democrats will have to come to us—we won't have to go with them."

Williams said he is a candidate for the Democratic nomination to Congress from his district and also is the states rights party nominee. After the Democratic primary in August, he said, he plans to stump the South in behalf of the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Columbia Record
Tues. 7-27-48
Columbia, S.C.

Thurmond was designated the nominee for president, Wright for vice president, at the recent Birmingham convention of the states rights Democrats.

Dixie Democrats Called To States' Rights Meet

Columbia Record
Thu. 7-15-48

By FRANCIS M. LE MAY

PHILADELPHIA, July 15—(AP)—Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi issued a call today for "every man and woman who believes in states' rights and who opposes Harry S. Truman and the things he stands for" to meet in Birmingham on Saturday.

Some but not all of the rebel Southern Democrats—slapped down on the race issue yesterday at their party's national convention—packed off for the southern city today, there to name a "grass roots, states rights" candidate for president and write a states' rights platform. him with confidence in November and remain within the Democratic party."

Southern delegates suffered a resounding defeat here yesterday when the convention rejected their states rights plank and then amended the convention platform to stamp full endorsement on Truman's civil rights program.

It was this civil rights program—anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, anti-discrimination and fair employment practices—that started the Southern Democratic rebellion earlier.

Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas, who withdrew at the last minute his states' rights presidential candidacy in the Democratic convention, said he is undecided whether to attend the Birmingham meeting.

TRUMAN-BARKLEY TICKET

PHILADELPHIA, July 15—(AP)—President Truman countered a Democratic civil rights split today with a dramatic call for a July 26 special session of Congress and a smashing attack on what he termed the "poppycock" of Republican promises.

Mr. Truman asked for action within 15 days after the lawmakers meet, on anti-inflation and housing legislation.

An hour before he took the stage of Philadelphia's convention hall early this morning to fling a challenge at the Republicans to make good on their Dewey-Warren platform pledges, Mr. Truman had been nominated by his party on the first ballot.

Thu. 7-15-48

The vote, indicating the wide breach opened in party ranks by the bitter, last-ditch fight over civil rights was:

President Truman, 947 1-2.
Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, 263.
Paul V. McNutt, 1-2 vote.
Not voting, 23.

Unanimous Vote

The convention, after a 38-minute ovation for the President, gave Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, 70-year-old minority leader of the Senate, a unanimous vote for vice president.

Unanmimous, that is, except for a group of Mississippi and Albama delegates. They had walked out earlier over the racial issue—turning their steps to Birmingham, Ala., and a Saturday call for a states' rights convention of their own.

But Mr. Truman took the bit in his teeth in a fighting acceptance speech.

He said he will recommend that the GOP-controlled special session, among other things, act on civil rights legislation.

While embattled Southern delegations sat silent, the arm-waving chief executive told the delegates:

"Everybody knows that I recommended to the Congress a civil rights program. I did so because I believe it to be my duty under the constitution.

"Some of the members of my own party disagree violently on this stand. The Republicans all profess to be for these matters, but the 80th Congress failed to act.

"They had enough men and they had cloture (a rule under which Senate debate can be gagged to shut off a filibuster). There were enough people that would vote for cloture."

Some Southern Democrats, angry over the convention's adoption of a stiffer civil rights plank than its own platform committee had urged, said they believe the Republicans will lose no time in putting a civil rights bill before the Senate at the special session.

Columbia, S.C.

Promise Long Debate

These same Dixie law makers promised the same long-winded debate that has bottled up such moves in the past.

Republicans regarded the prospect of a Democratic filibuster with more glee than they seemed likely to register over Mr. Truman's demand that they solve the housing and inflation problems—and pronto.

Declaring at the start that "Senator Barkley and I will win this election and make these Republicans like it." Mr. Truman said the special session will show whether the Republicans "can fool the people with such poppycock" as he said was in their platform.

As his party members thundered their approval, the President told the delegates:

"Now, what that worst 80th Congress does in this special session will be the test. The American people will not decide by listening to mere words or by reading a mere platform.

"They will decide on the record, the record as it has been written, and in the record is the stark truth that the battle lines of 1948 are the same as they were back in 1932 when the nation lay helpless and prostrate as a result of the Republican inaction."

This removed the last doubt that the President intends to make the record of Congress the full keynote of his campaign against Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York.

Gov. Dewey and Mr. Truman developed an indirect argument about foreign policy.

Dewey said in Albany yesterday that he had canvassed with John Foster Dulles, his prospective secretary of state in the event of a Republican victory, "the tense Berlin situation and the problems which may result from the extremely partisan and provocative assertions concerning foreign affairs in the draft platform of the Democratic party."

Dewey didn't spell out his objections.

The Democratic platform said the Republicans had "crippled" the reciprocal trade agreements act, "denied" a loan to the United Nations to build its headquarters in New York City and showed "reluctance" by party votes in the House to provide funds to support the European Recovery program.

EDITORS' VIEWS

The Constitution

Will Dixiecrat Movement Gain Votes?

7-18-48

In a division of the Southern vote on the Civil Rights issue most editors expect the bulk of that vote to remain in the Democratic Party, with the Dixiecratic Party receiving too few electoral votes to throw the presidential election into the House of Representatives. Some editors see the Dixiecratic Party continuing after the coming campaign as a separate party. But the majority opinion is that the greatest long-range effect of the Democratic Party split will be an increased sentiment—and vote—for a strong Republican Party in the South to give the South a bargaining position between the two major parties.

Atlanta Ga

Syracuse (N. Y.) Herald-Journal (Ind.): "Assuming the embattled Southern Democratic States . . . succeed in obtaining 127 electoral votes for their States' rights candidate (Gov. Thurmond, of South Carolina) for President, Mr. Truman obviously would be sunk politically. But it remains to be seen whether these States that have been in the Democratic column ever since the Civil War actually will bolt. That national Democratic leaders are busy behind the scenes pulling strings to keep them in line is certain. If some of the prophets of old were around today perhaps they could tell us what the results will be, but without their assistance we'll have to give it up for the moment."

The Constitution

Norfolk Virginian-Pilot (Ind.-Dem.): "Our own guess is that . . . the Birmingham war dance . . . will amount to practically nothing . . . There is no evidence that it was more representative of the South's responsible Democratic leadership than the Jackson (Miss.) convention that was its parent. The same three Governors that came to Jackson—Wright (of Mississippi), Thurmond and Laney, of Arkansas—came to Birmingham (and Laney withdrew) . . . Absent from the Birmingham meeting were all the other top-drawer Democratic leaders of the South, including Sen. Russell, of Georgia, whom all but a handful of the Southern delegates supported for the presidential nomination at . . . Philadelphia . . . "

7-18-48

Columbia (S. C.) Record (Ind.-Dem.): **"The whole (Dixiecratic) movement, like the Hoovercrat movement in 1928, is futile. Any splinter party is futile, as the Prohibitionists, the Socialists, the Communists have demonstrated. The United States has built its political system around two parties, now styled the Republicans and the Democrats. If the South wants to make its protest meaningful and effective it will have to shift not from the Democratic Party to the Dixiecratic splinter party but to the Republican Party."**

Atlanta Ga

Austin (Texas) American (Dem.): "Texas and other States of the South would have a decent two-party system if the Republicans infiltrating the party and using its precinct convention machinery, in alliance with Democrats thinking like Republicans, to obtain control of Democratic Party processes would get out of the party, adopt their own label publicly and take with them all those who pretend to talk like Democrats, who get elected on the Democratic ticket by saying they are Democrats, and promptly become the messenger boys of the Republican Party . . . "

—Edited by James Galloway.

LIGHT THROUGH A SMEAR OF OIL

The sneer that big "oil" money financed the States Rights party birth in Birmingham has twice been made by The Atlanta Constitution. Ralph McGill, editor of The Constitution, said in Philadelphia that he had heard such a rumor and believed it true. He wanted to know what we thought. At that time we did not consider it of such a major concern that it was worth thinking about while the old Democratic Party was disintegrating.

Since The Constitution reiterated the rumor (undoubtedly McGill had it from what he considered a trustworthy source) it has been emphatically denied by several leaders of the States Rights movement. Apparently the denial will stand unless someone can definitely prove that "oil" interests contributed heavily.

The Advertiser.

This sideshow issue illustrates the general ignorance of what the Tidelands Oil controversy is really about. It seems that even Editor McGill, as well informed as he is on a multitude of matters, has something of a blind spot concerning the "tidelands" issue.

Montgomery, Ala.

The reason up to now the issue has been designated "tidelands" with the quotations around it is that it does not really refer to oil deposits under true tideland areas. It refers to oil and other mineral deposits which might be found in the offshore areas contiguous to any coastal state out to any distance where the depth of water does not foil development. It also refers to mineral deposits of any character to be found beneath the navigable waters of any state if an early and comprehensive claim put in by the federal government be granted.

Essentially, the conflict is between sovereign states and the federal government over the ownership of mineral resources. Any sensible review of the case from that angle leads to the conclusion that the states are sovereign in the matter.

Thurs. 8-5-48

THE Supreme Court on June 23, 1947, issued a now famous decision, 6 to 2, which definitely did not make sense and showed that the Court did not really study the essentials of the matter. As has that Court often done in the last five years, it sat as a super-legislative body sensitive to political considerations. The case before it was the Justice Department against the State of California. The Justice Department, on the behalf of the United States, claimed U. S. proprietorship of all offshore lands and the oil thereunder.

The Supreme Court, skirting the essentials and listening to political considerations, ruled that California did not own the lands and that the U. S. "has paramount rights in and power over that belt, an incident to which is full dominion over the resources of the soil under that water area, including oil." This decision was rendered in the favor of the U. S. because of reasons of "national security" and the "conduct of international relations," a thin excuse for federal ownership of all resources, natural and man created, if the Court should desire to so interpret it.

Despite specific pleadings from both contending parties, the Court refrained from saying that the U. S. actually owned the lands and the minerals under them. This left many things up in the air.

It is not hard, in the light of long unquestioned rights which have been thoroughly exercised by every state, to conclude that the states do own and have right to control all mineral resources within their boundaries. It is also clear, under the terms Texas asked and got without question in 1845, that coastal states have rights over their coastal lands. In the case of Texas it was stipulated that the boundaries extended 10 1-2 miles into the Gulf of Mexico. Having been granted to Texas without question, it would seem obvious that all states must get equal treatment.

The Advertiser

Thus the federal government was seeking to take from the states some of their mineral resources.

It must be here introduced that all states have set aside a considerable portion of their basic resources for the use of all the people. In Alabama sixteenth sections (which means one-sixteenth of all natural resources of Alabama) were set aside for use of schools. Many of the sixteenth sections were looted from the state during the Reconstruction period, but the state had, and exercised, the right to set those sections aside. With the development of other natural resources, Alabama has levied a severance tax which calls into the general treasury a portion of all resources developed. This portion is used for all the people.

Montgomery, Ala.

THE only three states which have significant present development of "tideland" oil resources call for one-eighth royalty to be paid to the state. This money generally goes to public education.

Thurs.

Up to now the situation seems rather dry but, to anyone not collectivist minded, rather clearcut. Here is the cloudy part of the picture:

8-5-48

Various oil companies have been leasing and developing offshore oil lands. The leases have varied greatly in price, perhaps as greatly as the ultimate worth of the leases will vary. Those offshore developments cost a great deal. It is a gamble whether they will pay off. One thing is certain, the leases may be too low priced or they may be too high priced, but if oil is found, the states will get their 12 1-2 per cent royalty. That seems a fair deal for the states and a fair protection for all the people.

The Advertiser

The main basis for the government claim to ownership is "national security." This seems odd in the light of the fact that an undeveloped oil resource is an unknown resource and the federal government is ill-equipped to do any wildcatting. Further, in time of national emergency, an undeveloped resource can be written off as worthless just because it has not been developed and cannot be used. In time of stress, wildcatting for oil has to be stopped and known resources drained to the immediate bottom.

Montgomery, Ala.

THOSE who immediately react to the word "oil" as if someone had made an offensive noise never quite seem to realize that their repugnance is founded on the scandalous frauds uncovered in the federal government's stewardship of the Teapot Dome and Elk Hill oil reserves. By adroit inversion, propagandists of collectivism such as Harold Ickes, would have the public believe that the fedaral government is the only reliable steward for oil resources and that the states are incompetent to handle such matters.

Thus it is clear that a resolution that mineral resources found under "tideland" areas and under navigable waters is a proper thing for a States Rights Party to resolve about. It was also found to be a proper thing for the Republican Party to resolve about, and it so resolved in its platform.

Thurs. 8-5-48

The basic issue has been besmeared with oily half-truths since Mr. Ickes, as secretary of interior, reversed himself in 1937. (Up to that time he had supported in writing the right of states to such resources and land.) Those who do not THINK but simply REACT unfavorably to any mention of "oil" have supported the campaign of misrepresentation which has pictured any advocate of state control of such resources as no less than a robber of and traitor to the United States.

The fact is that the states have basic rights and the citizens have basic rights as citizens of states. But there are forces within the United States which would break them down. Those forces always speak more reverently of "collective security" than of "individual liberties." They want the federal government to own everything and think that "tideland" oil is as good a place as any for that policy to begin.

RALPH McGILL'S DOUBLE TALK

Perhaps this editorial could be more appropriately entitled "Talking out of Two Sides of the Mouth at the Same Time." It is a report on the editorial efforts of Ralph McGill who has had so much to say in opposition to the program of the States' Rights Democrats.

Enterprise Journal

The following is reproduced from the Constitution's editorial page:

> "The Atlanta Constitution believes that the greatest threat to local government lies in the proposal for enactment of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Committee with police powers.
>
> "No American can object to the principles, or objectives, of fair employment practices, but every thoughtful American must be alert to the fact that if a Federal bureau, with its own police power greater than that of the individual states, is given jurisdiction in so controversial a field, it will be the beginning of the end of local government, which is the source of all democratic government. We will, in effect, be distroying majority rule in an effort to protect the interests of the various minority groups."

8-2-48

Obviously, Mr. McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution recognizes the grave situation which confronts the South and the nation. Yet instead of doing something constructive about it, Mr. McGill has made a diligent effort to sabotage the work of those within the South who have shown a willingness to cope with the problem.

McComb, Miss

Mr. McGill said editorially a few days ago, "There meets in Atlanta today, for some strange reason, the small group calling themselves Dixiecrats." That "strange reason," Mr. McGill should know, is to combat the danger which he and the Constitution have so freely admitted does exist. And these men and women do not call themselves "Dixiecrats," as Mr. McGill fallaciously reports, but are banded together under the banner of States' Rights Democrats. The "Dixiecrat" misnomer suggests sectionalism and this movement is nationwide.

"There is also a doubt about the financing of this strange creation outside the party," cried Mr. McGill. Repeatedly he has charged that the movement is being financed by the tideland oil interests. This kind of demagoguery in journalism is lower than the demagoguery which Mr. McGill condemns in politics. Mr. McGill has made no effort to ascertain the facts about the financing of this movement. He could have called at the States' Rights Democrats' Headquarters and he would have discovered that he had no reason "to suspect." But Mr. McGill was too intent upon making his smear campaign to waste any time in searching for the truth. And, incidentally, why is Mr. McGill having so little to say about the financing of the Democratic Party as headed by the bigwigs of the Philadelphia convention?

Enterprise-Journal

Mr. McGill charges that the men behind this movement are politically ambitious. The truth is that most of the politicians over the South have feared this States' Rights movement. They have been afraid that participation might jeopardize their interests within the established Democratic Party and their committee assignments in Congress. But here are two questions for Mr. McGill. (1) Is he assuming that the men who defend the Philadelphia convention are without political ambitions? and (2) if so few people are behind this movement then how does he reason that the leaders within it are lending a helping hand to promote themselves politically? But again Mr. McGill seems to prefer to be the journalistic demagogue, the smear artist, unconcerned with truth so long as his distorted view is chronicled.

8-3-48

On May 10 there was a South-wide States' Rights meeting in Jackson, Mississippi. Three governors were present, (Governors Thurmond, Wright and Laney). Mr. McGill spouted [illegible] again [illegible] that the movement was fizzling out; stating that it had started with nine governors in Tallahassee but that it dropped to three governors in Jackson. The truth is that Governor Fielding Wright could not get a second to his motion of protest in Tallahassee. So actually the movement was up 300% at the very time when Mr. McGill was charging loudly that it had dropped from nine governors to three.

McComb, Miss

Said Mr. McGill in a melodramatic journalistic outburst, "We call upon them to note that only approximately 2,000 persons registered for the Birmingham convention which thought it was forming a new party. This the gentlemen cannot deny."

Mr. McGill [illegible] a reporter to be in ignorance of the fact that there were many thousands of persons in excess of the two thousand who registered. He is bound to know that the crowd was so much larger than was anticipated that the registration clerks could not cope with the throng. The fact that there was no seating nor standing room in the Birmingham municipal auditorium paints a gloomy picture of Mr. McGill's [illegible] the Birmingham auditorium holds more than 6500 people and that it was filled beyond capacity. And he knows that a couple of thousand enthusiastic listeners stood on the outside hearing the proceedings over loudspeakers.

Enterprise Journal

Typical of Mr. McGill's fallacious reporting is his statement that States' Rights Democrats are seeking to form a new party. The resolutions unanimously passed by that Birmingham meeting were mimeographed for the members of the Press and those resolutions were very definite on this score.

8-3-48

The South and Mr. McGill know that the principles for which for a century the Democratic Party has stood were thrown into discard by the Philadelphia convention. There are thousands of people within the nation who want these principles restored within the Party. They know that the Democratic Party cannot win with Harry Truman; that the Party is destined to become the minority party after the election. These people are confident they can win their party back . . . and here is the battleground.

The South hopes to see their States' Rights candidate get more electoral votes than Harry Truman receives. . . . Then the citizens who uphold the principles of States' Rights will at least control the majority of the minority party. This is their hope of returning their Democratic Party to respectability.

McComb Miss

Mr. McGill, true to his custom of loose writing, comments on the candidates "nominated" at the Birmingham "convention." If Mr. McGill were not so hell-bent on sabotaging the cause of the South, he would know that no candidates were nominated at Birmingham. On the contrary, two candidates by resolution were recommended for nomination to the Democratic Parties of the respective states. And it was not a convention as he says, but a conference of men and women who concur with the editorial in the Constitution that the Philadelphia convention program is "The greatest threat to local government."

We would like to ask this question. What is Mr. McGill, and the Atlanta Constitution, doing about this threat which they editorially acknowledge does exist? Is their vicious effort to sabotage the program of those southern patriots who are willing to do something about it, their conception of combatting an admitted danger? Mr. McGill is hampering the best interests of the South which is a far cry from the patriotic journalism championed by that earlier Constitution editor, Henry Grady, ardent advocate of local self-government and fighting foe of any who threatened this safeguard to American freedom.

8-2-48

We repeat that we feel that Mr. McGill seems to be practicing journalistic demagoguery. He seems to be trying to bend the truth to fit his presumption. He appears to have gotten himself out on a limb and now does not manifest the good grace and sportsmanship to admit an error. . . . And all the while the respect and esteem of the Atlanta Constitution is held in the balance within the hearts and minds of thousands of Southern people. This we regret for the career of Henry Grady somehow created within our minds a respect which attributed something of what may be termed journalistic sacredness to the Atlanta Constitution. It is disillusioning to see so great a newspaper fall short of so high a standard.

Dixiecrats Are a Threat In Kentucky

Courier Journal

The States' Righters, according to polls, have left Truman a narrow margin in state; Chandler is called their spiritual leader

FRANKFORT, Ky., Oct. 9.—Present prospects and past experience show that the States' Rights Party is a real threat to President Truman's chances to carry Kentucky in November.

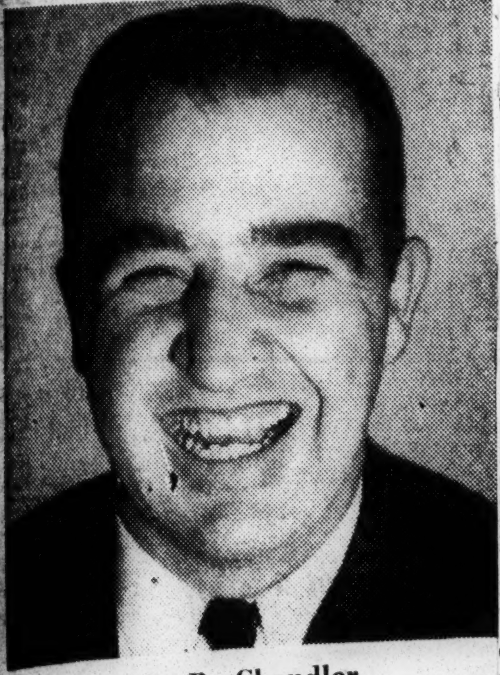
Sun 10-10-48

The Gallup Poll for Kentucky shows 5 per cent of voters favoring the third party. That means from 40,000 to 50,000 votes for Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and his running mate, Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi.

Louisville, Ky

Since the Republican Party was organized in 1856, Kentucky has gone Republican in three presidential elections. Third parties caused two of the three defections in this historically Democratic state.

This combination of past facts and present possibilities warrants, I believe, a deeper examination into the States' Rights movement in Kentucky. Particularly is it warranted in view of Gallup's latest figures that give President Truman 45 per cent, and Governor Thomas E. Dewey 42 per cent. Plainly, the difference between the President's tenuous lead and an overwhelming lead lies in Thurmond's 5 per cent, plus the 2 per cent favoring Henry Wallace.



A. B. Chandler

He's slow to forget

The conclusion is inescapable that A. B. Chandler, the high commissioner of baseball, is the spiritual leader of the States' Rights movement in Kentucky. Let me show you a few of the factors that bolster this conclusion:

1. Mrs. Chandler was one of 1,420 who signed the petition that got Thurmond and Wright on the ballot in Kentucky.

2. Orval W. Baylor, editor of Chandler's weekly, The Woodford Sun, is state campaign manager.

Sun 10-10-48

3. Chandler and his wife entertained Governor and Mrs. Thurmond at their home in Versailles the week-end following the States' Rights opening at Madisonville.

4. Chandler's natural leaning in politics is on the side of states' rights. While in the United States Senate, he voted to sustain Southern filibusters. He voted against Fair Employment Practices Control. His political friends are of the South.

But there is a deeper factor that cannot be summarized neatly. Chandler is marked by the twin traits of loyalty to friends and prejudice against enemies. He is long to remember and slow to forget. Specifically, he cannot forget his defeat in 1938 when, as Governor of Kentucky, he ran against Senator Alben W. Barkley for the senatorial nomination. He will never forget the swimming pool primary of 1942, when John Young Brown, Lexington, denounced him from every stump in Kentucky but carried only one county.

Remembers 1944

But the great generality he cannot forget is his loss of the vice-presidential nomination at the 1944 Chicago convention. Chandler believes he would be President today if the Kentucky delegation, under former Governor Keen Johnson and State Chairman J. Lyter Donaldson, had not refused him the vital boost of home-state indorsement.

So much for what I believe are the main factors behind Chandler's spiritual leadership. That his support of the States' Rights movement is closed to public view, I believe, is due wholly to his baseball contract that forbids political activity.

The next phase of this account is based upon an interview with Baylor in his office at The Woodford Sun. My deductions as to Chandler's support are not based on information his editor gave to me, and they fairly cannot be attributed to him in any way. Baylor talked to me only in his role as campaign manager for the States' Rights Party.

Sun 10-10-48

Baylor said his party is organized in 35 counties, with men and women chairmen openly announced and publicly functioning. He is organized under cover in 20 additional counties, Baylor added, through leaders who are unwilling to risk Democratic reprisal by open activity.

"What percentage of Republicans have you found for the movement?" I asked.

"I don't know," he replied. "I have tried to avoid working with Republicans. Most of them are for us simply because they want Dewey to carry Kentucky. I try to work with Democrats who, like myself, stand for states' rights on principle."

"On the normal turnout in Kentucky, the Gallup Poll gives you from 40,000 to 50,000 votes. But don't you know that many people, when they get inside the booth, will decide not to throw away their votes deliberately?"

"I recognize that danger," he replied, "but I think it will be offset. In the first place, we are trying to drive home the message that no vote is lost when it is cast for principle. In the second place, most of the people for us are fixed in their convictions."

"Do you think, then, that the Gallup figure is about right?"

"If anything, it is low," Baylor said. "We are gaining strength every day. That is, we are gaining strength we can see. There is no way to estimate the hidden strength that I am confident will show up at the polls. By that, I mean people who intend to vote States' Rights, but won't say anything. I have been told, and have no reason to doubt it, that in some sections of the state resentments at Truman's civil rights program is as deep as sentiment against Al Smith in 1928."

Eight Talks Planned

Baylor said Thurmond's return to Kentucky for eight speeches next week is calculated to improve the outlook still farther, especially in the four towns where Thurmond will follow President Truman's visit 10 days ago.

Thurmond's three major speeches will be delivered Tuesday night at Lexington, Wednesday night at Louisville, and Thursday night at Covington. On his way from Lexington to Louisville, he will speak Wednesday at Versailles, Frankfort and Shelbyville. From Louisville to Covington, he will speak Thursday at Bedford and Carrollton. His schedule will overlap the President's route at Louisville, Shelbyville, Frankfort and Lexington.

"What is your outlook for money?" I next asked.

"We'll have enough to get by on, though not in any way comparable to money the Democrats and Republicans will have," Baylor said. "Most of our money is coming from individual donations of from $5 to $50."

"Will you have enough to hire observers?"

"We won't need to hire any," he said. "Where the Democrats are not secretly for us, the Republicans will see to it that we get a fair count."

I asked Baylor what he sees ahead as the long-range outlook for the States' Rights Party in Kentucky. His reply was based upon the premise that the party will show enough November strength in the South to warrant permanent, full-time organization, with a staffed headquarters.

Assuming that situation after the election, Baylor drew this picture for Kentucky:

The show of Kentucky strength in November ought to attract many friendly Democrats from hiding into open alliance with the States' Rights Party. Then a state-wide unit, with headquarters, would be set up as a part of the Southern organization.

The primary motive, so far as Kentucky is concerned, then would be to join the South in forcing the Democratic Party to reorganize around the Southern bloc, in preference to any other bloc within the party. This, of course, assumes that President Truman and the men around him fall in November.

Sun 10-10-48

To Run for Assembly

The secondary aim in Kentucky would be the usual order of political activity such as:

1. Running States' Rights candidates for the 1950 Legislature where Democratic candidates are not sympathetic.

2. Running a States' Rights candidate for Governor in 1951.

So much for the interview with Baylor. Let us now look briefly to the past.

William McKinley was the first Republican to carry Kentucky in a presidential race. He won by 281 votes in 1896. The Democratic Party was split that year between a silver ticket, headed by William J. Bryan, and a gold ticket, headed by John M. Palmer.

Palmer's running mate was the distinguished Kentuckian, Simon Bolivar Buckner. Even so, the insurgent gold candidates only polled 5,019 votes. That was 1 per cent of the total cast, but still it was more than enough to turn the state to McKinley by 281 votes.

Sun 10-10-48

Coolidge and Hoover

McKinley's victory, however, was not a clean sweep. The highest Bryan elector polled more votes than the lowest McKinley elector. Thus McKinley won 12 Kentucky electors, and Bryan won one.

Calvin Coolidge was the second Republican to carry Kentucky. That was in 1924, when so many liberal Democrats were attracted to Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin, nominee of the Progressive Party. La Follette's vote of 38,465 was only 4 per cent of the total cast in Kentucky, but it tipped the scales against John W. Davis, the Democratic nominee, by 24,111 votes. The 1924 vote was:

Coolidge	398,966
Davis	374,855
La Follette	38,465

Herbert Hoover was the third Republican to carry Kentucky. But no third party was an issue in 1928.

Needless to say, the only third party movement in Kentucky on the Republican side failed to upset the normal Democratic victory. In 1912, Republicans were split between William Howard Taft, the regular, and Theodore Roosevelt, the insurgent. Woodrow Wilson, however, polled 1,306 more votes than Taft and Roosevelt combined.

Dixiecrats Report Over 1000 Names

Times Picayune

Thur 9-2-48

Louisiana's States' Rights faction Wednesday reportedly had more than the 1000 signatures necessary to qualify under Louisiana law for a place on the ballot.

That was announced from offices of the States' Righters in New Orleans Wednesday. A spokesman said that there are more than 800 New Orleanians' names on the petitions plus hundreds from other parishes.

New Orleans, La.

Robert G. Chandler, cochairman of the Louisiana States' rights executive committee, brought a petition to New Orleans from Caddo and Bossier parishes, and headquarters here said that it bore signatures of 387 independent voters.

The Southern anti-Truman group is making plans to place electors for South Carolina Governor J. Strom Thurmond for president, and Mississippi Governor Fielding L. Wright for vice-president on the November ballot.

STATES' RIGHTERS TO DELAY ACTION

Times Picayune

Mon 9-13-48

No Rush to Remove Group Electors, Barr Says

There will be no rush on the part of states' righters to remove their electors from the Louisiana ballot, John U. Barr, leader of the local movement, said Sunday.

New Orleans, La.

Barr explained that his group did not want to be "caught short" with conditions "in the state of flux they are now."

He said he did not question the attitude of the regular Democratic electors toward the Thurmond-Wright ticket, but added, "You can never tell what the people in Washington might do."

"If the administration should manage to switch Truman's name back on the ballot the states' righters would be caught short if we took our names off the ballot now," Barr said.

President Truman's name was removed from the Louisiana ballot at a meeting of the Democratic state central committee in Baton Rouge Friday. The committee said its electors would support the Thurmond-Wright ticket and in a resolution called upon the states' righters to withdraw their electors.

Meeting to Be Called

Barr said a meeting of the states' righters here would be called in the near future.

He said he had not yet received a copy of the resolution passed by the Democratic state central committee calling upon his electors to withdraw. He said he would "study it thoroughly" before making any move to drop the states' righters electors.

A reply to a statement by William J. Primm, Jr., assistant to the Democratic national chairman, that removal of Truman was a "high-handed and arbitrary act" was issued Sunday by Merritt H. Gibson, Longview, Tex., states' rights campaign director.

Mon 9-13-48

In Jackson, Miss., Gibson said: "Mr. Primm is whistling in the graveyard. His threat of court action to place Truman and Barkley on the Louisiana ballot appears to be a desperate final gasp on behalf of Mr. Primm's repudiated candidates. However, that is a matter that will be handled by Louisiana party leaders.

"I am amazed that Mr. Primm should suggest that the voters of Louisiana had been 'fraudulently and illegally' deprived of an opportunity to vote for his candidates. It was the Democratic party's Louisiana committee that discarded Mr. Primm's candidates in favor of the states' rights nominees. It was a voluntary, unanimous action by the constituted party committee.

Cites Action in Indiana

"Mr. Primm failed to mention that his Truman Democrats joined with Wallace's Progressives in Indiana to deny our candidates a place on the Indiana ballot through a legal technicality. That was another instance of fright, fear and desperation on the part of Mr. Primm and his associates and by their action they deprived the voters of Indiana, on a legal technicality, an opportunity to voice their sentiments on local self-government and preservation of individual liberties.

"In Louisiana the Trumanites were shut out by the people acting through their Democratic central committee and not by a legal technicality.

"It is interesting to watch the frantic reactions of the Primms, the McGraths and the Trumans when the people speak. The coming weeks will see more weeping and wailing from this unholy trio as Southern state after Southern state follows the course of Louisiana."

Mon 9-13-48

The removal of President Truman from the November ballot is "a classic example of what can happen under a system where states' rights are placed above human rights," said Clarence A. Laws, chairman of the New Orleans Citizens committee for the re-election of Harry S. Truman.

"Although the action of the committee was designed to embarrass the president for his active desire to make our Democratic creed and our Democratic way of life more compatible, the Dixiecrats have certainly succeeded in insulting the intelligence of the entire Louisiana electorate," Laws said.

STATES' RIGHTERS' AIM FREE CHOICE

Times Picayune

Objectives Explained by Louisiana Chairman

Wed 8-18-48

Aim of the states' rights Democrats of Louisiana is to make certain that voters in the November 2 presidential election will be able to make a choice between candidates of the two Democratic camps, John U. Barr, states' rights chairman, said Tuesday.

The states' righters have nominated Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for president and Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for vice-president in opposition to Harry S. Truman and his running mate, Sen. Alben Barkley, Kentucky, the Democratic nominees.

New Orleans, La.

Noting that presidential electors selected by the state Democratic central committee, who normally would be pledged to cast their votes in the electoral college for Truman and Barkley, have been asked to express views on the Democratic party controversy, Barr said:

"The states' rights Democrats of Louisiana have no interest in the present poll of the individual views of the electors selected by the state central committee.

"We are pledged to do one job and that is to make certain that the voters of our state have a free choice between Thurmond and Wright with states' rights and home rule, or Truman and Barkley who stand for centralized government in Washington with police state control and interference in the private lives of American citizens."

Wed 8-18-48

Several of the electors named by the central committee have said they favor Thurmond and Wright, but the consensus is that the way they'll vote will be determined by the committee at a meeting on September 7 in Baton Rouge.

STATES' RIGHTERS TO BE ON BALLOT

Times Picayune

Nominees for Electors Get Approval, Martin Says

Fri 8-27-48

The states' rights faction will be on the Louisiana ballot in the general election on November 2.

Secretary of State Wade O. Martin, Jr., said in Baton Rouge Thursday that the states' righters elector candidates would appear on the ballot.

He said: "I have received the nominating papers, the attorney general has checked and approved them for form and legality, and the names of the nominees will go on the ballot."

New Orleans, La.

Martin explained that for ballot purposes, the states' rights Democrats in Louisiana are using the name "States' Righters" as the law here prohibits use of the word "Democrat" for any nominees other than those named by the Democratic party.

Stamps Farrar, member of the Louisiana states' righters' legal committee, presented the necessary papers and petitions bearing more than 1000 names of unaffiliated voters to Martin and the attorney general to qualify his faction's nominees.

In New Orleans, John U. Barr, chairman of the organization's executive committee, predicted "a landslide" for J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina governor who is the Dixiecrats' candidate for president, and his running-mate, Mississippi Governor Fielding L. Wright, in the Louisiana balloting.

Fri 8-27-48

He said the organization's advisory committee will set up a campaign headquarters and select a staff to carry on "a full-fledged educational campaign."

He and his cochairman, Robert G. Chandler, notified Gov. Thurmond after Martin okayed his ticket's representation.

In a statement issued later in the day, Barr said: "We are proud of the fact that the South took the leadership and presented to the people two genuine Democrats, Governor Thurmond and Governor Wright, who are the only presidential and vice-presidential candidates whose platform was not copied from the Communist party.

"It is sad to note that Truman, Dewey and Wallace are so frantic in their efforts to get elected that they were willing to appease the left-wing voters of this country, the very voters who would love to see a breakdown of law and order with widespread public hatred and unrest."

He added: "Millions of American voters will applaud what we are doing in Louisiana and the South. They were wondering how long we were going to support the political racketeers who falsely called themselves Democrats to use our loyalty and our campaign contributions to lie about us and to rouse hatred against us."

State Righters on Ballot

Louisiana State Righters completed no mean undertaking Thursday when they presented the secretary of state with a petition bearing the names of more than 1000 unaffiliated voters, and qualified their candidates for electors in the presidential election in November. Secretary of State Martin responded with an announcement that the names on the petition had been checked by the attorney general and the State Rights electors would go on the ballot.

Times Picayune

Fri 8-27-48

Qualification of the State Rights candidates means that Mr. Truman and Mr. McGrath can now strike Louisiana's electoral vote for their claims sheet. For the electorate of this state has opposed force bills with a purpose which will not be much watered down by Mr. Truman's Democratic label. Wholly apart from the so-called civil rights proposals and propaganda, the president's position in this state, as in others, has been weakened by the declining estimates of his capacity for his high office. Such slight opportunities as that offered for the Dewey candidacy in Louisiana have now been obliterated by the more pleasing alternative which the Thurmond and Wright electors offer Louisiana voters.

New Orleans, La.

The circumstance that the chances of Mr. Truman's election would be exceedingly slight, irrespective of how many parties were in the field, reacts to the advantage of Gov. Thurmond and his running mate, Gov. Wright, in their quest for the South's electoral vote. For few State Rights supporters will feel that they are doing anything to help install the Republican administration. In their estimate the Democratic administration is on its way out and the chance to register a resounding protest against the "force bills" agitation without helping the Republican organization, may never return.

Fri 8-27-48

Under the state law there can be only one Democratic party in Louisiana, and for that reason the Thurmond-Wright electors will appear on the ballot as "State Rights" candidates. That is a technicality, however, that probably will neither worry nor confuse many voters.

Mississippi Secedes From The Supreme Court

Courier Journal

IN THE somewhat noisy process of seceding from the Democratic Party, most States' Rights Democrats have stopped short of advocating counter-revolution to the point of secession from the Union.

This is not so, however, with the Chief Justice of Mississippi's Supreme Court. This gentleman hasn't quite advocated for his State the equivalent of firing upon Fort Sumter, but his proposal achieves a legalistic variant both ingenious and impudent.

Wed 9-15-48

It is quite possible, declared Justice VIRGIL A. GRIFFITH, that "dangerous political proposals" may become a part of Federal law, and be upheld by the Federal judiciary. In this case, according to the judge, it will be the duty of Mississippi's courts "to sterilize them by resort to every practical expedient within the broad reach of permissible State power." Judge GRIFFITH does not add his definition of a dangerous law, nor state to whom it must be dangerous, or who will decide upon its danger.

Louisville, Ky

The tolerance afforded by reasonable people to men beside themselves with anger has been extended in rather remarkable degree to other Dixie demagogues. When Judge GRIFFITH's fellow Mississipian and senior senator, JAMES EASTLAND, runs through the South vituperating his erstwhile fellow-Democrats as "mongrels of the East," the East, which has its own loud-mouths, can shrug him off. But when a State's Chief Justice seriously proposes that the law of the land be "sterilized" with his aid, a rebuke of some sort is surely in order, and we can hope that the legal profession, which in all things sponsors a decent respect for justice, will administer it.

Wed 9-15-48

One is constrained to wonder, meanwhile, what variety of justice is being and will be administered through Mississippi's courts. It seems unlikely that even there so extreme an interpretation of States' rights can stand the test of legal practicality. But it will be interesting, in a dismal fashion, to see just how far Justice GRIFFITH can go in his creation of a Super-Supreme Court of Mississippi before even his fellow States'-Righters uneasily rebel.

MISSISSIPPI PLEDGED TO STATES' RIGHTERS

Commercial Appeal

State Democratic Convention Promises Electoral Votes To Thurmond-Wright

Memphis Tenn.

By The Associated Press

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 3.—The Mississippi Democratic Convention approved Tuesday the walkout of the state's delegates at the national convention, and pledged their Electoral College candidates to support the States' Rights tickets.

The action was taken as the state convention, recessed on June 22, reconvened.

Two college student visitors spoke in opposition to the States' Rights movement. They were followed by other college students supporting the movement.

Other Resolutions

In other resolutions the convention: Wed 8-4-48

1. Approved the action of Mississippi delegates in joining the States' Rights Conference in Birmingham July 17 after the National Democratic Convention walkout.

2. Nominated South Carolina Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and Mississippi Gov. Fielding L. Wright as candidates of the Mississippi Democratic Party for President and Vice President; and pledged their Electoral College candidates to they. They were chosen at the Birmingham conference as the States' Rights standard bearers.

3. Called for a "campaign of education so as to acquaint the people in each county with all the facts pertaining to the States' Rights movement."

4. Commissioned the nine electoral candidates as delegates to a convention of the Democratic Parties of the several states to be held in Birmingham" on Oct. 1.

5. Declared that the sense of the convention is that all candidates for office on the state Democratic ticket should publicly declare their support for the Sttles' Rights plans. 8-4-48

6—Called on Mississippi's Congressional delegation and candidates for Congress to declare how they would vote if Congress should have to decide the presidential election. (The election goes to Congress if no presidential candidate gets a majority in the Electoral College).

7—Continued the convention in recess until Nov. 23, unless called into session by proper authority before then. The convention had been in recess since its first meeting on June 22. The procedure of recessing instead of adjourning prevents any other group which might claim to be the Democratic Party of Mississippi from holding an official convention. Appeal

Collegians Are Booed

The nine candidates for electors individually announced to the convention that they would vote in the Electoral College for Thurmond and Wright. 8-4-48

The opposition to the States' Rights movement, consisting of a group of 18 students in a section reserved for "visitors opposed to States' rights," sought recognition when the resolutions were presented to the convention body for discussion and approval.

George Maddox, 23, of McComb, a senior at Milsaps College, was booed, largely by the proStates' Rights college contingent, when he began speaking.

He said that only 2 per cent of the Mississippi voters attended the precinct meetings which named delegates who ultimately represented them at the state convention.

He said the resolutions of the previous convention, on June 22, had expressed opposition only to Federal expansion in civil rights.

He asked if the States' Rights movement was also opposed to Federal expansion in such fields as Federal aid in highway and hospital programs, crop insurance, education and the Tennessee Valley Authority. 8-4-48

"We are placing Mississippi in opposition to the moral trend of the Nation," he asserted.

The audience booed as he finished. Governor Wright in a brief address asked that "these young Mississippians" be given a courteous hearing because the party leaders had invited an expression of opposition views."

Vanderbilt Student Speaks

"Although I don't agree with anything the gentleman has said, I want to hear it," Governor Wright asserted. 8-4-48

Hardy Clark, 19, of Natchez, a student at Vanderbilt University, told the convention that "many Mississippians are honestly confused by the issue before them."

"We are running the risk of alienating ourselves from the benefits that come from close co-operation of the state with the National Government," he declared.

"He said the States' Rights movement was assuring the election of Republican Candidate Thomas E. Dewey.

"I have more faith in the Democratic Party as we have known it of old, than in the Republicans," he said.

Texas, Oklahoma Voters Rebuke The Dixiecrats

The Defender
Sat 8-7-48

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla. —In a significant rebuke to the states' rights crowd, voters in two southern states refused to nominate rabble-rousers in a Democratic senatorial primary and in a congressional tilt.

Chicago Ill.

In Oklahoma, former Gov. Robert S. Kerr, a staunch supporter of President Truman, defeated States' Rights white supremacy candidate Gomer Smith, for senatorial nomination, returns from Tuesday's state primary showed.

Rayburn Wins

Texas returns last Saturday night gave House minority leader Sam Rayburn renomination over two states' righters in the fourth congressional distict.

Sat 8-7-48

Kerr, keynoter at the 1944 Democratic national convention, took an early lead in the Oklahoma run-off race and increased it steadily.

Smith, his opponent, an ex-leader of the state Townsend movement, campaigned primarily on the Negro issue. The rabid advocate of Negro segregation used the race question in a vain attempt to incite hatred and sweep the primary on a states' right platform.

Dixiecrats Lose In Okla., Texas

The Courier
Sat 8-7-48
Pittsburgh Pa.

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla.—Voters in two Southern States, Oklahoma and Texas, recently refused to nominate two rabble-rousing States' righters in primary elections. Some observers term the rejection as stern rebuke to rebel Democrats.

In Oklahoma, former Governor Robert S. Kerr, staunch Truman supporter, defeated States' rights "white supremacy" candidate Gomer Smith for the Senatorial nomination. Tuesday's State primary showed. In Texas, House Minority Leader Sam Rayburn won renomination over two States' righters in the Fourth Congressional District.

34d 1948

Dixiecrats (Mrs. Roosevelt)

Throw Dixiecrats Out Of Party, Says Mrs. FDR

The Constitution

Tues 11-9-48 — Atlanta Ga

NEW YORK—(AP)—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt wants the Southern States' Righters kept out of the Democratic Party from now on.

She also told a radio audience yesterday "it would be much more logical if our political parties" were divided into liberals and conservatives.

"The Democratic Party has seemed to me to be predominantely the party of liberalism," she said, "although sometimes . . . it embraced Southerners who number among their ranks some of the most reactionary men in public life.

"Similarly, the Republican Party is traditionally the party of conservatism, although it embraces some very fine liberals," she said, adding:

The "South Can Still Stymie Truman." See Jay G. Hayden's column on the editorial page.

"Now for the first time in history, the Democrats have won an election without the solid South. Some of the more reactionary Southerners have chosen to break with the Democratic Party, and I think it would be a good idea to make the break final. Possibly the Southern conservatives would be welcomed into the Republican Party with whom they have voted so often in recent years."

Mrs. Roosevelt made her comments in the first of a series of American Broadcasting Company programs entitled "Eleanor and Anna Roosevelt." The program features Mrs. Roosevelt and her daughter, Anna Roosevelt Boettiger, in a "combination of forum and commentary."

Tues 11-9-48

Mrs. Roosevelt spoke from Paris where she is attending the United Nations sessions.

Mrs. Roosevelt said leaders of the States' Righters want to get back into the Democratic Party because many would head important Congressional committees under the seniority system if they were considered Democrats.

She singled out Rep. John Rankin, of Mississippi, and Sen. Olin Johnston, of South Carolina. She termed Rankin "one of the worst reactionaries" and said Johnston "snubbed President Truman, campaigned against him and then was one of the first on the train at Washington to congratulate the victorious President after his election."

Tues 11-9-48

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

"They Snubbed President"

In Tupelo, Miss., Rankin said "the less the American people hear from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the better off the country will be."

Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, vice presidential candidate of the States' Right Democrats, said "there is no place in the Democratic Party for us if Mrs. Roosevelt is going to take over the leadership."

Tues 11-9-48

Wright added that the States' Rights group did not desert the Party but "if the Democratic Party decides to be the radical party, I'm sure the conservative Southern Democrats will not be inclined to follow that lead."

In Washington, Democratic Chairman J. Howard McGrath said the choice of congressional committee heads will be left entirely up to the Democratic members of the new Congress. Last Friday he said there would be no reprisals against the Southern Democrats.

Senator-Elect Russell Long, also in Washington on business "of interest to Louisiana," said he believes that most States' Rights Democrats "are ready to return to the regular party."

Bar Dixiecrats, Says Mrs. FDR; It's Up To Democrats—McGrath

The Advertiser

Tues 11-9-48

Wife Of Ex-President Singles Out John Rankin And Senator Johnston In Bitter Address

Montgomery Ala

NEW YORK, Nov. 8—(AP)—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt wants the Southern States Righters kept out of the Democratic party from now on.

But Democratic Chairman J. Howard McGrath said in Washington the choice of Congressional committee heads will be left entirely up to the Democratic members of the new Senate and House.

McGrath's comment was made to a reporter who asked about the proposal by Mrs. Roosevelt.

Without commenting directly on Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion, the national chairman indicated that so far as he is concerned the national committee will not attempt to interfere in the choice of committee leaders in the 81st Congress. He said last Friday there would be no reprisals for Southern Democrats.

Mrs. Roosevelt told a radio audience "it would be much more logical if our political parties" were divided into liberals and conservatives.

"The Democratic party has seemed to me to be predominantly the party of liberalism," she said, "although sometimes xxxx it embraced Southerners who number among their ranks some of the most reactionary men in public life.

Tues 11-9-48

1st Time Without Dixie

"Now for the first time in history, the Democrats have won an election without the solid south. Some of the more reactionary southerners have chosen to break with the Democratic party, and I think it would be a good idea to make the break final. Possibly the Southern conservatives would be welcomed into the Republican party with whom they have voted so often in recent years."

Mrs. Roosevelt made her comments in the first of a series of Americans Broadcasting Company program entitled "Eleanor and Anna Roosevelt." The program features Mrs. Roosevelt and her daughter, Anna Roosevelt Boettiger, in a "combination of forum and commentary."

Mrs. Roosevelt spoke from Paris where she is attending the United Nations sessions.

Tues 11-9-48

Slaps John Rankin

Mrs. Roosevelt proposed specifically that committee chairmanships be denied to Rep. John Rankin (D), Mississippi, whom she called "one of the worst reactionaries," and to Senator Olin Johnston (D), South Carolina, whom she accused of having "snubbed" President Truman.

Johnston was a pre-convention foe of Mr. Truman but announced before the election that he was voting for the president. He would be eligible for a Senate committee chairmanship only if Senator Chavez (D), New Mexico, were to decide not to take the chairmanship of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Chavez, who outranks Johnston in service on that committee, also is the senior Democrat on the Senate Public Works Committee and might elect to take the chairmanship instead.

Rankin is the senior Democrat on the House Veterans Affairs Committee and would be in line for its chairmanship.

The Mississippian at his home in Tupelo responded to Mrs. Roosevelt with the brief comment—"the less the American people hear from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the better off the country will be."

Johnston said only: "I did not hear the speech (by Mrs. Roosevelt), but even if I had I would have no comment."

Officials at the Democratic National Committee said that Mrs. Roosevelt must have been misinformed about Johnston's part in the campaign.

"Senator Johnston lent valuable influence and prestige to the Democratic campaign," one party official told a reporter.

Senator-elect Russell Long (D), Louisiana, said meanwhile he believes that most States' Rights Democrats "are ready to return to the regular party."

Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, said, however, there is "no place in the Democratic Party for us if Mrs. Roosevelt is going to take over the leadership."

Tues 11-9-48

Wright was the vice-presidential candidate of the States' Right Democrats. He asserted the States Righters did not desert the party but "if the Democratic Party decides to be the radical party, I'm sure the conservative Southern Democrats will not be inclined to follow that lead."

No Place in Party If Eleanor Rules—Wright

Jackson, Miss., Nov. 8.—Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi, keynoter of the States' Rights movement, declared today that there is "no place in the Democratic party for us," if Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is "going to take over the leadership."

His remarks were made in reply to a suggestion by Mrs. Roosevelt that the States' Righters should be "permanently ousted from the Democratic party."

Representative John Rankin, D., Miss., singled out by Mrs. Roosevelt for particular criticism, said at his home in Tupelo that "the less the American people hear from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the better off the country will be."

Governor Wright, States' Rights candidate for vice-president, said: The Southern States' Rights supporters did not desert the Democratic party. But if the Democratic party decides to be the radical party, I'm sure the conservative Southern Democrats will not be inclined to follow that lead.

"If Mrs. Roosevelt and those who think as she does are going to take over the leadership of the Democratic party and write its policies and program, then I am sure there is no place in the party for us."

Saving America

Birmingham News

Birmingham Ala

To the Editor:

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt recently urged that the States' Rights Democrats be kicked out of the national Democratic Party, but the national Democratic Party leaders have, as of this date, spurned her idea. If Mrs. Roosevelt and others who think as she does have an idea they can expel Southern leaders from the Democratic Party they might reflect upon the results of Mr. F. D. R.'s celebrated purge attempt in the 1930s.

Mr. Truman will take note that the Southern voters were urged by Mrs. Roosevelt to defeat men like Sen. Walter George of Georgia because he persisted in defending the American system of government.

Mr. Truman would not have been elected without the votes of Southern states like Tennessee, Virginia, Georgia and North Carolina to make the grade in the electoral college.

Fri-11-26-48

Now let Mrs. Roosevelt's friends expel the States' Rights leaders from the Democratic Party, and the states' rights movement will have just the assistance and leadership it needs to solidify the South and make it certain that there will be more of the Southern electoral votes that the next Democratic candidate sponsoring a so-called civil rights program will not get.

The statesmen from the South have stood as a bulwark in defense of the American way of life that the radicals of the North are so determined to destroy. And even today as they celebrate their recent election victory, the Southerners are preparing to take their stand in the forthcoming Congress as the guardians of Americanism. Mrs. Roosevelt knows that, and that is why she is so eager to drive the Southern leaders from the Democratic Party.

Fri. 11-26-48

So-called social and moral legislation imposed upon the people by the federal government in the past has been a failure. Reflect upon the now repealed 18th amendment. Laws have always been made, but people will continue to live by their customs

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The Democrats Need Southern Support

Courier Journal

340

Wed. 11-[illegible]-48

Louisville Ky

MRS. ROOSEVELT's demand that the Democratic Party purge the rebellious States' Righters has the completely non-political qualities of logic and hard justice. But these qualities have little reality in politics, the science of the possible. The Democrats still need the solid core of Democratic strength in the South, even in those four States that absconded with the party's vote, and National Chairman J. HOWARD MCGRATH has made it clear that the party does not intend to throw this strength away.

There have been and there will be reprisals, of course: the National Committee recognized new State organizations in Mississippi and South Carolina before the election. The National Committee has no call to be lenient toward the States' Rights leaders in the four States where, but for those leaders and their maneuvers with the electoral machinery, the popular vote almost certainly would have gone to the Democratic nominees.

But if the light vote in the four rebelling States showed little popular enthusiasm for the THURMOND-WRIGHT ticket (and, conversely, revealed the reluctance of hundreds of thousands of Democrats in those States to bolt the party), the record of Southern Democrats in the House and Senate is even more revealing: none of their leaders, at least, openly associated themselves with the Dixiecrats Mrs. ROOSEVELT, for example, was in total error about Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON of South Carolina, who showed political wisdom in the very home of the Dixiecrats by supporting the re-election of Mr. TRUMAN.

There will be temptation enough for some Southern Democrats to vote with the Republicans in the 81st Congress without being punitively invited by their own party to do so. Senator MCGRATH is wise, we believe, not to extend the invitation. In the Senate alone, for example, the loss of eight votes from the four Dixiecrat States would give the Republicans a 50-to-46 majority.

No, the Demorcatic Party still needs the South. The South itself would be better, we think, to develop an honest two-party system, and let Southern conservatives find their proper place in a newly-respectable Republican Party But that day will still be long in coming, and in the meantime, as RALPH MCGILL of *The Atlanta Constitution* points out, it might be well for all concerned to note that Mr TRUMAN did not "win without the South." He lost four states—but he got the vote of Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina Kentucky and others, and without these votes he would have lost the election

Dixie Demands Congress Oust Federal Judge

The Defender
Sat 8-7-48
Chicago Ill

S. Carolina Seeks Revenge On Waring For Fair Vote Rule

By VENICE SPRAGGS

WASHINGTON —In an all-out move to revenge themselves upon Federal Judge J. Waties Waring of the Eastern District of South Carolina, for his recent ruling that Negroes must vote, state Dixiecrats have launched a move to oust him from the bench.

Rep. W. J. Dorn (D., S. C.) last week introduced into the House a resolution calling for an investigation of Judge Waring's "conduct in office". Dorn charged that Judge Waring's ruling at Charleston "is a gross usurpation of the rights of a party".

34d

Judge Waring ordered the Democratic party of the state to enroll Negroes and not to hinder their full participation in primary elections or other party affairs, and warned that violations of the "letter and the spirit" of his ruling would bring stiff penalties and imprisonment.

Sat 8-7-48

In presenting his resolution. Dorn said "these orders of Judge Waring have confused the people of South Carolina. They have tended to disruption of the Democratic party as it has been constituted and as our people wish to have it constituted in the future."

Dorn insisted that "if Judge Waring is guilty as I believe he is, and as I now charge of usurping the rights of the free citizens of South Carolina in attempting to force down their throats his own ideas of governmental matters, it will be the duty of this Congress to prefer articles of impeachment."

Dorn's resolution was referred to the House Judiciary committee.

FOUR THREATS CITED

Thousands Of Tennesseans Hear Mississippian At Somerville Meeting

Commercial Appeal

(Pictures on Section Page)

By HARRY WOODBURY
Staff Correspondent

Fri 9-17-48

SOMERVILLE, Tenn., Sept. 16.—Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi Thursday struck the keynote for the organization of Tennessee's States' Rights Democrats in a vigorous speech insisting that the South has "everything to gain and nothing to lose" by presenting a solid front in the Nov. 2 election.

Mississippi's chief executive urged Tennessee States' Rights Democrats to vote for electors named for Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the party's presidential nominee, and for himself as the vice presidential nominee.

Memphis, Tenn.

Cheers Greet Governor

"Here is what we have to win," Governor Wright declared:

"(1) We have a good chance to elect the next president of the United States;

"(2) Failing in that, we can become the Minority Party in the Congress and reassert ourselves politically in the Nation.

"Either one is worth fighting for!"

Governor Wright said that failure of the South to stand solidly behind the Thurmond-Wright ticket means, ". . . the end of the way of life we know and love so well south of the Mason-Dixon Line."

"This is the last fight for States' Rights, for local self-government, for the way of life we love," he told the Tennesseans.

"The South can either stand solid now, or never have another opportunity to make this fight."

Governor Wright's address was received with cheers from several thousand Tennesseans, who came from all sections of the state to join in the formation of the new party.

His address was broadcast over a network of five Tennessee radio stations, including WHBQ in Memphis, and those in Dyersburg, Jackson, Clarksville and Cookeville.

Governor Wright was introduced by Charles A. Stainback, Somerville attorney, who was elected chairman of the Tennessee States' Rights group.

Freedom Not Automatic

After paying tribute to his Tennessee neighbors, "who have always fought the good fight when your freedom has been endangered," Governor Wright said:

"After 160 years of liberty under our Constitution, we Americans like to think of freedom as our perpetual birthright. But, unfortunately, if left to itself, it will not work out that way.

"Freedom is not an automatic thing. The liberties guaranteed to us by the Bill of Rights are not passed down from generation to generation as a permanent heritage."

He said there were four specific threats being made by the parties of Harry Truman, Tom Dewey and Henry Wallace "to your personal freedoms and liberties."

The four major changes which he said are incorporated in the platforms of the Democratic, Republican and Progressive Parties are:

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(1) . the vicious FEPC. FEPC is the alphabetical abbreviation for Fair Employment Practices Act; but there is certainly nothing fair about it. It proposes for the Federal Government to dictate the terms and conditions between every employer and employe. No discrimination would be possible under the law because of race, color, or creed. An employer would have to employ people regardless of their ability simply to prove nondiscrimination because of race, color, or creed. Failure so to do would expose any employer to Federal prosecution, severe fines, and possible imprisonment. The same law denies the employe the right to work alongside congenial fellow employes.

Mighty Like U.S.S.R.

"This FEPC bill is literally lifted from the Constitution of Joe Stalin's Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Article 123 of the Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens of the U.S.S.R. not only gives Russia an FEPC, but the wording in the Russian constitution is so similar to the wording of the FEPC bills now in the Congress that one is led to believe that the author or authors of the American FEPC had the Russian constitution before them when they wrote the proposed law.

"Tom Dewey put the FEPC in New York state. His running mate, Earl Warren, tried to force FEPC on the people of California, but they overwhelmingly defeated the idea at the polls."

(2) "The so-called anti-lynching Bill. The name of this bill is just as misleading as the words "Fair Employment" in the FEPC. Every thinking Southern man and woman is violently opposed to mob violence and lynching; and the progress we have made is public knowledge.

"There was only one lynching south of the Mason-Dixon Line last year; and we all hope and pray that during this year and subsequent ones lynching will be completely done away with—But the elimination of lynching is not the real purpose of the so-called anti-lynching bill. Its true purpose is to take away from local law enforcement officers all responsibility and to substitute federal policemen who will take over the enforcement of law and the maintenance of order in every community throughout the land.

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"Under this bill, should a crime be committed in Somerville, the Federal Government would hold all of the citizens of this community guilty and levy a fine against this municipality. Can you imagine such a thing in America? It reeks of the German gestapo, of the Russian way where the citizens of a whole community were put to death unless the person or persons guilty of some specific crimes were produced."

3. "The so-called AntiPoll Tax Bill. Many Southern states have already done away with the poll tax, but this bill does not care about that. It is aimed at the constitutional right of each state to supervise elections within that state. The AntiPoll Tax Bill provides for Federal supervision of all elections and for a Federal police force to stand guard at every precinct ballot box throughout the entire land. There are those who would deprive the people of Tennessee or of Mississippi of their right to elect officials of their own choosing.

Measures Called Vicious

"Even now there is an organized movement among a certain group to deny the people of Mississippi their right to choose a congressman to represent them. I read with alarm and disgust of this proposed plan to block the seating of a congressman from Mississippi when he arrives in Washington in January."

4."The matter of segregation of the races. All of these vicious measures, and other proposals in the making, are designed to eliminate all segregation in schools, in churches, in restaurants, hotels, club rooms, swimming pools, labor halls, and everywhere in your community. You and I know that we have no race problem in the South. You and I know of the splendid progress our two races have made down through the years. You and I know that both of our races are living and working side by side in the harmony, in the peace, and in the prosperity that can only come through segregation.

"But, if you get outside the South you will hear the cry "Jim Crow must go." It is the cry of Wallace, of Truman and of Dewey and their fellow-travelers. They propose these vicious programs that are designed to eliminate all differences, all separation, between the races. They propose to create a great melting pot—particularly in the South."

Governor Wright said Truman, Dewey and Wallace do not propose to obtain Constitutional amendments to enact the four so-called anti-South bills. He said they proposed, with the help of pressure groups, to push the bills through Congress and count on "a political Supreme Court declaring them Constitutional."

He used statistics compiled by Elmo Roper for Time Magazine as the basis of figuring the strength of the "Solid South."

The Governor related that in an article in the Sept. 13 issue of the magazine, Mr. Roper found that Dewey would receive 41 per cent of the vote in November, and Truman, 31 per cent. Mr. Roper said only a "political convulsion" could keep Dewey out of the White House.

Figures Show The Way

Governor Wright contends that a political convulsion has taken place. He said it was started by Truman when he sent his "un-American so-called Civil Rights message" to the Congress. Formation of the States' Rights Democratic party followed.

"Elmo Roper presumed to elect Dewey with 44 per cent of the vote," Governor Wright said. "He gives Truman 31 per cent—the total is 75 per cent. Where is the other 25 per cent?

"I'll tell you—that 25 per cent is the Solid South voting for States' Rights Constitutional local self-government, individual liberties, and J. Strom Thurmond on Nov. 2. It requires only simple arithmetic—there are in all 531 votes in the electoral college. It takes 266 votes for any man to be elected President of the United States.

"If Dewey should get 44 per cent it would give him only 234 electoral votes, which is not enough for his election.

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"Add to this the 31 per cent Roper gives Truman. . . . It will give Truman 165 electoral votes."

Governor Wright said the other 132 electoral votes, or 25 per cent, is in the States' Rights column.

"If the South stands solid on Nov. 2—and I predict that it will—and if we give J. Strom Thurmond the electoral vote of the Solid South, we will throw the election into the National House of Representatives," Governor Wright forecast.

"There, each state will have only one vote. . . . There we will stand with the lost 25 per cent, and I tell you that neither Dewey nor Truman can ever be elected unless or until this solid block of 12 Southern votes (of the total of 48) gives one way or the other.

"If and when this time comes—and every day I feel more confident that it will come—I predict those states there listed in the Democratic columns outside the South will see the handwriting on the wall; and that they will then and there desert Harry Truman and will join with the Solid South to elect a real States' Rights Democrat—J. Strom Thurmond, the next president of the United States."

Superhuman Effort Urged

Then making allowances for errors in poll of Mr. Roper, Governor Wright said the next best accomplishment that could be derived by the States' Rights party would be to become the minority party in Congress.

If this were to happen, he said, "the representatives and senators from States' Rights states will have full and complete control of all minority Congressional Committee assignments and those who did follow 'Hobbling Harry' will be out in the cold politically."

Failure of the South to stand solidly, Governor Wright said, would be an invitation of the next Congress "to immediately enact into law the FEPC, the anti-lynching, the anti-poll tax, and the anti-segregation proposals."

The Mississippi governor urged superhuman efforts on the part of Tennesseans, and other Southerners, in supporting the States' Rights ticket.

He said "our cause never looked brighter" and reminded the Tennesseans of the steps taken in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. ". . . we will be on the ballot in every Southern state from Virginia to Texas," he declared, as well as those in Kentucky, Oklahoma, Minnesota, North Dakota, "and we hope several other states, strictly from the standpoint of testing public approval of our fight for the principles of States' Rights constitutional government."

Governor Wright took William J. Primm Jr., assistant to J. Howard McGrath, Democratic Party chairman, to task for condemning the Louisiana Democratic Party for striking Truman and Barkley as the choice of the party in that state.

He said Mr. Primm's statement, "This action cannot be tolerated," is "one of the most encouraging things we have had appear since the beginning of the campaign.

Louisiana's Act Jarred Them

"Louisiana, by its action last week, jarred them to the core," Governor Wright said. "And they know now that other Southern states will do likewise. They know now they lost the Solid South, and you will hear them cry to high heaven.

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". . . Why didn't they think about this when they packed the convention (in Philadelphia) with hoodlums and the sweepings of the streets to jeer and insult and humiliate any voice raised from the South?

". . . Yes, my friends, Mr. Primm and Mr. McGrath, and poor old hobbling Harry would now put a lock on the door of the South after the horse is gone. And I am publicly telling them tonight in this place, that the South will never come back, that the South can never stomach or tolerate the gang of city bosses, and pinks and crackpots and unAmerican minorities that have taken over the good old Democratic Party to which you and I, and our fathers and forefathers were loyal so long."

As opposed to the force bills, Governor Wright said "Thurmond and Wright stand for:"

"(1) Local self-government as guaranteed by the Constitution and opposed by Federal Bureaucrats who are paving the way for a Socialist, Communist or Fascist form of iron-rule dictatorship.

"(2) States' Rights as reserved in the Constitution to give the states sole authority governing voting, segregation, law enforcement and private employment.

"(3) Individual liberties, which include freedom from fear and oppression, and the right to live and work as we choose.

"(4) The American way of controlling and governing ourselves at home without bureaucratic interference and Federal Gestapo tactics."

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12 ELECTORS CHOSEN

Commercial Appeal

Three From Democratic State Named—Confederate, U. S. Flags Are Mingled

Special To the Commercial Appeal

SOMERVILLE, Tenn., Sept. 16.—Tennessee States' Rights Democrats, meeting in organizational convention here Thursday night, selected a full slate of 12 electors to appear on the Nov. 2 general election ballots in Tennessee.

They were chosen and instructed to vote for J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for vice president.

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Campaign Road Paved

Selection of the electors followed the adoption of a resolution officially creating a States' Rights Democratic Party in Tennessee, and paving the way for a vigorous campaign in the interest of the party's candidates. The action was voted at a gathering of the States' Rights supporters on the Somerville football field, which had been gaily decorated with Confederate flags interspersed with the American flag.

High school bands from Jackson, Tenn., and Bolivar, Tenn., set thec rowd to cheering with renditions of Dixie, both at the field and in a parade around the Somerville square before the convention meeting.

Memphis Press

The States' Rights Party selected three Democratic electors, Preston Parks of Somerville, Larry Morgan of Brownsville, and Malcolm C. Hill of Sparta, to serve as their electors. This trio was the focal point of a controversy that developed Wednesday in Nashville, when the Democratic State Committee voted to purge their list of electors of persons having leanings toward the States' Right group.

Electors Are Named

The electors chosen by the States' Rights Party included: Mr. Morgan and J. H. Ballew of Nashville, electors for the state-at-large; John R. King of Hamblen County, First District; Mrs. Elizabeth Taliaferro Sharp of Loudon County, Second District; Mr. Hall of White County, Third District.

Fred L. Tardy of Jackson County, Fourth District; Olney Anderson of Coffee County, Fifth District; Norman Farrell of Davidson County, Sixth District; John W. Hilldrop of Cheatham County, Seventh District; Mrs. Parks of Fayette County, Eighth District; William F. Lanier of Covington, Tipton County, Ninth District; L. C. Gaerig of Memphis, Shelby County, Tenth District.

A motion was adopted to increase the States' Rights Committee by as many men and women as it may deem fit and proper from the various sections of the state. It also empowered the committee to fill vacancies that might occur among tse electors and directed the committee to engage a campaign director and elect a treasurer as well as to procure headquarters in Nashville for waging the campaign. This action preceded the keynote speech by Governor Wright.

Alabama's Dixon Speaks

Charles A. Stainback, Somerville attorney, who has been the guiding light in the formation of the new party, was elected permanent chairman of the States' Rights Committee. Mr. Stainback, who for more than 20 years headed the Fayette County Democratic Committee, introduced Governor Wright.

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Former Governor Frank Dixon of Alabama addressed the convention before Governor Wright spoke. Mr. Dixon declared that President Truman's proposed civil rights program means to destroy our way of life in the South, but its effects will not be limited to the South. The program, he said, means to establish a police state in America to eliminate local customs and local self-government to establish Federal control of elections and to give to the Federal Government the power to establish Federal police.

34d 1948

Dixiecrats (Texas)

8 Negroes At State Rights Texas Confab

The Defender

Sat 8-21-48

HOUSTON, Texas—With eight Negroes present as observers, 9,000 of the expected 15,000 Dixiecrats met here last week-end to launch official the rebel drive for the presidency of the United States.

Chicago Ill

Screaming insults at President Truman for his civil rights program and his executive orders, the rebels carefully segregate the Negro newsmen and observers but gave them Dixiecrat buttons and campaign literature.

Chief Speakers at the convention were the Dixiecrat presidential nominee, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and the vice-presidential nominee, Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi.

None of the speakers made any direct attacks upon Negroes but they blasted both Republicans and Democrats as traitors to America. While Wallace followers picketed the convention, Governor Wright declared: "Dewey is not the choice of the Republican rank and file, Truman, an acknowledged loser, certainly does not represent organized democracy. Wallace represents Russia and its ideology."

Houston was chosen for the convention because every effort is being made to corral the state's important electoral votes. The most important business discussion of the convention revolved around the problem of getting rebel candidates on the ballots of the eleven southern states which the Dixiecrats hope to capture.

The new rebel party is reported to be attracting all the anti-Negro, anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish leaders of the South and will undoubtedly win complete Klan support.

JAY G. HAYDEN

Is the One-Party System Slipping Out?

The Constitution - Thur 10-21-48

HOUSTON—In Texas, "state's rights" carries a much broader meaning than anywhere else in the South. For more than a century, every Texas school child has had drummed into him the proud fact that his is the one state that came into the Union by treaty between its previously independent Republic and the Washington Government, rather than by Congressional gratuity.

Because Texas reserved to itself so many rights not allowed the existing States it was a long time before two-thirds in the Senate could be induced to vote for confirmation of the treaty of annexation and statehood.

34d

Take the now-burning issue of tidelands oil. One stipulation of the Texas treaty was that all its lands, including submerged coastal areas to a distance of three marine leagues, remain under State ownership.

Long ago all receipts by the State from sale of land or mineral deposits beneath it, including the tidelands oil, was set aside for educational purposes.

Atlanta Ga.

Therefore, Texans contend that when President Truman and former Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, aided and abetted by the Supreme Court, attempted to establish Federal ownership of tidelands oil, they were not only violating a solemn international treaty, but robbing Texas school children of their rightful patrimony.

It should be added that outsiders who talk of "oil" as a label of political opprobrium in Texas are very far from the mark. There is scarcely one among the 200-odd counties in this State that does not have oil wells already gushing or being drilled for by the hopeful. For Texans, the daily report of oil prices and sales is the index of economic well-being or depression. Three-fourths of Texas voters probably draw their living in whole or in part from oil.

Texas citizens do not get greatly excited when they hear, for example, that Roy Cullen, a rich oil magnate, is contributing to Republicans and State Righters, since Mr. Cullen previously has given $160,000,000 for improvement of education and health in Texas.

Socially, Texas is still firmly "Southern;" but economically it is rapidly taking on Western and Northern points of view. **Far from being any longer dependent on outside capital, Houston and** Fort Worth millionaires now are carrying their money bags, in search of investments, all the way to New York and Detroit, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Any Texan will tell you that one day his state will be as big and as dominant along the southern Gulf Coast as New York is in the East or California in the West.

It is chiefly this business-boom complex, including a great influx of new population mainly from the North and West, that is sparking the move here against the one-party political system. Big and little business in the larger cities of Texas are as Republican today as their counterparts in Michigan or Illinois. And the first argument the Texas Republican invariably advances is that his state is at a great disadvantage in the eyes of both Democratic and Republican politicians so long as its one-party allegiance is "taken for granted."

Practically, the one-party system suffered its most severe setback when a Negro named Smith won from the Supreme Court in 1944 a decision forbidding exclusion of Negroes from Texas Democratic primaries. A hundred thousand Negroes not only are voting freely in Texas elections this year, but all candidates and party factions, even including the Thurmond State Righters, are actively bidding for Negro support.

Symptomatic of dissolution of the one-party system also is the break away of Coke Stevenson, closely defeated candidate for Democratic Senatorial nomination, to support Jack Porter, Republican candidate for that office. Many Texans predict that this Stevenson-Porter coalition will mark the beginning of a powerful conservative party in Texas, whether Republican or under some other name.

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Florida

Dixiecrats, Wallaceites Voting Right Favored

TALLAHASSEE, Fla — (UP) — The Florida Senate, with only one dissenting vote, yesterday gave rapid approval to a bill which would open the November General Election ballot to States' Rights Democrats and the Progressive Party.

The Senate adjourned until 10 a. m. today after adopting the measure and sending it to the House by a 33-to-1 vote with Sen. Ed Fraser of MacClenny casting the negative ballot. Wed 9-15-48

As adopted by the Senate, the measure would add the names of States' Rights Candidate Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Progrssive Party Nominee Henry Wallace to the ballot.

Thurmond And Wallace Go On Florida Ballot

Columbia Record

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Sept. 15—(UP)—The House passed with only a few minor changes today a senate-approved bill adding the names of J. Strom Thurmond and Henry A. Wallace to the November presidential election ballot in Florida.

Wed 9-15-48

The House vote was 72 to 14. The measure was passed after attempts to keep the Wallace Progressive party off the ballot failed by a vote of 24 to 56.

The Senate was scheduled to go into session immediately to concur in the House amendments. The bill then will go to Gov. Millard Caldwell for approval.

The vote followed House rejection by an overwhelming voice vote of a Dade county proposal which would have required both Thurmond's States' Rights Democrats and Wallace's Progressives to obtain petitions bearing the names of 500 registered voters before their presidential electors could be included on the ballot.

The senate yesterday approved its bill by a 33 to 1 vote.

Under the Senate-approved measure, the names of Wallace and States' Rights candidate Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina would be added to the ballot, with a separate slate of eight electors for each candidate.

Wed 9-15-48

A November joint committee drafted the bill last week, and the Senate added the proposed inclusion of Wallace's name as an amendment.

Last night the House beat down repeated attempts to kill the bill. The lower chamber struck out by a 51-36 vote an amendment which would have defined the Progressive party as a Communist-dominated group and outlawed it from the Florida ballot as subversive.

Thurmond And Wallace Get Equal Space On Florida Ballot

The Advertiser

TALLAHASSEE ,FLA. —(AP)— J. Strom Thurmond and Henry A. Wallace were given equal space on the Florida ballot Wednesday with Harry Truman and Thomas E. Dewey.

Thur 9-16-48

The state legislature, in a two-day special session for the purpose of clarifying a hopeless ballot muddle, passed a new act permitting voters to make a single-mark choice of any of the four presidential candidates.

Montgomery Adv

Efforts to keep Wallace off the ballots were defeated in the Senate, 25 to 9, and in the House, 56 to 24. Although not a single member spoke a kind word for any Wallace party, many fought to give him ballot space if Thurmond were to be recognized.

Governor Caldwell, who called the special session at the request of a majority of the legislators, declined to say whether he would sign the bill, because he hadn't seen it in final form.

However, he commented "from what I have heard it sounds as if it is a fair disposition of the problem."

Leaders of all four parties which received ballot space for their presidential candidates express satisfaction with the new act.

Under the old law, only Democrats and Republicans were recognized for ballot space—and they couldn't put the name of a presidential candidate on the ballot. Votes were cast, instead, for party presidential electors.

This year, the eight Democratic electors nominated in the primaries split 4 to 4 between support of Truman and Thurmond. That left supporters of either man with no way to cast a full vote for him.

The new ballot will have a separate square for each of the four recognized presidential tickets. Above the name of the presidential candidate will be a circle in which the voter can make a cross to vote for that candidate.

Or—if the voter wants to do it the hard way—he can vote individually for the eight electors listed under the candidate's name.

The same system will apply in counties which use voting machines.

Thur 9-16-48

The four nominated Democratic electors who are supporting Truman will be listed on the ballot under his name and designated as Democratic nominees. Four others were supplied by the legislature to fill out a list of eight.

Under Thurmond's name will be the four Democratic nominees for elector pledged to him, and four others supplied by the legislature. Under Dewey's name will be the eight Republican nominees for election. Under Wallace will be eight electors named by his party executive committee for inclusion in the law.

Stress Need Of Adult Education

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta Georgia

ORANGEBURG, S. C.—The need of adequate Adult Education programs among Negroes was stressed at the Seventh Annual Conference of Adult Education and The Negro held at South Carolina State A. and M College, April 6-8.

Discussions at the three days' conference were built around the theme "Literacy and World Understanding." Representatives from Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Louisiana participated in the discussions. Fri. 4-15-49

A testimonial honoring Miss Will Lou Gray, pioneer in Adult Education in South Carolina highlighted the activities of the sessions. Dr. J. J. Seabrook, president of Claflin University, presented the certificate of award and a silver loving cup given by South Carolina State College and flowers given by the conference.

ATLANTANS PARTICIPATE

Outstanding educational leaders who participated in the discussions during the sessions included Walter R. Chivers, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., president of the conference who outlined the purpose and program of the conference at the opening session Wednesday night. Homer Kempfer, Washington D. C., specialist for General Adult Education and post high school Education, principal speaker Wednesday night spoke on "Needs and Opportunities for Adult Education in The United States.

On Thursday at the morning session Mrs. A. A. McPheeters, Librarian, Auburn Avenue Branch, Carnegie Library, Atlanta spoke on "Library Programs of Adult Education." In speaking of library service in the Southeastern region, Mrs. McPheeters cited the startling facts, "that there are 24,000,000 people with 8,500,000 books or one third book per person and that $4,500,000.00 was spent for books or eighteen cents per capita." Successful Adult Education Programs among Negroes" was the subject of a discussion led by Miss E. Louise Cooper, Assistant Director Adult Education, Hampton Institute.

R. O. Johnson, Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga., speaking Thursday evening on the subject "The Outlook for Adult Education Among Negroes" gave an analysis of present trends and concluded that the future is bright in adult education. Fri. 4-15-49

Adults Taught Child Writing To Save Money

Cleveland Guide
Cleveland Ohio

NEW YORK—March 8.—Teaching grownups to write like children is the job of a pretty girl from Georgia. Sat. 5-7-49

The purpose is to save dollars for retail stores by making sales slips so plain and clear that no mistakes can be made.

It a department store ever sent you a "skirt" instead of a "shirt," you know the value of plain writing.

The girl in her early 20's is Madeline Rose Hosmer Brenner, and she's from Atlanta. The system of writing—or rather, print-writing—was started by her mother, Madeline Flint Hosmer. She developed her system of teaching while with the Atlanta division of the university system of Georgia.

Applied to Retailing

It was applied to retailing when one of the south's largest department stores in Atlanta got Mrs. Hosmer to teach their clerks to write. They liked it. They still use it. Saves money. Sat. 5-7-49

War interrupted commercial expansion of the teaching, and after the war Mrs. Hosmer died.

The young daughter, who became Mrs. Brenner recently, took over. There was a long interval of preparation until she introduced it on a nation-wide scale at the last convention of the National Retail Dry Goods association in New York.

But a word on what it is. The Hosmer print-writing system is based simply on bold straight lines and circles with only slight variations. An "O" is a circle. A "C" is a half-circle. A "P" is a straight line with a half-circle. It's that easy for either upper or lower case.

Taught to Children

It is the way they teach little children to write at first. There's nothing fancy about it like a flowing Spencerian hand, but you can read it. Merchants whose clerks use it seldom send a "ball bat" instead of a "bath mat" to a customer.

The simplicity is what amazes most people. Mrs. Hosmer during the war taught the system to soldiers who could read, but had neglected, for one reason or another, to learn to write at all. One soldier, after learning print-writing, told Mrs. Hosmer in all seriousness: "If I'd known writin' was just like readin', I'd learned to write a long time ago."

That same simplicity amazed the daughter when she started writing a booklet on the subject at the end of the war. Although she "just grew up with mother's print-writing," it took her 11 months of writing and rewriting to perfect a straight-forward explanation of a 36-page booklet of instructions. Sat. 5-7-49

That booklet is the basic tool in the retail teaching system. Mrs. Brenner reduced to the clinic level the task of teaching thousands of employees in a single store. She selects a maximum of 60 employees for training, usually supervisors.

Adult Education Progresses Under New Program

Atlanta Daily World

By ELLA WASHINGTON GRIFFIN

(First of a Series of Articles on the Project For Adult Education of Negroes)

Atlanta Georgia

WASHINGTON— (ANP)— Over 10 percent of all the Negroes in America and almost three percent of all American citizens are illiterate. They are completely without the know-how of reading and writing. Many more do not read and write as well as an ordinary child who has finished the 4th grade of school. They have to get someone else to transact their business if it involves much reading and writing. At least 10 million Americans are dangeroulsy undereducated.

The Project for Adult Education of Negroes has been helping since 1946 to keep alive national interest in this problem. The project is sponsored by the Office of Education in the Federal Security agency and directed by Dr. Ambrose Caliver of that agency. It is financially assisted by the Carnegie corporation of New York. Related agencies concerned with adult education are also sponsoring the undertaking. Six institutions of higher learning--three public and three private--have cooperated with the Office of Education in conducting the project in three states. Thur. 5-12-49

They are: Atlanta university, Fort Valley State College, Tennessee State College, Fisk University, Hampton Institute, and Virginia State College. Their function is to organize and conduct literary classes in their areas and to offer college courses for the preparation of teachers of adults.

AIMS GIVEN.

The project aims to demonstrate effective methods of developing readers and other materials to be used in teaching illiterate adults and of training teachers and leaders of adults. It also aims to stimulate states, communities schools, and colleges to assume their responsibilities in providing opportunities for the education of adult illiterates.

cans live in the south. Because of inequalities in educational and economic opportunity in that area of the country, many of them have not yet had a chance to get the schooling they so much want. So this problem of illiteracy among Negroes is, in large part, a regional one.

But illiteracy among Negroes is also a national problem. People move around from one section of the country to the other. Better jobs are often available to Negroes in other sections of the country than in their native south. The experience of the armed services during World War II made America realize as never before that the fullest use of the nation's manpower depends on the lifting of the educational level of the total population.

The project for Adult Education of Negroes has helped to provide a solution to one aspect of this problem and has thus achieved its goals. During the 2 1-2 years of the demonstration, over 1,000 adults who could neither read nor write have been raised to a level of functional literacy through the project's demonstration classes. Three hundred teachers and leaders of adult illiterates have been trained either thru experience in teaching in the experimental classes, through college courses which were a part of the project's experiment, or through the project's summer workshops. Several state departments of education have been motivated to take a renewed interest in literacy education. Almost every state in the union has asked for information or for help in connection with adult literacy education. Twenty-five foreign countries have written or sent representatives to gain information about the use of project developed materials, and about the methods used in producing them and in teaching illiterate adults.

Resolutions endorsing the project's program have come from such groups as: The National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, American Teachers association, Council of Chief State School Officers, Association of College and Secondary Schools for Negroes, Conference of Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges, Independent Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World.

WIDESPREAD INFLUENCE

The Project for Adult Education of Negroes has also had national and international influence. It stimulated the National Literacy Education bill, S320; it has been nominated by the Fundamental Education Panel of UNESCO as an associated project. Thur. 5-12-49

All of the project's materials are non-racial in character and can be just as effectively used by all people anywhere in America. All of the methods advocated by the project are universally sound. Its activities have proved to be a dynamic force in furthering interracial and intergroup understanding. Although the title of the project implies that it is concerned solely with Negroes, its scope has been much wider than this title would indicate. The good work of the project has completely crashed the color line.

Joe Louis Jabs at Demos, GOP for Betraval

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Tues. 6-29-48

CHAMP HAILS PAUL ROBESON IN LETTER TO NEGRO VETERANS

Joe Louis, fresh from knocking out Jersey Joe Walcott, threw blows at the Democrats and Republicans for betraying "my people." Louis' statement was a personal tribute to "my friend" Paul Robeson, and was delivered for him at Uline Arena, Washington, D.C., June 26, by Winston Edwards, national chairman of the United Negro and Allied Veterans.

The occasion was "A Tribute to Negro Veterans" jointly sponsored by UNAVA, and the Vermont Avenue Baptist Church. Paul Robeson sang, as well as the Galbraith Choir, and Miss Alam Montgomery. Louis originally had agreed to appear in person, but the postponement of the championship fight made his appearance impossible. 6-29-48

The full text of his statement follows: 34 New York, N.Y.

A few people in our country say Congress did a good job. In a way they are right. Congress did a good job all right, for a few people but not for me, and my people. Daily Worker

That's why I'm here today, to pay tribute to Paul Robeson, my friend and a great fighter for the Negro people. Because Paul Robeson fights for the things that Congress didn't do for me and my people, I want Paul to know that I stand squarely, both feet in his corner, because he is in the corner of the Negro people.

There are some people who don't like the way Paul Robeson fights for my people. Well, I say to that that Paul is fighting for what all of us want, and that's freedom to be a man. Some of us may not like the way he fights but none of us can afford to stand aside from what the fight is for and what the fight's against.

IN WAR GRAVES 6-29-48

Tues.

A lot of Negro GIs I served with rae lying in their graves in France, Germany, and in the Pacific. They stopped bullets and shrapnel to keep America free. A lot of other Negro GIs are dead on American soil, after the war, fighting for the same things that those GIs fought for abroad. All of them gave up their lives so that my people could live in dignity in this America of ours. All of them loved Paull Robeson and were proud of him, because they knew as I know, that he is one of us. Tues. 6-29-48

LOUIS

Paul Robeson led the fight for an anti-lynching bill, an anti-polltax bill, and an FEPC. Congress didn't pass any of these laws, and Congress didn't pass the civil rights program.

Now some people say one party is to blame, others say another party is to blame. I say both parties have forgotten the Negro GIs who gave up their lives to make America a free country for Negroes, Jews, Protestants, Catholics and all other minorities.

ROBESON

Because of what we lost, a few people got a lot of money out of it. I say that 12 states have got Congresss and the government buffaloed. Twelve states South of the Mason Dixon Line. But the other 36 states didn't seem to mind.

That's why I salute Paul Robeson, because he's fighting for Negroes, poor whites, Jews, and all the others who suffer, because we haven't got democracy in America. I'm with him and I'm with you, because I know that if we don't fight for our rights, America won't get to first base as a free country for your children and mine.

I want peace because I know you can't eat guns, I want peace because you can't build a decent home with a rifle. I want peace because you can't be a man if you are looking over your shoulder to another guy whose listening for every word you say so he can put it in a book and then have you called before some board to explain why you want to be free.

So I say again, a salute to Paul Robeson and to all you GIs. We're with you, Paul, in the fight to the end.

Both Guilty

(34)

THOUGH fishing for the Negro vote, the actions of the bi-partisans in the Democratic and Republican parties show their contempt for the Negro people. Fri.

President Truman offers a civil rights program for the Negro people—but doesn't lift a finger to get it passed and allows his cabinet members Forrestal and Royall to keep Jimcrow in the army. Daily Worker 6-18-48

Truman says this is the worst Congress since the days of Thaddeus Stevens—forgetting that Thaddeus Stevens was a great American who fought like a tiger in Congress to protect the rights of the newly-freed Negro slaves. New York, N.Y.

Now the GOP spokesman Carrol Reece tries to make hay out of Truman's mockery of this great fighter for Negro rights. Reece boasts that Stevens was a Republican like Herbert Hoover. But Reece cannot make the Negro people forget that the GOP today is up to its eyes in guilty conspiracy with the southern polltax Democrats to kill the anti-lynch bill. He also forgets that Herbert Hoover started the "lily-white" primaries in the GOP in the South. 6-18-48

The more the bi-partisans cynically make their promises to the oft-betrayed Negro people, the clearer it becomes to all that of the political parties only the new party and the Communists are **fighting for Negro rights.**

Two-Party Way To Freedom

The Record

CHARLESTON—The political situation in South Carolina and the South generally demonstrates that "from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." Our worst enemy could not have directed developments more discreditably for this section. Responsibility rests no more heavily on the political agents of our futility than on those who stood by and let things slide. Charleston, S.C.

It is high time to deepen our perspective. I have been reading some political forecasts for 1952, wondering if there will be any such year in history. It may not take a war, or the passions of war, to wind up the story. Irresponsible meddling can be just as effective. When we start anything these days, we might remember that there may soon be no world in which to complete it. So far as we know, for instance, the atmosphere needed to sustain life is to be found nowhere else in the universe. There isn't very much of it and we may be close to the secret of getting rid of it. Any child can take a watch to pieces.

It isn't good sense to be truculent with destiny. The General Assembly of South Carolina has its place but in a very limited jurisdiction. It can prescribe a few rules of limited adaptation, or it may add to our confusion. That is all. We usually have a good crop of Messiahs, but none of them can add a cubit to our stature or prolong our days by a single hour. This, after all, is not their world. Men who can't swim make poor life-guards. Sat. 7-24-48

There is a truth in Southern civilization—a very precious truth. Southern civilization is of course not the same as "white supremacy." When the white supremocrats learn to talk about "economic supremacy" instead of "white supremacy," the discussion will have some point. Meanwhile, the white supremocrats are making common cause with all the other self-servers, white and Negro, to destroy Southern civilization.

To review the history of this state and of the South is to understand a little about Southern greatness. It was the nature of that greatness that made it important for the industrialists of the East to destroy the South if they could. Men concerned about justice and liberty and human rights looked into the future. They were, therefore, opposed to the encroachments of government. They saw how the tariff imposed slavery without the burden of responsibility. They understood that the real foundation of the country was the character of its citizens. Unlike the political blowflies that succeeded them, they knew that lying and hypocrisy were counterfeit coins that only the untrustworthy would use. They were human and made mistakes and time has been kind to them in softening some of the blemishes. They were overcome and discredited, but at heavy cost to the victors and to the nation, because their insight was sound.

The tariff manacled the South and corrupted the country as a whole. Expediency outranked principle. Statesmen were succeeded by blunderers and spoilsmen who covered their mistakes by taxation. As the cost of living rose, the government moved more widely and deeply into power. Politicians fattened on discord and class division and planned emergency, and when they went the way of all flesh, they left the future under mortgage. Communism breeds on frustration and disillusion and the loss of faith, and Communism was late in coming to this country. Sat.

The attitude of the South during this period of decline has been understandable if not admirable. Appomattox has been accepted as decisive. The South was conquered politically, but spiritually its secession has been complete. Except for playing the role of whipping boy and with the aid of its exhibitionists, at times playing up to the role, its political status has been passive and subordinate for the last 80 years. 7-24-48

The explanation, we are told, has been the preoccupation of the South in the meanwhile with the Negro problem. The South has certainly not been paying that much attention to the Negro problem. The South was left with a poverty problem on its hands of serious proportions. It has since been economically exploited. It has been, however, a political cipher by choice. Now that there are signs that the South is tired of being kicked around, those who want to keep it in its place will not be scrupulous about methods. The Negro made a good red herring once, and he will be used again if possible. It was not the Negro, however, who put the South in a bag.

It is true that the Negro is now being urged to join the mass of political gullibles who want to keep Mr. Truman in office. Mr. Truman has become interested in the Negro for election purposes. Doubtless there are some Negroes who will overlook the fact that his interest became noticeable only after his unfitness for the job of President became painfully obvious. Heretofore, however, the Negro has kept out of politics and been quietly making his own way.

Until he was taught to lean on the phony aid of government, the progress of the Negro in the South was one of the phenomena of his tory. He produced great men, not in the Harlems of America, but in the South. One of them, George Washington Carver, who started from nothing, became one of the outstanding creative scientists of the world. Can anyone who knew him imagine that all the gold buried at Fort Knox would have induced him to help build the Atomic Bomb?

Columbia, S.C.

Every step of the way the Negro has had the cooperation of the Southern white man. Slogans that were useful for herding metropolitan votes have had no meaning here. The Negro has been better off in the South than anywhere else, and he has known it.

The situation in the South has been, of course, far from perfect. Social habits and adjustments have been too static. Static water is stagnant and stagnancy breeds corruption. Both the Negroes and most of the white people in the South have thought of politics as the private game of those who liked it.

7-24-48

The South is realizing that it has penalized both the nation and itself by refusing to accept political responsibility in recent years. It has a special genius for politics. It contributed the greater part of the political structure of the nation. The last great president of this country, from the standpoint of statesmanship, was Woodrow Wilson, a Southerner. The world would have been saved millions of lives and countless woes if the New England assault on his leadership had not been successful. He was defeated by the representatives of special interests because the South had been too long ignored in politics to be heard even in the immediate aftermath of war.

The policy of abnegation has now reached absurdity. The national Democratic party has become only a nexus of local political machines united by the desire to control local offices and nominally supporting a presidential candidate whose election would be a world calamity.

Wallace Not Gaining

The Record Columbia, S.C.

New Poll Reveals Little Progress Being Made By Progressive Party

Thurs. By ELMO ROPER 7-29-48

Measured by the showing of major third party efforts of the past, the Wallace movement, which met in Philadelphia last week end, is not doing very well. The new Progressive party does not show signs of increasing its support among the voters. In fact, the latest results of a survey taken in early July show that recently the popularity of Henry Wallace actually has fallen off a little.

PER CENT OF VOTERS PREFERRING WALLACE

348

	April 1948 %	June 1948 %	July 1948 %
Total Wallace Voters	6.1	6.3	4.0
By Age Groups			
21 to 34	8.7	7.8	4.6
35 to 49	4.8	5.4	4.3
50 and over	4.5	5.4	3.1
By Geographic Area			
Northeast	8.6	8.4	5.9
Midwest	4.9	5.6	2.6
South	3.2	3.4	3.8
Far West	9.5	9.2	3.7
By Size of Place			
Cities over a million	14.2	13.2	9.3
100,000 to 1,000,000	7.8	6.7	2.0
2,500 to 100,000	3.4	5.0	3.8
Under 2,500 and rural	4.4	4.7	3.1
Veterans	6.9	—	6.4
Union members	12.8	—	6.2

The chief decline in Wallace support has been among those very groups which formerly had seemed to be his most ardent followers. This popularity has fallen off among young people, voters in the Northeast and Far West, voters in the large cities, and among labor union members. If converted into round figures, Wallace's current support, according to this latest survey, ranges from two million to two-and-one-half million votes, based on a total turnout of 50 to 60 million voters.

It must be pointed out, however, that the decline in strength of the Progressive party, as indicated from these results, might be only a temporary dip. The survey was taken between the Democratic and Republican conventions when public attention was focused chiefly on the newly-nominated Republican standard-bearers, Dewey and Warren.

But the fact remains that, to date, the Wallace movement has failed to attract very many more people to its crusade than were sympathetic to it when it began last January.

The latest "Fortune" survey cast some interesting light on why the third party has failed to grow. One of the major planks in the Wallace platform is that there is no substantial difference between the Republican and Democratic parties. The former vice president has stated over and over that the choice between the two old parties is nothing more than between "Tweedledum and Tweedledee."

Yet when "Fortune" asked a cross-section of the Wallace supporters whether or not they thought there would be a difference in the way the Republicans and the Democrats would handle several important issues, they did not seem to go along entirely with their leader's contention:

ISSUES ON WHICH WALLACE SUPPORTERS SEE NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MAJOR PARTIES
Marshall Plan
Military Policy
Policy Toward Russia
Palestine
Attitude Toward Minorities

The Record

ISSUES ON WHICH WALLACE SUPPORTERS DO SEE A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MAJOR PARTIES
Prices and Cost of Living
Labor Legislation
Income Taxes

Columbia, S.C.

According to these results, even those who say they would like to vote for Wallace are convinced that there is a real difference between the Republicans and the Democrats on at least some major issues. And with the special session of Congress which has just convened, it appears likely that the "Tweedledum and Tweedledee" claim of Wallace will not fare any better than it has up to now.

The charge that the major parties are of the same stripe is not the only stand of the third party which has failed to meet with widespread acceptance among Henry Wallace's own followers. The table below indicates general agreement among third party adherents on some of the important issues but also shows substantial departures from the platform of the Progressive party:

SENTIMENT OF WALLACE SUPPORTERS ON SOME MAJOR ISSUES

Thurs. 7-29-48

	For %	Against %	Exp'ss No Opin. %
Universal Military Training	50.2	42.4	7.4
Selective Service	29.6	61.6	8.8
Existing Labor Laws (Taft-Hartley Act)	33.6	50.4	9.6
Price Controls	60.8	27.2	12.0
Freeze of Wages	22.4	61.6	16.0
Limitation of Profits	56.0	29.6	14.4
Palestine Partition	43.2	24.0	32.8

Wallace has based much of his attack on the Truman administration on its alleged tendency toward militarism. Yet a majority of Wallace supporters are in favor of universal military training. Another important plank in the Progressive party program is repeal of the Taft-Hartley law. Yet one-third of the backers of the third party either like the labor laws as they now are or would like to see them made more strict toward labor.

In fairness to the Wallace movement, it must be said that no party—no matter how devoted it claims to be to an ideal—can ever hope to have anywhere near unanimity among its supporters on every stand it takes. And, by and large, people who say they prefer Wallace tend to support his views on foreign and domestic policy.

But as the real differences between the Democrats and the Republicans become more evident in this special session and in the course of the campaign, it may become even more difficult for Henry Wallace to pass off the major parties as ideological twins. In domestic affairs, the Wallace followers tend to support the policies of President Truman and oppose those of the Republicans. And in foreign affairs, as the crisis abroad deepens, all signs among public opinion indicate a great sentiment in favor of strengthening the bi-partisan foreign policy.

These are the tides which the new Progressive party is attempting to buck. To date, the effort has shown less than spectacular results, according to the surveys we have conducted. Unless there is a marked rise in popularity for Henry Wallace in the months ahead, it will be difficult indeed to say that the third party bid in 1948 was a major protest movement, such as Teddy Roosevelt's in 1912 and LaFollette's in 1924.

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Two-Party System

Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: As a student at Georgia Tech and a resident of Georgia, I have keenly followed the campaign of The Constitution to encourage a two-party political system for the South and particularly for the State of Georgia. Thinking that the enclosed clipping from the Washington Post, Aug. 2, 1948, may be of some use to you in preparing material to further that campaign, I am sending it to you.

Tue. 8-

The clipping describes a new election machinery for the State of Virginia in its party primaries. The conducting of both party primaries at the same time is a simplification that should result in economy in the functioning of the State's election machinery. Two features of the plan seem especially desirable to me: the fact that a single set of election commissioners will canvass the ballots in both primaries and the provision that voters will not be required to certify themselves as to party loyalty. Both these features should help to preserve the secret ballot—a fact which does not always exist in the South today—and the latter would be a protection to those Democrats who wish to assist in the development of an effective Republican Party in the South, but without the danger of being purged from the Democratic Party.

8-10-48

JOHN M. GUNN, JR.
Washington, D. C.

8-10-48

The Atlanta Journal's Poll Of Southern Editors—With Comment

Dewey And Thurmond Put Together Will Defeat Truman In South

Montgomery 10-24-48

34d

The Republican and States' Rights presidential candidates appear to have a strong chance between them of capturing a majority of the Southern states in the November 2 general election, a South-wide pre-election survey by the Atlanta Journal showed Saturday.

Leading newspapermen in key centers participated in the roundup, providing reports from Georgia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, Florida, North Carolina, Texas, Kentucky and Arkansas.

No Southern state has deserted the Democratic ranks in 20 years. In the Smith-Hoover campaign of 1928, Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and irginia voted Republican.

The Journal's survey of the present campaign showed sentiment in the various states divided as follows:

TRUMAN: North Carolina, Texas, Kentucky and Arkansas.

DEWEY: Virginia and Florida.

THURMOND: Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina.

DOUBTFUL: Tennessee and Georgia. (There is a strong possibility that Tennessee will vote for Dewey.)

Following are the reports by states:

Alabama

By Grover C. Hall, Jr.

Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser

MONTGOMERY, ALA., Oct. 23.—Barring court action, there is no doubt that Alabama's 11 electoral votes will go to Gov. J. Strom Thurmond.

Since President Truman will not be on the Alabama ballot at all, prediction of the Thurmond majority is aimless.

I would say that only a minority of Alabamians actually comprehend why no Truman electors will be on the ballot and a very large element does not yet know that the ballot is minus Truman.

Trickery? No indeed! In the May and June primaries Alabama voters overwhelmingly chose 11 electors who pledged that they would withhold their vote from Mr. Truman. Whereupon the Democratic Rooster was appropriated to the Dixiecrats who said they were the Democratic Party of the state.

The Truman faithful might have subsequently qualified a slate of independent electors, the same as Wallace and the Prohibition Parties, but they didn't. After the qualifying deadline, Gov. Folsom and a few others began protesting. But it was too late. Mr. Folsom wouldn't call a special legislative session to place Mr. Truman on the ballot, but says he will call on the U. S. Supreme Court to force the Thurmond-pledged electors to default and vote for Truman.

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Sun 10-24-48

Kentucky

By James S. Pope

Managing Editor, The Louisville Courier-Journal

LOUISVILLE, KY., Oct. 23.—Kentucky's 11 electoral votes seem almost certain to go for President Truman, but there is a chance that Gov. Strom Thurmond's Dixiecrats may swing those votes to Gov. Dewey.

Most political observers calculate Mr. Truman's potential margin over Mr. Dewey as not more than 50,000 votes.

Mr. Thurmond's strength in Kentucky seems to be increasing slightly since his visit here. He will get many votes in the cotton-growing southwestern area. If all Thurmond votes are taken from Truman's column, as is probable, then not even the power of Kentucky's Senator Barkley on the Democratic ticket will save the President from a real photo-finish with Dewey.

All candidates are on the Kentucky ballot. And voters seem in a mood to scratch as never before. Odds are still on Mr. Truman, yet Republican Senator John Sherman Cooper is favored to beat Democratic Nominee Virgil Chapman. This means scratching ballots on a scale new to Kentucky, if it works out.

★

Mississippi

By Hodding Carter

Editor, The Delta Democrat-Times

GREENVILLE, MISS., Oct. 23.—The States' Rights party has Mississippi in the bag. The Thurmond-Wright electors will receive a sizeable majority of the popular vote, and although Dewey will finish in third place he will receive more popular votes than any Republican since the Smith-Hoover campaign.

The electoral candidates of both regular Democrats and Dixiecrats will appear on the ballot, as will those of Gov. Dewey and, surprisingly, Henry Wallace, who has no strength whatsoever. The small Negro vote will be divided between Truman and Dewey.

Although the States' Rights campaign in Mississippi is riding an emotional groundswell, there is much outspoken support for Dewey, particularly among the business, professional and planter groups. An interesting sidelight is a poll taken recently in a junior high school class whose students largely represent the middle and upper income group. Two students voted for Mr. Truman, 11 for Mr. Thurmond and 25 for Mr. Dewey.

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South Carolina

By John A. Montgomery

The Columbia State

COLUMBIA, S. C., Oct. 23.—It is a foregone conclusion that South Carolina's eight votes in the electoral college will go to J. Strom Thurmond, governor of this state.

The States' Righters control the political machinery of what often has been termed "the most Democratic state in the Union," and the machine that controls the election is the one that gets the votes.

South Carolina Democrats, in their pre-Philadelphia convention, instructed their delegates to oppose the nomination of President Truman or any other candidate who holds similar views in favor of the so-called "civil rights" legislation.

Since the national Democratic Party as well as the Republican Party, and the Wallace Party to a greater extent, favored federal intervention in Southern traditions, the South Carolina Democratic Party gave its endorsement to Thurmond and Wright while continuing to operate under the Democratic banner in the selection of candidates for Congress and lesser offices.

A minority pro-Thurman movement developed without the support of old-line politicians. But Truman will receive only a scattering of votes outside the ballots of union labor and Negro Democrats, whose bloc votes were insufficient to nominate primary favorites.

There has been no major trend toward Republicanism and Wallace will get even fewer votes than the weak, patronage-constituted GOP organization in the state.

Florida

By Charles F. Hesser

Miami Daily News

MIAMI, FLA., Oct. 23.—For the first on whether the result of balloting in other states left Georgia legislative leaders with any bargaining power.

Georgia's laws are unusual if not unique in requiring a majority vote, rather than a mere plurality, for the choice of presidential electors. If no slate receives at least one more than half the total number of votes cast, the decision is left to members of the General Assembly.

In past years when such opposition as the Democratic ticket might face came only from Republicans, no one paid any attention to this requirement. This year, with five tickets on the ballot and three of them having appreciable state-wide strength, it seems most unlikely that any group of electors will receive a majority vote.

The most recent polls indicate a substantial lead in Georgia for the regular Democratic ticket; but many persons question the validity of these results. They wonder whether the sample contained enough representation for rural voters, who carry great weight in Georgia.

My own personal guess a month ago was that, with a wide-open ballot such as the Legislature has now provided, Thurmond would run first in Georgia, Dewey second, and Truman third. Several members of The Journal staff disagree with that guess; and conditions may have changed since it was made. Many voters who dislike Truman will go along for the sake of party regularity.

However, I still think the Dixiecrat ticket is a major factor in Georgia and stands a good chance of receiving the largest number of votes. Also the Republican vote will be surprisingly large, especially in the cities.

The order in which the three major tickets finish will make little difference, however, if none of them receives a clear majority.

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Louisiana

By Ken Gormin

New Orleans Times-Picayune

NEW ORLEANS, LA., Oct. 23.—President Truman has been gradually gaining ground in Louisiana, but political observers here predict a plurality for Thurmond and Wright on election day.

The Dixiecratic candidates are expected to poll 39 per cent of the Bayou state's vote to win its 10 electoral votes. President Truman will come in slightly behind Gov. Dewey, observers say, with Dewey drawing 30 per cent of the vote and Truman 28.

Wallace and Taylor are given a chance to pull only about 3 per cent of Louisiana's popular vote.

Both the names of Mr. Truman and Mr. Thurmond will be on the official Louisiana ballot, but Mr. Truman will not be listed as a Democrat. The Democratic state central committee booted the President off its ticket and selected Mr. Thurmond as the official candidate of the Louisiana Democrats. However, Mr. Truman has been assigned the traditional Democratic emblem, the donkey, to be carried on the ballot above his name.

As an interesting sidelight to the controversy, three Louisiana candidates have declined to have their names removed from the Truman-Barkley column. Foremost among these is Russell Long, son of the late Huey P. Long.

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Arkansas

By Harry S. Ashmore

Executive Editor, Arkansas Gazette

LITTLE ROCK, ARK., Oct. 23.—Every serious candidate for president will be on the ballot in Arkansas—Harry Truman as a regular Democrat endorsed by the State Democratic Convention; Thomas E. Dewey as the candidate of the Republicans; Strom Thurmond as the candidate of the States' Rights Democratic Party; Henry Wallace as the candidate of the Progressive Party, and Norman Thomas as the candidate of the Socialist Party.

The Communist candidate, if there were one, would be barred in Arkansas under our statutes. These statutes were originally invoked by the secretary of state against Mr. Wallace, but a later decision enabled the Progressive electors to get on the ballot without prejudice.

The biggest factor in Arkansas may be

the undetermined number of Democrats who will not vote at all. There is a possibility, although I regard it as very remote, that this stay-at-home vote will be large enough to prevent Harry Truman's carrying the state. The likelihood of this is increased by the fact that the local Democratic organization is making no serious campaign on Mr. Truman's behalf. The Dixiecrats, on the other hand, have organized a headquarters and have enlisted the present governor, Ben Laney, as Roosevelt Democrats. Their guess is that these anti-Roosevelt votes will go to Thurmond and the States' Right Party ticket this time and that Dewey will receive no more than 300,000 votes.

Where Republican and Democrats differ in their forecasts of votes for the Dixiecrats—the GOP predicting upwards of 200,000 for the splinter party, and Democrats seeing no more than 100,000 votes at best.

The Henry A. Wallace headed Progressive Party ticket will get no more than 25,000 votes, according to most observers. Perhaps that figure should be revised downward in many opinions.

General forecasts are that Mr. Truman will carry North Carolina by a margin of 150,000 votes, if there is a light vote, and up to 300,000 of there is a heavy vote.

President Truman's recent visit to the state was not necessary to keep the Democrats in the victory column on Nov. 2. He already was assured of that, but his visit is sure to add to his total vote.

★

Georgia

By Wright Bryan

Editor, The Atlanta Journal

The contest for Georgia's 12 electoral votes is likely to be thrown into the State Legislature, instead of being finally decided on Nov. 2.

How the General Assembly would vote under such circumstances is anybody's guess. It would depend to some extent

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The Two-Party System

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

This writer, then living in the North, used to say that the best possible thing that could happen in our American politics would be, sometime, for the "Solid South" to go Republican and the Solid North Democratic in the right proportions for a two-party system of government. But when the phenomena almost happened neither section played fair, both South and North going for Herbert Hoover and North and South for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Now for the first time in 83 years we face political conditions which make it possible for both sections to go two-party without loss of face on either side. Hitherto the South has justified its solidity and won its prestige by its powerful influence in national conventions through the two-thirds rule but now that this advantage is lost and insult added to injury in its rebuff on the civil rights issue at the last convention, the South must find new ways of winning the place in the sun it deserves in the great national political scene. And what better way could it choose than by a gracious return to our great American two-party system of government, which in spite of all "Solid Souths" and "Solid Norths" and no end of blocs and lobbies, has prevailed and routed all efforts to start third parties and will do it again and again?

Two great parties, one liberal-rightist and giving the nod to capitalism, the other radical and leaning toward socialism—these are the right and proper alignments for a two-party system of government. And with some reservations and qualifications, is not this just about the lineup getting into action for the 1948 presidential campaign?

Let the South once for all forget and stifle her old resentful hangovers, however justifiable they may have been, and give her big ballot-box okeh to this natural and admirable coalition and in no time at all it would make a great comeback, not in playing politics for sectional ends but in assuming its full share of responsibility and international leadership.

Homewood. Ala. DAVID WALLACE.

JESSE JONES FINDS A HOME

AUSTIN (NR correspondent)

After 40 years of masquerading as a Democrat, and 14 years of office-holding in a Democratic administration, Jesse Jones has decided to take off the false whiskers. In officially declaring his support for the Republican Party in this election, the mighty Houston financier may be pioneering a new political trail for privileged Southerners. In Texas, under Jones's leadership, the top leaders of big business are following a different course from the one their counterparts are taking in other Southern states. Elsewhere, the well-to-do conservatives are backing the Thurmond-Wright State's Rights Democrats this year, not quite daring a complete break with the traditional one-party system of their fathers. But Jesse Jones was never a timid man. And his boldness appears to be catching, even among timid politicians.

The Dixiecrat movement in Texas is a second-rate affair, basically run by small oil. At the start of this year's Southern revolt, a real big shot headed up the anti-Truman forces in Texas: Palmer Bradley of Houston, attorney for Standard Oil of New Jersey and other major corporations. But neither Bradley nor any of the other powerful big businessmen who led the 1944 revolt against Roosevelt in Texas are now publicly identified with this year's Dixiecrat campaign. Even the conservative daily press, which was the mainstay of the Texas "Regulars" in '44, has gone Republican with Jones.

Disagree On Other Points

Atlanta Daily

Nevertheless

Atlanta, Ga. 5-14-48

NEW YORK—(NNPA)—Three speakers, representing the Democratic, Republican and third parties, agreed in a radio broadcast last Sunday that colored people are tired of political promises but disagreed on nearly every other point.

Brought together by Moderator Ralph Cooper on his "Tenth of a Nation" Sunday series over Station WINS, the speakers also agreed that the colored voter can make wide political gains this year but differed as to how to obtain such gains.

Fri 5-14-48

Emory B. Smith, Washington Attorney, said colored voters should support President Truman because of his civil rights program.

Colden Brown, president of the Central, said the Republican, platform contained all the civil rights points stressed by Mr. Truman and that the Republican party was committed to a civil rights program.

George Murphy, Jr., of Baltimore, an assistant to Henry A. Wallace's campaign manager, scored both major parties and contended that the Wallace third party movement stood for the things which colored people were seeking.

Murphy challenged both Smith and Brown to declare their party's stand on the Mundt Bill which provides for a $10,000 fine, ten years of imprisonment and loss of United States citizenship for those who attempt to establish here a foreign-controlled totalitarian dictatorship.

Brown challenged Murphy for what he termed Wallace's "brush-off" of a colored delegation which went to see him while he was Vice-President concerning the Odell Waller case. He also charged that Mr. Wallace had dismissed colored employees "right and left" while he was Secretary of Agriculture and had not seen that colored farmers received their just due under the AAA program.

Murphy denied the last two charges but said representing the first that colored people could not afford to ignore their future because of one "brush-off."

After the broadcast, Brown predicted that Governor Thomas E. Dewey would be the Republican nominee and that Governor Earl Warren of California would be his running-mate. Murphy forecast an upset next November with Wallace winning.

A Variegated Convention

To the Editor of The News:

I listened to a part of the Henry Wallace convention in Philadelphia. It appeared to be a motley crowd, and in some phases took on the air of an old-time Negro camp meeting with its strains of spirituals, and with which we in the South are familiar. There was evidence, manifest and convincing, of communism in this convention.

Joseph Stalin was, no doubt, highly delighted, and his protege, Henry, really put on a show for Joseph. The convention was variegated in color and race, yet homogeneous in two objectives (a) communism and (b) the bill of civil rights.

The poor Negro has been the football of all parties and the recipient of promises from all parties. He is promised not one pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, but two pots of gold at both ends of the rainbow. The political skies clear, the elected officers assume their places and we hear no more until four years hence, when again glittering and alluring bait is thrown out. The "merry-go-round," with its music and vociferous shouts rending the air, starts all over again. This has been the outstanding quadrennial event since the adoption of the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States, March 30, 1870.

God created the races of men—white, yellow, red and black. Each is stamped with distinguishing features, viz.: The white, or Caucasian, with light complexion and regular profile; the yellow, or Mongolian, with almond eyes obliquely set; the red, or Indian, with straight black hair, high cheekbones and straight nose, and the black, or Ethiopian, with ebony complexion and kinky hair. So long as these races move within their own sphere, as nature intended, all is well, but when there is commingling of races and commingling of blood, disaster and degeneracy befall them. The animals of the jungles, the fowls of the air and the fishes of the seas respect the laws of nature; but man, the image of his Maker according to Holy Writ, is the derelict.

Gadsden, Ala. L. B. RAINEY.

Two-Party System Our Only Hope

The Constitution

(Augusta Chronicle)

348

Dyed-in-the-wool Southern Democrats—those who think it heresy to vote anything but the Democrat ticket—will have a bitter pill to swallow when election-day rolls around in November. The majority of them will either have to vote for a man whom they do not favor or else stay at home in a futile gesture of protest.

We daresay many Southerners who are not so closely wedded to the Democratic Party will vote for Thomas E. Dewey rather than support Mr. Truman with their ballots.

Politically speaking, the South has been humiliated before, but never in recent history has this humiliation been as complete as it is this election year when Southern Democrats are being rewarded for their traditional loyalty to the party by being ignored at the convention and furnished with a candidate which few people in the South are disposed to support for the Presidency.

Conference To Plan Dixiecrat Campaign

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(AP)—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, presidential choice of rebellious Southern Democrats, expects the Dixiecrat campaign plans to b emapped at Atlanta, Saturday.

"Overall plans" will be drafted at a conference scheduled at the 'Henry Grady Hotel at 10 a.m., he said Thursday.

He was not certain who would attend the conference because he said Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, Dixiecrat vice-presidential choice, was making most of the arrangements. He assumed, however, "persons from a number of states" would be present.

Gov. Ben Laney, of Arkansas, a former Southern anti-Truman leader, will not attend the conference, Thurmond said he was informed.

Thurmond planned to take a group of party leaders from South Carolina with him to Atlanta. State Democratic Chairman William P. Baskin is to be one of them, he said.

Dixiecrats Denied Spot On Ballot In Maryland

Baltimore, Oct. 6 (AP)—A Superior Court ruled today that the presidential and vice-presidential candidates for the States' Rights Democratic Party are ineligible for a place on the Maryland ballots.

Judge Joseph Sherbow said that under the current election laws he was obliged to deny the States' Righters' petition for a place oon the ballots.

Who Are These Dixiecrats?

Negro Digest

34

(The following statement was adopted by the Alabama State CIO Political Action Committee Oct. 17.)

The people should know!

They should know who the Dixiecrats are!

Wed 10-20-48

They should know where the Dixiecrats are taking them!

They should know how the Dixiecrats "took over" in Alabama!

Our state Democratic Party machinery is in the hands of people who travel under the guise of Democrats but whose beliefs, sympathies and actions have for the past several years paralleled the Republican Party's beliefs, sympathies and actions on labor, housing, public health and welfare, taxes and prices. These people call themselves "Dixiecrats" or States' Rights Democrats. *Actually, they are back-door Republicans!*

Chicago, Ill.

The Dixiecrats are running a candidate with the full and complete knowledge that he cannot win the Presidency and that their efforts, by taking votes away from the nominee of the Democratic Party, will thereby contribute to the election of the Republican Party's candidate. They have announced time and time again that they have organized to "stop Truman." That their efforts go to insure the election of Thomas E. Dewey does not seem to worry them. In fact, the charge has been made, *and to us it is a valid charge, that the Dixiecrats desire the election of the Republican candidate.*

At most, the Dixiecrats are expected to capture the electoral votes of only four states—all in the South—with a total of thirty-eight ballots in the electoral college. This is strength that ordinarily would go to the Democratic Party nominees. This year the Democratic Party nominee is expected to lose to the Dixiecrats, for certain, Alabama, South Carolina and Mississippi, with a total of twenty-eight electoral votes, and possibly Louisiana, with ten votes in the electoral college.

Wed 10-20-48

By taking these electoral votes from Truman, the Dixiecrats say they are keeping those states from going Republican. The Dixiecrats are "saving" them from Dewey but "keeping" them from Truman. It seems to us that Dewey's candidacy is strengthened just that much more in the electoral college. *That is why we charge that a Dixiecrat vote is a Republican vote!*

In giving birth to their "stop Truman" movement, the Dixiecrats shouted "States' Rights instead of civil rights!" But how sincere are their reasons for opposing the President in the face of the fact that the next President of the United States will be either Harry S. Truman or Thomas E. Dewey *and that both major parties promise civil rights legislation?*

We charge that the Dixiecrats' reasons for opposing President Truman obviously go far beyond the issue of civil rights. We believe the people of the South should know what those reasons are.

Take a look at the leaders of the Dixiecrat movement! Almost without exception, they are high up in the counsel of Big Business and powerful industrial corporations that do business in the South.

The backgrounds of the leaders of the Dixiecrat movement in Alabama are both interesting and revealing as to what some of the motives behind the Dixiecrats' opposition to President Truman might be.

The charge **has been made that** the big oil companies **of America are backing the revolt against the Democratic Party nominee and providing the Dixiecrats with their warchest. What is the basis for this charge?** It is based in the **controversy** over federal versus state **ownership** of the fabulously rich **tideland** oil fields that lie off the **coasts of our Gulf states and California.** ***The smell of crude oil mingles with the scent of magnolia more than the people realize in this Dixiecrat revolt!***

The Republican Party platform of 1948 calls for ownership of these rich, undersea oil fields to be declared in the hands of the states. The Republicans in the last Congress passed a bill that gave ownership of them to the states.

On the other hand, President Truman killed the bill by veto. There is no plank in the Democratic Party platform that calls for state ownership of these oil fields. The Democrats think the best interests of the nation will be served if they are left under federal control.

Our states have been known to be notoriously lenient in making grants to private corporations to exploit the natural resources. Exploitation of natural resources has been easier when those resources have been under state control than when they have been under federal control. (The exception to this was the Teapot Dome oil scandal of the early Twenties, but the use of federal oil fields by private corporations at that time, it must be remembered, took place under the Republican regime of Warren G. Harding.)

Wed 10-20-48

Not to be forgotten, producing oil wells tapping these undersea fields under state lease will provide royalties to the states—royalties that state politicians will not have in the public treasury if federal control is maintained.

State governors, including our Southern governors, are behind the Republican-sponsored bill to give the undersea oil fields to the states.

Considering the charge that the oil interests are behind the Dixiecrat revolt—a charge that has been made by many others in the South—what do we find? We discover that the leading spokesman for the Dixiecrats in Alabama, the honorable Gessner T. McCorvey, is legal counsel for two of the country's largest oil companies — Standard Oil Company and Gulf Oil Company. He lists these among his top clients. Mr. McCorvey as chairman of the state Democratic Party Executive Committee was as much responsible as any one man for the Dixiecrat capture of Alabama.

But the oil interests, in our opinion, are not the only special interest groups that are backing the Dixiecrat revolt. **We charge that side by side with the oil companies are the corporation interests in America, whose political arm is the Republican Party and whose influence and control reach into the very heart of the Southland to enfold many of the South's most prominent businessmen, lawyers and politicians—men who are supposed to be loyal adherents of the Democratic Party.**

Thurmond Denies 'Bolt.'

In Columbia, S. C., Thurmond reiterated that "we are not bolters" from the National Democratic Party.

Sat. 9-4-48

"The bolters," he said, "are those who have betrayed the party's principles."

He declared that "The Democratic Party belongs to the people who go to make it up" and that "it does not belong to the temporary national leadership."

"That leadership," he continued, "has kidnaped the party. The Democrats of the South have repudiated that leadership and are fighting to return the party to its traditional principles.

"These kidnapers talk about running the Democrats of the South out of the party. This is like the tail trying to throw the dog out of the kennel, but it is gratifying to know that at last they feel the heat of our resentment and repudiation."

G.O.P. Chairman Scott's challenge of President Truman on the Communist indorsement issue came in a statement from the Republican National Committee.

He accused the President of trying to "snuff out" Congressional investigations of Communists by "impetuous cries of 'red herring.'" He said he wonders if there was a "working agreement" between Truman and the Communists in 1944. If so, he asked when it was ended.

Scott referred to a statement August 12, 1944, by Eugene Dennis, Communist Party secretary, saying the Roosevelt-Truman ticket was "representative not only of the Democratic Party, but of important and wider sections of the camp of national unity."

Wants Record Kept Straight.

Sat. 9-4-48

Dennis was further quoted as saying that Communists were not to indorse candidates "unless this is done in full agreement with the given candidate and with our collaborators." Scott added:

"If Mr. Truman did, in fact accept or approve such official indorsement of the Communists in the 1944 campaign, he owes it to the American people today to set the record straight."

The Democratic National Committee, in reply, recalled that President Roosevelt had renounced Communist support in a speech October 5, 1944. Roosevelt said then:

"I have never sought, and I do not welcome the support of any person or group committed to communism, or fascism, or any other foreign ideology, which would undermine the American system of Government or the American system of free competitive enterprise and private property."

Dewey Lauds Strike Record.

Elsewhere along the political front today:

The White House disclosed that President Truman will make a rear-platform speech from his special train at Toledo Monday night on his return from five Labor Day speeches in Michigan. The presidential train is scheduled to reach Toledo at 10:27 p.m. Monday and be there 30 minutes.

National campaign headquarters of the States' Rights Democrats claimed 35 electoral votes were "in the bag" for the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, predicted to reporters in Rochester, N. Y., that President Truman would be elected in November.

Governor Roy J. Turner said after a White House visit that Truman will speak in Oklahoma City and other Oklahoma cities late this month during a Western Speaking tour.

Governor Dewey in a Labor Day proclamation called New York State's strike record "second to none," and added: "Where we have had trouble, the sources of it may be traced to tap roots which are fed in Moscow or in Washington or in designs of selfish men ruthlessly pursuing power and health."

Dewey lated jabbed at the Communist-controlled regime in Poland. In an appeal for contributions to a Polish relief fund, he said the Polish people were being subjected to starvation, cold, and disease "under a Red regime."

The bolters of 1928 — among whom were Dixiecrats Horace Wilkinson and Judge Hugh Locke—learned then that they couldn't turn Alabama Republican by direct means. This year the strategy was more subtle. Wilkinson and McCorvey and the rest of that "small but willful group of men" took the Democratic Party emblem for the Dixiecrats, eliminating the Democratic Party nominee from running under the rooster.

Wed 10-20-48

There will be many voters on November 2 who will cast their ballots for the Democratic electors as they have always done to support the nominee of the Democratic Party, not knowing that the electors have arbitrarily pledged themselves to support the Dixiecrat candidate. Others will vote under the rooster because of the threat of retaliation if party regularity is not maintained.

This, we charge, was part of the plan of the McCorvey-Dixon-Wilkinson gang to take Alabama out of the Democratic camp.

Even after they had received assurances from 21 out of the 28 candidates for elector that they would not vote for President Truman, the Dixiecrats still had another hurdle to cross. **But on April 1 that last hurdle was easily cleared when the State Supreme Court in an advisory opinion (which was as good as a regular ruling) voided a 1945 statute that held that presidential electors must vote for the nominee of the national party convention. The court unanimously held that the electors were not bound to the party nominees and that they were free agents.**

In the parlance of the country's favorite sport, "there went the ball game," in earnest.

Not only were there no pro-Truman electors qualified, but the State Supreme Court, going against time-honored custom and a state law that had been on the books for three years, and even more in another form, ruled that the electors who were qualified were completely free to vote as they pleased.

Even if you had wanted to vote for pro-Truman electors on May 4, Mr. McCorvey, how could you have done it, with a set-up like that having been accomplished?

Wed 10-20-48

Just to be sure about it the state Democratic Executive Committee (or at least those committee members who attended the meeting in Montgomery) on April 4 voted to support the candidates for presidential elector who had made the pledge not to vote for Truman. The committee (or those who were present) endorsed by name the 21 candidates for elector who had already signed a pledge to vote against Truman.

Not wanting to trust to chance that some of the seven elector candidates who hadn't signed the pledge would be nominated (actually they were all States' Righters; they just wouldn't sign for various reasons of their own) Mr. McCorvey went to work as State Party chairman and spent state party money to publicize the names of the 21 electors who had signed the pledge.

Of the 11 Democratic electors who were elected on May 4, every one was a pledged signer. Mr. McCorvey said at the time of the "victory" that the people of Alabama had spoken. But of more than 300,000 qualified voters on the state's election rolls, no more than 129,350 voted for the electors. The highest man received that number. In other words, the great "repudiation" of President Truman that Mr. McCorvey boasts about came from less than half of the registered voters. And they cast their ballots in an election that to all intents and purposes had been rigged.

And yet through these processes have the citizens of Alabama been deprived of a free choice of the ballot. They are committed to voting for a candidate they had absolutely nothing to do with picking. This candidate was nominated at the Birmingham "convention" of the Dixiecrats. The people had nothing to do with staging this convention nor sending delegates to it. The delegates named to represent Alabama were picked by Mr. McCorvey and the State Democratic Party Executive Committee (or those members whom Mr. McCorvey could bend to his will).

Wed 10-20-48

We have reviewed here who the Dixiecrats are. We know where they are taking us—straight into the Republican camp to aid Thomas E. Dewey. We know how they captured control of our state party.

We must resolve that this shall never happen again in Alabama.

An attempt must be made to repair the damage to the Democratic Party cause that has already been accomplished. To this end we pledge our cooperation in any legal action to force the electors named in the Democratic primary election on May 4 to support the nominee of the Democratic Party, according to custom and law. We call upon the Governor of Alabama to bring this suit.

We call upon our membership to cast their votes "under the rooster" on November 2. That is the emblem of the Democratic Party in Alabama. It is not the emblem of the Dixiecrat Party. It is our hope that the plans of that small but willful group of men who have taken over our state party machinery can be averted and the state's Democratic electoral votes can go to the Democratic Party nominee, where they belong, rather than to give aid and comfort to the Republican Party candidate.

We call for legislation that will prohibit any such disgraceful perversion of the democrati processes from ever again occuring in our state.

Approved and adopted this 17th day of October, 1948, by delegates to the annual conference of the Alabama State CIO Political Action Committee.

States' Righters Say They Won't Oppose Truman-Elector Plan

The News

Tue 8-17-48

MOBILE, Ala., Aug. 17—(AP)—Alabama Democrats loyal to President Truman received assurance last night from the opposing States' Rights Democrats that they would not fight a proposal to place pro-Truman electors on the November ballot.

Birmingham

Gessner T. McCorvey, an elector and state Democratic chairman, was spokesman for the States' Rights group.

McCorvey said they hoped some legal way would be found to let Alabamians vote on the Truman slate. As matters now stand there is no way to vote for President Truman in this state's general election.

State Sen. Joseph N. Langan, of Mobile, elected chairman of the pro-Truman group, has said he will go into court if necessary to get their electors on the ballot.

Tue 8-17-48

McCORVEY ANNOUNCED his group's stand in a letter to Langan. He wrote:

"I wish to assure you that none of us will throw any stumbling blocks in the way of you or anyone else seeking to have a slate of Truman electors placed on the ballot in the general election in November.

"We hope very much that you will succeed in your effort as we would like for you to realize when the votes are cast, as you evidently do not now realize, just what little standing President Truman has among Alabama Democrats."

The party chieftain said the electors pledged to the Thurmond-Wright ticket took their stand, although they feel the question was settled in the May and June Democratic primaries.

Dixiecrats Battle for Texas Electors

Free Press

AUSTIN, Tex. — (AP) — States' Rights Democrats and party members loyal to the national Democratic ticket counted delegates for a finish fight over control of Texas' 23 presidential electors.

The delegates were named in Saturday's turbulent county conventions which saw rival slates set up in Harris (Houston), Dallas (Dallas) and Tarrant (Fort Worth), three counties with heavy voting strength in the state convention. The convention will meet in Fort Worth Sept. 14.

Detroit, Mich

THEIR SUCCESS in the state convention may depend on whether their States' Rights delegations from Harris, Tarrant, Dallas and Harrison are seated by the credentials committee.

An Associated Press survey of convention results shows at least 35 counties clearly pledged to President Truman and Senator Barkley.

Mon. 8-2-48

The same count shows nine counties clearly in the Dixiecrat column, and 11 sending uninstructed delegations.

DIXIECRATS ORGANIZE AT AUGUSTA

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta, Georgia

Electors Are Named; Major State Political Leaders Shun Meeting

Thur-10-14-48

Five parties today are assured of palces on Georgia's ballot for the November general election.

The Dixiecrats, last to qualify elector candidates for Nov. 2 vote, climaxed a one-day Stats convention yesterday in Augusta by filing a slate of electors with the Secretary of State in Atlanta at 5 p. m., just under the deadline.

Earlier, Henry Wallace was assured of a place on the ballot by the substituting of new electors to replace seven electors who were unwilling, "on principle," to sign anti-Communist affidavits.

The Georgia ballot, which measures three feet long and one and one-half feet wide, will list elector candidates of the Democratic Party, States' Rights Democrats of Georgia, the People's Progressive Party of Georgia and the Prohibition Party.

There also is a possibility that an independent party may attempt to qualify electors by mail postmarked before last night's deadline.

With only one-third of the anticipated 1,000 persons attending, the State Dixiecrat convention in Augusta joined Ed Willingham and Bill Congdon, both of the Augusta Cracker Party, in going through the formalities of placing presidential electors on the ballot.

No State-wide political figures were present. Conspicuously absent were former House Speaker Roy Harris, of Augusta, State Democratic Party leader whose firendship is claimed by the Dixiecrats, and former Rep. Bill Morris, who claimed the State Democratic Party Chairmanship under Acting Gov. Thompson and whose Augusta Chromicle is supporting the Dixiecrats.

Charles Bloch, of Macon, was the only leader in the State Democratic Executive Committee to openly come into the Dixiecratic Party. He accepted a post as elector. He was absent from the convention because of a religious observance.

Rep. Herschel Lovett, who was defeated for State Senate in the Democratic Primary in Laurens County, and Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, of Athens, cousin of Democratic Gov.-Nominate Herman Talmadge, were appointed by Willingham as National Committeeman and National Committeewoman to the States' Rights National Political Party.

Atlanta Ga

In addition to Bloch, Dixiecrat electors named were: Mrs. Talmadge; J. J. Brown, of McDuffie County; Charles Crisp, of Americus, son of the late Speaker of the National House of Representatives; E. B. Register, of Reidsville; J. E. Brooks, of Camilla; M. C. Roop, Chairman of Carroll County Commissioners; Durwood Pye, of Atlanta; Roy Dunn, of Macon; Isaac C. Adams, of Dalton; Ivy L. Echols, of Patterson, and George McFarlin, of Cumming.

The Progressive Party withdrew the following names: Robert E. Hawkes, Phillip J. Lorenz, Jr., Don West, Mrs. Lillie Akin, James Edwards, John W. Summerford, Jr., Archer Torrey and H. C. Anthony.

Its new electors are V. G. Fulmore, Mrs. James L. Barfoot, Mrs. Anita B. Rich, David H. Smith, Annie L. Griswold, Samuel W. Williams and Minnie Pratt.

Electors whose names were not withdrawn are Margaret Marshall, Herman Rich, C. T. Pratt, Edward Krick and Mrs. Maynard Jackson.

Co-Chairmen of the People's Progressive Party of Georgia, Larkin Marshall and C. T. Pratt, issued a statement regarding the new law requiring electors to sign anti-Communist affidavits.

It said that several of the original electors believed signing such an affidavit might be construed as disbelief in the right of labor to organize, social security benefits, the TVA project, farm support and rural electrification.

Meanwhile, Acting Gov. Thompson lashed out at Democratic Party Vice Chairman Charles Bloch who offered his name as a Dixiecrat elector, calling Bloch "turncoat Charlie."

Thompson's blast was in answer to the question: Can a man be a Democrat and Dixiecrat at the same time? Thompson reiterated a campaign statement in which he referred to Bloch as a "turn-coat."

"That name applies more than ever now," Thompson added.

The Acting Governor also singled out Democratic Elliott, of Co-Committeeman Bob Elliott, of Columbus, and Committeewoman Iris Blitch, of Homerville, saying, "They are supposed to be the spokesmen of the Democratic Party in Georgia. Their silence so far is making a noise loud enough so that it echoes will be heard down through the years."

In contrast, Talmadge said he had no comment on the Dixiecrats' meeting. He also had no comment on Bloch's apparent duality of membership.

Jim Peters, of Manchester, said he had been giving the matter considerable thought but had no statement to make at this time.

Contacted at Columbus, Elliott said he had no comment at this time on Thompson's remarks or on membership in the Democrat and the Dixiecrat Parties at the same time. Mrs. Blitch could not be reached at her home yesterday.

The Collaborating Opposition

The Lighthouse & Informer

Columbia, S.C.

Republicans and Dixiecrats ought to get together, (maybe they have) as they take the field to lambast President Truman and the Democratic party. They are making conflicting statements already, as to wit:

The Dixiecratic Charleston News and Courier, Monday, Sept. 20, says: "The Negroes have come into control of the Democratic party. Our authority for that statement is James F. Byrnes."

Sun 9-26-48

Friday, Sept. 17, Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president-treasurer of The Pittsburgh Courier, announcing that her paper was supporting Governor Dewey and the Republicans, made this illuminating and counter statement. "Negroes cannot hope to have their civil rights protected and their interests advanced through the Democratic Party so long as the South is in control of that party." (Her "South", of course, refers to southern whites.)

One of the two is lying, or perhaps more accurately, both.

Students Trained In Violence Tactics

Former Red Testifies Of Planned Sabotage

Journal - Sat 9-11-48

Norfolk - Va.

By NNPA News Service

NEW YORK—William O'Dell Nowell, a colored graduate of Moscow's Lenin School, testified at the closing session of a federal deportation hearing for Alexander Stevens, alias J V. Peters, described by witnesses as the boss of Russian secret police in the United States, that Peters was in charge of 35 American students at that institution for advanced revolutionary training in 1932.

Decision in the case was reserved. Peters is at liberty on $10,000 bail. It will take Ralph Barb, presiding inspector of the immigration naturalization service, about 10 days, to write his opinion.

COMMUNIST RECORD

Nowell, a member of the Communist Party from 1929 to 1936, said students at the Lenin School not only were taught theoretical Marxism-Leninism but were given practical instruction in the care and use of weapons, methods of sabotaging industry, transportation and communications, and the use of barricades for street fighting.

They were taught that international communism's only reason for being was to overthrow the capitalistic system by violent revolution and that the destruction of American capitalism was the No. 1 goal, Nowell testified.

Sat 9-11-48

The witness, who joined the party in Detroit and became secretary of its commission in charge of agitation and propaganda among colored people, pointed at Stevens and said he knew him as "J. V. Peters but not as Alexander Stevens or any of the other names used here."

MOSCOW MEETINGS

Nowell said he saw Peters at the party's national headquarters in New York City before going to the Lenin School in 1931 but did not meet him until Peters took charge of the American students there in 1932. In Moscow he saw Peters at least twice a week for about six weeks, Nowell testified.

Although he refused to take the stand and testify, after the hearing Peters issued a statement admitting that he was a Communist for many years but not saying whether he still is a member of the party.

Deportation proceedings were instituted against him on the ground that he is a subversive alien.

WILLIAM NOWELL

THOMAS L. STOKES

Atlanta Constitution

Will the Storm Gather Force?

Atlanta, Ga.

PHILADELPHIA—(This is a dispatch that might be dropped overboard in a bottle to wash up on some of our Southern or Northern shores any time in the weeks or months hence and it may look just like one in any other bottles that might have been fished out of the sea in the last hundred years.)

It is written in a storm, not a storm at sea, but a storm on a convention floor. Angry men and women are shouting, almost snarling, at each other over an issue that still isn't settled and bobs up every so often first to plague, then to break up for a time, one of our great political parties.

It is the great issue of human rights which rises eternally in one form or another.

State placards are bobbing angrily, too, like life preservers clutched frantically by men and women tossed into a raging sea from a sinking ship, and the simile seems apt, for there is something reminiscent of a sinking ship in this episode here.

By the time this dispatch gets to its destination, even by our fast modern communication system, the storm now raging before the eyes of this reporter will have long since passed. The Democratic Party will have adopted its platform, the civil rights plank of which is the cause of this storm. It will have its candidates for President and Vice President in Harry S. Truman and Sen. Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky. Southerners will have hurled their last defiant rebel yell and a corps of workmen who live by their muscles honestly and not by their wits precariously like politicians will have cleaned away the debris, the posters, the campaign buttons, to make the hall ready for another convention which will nominate two more men for President and Vice President in a third party—to reveal again the turmoil and uncertainty of the times in which we live.

Fri 7-16-48

This great hall here has seen some history in the last few weeks as perspiring men and women have sat here in the heat under the lights. For the first time, because of television, they have done their work, made their speeches and listened to speeches, boiled up in enthusiasm and anger, lke actors on a Hollywood set—in public view. And that, of itself, is a piece of history.

The Republicans were here first before the Democrats and the Henry Wallace third party comes next. The first and the last of these are not disturbed by the issue that is the cause of this storm here among the Democrats. Republicans settled it for themselves when Abraham Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation on Jan. 1, 1863, midway of the War Between the States, and therefore they can give it lip service constantly, year after year, without objection. It is accepted, too, by the Henry Wallace party.

But Democrats are still tortured with it because of their Southern wing, even though, as a number of speakers here have pointed out, their party has accomplished much in the last 16 years to break down racial and religious discriminations through the influence of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

But Harry S. Truman went the more politic

Franklin D. Roosevelt one better. He spelled it all out in very specific terms and asked Congress, bluntly, to make it the law of the land. So he raised up for himself the storm that rages about him here.

As we watch, the storm rises and then abates, and all in so short a time.

But the spectacle here is timeless, as timeless as the great fight for human rights. The scene is like something out of a history book, with only the costumes different. It might have been a convention in that troubled decade before the War Between the States when earnest men searched anxiously for compromise on an issue that won't be compromised. The same bitter words were said.

The Whig Party tried to compromise it, and withered away in the process. A new party was born and became strong because it would not compromise it, and that party since has ruled periodically for long stretches and seems now on the verge of returning to power again, though not, of course, only because of that issue.

The Democratic Party finally splintered off into three national conventions in 1860 and was not able to pull itself together for a long time afterward, for this is an issue that tears men apart so they cannot work together in peace.

Again the Southerners talk of another convention of their own—of going down to Birmingham.

Fri 7-16-48

Why don't they go to Montgomery where the Confederate States of America was created? The cycle would be complete.

Terrified Senator Bolts Back To Democrats

WASHINGTON—(AP)—President Truman Thursday received a public promise of at least voting support from one of the Southern rebels, Senator A. Willis Robertson (D), Virginia.

"I have been a Democrat all my life and intend to vote the Democratic ticket this Fall" the junior Virginia senator announced in a statement through his office here.

At the same time Robertson made it plain that he "thoroughly disagrees" with Mr. Truman on the issue of civil and states' rights and also opposes the 1948 Democratic platform pledge to repeal the Taft-Hartley Labor Act.

LENA HORNE

. . . her support of Wallace earned her a place on the board of directors of the new third party. (Story on front page)

Sat 7-24-48

New York Herald Tribune

A Negro Boy Turns Left

N.Y. Herald T

Youthbuilders' Director Gives Case History of Walter Wallace, Victim of Communist Exploitation

N.Y. N.Y.

Sun. 9-5-48

To the New York Herald Tribune:

I was much interested in Dorothy Brandon's article in the Herald Tribune on Friday, Aug. 27, 1948, commenting on the activities of a Columbia University student, Walter Wallace, in connection with the meeting of the National Students Association at the University of Wisconsin.

Miss Brandon's article makes it apparent to a discerning reader that young Wallace is a victim of the Communist exploitation which seeks to prey upon those who, like this boy, or like Thomas Patrick O'Dea, who was a primary organizer of the old Young Communist League in Boston, have suffered from imperfections such as racial or religious discrimination, which we Americans have not yet succeeded in eliminating from our way of life.

I can speak with some familiarity of Walter Wallace's case, because as a boy in the public schools of New York he was for a time a member of a Youthbuilder unit. I believe it may be important to list some of the factors which have contributed to his present inability to distinguish between democracy and dictatorship. Perhaps his case may serve as one example of how we are failing both our youth and our country in this critical period of our history by omitting from our educational processes training which will permit young people first, to recognize the face of the enemy, and secondly, to combat it through the use of democratic methods.

Walter LaRay Wallace was the fifth of a family of seven, living in the usual crowded quarters allotted to Negroes. He was descended from Toussaint L'Ouverture and Alexandre Dumas, and his father, who had wanted to become a doctor, was, when well, a mimeograph operator. Walter, who had an I. Q. of somewhere around 160, attended the Speyer School for Gifted Children, which was an experimental project run by the New York City Board of Education in co-operation with Teachers' College of Columbia University. He also attended the High School of Music and Art, which, again, is run for children of high mental endowment and special creative talents.

These facts would indicate that intellect alone and the most superior academic training alone are insufficient to insulate young people from the blandishments of those who lightly promise easy pie in the sky—abolition of the draft, peace and racial equality—tomorrow.

When Walter Wallace asked Youthbuilders in 1946 if we would be willing to finance his trip to the Prague student convention, we agreed, in the hope that seeing some of the rest of the world, not in a geography book but with his own eyes, would broaden his thinking. However, one of the discoveries he made on the trip was that the only places in Europe he was not welcome were places where Americans were in charge. Sun 9-5-48

Moreover, his Youthbuilder training while in high school was abruptly interrupted when the education authorities discontinued the activity in his school at a point where Negro and white students who had been discussing discrimination in relation to the United States Constitution became interested in trying to correct student-imposed patterns of segregation of Negroes in their own school cafeteria.

These are two environmental experiences, which, to any sensitive youngster, would appear to contradict, in practice, the concept of concern for human dignity which civics and American history teach, in theory, as the basis for our form of government.

Like Walter Wallace, too few young Americans have had any chance to learn that such contradictions can be best resolved through a more vigorous use of the democratic process by all of us—that democracy is a discipline which works for us when we work for it.

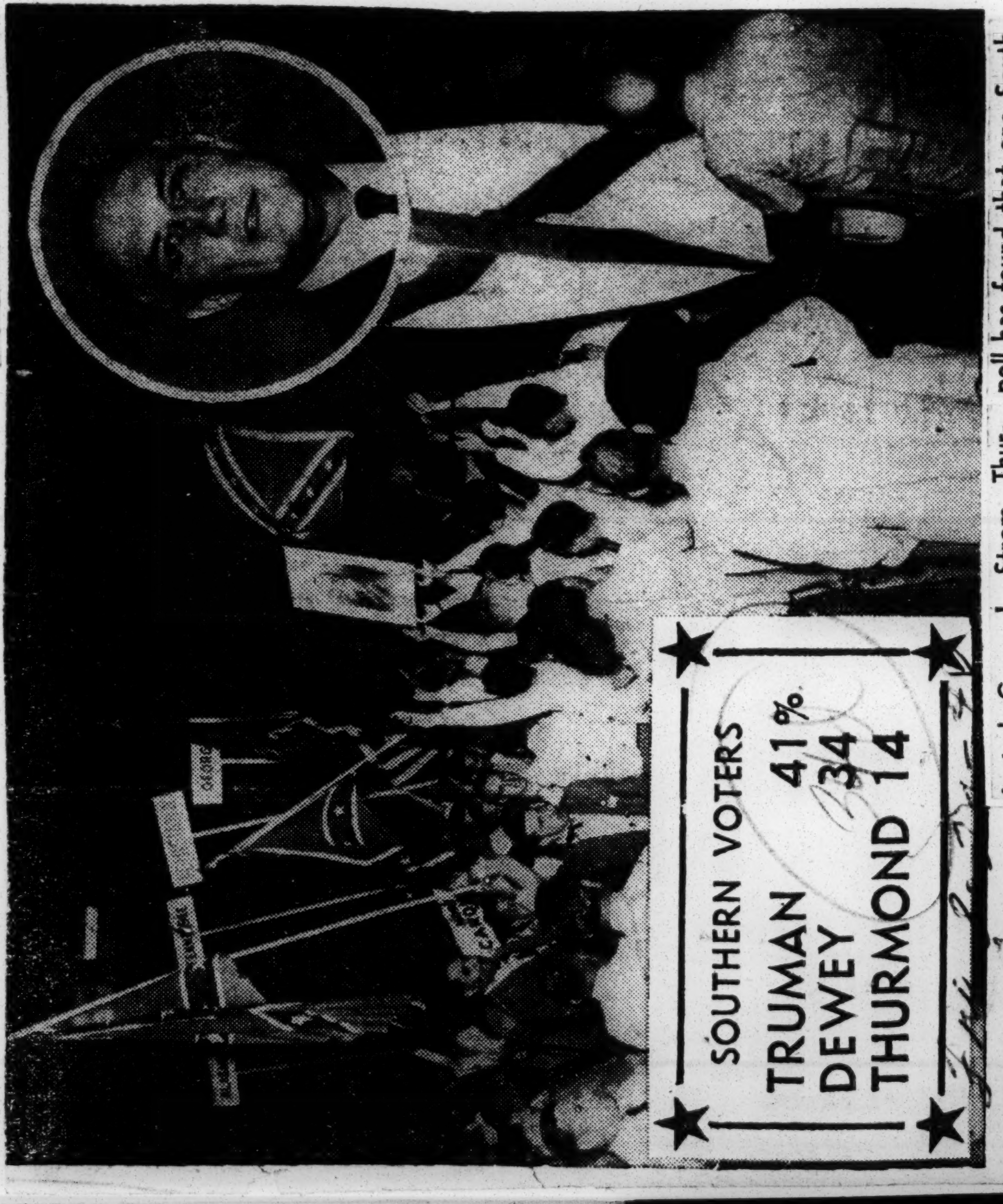
Unlike training in the skills of grammar and arithmetic, training in the skills of democratic action is not considered a fundamental part of the learning process, but is too often relegated to extra-curricular periods and looked upon as a kind of game in which students become "Governor for the day" or organize a "Mock City Council."

It is not, however, fair to place on educators full responsibility for inadequacy in training for positive, active Americanism. The American community, by and large, has not permitted public education to become an experimental field. When former United States Commissioner of Education John Studebaker attempted to prepare material which would give children a more practical understanding of the insidiousness of communism as contrasted with the values of democracy, his effort was halted in mid-air by the characteristic American objection that the issue of communism should be left to the F. B. I. and the State Department!

This—at a time when the growth of such organizations as American Youth for Democracy and the Young Progressives for Wallace underscore the urgent need for devising more realistic methods of teaching American youth to recognize totalitarianism, under whatever mask.

We of Youthbuilders are trying to help children who are obvious prey for Communist propaganda, because of resentment against such injustices as being barred from carrying the American flag in a school assembly because of the color of their skin. We are trying to help some children who have already been victimized by such organizations as American Youth for Democracy. In some cases we have succeeded in providing the democratic balance. One alumnus of Youthbuilder training has taken the lead in fighting communism on the campus of Brooklyn College. Others are in radio work and are turning out programs for church groups dealing with the need for wider application to contemporary life of religious and democratic ethics. Sun 9-5-48

We agree with the statement of Representative F. Edward Hebert, member of the House Un-American Activities Committee from Louisiana, who, after hearing Miss Elizabeth Bentley testify that she was never taught Americanism in school, stated, "We don't devote enough attention to the education of our children. We assume a child knows what Americanism and democracy are, but we never explain what living in a democracy means."



DIXIECRATS' STRENGTH—Enthusiastic convention of States' Rights Democrats nominated Gov. J. Strom Thurmond for President at Birmingham in July. A special Gallup poll has found that one Southern voter in seven favors Thurmond at this time.

34d 1948

General

Daily Worker, New York, Wed 7-

WALLACE ATTACKED BY NEGRO LEADER

Times

Accused of 'Muddling' Political Waters by Walter White Before NAACP Meeting

New York N.Y.

By GEORGE STREATOR

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

KANSAS CITY, June 22—Walter F. White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, chided Henry A. Wallace and his supporters today for starting a third party. Addressing the annual meeting of the association, Mr. White said that the Wallace movement would lead to the return of "a more conservative" Congress than the one just ended.

He was aware, he said, of a lot of "beautiful pledges" made by the Republicans in 1944, and called them a yardstick for measuring political parties and candidates. Except for a handful of Negro political leaders "seeking handouts," he said that the time had passed when any party could capture the Negro vote on the basis of its quadrennial platform.

He regretted that the "Wallace crowd" had "muddled" the political waters of the Negro organizations instead of working to reward the good and defeat the bad "friends of the Negro."

Mr. White accused northern Republicans of combining with southern Democrats to defeat legislation for a permanent Federal Employment Practice Committee, and measures to end lynching and the poll tax. He said that Negroes generally would look askance at any platform that the Republicans might now endorse.

He said that the association would "study as never before" the records of each member of the Congress, with an eye on the voting record, especially on housing and the measures advocated to end race segregation in the armed forces.

NYT 6-23-48

The place of the Wallace people in the convention was described as "strong, but not antagonistic," by John Hammond Jr., of New York City, who is a member of the State Political Action Committee. He expressed doubt that there would be "a wholehearted endorsement of President Truman by the association."

Mr. White read a letter from President Truman which said, in part: "This country and its people have one great goal in the conduct of our national affairs: the development of a moral order based on freedom and equality.

"That is the only way in which lasting peace can be brought to the world. That is the only way to fulfill our hopes for a more perfect democracy in our own country.

"Freedom and equality are not easily won. We have much work to do here at home as well as over seas, but the people as a whole are determined to win them. We will never cease trying to win the M and I for will for one will never lose confidence that we can win them."

6-23-48

Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary, told the night session that the association was flatly opposed to racial segregation in all its forms.

He said that many Negroes and Southern whites have been pulling together on large public issues, pointing out that Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, and Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Democratic leader from Harlem, "both supported the public housing measures."

Association records revealed a membership of about 580,000. Because of "a financial crisis," the asmsociation moved to wipe out $1 memebrships, the source of most of the organization finances. A resolution to place membership at a $2 minimum was proposed by the executive secretary, who said that "for too many years the Negro has paid for what he wanted and begged for what he needs."

Star

NAACP Lashes GOP on Equality

New York

34d

Thur. 6-24-48

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 23 (UP)—Negroes were urged to continue fighting for equal rights by political means at national levels.

Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, attacked bitterly the Republicans, "some Decocrats," and Jim Crowism in his keynote address at the NAACP's 39th annual conference.

Wilkins said he could not talk with restraint on segregation. But, he added, "you know the story: discrimination, cruelty, gross unfairness, humiliation, beatings, shootings, slander and plain murder."

He praised President Truman for his "courage" in handling the civil rights report, but lashed Republicans for their failure, despite two years of control of Congress to pass "an anti-lynching bill, an anti-poll tax bill, or a fair employment practice bill"—all pledged in the GOP 1944 platform.

Understanding the Negro Question

By Eugene Gordon

THE Draft Resolution by the National Committee for the National Convention says: "The intensified attacks upon the Negro people demonstrate clearly the growth of imperialist reaction and national oppression in the United States. The Negro people are experiencing the most extreme, the most brutal, manifestation of the growing fascist danger, especially in the South. The cynical demagogy of Truman's Rights Committee Report and the GOP's election promises stand exposed by the refusal of the Truman administration and the Republican-controlled Congress to fight for anti-polltax, anti-lynching and FEPC legislation, as well as by the callous refusal of the President, as Commander-in-Chief, to abolish Jimcrow in the armed forces. Hence the crucial and decisive importance of the national liberation struggles of the Negro people for the American people as a whole and for the democratic forces everywhere."

Daily Worker

New York

7-28-48

The sickening stench of racist propaganda, engendering mistrust, suspicion, hatred and action against Negroes throughout the United States, has its inspirational origin in the miasmic swamps of exploitation and oppression in the Black Belt South. The source of infection will remain until the swamps have been drained and cleared and the Black Belt reclaimed for the people who call it their home.

We sometimes mistakenly presume that our membership on the whole understands the Communist Party program of struggle for Negro rights. We all should know that program, as outlined in the resolution "On the Question of Negro Rights and Self-Determination" (December, 1946); but our central task with reference to that question remains to show our membership that the Negro people in the Black Belt are a nation according to scientific, Marxist definition.

Daily Worker

New York

OUR EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT has the responsibility, in brief, of showing our membership: (1) by what processes the Negroes of the Black Belt are developing full nationhood; (2) how they themselves have **already** expressed, in various ways (and are continuing to express), their desire to be a people; (3) how the slogan of the right of self-determination should be raised; (4) why the concept of a Black Belt nation and the Negroes' fight for full economic, political and social rights as citizens of the United States are NOT contradictory.

Wed 7-28-4

Our educational department, I feel sure, will see the need of clarifying these (and other) issues among our membership and will immediately begin doing so.

We Communists consider the struggle for Negro rights an essential part of the struggle for peace as against war, and for democracy as against fascism, for the following practical reasons. The Communist Party's guiding principle on the national question must be to draw together the proletarians, as well as the semi-proletarians, of the various nationalities for the purpose of waging a joint struggle to defeat the landlords and the bourgeoisie. The Negro people, owing to their economic, social and political position as a doubly exploited and doubly oppressed people, and, because they are a struggling mass of approximately 10 percent of the population, are one of the most potent factors in the general struggle for a lasting peace through a people's democracy toward socialism.

Daily Worker

As the "Resolution on the Question of Negro Rights and Self-Determination" declares: "In recognizing the struggle for equal rights in the South as a movement toward nationhood, the Communist Party supplies new power to the Negro liberation movement and also advances the perspective of full freedom for the Negro people." That resolution adds: "This understanding, growing out of a constant fight for Negro rights, strengthens white and Negro solidarity, based firmly on working class unity, and provides the program of permanent alliance between the Negro and the white masses."

New York N.Y.

Wed 7-28-48

We Communists consider the struggle for Negro rights essential, finally, because "Labor in the white skin can never be free so long as labor in the black skin is branded."

OUR STRUGGLE for the democratic rights of the Negro people, inside and outside the Black Belt, helps the Black Belt realize the fact of its nationhood. That is important, because it stimulates the desire of the majority there to fight for its right to govern itself.

Anti-people, and especially anti-Negro, reaction, cannot be defeated as a whole, nor can the "backward and diseased conditions of the South" be cured and the struggle for Negro rights be won, unless we carry on at the same time a fight for basic land reforms in the Deep South. If we show the people of the Black Belt that their right to vote and to hold office goes hand in hand with their right to own the land they have lived on for 300 years, we shall bring black and white sharecroppers and farmhands, as well as Black Belt urban workers, into that broad labor-progressive coalition we need to destroy fascism.

It seems to me that linking together our efforts to build a Third Party movement and our struggle for Negro rights will set us on the highway toward a widely-embracing people's coalition and a popular front government. Election of a Third Party candidate this year would thrust us into headlong contact with war-breeding monopolies. Four Third-Party years of bitter struggle against these enemies would convince most of the people of the United States that return to the jackass and elephant era was unthinkable. They would have nowhere to go thereafter but forward, and forward would be toward a people's front government and the highroad to socialism.

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

The masses of white and of black workers and poor farmers and farmhands in the South would enthusiastically support the Third Party movement if they saw that it was a movement leading toward land for the land-hungry. The brutally repressive and exploitative conditions imposed by United States imperialism on the people if the Black Belt place the Negro majority and the white minority there in a position, objectively, strikingly similar to that of the Jewish majority and the Arab minority in Palestine before the partition. This similarity is not lost upon these people, and they can be shown how to draw the right conclusions.

WE MUST OURSELVES, however, master the Marxist theory of struggle on behalf of oppressed nations and national minorities. We shall master this theory, of course, in struggle—that is, in practice—itself. We shall lead the Negro outside the Black Belt in all the fights in which he engages as a national minority and as a worker. We shall lead in smashing the fascist myth of the right of white supremacy; and we shall make this phase of our struggle easier both by improving the contents of Party literature (including that excellent pamphlet **Theory and Practice of the Communist Party**) already written on the Negro question and by writing additional literature.

Wed 7-28-48

If we Communists do these things we shall inevitably destroy all traces of the white-superiority myth in our ranks; we shall prevent the Negro falling under the influence of Negro "leaders" of reaction; and we shall reclaim the Black Belt for the people who love it as their homeland.

Walter White

Chi. Defender

Sat 8-7-48

DOTHAN PAPER PAPER 'INFURIATED'

THE Dothan, Alabama, **Eagle**, indignant at the civil rights plank in the Democratic platform and infuriated by rejection of a states rights plank, has announced its support of Dewey and Warren.

Whatever its motives, the **Eagle** is unwittingly doing a great service to the Southern Negro. A real two party system in the South will magnify many times the political power of the Southern Negro, and, by splitting the white vote, give the Negro vote the potential balance of power in many state and local elections.

This is probably the last thing on earth that newspapers like the **Eagle** desire. But if they are successful in their crusade, they will materially help the South to get rid of its cheap demagogues and thereby help to make the South a decent place and a much more intelligent region.

'THE EAGLE'S OPINION'

The **Eagle** in an editorial announcing its new political stand winds up in this bombastic and inaccurate fashion:

"And though Democratic office-holders of Alabama will in the coming general election strive mightily to herd voters back into the Democratic party with lusty rebel yells and mighty waving of the bloody shirt, this newspaper will not again be pilloried by Democrats of the stripe of Walter White and Harry Truman. This time, come hell or high water, we're supporting the Republicans—Governor Dewey and Warren."

For the record this commentator wants to inform the editor of the Dothan **Eagle** that he is neither a Democrat or a Republican. He abandoned party labels as being insignificant many years ago, just as have most other Negroes. On the issue of definitive action against lynching, disfranchisement, segregation, job and educational inequality, he is delighted to be bracketed with President Truman.

MAY BE 2-PARTY SECTION

But this commentator is pleased, entirely from racial reasons which would increase the independence and power of the Southern Negro vote, that the South may become a two party section even though its motives may be as unworthy as are those of the editor of the Dothan **Eagle**. When the times comes that two reasonably well matched political parties vie for public support in the South, then the ranting demagogues who have made the South and America ridiculous will tend to disappear. That will make life better for all concerned.

Election Unit Can Rule, N. C. Attorney Contends

Columbia Record

Fri 8-20-48

RALEIGH, N. C., Aug. 20.—(AP)—Attorney General Harry McMullan argued today that the state board of elections has legal authority to make "reasonable" rules in carrying out its duty of enforcing the election laws.

The argument was made to Judge W. C. Harris in Wake Superior Court as the States Rights Democrats sought to have the court order the state board of elections place its candidates on the general election ballot.

Raymond Maxwell, election board secretary, was called to testify that he had received petitions bearing names of 12,514 persons certified as registered voters since the States Righters' petitions were returned to be checked by county elections boards. Petitions bearing more than 18,000 names were presented the board originally put the petition was turned down because they had not been checked.

McMullan argued that under the law, it is the duty of the elections board to make regulations for the formation of new parties applicable to all groups alike.

He also argued, in upholding the elections board rule that the petion signers must not have voted in primaries this year, that the law does not intend voters to have the right to participate in the nomination of two sets of candidates for the same election.

The States Rights Democrats are trying to get places on the ballot for its candidates—Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for president and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi for vice president.

The elections board on Aug. 3 denied the party recognition after ruling that it had failed to comply with requirements of law and rules and regulations of the board.

State law requires that to obtain recognition, a new party must present petitions signed by 10,000 qualified voters at least 90 days before the general election. Regulations adopted by the board last March 20 require that the signers be registered voters who did not vote in this year's primaries and that the petitions be checked by county elections boards before presentation so that the eligibility of petitioners can be certified.

The States' Righters had presented petitions bearing more than 18,000 names. They had not been checked.

The party's action contends that its petitions met requirements of the law and that the board is not empowered to adopt the regulations under which recognition was withheld.

The state will answer, according to Attorney General Harry McMullan, that the board's rules and regulations are "reasonable and necessary" and that it does have legal authority to adopt them.

Strange Epistle

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Mon. 6-28-48

Editor Constitution: Just received a letter of six closely writen pages sent out by one signing his name B. E. Christian, with nothing to show any definite address.

It begins with a tirade against Russia and Communism which may be true. I don't know about that, but he comes on down and says that New York has been in the hands of "Communists" for 15 years and Georgia for five years. How he rants about Gene giving his life fighting for white supremacy. I wonder if there is a person in the world that has got little enough sense to think that "white supremacy" has ever been in the least danger?

This guy even misquotes Scripture to carry on his arguments by claiming the word "chaff" means Negro. (Such silly, crazy, ridiculous stuff.)

The way he links up Henry Wallace, Ellis Arnall, M. E. Thompson, E. D. Rivers and drags them up and down the rough road he has filled up with boulders is one more terrible sight to behold.

I don't think that any one with sense enough to know how to read will be fool enough to fall for such stuff, surely.

Lebanon. W. M. COX.

The Defender

Sat 3-6-48

MIAMI, Fla.—Mrs. Merritt W. Wallace of Augusta, Ga., formerly of Chicago, thrilled the hearts of Floridians last week, in the magic city of Miami, where she spoke on several occasions for the Republican party.

Mrs. Wallace and her husband Merritt W. Wallace, prominent business and fraternal leader of Augusta, and also the Rev. and Mrs. G. L. Gaines of Augusta, attended the conference of the National Progressive Voters League at the Mt. Zion Baptist church, Feb. 15 to 18.

There were delegates and representatives from at least eleven of the southern states. Mrs. Wallace is to be remembered as Beatrice Tartt, who worked for three and half years as am employee of the department of public welfare as an appointee of Gov. Dwight H. Green.

She is well known among leaders of the Republican party and has established herself among voters of both Illinois and Missouri.

Mrs. Wallace has worked in many of the counties of Georgia, encouraging Negroes to register and vote. She hopes to help elect a Republican president this year.

While in Miami, she spoke on the same platform with the Elks' Grand Exalted Ruler, J. Finley Wilson, and also the National Republican Committeeman from the State of Florida.

Voice Of The People

A Man Without A Party

To the Editor of The News:

I am 78 years of age, born and reared in North Alabama, a life-long national Jeffersonian Democrat. I have voted in every national election since I was 21 years old. But the demagogues of Alabama have deprived me of the privilege of voting for the leader of the true Democratic Party in November. I am a man without a party in Alabama.

I was in the Birmingham Auditorium the day the Dixiecrats were born. It was jammed full of people. All looked as if they were cultured and well informed on the political issues. The speakers were educated and seemed to be qualified to lead the audience on to a high level of political decency, but all of them made misleading statements and it was obvious that their motive was to get the audience confused and to arouse race hatred.

Ex-Gov. Dixon seemed to have had most of the audience believing that if Truman was elected he would put Negro teachers in all white schools in proportion to population. They did not seem to realize that we have a House and Senate, and that it is a move to split the South and let the Republicans in. If they get control, there will be some laws passed that will be detrimental to the South.

But, why so many parties and agitators? For centuries Europe, Asia and Africa have had and still have many political parties. All had leaders, all claimed to represent the best interest of all the people. They have kept the people so confused and demoralized that it always ends—for a short time—in bloody war, and renewed in the next generation. It seems that we are traveling the same road at a rapid gait. The present conditions in France, Italy, Colombia and Guatemala gives us a picture of what our own country may be in the next generation if we continue to be led by those who are seeking to undermine our confidence as to what democracy and Christianity really means.

We have too many parties. We need two strong parties nearly equally divided in each of the 48 states, especially in seven Southern states. A one-party system in a state or nation becomes corrupt, tyrannical, and has the scent of atheism and communism. All Democrats should be true to the party, especially in states were they can vote for the party. In Alabamayou are denied that privilege. I for one and for the first time in life will vote a Republican ticket, and so will many Southern Democrats. J. RICE HORTON.

Birmingham, Route 5, Box 210.

Jennings Perry

A LEFT AND RIGHT APPEAR ON U.S. SCENE

Win Star (34d) gen

With only brown October to go, the stream of the 1948 campaign is steadily uncoiling in a manner which, all who have only as much as a stepladder to look down from may, behold and appreciate. The true division of our political thinking resolves out of the confusion of party names. We are approaching a discernible left and right in the United States, and this is in the direction of simple honesty.

It is plain how that on the left lie the Democratic Party, the Progressives and the Socialitists; on the right the Republican Party and the Dixiecrats. The demarcation is sharpest, of course, on the line of purely domestic concerns. The foreign policy overlap of the major parties smudges the picture at the top, leaving only the Progressives in distinct opposition. What is new and perhaps most significant in the 1948 scene is the emergence of the Democratic Party, with its fringes shorn away, as the largest homogeneous political organization in the land. The Republican Party, on the other hand, has become the catch-all party, with a temporary gain in numbers inevitably ~~temporary~~ offset, for the long pull, by the necessity of compromise--and of outright hypocrisy--that the coalition role imposes.

GOOD OLD TIDELANDS OIL

There no longer is any room for the make believe that the GOP and the Dixiecrats are not one sentimental family, that the Dixiecrats are merely Democrats who happen this year to be fellow-travelling with the Republican Party because of a shared dislike for Harry Truman personally. Most of the Dixiecrats voted Republican in '36, '40 and '44. Their newspaper support in the South comes from that part of the press which never could hide its resentment of the New Deal. Their financial support comes from the same industrial interests whose home offices in the East invest heavily--and regularly--in the Republican campaigns.

It is confessional and revelatory that in badgering Mr. Truman to debate his civil rights program the Dixiecrat presidential candidate J. Strom Thurmond never forgets to include an invitation to the President to discuss his veto of the Tidelands Oil Bill which, though its connection with white supremacy is not immediately visible, seeks to open the nation's offshore natural resources to the exploitation of the great oil companies.

REECE VYING WITH DIXIECRATS

It is an equally compelling evidence of the close political collaboration of the Republicans and the Southern Tories when on the other side of the street we find the former Republican National Chairman B. Carroll Reece, until just the other day the party's voluble spokesman and now Republican nominee for the U.S. Senate in Tennessee eagerly vying with Dixiecrat orators in extolling "states rights" and in denouncing FEPC, anti-lynch and poll tax reforms--all pledged nevertheless in the platform of his party and championed, at least for the record, no less by Mr. Dewey than by Mr. Truman.

The Republicans are aware, even if some prejudice-blinded Southerners are not, that a Dixiecrat vote is a Republican vote. Later on they will discover that their two-faced play on prejudice is bringing into their ranks a far more indigestible minority than the Democratic Party had in the elements that have broken off after Henry Wallace. For, though even the Progressives note that the Democratic platform blankets their own, with the exception of foreigh- relations, and there really is no irremediable incompatibility between their group and the Democratic fold, the Republicans hardly can hope to get along far with their Southern fellow travellers whose racial feelings are being coddled for the sake of the oil companies and the power trusts.

SENSIBLE DIVISION

The pilots of our new airliners at 20,000 feet probably can see the political separation in progress better than the earthbound. But among the rest of us those, from whom the movement of events is not entirely hidden by the parade of party names must espy--with gratification--the growing realignment of the electorate according to philosophical, instead of party, loyalties. For such a division makes sense, and gives added leverage to the popular choice.

CLAIMS PDP SPLIT

Going further, the newspaper said: "The Wallace third party movement threatens to split the South Carolina Progressive Democratic Party, currently trying to gain legal status in the white Democratic Party".

Atlanta Daily World

Fri 1-16-48

The newspaper then quoted Chairman McCray as saying that Wallace supporters would press for alliance between his group and PDP at the next executive meeting, adding that some South Carolina Negroes have been impressed by campaign literature sent them by the third party group.

Atlanta Dai

ENVISIONS PLOT

In denying the Observer report that Wallace had "angled" for the support of state Negroes, Mr. McCray termed it a "distortion of truth and facts". There is no evidence

"Our people are busy preparing to vote the rest of the way in to the

Democratic party: "I think many of our members may wish Mr. Wallace well but I don't think they are going to support his candidacy, largely because they are always committed to the Democratic Party," he said.

Fri 7-16-48

Atlanta Ga

WOULD EMBARRASS

The newsstory, he said, could "embarrass our [illegible] and insinuate that they are Communists and polygots. That may have been its purpose," he concluded.

STATES' RIGHTERS TO CARRY FIGHT ALL OVER SOUTH

Southern Press Critical of Revold, Laney Goes Home, Other~~s~~ Leaders Are Wary

The Herald Tribune

by David McConnell

Mon 7-19-48

New York City

Birmingham, Ala., July 18__Anti-Truman Democrats planned today to march their "white supremacy" banner through every state of the South to rally traditionally Democratic party voters behind their "states' rights" candidates for President and Vice-President.

With a cushion of twenty Mississippi and Alabama Presidential electoral votes assured, Governor J. Strom Thurman of South Carolina, states' rights Presidential aspirant, said he will launch a speaking campaign through the South to win support fro the revolt against President Truman's nomination by the Democrats.

From the convention yesterday which nominated Governor Thurmond, with Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi as the Vice-Presidential candidate, the states' righters said their campaign will go into the back yard of President Truman in Missouri and the home territory of the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate, Senator Alben Barkley, of Kentucky.

Mon 7-19-48

Bitterness against the President and his strong civil rights program smoldered under a hot Southern sun today as some cracks appeared in what the states' rights group hope can be made a solid-South revolt against the party they have backed since Civil War days.

Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas, one of the organizers of the anti-Truman revolt, took a second look at the rebel bolters and returned to Little Rock after announcing that whatever is done must be done through and by the official Democratic organization in each state. Governor Laney announced and then withdrew his candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination at the national convention in Philadelphia last week.

The Herald Tribune

540

In a prepared statement yesterday he warned the South against "hasty action" and asserted that the South's immediate concern should be to defeat the President's proposed civil rights legislation. The Governor remained at the Tutwiler Hotel here yesterday rather than appear at the convention held in the municipal auditorium.

Mon 7-19-48

With Governor Laney, reportedly casting an eye on the 1950 Senatorial race in his state, going back to the "party regulars," the states' righters also were receiving little editorial support in Southern newspapers today.

"The Birmingham Age-Herald" said that it agrees with many Southern leaders that they "must exemplify their conception of the demands of reasonable party loyalty" by sticking to the Truman banner.

From Tennessee, "The Memphis Commercial Appeal" said the revolt must be "regarded with far more interest and respect than if it had jumped up over night in the heat of sudden anger." But the paper held out little hope for a first-rate Southern revolt.

Refers to "Irony of Split"

In a discussion of the Democratic National Convention, "The Atlanta Journal" thought it "pitiful irony" that the party should be split "by an issue (civil rights) which would easily have been adjusted."

Mon 7-19-48

The Thurmond-Wright ticket got another jolt when Southern leaders such as Edward H. Crump, of Memphis, and the Virginia organization of Senator Harry F. Byrd showed no interest in the revolt. Mayor James Pleasants of Memphis, the Crump emissary at a states' rights meeting May 10 in Jackson, Miss., did not show up for the session yesterday.

Undaunted, the states' righters contend that their job between now and Oct. 1, when a ratifying convention is scheduled to be held in Birmingham, will be to fight for grass-roots support behind Governor Thurmond and Governor Wright. Should the movement falter, it is understood the two Governors may use the October meeting to lead their faction back into the party fold.

Gerald L. K. Smith, national director of the Christian National Crusade, announced today he had atetnded the convention as a delegate from Oklahoma. He promised to urge his organization of "three million" to support the "states' rights principle in every state."

"Our followers believe that the Negro and Jew are exerting too much control in American politics," Mr. Smith asserted. He promised to enlist the support of Governor Earl Long of Louisiana for Governors Thurmond and Wright. He said the "New York Jews are the ones who are manipulating Truman and Dewey in an effort to exploit in their favor the Negro vote."

Mon 7-19-48

Made up principally of Southern Democrats who opposed the late President Roosevelt's New Deal, the states'-righters also have many a defeated office holder within their ranks. Among them are Alfalfa Bill Murray, former Governor of Oklahoma, and Sam Houston Jones, defeated in the recent Louisiana gubernatorial race by Governor Long.

A state-by-state check shows that Governors Thurmond and Wright start their campaign with the solid backing of Mississippi's nine Presidential electors and Alabama's eleven. Democrats in both states elected members of the Electorial College pledged against President Truman.

Louisiana's ten votes are uncommitted but will follow the dictates of Governor Long, while the states'-rights ticket may pick up four of Florida's eight votes, perhaps all. Four are pledged to oppose the President while the others are reported on the fence.

Arkansas Seen for Truman

With Governor Laney's action it is expected the nine Arkansas votes will stick with President Truman, as wil lthe twelve votes of Tennessee despite Mr. Crump's announced dislike of the Administration. Both factions in Georgia Democratic circles, Governor M. E. Thompson and Herman Talmadge oppose a bolt.

Mon 7-19-48

Governor Thurmond expects to get South Carolina's eight electoral ballots despite an outbreak of the traditional fight between upland and lowland Democrats in the state.

The new ticket admits it will have tough sledding in North Carolina, with fourteen votes; Virginia, eleven; Oklahoma, ten; Kentucky, fifteen, and Missouri, eleven.

A second look at yesterday's convention and a check of registrations showed only Alabama and Mississippi attended with substantial delegations and office holders. With some exceptions, other states were represented by out-of-town visitors, the curious and scores of college students who injected most of the tumult into the meeting.

Florida had three electors present and Louisiana one. Texas sent several of the delegates who attended the Democratic National Convention, but with Senator Tom Connally and Representative Sam Rayburn, minority leader of the House of Representatives, opposing a bolt, the state was reported standing firm behind the President.

Arkansas and Tennessee had one delegate each from the national convention present, but the Tennessee representative is reported to have refused to sit in his state's section.

"NEGRO VICE-PRESIDENT BY 1960"—McWILLIAMS

340

CHICAGO.—"A Negro will be vice president of the United States in the next twelve years," predicts sociologist and best-selling author Carey McWilliams in April Negro Digest and adds that "other Negroes will be in the cabinet and on the supreme court bench."

Weekly Review

Sat 3-6-48

"Since Negroes have the balance of political power in a close election," the Negro Digest article declares, "it is not far-fetched to assert that a Negro with important labor connections will be occupying the office of vice-president in 1960."

Chicago Ill

Virgin Islands Governor William Hastie, Charles Houston and Loren Miller are the lawyers named by McWilliams as definite supreme court prospects. He rules out the possibility of a Negro holding the cabinet post of Army, Navy Commerce, Interior or State at first, but sees appointment soon in either Labor or as Postmaster General, or some new cabinet post.

"There will, of course, be quite a number of Negroes in Congress," McWilliams continues. "And at the state and local levels, there will be numerous Negro legislators, mayors judges, sheriffs, constables, and so forth.

"In short," he concludes, "I am very optimistic about the future political prospects for the Negro.

States Righters Set Off Racial Merry-Go-Round

Columbia Record

Thur 8-5-48

The States Rights Democratic ticket of Thurmond and Wright continues to gather steam—in the South.

The Alabama Democratic party has pledged its 11 electoral votes to the States Rights candidates and Alabama Democrats when they cast their ballots will be voting for Thurmond and Wright whether they know it or not.

Mississippi's Democratic party added nine more electoral votes Tuesday when its reconvened convention made Thurmond and Wright the party's nominees for the presidency and vice presidency. Mississippi's Democrats when they support the party ticket will be voting States Rights also.

And one of Florida's Democratic electors has announced his support of the Thurmond-Wright ticket. Three others are against Truman. Florida, of course, may vote Republican instead.

South Carolina's Democratic electors will also probably be pledged to the States Righters. Either the convention can be reconvened to pledge the party to the Thurmond-Wright ticket or the state executive committe, empowered to name the electors, may instruct them to vote for the States Rights candidates.

In North Carolina the States Rights Democrats have been denied a place on the state ballot. They did not have time to have their petition checked by the county election boards. So they are planning an appeal to the North Carolina courts. Already there are three parties in North Carolina—the Democratic party, the Republican party and the Progressive party, which spent $3,000 to get the names on its petition checked as the board of elections required. And if the States Righters also get on the ticket there will be four parties—the Republicans and three others splitting the normal Democratic vote. In this case the Republicans might win in North Carolina.

The States Rights party may get on the ballot in Louisiana, although it will not have the support of the regular Democratic in that state. It may get on the ballot in Texas where it has the support of a minority of the regular Democratic organization. What the result will be in Georgia will probably depend upon the outcome of the Georgia gubernatorial race. Georgia's party leaders have been very cagey about making commitments in advance of the primary.

But even so the State Righters will not affect the result of the election. They cannot unless they could hope to divert support from Dewey as well as Truman. And all they are doing is getting Southern—i. e. normally Democratic—votes. And they are egging the Democratic organization on to further efforts to offset these losses by new endeavors to capture the Northern Negro vote. It was announced Wednesday that the Democratic party was abolishing racial segregation in its headquarters staff and appointing a Negro assistant to the party chairman. There will be no racial discrimination in hiring stenographers and other employes. It is the party's only and forlorn hope of capturing some of the so-called "crucial" states.

The Republicans, who do not need to go to such lengths to seek the Negro vote, a fair portion of which will come to them any how—the Negroes also know that this is a Republican year—are still maintaining a separate Negro division.

The States Rights Democrats and the Negroes are really helping each other. Every time the Dixiecrats get another Southern electoral vote the Negroes get a new concession from the national Democratic party or the President. And every new concession granted the Negroes pumps more life into the States Rights party. It is a merry-go-round.

To New Power

The Columbia Record

"O Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!"

Thur 8-5-48

Columbia, S.C.

Crimes done in liberty's name are equalled, surely, by one in the name of historical analogy. Because the Thirteen Colonies were able to make themselves into one nation, we are told, history proves the nations of the world can make themselves into one world. It doesn't follow, of course. The colonies could become a nation because there was a menace from other nations. There would be no other nations in a world organization. There are many additional decisive differences. The current favorite historical analogy is to say that because the split in the Democratic party in 1860 prevented a moderate like Stephen A. Douglas from winning the presidency and was followed by the War Between the States, we have argument against the split in this wholly different day and circumstance.

Truman is no Stephen A. Douglas. And the South's failure to support him is not what is going to defeat him, even if he were. Tom Dewey is no Abe Lincoln. Two political parties, Republican and Democratic, are playing politics with Southern misery on the race question. They will continue to do so, in more and more radical degree, with more and more suffering for the South, unless these states stand apart from each now and declare themselves as worth cajollery and concession as any other minority in America, including the Negro one. The Southern break this time is leading not to session and a Lost Cause but to a new place and power for this part of the country. It is no "Irrepressible Conflict." It is a Rose Bowl South out to win national honors, and able to do so if its team will be a team, not a lot of mutually low-rating trifle-snappers.

If historical analogy must be found, it is not in the Democratic split of 1860 but in the call of Calhoun in 1849 for a conference of Southern Senators and Congressmen. He begged Southern leaders to hold the Southern situation above party allegiance, predicted a tragic era for the South if the North was permitted to have its majority way. His fellow Southerners were not convinced. And were fearful for their party regularity. Only a minority would sign the manifesto Calhoun drew up. A political stand which might have saved the subsequent stand at arms was denied.

Thur 8-5-48

Isn't that very much the situation today, even though no resort to arms, let us hope, pray and believe, is in prospect? The South is being called to take a stand against the Northern majority, Democratic and Republican. If we do so now, and make our power felt, intolerable things proposed against us may be withheld. If we do not do so, if our politicians, concerned for their political hides now as in 1849, hold back, the intolerable things are going to be attempted, imposed or with results none of us can contemplate with less than a sense of tragedy for the South and the country.

Publisher Hudson, of The Montgomery Advertiser, may need to clarify his announcement of support for the Alabama Democratic nominees. He means he will support Thurmond and Wright, the announced choices of the regularly nominated Democratic electors in Alabama. But Editor Marion Gaines, in The Pensacola Journal, misunderstanding, hails the announcement as an item in a trend back to the Truman-Barkley ticket in the South.

Thur 8-5-48

Elements of the national Negro press are being fairer to the Southern view represented in the Thurmond-Wright move than some of the South's home periodicals are. The Negro Digest, widely distributed and well financed publication in Chicago, solicits and periodically prints articles by this writer, with never the least editing or objection. I write exactly what I write in this daily column. Editor Johnson doesn't pretent to agree with a single word I write, but he believes the Southern white view should be made known fairly to his people.

Dixie Democrats Threaten Purge

[illegible]

(The Associated Press)

Washington, Aug. 1.—Southern Democrats are considering a little reorganization of their own in the House when the new Congress convenes next January.

Thur 8-5-48

The victims of the projected party "purge" may be Democrats from north of the Mason and Dixon line—the so-called Truman and New Deal wing of the party.

Up in arms over the Truman Democrats' advocacy of civil rights legislation which led some Southerners to bolt the Democratic national convention, the Dixiecrats believe next January will afford an excellent opportunity to reorganize for party control.

They are confident they will be in the majority among House Democrats at that time. Regardless of what happens in the national elections, Southern Democrats figure they are certain to be re-elected in November.

It could be a different story for Northern Democrats when the votes are counted.

"There will be some changes made in January," a leading Southerner told a reporter. "It's certain that there will be more Southern than Northern Democrats in the House. Then is when we will move in and take over the party, for if the Democrats lose the White House, party control will be lodged in Congress, and that means in the Dixiecrats."

Some Southerners are urging that in such a case, Northern Democrats who have been clamoring for civil rights legislation should be deprived of choice committee assignments.

"It would only be fair," one of them said. "There was some talk around here not too long ago that the Northern Democrats would punish us Southerners next year. The shoe is on the other foot now and we will be on top to do any punishing that is in order."

Christian Party Chairman Asks Vote Law Death

The Constitution

Frank Lowson, State Chairman of the Constitutional Christian Party of Georgia, yesterday called on Acting Gov. Thompson and Gov.-Nominate Herman Talmadge to repeal in its entirety the law requiring independent candidates to get signatures of five percent of the registered voters before they are eligible to run in the general election.

Wed 7-29-48

"Anything short of complete repeal should be most unmercifully condemned by the whole people who want fair play for all," Lowson said in a letter to both Thompson and Talmadge.

He pointed out that in many Georgia counties thousands of voters are registered but only a few hundred actually vote, making it necessary for an independent candidate to get more names on his qualifying petition than are necessary to assure his election.

Atlanta Ga.

Lowson said he made his appeal "on behalf of all Independents and of the Prohibition and Republican Parties as well as the Constitutional Christian Party."

Grange Supports State's Rights

Pittsburgh Courier

Sat 11-27-48

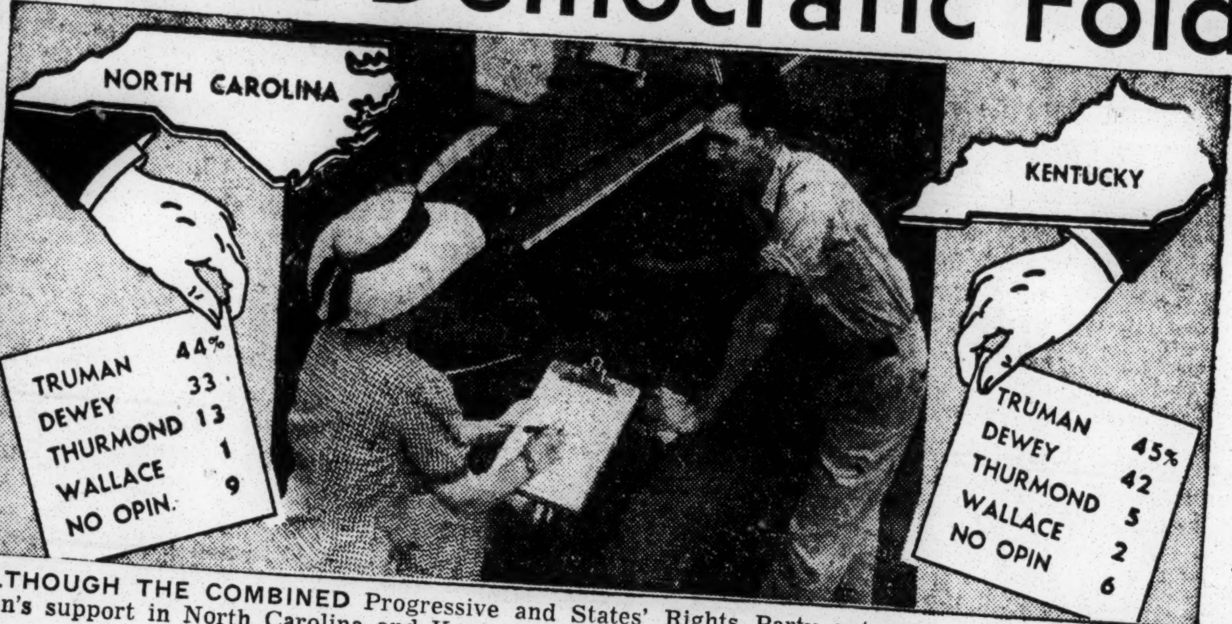
PORTLAND, Me. — The National Grange Convention meeting here last week began work on a 1949 platform expected to feature a "States Rights" approach to national problems.

Pittsburgh Pa.

The early draft of resolutions demanded strong local control particularly on problems relating to farming, education, health programs, waterway development, flood control and soil saving. Fears were expressed that a "strong central government would destroy democracy.

The News 34
Birmingham, Ala

North Carolina, Kentucky Are In Democratic Fold



ALTHOUGH THE COMBINED Progressive and States' Rights Party votes cut into President Truman's support in North Carolina and Kentucky, a Gallup Poll shows him leading in both states today.

Truman Weathers Thurmond Strength

Sun

BY GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

10-3-48

Inroads of the insurgent Dixiecrats on the regular Democratic vote in North Carolina and Kentucky are today not large enough to take those states out of the Truman-Barkley column.

In contrast to South Carolina, where the States' Rights Party holds a substantial lead, only 5 per cent of Kentucky voters and 13 per cent of North Carolina voters today say they will vote for J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina governor and States' Rights Party nominee for president.

While Kentucky today gives a popular vote advantage to the Democratic ticket, the lead over Dewey is slim compared to 1944. The poll reported today was taken before last week's visit by President Truman to Kentucky, home state of his running mate, Sen. Alben W. Barkley.

* * *

THE ELECTION in Kentucky holds more than ordinary interest for political observers because of the importance of the senatorial race there to the Republican control of the Senate. Today's survey would indicate that the Republican candidate, Sen. John S. Cooper, is not going to be helped substantially by the fact that Dewey heads the national GOP slate.

President Truman's lead in North Carolina also is materially below that customarily given a Democratic candidate, primarily because of Gov. Thurmond's following. As of the moment Gov. Dewey is supported by about one out of every three North Carolina voters, which is roughly the strength he showed there four years ago against Roosevelt.

The News

* * *

INTERVIEWERS IN both states asked a representative cross-section of voters this question:

"If the presidential election were held TODAY for whom would you vote—for Dewey, for Truman, for Wallace or for Thurmond?"

The results:

KENTUCKY
(11 Electoral Votes)

Truman	45%
Dewey	42
Thurmond	5
Wallace	2
No opinion	6

Sun

NORTH CAROLINA
(14 Electoral Votes)

Truman	44%
Dewey	33
Thurmond	13
Wallace	1
No opinion	9

10-3-48

WHILE NEITHER of these states, politically speaking, is considered part of the "Deep South," they have seldom wandered out of the Democratic column. Both went Republican when Alfred E. Smith was the Democratic candidate in 1928 and Kentucky also went Republican in 1924.

The News

In each of Roosevelt's four elections Kentucky gave him better than 54 per cent of its major party vote. However, Republican candidates for Congress in 1946 were successful in getting 53 per cent of the major party votes cast that year. North Carolina's vote for Roosevelt never fell below 67 per cent.

Birmingham Ala

Previous polls showing presidential standings in Southern states have revealed Gov. Thurmond leading in South Carolina, and President Truman far ahead in Texas.

* * *

Sun 10-3-48

Farm Vs. Big-City

ANALYSIS OF THE latest polls on presidential preferences reveal that the large difference between the political sentiment expressed by farm and the big-city vote has been greatly reduced.

During the Roosevelt term of office a wide variation developed. Farmers shifted sharply away from the Democrats between 1940 and 1944, while voters in large urban centers continued to vote overwhelmingly Democratic.

Today, political forces are working in the opposite direction. Now it is the metropolitan areas, as a whole, that reveal a strong defection from the Democratic Party, while rural areas remain more or less stable. Thus the gap between the two is closing.

But in the nation's largest cities the Democrats would today probably still hold an advantage over the Dewey-Warren ticket if it were not for the strength of Henry Wallace in those centers.

10-3-48

Dewey Holds Lead

THESE TRENDS COME to light upon studying the Institute's latest national figures which showed Gov. Dewey in the lead with 46½ per cent of the popular vote; Truman, 39 per cent; Wallace, 3½ per cent; Thurmond, 2 per cent, and with 9 per cent of voters still undecided.

When the national vote with "no opinion" eliminated is broken down by city size, this is the resulting picture:

Sun

BY CITY SIZE

Size of Town	Dewey	Truman	Wallace	Thurmond
500,000 or more	47%	41%	12%	x
10,000 to 500,000	51	43	4	2
Under 10,000	52	43	3	2
Farm residents	50	44	2	4

x Less than one per cent.

10-3-48

* * *

Figures Compared

THE FOLLOWING TABLE compares the proportion of the popular vote currently supporting Gov. Dewey with the Republican percentage of the major party vote in the last three presidential elections:

BY CITY SIZE
(Per Cent Republican)

Size of town	1936	1940	1944	Today
500,000 or more	29%	39%	39%	47%
10,000 to 500,000	39	46	46	51
Under 10,000	39	48	51	52
Farm residents	41	46	52	50

The News

* * *

Roosevelt's Power

Birmingham Ala

A COMPELLING demonstration of the drawing power which Franklin D. Roosevelt held over big city voters can be seen in the voting record of the 91 cities that in 1940 had a population of more than 100,000 people.

Sun

In none of his four elections did Roosevelt receive less than 60 per cent of the votes cast in these 91 cities with a total population of 37,000,000. In 1936 the Democratic percentage of the major party vote in these cities reached 69.5 per cent.

In the last election 83 of these cities went Democratic and eight went Republican. Largest of the Republican cities was Cincinnati and the only one on the Eastern Seaboard captured by the GOP was Yonkers, N. Y.

10-3-48

* * *

New York Turnout

TOTAL FIGURES on voter registration in New York City, which closed Saturday, will provide an excellent indication of what the turnout of voters will be in November throughout the whole country. Since 1932 the national turnout in November has always been between 12 and 17 times greater than the New York City registration in October.

A "normal" turnout in November would be approximately 58,000,000. But if the New York registration falls off, as it did during the first few days, as compared to 1944, or if it finishes up with a less than normal gain, the 58,000,000 figure for the nation would be too high an estimate. A full analysis of the New York registration and a new estimate of national turnout will be issued by the American Institute of Public Opinion as soon as the registration totals are known.

10-3-48

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser

Letters to the editor must carry complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names may be used at the editor's discretion. Letters of less than 200 words are given preference. All letters may be cut.

Sat 11-20-48

A-Wearying Of Horace C. Wilkinson

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Decent self-respecting and intelligent people of Alabama are growing weary of the shocking and abusive language chosen by Horace C. Wilkinson in his personal attacks upon the President of the United States and those who exercise their constitutional right to disagree with his distorted opinions.

Established custom and decorum, not
o forget certain principles of ethics, have
urrounded our presidents with a high de-
ree of honor and dignity since Washing-
on. The preservation and progress of a
elf-respecting democratic system demands
rict adherence to this custom; a custom
hich is the embodiment of true Ameri-
nism.

Wilkinson's vituperative campaign of
ander and personal abuse has reached an
alarming stage. His apparent bitterness over the failure of his Dixiecrat coup has tended to increase, rather than diminish since the election is more than three weeks past.

In spite of the fact that this is not the first time that he has bolted the party which has befriended him in the past, Wilkinson lashes out with the venom of a serpent against those who seek to unify the party in Alabama. It is obvious that he wants to further his plan to completely destroy the party which has received the plaudits of the vast majority of the American people.

He chooses to characterize the
cratic Party as the "slum and scun
of America." What a scurrilous, un
manly and biased indictment! In hi
cism and ridicule of those in Alabai
the South who remained loyal to th

Montgomery Ala

ocratic Party, he has been unfair a
noxious. It seems as though he
stifle individual thought and acti
render all men subservient to his w
opinion. People are not prone to c
unsportsmanship and unfair tact
politics.

Can it be true that Wilkinson b
more irritated because of the inc
rebellion within the Dixiecrat ra
Alabama? One by one, the variou
ty executive committees are taking
which will complete the disintegrat

ters to the editor is that Negroes wish to visit the homes of whites; co-habitate rooms; inter-marry, etc., but all of that is beside the point. I am happily married to one of my race. All I want is the right to attain economic freedom, to live without fear, to feel that the laws of this land will protect me and do justly by me though my face is black.

Sat 11-20-48

A. BARRY JONES.

Montgomery, Ala.

The Presidential Choice

The News

Sun 10-17-48

B'ham, Ala.

34

The News-Age-Herald wishes it could achieve high expectations from this presidential campaign. It would like to be able to present its views and hopes with deep assurance and enthusiasm. It cannot do these things. It has some strong convictions in this connection and it has reached some conclusions, as citizens must do. But they do not make for an enthusiastic choice, without reservations or misgivings. In these circumstances, we conceive it as our duty to present a frank discussion of the situation as we see it.

* * *

Generally, these newspapers have held—and still hold—that the Democratic Party has been closer to the people, more aware of their interests and of the country's problems, more enlightened and resolute in its attack on those problems, than the Republican Party. Its domestic aims and efforts for the most part have been more progressive, however unrealistic and ill-conceived some of its undertakings. It has given much more assurance of an effective, creative national policy in world affairs. Many grave matters confront the nation. They cannot be successfully dealt with in a complacent, turn-backward spirit. They call for positive, forward-looking action. The Democratic Party, broadly speaking, tends to be more responsive to the country's needs.

It is, however, a seriously divided party. Its conflicting elements sharply curtail its capacity for good government. Its leadership is diverse and, in certain aspects, far from reassuring. President Truman has decided weaknesses. He lacks magnetic appeal. He has made more important mistakes than are consistent with high confidence in him. He seriously lacks consistency and capacity to get things done. His civil rights proposals, of especial concern to the South, are unwise and dangerous. His attacks on his opposition have been too indiscriminate to be as impressive as they would be if expressed in more moderate, reasonable terms. But he does have some excellent qualities—particularly courage and devotion to fulfilling his responsibilities and serving the country according to his best lights.

This inevitably makes for a mixed appraisal of him. But it is not only his personal capacities that are at issue. Deeper than that phase of the contest is the question of the general philosophy and spirit and effectiveness of government which is to prevail in the next four years. The shortcomings in the total Democratic case are, of course, to be weighed against the also mixed prospects that would be presented by any other choice.

Moreover, the maintenance of a strong national Democratic Party is extremely important, for all the weaknesses in the party as it now stands. Ours is basically a two-party system. That system has functioned much better than the multi-party systems of many European countries. It should be preserved. It is in danger of deterioration. A permanent splintering of the national Democratic Party could make for critical peril to that whole system. A Southern regional Democratic Party offers no promise of achieving national leadership and strength. A reunited Democratic Party, renewed in vision and high purpose, is still needed in the service of the progressive convictions and aspirations of our people. For that reason fidelity to the party still seems a sound, hopeful course.

* * *

These papers recognize the benefits that can come from changes in national party control at intervals. The Democrats have been in power for 16 years. That is a long time. Their record in many respects is highly admirable. But they are also vulnerable in not a few particulars. Favored by the natural desire that eventually comes for change, the Republicans are obviously in a very strong position for victory. It would seem that, taking advantage of that desire, profiting from lessons of the past, from the mistakes of the Democrats, from the development of new leadership, the Republicans might offer a strongly appealing leadership and program to the country—even a high hope.

The News

We would be glad to react that way, particularly in view of the current Democratic confusion and weakness and the virtual certainty of a Republican victory. But we cannot. Mr. Dewey also fails to inspire high hope. He has many good qualities. But we doubt that he offers an alternative sufficiently promising to justify this paper in changing its allegiance to the Democratic Party. We doubt that he would have the qualities needed for strong, inspiring leadership when he encounters the great complexities facing the nation and the world and the conflicting elements within his own party.

We see little evidence of a clear, unified, creative Republican program of domestic action. We have misgivings as to whether a Republican administration would assure a consistent policy of international cooperation for peace and progress. These papers therefore are not now drawn away from their usual position of greater hope in the Democratic Party as a whole than in the Republican Party as a whole.

We would not seek to belittle Mr. Dewey, nor to minimize his good qualities. His administration, in some respects, probably would be unusually efficient. But we have doubts that it would be equal to the vision, the demand for decisive, broad-scale and lofty action, which the coming years will require. We see little to indicate a strong revival of insight and popular sympathy in the Republican Party as now constituted and led.

* * *

Of course Henry Wallace is a confused, deluded, and in some ways dangerous man, despite whatever good impulses he and some of his followers may have. His movement is being used by Communist forces. Fortunately, the great majority of our people recognize this party for what it is and it will be overwhelmingly rejected. It is therefore no immediate threat, though vigilance and resolution may be needed in years to come to offset its influence and neutralize its activities.

* * *

Now, then, we come to the "States' Rights" Democratic movement. It is not going anywhere. Even if the election should be so close as to be thrown into the House of Representatives, it is inconceivable that the result would be the choice of Mr. Thurmond for president.

This movement grows out of no truly representative process, though it does express certain sentiments widely held in some Southern states, including Alabama. It offers no positive program to the nation. We see no prospect of it achieving national leadership. In so far as its championship of states' rights—which are held dear by Americans generally—clearly suggests anything definite, it seems to involve an overemphasis on these rights and an underemphasis on the necessity for national unity and action.

Its attitude on the racial problem, well taken in respect to opposition to the president's civil rights proposals, is nevertheless largely negative, giving no promise of the kind of initiative, spirit and progress urgently needed to assure constructive action for greater justice and opportunity here in the South.

Some of the emphases and arguments advanced in its name increase racial tension and danger and retard continued advance in these human relations.

Many sincere, intelligent and well-meaning people will support the candidates of this group. But their votes will not produce anything concrete and helpful. Some of the leaders of the movement are narrow, self-seeking and backward in their major motivations. No such merely regional and negative movement, in our opinion, can rise to power in national affairs.

Sun 10-17-48

* * *

So, this paper finds itself still looking with its major, long-run hope toward a reinvigorated, reinspired and reunited Democratic Party. Such renewal will not be made manifest in this election. But the result could make for that end, provided the party does not fall into actual disintegration. We consequently believe a real contribution to the nation can be made by continued support of the party.

If Alabamians had a chance to express that conviction, we believe they would be well justified in doing so, even though the Democratic Party's chances this year are slight. But a deeply regrettable situation will prevent any such voting. In our predicament, it will not be possible to cast an effective vote for Mr. Truman, the president of the United States and the nominee of one of our two major parties. That is very bad.

While in the Democratic primaries a strong showing of sentiment was registered against Mr. Truman's nomination and election, there was no clear-cut expression favoring elimination of the right of voters to support the candidate of the national Democratic Party. We believe the great majority of Alabamians, including many in the States' Rights group, now deplore that development. Responsibility for it is mixed. But it will lie heavily for years against whoever contributed decisively to the making of such a state of things. Alabama apparently will be the only state in which voters will face such an indefensible limitation on their choice.

* * *

In this deplorable situation, these papers do not feel disposed to urge any particular course upon Alabama voters. Our preference, all things considered, for support of the national Democratic Party, cannot be given effect in this state. The problem confronts the consciences of individual citizens.

We cannot conceal our lack of satisfaction in the choice before the nation, our profound regret over the Alabama mix-up and our concern for the future. Nevertheless, we have a sturdy continuing faith in our country, its government and, above all, its people.

We believe that in a reviving perspective, a resurgence of fundamental unity, the nation can surmount whatever problems and stresses it faces. However the election results, the government will stand, the people will find their way. They have far more to unite than to divide them—and the opportunity for progress and, above all, peace and cooperation among ourselves and throughout the world, will remain—and continue the highest challenge to us all.

One-Party Systen

Atlanta Ga

WASHINGTON—The current breakaway marks the beginning of the end of the one-par cally since War Between the States Reconstruc United States Senator from the far South: "Th under the one-party structure when it compel Mr. Truman's civil rights faux pas set the wh

The motive of the one-party system was "white supremacy" and from that standpoint its effectiveness certainly is on the wane. In varying degree, Negroes now are voting in all Southern States, and in half of them—Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Texas and Arkansas—there is very little obstacle to Negro voting that does not apply equally to white citizens. Georgia and Florida are approaching that status and in South Carolina, until recently the most restrictive State of all, the system for exclusion of Negroes politically appears to have cracked wide open—35,000 of them voted for the first time in a Democratic primary last August.

The three States in which Negroes still are mostly disfranchised are Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana, but even in those the last-ditch white supremacy advocates are woefully lamenting that the "good old days" are almost gone.

The most prophetic manifestation in the South right now may be the fact that the recently enfranchised Negroes almost all are for President Truman. On that account there is a clearly discernible tendency of whites not only to turn to either Dewey or Thurmond this year but to consider the possible necessity of banding together to offset concentrations of Negro voting in future.

Wed 10-27-48

But this change in status of the Negro is by no means the only factor working toward dissolution of the one-party system. Beginning before World War I there has occurred a great shift in Southern population. Large numbers of Negroes moved North to take industrial jobs that previously had gone to immigrants. And latterly there has been a great influx—of white population coming into Southern States—notably, Texas, Florida and North Carolina—from the North.

Reduction in number of Negroes, proportionate to whites, has lessened fear of Negro domination. And the Northerners coming into the South are accustomed to the two-party system and many of them are Republicans.

Most important of all, perhaps, economic conditions in the South have greatly improved. In place of an excess of Negro labor, there is a pressing demand for workers, Negro or white. Negroes have gravitated from farm to city, with a consequent greatly increased wage scale. By radio, moving pictures and other means, Southern people are being knit much more closely with other sections of the country.

Talking to editors of a score of leading newspapers of the South, I did not find one who was not disgusted with the working of the one-party system and doing his level best to get rid of it.

This desire to smash the one-party system is one of the main reasons why a majority of big-city newspapers in the South are supporting Gov. Dewey.

Wed 10-27-48

In common with most other Southern elements, these newspapermen are bitterly resentful of President Truman's proposal to exert Federal compulsion to end racial segregation and other discriminations against Negroes, as practiced in the South.

But Southern editors also dislike the Dixiecrat movement, which The Atlanta Constitution characterizes as "a dead-end street . . . as harmful to the American two-party system as the Wallace third party."

The Dixiecrats, says The Constitution, should "adjourn as a fourth party of vanity and ambition and say: 'We want to defeat Harry Truman. Therefore we will support Thomas E. Dewey.' . . . Let us protect ourselves and the nation with the two-party system. Don't throw away our vote. Make it count."

The one-party system may not die easily. It probably will be shaken off in some States before others, but its end is on the way.

Dixiecrat Party's Defeat Predicted; Future Uncertain

The Pittsburgh-Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa
Sat. 9-~~25~~-48

(Special to The Courier)

OXFORD, Miss.—Tacitly admitting that he and other Mississippi Congressmen who lined up with the Dixiecrats have cut off the nose to spite the face, Rep. Jamie L. Whitten told the Oxford Rotary Club that he and several other Mississippi Congressmen are now concerned as to their status in the next Congress.

Predicting a GOP victory because of the split the Dixiecrats have caused in Democratic ranks, he said the South could expect further crippling attacks by a Republican administration upon TVA, REA and cotton support programs which have enabled Mississippi and other Dixie States to get on their feet.

Whitten, who represents Mississippi's Second Congressional District, added: "Those same Northern Democrats with whom we have fallen out over the civil rights program are those who have helped us pass farm legislation and other bills beneficial to the South."

JOINED WALKOUTS

Sat. 9-25-48

As a delegate to the Democratic national convention, Whitten was one of the walk-out crowd when the body approved the strong civil rights plank. In his address Tuesday he mildly criticised the Dixiecrats on one hand and to relieve his dilemma, praised them on the other.

He asserted that while he had disagreed from the start with the approach made by Dixiecrat leaders, believing that independent electors would have been a better method, he said he thought the publicity and discussion about the South's revolt in opposition to the civil rights program has been beneficial and won the section new friends.

Sat. 9-25-48

DIXIECRATS CAN'T WIN

The Mississippi Congressman said, in his opinion, there is no chance of the Presidential election being thrown into the House of Representatives with the possibility of electing a Southerner President, which is the claimed principal objective of the Dixiecrat crowd.

He said that the Democratic candidate (President Truman) and the Dixiecrat candidate both will get too few electoral votes for that.

Whitten said the split in the Democratic party, with the revolt of the Dixiecrat element which he chose to follow, will lead to the election of a Republican President and Congress.

We Need Two Parties--But Only Two

The Constitution
Tues 10-5-48
Atlanta Ga

The State Committee has named electors for the Democratic ticket. They are persons who will cast the electoral votes for Harry S. Truman if he carries Georgia.

No fair-minded person can do other than applaud this action as honorable and proper. If the people of Georgia vote the Democratic ticket, then the nominee should get the votes. We had never believed that the committee would do otherwise. It is against Truman, but it is a committee of good citizens who have said from the beginning the people were the ones to decide—not a committee.

Georgia emerges from the controversy with an enhanced reputation. We call to the attention of the State and the Nation it was a Talmadge committee which acted with this political integrity. In Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina, where the local politicians jump up and sit down and open their mouths after the fashion of Mr. Bergen's famous dummies, McCarthy and Snerd, when certain influences in Texas and the East pull the strings, the fascist technique of a committee of men deciding what the people could and could not do with their ballots, was followed.

Georgia's political leaders are not owned by absentee landlords and absentee interests. Despite their hard fight against Harry S. Truman and their continuing fight against his program, they are, in the best American tradition, leaving it up to the people.

Georgia needs a two-party system.

A breakdown of that system will bring ruin to our institutions. The party of Dixiecrats, which has bolted the party and which will run its candidates as a fourth party, will be on the ballot as "State's Rights Party." Be not fooled by that.

Tues 10-5-48

The Wallaceites will be on the ballot as the "Progressive Party." Be not deceived by that.

If the people of Georgia want to defeat Truman let them vote Republican.

Let us not go off into the blind alley of splinter parties, third or fourth.

34d 1948.

General

Truman Target

The Times Birmingham, Ala

GOP And Demo Croakers Hurling Slurs; More Talk Of Party Revolt In Dixie Heard

Fri BY FRED TAYLOR 2-5-48

Republican bushwhackers, aided and abetted by Democratic bitter-enders, are steadily stepping up their propaganda campaign against President Truman.

One of this column's operatives, who has just fled Southward from the bitter cold, tells me of the latest jibe at Truman going the rounds of money-changing temples in the austere East.

TAYLOR

It also is a graveyard crack at a man they really hated—Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

* * *

DIFFERENCE—You are asked if you know in what way George Washington, Roosevelt and President Truman differed. Thur 2-5-48

Their quickly volunteered answer is:

"Washington could not tell a lie."

"Roosevelt could not tell the truth." And—

"President Truman can't tell the difference!"

* * *

WASH OUT YOUR MOUTH—Bascom Timmons, Washington's adopted Texan and cat fancier extraordinary, passes along this yarn about Democrats and Republicans:

Charlie Brewton, secretary to Sen. Lister Hill and one of the best-liked aids on Capitol Hill among both Democrats and Republicans, has a 3-year-old daughter who listens in on a lot of political discussions. Thur 2-5-48

Recently a friend—secretary to a Republican senator—visited the Brewton home. During the conversation he mentioned Republican activities in his office.

"Uh, uh," piped up the Brewton prodigy, "you said 'Republican'! You're going to have your mouth washed out with soap."

THE GOPer was flabbergasted. "Is that what you teach kids down South?" The News

"Oh, sure," said Brewton, without lifting an eyebrow. "That's the way every good Democrat raises his children." 2-5-48

* * *

BOILING MAD—Democrats in Alabama and the rest of the South are hot under the collar about President Truman's civil rights program. Birmingham, Ala

This program, aimed at getting the heavy Negro vote in such key population centers as Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh and Detroit, calls for an end to segregation in transportation. Thur 2-5-48

Southerners are boiling mad over this as well as the proposals to outlaw state poll tax, enact a federal anti-lynching law and establish a permanent fair employment practice setup.

* * *

NEGRO BALANCE OF POWER — Southern governors, who huddle at Tallahassee Friday, have been urged to force a party showdown on the racial issue. The News 2-5-48

Southern Democrats have been threatening to secede from the party since Roosevelt started churning this issue in his successful bids for the important Negro vote in key states. Southern Democrats squirmed and howled. But the president and other party chieftains chuckled to themselves. They knew the Southern Democrats would fall docilely in line, which they did. Birmingham, Ala

Repors from Washington indicated President Truman and his advisers are likewise amused at the loud squawks coming from below the Mason and Dixon line. They reason the Southern Democrats have no other place to go, since they are certain not to go to the Republicans or to Henry Wallace.

It would be a wholesome, heartening thing for Southern Democrats to break away from their blind "Me, too," following of the party and assert their political independence. The News

As has been pointed out so many times, this would put Southern Democrats in the catbird seat and stop their being pushed around as party stepchildren.

Both major parties then would start bidding frantically for their support. They would become the balance of power, instead of the forgotten voters in presidential elections. Thur. 2-5-48

Southern states also would begin getting their proportionate share of gravy that so long has gone to evenly divided states.

Instead, the Negro, about whom there is so much shouting and squawking, virtually holds the balance of power in both parties. Negroes have brought this about by migrating in great droves to Detroit, Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh and other population centers, where they vote in droves. Birmingham, Ala.

Both Democrats and Republicans court this heavy minority vote with great political ardor.

Political Parties And The U. S.

When thoughtful students of the current world crisis say that its only solution lies in the establishment of a measure of world law and government, they mean, of course, that a certain unity of purpose and action are imperative to a stable civilization.

34d

It is a broad measure of unity that provides the foundation for the stable government of the United States and other countries. Birmingham, Ala.

Any integrated and cohesive society must rest on a foundation of fundamental agreement in principle and program. Otherwise disputes and conflicts would become unmanageable. It is a very substantial unity of principle that obviously accounts for the fact that a two-party system prevails in this country. It also accounts for the fact that in many matters there is little difference between the parties. Mon 3-1-48

A considerable degree of unity, then, may be seen as necessary to stable, effective government.

The political instability that has so often prevailed in France affords an example of the difficulties and hazards of insufficient unity, as evidenced in numerous parties and extreme differences.

* * *

But, of course, too much unity can also be disastrous. It can mean sluggishness, apathy, one-sided domination—a lack of that healthful competition in ideas that is so essential to political vitality and progress. The problem, of course, is to achieve a balance between unity and ferment.

When Americans complain, as they so often do, that there is "little or no difference" between the Democrats and Republicans, they are influenced primarily by what they consider a lack of healthy differences of viewpoint and proposal. Such observers, however, often fail to realize that a broad base of unity between the major parties is conducive to effective free government.

If Americans were not sincerely devoted in great majority to certain basic principles and ideas, our form of government would be impossible.

But still, of course, important differences of viewpoint and method are possible without destroying our fundamental unity. There is too little sharp, vigorous, forthright discussion and alignment growing out of such differences. We do not, for example, have conservative people in one party, progressives in another—but plenty of each in both major parties. It all seems, many say, very illogical and inconsistent. The News

And so it is at times—and in some respects. Too often divisions in Congress and in public opinion have crossed party lines—and yet without much effect on party alignments. Birmingham, Ala

* * *

How long is that sort of thing going on?

Are such strange "inconsistencies" really consistent with our political structure?

Will conservative Republicans and conservative Democrats continue indefinitely to work together? Will the liberals of the two major parties continue often to do likewise?

Will the two major parties rock along in pretty much the same way for years to come?

The times are too disturbed and unsettled for positive, affirmative answers to such questions. Mon 3-1-48

Henry Wallace is talking about his third party becoming a first party. That seems merely a Wallace hope now, but it is to be remembered that this country has experienced many important party realignments. It may do so again. There might be great economic or international emergencies that would drastically change our political life. Let us not apathetically assume that such a development is impossible.

Another major depression might produce a strong upsurge of sentiment for greater government control of our economy. Out of such a trend a new and strong party might emerge.

The widespread and intense opposition in the South to the civil rights proposals of President Truman even now is producing much talk of a revolt from the Democratic Party. It will be remembered that the Republicans did make heavy inroads in the South in 1928, when religious and liquor issues were of major concern. Feelings on racial matters and state's rights might be strong enough to produce another sizable break from the party.

That is by no means impossible, even though it still seems unlikely. The national Democratic platform may not go so far as did Mr. Truman in his proposals. When the showdown comes, traditional Democracy still may dominate the "Solid South."

* * *

But is the South indefinitely to remain a one-party region, with only occasional rebellions? The News

Some Southern Democrats, and at least one important Southern newspaper—*The Savannah Morning News*—are openly advocating support of the Republican Party by Southerners this year. Birmingham, Ala.

The argument is that there is no choice between the parties on the civil rights issue and that swinging over to the Republicans will do much to make this doubtful territory, with the consequence that both parties will have more regard for the South. But is there really no choice btween Republicans and Democrats on the civil rights issue? Moreover, are there no other important issues on which there are differences? Mon 3-1-48

There should be two competing parties in the South. As to that, there long has been widespread agreement. But it is going to take a deep and intense issue—and probably an issue long persisting—to establish a two-party system. Southerners are not likely to go and stay Republican on the basis of "no choice" between the parties.

Perhaps the uncertainties that have been introduced into the current political situation by the Southern protest on civil rights and by Henry Wallace's break from the party may tend to sharpen issues as to method and aim between the two major parties.

But a good measure of fundamental unity and even a considerable degree of traditional party loyalty will continue to be essential to free and progressive government in this country, even as also essential will be a free and active competition in ideas and contions respecting problems, old and new.

Dec. 16 it recognized the pressure by revoking the license issued by the building inspector. Thus the commission acted, though a recent decision by the Federal Court declared the racial zoning ordinance unconstitutional. The decision of Judge Mullins on Tuesday last has opened the way now for the remodeling of the building along the lines for which a permit was once granted.

The city has the right to appeal the decision to the Circuit Court of Appeals, but members of the City Commission and of the city's legal department have not announced what, if any, further action is to be taken. The News Birmingham Ala

* * *

Citizens of Birmingham, both white and colored, have long been aware of the need of greater recreational facilities for Negroes. The present motion picture houses catering to Negro patrons only are insufficient to handle the crowds which wish to attend. Incidentally, all are controlled by white capital, some of which is supplied by the corporation which controls several of Birmingham's better theaters for white persons only. Negro business, social and amusement enterprises line 18th Street, one block nearer the center of the city than the district now in question. Many of the business firms now in the neighborhood of the Birmingham Theater depend to a considerable extent on Negroes for their patronage. The argument over whether or not property values in the neighborhood would be adversely affected by another Negro theater cannot be solved without trial. In itself that is a matter of opinion Mon. 3-1-48

BOTH PARTIES FACE PRESIDENCY TESTS IN KEY PRIMARIES

The Times

New York, N.Y.

Republicans Elect Delegates for Taft, Stassen or Dewey in Ohio and Florida Tomorrow

Mon. 5-3-48

VOTE IN SOUTH ON TRUMAN

Democrats Will Provide in Alabama and Florida the First Sign of Revolt's Extent

By JAMES A. HAGERTY

Important primary elections in the race for Presidential nominations will be held tomorrow in Ohio, Florida and Alabama.

Contests for delegates to the Republican National Convention will be between Senator Robert A. Taft and Harold E. Stassen in Ohio and between Senator Taft, Mr. Stassen and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey in Florida.

The Democratic primaries in Florida and Alabama will furnish the first test of the strength of the Southern revolt against President Truman.

Public interest centers in the Ohio contest. Mr. Stassen, whose candidacy received a lift by his victories in Wistonsin and Nebraska, is seeking to elect twenty-three of Ohio's fifty-three convention delegates in Senator Taft's home state.

The former Minnesota Governor has predicted that he will win twelve delegates and his supporters claim fifteen. Senator Taft has asserted that he expects to win all the contests with the possible exception of the one Stassen candidate for delegate-at-large, but his supporters have indicated that they will be satisfied if they hold the number of Stassen delegates elected to six. 5-3-48

Mr. Stassen, who conferred here yesterday with friends after campaigning in New Jersey and Rhode Island, departed at midnight for Cleveland, where he is scheduled to speak tonight. He was accompanied by Mrs. Stassen, his aide, Edward Larsen, and several newspaper reporters. Senator Taft will continue his speaking campaign in Ohio today.

In Florida four candidates for delegates favorable to the nomination of Governor Dewey are unopposed. The contested places on the delegation are expected to be divided, with Mr. Stassen having what is believed to be rising support.

Division Over Southern Bolt

The Times

Although Alabama has only twenty-six votes in the Democratic National Convention, there are eighty-four candidates for delegates and they are split on a proposal to bolt the convention if the Truman civil rights program goes into the party platform.

Twenty-nine have said that they would walk out of the convention n the civil rights plank were adopted and twenty-five that they oppose the plank but would remain in the party. The others have taken no public position. None of the candidates has publicly favored the nomination of President Truman. New York, N.Y.

Senator John J. Sparkman, seeking renomination, has five opponents, among them Phillip J. Hamm, who has the backing of Governor James E. Folsom. Eight of the State's nine Representatives have opposition. The delegates to the Republican National Convention will be named at a state convention on May 20. Mon.

Opposition to the nomination of President Truman also is a factor in the Florida Democratic primary, with 112 candidates for the twenty-eight delegates who will cast twenty votes in the convention.

Eighty candidates are running unpledged. Gov. Millard F. Caldwell heads a middle-of-the-road group which is opposed to the Truman civil rights policy but probably would not bolt. Of the others, twenty-eight are pledged to Gov. Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi and are definitely opposed to President Truman. Twelve favor the nomination of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. 5-3-48

The Southern defection from the President will be more than balanced by election of delegates favorable to his nomination in North-states. The Missouri State Convention, which will complete a thirty-four-vote delegation today, is expected to endorse Mr. Truman. The Ohio delegation, with fifty votes, to be elected tomorrow, will be pledged to W. A. Julian, treasurer of the United States, who will hold them for the President.

Maryland will have a primary election today and Indiana will have one tomorrow to elect delegates to State conventions to name national convention delegates, with the probability that the Republican delegation from each States will be divided.

In Georgia, a Republican group will elect sixteen Taft delegates today at a State convention. On May 18 another Republican group, headed by Wilson Williams, National Committeeman, will elect a delegation favorable to Governor Dewey, insuring a contest at the National Convention. Nevada Republicans will elect nine national convention delegates on Saturday.

With 701 delegates out of 1,094 to the the Republican National Convention already elected, Governor Dewey, with the support of New York's ninety-seven delegates, still leads all other aspirants for the Presidential nomination with about 230 votes. His chance for the nomination may depend on the result of the Oregon preference primary on May 21, in which he is opposed by Mr. Stassen.

The nominee of the convention, however, will be determined by the group of states which will present "favorite son" candidates. Among these are Pennsylvania with seventy-three delegates, Illinois with fifty-six, California with fifty-three and Massachusetts and New Jersey with thirty-five each. Mon.

The prospect of the emergency of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, who so far is assured of only the forty-one votes of his home state, Michigan, continues likely. 5-3-48

During the past week a definite movement has been started to get first and second choice votes for Speaker Joseph W. Martin Jr. for the Presidential nomination, although Massachusetts is expected to cast a first-ballot vote for Senator Leverett Saltonstall.

Mr. Stassen gained slightly as the result of delegates elected during the past week. He probably will have the support of two and Governor Dewey of four of the eight delegates from Rhode Island.

Standing in Other States

The Times

According to a despatch to THE TIMES from Denver, Mr. Stassen appears to have the support of a bare majority of Colorado's fifteen delegates, although the delegation may cast a first-ballot vote for Senator Eugene D. Milliken, who is for Senator Taft. Supporters of Governor Dewey claimed five delegates. The delegation is unpledged.

An Albuquerque despatch reported that four and possibly five of the New Mexico delegates favored the nomination of Mr. Stassen with supporters of Governor Dewey disputing this claim and claiming four or five. The delegation will go uninstructed with no unit rule. At least one is believed to favor Senator Taft. N.Y.

Delaware's nine delegates will go to the convention uninstructed and present plans call for a first-ballot vote for former Senator John G. Townsend, Jr. An informal poll conducted by The Wilmington Morning News showed four preferences for Senator Taft, one each for Senator Vandenberg, Mr. Stassen and Speaker Martin and two undecided. The delegation, however, will vote as a unit.

The Dewey forces apparently suffered a defeat at the Missouri State Convention when Barak T. Mattingly, retiring National Committeeman, failed to bring about the election of the man he favored for his successor and Howard V. Stephens of St. Louis was elected by acclamation. The result was attributed a demand for new blood and new faces in the party organization following the Stassen victories in Wisconsin and Nebraska.

A despatch to The Times from St. Louis said that this did not mean that Mr. Stassen "had the edge" among the delegates elected but did show that the trend in other states had reached into Missouri. Although Stassen supporters have claimed a majority of the thirty-three Missouri delegates, supporters of Governor Dewey continued to claim support of as many as twenty-five delegates.

Republicans May 'Adopt' Rebellious Southerners

The Courier Journal Louisville, Ky.

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND By Drew Pearson

Sun. 5-30-48

WASHINGTON, May 29—Although still in the whispering stages, a move to adopt the rebellious Southern Democrats into the Republican Party is being talked on Capitol Hill. The plan is to offer the G.O.P. vice-presidential nomination to a Southerner, possibly Virginia's Senator Harry Byrd.

The idea already has picked up some support among Southern Democrats and has been given a strong push by Western Republicans. The Republicans are eager to carve up the "Solid South" while the time is ripe.

One Westerner who has been spurring the idea in the cloakrooms is Utah's Congressman William Dawson. He proposes a Vandenberg-Byrd ticket, pointing out that the big Michigan Republican already has a reputation for bipartisan co-operation while the conservative Byrd usually votes Republican anyhow.

This ticket has the private indorsement of an overwhelming number of Southern Democrats who have asked that their names be kept secret until the merger plan gets off thin ice. Congressmen from Florida and North Carolina predict that Vandenberg and Byrd together could sweep their states three-to-one. Another influential Western Republican on the bandwagon is South Dakota's Congressman Carl Mundt. Sun. 5-30-48

Biggest Southern fear is that the Republicans would shunt them aside after elections, just as happened after they helped elect Herbert Hoover in the row over Al Smith. The mechanics of shifting from the Democratic to the Republican Party also offer an obstacle in the way of Southern congressmen. Dawson has suggested that the Republican Party could indorse certain candidates in the South this year; and that a system of cross-filing, as used in California, might be worked out in the future.

Florida's Congressman Dwight Rogers, one of the most active Southerners behind the plan, acknowledged the difficulties, but warned: "If we don't get together on our own initiative, we are going to be pushed into it."

Dawson also is harping on the theme of a Southern-Western alliance. The Courier Journal

"The South and the West think

Senator Vandenberg

He may head ticket

Louisville Ky.

alike on most issues," he told a group of Southerners. "There is no reason why we should be divided up the way we are."

TRUMAN WASN'T KIDDING!

By LEM GRAVES, Jr.

[illegible] Correspondent)

Pittsburgh Courier

WASHINGTON — Segregation and jim crow have been completely eliminated from plans for official social activities in connection with the inauguration of President Harry S. Truman next month.

With all aspects of the inaugural program planned on a completely non-segregated basis, this becomes the first time in the history of U. S. Presidential inaugurations when social activities will be arranged without benefit of racial discrimination.

The inaugural ball, to be attended by the President and Mrs. Truman and by Vice President Barkley, and scheduled for the night of the inauguration, Jan. 20, at the National Guard Armory here, is being planned by a committee which includes eight colored Washington citizens. Committee members have announced that hundreds of colored citizens will be invited to attend the ball without segregation or discrimination.

Sat-12-18-48

The inaugural committee, headed by Melvin Hildreth, has gone even further in insuring the non-segregated nature of official Truman inaugural activities. An inaugural concert, planned originally for the DAR's Constitution Hall here on Jan. 19, was changed from Constitution Hall to the National Armory, it was revealed by Atty. William L. Houston, who is vice chairman of the over-all inaugural committee. This change was made because of the restrictions on Negro attendance and participation in Constitution Hall activities.

Sat-12-18-48

Other Negro members of the official inaugural ball committee are Mrs. Mary Bethune, NCNW president; Col. Campbell C. Johnson of the Selective Service office, Judge James A. Cobb, Judge Armond W. Scott, Mrs. Christine Ray Davis, secretary to Congressman William L. Dawson; Mrs. William S. Nelson of Howard University and Mrs. Olivet D. Brown. Dr. Mordecai Johnson, Howard president, and Gen. B. O. Davis Sr. were invited to serve but declined.

Sat-12-18-48

Other inaugural plans call for complete integration in official ceremonies. Negro leaders, said Mr. Houston, will be invited to sit in the stands facing the Capitol steps during the inauguration and will participate in the parade and luncheon schedule, without segregation. Committees planning the inauguration are integrated under the direction of Mr. Hildreth and Mr. Houston.

Washington leaders, who are hailing this new formula of integration in social and other activities in connection with President Truman's inaugural, are somewhat disturbed by persistent reports that an all-colored, segregated "inaugural ball" is scheduled for the Lincoln Colonnade in the Negro business section of Washington on the night of Jan. 20.

It was learned that this "inaugural ball" is being sponsored by the recreation department of an organization of colored workers in the Navy Department here. When contacted, Miss Dewitt Plummer, recreation supervisor of this department, explained that a private pay dance was being sponsored on that night for a smaller group. She said she hoped Negroes who were not invited or who could not afford the price of the Armory inaugural ball tickets would come to their dance.

However, when informed that there was some resentment over the proposed sponsorship of what was considered by some as a "jim crow" inaugural ball, Miss Plummer told The Courier that her committee would reconsider the decision to name this dance an "inaugural ball."

Sat-12-18-48

In the meantime, members of the official inaugural committee emphatically disclaimed any official endorsement, approval, or sponsorship of this "separate" inaugural ball. Mr. Houston made it clear that the Colonnade dance was in no way under the auspices of his committee.

Segregation In Capital Hits Inaugural Plans

Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.

NEW YORK — The entire Tammany Hall delegation has turned down its invitations to President Truman's inaugural because Washington hotels will not permit Harlem Tammany leaders to occupy the same hotel facilities as white Tammany leaders, authoritative sources disclosed here Saturday.

Sat-12-25-48

These sources said the Chicago delegation has met the same problem and that Congressman William L. Dawson and the Illinois delegation will live on the train in the Union Station to avoid segregation during the inauguration. The move for Tammany Hall to turn down its invitations is said to have been led by Hugo Rogers, president of the Borough of Manhattan. Rogers and Harlem leaders have not commented.

Sat-12-25-48

Planks in the Major Party Platforms Compared

New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, July 14 (AP)—*Comparisons between the majo planks of the 1948 Democrati and Republican platforms follow*

FOREIGN POLICY

DEMOCRATIC — Pledges full support of the United Nations, continued leadership toward curtailing the veto power and establishment of an international armed force to back up U. N. authority.

Promises necessary funds and a "sound, humanitarian" administration of the Marshall Plan for European recovery.

Advocates an "adequate" armed force to protect the nation's "vital interests" and to assure the country's security against aggression.

Pledges restoration of the reciprocal trade agreements program drafted in 1934 by the Roosevelt Administration, but "crippled" by the last Republican-controlled Congress.

REPUBLICAN — Promises financial aid, within "prudent limits" of this country's own economic welfare, to help other peace-loving nations restore their economic independence and human rights and fundamental freedoms. This aid to be on a basis of self-help and mutual aid.

Insists on "businesslike and efficient" administration of foreign aid.

Pledges support of the United Nations; favors freeing the U. N. of any veto in the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Holds that the U. N. should be provided with an armed force.

Promises support of the "system of reciprocal trade" and encouragement of world commerce.

Times 7-15-48

PALESTINE

DEMOCRATIC — Pledges full recognition of the State of Israel and approves its boundary claims as set forth in a United Nations resolution of last Nov. 29. Promises financial aid to Israel for developing its economy.

Favors a revision of this country's arms embargo to give Israel "the right of self-defense." Pledges support, within U. N. framework, of the internationalization of Jerusalem.

REPUBLICAN—Subject to "letter and spirit" of U. N. Charter, pledges Israel full recognition, with its boundaries as sanctioned by the U. N., and aid in developing its economy.

Charges Truman Administration undermined U. N. prestige by its "vacillation" on the question of a free and independent Jewish commonwealth.

CIVIL RIGHTS

DEMOCRATIC — Claims credit for recent civil rights gains. Pledges the party to continuing efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination. States a belief that minorities must have the right to work, live, vote, and get legal protection on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution. Commends President Truman for his stand on the civil rights issue and calls on Congress to support him in guaranteeing the right to full and equal political participation, to equal opportunity of employment, to security of person and to equal treatment in the service and defense of the country.

REPUBLICAN—Says lynchings or other mob violence is a disgrace and favors prompt enactment of legislation to end it. Says equality of all individuals in their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is the cornerstone of this Republic. Says the right of equal opportunity to work and advance in life should never be limited because of race, religion, color, or country of origin. Favors enactment and just enforcement of such Federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right in every part of the country, favors abolition of poll taxes as a requisite to voting. Opposes racial segregation in the armed services.

COMMUNISM

DEMOCRATIC—Condemns communism and other forms of totalitarianism and "their destructive activity" overseas and at home. Pledges the party to expose and prosecute treasonable activities. Says the party will continue to enforce vigorously the laws against subversive activities, observing always the constitutional guarantees of free speech and press and honest political activity. Says the party will strengthen the laws against subversion to the full extent necessary, protecting at all times traditional individual freedoms.

REPUBLICAN—Pledges a vigorous enforcement of existing laws against Communists and enactment of such new legislation as may be necessary to expose the treasonable activities of Communists and defeat their objective of establishing here a Godless dictatorship controlled from abroad.

INFLATION

DEMOCRATIC—Blames Republican-controlled Congress for present high cost of living, because of its rejection of President Truman's "comprehensive" program to control prices. Promises to "put a halt" to price rises.

REPUBLICAN — Asserts Truman Administration has deliberately encouraged higher prices. Pledges an attack on "basic causes" of inflation by cutting Government spending, stimulating production, reducing the public debt, and establishing fiscal policies to provide incentives for production.

HOUSING

DEMOCRATIC—Pledges "comprehensive" housing legislation, including slum clearance and low-rent housing projects initiated by local agencies. Says the nation is "shamed" by the failure of the Republican Congress to pass such legislation. Holds that adequate housing will end need for rent control.

REPUBLICAN — Recommends Federal aid to states for slum clearance and low-rental housing only where there is need that cannot be supplied by private enterprise or by the states and localities.

7-15-48

TAXATION

DEMOCRATIC—Favors reduction of taxes whenever it is possible to do so without "unbalancing" the nation's economy. Advocates that any reductions give "full measure" of relief to low-income families. Charges Republican tax law ignored those who needed reductions most. Opposes a general Federal sales tax.

REPUBLICAN — Declares Federal Government should, "as soon as practicable," withdraw or reduce those taxes which can be best administered by local governments, with particular consideration of excise and inheritance taxes.

LABOR

DEMOCRATIC — Advocates repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act because it has "failed" to bring industrial peace. Advocates legislation to establish rules for collective bargaining, determine the rights of employes and employers and enable labor unions to keep their membership free from communistic influences. Favors increasing the minimum wage rate from 40 cents an hour to 75 cents. Urges a rebuilt and strengthened Department of Labor.

REPUBLICAN—Pledges continuing study to improve labor-management relationships in the light of experience and changing conditions. Declares collective bargaining is an obligation, as well as a right, applying equally to workers and employers. Says the "fundamental" right to strike is subordinate only to "paramount" considerations of public health and safety.

SOCIAL SECURITY

DEMOCRATIC—Favors increases in old-age and survivors' insurance benefits by at least 50 per cent and reduction of eligibility age for women from 65 to 60. Also would extend these aid programs to all workers not now covered. Favors national health program for expanded medical research, medical education and hospitals and clinics.

REPUBLICAN — Urges extending Federal old-age and survivors' insurance program and increasing benefits to "a more realistic level." Urges strengthening of Federal-state programs to provide more adequate hospital facilities.

EDUCATION

DEMOCRATIC—Advocates Federal aid for education administered by the states. Supports Federal appropriation of $300,000,000 to start such a program. Charges Republican Congress "shockingly" ignored educational needs.

REPUBLICAN—Favors equality of educational opportunity for all and the promotion of education and educational facilities.

VETERANS

DEMOCRATIC — Pledges improvement of Federal benefit program for veterans and their families. Says level of benefits must be constantly re-examined in light of the decline in the dollar's buying power. Pledges a program of housing for veterans at prices they can afford to pay.

REPUBLICAN — Proposes a "realistic and adequate" adjustment of veterans' benefits on a cost-of-living basis. Demands "good-faith" compliance with veterans' preference in Federal service and efficient and businesslike management of the Veterans Administration.

7-5-48

AGRICULTURE

DEMOCRATIC—Pledges efforts to maintain continued farm prosperity, improvement of rural living standards and preservation of the family-size farm. Specific Federal aids include a permanent system of flexible price supports to maintain farm income on a parity with farm operating costs, an intensified soil conservation program, improvement in methods of distributing farm products, adequate financing of the school lunch program, development and maintenance of stable export markets, use of farm surpluses to improve diets of the needy and continued expansion of the rural electrification program. Favors repeal of taxes on oleomargarine, and promises encouragement of farm cooperatives.

REPUBLICAN—Declares the nation must have a long-term program in the interest of agriculture and the consumer. Says such program should have an accelerated program of "sounder" soil conservation; effective protection of "reasonable" market prices through flexible price supports, commodity loans and marketing agreements, together with such other means as may be necessary; development of sound farm credit; encouragement of family-size farms; support of the principle of bona fide farmer-owned and farmer-operated cooperatives, and "sound" rural electrification.

NATURAL RESOURCES

DEMOCRATIC — Pledges full and unified regional development of water, mineral and other natural resources. Favors stepping up the Federal reclamation program and promises to continue to improve navigable waterways and harbors. Pledges adequate appropriations for flood control. Promises to stockpile strategic minerals and to encourage a sound mining industry.

REPUBLICAN — Favors "progressive" development of water resources for navigation, flood control and power, with immediate action in critical areas, and a comprehensive reclamation program with full protection of rights and interests of the States. Also favors stockpiling of strategic and critical raw materials and adequate representation of the West in the National Administration.

BUSINESS

DEMOCRATIC — Pledges intensive enforcement of anti-trust laws, with adequate appropriations. Advocates strengthening of such laws and pledges a "positive" program to promote competitive business. Supports the right of free enterprise.

REPUBLICAN—Declares small business must be encouraged through aggressive anti-monopoly action, elimination of unnecessary controls, protection against discrimination, correction of tax abuses and limitation of competition by governmental organizations.

7-15-48

EQUAL RIGHTS

BOTH—Recommend submitting a Constitutional Amendment on equal rights for women.

ATOMIC ENERGY

DEMOCRATIC—Pledges adherence to the principle of nonpartisan civilian administration of atomic energy.

REPUBLICAN—No plank.

34d 1948 Maryland

The Voters Can Decide In Maryland

Columbia Record

Wed 3-17-48

3-17-48

Governor William Preston Lane of Maryland, chairman of the Southern governors conference, has made it clear that he is not going along with the anti-Truman resolution adopted by the conference at Washington. "There will be no cleavage in Maryland Democratic ranks," he said.

34

Maryland, of course, has the two-party system and any Maryland Democrat who doesn't like Harry Truman can vote Republican. If enough of them switch from the Democratic party to the Republican party the electoral votes of Maryland will go to the Republican nominee.

Wed 3-17-48

Columbia, S.C.

Maryland voters, therefore, do not need any governor to lead them. They can do their own deciding. It is what ought to be possible in South Carolina and in all the other Southern states.

Wed 3-17-48

His Father-in-Law Saw It Otherwise

The Advertiser

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER: In connection with the recent fulminations of Bill Primm, of the National Democratic Committee with reference to the states rights movement in the South, it is of interest to note what his distinguished father-in-law, the late Senator Josiah Bailey, of North Carolina, had to say on this subject. On Dec. 7, 1943, Senator Bailey prophetically addressed the United States Senate as follows:

"I think the Senate will bear witness that I do not often talk in the Senate in terms of politics. God knows that during this war I do not intend ever to have a political thought. And here on this anniversary of Pearl Harbor I would not raise any party issue. But when a man's honor is attacked, whether it be on the holiest of days, and whatever his contempt may be for him who touches it, he must answer, and the junior senator from Virginia this morning answered.

Thur 9-9-48

"What's wrong with being a 'Southern' senator or a 'Southern Democrat?' I would remind these gentlemen who speak of us as Southern Democrats, these Democrats, these high lights of the party, these beneficiaries of our victories during the last 10 years — I would remind them that Southern Democrats maintained the Democratic Party and kept it alive in all the long years of its exile, when it had no place in the house which our fathers had built, when it was not permitted to serve around the altars which our forefathers had made holy."

Senator Bailey pointed out that the Southern States had cast their electoral votes for the Democratic candidate for president, election after election, often when they stood absolutely alone and when there was nobody else in the electoral college to vote for him.

"But, he warned," there can be an end of that sort of thing!

"There can be an end of insults," he said, "there can be an end of toleration, there can be an end of patience. We can form a Southern Democratic Party and vote as we please in the electoral college, and we will hold the balance of power in this country. We can throw the election into the House of Representatives and cast the votes of 16 states.

Montgomery Ala.

"We have been patient. We were tried. I am not going back into that. I do not think any of us should. There is a reason why the South has voted democratic. I will not go into that either. But, by the eternal gods, there are men in the South, and women, too, who will not permit men in control of our party to betray or to insult us in the house of our fathers. We will assert ourselves—and we are capable of asserting ourselves—and we will vindicate ourselves, and if we cannot have a party in which we are respected, if we must be in a party in which we are scorned as Southern Democrats, we will find a party which honors us, not because we are Southerners, and not because of politics, but because we love our country and believe in the constitution from which it draws its life day by day, as you, sir, draw your breath from the atmosphere round about you."

It is not very difficult for us to determine how Senator Bailey, that distinguished Democratic senator, would have felt about the position his son-in-law is now taking. Be that as it may, I am sure that the people of the South will be far more impressed with the views held by Senator Bailey than with the apostate views of Mr. Primm.

A. B. R.

BAILEY AND PRIMM

The Advertiser

It will be seen in the letters column today that an alert and thoughtful reader has exhumed an utterance by the late Senator Josiah Bailey, of North Carolina, wherein that worthy, as of 1943, seemingly wearing the robes of a prophet, threatened the national Democratic Party with the fourth party rebellion that has come to pass. The exhumer uses the letter with which to chide the senator's son-in-law, Bill Primm, for supporting Truman to the exclusion of the fourth party's Thurmond.

Thur 9-9-48

It is entirely appropriate to cite the opposing view of the late senator and his son-in-law, but it is not fair to employ the device to discipline Primm. It is always grossly unfair to employ the words of a man posthumously and on a basis of sentiment to embarrass an extant relative or associate.

In the first place, it is not given to any man of any degree of prescience whatsoever to divine what a dead man would do in present circumstances. We do not wish to be snagged by the same snare, but it might be noted that if Senator Bailey were alive and serving the Thurmond-Wright cause, he would be in a highly conspicuous minority of Southern senators.

Montgomery Ala.

But that is straying from the observation that Primm, however wrong he may or may not be in the instant circumstance, has no conceivable constraint to abide by the supposed persuasions of his late fellow tribesman. Primm is his own free agent, no more bound by Bailey's convictions than Bailey by his.

The name of Bailey, as so often is the case, is invoked because it is the superior name. Pitting it against Primm's name is to put Primm's viewpoints at an obvious disadvantage. What is indicated is not a contrast of a famous and an obscure name, but an answer to what Primm argues.

None of which, we trust, will be taken as defense or espousal of Primm's impatience with the Dixiecrat phenomenon. In sticking to the national party, it's as if Primm has punched a tar baby; and his allegiance to it is but a shrewd and opportunistic gamble by a largely insignificant political manipulator. Nor is that to question that Primm's gross opposite numbers aren't to be found in Alabama in the Dixiecrat fold: It is quite evident that some are running Thurmond against Hill in the 1950 Senate race.

Thur 9-9-48

The Bailey-Primm contrast simply serves as a peg for remarking the unfairness and inconclusiveness of using the mort-main against the living. Actually, it is a rather unsportsmanly resort.

Primm Suggests Rushton And Thurmond Quit Posts With National Committee

Advertiser Montgomery Ala

Sat. 9-4-48

Says All That Back States' Righters Should Resign

'Already Left'

34d

Alabama Member Called 'Dixiecrat' Manager

By D. HAROLD OLIVER

WASHINGTON— (AP) —A Democratic national committee official suggested Friday, that "any and all" committee members who are supporting the States' Rights presidential ticket should resign from the committee.

William J. Primm, Jr., assistant to National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, made the proposal. He said such Democrats have "left the Democratic party."

Primm's statement came in the midst of a controversy between Republicans and Democrats over Communist party endorsement of the Roosevelt-Truman ticket in 1944.

Sat 9-4-48

GOP National Chairman Hugh D. Scott, Jr., demanded that President Truman say whether he accepted endorsement as Mr. Roosevelt's running mate. The Democratic national committee replied that President Roosevelt renounced such support before his fourth term election.

Primm's resignation proposal referred specifically to Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina, States' Right presidential candidate, and Col. Marion Rushton, Alabama, who represents their states on the national committee.

"Campaign Manager"

He described Rushton as the "campaign manager for the Dixiecrats" in Alabama.

Primm said Thurmond informed McGrath in July he had resigned as national committeeman in a letter to W. P. Baskin, chairman of the state Democratic executive committee. A copy of the letter to Baskin went to McGrath, who expressed "regret" in reply.

But since then the state committee has refused to accept the resignation unless Thurmond insists on it.

Primm said the understood through press reports that Rushton also had resigned, but so far national headquarters has received no such notice. If he has resigned he should be commended, Primm stated.

Primm reaffirmed the national committee's promise of recognition to any pro-Truman group which officially organizes in opposition to the State's Rights ticket.

Advertiser

"If these people," he said referring to the States' Righters, "think they can fight the national party ticket and then come in and ask that they be seated or recognized by the national committee they are certainly mistaken."

Denies McGrath Rumor

Primm denied that McGrath had said in an interview that Southern senators and representatives supporting Thurmond's candidacy would lose their party status. He said the national committee had no authority to read out of the party duly elected legislators.

Montgomery Ala

He said he was authorized to say that McGrath "did not take nor has he any intention of taking action against the duly elected members of the House and Senate as has been implied." Sat.

"McGrath's interview with a reporter," Primm added, "was in every way intended to make it clear that the Democratic national committee would not allow certain party people who are now holding office in the party, such as national committeemen and committeewomen, to continue to occupy their positions in that party and at the same time fight the nominees of the national Democratic party through a fourth party movement such as the Dixiecrats." 9-4-48

On the basis of the McGrath interview, Thurmond had commented in Columbia, S. C., that Southern congressmen "will not be dictated to by a New Englander who has himself bolted the Democratic party by violating its

Rushton Can't Resign 'On My Own Motion'

Col. Marion Rushton said here Friday that he cannot resign from the national committee "on my own motion." He said he had suggested to the State Democratic Executive Committee that it would no longer desire representation on the National Committee and had offered to resign. No action has been taken by the state committee.

He said he wrote McGrath that he could not offer the national party any "aid or comfort" and advised the national chairman of his offer to resign.

He said he was not Alabama's campaign manager for the Dixiecrats—"Mr. Primm was misinformed."

basic principles of States' Rights."

Pro-Truman Democrats in South Carolina will meet next Tuesday, to name electors pledged to the Truman-Barkley ticket. Another group has named pro-Thurmond electors. The national committee has promised recognition to the former.

GOP Chairman Scott's challenge of President Truman on the Communist endorsement issue came in a statement from the Republican national committee.

He accused the president of trying to "snuff out" congressional investigations of Communists by "impetuous cries of 'red herring'." He said he wonders if there was a "working agreement" between Mr. Truman and the Communists in 1944. If so, he aseked when it was ended.

Scott referred to a statement Aug. 12, 1944, by Eugene Dennis. Communist party secretary, saying the Roosevelt-Truman ticket was "representative not only of the Democratic party but of important and wider sections of the camp of national unity."

Dennis was further quoted as saying that Communists were trying not to endorse candidates "unless this is done in full agreement with the given candidate and with our collaborators." Scott added:

"If Mr. Truman did, in fact, accept or approve such official endorsement of the Communists in the 1944 campaign, he owes it to the American people today to set the record straight."

9-1-48

BILL PRIMM

Schism In The South

The Wash. Post

Sun 9-5-48

Wash. D. C.

It is amusing to note the claims of the South Carolina bolters—now that the Democratic National Committee has finally turned its back upon them—that they are still members of the Democratic Party. Their cry raises a serious question as to who is a Democrat. For the purpose of the coming electoral contest, however, the rule laid down by the national committee must be regarded as controlling. A Democrat, it says in effect, is one who is supporting the Truman-Barkley ticket. That excludes the Dixiecrats as clearly as it excludes the Wallaceites. And if it leaves the President a narrower party base on which to stand, that base is at least less shaky than before.

Of course, the Democratic National Committee has given the only reasonable answer there is to the supporters of Governors Thurmond and Wright. Since those leaders of the old Democratic Party in the South have split off from the national organization on the issue of States' rights, that organization must build new units of the Democratic Party in the South. This it is proceeding to do by recognizing elements within the party that are eager to support Messrs. Truman and Barkley and by asking the bolters to resign from their Democratic Party posts. It is precisely such a development that we envisaged when we hailed the decision of the Dixiecrats to go their own way. Here we have the possible beginnings of two-party government in the South, which, in our opinion must be regarded as an important step forward.

Some of the old line political leaders in the South believe that their only hope of making their influence felt is to develop a separate party strong enough to compel the national Republican and Democratic Parties to bid for its support. Ordinarily we should deplore this sort of splintering as a peril to our two-party system. But in the South there has been only a one-party system. For the sake of reviving political opposition in that area, the development and recognition of another party is wholly salutary. Let the bolters bolt and frankly recognize the consequences of their action—the splitting up of the obsolete Democratic Party of the South which has heretofore covered hostile factions with nothing in common but a name and a tradition.

Sun 9-5-48

It is probably true that a permanent schism is the last thing that some of the Dixiecrats wants. Nevertheless, it would be a healthy thing for the South and the Nation and probably in the long run for the Democratic Party. In any event, the issue now has to be faced, and Chairman McGrath and his colleagues are to be congratulated for grasping the nettle firmly in their recognition of "loyal" Democratic groups that can build new party organizations.

Democrats Crack Down On Dixiecrats

The Post

Fri 9-3-48

Wash. D. C.

Party Committee Assails Bolters, Offers Recognition To Loyal Group

By Robert C. Albright
Post Reporter

The Democratic National Committee yesterday denounced leaders of the Dixiecrat revole as "bolters" and in effect read them out of the Democratic Party.

It completed its break with the separate States rights movement in a telegram offering recognition to "loyal" South Carolina Democrats, who organize for support of the Truman-Barkley ticket.

The national committee move which one official said mean't "war to the finish" with Dixiecrat groups in all of the Southern States, followed designation of eight presidential electors, pledged to the States rights ticket of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, by the South Carolina State Democratic Executive committee.

'Loyal' Group Boycotts Vote

A group of "loyal" South Carolina Democrats refused to participate in the vote, contending it deprived the people of the State of the right to vote for the candidate of their choice.

The "loyal" group asked the Democratic National Committee what its stand would be if they formed a "regular" Democratic organization in their State to replace the one backing the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

William J. Primm, jr., executive assistant to Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, in a statement cleared by the chairman, promptly promised such a movement official party recognition.

Primm's Telegram

Primm's telegram, in effect launching the long-awaited purge of party bolters, read:

"The Democratic National Committee appreciates the action of loyal Democrats of South Carolina in standing by the regular Democratic Party and its nominees headed by President Truman and Senator Barkley.

Fri 9-3-48

"The Democratic National Committee approves of the program you have started to asure the regular Democrats of South Carolina have an opportunity to vote for the regular Party nominee.

"When you have officially organized the regular Democrats of South Carolina through proper proceedings there can be no course for the Democratic National Committee to take but to recognize the group as the official Democratic Party of South Carolina.

"The group now organized under the name of States Rights Party, or Dixiecrats, has bolted the Democratic Party. Neither they nor their leaders can be recognized as Democrats any more than Henry A. Wallace and his Progressive Party can be considered Democrats. Both the Dixiecrats and the Wallaceites have one thing in common—the aid and comfort they are giving to the Republican Party. The Dixiecrats are a fourth party movement, deliberately designed by their leaders to aid the Republican Party.

"I am confident the action you are taking in South Carolina is the beginning of a repudiation by the people all over the South of the bolters who rule the Dixiecrats."

Fri 9-3-48

Primm, himself an Alabaman opposed to the civil rights program, but committed to party regularity and the Truman-Barkley ticket, reputedly acted with carte blanche authority from Chairman McGrath.

Talked to Dixie Leaders

He himself had just returned from talks with Southern leaders in South Carolina, Mississiippii, Alabama and other disaffected States. He reported to McGrath that a large and possibily controlling majority of voters in most of the Southern States wanted to vote "regular" for the Truman-Barkley ticket, but would have no opportunity to do so under Dixiecrat machine control.

The decision was to wait for a petition from the "loyal" Democats themselves. The awaited split came at Wednesday's meeting of the Dixiecrat-controlled South Carolina State Executive Committee in Columbia. The loyal group's inquiry on recognition was the opening gun.

In an authorized interview before he left Washington for his home in Rhode Island, McGrath said the party itself is not "writing off" or "throwing out" supporters of the Dixiecrat slate. He said they themselves will be "automatically" leaving the party if they support anyone other than President Truman.

Rule for Party Regularity

"If they are going to support the Thurmond-Wright ticket, they are leaving the Democratic Party," McGrath said. "Only those who support Mr. Truman for President and Senator Barkley for Vice president can consider themselves Democrats."

He said the national committee is in communication with "substantial groups of good, loyal Democrats in these (Southern) States trying to work out—under the laws of each State—means by which Democrats can vote for the regular Democratic nominees."

At Wednesday's meeting of the South Carolina State executive committee, State Chairman William P. Baskin contended the South Carolina party remains in the Democratic Party even though its electors were pledged to the States' Rights ticket, the Associated Press reported from Columbia.

But Primm's wire yesterday definitely banished that illusion.

The wire may set off Dixiecrat repercussions throughout the South, with the States Righters maintaining they are not leaving the Democratic Party, that the party has left them.

W. Austin Seay, director of the Washington office of the States Rights Democratic Party, said the national committee action was expected and predicted it would "consolidate" the Dixiecrats.

"The States Rights Party is ready to meet the challenge as to which are the real Democrats," Seay said.

Democratic National Committee officials said a showdown was inevitable and it might as well come now. Some observers believe the move, if followed through, might eventually lead to refunctioning of the two-party system in the South.

Republican and Democratic Platform Planks Compared

34d

The Times - Picayune

New Orleans, La.

Positions of Parties on Major Issues

Thurs. 7-15-48

(The Associated Press)

Philadelphia, July 14. — Comparisons between major planks of the 1948 Democratic and Republican platforms.

Foreign Policy

Democratic — Pledges full support of the United Nations, continued leadership toward curtailing the veto power and establishment of an international armed force to back up UN authority.

Promises necessary funds and a "sound, humanitarian" administration of the Marshall plan for European recovery.

Advocates an "adequate" armed force to protect the nation's "vital interests" and to assure the country's security against aggression.

Pledges restoration of the reciprocal trade agreements program drafted in 1934 by the Roosevelt administration, but "crippled" by the last Republican - controlled Congress.

Republican—Promises financial aid, within "prudent limits" of this country's own economic welfare, to help other peace-loving nations restore their economic independence and human rights and fundamental freedoms. This aid to be on a basis of self-help and mutual aid.

Insists on "businesslike and efficient" administration of foreign aid.

Thurs. 7-15-48

Pledges support of the United Nations; favors freeing the UN of any veto in the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Holds that the UN should be provided with an armed force.

Promises support of the "system of reciprocal trade" and encouragement of world commerce.

Palestine

Democratic—Pledges full recognition of the state of Israel and approves its boundary claims as set forth in a United Nations resolution of last November 29. Promises financial aid to Israel for developing its economy.

Favors a revision of this country's arms embargo to give Israel "the right of self-defense." Pledges support, within UN framework, of the internationalization of Jerusalem.

Republican—Subject to "letter and spirit" of UN charter, pledges Israel full recognition, with its boundaries as sanctioned by the UN, and aid in developing its economy.

Charges Truman administration undermined UN prestige by its "vacillation" on the question of a free and independent Jewish commonwealth.

Civil Rights

Democratic — Commend President Truman for his civil rights program. Call on Congress to back him up in guaranteeing racial and religious minorities these rights: 1. Full and equal political participation. 2. Equal opportunity of employment. 3. Security of person, and 4. Equal treatment in the service and defense of the nation. Convention refused to insert a "states' rights" plank.

Republican—Says lynchings or other mob violence is a disgrace, and favors prompt enactment of legislation to end it. Says equality of all individuals in their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is the cornerstone of this republic. Says the right of equal opportunity to work and advance in life should never be limited because of race, religion, color, or country of origin. Favors enactment and just enforcement of such federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right in every part of the country. Favors abolition of poll taxes as a requisite to voting. Opposes racial segregation in the armed services.

The Times Picayune

Communism

Democratic — Condemns Communism and other forms of totalitarianism and "their destructive activity" overseas and at home. Pledges the party to expose and prosecute treasonable activities. Says the party will continue to enforce vigorously the laws against subversive activities, observing always the constitutional guarantees of free speech and press and honest political activity. Says the party will strengthen the laws against subversion to the full extent necessary, protecting at all times traditional individual freedoms.

New Orleans, La.

Republican—Pledges a vigorous enforcement of existing laws against Communists and enactment of such new legislation as may be necessary to expose the treasonable activities of Communists and defeat their objective of establishing here a godless dictatorship controlled from abroad.

Thurs. 7-15-48

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The Times-Picayune

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Democratic — Advocates repeal of the Taft-Hartley act because it has "failed" to bring industrial peace. Advocates legislation to establish rules for collective bargaining, determine the rights of employes and employers, and enable labor unions to keep their membership free from Communistic influences. Favors increasing the minimum wage rate from 40 cents an hour to 75 cents. Urges a rebuilt and strengthened department of labor.

7-15-48

Republican—Pledges continuing study to improve labor-management relationships in the light of experience and changing conditions. Declares collective bargaining is an obligation as well as a right, applying equally to workers and employers. Says the "fundamental" right to strike is subordinate only to "paramount" considerations of public health and safety.

New Orleans, La.

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Democratic — Pledges improvement of federal benefit program for veterans and their families. Says level of benefits must be constantly re-examined in light of the decline in the dollar's buying power. Pledges a program of housing for veterans at prices they can afford to pay.

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Democratic—Pledges efforts to maintain continued farm prosperity, improvement of rural living standards, and preservation of the family-size farm. Specific federal aids included: Permanent system of flexible price supports to maintain farm income on a parity with farm operating costs; an intensified soil conservation program; improvement in methods of distributing farm products; adequate financing of the school lunch program; development and maintenance of stable export markets; use of farm surpluses to improve diets of the needy; and continued expansion of the rural electrification program. Favors repeal of taxes on oleomargarine, and promises encouragement of farm co-operatives.

Thurs.

Republican — Declares nation must have long-term program in the interest of agriculture and the consumer. Says such program should have: Accelerated program of "sounder" soil conservation; effective protection of "reasonable" market prices through flexible price supports, commodity loans, and marketing agreements, together with such other means as may be necessary; development of sound farm credit; encouragement of family-size farms; support of the principle of bona fide farmer-owned and farmer-operated co-operatives; and "sound" rural electrification.

7-15-48

Natural Resources

Democratic—Pledges full and unified regional development of water, mineral and other natural resources. Favors stepping up the federal reclamation program, and promises to continue to improve navigable waterways and harbors. Pledges adequate appropriations for flood control. Promises to stockpile strategic minerals and to encourage a sound mining industry.

Republican — Favors "progressive" development of water resources for navigation, flood control and power, with immediate action in critical areas, and a comprehensive reclamation program with full protection of rights and interests of the states. Also favors stockpiling of strategic and critical raw materials, and adequate representation of the West in the national administration.

The Times Picayune

Business

Democratic — Pledges intensive enforcement of anti-trust laws, with adequate appropriations. Advocates strengthening of such laws, and pledges a "positive" program to promote competitive business. Supports the right of free enterprise.

Republican — Declares small business must be encouraged through aggressive anti-monopoly action, elimination of unneccesary controls; protection against discrimination, correction of tax abuses, and limitation of competition by governmental organizations.

New Orleans, La.

Equal Rights

Both—Recommends submitting a constitutional amendment on equal rights for women.

7-15-48

Thurs.

Atomic Energy

Democratic—Pledges adherence to the principle of non-partisan civilian administration of atomic energy.

The Text of the Communist Party's Platform

Following is the text of the Communist platform for the 1948 elections as adopted by the Communist convention yesterday:

Times

In this crucial 1948 election the American people have a fateful decision to make: Shall America follow the path of peace or war, democracy or fascism?

Platform

Our boys returned from World War II with the hope that their wartime sacrifices had not been in vain.

New York, N.Y.

Remember the promises: Fascism would be wiped out; the great-power unity that brought war victory would bring enduring peace: an economic bill of rights would provide every American with security.

34d

These promises have been broken.

Sat. 8-7-48

Instead of peace, there is war —in Greece, in China, in Israel.

Instead of peace, we witness feverish preparations for war.

Instead of peace, American boys are once again being regimented in the first peacetime draft in our nation's history.

Instead of security and abundance, we have sky-rocketing prices, lowered living standards and the shadow of an impending economic crash with mass unemployment. Farmers fear the inevitable collapse of farm prices. After three years our veterans are still denied housing. Our youth face a future of insecurity and new wars.

Platform

Instead of greater democracy, we witness lynch law, mounting Jim-Crowism and anti-Semitism, and a conspiracy to undermine our sacred democratic heritage. Anti-Communist witch-hunts, phony spy scares, the arrest and conviction of anti-fascist leaders, the hounding of government employes and former Roosevelt associates, the persecution of foreign-born workers, the adoption of anti-labor legislation—these are the methods by which the American people are step by step being driven down the road to a police state and fascism.

These are the chief issues of the 1948 elections.

America is a great and beautiful land, endowed with immense natural resources and a people skilled in producing abundance. Why then the fear of insecurity?

We are today threatened by no outside force. No nation on earth can attack us. Why then the war hysteria?

8-7-48

The answer lies in this simple fact—250 giant corporations, operating through eight banks, control the economic life of America. These in turn are largely owned by a few plutocratic families—Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, du Pont and Ford.

The nation's industries are operated not for the public welfare, but for the private gain and power of the multi-millionaire ruling class. Prices continue to rise because of vast military expenditures and because the monopolies, through price-fixing agreements and other devious devices, extract exorbitant profits.

They also make huge profits from war and from armaments. They extract super-profits abroad by forcing other nations into economic dependence upon Wall Street. This drive for foreign markets, for Wall Street domination of the world, is at the bottom of the war hysteria and war preparations. Big business, fearful of the growth and advance of democracy and socialism, hopes to crush the democratic and socialist movements of the world, in order to protect and swell its profits.

Big business seeks to re-establish the old Nazi cartels and use Germany as a military base for new aggression, but the failure of the bi-partisan foreign policy to achieve its main aim of world conquest has increased the frenzy with which Wall Street seeks to plunge the nation into fascism and World War III.

War and Peace

Responsibility for the sharpening tension in world relations rests neither on the American people nor on the Soviet Union. The responsibility rests squarely on Wall Street and the bi-partisan Truman-Vandenberg-Dulles atomic diplomacy. The Soviet Union, which has no I. G. Farben or du Pont cartels, but has instead a Socialist economy, is the strongest bulwark for peace. Only the trusts and war profiteers want war.

Sat. 8-7-48

The Communist party calls for enforcement of the agreements arrived at by Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Soviet Union, based on a policy of collaboration with our great wartime Soviet ally.

End the "cold war," the draft and the huge military budget!

Offer American-Soviet friendship, the key to making the United Nations an instrument for world peace!

Conclude a peace settlement for a united democratic Germany and Japan based on the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements. Guarantee the complete democratization and demilitarization of these countries.

Withdraw American troops from China, Korea and Greece.

Break diplomatic and economic ties with Franco Spain.

Scrap the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine. Furnish large-scale economic assistance to the war-ravaged victims of Fascist attack. Give this aid to the United Nations without political strings.

Lift the embargo on and extend full recognition to Israel.

Immediate unconditional independence for Puerto Rico.

Aid the economic development of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America without infringement of their national independence. Abandon economic, political and military pressures on the countries of Latin America.

The Attack on Labor and Our Living Standards

The trusts have inflated prices and battered down the real wages of American workers to 16 per cent below 1944.

Huge war expenditures amount to 15 billion dollars this year—one-third of the entire national budget. The American people are already paying dearly for this "cold war economy," through a heavy tax burden, speed-up and reduction in real wages. We will pay still more heavily as the inflationary boom speeds the day of the oncoming economic bust.

Big Business has decreed that labor's hands be tied and its rights destroyed. The Taft-Hartley Law and strike-breaking injunctions are weapons against the people's resistance to the monopoly drive towards war and fascism.

Sat. 8-7-48

Defend the labor movement and unite the ranks of the workers and all progressives against this attack which threatens labor's very existence.

Repeal the Taft-Hartley Law and end strike-breaking injunctions.

Adopt a code of Federal labor legislation, including the best features of Wagner Act and the Norris-La Guardia anti-injunction laws.

Restore price control and roll back prices.

We join with all labor and progressive forces in the common demand for an adequate program for Federally financed low-rent housing, minimum wages, old-age pensions, adequate health insurance, and increased aid to education.

We call for increased security for the working farmers through up-to-date parity price and income guarantees, based on unlimited farm production. Such income guarantees require farm subsidies, effective crop insurance and sharp curbs on the giant food trusts and their marketing agencies. We further demand extension of Federal minimum wage and social security laws to agricultural workers, including seasonal and migratory labor.

8-7-48

We call for heavier taxation on high incomes and excess profits, with increased exemption for the low brackets. We demand a capital levy on big fortunes and corporations to finance essential social legislation.

We support all steps to curb the power of the trusts, the fountainhead of reaction, fascism and war. The American people can make gains, even under capitalism, by mass resistance to the monopolies. We support measures to nationalize basic industries, banks and insurance companies, but point out that these can only be useful as part of the fight for a people's democratic government in the United States. Democratic nationalization of trustified industries requires guarantees of democratic controls, the right of labor to organize, bargain collectively and strike. This can only be accomplished by a people's government dedicated to curbing the power of the trusts.

We point out that capitalism cannot become "progressive" even by curbing the excesses of the monopolies. The basic causes of unemployment, economic crisis, fascism and war can only be removed by the establishment of socialism through the democratic will of a majority of the American people.

Civil Rights

The destruction of the rights of the Communists is the classical first step down the road to fascism. The tragedy of Germany and Italy prove this. Therefore, it is incumbent upon all Americans who hate fascism to defend the rights of the Communists, and to help explode the myth that Communists are foreign agents or advocate force and violence.

8-7-48

We are no more foreign agents than was Jefferson who was also accused of being a foreign agent by the Tories of his day. We follow in the best tradition of the spokesmen of labor, science and culture whose contributions to human progress knew no national boundaries. We follow in the tradition of Abraham Lincoln, who said: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people of all nations and tongues and kindred."

It is not the Communists who advocate or practice force and violence, but the monopolists, the KKK, the lynch mobs and the fascist hoodlum gangs. Reaction has historically resorted to force and violence to thwart the democratic aspirations of the peoples. In 1776, force and violence were the weapons of King George against the American colonists seeking national independence. In 1861, force and violence were used by the Southern slave owners in an attempt to overthrow the democratic republic headed by Lincoln.

We are Marxist, not adventurers nor conspirators. We condemn and reject the policy and practice of terror and assassination and repudiate the advocates of force and violence. We Communists seek only the opportunity to compete fairly in the marketplace of ideas, asking only that our program and proposals be considered on their merit.

End the witch hunts, loyalty orders and phony spy scares.

Abolish the un-American committee. Withdraw the indictments against the twelve Communist leaders and the contempt citations against the anti-fascist victims of Congressional inquisitions.

End persecution and deportation of the foreign born and lift the undemocratic bars to citizenship.

Sat. 8-7-48

Outlaw all forms of anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism and every other expression of racial and religious bigotry.

End all discrimination against the Mexican-American people in the Southwest.

The Communist party calls for an end to any and all political, social and economic inequalities practiced against women and demands the maintenance and extension of existing protective legislation.

Extend the suffrage! Remove the bars directed against minority parties! Lower the voting age to 18 years in every state.

Negro Rights

The hypocrisy of the democratic pretensions of Wall Street and the Administration are shattered on the reality of the Jim Crow system in America. The most shameful aspect of American life is the Jim Crowism, the terror and violence imposed upon the Negro people, especially in the South. Discrimination in employment, only slightly relaxed during the war, is once again widespread.

The Communist party, which has pioneered in fighting for full political, economic and social equality for the Negro people, calls for an end to the policies of the Federal and state Governments which give official sanction to the Jim Crow system in the United States.

We call upon all progressives, especially white progressives, to carry on an unceasing day-to-day struggle to outlaw the poll tax, lynchings, segregation, job discrimination and all other forms of Jim-Crowism, official and unofficial.

We demand a national FEPC law, to be vigorously and fully enforced.

We demand that the Ingram family be freed and adequately compensated for the ordeals to which they have been subjected.

[The above platform plank refers to a killing in Ellaville, Ga., in November, 1947, of a white farmer for which Rosa Lee Ingram, 45 years old, and her two teen-age sons are serving life sentences. Their defense was that the farmer in an altercation had threatened to shoot them unless they removed hogs and a mule from his property. They took the shotgun from him and beat him to death with it. They pleaded self-defense.]

8-7-48

We demand that the Ku Klux Klan be outlawed.

We condemn President Truman's cynical evasion of the issue of segregation in the armed forces. We demand that he immediately issue an executive order ending every form of such segregation and discrimination.

We defend the right of the Negro people to full representation in government, and demand Federal enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, so that the Negro people can participate freely and fully in the 1948 elections, North and South.

We call for an agricultural program which will give land and other forms of assistance to millions of Negro and white tenants and sharecroppers in the South.

Such reforms will help provide the material basis for the Negro people's advance towards full liberation from their national oppression, toward their full political, economic and social equality.

The Two-Party System

Millions of American working people have come to realize the futility of any further support for the bankrupt two-party system of big business. Both major parties are committed to the bipartisan war program, reflected in both the Truman Doctrine and its New Look version, the Marshall Plan. Both major parties are united in this program of fattening the billionaires and bleeding the taxpayers.

Both major parties are responsible for runaway inflation. Both the Democratic President and the Republican Congress have done nothing to curb the powers of the trusts to hoard food, rig markets, boost prices and gouge consumers.

8-7-48

Both major parties are responsible for the atrocities committed against the Bill of Rights. Both helped pass the Taft-Hartley Law. Both the Democratic Congressional leaders and the cynical Dewey-Warren-Taft Republican leadership are responsible for the failure to enact civil rights legislation. Neither the Democratic platform nor President Truman's demagogy will fool any enlightened American. The President's deeds belie his words. He has refused to end segregation in the armed forces and the Government and fire from his Cabinet those who maintain it.

Both major parties are responsible for the Hitler-like hysteria expressed in spy scares, loyalty probes, Government witch hunts and the arrest and indictment of Americans whose "crime" it is to oppose the Wall Street war plans. Both the Democratic-controlled Department of Justice and the Republican-controlled un-American Committee have equally been guilty of subverting the Bill of Rights.

8-7-48

Chief allies of the twin parties of big business in the ranks of labor and the progressive organizations of the people are those who pretend to criticize the corruption and decay of the two old parties while, in fact, keeping the people tied hand and foot to the two-party system. These include the top officialdom of the AFL, CIO and R. R. Brotherhoods and groups like the Americans for Democratic Action and the Social Democrats, such as Norman Thomas and David Dubinsky.

The New Party

Millions of Americans, disillusioned with the two-party system, have given birth to a new people's party.

The new Progressive party is an inescapable historic necessity for millions who want a real choice between peace and war, democracy or fascism, security or poverty.

The Communists, who support every popular progressive movement, naturally welcome this new people's party. We supported the progressive features of Roosevelt's New Deal. We helped organize the CIO in the 1930's, we have supported every democratic movement since the Communists of Lincoln's generation fought in the Union cause during the Civil War.

On most immediate questions before the people of the country the Progressive party has offered detailed platform planks around which all forward-looking people can unite. Our support of the Progressive policies and campaign does not alter the fact that we have fundamental as well as some tactical differences with Henry Wallace and related third party forces.

8-7-48

The Communist party is not nominating a Presidential ticket in the 1948 elections. In 1944 we Communists supported Roosevelt to help win the anti-Axis war. Similarly, in 1948 we Communists join with millions of other Americans to support the Progressive ticket to help win the peace. The Communist party will enter its own candidates only in those districts where the people are offered no progressive alternatives to the twin parties of Wall Street.

34d 1948

Progressive Citizens of America

Illinois Progressives Elect Eight To Board

The Defender

Sat 3-6-48

Chicago Ill

The Illinois Progressive Citizens of America elected eight Negroes to its board of directors and mapped strategy for stronger civil rights legislation during its state convention here last week at the Maryland hotel. Negroes elected to the board were: Dr. T. K. Lawless; Atty. Nelson Willis, president of the Cook County Bar association; A. J. Martin, of Peoria, president of the CIO Farm Equipment Workers; Sidney A. Jones; Taylor Thomas, Champaign civic leader; Atty. Earl B. Dickerson, Frank Marshall Davis and Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard.

What Negroes Are Doing

The News

BY MA[illegible]

The Progressive Democratic Council of Jefferson County, headed by Arthur D. Shores, has called a statewide meeting of Negro Democrats to convene in Birmingham, Sept. 19.

Purpose of the meeting is to make plans for the most effective method of casting their votes in the November election.

News 9-12-48

In preparation for the state meeting the local council has designated Sunday, Sept. 12, as Civil Rights Day. Pastors throughout the county have been asked to permit representatives of the council to make an appeal for financial assistance in the campaign.

B'ham, Ala

Convention highlights will include an address by T. Renfro Eaton at a mass meeting at 3 p.m., Sept. 19, at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church.

James M. Hinton, of Columbia, S. C., will deliver the principal address at the mass meeting. Mr. Hinton is president of the South Carolina Conference of N. A. A. C. P. branches and is one of the founders of the Progressive Democratic Party of South Carolina. Atlanta (Ga.) Daily World, and president of the Atlanta Citizens Democratic Association.

9-13-48

Announced objectives of the convention are to put into operation a statewide campaign for funds to be used for the reelection of President Truman.

Mrs. Lucille Douglass, chairman of the Ensley Unit of the Progressive Democratic Council, is chairman of the finance committee.

S. C. Negroes Map Test Case Against Demos

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Negro members of the South Carolina Progressive Democratic Party irked at the dilatory methods of South Carolina Democrats in integrating them into party affairs promised a court test of the Party's exclusiveness regarding Negroes.

The action came on the heels of the refusal of the Dillon County Democratic Convention to seat eight Negro delegates. The organization is one of the 46 holding reorganization meetings over the state.

Chairman John H. McCray, of the South Carolina Progressive Democratic Party, and Publisher of the Lighthouse and Informer newspaper, promised "some legal action will be brought" to have the eight recognized.

5-5-48

10

Gov. Strom Thurmond, one of President Harry S. Truman, most critical foes in wake of the controversial civil rights legislation, was indorsed as a candidate for U. S. Vice President at the Democratic National Convention, which meets in Philadelphia.

All the county meetings elected delegates to the May 10 State Convention, where action has been promised in opposition to the civil rights program and in shaping party policies dealing with the right of Negroes to vote in compliance with a recent decision by the United States Supreme Court.

President Truman and his civil rights proposals were criticized in resolutions and speeches at several of the meetings.

Negro Group Pledges Support To Truman; Dixiecrats Scorned

Advertiser

9-20-48

BIRMINGHAM —(P)— A Negro political group, the Progressive Democratic Association of Alabama, pledged its support Sunday to President Truman.

More than 100 Negro delegates from seven of nine congressional districts in Alabama attended.

Montgomery, Ala

The group adopted the following three-point program of assistance to Mr. Truman.

"(1) Cast dollars before Nov. 2 for Harry S. Truman since you cannot vote for him.

"(2) Non-voting on Nov. 2.

"(3) Non-voting on Nov. 2 for any Dixiecrat elector, nor any other Dixiecrat candidate."

No Truman-pledged electors are on the ballot in Alabama.

The following officers were elected: A. D. Shores, Birmingham, chairman; C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee, co-chairman; Mrs. L. E. Macon, Birmingham, secretary; A. P. Boynton, Selma, assistant secretary, and Mrs. L. H. Douglass, Birmingham, treasurer.

Mon 9-20-48

In a meeting here last week the Progressive Democratic Association of Alabama, headed by Atty. A. D. Shores, outlined a four-point program, including a series of Roosevelt dinners.

The group mapped a state-wide program which calls for sponsoring forums, conducting a 'poll-tax paying campaign' and encouraging voter registration.

Birmingham News

E. P. Colvin, insurance salesman, E. O. Jackson, editor, and Atty. Shores were named to a committee to plan a registration program to be coordinated with labor, women's organizations, the Elks and teacher groups.

Birmingham Ala

Named to the committee to draft the program for the state were N. Judge King, teacher; W. H. Hollins, real estate man; W. L. Patterson and A. F. Jordan.

12-17-43

Robeson's Visit Draws Criticism Of Legion Leaders

Commercial Appeal

A sharp criticism of local sponsors who arranged for the visit here of Paul Robeson, negro supporter of the Progressive Party was made last night by Commander Rodney Baber and the Executive Committee of Memphis Post No. 1 of the American Legion.

Robeson and Clark Foreman, treasurer of the party, spoke last night at Mason's Temple in behalf of the candidacies of Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor.

Memphis Tenn.

"The American Legion regrets that certain misguided residents of this community have seen fit to infringe upon decent proprieties and the good temper of our city by having a negro Communist sympathizer come here to further his nefarious purposes by addressing certain of our citizens," said the Legion spokesmen in a prepared statement.

"We are confident that most of those who attended were motivated either by an unfortunate curiorsity to see such a person or they were expecting to witness a resentful outbreak of outraged citizens. Certainly, we hope, few if any attended out of sympathy with him or his viscious idealogies.

"He is the same negro who has time and time again been branded as a Communist sympathizer in the public press. He is the same negro who took his son to Russia to be educated for the reason he was reputed to have said that 'the Russian atmosphere is the only one in which his son could have been reared in freedom.'

Sat 10-2-48

"The visit of this type of negro has done no good to this community, nor has it been of benefit in furthering racial relations. It has certainly reflected no credit on the people who sponsored it.

"We are sure that the good people of Memphis will agree with the Legion that a negro of this type and his sponsors would be better off in the Soviet Union they love so well. Certainly this community would be better off without them."

BOYLE SAYS ROBESON IS NOT WANTED HERE

Commercial Appeal

Sun 9-26-48

Refuses Request For Ticket Booth, Sound Truck

PARTY TO CALL MEETING

Memphis Tenn.

"We don't want Robeson here," City Commissioner Boyle said yesterday in disclosing he had turned down a request of the Progressive Party that they be allowed to establish a Main Street ticket booth and use a sound truck in connection with Paul Robeson's appearance here Oct. 1.

The negro singer is scheduled to appear here at Mason Temple, 958 South Fifth. He will sing and talk in behalf of the candidacies of Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor. Robeson is being brought here by the local Progressive Party.

By No Means the End

Refusal of the party's request by no means marks the end of the affair, Mrs. Lee Richardson, chairman of the Shelby County Progressive Party, said. She said the group will call a special meeting to discuss the matter.

Sun 9-26-48

Commissioner Boyle said:

"We probably made a mistake by permitting Wallace to speak in the park here, but he disclaims he is a Communist. Paul Robeson admits he is a Communist.

"We Don't Want Him"

"Understand his son lives in Moscow now. Further understand that he has made many derogatory statements about the South. We don't want Robeson here. We don't need that type of man. We don't need a Communist. There has been too much easing off on the question already.

"Many who are giving aid and comfort should be frowned upon. We suggest they do not bring him here."

Fraud, Threats Charged To Wallace Group Here

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta Georgia

A former People's Progressive Party member charges that the Wallace group here obtained ballot petition signatures by fraud, sought members for the Communist Party and threatened to have Communists kill him if he exposed them.

Wed. 10-6-48

"Most of the persons whose names are on the petition (to put Wallace's State candidates on the Georgia ballot) do not know it," Clarence A. Ward, of Plainfield, N. J., wrote The Constitution.

Ward reported that Miss Branson Price, Director of the Party here, ordered workers to solicit people on the streets; get their names and addresses "under any pretext necessary." These names then were transferred to the petition, Ward charged.

Attaches in the Secretary of State's office said yesterday they found page after page of supposed signatures that were written in the same handwriting. Many pages were printed in long-hand by the same solicitor, they said.

Sec. of State Ben Fortson last Saturday refused to list Larkin Marshall, Macon Negro, as a Senatorial candidate; James Barfoot as a gubernatorial candidate, and Floyd Hunter as a candidate for Congress in the Fifth District, when the Wallaceites failed to sign an affidavit that the names on their 5 percent petition were names of qualified voters. The Legislature's repeal of the 5 percent law for Presidential candidates opens the ballot to Wallace, himself, however, if his electors sign an anti-Communist pledge.

Ward said his singing group was hired to come her to sing in Negro churches while the Wallace group solicited signatures for a petition to get on the Georgia ballot. When he saw the speakers seeking new members for the Communist Party, however, Ward said he withdrew. This caused him to reecive no pay for his trip, he said. Ward quoted Miss Price as stating that any Negro would be amply rewarded for such work by having the privilege of sitting at dinner with her, Barfoot and other white people.

He charged that Miss Price and Palmer Weber, another Party leader, warned that Communists would throw him overboard next time he ships out with the Merchant Marines, if he exposed their methods in Georgia.

Party Spokesmen Still Have Hopes In General Vote

Daily Worker

Tues 10-26-48

Georga's refusal to place Progressive party candidates on the November 2 ballot for state offices was upheld Monday by a ruling of the U. S. Court of Appeals.

Atlanta Ga

The Progressives in receiving an unfavorable ruling at the hands of the court will be denied representation for state offices but will have an opportunity of voting for their presidential and vice-presidential candidates since the five percent law applies only to state elections.

The Progressives had sought a temporary injunction to prevent Georgia's Secretary of State Ben W. Fortson Jr., from certifying "any candidate until the issues raised have been adjudicated by this court."

Despite the ruling, the Wallace supporters have the right to write in the name of their choice.

Judge Samuel H. Sibley, who wrote the decision, held:

Tues 10-26-48

"The coontroversy is between citizens of the same state but the contention is that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment applies, and also the due process clause in that voters and candidates of this new party of the old party who participated in the last general election and are deprived by the recent amendment of a vested right."

Calling attention to the write-in possibility, the Progressives said they will suffer no serious inconvenience.

Police at Rally Stand Idly By

Afro American

Sat 10-16-48

Magistrate Brands Hoodlums 'Cowards'

Baltimore Md

PHILADELPHIA

While police stood idly by, Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey and other Progressive Party speakers were pelted with eggs, Saturday night, during a street corner rally at 22nd St. and Indiana Ave.

Magistrate Rainey, who continued to speak after being stuck in the face by one of the eggs, told the crowd of 300 gathered for the meeting:

"Only cowards with Fascist ideas in their little minds would throw eggs from the dark at anyone."

Undaunted by Prior Display

Police in red cars had been dispatched to the meeting, prior to Rainey's arrival, when two other speakers had been hit by eggs.

The second egg-barrage was fired as Rainey, Congressional candidate from the 4th District, stepped back from the microphone after his speech.

The magistrate immediately seized the microphone again and defied the hoodlums.

Police Refuse to Act

Asked why no effort was made to stop the egg-throwers or arrest them, one police officer replied with a smirk, "What eggs?"

In his speech, Rainey lashed out at both the Republicans and Democrats for creating what he termed a "coalition" government "which served only the money interests, while the masseses of people are ignored and being led toward a third world war."

Defied Ala. Mob, Local Thugs

Rainey, who was forced to flee for his life in Birmingham recently when he insisted on speaking to a mixed audience concerning civil rights, was arrested and manhandled by Philadelphia police several weeks ago in a station house.

He was also threathened with impeachment by Laurence Eldrede, special deputy Attorney General, if he did not quit the Congressional race or resign as a magistrate.

Sat 10-16-48

Rainey refused to do either.

Political Prosecution Hinted

More recently, Eldredge, who heads a State investigation of Philadelphia magistrates, demanded the records of Rainey and five other members of the minor judiciary.

Rainey refused to release the books, but invited Eldredge's agents to inspect them in his office. This is being done.

GOP Magistrate By Passed

Meanwhile, Edredge, special deputy Attorney General, emphatically denied, this week, reports that he had requested the books of Magistrate Hobson Reynolds.

The investigation head said he had issued no such instructions and had no reason to do so. Reynolds is a Republican candidate for State Senate from the 7th District.

Wallace Urges 'Marshall Plan' for South

Favors Spending $4,000,000,000 In Four Years

The Courier-Journal
8-30-48
Louisville Ky

From Wire Dispatches.

Durham, N. C., Aug. 29.—Henry Wallace today proposed a "Marshall plan for the South" under which the Government would give the South $1,000,000,000 a year for four years to aid its industry and agriculture.

The Progressive Party presidential candidate, speaking at a state convention of his party here, said his "Southern plan" could be financed by taxing corporations that profit from Southern farms, labor, and factories.

Mon 8-30-48

"I am confident that the people of the South will get more benefit from a billion dollars advanced in this manner than the people of Europe are getting from $10,000,000,000 of political handouts under the wasteful foreign programs of the bipartisans," Wallace declared.

Gatherings Called 'Private.'

Mon. 8-30-48

Tonight's speech before the North Carolina Progressive Party was the fourth in Wallace's whirlwind tour of 20 cities in seven Southern states. He left New York by plane this morning, spoke in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Richmond, Va., and flew here for a reception and the convention.

On his seven-day tour Wallace will not speak at any meeting where whites and Negroes are segregated. Laws in some Southern states prohibit nonsegregated public meetings. But officials in some places were side-stepping the issue by agreeing to call Wallace's audiences "private" gatherings. Under this interpretation, segregation laws were not applicable.

'It Is No Handout.'

Wallace proposed his Marshall plan for the South be split evenly between industry and agriculture and be in addition to federal aid for schools, hospitals, homes, health, and Social Security.

"It is no handout I propose," he said. "There is a simple method to finance it and the returns in increased production, in health, and happiness will repay the investment over a few years."

Wallace proposed that the half billion for Southern industry be used to build factories planned, owned, and controlled in the South and paying high wages, and to help build homes and machines. The half billion for agriculture, he said, should be used to help the "honest and industrious Southern farmer establish a sound and solvent agriculture."

Nominate Accused 'Red.'

The North Carolina Progressives nominated Mary Price, party organizer recently accused of Communist connections, as their candidate for Governor.

Miss Price, 39, was called a Communist agent before a Congressional investigating committee by Elizabeth T. Bentley.

Miss Price has declined to say whether she ever had any Communist connections and to the Bentley testimony she answered: "Smear."

Berates Dixiecrats.

At Richmond, Wallace said the "Dixiecrats are an invention to make the Trumancrats looks liberal."

"The Dixiecrats are an invention to divert the people of the South from real problems to false ones, from high prices to hot words, and from the great issue of war and peace to the rantings of demagogues," he told the Virginia convention of the Progressive Party.

The convention nominated a Progressive candidate for the U. S. Senate. It selected by acclamation Mrs. Virginia Foster Durr, Arlington, wife of Clifford Durr, who recently resigned as a member of the Federal Communications Commission.

Mon 8-30-48

Progressives Claim to Aid 'Truly Liberal' Democrats

New York, Aug. 29 (AP)—The Progressive Party claimed today it has helped, rather than hurt, the election chances of liberal Democratic Party candidates.

The claim was made by Henry Wallace's campaign manager, C. B. Baldwin.

He took issue with a recent charge by C.I.O. President Philip Murray that the Progressive Party offers "defeat . . . to American progressives" by sponsoring its own candidates in various races to oppose "liberal officeholders and candidates."

Baldwin said "If the C.I.O. looks at the facts, it will find that the Progressive Party has worked for the greatest degree of unity behind truly liberal candidates, no matter what their party label."

Of the 56 congressmen whom The C.I.O. News rates as 80 per cent liberal, Baldwin said, "there will be few whom we will oppose."

The Republicans Organize in Georgia

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Georgia welcomes today Hugh Scott, National Chairman of the Republican Committee. He will speak in Atlanta tonight, kicking off, so to speak, the new—and we do mean new—Republican State organization under the direction of State Campaign Chairman Robert Snodgrass.

The South is a one-party region largely because the Republican Party has been content to leave it so, being unwilling to tackle the admittedly difficult and tedious task of organizing a second party. Southerners too often think that a second party can be created merely by voting the Republican ticket. The fact is, a second party can be brought into being only by organizing it on a local level, precinct and county. Under the new leadership in Georgia, which includes all that was best of the old, a hopeful sign in itself, county organizations are being formed.

The Atlanta Constitution, a pioneer in the fight to bring the two-party system to Georgia and the South, believes the two-party system necessary to our form of political government. That is why we take a dim view of splinter parties and regard the Dixiecrats just as much of a political dead-end street as the Wallace-ites and, basically, as harmful to the two-party system. Fri 10-8-48

We want Mr. Scott to know he is welcome and that thousands of Georgians and Southerners will welcome a chance to become members of his party if given the chance and given the genuine support of the National Committee—now and in the years ahead. Georgia gave Thomas Dewey 18 percent of its total vote in 1944, a surprising fact many persons have forgot. Fri 10-8-48

The appearance of the Republican National Committeeman poses a question for the Democratic National Committeeman and Committee in Georgia. It is the Democratic party for our State. It is wholly against President Truman's policies in the domestic field. Yet, in the recent primary Marvin Griffin, who was nominated as Lieutenant Governor, said from the stump that he was violently opposed to President Truman, but would support the party ticket. To date the National Committeeman and State Committee have not commented. They will, it may be assumed, vote for the ticket. But they must decide whether to publicly state so, as did Griffin, or remain silent and leave the work to others who see the issue not in terms of Truman, but in terms of years. Someone in the Democratic Party must conduct a campaign for the party.

10-8-48

Meanwhile, we again repeat our welcome of Chairman Scott and urge again that Georgians do all they can to create two healthy and competitive parties. We are and have our form of government through the two-party system. Failure to maintain it produces results such as France now faces.

Plan Last-Minute 'Token Effort' on Eve of Convention

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 5-29-48

34d

By LEM GRAVES JR.
(Courier Washington Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—The Republican party, which has avoided civil rights issues like the plague since the opening of the Eightieth Congress, is still uncertain what, if anything, it will do about civil rights legislation.

Senator Robert Taft, chairman of the Senate GOP policy committee, announced last week that the policy committee may bring up the House-passed anti-poll tax bill instead of the anti-lynch bill it had previously given top priority. Senator Taft reached this decision after the Senate Judiciary Committee failed to agree on reporting the anti-lynch bill.

TOKEN EFFORT

While the Senate Republicans debated about which bill to try to pass as a token effort to live up to its platform commitments just before election time, the House GOP leadership, for which Speaker Joe Martin is the spokesman, made it plain that it had already passed the poll tax measure and that it will pass the anti-lynch bill "within forty minutes" after the Senate passes it.

Speaker Martin declared that the House would not bother with the anti-lynch bill until the Senate took action but promised immediate passage as soon as the Senate acted. Speaker Martin has unquestioned control of the House and there is every reason to believe that he can deliver on this pledge.

BIG LOG-JAM

Meanwhile, most radio and news commentators in Washington are freely predicting that no civil rights legislation will come out of the Eightieth Congress. With less than twenty working days left before the scheduled adjournment on the eve of the Republican National Convention, June 19, Congress is faced with a tremendous log-jam of necessary legislation.

While most of the civil rights legislation has been before Congress since the early days of the first session, in 1947, it has been consistently by-passed by the GOP-dominated Congress. The status of this legislation has not changed appreciably since the end of the first session at which time the GOP box score was very low

PRESENT STATUS

The present status is as follows:

1. Anti-poll tax—Passed by the House last June, favorable committee report in Senate recently; not scheduled on Senate calendar but now being considered for test against Southern filibuster in final days of second session.

2. Anti-lynch—Still in committee in Senate; first given priority in Senate but may now be sacrificed in favor of poll tax bill; House promises immediate passage. Sat. 5-29-48

3. FEPC—Favorably reported by Senate committee, no hearings held by House committee; no chance to reach calendar this session.

4. Segregation in interstate commerce—No committee hearings in either house of Congress; no chance for action.

5. Civil rights in District of Columbia—Hearings in House, scheduled for last week, postponed; no bill in Senate; no action expected.

6. Army jim crow—Anti-discrimination section included in draft act now before Congress; however, segregation not mentioned; same section as used in 1940 draft act which was ineffective in prohibiting either discrimination or segregation; no action expected on separate bill.

URGENT BILLS

Meanwhile, Congress faces urgent appropriation bills, selective service and UMT legislation, fights on housing, education, displaced persons, anti-Communist, loyalty document and possibly labor union legislation. In addition, there will be some deficiency appropriations bills and extensive work on Federal pay raises, plus minor bills important for the operation of the Government during the election recess.

It is the consensus of local observers that the Republicans will offer just one civil rights bill, in order to attract Negro voters, allow that bill to be killed off by a Southern filibuster, and then withdraw it on the claim that these other urgent bills cannot be delayed. Then the strategy calls for the GOP to blame the Democrats, although it could have passed the bills if it had tried earlier.

Hobson Reynolds Issues Stern Challenge to GOP

The Courier
34d
Sat 7-3-48

PHILADELPHIA—"We believe in the economic and humanitarian policies of the Republican party," said Magistrate Hobson R. Reynolds of this city, addressing the Republican National Convention here last week, as he issued a stirring challenge for unity and harmony within the party's ranks.

Gov. Dwight Green of Illinois, mporary convention chairman, troduced Magistrate Reynolds, o was accorded a rousing ova- n when he completed his ad- ss. It was pointed out that the ladelphia GOP figure has been orsed for State Senator in nsylvania.

OFFERED CONVENTION SLOGAN

Mr. Reynolds urged the GOP to adopt as a convention theme the slogan: "Let us work together," pointing out that "in many parts of the world and in many instances here in our own country the notion prevails that we cannot work together.

"Our entire country, yes, the whole world is looking forward to this convention for leadership," he declared, "We must not fail them." Magistrate Reynolds charged that the Democrats "have proved beyond any doubt they are incapable of sponsoring any program whereby they can cause democracy to work at home or abroad."

ASKS RACE INTEGRATION

His challenge to harmony and accord between the Republicans and Negroes was couched in a fervent plea. "America is made up of many minorities. These minorities can work together and they should," he said. "I speak today for a minority, for by blood and tradition I am securely bound to the Negro race. It is important to the success of our country that this group be allowed to work together with all other groups and under the same conditions and circumstances for we are interested in all questions that concern America."

Sat 7-3-48

Magistrate Reynolds declared, "We have faith in the leaders of the Republican party," and expressed the desire that Negroes would be permitted to share, unequivocally, "each and every privi lege of citizenship guaranteed us by the Constitution of our country," and urged the Republicans to protect those rights for the Negro race.

"We ask no more. We will not be satisfied with anything less," he thundered.

MUST BANISH INJUSTICES

He charged the Republican party with the responsibility of doing away with the effects of race prejudice. "Our Government can and should see to it that all Americans have equal economic opportunity and should insist that colored citizens should share responsibility with all other citizens for the welfare of the Nation."

Magistrate Reynolds bitterly lashed prejudice and racial injustices, declaring: "Injustices that follow from ignorance and in-born racial prejudices have most largely contributed to the present-day lack of a more cordial relationship between the races, and that cooperative spirit of unity which should exist, and which must finally exist, if we are to achieve that peace and economic prosperity which underlies all permanent progress."

HOBSON R. REYNOLDS

Republican Ticket Our Best Bet

The Constitution
Atlanta Ga
[illegible]

Editor Constitution: Whether President Truman's attempted blow at the South is a calamity or a blessing depends on nothing but the future action of the Southern people themselves—on how a majority of us vote in all Southern States in the next few national elections.

The calamity, if it comes, will be to the nation as well as to the South.

Most of us will vote this year with three objectives: (1) the South's best interests, (2) the nation's best interests (which is substantially the same thing, and (3) to resent (in the way that will be most effective) Harry Truman's attempt to force non-segregation upon the South, against the will of both races in the South.

On these objectives, a majority of us agree; but on means of attaining them, we differ greatly. Two courses are open to us, one based on hot-headed emotion, the other on long-headed sense. Here they are:

We may, as was done in 1860, reduce the South to the status of a political nonentity by throwing our strength to the Dixiecrats, or some other splinter party, where it will soon be gone with the wind.

That course would exactly suit the Communists—Russia's Fifth Column in our midst, for war or peace. Confusion and chaos is what they want everywhere outside the iron curtain. The Communists hope to see this nation changed from a two-party nation, which has made America great, to a multi-party nation, which would reduce the United States to the political impotency of France, where for three years nothing but a tottering coalition government has been possible. About 14 of them have already fallen; the fifteenth is now starting.

Few Southerners will ever knowingly so vote as to lend aid or comfort to the Communists. The danger is that many may do so unwittingly, not realizing the full effect of wasting their ballots on a splinter party.

GOP Bid On the other hand, the South may remain as solid as ever, but become solidly independent—nationally—and thereby keep the United States a great two-party nation, also become the dominant part of it, by always voting with whichever of the two major parties, in any national election year, seems to be preferable—the lesser of two evils when neither is satisfactory.

Nothing can hit Harry Truman harder this year than for the Solid South to support the Dewey-Warren ticket. Unless we do that, the labor and Negro vote in doubtful States may elect him. It was Truman's courtship of the labor and Negro vote in doubtful States that caused him to aim his dastardly blow at the South. He thought we were too narrow-minded, too hidebound, ever to vote in a new and independent way.

Nothing can serve better to kill the big hope of the Communists—the Russophiles—and keep the United States a great two-party nation, than for the South to become and permanently remain solidly independent, supporting one or the other of the two major parties, for all foreseeable national elections.

Another result: The Solid South, always so voting, would generally be the balance of power, as between Northern Democrats and Northern Republicans. Neither of these groups could in that case reasonably hope ever to win a Presidential election, by a majority vote, without the support of the Southern Independents. Both or them would then be found courting the Solid South (in the halls of Congress and in their national conventions) as no woman can get courted without having two eligible men madly in love with her at the same time.

1860 The present situation is analogous to that of 1860, when other hot-headed Dixiecrats held a similar rump convention, in Alabama, over-ruled the cool-headed Alexander H. Stephens, got control of the South, and held that control until they had ruined the South for a whole generation.

The hot-headed Dixiecrats of 1860 were certainly as brilliant as those of 1948. Among them were Georgia's Bob Toombs, Alabama's Bill Yancey, Mississippi's Jeff Davis, South Carolina's Preston Brooks, Louisiana's Judah P. Benjamin, and many other great orators. But when the results were all in a few years later, both they and the whole world knew their tragic error.

Why repeat that error now? Wise men make mistakes. But only fools and hot-heads repeat them.

As one great statesman of that time said: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so must we think anew and act anew."

How, then, should Southerners vote next November? If we vote the Dewey-Warren ticket, we will be voting, not as Republicans, but as Southern Independents, also in the most effective way possible against Harry Truman, against the Communists, for the South's best interest, and for the stability of this nation.

McCorvey And The Republicans

The News
[illegible]
Birmingham Ala

To the Editor of The News:

I am glad you gave Mr. McCorvey all the space he needed to defend himself against what he considers misleading reports about his hypothetical deals with Truman and Dewey on civil rights legislation. We can all appreciate Chairman McCorvey's grave dilemma as an influential and responsible Democratic Party official and also give him credit for the ingenious political strategy of the Dixiecrat protest whatever we may think of its wisdom or justification.

If it was possible to divorce the movement from its present hotly controversial and sectional complexes and promote it as a protest against the increasing centralization in Washington with its continued alphabetical monstrosities, pyramiding bureaucracies and alarming encroachments on states' rights, it would attract powerful support in the North, especially among the liberal right wing Republicans.

But why should Mr. McCorvey proceed to spoil the good impression by such a gratuitous and bad-mannered confession as this: "I was brought up to believe that voting a Republican ticket was just something that was not done by Southern white men and I am still chock-full of feeling against the Republican Party?" And especially at a time when we have a powerful and ruthless enemy who, if he had it, would drop an atomic bomb on Washington tomorrow morning?

This is not loyal political partisanship; it is bigotry and intolerance of the meanest kind.

Fortunately for me as an American citizen, I arrived quite a while after the War Between the States and have no inherited bias or animus either way and I can testify from long residence among them that the average Northern Republican has a much better understanding of the racial problem and a much kindlier feeling for his Southern fellow-American than Mr. McCorvey knows about. And it is no snap prophecy that if the Dixiecrat splinter should bite in deep enough to take a big slice out of the party trunk, the new political alignment would find the right-wing liberals North and South lining up against the left-wing radicals South and North.

Just why should these old musty and sinister hangovers of almost 90 years be allowed to check and smother the generous fellow feeling and honest cooperative spirit which ought to flourish between North and South and East and West of our great common and beloved country?

Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans of today are absolutely innocent of responsibility for the War Between the States and the tragic post bellum misunderstandings, outrages and blunders that followed. Let us be Democrats or Republicans, Dixiecrats or Wallaceites as we please but let us be first of all loyal and generous-hearted Americans, not blind and bigoted political partisans. Let us respect ourselves and respect our fellow citizens and earnestly consecrate ourselves to the common and supreme task of making our 48 United States a great, free and united American democracy!

Homewood, Ala. DAVID WALLACE.

Randolph Calls GOP's 'Dixie-crats'

Afro American
Sat 7-3-48
Baltimore Md

PHILADELPHIA (NNPA)—The civil rights plank in the 1948 Republican platform is a warning to colored people that the Republican party is courting Southern States and does not give a "picayune" for colored voters, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, declared here last Tuesday.

Holding in his hands a copy of the platform, which had just been adopted by the convention, Mr. Randolph said, "This is lousy."

"It is not sufficiently strong to convey the perfect futility of the civil rights plank. It would be a joke, were it not such a tragic taversty upon decency and an insult to the common sense and pride of the colored citizens of America.

Calls Party "Dixie-crat"

"The Republican party has desended to its lowest depths of opportunism and has become more 'Dixie-crat' than Mississippi and South Carolina.

"It is a signal for the colored people to become more militant and aggressive in their fight to abolish jim crow in the Army, transportation, education and every other area of life in America by all of the forces they can mobilize, including the method of civil disobedience."

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8 Hampton Students Join Catholic Church

Sat 7-3-48

HAMPTON, Va.—After taking instructions in the Catholic Religion eight students at Hampton Institute here recently were received into the Catholic Church. They are:

Sylvia C. Bethel, Lake Luzerne, N.Y.; Lois Marie Lawrence, Roxbury, Mass.; Barbara Jeanne Dorsey, Fort Worth, Texas; Clarence L. Holmes, Charleston, S.C.; Robert Bethel, Lake Luzerne, N.Y.; Alexander J. Bowlay-Williams, Freetown, Sierra Leone, Africa; Robert Chapman, Washington, and Joyce Tatum of Norfolk, Va.

Republicans Nominate Dewey

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga
(243)
Sun 6-27-48

The Republicans have exercised rare good sense in laying aside selfish personal interests of contending candidates and lining up solidly behind New York's Governor Thomas E. Dewey for the Presidency with California's popular Governor Earl Warren, as his running mate. By any standards of measurements, these two men, one taken from the powerful East, the other from the equally powerful West, are the best and most popular pair in the whole Republican machine. There can be no doubt that the two men will make a strong bid for the support of American voters next November.

In thus choosing Mr. Dewey and Mr. Warren, the Republicans have chosen to capitalize upon their personal magnetism and popularity and thus compensate for the manifest failures of the Party to live up to its obligations and opportunities in passing legislation which would improve the lot of the common man. In Congress, where the American people get their impression on whether the party is or is not worthy of their vote and confidence, the Republicans have a shameful record of do-nothing. They refused to pass an anti-lynching bill, which President Truman sought as a measure of protection to the Negro and other minorities. They refused to pass an anti-poll tax law. They refused to lift their hands against the steadily mounting prices. They have taken away every safeguard against high rents. They have given the green light to big business and profit makers. Slum clearance and low rent housing was knifed and killed by the Republican Congress. They have silently, but craftily maneuvered all arguments and efforts away from the passage of Truman's Civil Rights program. In short the Republicans want civil rights as a great campaign issue to lure the Negro votes of the Nation, but they do not desire them as a program for action. For even at the Convention last Tuesday, the platform makers promptly rebuffed and refused to permit a Negro group to meet and discuss with them the kind of platform which would be acceptable to Negroes.

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga. 6-27-48

That is why we think Mr. Dewey himself will have to either repudiate the Republican record in Congress as well as the platform it adopted at Philadelphia if he is to have a claim upon the voters loyalty next November. Either Mr. Dewey must repudiate the Republicans and their platform or else the stigma of Robert A. Taft, who today, is the most important spokesman in the Congress, will send him to defeat in November. Taft, Taber, Allen, Halleck and Martin, these names will remain the top names in the Republican Party for many years to come. And American Negroes will think hard and long before they will consent to cast their lot with a Party whose shameful record in the recent Congress, has won for it the scorn and rebuke of all Americans.

Dr. J. B. Martin, GOP Leader Fed Up With Party's 'Tripe' On Civil Rights; Wires All Senators

The Argus
St. Louis, Mo.
Fri. 7-9-48
Chi. Sanitary Bd

Republican Member Acts.

CHICAGO (ANP) — Lassitude of the Republican party in the matter of emphatic committments on the question of civil rights to the Negro was highlighted this week by an outstanding Republican, Dr. J. B. Martin, trustee of the Sanitary district of Chicago and one of the nation's top Negro elected Republican officials.

Fed up on what he described as the "tripe handed out to Negroes for years," Martin decided to do something about it. He sent telegrams to all sitting Republican senators requesting them to establish themselves on the important subject of civil rights.

The message sent to the national leaders of the party from Maine to San Diego, is as follows: 7-9-48

Show Lack of nterest

"On issues affecting the American Negro's fight for his full rights under the constitution, during the past half-century the Republican party has shown a complete lack of interest, a large amount of downright evasion and a sense of ruthless insincerity and uncalled for fence straddling.

St. Louis Mo
The Argus

"The time is at hand for the responsible heads of Republicanism to recognize that the Negro voter of 1948 will not fall for the four "old reliable" Republican props--the Flag, the Bible, the Constitution and Mr. Lincoln.

"These props and bromides will not stand up in 1948 against such strong gales of justices as the civil rights bill, fair employment practices act, anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation. 7-9-48

"It must be apparent to the Republican party that in an election year the time when the Negro voter is usually cultivated, and political corn is knee-deep that such props as a story on Mr. Lincoln and a review of what Republican party did for the Negro 85 years ago are too frail to lean on now.

St. Louis, Mo.

Empty Political Speeches

"The Negro voter has learned, through bitter experience, that any analysis of the campaign speeches made to Negro audiences by most candidates on both the Republican and Democratic tickets will disclose the fact that beyond giving the Bible their cordial and complete approval, taking their stand firmly on the Constitution and the bill of rights and violently waving the American flag, there is never anything in their speeches pledging them to sponsor or give emphatic support to laws which would give the American Negro the full enjoyment of his constiutional rights. On the contrary, they give the Negro voter an overflowing dose of 80-year-old history which they have seasoned with platitudes or leavened with just plain bunk. Fri. 7-9-48

"So, I say to the Republican party, my party and the party of my father, the Negro voters of 1948 want to know how you stand on the civil rights bill, the anti-poll tax, and anti-lynching and fair employment practices legislation? They want action now!"

Fri. 7-9-48
DR. J. B. MARTIN

18th Ward GOP Battleground; Organization Fails To Endorse Candidates In Committee Races

(248)

St. Louis Argus

By Mamie Smith

Fri. 7-16-48

The 18th Ward, which has developed the third most powerful Republican Organization in the State, under the leadrship of Attorney John A. Davis, has become a political battleground this year for the office of committeeman and committeewoman. Such intense feeling exists that the organization has endorsed only one candidate, Henri Chouteau, Ward candidate for State Senator, Third Senatorial District.

The bitter feud that was waged last spring between the Stephens and Hobbs factions continues with unabated fury in the 18th Ward. That fight was won by Howard Stephens, local shoe manufacturer. In a majority of the city wards, candidates representing both factions, are squaring off to do battle primary day August 3, 1948.

It is charged that Mayor Kaufmann and Dick Gruner, collector of the City of St. Louis, are backing the candidacy of S. E. Garner local attorney once defeated by Dr. G. J. Dixon for Magistrate in 1946 and once by Atty. S. R. Redmond, for Alderman in 1947. The object of this group is to eliminate Atty. John A. Davis, long a race leader, from politics. Davis, although confined to the hospital last spring because of illness, supported the successful Stephens group and was rewarded for his efforts by being elected a delegate to the recent Republican National Convention. It is charged that Dick Gruner, long a power in local politics, is greatly embittered over the outcome of last spring's battle and is determined to oust Davis as Committeeman of the 18th Ward by throwing his support to Garner. Davis has four precinct chairmen working in Gruner's office, whom it is charged, have been instructed by Gruner to work for the election of Garner and Mrs. Penrose to the Committee.

St. Louis Arg

It is also charged that another downtown politician has put a third candidate in the race to beat Davis, because Davis is too independent.

Davis has long been a favorite with the Negroes of St. Louis. He introduced the first Civil Rights Bill in Missouri, while serving as a member of the Missouri Legislature in 1927, and had to leave Jefferson City for two weeks because of threats against his life. In that session he also advocated that Lincoln University be abolished and the Negroes of the State attend the University of Missouri to insure equal educational opportunities to the youth of the State regardless of race; he also pushed this idea as a tax savings measure. Davis, as president of the Mound City Bar Association in 1930, threatened to challenge the jury panels of the Circuit Court, charging that Negroes were being discriminated against in Jury service. As a result of Davis' action, backed by the Post-Dispatch, the Circuit Judges speedily enforced the law and Negroes have been doing Jury service ever since. Davis further distinguished himself in 1932 in the drive to force merchants, doing business in Negro neighborhoods, to hire Negro clerks. This was a long and bitter fight and was eventually crowned with success.

Old residents recall that in 1929, a group of lawyers including Davis, filed suit to break an order of the Park Commissioner limiting Negro golf players on the public links at Forest Park from

ATTY. JOHN A. DAVIS

6:00 a. m. to 12:00 on Monday mornings. Judge Moses Hartman, now deceased, before whom the case was tried, ruled that the order was not an abuse of discretion by the Park Commissioner or a violation of the Civil Rights of St. Louis Negroes. The Negroes of St. Louis were enraged by this decision and made an attempt to defeat Hartman when he came up for re-election in 1924. Negroes became further enraged when Garner wrote a long letter supporting Hartman, in the face of his hostility and prejudice towards Negroes. Subsequently the Park Commissioner revoked this ruling.

Mrs. Ione Penrose, present Committeewoman, had Davis' backing in 1944, in her successful race to beat Mrs. Naomi Oldham, then incumbent. This year the two are rivals again and the issue is in doubt. Mrs. Penrose, it is charged, has the backing of the Mayor and Dick Gruner, and is being forced to team up with Garner against Davis. This action has thrown the organization into an uproar. Employees, who ve their appointment to both Davis and Mrs. Penrose, are on the spot; this condition of affairs has been further muddled by the announcement of Mrs. Vivian Franklin, in these columns last week, that she is a candidate for Committeewoman and that she is backing Atty. John A. Davis. Present conditions point to a bitter fight in which Mrs. Naomi Oldham, an old and shrewd politician, may easily emerged the winner.

Efforts of leading ward Republicans to get some of the opposition to withdraw, in the interests of party harmony, have hit a stone wall. It is feared that a bitter primary campaign will last thru the November election and severely impair Republican chances of carrying the ward. Those ward residents, backing Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson, Wallacite Candidate for Congress, Eleventh District, are hoping that the dissension in the 18th Ward Republican Organization deepens. This condition favors Mrs. Wilson's candidacy for Congress and threatens to kill off Bakewell, incumbent, who has made an excellent record. Mrs. Franklin, a former secretary in Garner's office, openly charges that Garner and Mrs. Penrose agreed last November to team up against Davis and that she will not withdraw from the race unless Garner withdraws. Atty. Henry D. Espy has already signified his willingness to withdraw in the interests of party harmony. No significance is attached to the candidacy of Marion Howard, long one of Davis' lieutenants. It is thought that he is merely in the race because of Davis' severe illness last spring and the attempt of a downtown politician to control the 18th Ward.

In this writer's opinion Davis, the only veteran in the race, will be an easy winner on his record. The Mayor, who is very unpopular with Negroes because of his evasive action with the group on the slum clearance project and Alderman S. R. Redmond's Civil Rights legislation, is not expected to do Davis any harm by his opposition. On the contrary, it is expected to give the fighting committeeman a larger vote of confidence. The fight for committeewoman will be a dog fight.

MidSoutherners' Strategy Caused G. O. P. To Shift Plan In Civil Rights Fight

The Commercial Appeal
Memphis Tenn.
Sun. 7-1-48

Senators Eastland And Fulbright Are Responsible For Poll Tax, Rather Than Lynching, Being Made The Issue In Battle

34

By WILLIAM D. SISSON Sun. 7-1-48

WASHINGTON, July 31.—It was a major reversal of policy when the Republicans decided to make their civil rights fight in the Senate on the AntiPoll Tax Bill rather than the AntiLynching Bill.

For months the Republican leaders in the Senate made no secret of the fact that they wanted to pass an antilynching bill. The main reason was for its emotional appeal to the Northern minority groups, especially the negroes. The Republicans desperately want back this Fall those negro votes they got as a matter of routine for many years but haven't gotten since 1932.

Mr. Sisson

Although lynching has all but disappeared, the Republicans apparently figured they could make a stronger appeal for the negro vote with a bill banning such acts than with any of the other so-called civil rights bills. They don't want to be forced to have to touch the antisegregation proposal. They don't live in negro sections themselves, but in white residential areas. Memphis Tenn

The principal credit for forcing the Republicans to settle on the AntiPoll Tax Bill for the civil rights test rather than the AntiLynching Bill goes to Senator Eastland, (D., Miss.) who led the successful fight in the Senate Judiciary Committee that resulted in the complete emasculation of the bitter Ferguson AntiLynching Bill. Senator Eastland had able and untiring help from Senator Fulbright, (D., Ark.), also a member of the Judiciary Committee.

And now it can be told that a few of the Republican members of the committee gave Senators Eastland and Fulbright backhanded or undercover aid in their fight to strip the bill by Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.), of its teeth.

The fight in the Judiciary Committee dragged for months. First there were long hearings. Then a subcommittee composed of Senators Ferguson, Revercomb (R., W. Va.), and Eastland spent weeks wrangling over the draft of a bill they could send to the full committee. The Commercial

Then the full committee consumed more weeks fighting over a bill to send to the floor. Appeal

When the bill finally emerged from the committee it was meaningless. It had been written by Senator Eastland and it contained nothing that wasn't already a part of the law of the land. Appeal

The leaders of the minority groups who had been yelling so loudly for an anti-lynching bill were quick to denounce the committee measure and call for its shelving. Memphis Tenn

The Republican leaders took the hint and switched their support to the AntiPoll Tax Bill.

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came to Washington for the opening of the special session, but stopped hardly long enough to shave before turning around and heading back to Tennessee to rejoin the fight in behalf of the candidacy of Gordon Browning for governor. Sun. 7-1-48

Mr. Gore originally said he planned to take no part in the contest, other than to introduce former Governor Browning when the latter spoke at Mr. Gore's home town of Carthage. But as the heat grew more intense Mr. Gore just couldn't stand it. He got into the fight with both feet and has been stumping the state for the man who appointed him State Labor Commissioner in 1937.

GOP Vote Offer Hit by Dawson

Afro American

34

WASHINGTON

"The cynical disregard which Republicans have for protecting the civil rights of minorities is shown in the recent proposal by a Republican Congressman that the Republican Party would junk its civil rights program if Southern Democrats would vote for a Republican," Congressman William L. Dawson (Dem., Ill.) said in a statement this week.

Dawson said:

"This brazen proposal to abandon the civil rights program to which the Republican Party has long pledged its support shows clearly that the Republican Party seeks not to help colored persons and other minority groups but seeks only votes, theirs or any others it can get.

Says Promises Not Reliable

"If they can get the votes of minority groups by promises, they make the promises. If they believe they can get votes by going back on their promises to minority groups, they are willing to go back on their old promises and to make new ones.

Baltimore Md.

"Colored persons and other members of minority groups are shown clearly by this statement that they can expect no performance, only promises, from the Republican Party."

Southern Democrats, GOPs Agree On Basic Concepts of Liberty---Taft

The Constitution Tues 10-12-48
Atlanta Ga.

NASHVILLE—(AP)—Sen. Robert A. Taft, Republican, Ohio, opened a Southern campaign tour last night with an appeal to Tennessee Democrats to join in support of Republican nominees for President and Senator.

In an address prepared for delivery before a rally here and over a nation-wide radio hookup Taft sharply criticized President Truman for the conduct of America's foreign policy.

"He has just weakened our case against Russia," he said, by proposing to send Chief Justice Vinson to Moscow, just after we had submitted the dispute to the United Nations, thereby discrediting both Secretary Marshall and the United Nations itself."

On the other hand, he said, Republican Candidate Dewey "has stated clearly his views on foreign policy. He has the support of the Republican Party in those views. He is an able administrator, with the ability to select able assistants.

Tues 10-12-48

Taft described the "basic difference" between what he called the "Truman Party" and the Republican Party in these words:

"Do we wish to progress under American principles of liberty and justice and equality, or do we wish to adopt the totalitarian ideas imported from Europe and so prevalent throughout the world today, which turn over all our rights to the tender mercies of a bureaucratic government?

Tues 10-12-48

"On that issue most of the old line Democrats in the North are already supporting the Republican candidates. On that issue there is a basic agreement between the Southern Democrats and the Republican Party. It makes no sense for them to fail to support the Republican candidates this year."

Hawaiian GOP Selects Negro Committeeman

HONOLULU—(ANP)—A Negro, Nolle Smith Sr., was elected committeeman of the fourth district here, during a three day meeting of the Republican Party attended by 6,000 persons at Civic Auditorium last week.

A former member of the Hawaiian legislature, Smith lives in the wealthiest district in Hawaii.

'By Their Fruits Ye Shall Know Them'

The Courier
Sat 10-23-48

(The Republican Side)

Pittsburgh, Pa

34d

IT is not an exaggeration to say that the record of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, on matters pertaining to Negroes, is better than any man who has sought the Presidency of the United States since the administration of Abraham Lincoln.

His record is infinitely better than any Governor of New York, including such liberal and distinguished predecessors as Al Smith, later Democratic candidate for President; the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Herbert Lehman.

Governor Dewey has had placed on the statutes of New York, in the five brief years of his administration, more laws against racial discrimination than had ever been enacted by any other State Government since the founding of the Republic.

Sat 10-23-48

Laws dealing with almost every phase of racial discrimination were passed in an effort to force this hideous plague out of New York communities. In-so-far as they can be achieved by laws he has sought to protect the interests and welfare of Negroes in all of their contacts with other races.

Favorable racial legislation is stressed because it is mainly through laws that Negroes have advanced to their present status. The willingness to seriously fight for the enactment of laws which particularly benefit Negroes is the acid test of friendship, for no legislation is so unpopular with white citizens and so difficult to enact, as it always attracts maniacal opposition and attacks from racial bigots. This is why there has not been one piece of racial legislation enacted by the Congress in eighty years.

* * *

One of the most important laws ever enacted for the protection of the fundamental interests of Negroes is the Fair Employment Practice Commission, designed to wipe out racial discrimination in employment. The right to work is as fundamental as the right to live, and most of the ills which Negroes suffer come from poverty, forced on them by discrimination in employment. New York State, under Governor Dewey, was the first to create a Fair Employment Practice Commission and it has served as a model for the only three States which have had sufficient fairness and courage to follow its example.

The State Government of New York has set an example for private industry in the employment of Negroes as there are more Negroes holding white collar Government positions in New York than any State in the Union. Negroes are thoroughly integrated on the basis of merit and thirty-one Negro State employes draw salaries ranging from $5,500 to $17,500. No other State can boast of as many as five Negro State employes receiving as much as $5,500 a year.

Colored women, who are the orphans of politics in every other State, are given fair and impartial treatment in New York. In nearly every State the most difficult persons to place in Government positions are Negro women. But in New York hundreds of women are employed by the State in various capacities. A number of them are supervisors, and Mrs. Bertha Diggs is the head of a bureau at a salary of $7,700 a year.

Negro women are also indebted to Governor Dewey for a law forcing employers to pay equal pay to women doing the same work as men. New York is one of the few States giving women this protection.

* * *

Governor Dewey's administration passed a law wiping out the iniquitous quota system and other forms of racial discrimination practiced by institutions of learning. New York is the only State in the Union where an applicant for admission to a college or university cannot be turned down because of his race or color.

The far-reaching damage suffered by Negroes through discrimination by colleges and universities is best illustrated by what has happened in the field of medicine. The health of Negroes suffer from the lack of medical care, partly due to the inadequate number of Negro physicians. There are only 3,500 Negro physicians in the United States as compared to 167,000 white physicians and the small number of Negro doctors is mainly due to discrimination by white medical schools. There are only two Negro medical schools.

Negroes are better housed in New York State than any State in the union, largely due to the State's man-like housing legislation enacted through Governor Dewey. New York approved legislation permitting insurance companies to build homes at a reasonable rental for middle-class citizens. It gave tax exemptions to these developments in order to keep down rents. It also advances money to cities of the State for slum clearance projects. The privilege of living in decent homes is one of the most important needs of Negroes everywhere.

* * *

Most of the white insurance companies charge Negroes a higher rate than they do whites. This fraud prevails almost everywhere in the Nation except New York. Governor Dewey wiped out this dastardly practice in New York State with the passage of Article 9A of the Consolidated Laws, which makes it an offense for insurance companies to discriminate, in any form, because of race or color.

New York has had for some years laws against racial discrimination in public places. But these laws have been greatly strengthened under Governor Dewey. Anti-discrimination laws have also been enacted to include labor unions, public schools, veteran housing, public utilities, public works and a number of other activities.

In addition to this racial legislation, Governor Dewey's administration has enacted more than a score of labor laws which protect and advance the interest of the working people. These laws regulate working conditions, pay, hours, safety devices and other phases of labor which are of great importance to Negroes, as 98 per cent of the Negro people do manual labor. Due to these labor laws Negroes of New York are the highest paid in the Nation, with the best working conditions and fewer working hours.

* * *

Governor Dewey made it possible for Harlem to have a Negro Congressman by redistricting this section so as to give Negroes a majority in that Congressional district. This is what his distinguished predecessors refused to do.

Governor Dewey also placed more than forty Negroes in the class of big business. When he was made governor of New York less than ten Negroes owned package liquor stores. The licenses to operate such businesses were largely confined to whites, even for stores located in Negro districts. Governor Dewey made it a policy to give licenses for liquor stores in colored districts only to Negroes. Now Negroes own and operate fifty liquor stores in New York. The average net profit of each of these stores is estimated to be more than $20,000 a year.

This is but a scanty outline of a superb record of unprejudiced public service which has never been equaled in our times. It is a record of a man whose vision and impartiality the world needs in dealing with complications, due to differences of race and nationality. He is the kind of man Negroes must have in the White House if they are to achieve the equality guaranteed them by the Constitution. Let us put him there.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Gov. Warren Woos the South

Tues 10-12-48
Atlanta Ga

Wooing of the Southern vote by handsome, gallant, Romeo Republicans continues. On last Friday evening Georgia had a personal touch of it from the Chairman of the National GOP Committee, a Virginian who strummed the lute of Confederate ancestry under Marse Robert.

"Local Authority" and "Co-operation With the States in Solving Problems" are the two tunes played in this wooing.

"Rights"

Gov. Warren appeared in Madison, Wis., last Friday night. Again the beef and muscles in his speech were "States' rights." Said the New York Times report of that speech:

"Mr. Warren devoted the larger part of his speech to the discussion of the relationship between State and national governments. He said that 'State government alone will never be able to come to grips with all the intricate, far-reaching problems we face today.'

"However, Mr. Warren insisted that the Federal Government must 'deal co-operatively with the States.' He emphasized this by saying that 'every problem that can possibly be solved locally should be solved on the local level.'

"Mr. Warren charged that 'people of America unfortunately have been propagandized to the effect that every program designed to improve their lot must be administered from Washington under the jealous, watchful eye of a paternal Federal Government.'

"'Those who hold this philosophy of government completely overlook the fact that, if State and local government is to be by-passed in every case, these governmental limbs of our American system will wither from disuse,' Mr. Warren asserted. He said that it was necessary to preserve and strengthen State government, adding it was 'about time that we revive the interest of the nation in State government.' He stated that this should be 'national policy.'"

Gov. Warren is doing a real job which, from the South's viewpoint, is obstructed and smeared by the Dixiecrats' States' rights group. Nevertheless, he patently is speaking largely to the South.

Issue There is a very real issue before the people of this country in determining how far Federal control of local government can, or should, go. Gov. Warren carefully explains that some problems require national attention, and action, but that the error lies in believing that Washington can provide an easy, nicely packaged formula, thus increasingly by-passing local government.

Tula 10-12-48

The tragedy of it is that Gov. Warren's statesmanship is obscured and dirtied up by the States' rights Dixiecrats who, for all their protesting, cannot escape the fact that they have been joined by the Ku Klux element; the "damn the Negro" crowd, and by all the elements of hate and violence which have so long obscured all that is good in the South. Nor have the Dixiecrat States' righters sought to cut them away. Not since Strom Thurmond's original statement on the day following his "nomination" at Birmingham has there been any word against the elements of violence and Ku Kluxism. The reason—that is about 98 percent of the States' rights Dixiecrats' total strength.

Hurt So, what happens? The important issue of States' rights is advertised to the nation as Ku Kluxism—when in reality it is an important issue for the whole nation. The South somehow manages to put its worst foot, worst voice forward in national issues. And, when the final decision is in, the South will be the worst hurt.

There certainly is no kinship between the "kept" States' rights Dixiecrats and Gov. Earl Warren. They are not talking about the same thing. The Dixiecrats seek to retain States' wrongs; Gov. Warren is talking about States' rights and is saying that our National Government in the past has been made up of men who were graduates of the tough schools of local government.

The GOP high command is troubled by the Senate races in which members of the unpopular Eightieth Congress are having difficult races in States where Dewey is sure to win. This has led them to send Dewey in to save, if possible, the hides of the Republican reactionaries who are facing defeat. Because of this Dewey's scheduled speech in North Carolina is in jeopardy and Warren's proposed appearance in Georgia is in the balance. Georgia would prefer Warren to Dewey, and no offense intended. If the GOP strategy board will send Gov. Warren in to make one of his States' rights speeches they will be surprised—and gratified—on the morning of Nov. 3. A lot of Southerners are hearing Warren—from Massachusetts and Wisconsin—where he made his two strongest States' rights speeches.

THE GOP'S BROKEN PROMISES

Afro-American

Although the Republican-controlled Senate last week defeated all civil rights amendments to the draft bill save one, Senator William (Bill) Langer (R., N.D.) who sponsored them, emerged a hero as far as we are concerned.

Senator Langer, whose seven amendments sought to end segregation in the armed forces of the U.S., was finally able, by a 37-35 roll-call vote, to get through his anti-poll tax amendment by which members of the armed services will be exempted from paying this tax in order to vote.

Passage of this amendment and defeat of the vicious Russell amendment which would give Congressional sanction to a jim-crow Army by permitting volunteers to say that they would serve only in units composed of members of their own race were highlights of a hectic week of debate.

Senator Langer's greatest service, as we see it, was in laying bare, for all to see, the hypocrisy of the Republican Party's 1944 platform which called for specific civil rights legislation. Not one of these plans calling for a national FEPC, anti-poll tax law, antilynching law, etc., has been enacted into law. Baltimore, Md. 6-19-48

Exposure of this duplicity on the part of the GOP serves as a vivid reminder that party platforms, as far as minority groups are concerned, are mere scraps of paper to be forgotten completely after the election.

Campaign promises and post-election performance, we have found, are entirely different things and we'll hold our tongue in cheek when the "I Promise" boys begin making their pre-election rounds. 6-19-48

By defeating the six Langer amendments, the Republican-controlled Senate thumbed its nose at the party platform. By its action it demonstrated, beyond a doubt, its intention to maintain the status quo in our military establishment.

Those Republicans and Democrats, too, who voted against these amendments should be long remembered. Bill Langer has driven all of them out into the open where they may be viewed in their true colors.

'Tis said, a politician never changes his spots.

RALPH McGILL

'Men With Little Black Mustaches'

34d Repub

The Constitution

This weary Democrat said:

"I don't trust none of those fellows with little black mustaches. Not airy one of 'em."

I thought I detected an honest tear in his eye as he thought of the convention.

Atlanta, Ga.

He doesn't like Truman, either. But, at least, Harry Truman doesn't have one of those little black mustaches.

That comforted him. But only a very little. Fri.

The Dewey ticket did two things. It hit the Southern revolt a body blow. Dewey is strong for the civil liberties to an extent which makes Harry Truman's seem a bit pale. He has already established an FEPC in New York State--minus the police force feature for enforcement. He is sure to push through antilynch and antipoll tax legislation as soon as the next Congress convenes. 7-2-48

There are some who hopefully anticipate he may drive through this civil liberties legislation, but then will say he believes that any FEPC is a State matter—especially so since the employment offices, once under Federal control, have been turned back to the States.

But this is discussed in wistful words and it is obvious much of it is wishful thinking and hoping. The man with the little black mustache is very disquieting in the anti-Truman circles.

Warren Selection of Earl Warren has comforted some. But Dewey is the boss. It is interesting to note that between them they have indorsed a strong public health bill and medical insurance; public housing, public development of rivers, and all the Roosevelt New Deal measures already established in law. Fri 7-2-48

Warren's father was an immigrant from Scandinavia. He was fired from his job for going on strike and was blacklisted. He had to leave the region to get another job. The family lost all it had, including the home. All that is in Warren's background. He will never think with the reactionaries. But he is second man.

It is Warren who makes the ticket so strong that Democratic defeat is, at this writing, inevitable.

Division If it were not for the race question, the Democratic Party could find plenty of points on which to unite and give the GOP a real race.

But the Party is divided.

There will be little national interest in many of the States, the emphasis being on congressional and other State-level races.

There is lots of wishful thinking, but the facts are that it is with Harry Truman the Party will have to ride out the November election. He is the only one around to take it. There will be delegations, and delegates, which will keep calling the name of Dwight Eisenhower. But he cannot want it. 7-2-48

The Democratic Party faces a long, slow process of rebuilding. It is going to be pushed back, nationally, to the low ebb of the '20s. The gloom is thick and the Philadelphia convention is likely to be a horror.

Dewey If the Dewey organization remains intact, he may well become the Mark Hanna of the twentieth century . . . a possibility of nightmare-like qualities. Fri. 7-2-48

It is anticipated that the ticket of Dewey and Warren will crack the solid South. The GOP intends to campaign in the border States and Warren likely will come into the Deep South for a speech.

Texas is in doubt, but believed safe for the Democrats. Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia are the States where the real fight will be made to pry at least one or two traditionally Democratic States out of the Truman column. Atlanta, Ga.

Some will do like Georgia—fight him in the convention as long as a fight can be made—and then accept the decision of the convention. Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, Tennessee, Texas, North Carolina are almost sure to go Democratic—as of this writing. But some of their electors may go off the reservation when the time comes for them to act. Their part of the process of electing a President comes after the November balloting. The Constitution

Two developments would be of enormous assistance to the Democrats. One could be for some leader to arise who could convince the Southern Democrats that a national party cannot exist for the chief purpose of maintaining the South's idea of white supremacy. The second would be for the Northern Democrats and liberals to quit pushing the South and to evidence faith in the sincerity of Southern determination to proceed, as before, along the way of better treatment and citizenship for the Negro. As matters stand the Democratic Party is to be a minority party for at least four years.

Dr. Martin Asks Action Of All Republican Solons

7-4-48 Daily World Sun.

Atlanta, Ga.

CHICAGO— (ANP)— Lassitude of the Republican party in the matter of emphatic committments on the question of civil rights to the Negro was highlighted this week by an outstanding Republican, Dr. J. B. Martin, trustee of the Sanitary district of Chicago and one of the nation's top Negro elected Republican officials.

Fed up on what he described as the "tripe handed out to Negroes for years," Martin decided to do something about it. He sent telegrams to all sitting Republican senators requesting them to establish themselves on the important subject of civil rights.

The message sent to the national leaders of the party from Maine to San Diego, is as follows:

"On issues affecting the American Negro's fight for his full rights under the constitution, during the past half-century, the Republican party has shown a complete lack of interest, a large amount of downright evasion, and a sense of ruthless insincerity and uncalled for fence straddling.

Daily World

"The time is at hand for the responsible heads of Republicanism to recognize that the Negro voter of 1948 will not fall for the four 'old reliable' Republican political props-the Flags, the Bible, the Constitution and Mr. Lincoln.

"These props and bromides will not stand up in 1948 against such strong gales of justice as the civil rights bill, fair employment practices act, anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation. Atlanta, Ga.

"It must be apparent to the Republican party that an election year the time when the Negro voter is usually cultivated and political corn is knee-deep that such props as a story on Mr. Lincoln and a review of what Republican party did for the Negro 85 years ago too frail to lean on now.

EMPTY SPEECHES Sun.

"The Negro voter has learned, through bitter experience, that any analysis of the campaign speeches made to Negro audiences by most candidates on both the Republicans and Democratic tickets will disclose the fact that beyond giving the Bible their cordial and complete approval, taking their stand firmly on the Constitution and the bill of rights and violently waving the American flag, there is never anything in their speeches pledging them to sponsor or give emphatic support to laws which would give the American Negro the full enjoyment of his constitutional rights. On the contrary, they give the Negro voter an overflowing dose of 80-year-old history which they have seasoned with platitudes or leavened with just plain bunk. 7-4-48

"So. I say to the Republican party, my party and the party of my father, the Negro voters of 1948 wan to know how you stand on the civil rights bill, the anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and fair employment practices legislation? They want action now!"

GOP Platform Shuns Isolationism, Calls for Civil Rights Program

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Tues.

6-22-48

PHILADELPHIA, June 22—(Tuesday)—(AP)—A pledge to continue America's international cooperation was approved early today by the Republican Resolutions Committee in a platform shunning isolationism.

The platform, which is to be presented to the Republican National Convention, also promises to battle for world peace through the United Nations.

In a slam-bang GOP family battle, the platform writers beat down repeated attempts to amend the foreign policy plank.

The plank said the United Nations should be freed of the use of any veto in the peaceful settlement of international disputes. This language did not mention Russia directly.

At home, the platform said if the Party is given full power of government it will press strong measures to combat Communism. It calls for a far-reaching Civil Rights program, including enactment of fair employment, anti-lynch, and anti-poll tax legislation.

It opposes racial segregation in the Armed Forces. Tues.

The platform pledged the Party to a battle against high living costs and inflation. 6-22-48

Although the meeting was held behind closed doors, Chairman Henry Cabot Lodge reported to newsmen later there were vigorous battles on the foreign policy plank and domestic policy as well.

Sen. Brooks, Republican, Illinois, was reported unofficially to have led in efforts to spike some sections of the foreign policy plank. And Charles S. Reed, of Omaha, Neb., took a leading role in preventing severe revision of the platform's original text, prepared by a Resolutions Sub-Committee.

On domestic policy, the resolutions group fell into the severest battle over housing, finally writing in a plank calling for a broad program of Government-constructed, low-rent housing. Legislation for such housing was killed in the last hours of the GOP-dominated Eightieth Congress.

The text of the platform was not given out immediately.

The document probably will be presented to the Republican Convention on Wednesday. The Convention could change it, but is not likely to.

Lodge disclosed among its planks are: The Constitution

A pledge to support the States' claims to control over tidelands, rather than Federal control.

A strong plank greeting Israel and calling for full recognition of the new country with integrity of boundaries.

A plank on education. Lodge said reporters would have to draw their own conclusions—after they see the language—as to whether it constitutes "Federal aid to education." Atlanta, Ga.

A plank supporting self-Government for the District of Columbia, but not representation in Congress.

Lodge said the anti-Communist plank does not indorse the Mundt-Nixon Bill. Tues. 6-22-48

Lodge said that some revisions were made in the foreign plank but that they did not weaken it.

Lodge disclosed officially that the foreign affairs plank calls for elimination of the veto in United Nations questions involving peaceful settlement of disputes. He said it also urges the setting up of an international peace-keeping force.

The Resolutions Committee adopted a labor plank without a fight. The plank read like this as the meeting began: 6-22-48

Dewey Refuses To Let Truman Stampede Him

Advertiser
Montgomery Ala
Wed

Brand Of Rump Session Put On Special Call; Mississippians Confer

Wed: 7-21-48

WASHINGTON—(AP) — Thomas E. Dewey's campaign manager said Tuesday the country cannot expect the 1948 Republican platform to be voted into law at a "rump" session of Congress.

Herbert E. Brownell, managing Dewey's drive for the presidency, told a news conference that Republican congressional leaders will determine next week a party program in the special session called by President Truman.

Brownell said:

'You will find the Republican Party again will place the best interests of the country over and above partisanship."

Dewey's manager said he is confident the Republicans will adopt a "constructive" attitude. He said that if 'Congress and the President fail to cooperate in the special session "it again will be President Truman's fault."

Brownell said, however, that the Congress session can not be expected to take up the Republican platform adopted at Philadelphia last month and enact it into law. He added:

"The Republican platform calls for the enactment of a program by a Republican Congress under the leadership of a Republican president. Wed: 7-21-48

"Obviously, this cannot be done at a rump session called at a political convention for political purposes in the heat of a political campaign."

Brownell declined to elaborate on his labeling of the special meeting of lawmakers as a "rump session."

GALLUP POLL

The Constitution

Little Difference in Parties Seen

Atlanta, Ga. Wed.

By GEORGE GALLUP

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J.—American voters today place almost equal confidence in the ability of the two major parties to solve the nation's most important problem. This is in contrast to the attitude of voters prior to the 1944 election when a substantial majority had greater faith in the Democratic Party to handle both domestic and foreign affairs. 7-14-48

When representative voters throughout the Nation were asked by the Institute to name the country's most serious problem they named foreign policy first, followed by the high cost of living, strikes and labor problems, and housing.

The same voters were then asked which party they felt could best handle that particular problem. Eliminating all votes except those which named one of the two major parties, the voting goes this way:

Democratic Party	52%
Republican Party	48

Elections are usually decided on the basis of two considerations; first, voter appraisal of the merits of the candidate; and, second, voters' convictions on which party can do the best job of handling major problems of the day.

Wed

On the last point, it is enlightening to compare today's figures with results of a survey prior to the 1944 presidential election and a similar poll for the 1946 congressional election.

7-14-48

When the identical question was put to the people in 1944, those voters naming either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party voted this way:

1944

Democratic Party	55%
Republican Party	45

The same question was repeated just before the off-year elections 1946. By that time voter sentiment had changed as shown in the following table:

1946

Democratic Party	40%
Republican Party	60

The Constitution

In the 1946 election the Republicans captured control of both the Senate and the House.

Voters give the nod to the Democrats when it comes to keeping reins on the high cost of living, but believe the Republicans can do a better job handling our relations with foreign countries. This is shown in the following table:

Atlanta, Ga.

FOREIGN POLICY

Wed.

Democratic Party	48%
Republican Party	52

HIGH COST OF LIVING

Democratic Party	55%
Republican Party	45

7-14-48

To test sentiment on what constitutes America's major problem today voters were asked:

"What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?"

The answers:

Wed.

Foreign policy	44%
High cost of living	23
Domestic policies; presidential election; education, racial problems	9
Strikes, labor problems	5
Housing	4
Communism at home and abroad	4
Preparedness, Army and Navy	3
Miscellaneous	5
Don't know	4
	101%*

7-14-48

***Totals to more than 100 per cent because some respondents gave more than one answer.**

Warren Called People's Choice

Columbia Record

Drew Pearson

(Editor's Note—As the Republican convention opens in Philadelphia, Drew Pearson concludes his series on G.O.P. Republican candidates by focusing the spotlight today on dark-horse Gov. Earl Warren of California.)

Columbia S. C.

PHILADELPHIA—If Republican leaders want to be sure of winning next November, if they want to carry a sizable portion of the Democratic, pro-labor vote, the man this convention will finally pick will be Gov. Earl Warren of California.

Of course, when G.O.P. leaders sit down in the smoke-filled rooms, they are notorious for picking the man they want rather than the man the people want. So the modest Mr. Warren, who has done nothing about corralling delegates, may not win their favo. 6-21-48

But history has proved that there is a large bloc of independent voters in this country which swtiches from one party to the other according to the candidate. Roosevelt was always able to swing this bloc to the Democrats. Warren, on the other hand, is the one Republican who can be sure of swinging them back to the G.O.P.

He has proved this in California. 'Asked how he was able to carry every one of California's 58 counties for governor in 1942, Warren replied: "I did it with Democrats." In 1946 he was so popular with both parties, that the Democrats as well as the Republicans renominated him. And in the recent California primary, Warren got about the same number of votes as Truman, despite the fact that there are 1,000,000 more registered Democrats than Republicans.

Unquestionably, Warren is the one 100 per cent sure-fire G.O.P. candidate guaranteed to beat any Democrat, probably including Eisenhower.

Mon. 6-21-48

Warren Vs. Dewey

There is one great difference between Warren and Dewey. Both have given their states extremely efficient administrations. Both are highly competent executives. Both have spent almost all their lives in the complicated science of government.

But Warren has deep-rooted sympathy for human beings. Dewey has stood up for minorities, but his position seems to come from a sense of fairness and political expedience, not from sympathy.

An off-the-record conversation occurring at the Governors' conference in Portsmouth, N. H., last week, illustrates the difference between the two men.

At a governors' breakfast, Dewey started lambasting the teachers' lobby, said it had flooded the country with falsehoods, urged that the governors start a counter-offensive.

Gov. Jim Duff of Pennsylvania suggested that Dewey bring this up at the round-table scheduled for later in the morning.

"Oh, no," replied the New York governor, "not with the press present. That would ruin everything."

When other governors asked Dewey what he proposed, he suggested: "We'll call an executive session and exclude the press." Teachers' propaganda, he added, "is the biggest lie since Adolf Hitler."

So an executive session was called at which the press was barred, and at which Dewey proposed that Frank Bane, secretary of the Governors' conference, hire a couple of publicity experts at $50,000 a year and start a campaign with full-page advertisements combatting the teachers' propaganda

Teachers' Friends

Governor Warren and Governor Tom Mabry of New Mexico, a Democrat, didn't think much of this.

"In New Mexico," Mabry remarked, "we are short 600 teachers. We think teachers should be paid more than domestic servants, who get $50 a week—if you can find them. Common labor gets a dollar an hour. I don't see why you should single out the teachers' lobby. What about the utilities lobby, the oil lobby, the potash lobby, the liquor lobby and a lot of others? I can't see any reason why the teachers, who have always been underpaid, should be singled out."

Dewey maintained, however, that he had had no trouble with other lobbies. 6-21-48

"I don't know how it is in your state, Tom," argued Governor Warren, "and maybe as you say there is no teacher shortage in New York. But there certainly is in California, and many of the teachers are being paid less than the janitors. I certainly see no reason why the governors should take any action against the teachers such as you propose." 6-21-48

Dewey, however, still wanted the governors' conference to undertake a publicity campaign against the teachers. "I'm going to fight that lobby with everything I've got," he said. "If the governors' conference will stage a counter-campaign, I'll double my state's contribution to the conference."

The other governors, however, would not go along on the anti-teacher publicity campaign, decided only to study the question of teachers' pay scales.

However, Dewey persisted. And another closed meeting was called at night, the press excluded, which lasted two hours. In the end, the other governors still refused to go along with Dewey.

Warren's Father Murdered

Earl Warren's broad sympathy for people comes from the struggling days of his boyhood. He began life as a call-boy in a roundhouse in Bakersfield, Calif., where his job was to pedal to the homes of freight-train crews and notify them when their train was to be made up. His father, a master carbuilder, got fired during a railroad strike, lost his home, had to move and look for work elsewhere. Later, his father was killed by an intruder who broke into their house and bludgeoned the elder Warren to death. The murderer was never apprehended. 6-21-48

Warren understands and likes human beings. And they like him. He has been a great cleaner-up of California, has purged racketeers, the Ku Klux Klan, the big gamblers. He has served in state and county jobs for 30 years, knows the intricate job of running a government. He is an excellent speaker, but shuns the delicate job of trading delegates, pulling backstage wires so necessary to get a presidential nomination.

But if the Republican party wants to be 100 per cent sure of victory, Earl Warren is their best and ablest bet.

G. O. P. Prospects Looking Up In Dixie

The Advertiser

The Richmond Times-Dispatch

THE Gallup Poll hasn't announced a sampling on the relative strengths of President Truman and Senator Vandenberg in the South, but the Michigan Senator has a remarkable following in this region. Casual conversation and straw votes here and there indicate that it is even larger than Harold Stassen's and the Gallup Poll has just indicated that Stassen has as many backers in the South for the presidency as Truman.

This is a truly extraordinary phenomenon. It seems to mean that two Republicans who are in topfilght competition for the presidential nomination are in a position at this time to give the Democratic incumbent a close run in the "Solid South." The Gallup Poll gave Stassen 42 per cent of the Southern vote, Truman 41 per cent, with 4 per cent for Wallace, and 13 per cent with no opinion. Mon.

Montgomery, Ala

NOTHING like this has happened in Dixie in a long time. If the Gallup Poll is accurate, it means that many thousands of Southerners are in a mood to break away from their Democratic moorings. This is a highly encouraging development for the South needs greater independence on the part of its citizens. 5-17-48

It should be noted, however, that if they vote for either Stassen or Vandenberg next November, in preference to President Truman, they will hardly do so with any firm belief that either of these Republicans is appreciably less committed to a civil rights program than is Mr. Truman. If anything, the GOP is more militant in its desire for such enactments than the Democrats. Mon.

While Mr. Stassen has been making an active campaign for the presidential nomination, Mr. Vandenberg has been disclaiming any desire for it. Without questioning the latter's sincerity, it can be said that his attitude seems more likely to get him the nomination than Mr. Stassen's. The Minnesotan has bitterly antagonized both Governor Dewey and Senator Taft, who are reputedly determined to prevent his nomination. In the event of a likely deadlock between them, or a deadlock involving Stassen and themselves, they are now regarded as sure to throw the prize to somebody else, if that is at all possible. Most forecasters think the beneficiary will be Senator Vandenberg. 5-17-48

THE sentiment for Vandenberg is wide and deep among various elements of the population. He appeals strongly to all who believe that America should play an active and responsible role in world affairs. He appeals to those who wish the country to be firm toward Russia. He does not cater to labor, yet he is not considered by labor leaders to be so antilabor as Senator Taft (coauthor of the Taft-Hartley Act). He is no New Dealer, but he is less rabid his opposition to the Roosevelt policies in many Republicans. He is regarded by any as a "statesman" rather than a "poli-ian" because of his aloofness from the current struggle to get the nomination.

Senator Vandenberg seems to have strength with business elements, and also with young men and women of collegiate age. At the recent convention of the United States Chamber of Commerce he won an informal poll of the delegates conducted by Business Week. Vandenberg got 270 votes, to 213 for Stassen, 1[illegible] for Taft, 126 for Dewey, and 57 for Truman.

Washington and Lee students nominated Vandenberg in their mock Republican convention, and Oberlin College students followed suit.

The Advertiser

All this gives one the definite impression that Arthur H. Vandenberg is likely to be the next Republican nominee for the presidency. His running mate may well be Harold E. Stassen. It would be a vote-getting ticket and one which would make an appeal to many Southerners of both major parties. Montgomery, Ala

We may be heading for a real two-party system in this region, after altogether too many years of blind allegiance to Democracy.. Mon. 5-17-48

White Is Wary Of GOP Plank

Montgomery Advertiser

Negro Says His Race Will Be 'Skeptical' Of 'Rights' Stand

KANSAS CITY—(AP)—A Negro leader, Walter White, warned the Republican Party Tuesday that voters of his race would view "with skepticism" civil right planks of its national platform.

White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the "skepticism" was the result of the Republicans' failure to keep their 1944 election promises. Wed. 6-23-48

Here for the opening of the association's thirty-ninth annual conference, White in an interview said the Republican Party in 1944 adopted a strong civil rights platform.

"They came into power in 1946 with majorities in both Houses of Congress," he added. "And they did absolutely nothing to fulfill their pledges.

"We have told the platform committee that if they are planning to repeat their performance it will result in increased opposition of Negroes against the Republican Party.

"The Wallace crowd has hopes for the Negro vote but Negroes are not going to bolt lock, stock and barrel to a third party because they know a third party in the race simply results in an even more conservative group being elected than that now in power." 6-23-48

White came here from Philadelphia where he talked to the Republican convention platform committee. He explained he urged not only the adoption but the fulfillment of a civil rights program, including anti-lynching legislation, the institution of a fair employment practice committee, abolition of segregation in the armed forces and elimination of the poll tax.

"In 17 states, with a total of 295 electoral votes, the Negro holds the balance of power," White said. "The Negro vote today, is by force of circumstances, the most independent vote in America."

White added that his group also would confer with members of the Democratic platform committee. He added the N. A. A. C. P. neither would endorse nor oppose any party, nor would it attempt to officially set a course for Negroes in individual political contests. 6/23/48

3-6-48

Cause And Effect

The Republican push for enactment of the so-called civil rights bills may be blamed upon the Southern Democratic protests against them and the threat of a Southern bolt of the Democratic party. Never before have the Republicans had any compelling reason to actually secure their enactment. Their endeavor heretofore has simply been to make a show of trying to enact them in order to preserve them until the next election year when the show could be repeated for vote getting purposes. Columbia, S.C.

And in the same manner the revival of the imitation Ku Klux Klan in the South may be blamed on President Truman for his advocacy of the civil rights program. He probably didn't intend it, but he was playing into the hands of the kluxers when he injected the issue into the campaign and supplying them with ammunition to attract gullible Southerners to their night shirts and hoods. Columbia Record

The Southern reaction is sillier than the other. No problem is ever solved by cowardice and illegal methods any more than those problems can be solved in the opposite direction by the use of law and force.

Sat. 3-6-48

McGrath Scores Martin's Address

Montgomery Advertiser

PHILADELPHIA —(AP)— Senator J. Howard McGrath, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said Wednesday he thinks the Republican Party still is committed to isolationism.

Commenting on a speech made Tuesday night by House Speaker Joseph W. Martin, Jr., at the Republican National Convention, McGrath said in a statement:

"Speaker Martin, who helped engineer the cutting of the reciprocal Trade Act, and who aided and abetted the abortive effort of isolationists in the House of Representatives to destroy the European recovery program by slashing its appropriations, cannot pose as a strong defender of a broad international policy." Thurs. 6-24-48

"Once more," he said, "The Republican Party stands committed to isolationism.".

Of Martin's statement that the Republican-controlled 80th Congress was a "product of forethought and vision," McGrath retorted:

"It is evident from this confession that the Republican leadership never planned to legislate in the important fields of housing, education, social security, civil rights, national health, or an increase in the minimum wage. 6-24-48

"They 'planned' to ignore the needs of the nation."

GOP Platform Group Adopts Housing Plank

Montgomery Advertiser

Foreign Policy Fight Predicted By Delegates; Battle Against It Set

Tues. 6-22-48

PHILADELPHIA— (AP) —After what Chairman Henry Cabot Lodge called "terrific fights" on domestic policy, the GOP platform committee overruled a subcommittee, Monday night, and wrote a plank calling for a government-built, low-rent housing program.

As the committee adjourned its tumultuous session for dinner, however, it had not reached a showdown on the foreign plank on which a slam-bang battle is promised. Lodge has described this preliminary plank as the "most international" ever presented to the Republican party.

Lodge said he does not know what the foreign plank language will be when the full 104-member platform committee finishes with it. 6-22-48

He told reporters the committee approved a public housing plank "roughly similar" to the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill which failed to get through Congress.

The committee met four hours and Lodge said they had some "big arguments over civil rights, housing, and quite a good deal of arguing over agriculture."

Simultaneously, a drive developed to make the preliminary platform draft call for new and severe legislation to control Communism— along the lines of the Mundt-Nixon bill.

The proposed platform was submitted Monday to the full resolutions committee, which has the authority to change it.

An unofficial text as drafted by a subcommittee and published late Monday in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, says in part:

"America is deeply interested in the stability, security and liberty of other independent peoples. Tues. 6-22-48

"Within the prudent limits of our own economic welfare, we shall cooperate on a basis of self-help and mutual aid to assist other peace-loving nations to restore their economic independence and to preserve and perpetuate the human rights and fundamental freedoms." Advertiser

Friendly Firmness

The published text calls for a foreign policy based on a "friendly firmness which welcomes cooperation but spurns appeasement." 6-22-48

"We believe in collective se-

ANDERSON (S. C.) INDEPENDENT

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga

Do You Want To Help Elect Dewey?

Fri. 8-6-48

Do you want to help elect a Republican to the presidency?

Many thoughtful South Carolinians are asking that and other questions since the rump convention produced the Dixiecrats—a splinter party that is ganging up on the Democratic Administration along with Henry Wallace's Progressives.

Both groups are lending aid and comfort to the Republicans.

"Bubblehead" Wallace is leading the Progressives.

24

"Stand-on-head" Thurmond is carrying the ball for the Dixiecrats, but obviously the only yardage he has gained has been toward the cameras and headlines.

It is an odd combination—some patriotic South Carolinians, under Thurmond, working as stalwarts by the side of Wallace and the Communists, to defeat the Democratic Administration and elect Republican Tom Dewey.

And John L. Lewis and a horde of Roosevelt-haters throwing up their hats in the cheering section!

What are some of the questions South Carolinians are asking these days?

"What was the price of cotton when the last Republican Administration was in power?"

About five cents a pound.

"What were wages in the textile and other major industries, as they limped along on part-time basis during the Hoover depression?"

Seven to 14 dollars a week.

"What was the condition of the banks and credit generally?"

Banks were popping like firecrackers on the Fourth of July and credit was practically extinct. Some of our wealthiest citizens of today were then unable to borrow enough money with which to pay their city and county taxes.

"Did the last Republican Administration do anything for the farmers?"

Certainly not.

Fri. 8-6-48

"Was unemployment rampant in the nation, and starvation and breadlines evidence on all sides?"

Yes.

"What administration pulled this nation out of the depression, restored confidence and prosperity, stabilized farm prizes, gave the laboring man a new deal, brought rural electrification to the farmers, conserved natural resources, including our soil and forests; brought the bankers out of hiding through depositors' insurance, developed our water power and in general restored the Government to the people instead of the special interests of Wall Street?"

The Democratic Administration, of course.

"Is the record of the Administration perfect?"

Indeed, it is not.

"Are we in accord with the civil rights program advocated by both Roosevelt and Truman as vote-bait in doubtful States?"

Emphatically, no!

"Speaking of civil rights. Did President Roosevelt or President Truman appoint Negroes to high Federal offices in Southern States?"

No.

"Would Republican Dewey be a better friend to the South than the Democratic Administration?"

The Constitution

Don't be ridiculous! Dewey has brought the FEPC to New York; he indorsed, sponsored and had put into the laws of New York a nonsegregation act with teeth in it. Negroes eat in restaurants with the whites, go to the same schools, sleep in the same hotels, enjoy full and complete equal rights.

"Would Dewey likely appoint Negroes to high Federal offices in the South?"

Yes. We would likely have a Negro postmaster here at Anderson, and in other towns of the State. District Attorney Oscar Doyle would probably be replaced by one, and our Federal taxes may be collected by a Negro instead of Internal Revenue Collector Bill Bowers, in Columbia. By no stretch of the imagination is Dewey a friend of the South, or its customs and traditions. He will move in and do something about Jim Crowism. He loves to prosecute.

"Who are some of the strangest backers of the revolt against the Democratic Administration?"

Atlanta, Ga.

Many sincere men and women are in it. But there are thousands of persons who opposed the liberal policies of the New Deal who have seized the so-called banner of white supremacy and are using it as an excuse to fight the present administration. With their lips they jeer at Truman's civil rights (which is genuinely opposed by all of us), but in their hearts and secret souls they are resentful of the gains the vast majority of our people have made since the last Republican Administration.

Fri.

"And do South Carolinians love white supremacy less than the people of Georgia and North Carolina?"

8-6-48

Certainly not. But both Georgia and South Carolina—like Virginia, Texas and others—realize that we can accomplish more by fighting within the party than can possibly be achieved by "bolting." The bolters will help elect Republican Dewey.

The Independent will not bolt. We disapprove of many things that are contained in the platform adopted at the Philadelphia Convention, but shall support the nominees of the Party.

Anything less would help elect a Republican.

And we are not in sympathy with Dewey's candidacy.

The Republicans Choose

(34D)

We are now coming into the presidential preference primary season.

The first of the presidential preference primaries—there are only 14 states in which they are held—will come this month in New Hampshire on March 9. In April there are five, in May four and in June three.

3-6-48

The New Hampshire primary next Tuesday will not result in a direct presidential preference. No presidential candidate's name appears on the ballot. The election is simply to select delegates to the convention. But both Dewey and Stassen have been campaigning in New Hampshire and the choice of delegates may give some indication of the national trend.

Columbia, S.C.

On April 13 Nebraska will vote and in Nebraska a direct presidential preference may be indicated, although the delegates elected are unpledged and not bound to vote as the voters vote. Practically the full array of Republican hopefuls will appear on the Nebraska lists—Dewey, Taft, Stassen, Martin, MacArthur, Saltonstall, Warren and Vandenberg.

Columbia Record

Between the New Hampshire and the Nebraska elections there will be two other primaries—one in New York and the other in Wisconsin, both on April 6. The New York election allows for no expression of presidential preference and the delegates are unpledged. But in Wisconsin the voters do name their choice and may bind the delegates to it. Illinois holds its primary on April 13, the date of the Nebraska vote, and there also is a presidential preference vote.

Sat. 3-6-48

It may not be long now before the Republican race will be beginning to take shape and both the Republican and the Democratic leaders can begin to guess, with some likelihood of guessing right, who the candidate will be. Fourteen states can not control the choice, but they may indicate what that choice will be.

WHITE DOUBTS SINCERITY OF GOP RIGHTS PLANKS

(34d)

Daily World

Sun 6-27-48 Atlanta Ga

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—(ANP)—The Republicans will have to do much about civil rights than they did during the past four years, Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, said here last week.

He warned Republican leaders that Negroes would view "with skepticism" the civil rights planks of the party platform. He noted that the 1944 party platform contained many of the same provisions that are on this one. The 80th congress, with a Republican majority in each house, passed no civil rights legislation, he said.

"They came into power in 1946," he said, "with majorities in both houses of congress, and they did absolutely nothing to fulfill their pledges.

Daily World

"We have told the platform committee that if they are planning to repeat their performance it will result in increased opposition of Negroes against the Republican party."

34d

Sun 6-27-48

He added that the NAACP would not endorse any political party, but would only appraise the platforms of each of the three parties. He

is in Kansas City for the annual meeting of the NAACP.

6-27-48

34d 1948 · Republican

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Letters to the editor must carry complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names may be used at the editor's discretion. Letters of less than 200 words are given preference. All letters may be cut. Sat. 2-7-48

STAY, AT LEAST FOR PRESENT

EDITOR, The Advertiser: It may be true that "no one can figure Democratic success without the South." But one can figure Republican success without the South. The Republican party has elected many presidents in the 90 years of its existence without a single electoral vote from any Southern state. A solid South candidate nominated by a solid South party would insure the election of Taft, Dewey or some other Republican, and force him to take extreme anti-Southern views. The rest of the country would resent the idea of a sectional president. The Republicans would elect a majority of the electoral votes. The House of Representatives would not be called upon to elect a president. If the South should bolt the national party, the Democrats in other sections would be disorganized and discouraged. The independent voters would have no incentive to vote Democratic. The Republicans would win, without the South. 34d Sat. 2-7-48

We will never tolerate free and unlimited social intermingling of the races. Any attempt to force it on us will result in violence and bloodshed and be harmful to both races. But intemperate talk and ill-advised decisions will not help us.

Somehow false leaders of the Thad Stevens brand have made themselves heard and felt. True friends of the colored race like Abraham Lincoln, Booker Washington, John T. Morgan and Henry W. Grady are in the discard. In his speech at Charleston, Ill., Sept. 18, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said:

"I will say that I am not, and never have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people, and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality, and inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race." The Advertiser

In one of Booker Washington's speeches he said in social relations the two races could remain as distinct as the fingers of the hand, and at the same time, in their economic well being they could be as co-operative as the two hands of the same body. Montgomery, Ala.

The States have never granted to the federal government the power to enforce some of Mr. Truman's anti-Southern program. I doubt if the Supreme Court, even as at present constituted, will so hold.

A bad situation confronts us. But it is my opinion we had better stay in the natural Democratic organization—at least for the present. Sat. 2-7-48

MASSEY WILSON.

Oakhill.

Reece Asserts South In Need Of Two Parties

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

President Is Challenged To Urge Southerners To Avoid Filibusters

Mon. 2-16-48

By D. HAROLD OLIVER

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15. — (AP)—Chairman Reece of the Republican National Committee Sunday urged a two-party system in the South as one way of preventing what he called "infringements upon civil liberties."

He also challenged President Truman to urge Democratic senators from the South not to filibuster against anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, and other administration-recommended "civil rights" proposals when they come up for action. Mon. 2-16-48

Southern governors and legislators have denounced the President's 10-point civil rights program. It also calls for no segregation in transportation and Federal guarantees against discrimination in employment because of race.

They are talking of withholding Dixie's electoral votes from the President as one means of retaliation.

Claims Lead

The Advertiser

Reece, in a letter to 20,000 Republican officials and party workers, credited the Republican party with originating most measures in the nation's history for promoting civil liberties. Mon. 2-16-48

He added that Democratic filibusters in recent years had blocked all Republican efforts to put through anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, and fair employment practice measures. Montgomery, Ala.

REFERENCE POINTS

The Advertiser

Alabamians are now trying to get their bearings with respect to Truman, the Republican Party and—hail to the chief—Folsom. Montgomery, Ala.

Truman has spoken. Thurs. 2-5-48

Folsom will speak tomorrow in the first hour post meridian.

The Republican Party began its speech in the 1860's and has not paused for station identification since. Its last utterance before the next one was the G.O.P. presidential platform on which Gov. Dewey ran in 1944.

This platform read:

"Racial and Religious Intolerance: . . . We pledge the establishment by Federal legislation of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission.

"Anti-Poll Tax: The payment of any poll tax should not be a condition of voting in Federal elections, and we favor immediate submission of a constitutional amendment for its abolition. The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Thurs 2-5-48

"Anti-Lynching: We favor legislation against lynching and pledge our sincere efforts in behalf of its early enactment."

All of which must be employed as reference points in Southern navigation charts.

G. O. P. ALLURE

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

Democrats who are disgusted with Truman's civil rights pronouncement will find going over to the Republicans like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. Confirmation is eloquently provided in a letter just received from Chairman Carroll Reece of the Republican National Committee.

Reece incessantly sends out a letter to his Republican cohorts, exhorting them to gird for the battle and lambasting the Democrats. The latest blast is devoted to glorifying Republican efforts to enact legislation distasteful to the South.

Says Chairman Reece: 12-17-48 34d

"Its (the Republican Party's) members in Congress have given almost unanimous support to anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bills, and to proposals for the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission. Though they have been prevented from enacting such laws nationally—because of Democrat opposition—Republicans have given concrete evidence of their sincerity by definite action in the field of state legislation." Dec. 12-17-48

He then boasts that of four states now having F. E. P. C. laws, they were put into force under Republican state administration in three—New Jersey, New York and Connecticut. The fourth, Massachusetts, adopted its F. E. P. C. law under a Democratic governor, but it was a Republican legislature that passed the measure.

In another paragraph, Reece lumps southern Democrats with Nazis and Reds, though he concedes there may be a degree of difference:

"It might be appropriate at this point to remark that infringements upon civil liberties are nearly always to be found where a one-party system prevails. Though there may be differences in degree, that principle would apply regardless of whether the party bears the Communist name, as in Russia, the Nazi label in Germany, the Fascist label in Italy or the Democrat label in Mississippi."

We take it that Mr. Reece does not believe the G. O. P. has much chance in the South.

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Face to Face

Election Maneuvers of the Republicans in Washington

The Worker

By Benjamin J. Davis
New York, N.Y.
Member, New York City Council

ELECTION DAY is rolling around and naturally the Republican Senators have announced that the anti-lynch bill will be the first of three civil rights measures to be brought up in that body for action. GOP leader Senator Taft, said on April 8: "If you've got a filibuster to fight, the Republicans thought that this was the easiest bill to get through." Tues. 4-18-48

The very first thing to do is to discount Taft's ready assurance that this measure will be brought up at all, unless the people fight for it. Anything Taft says on the Negro and civil rights questions, has to be judged in the light of his attempt to bag the presidential nomination of his party.

As far as fighting a filibuster is concerned, Taft, who has been in the Senate since Hector was a pup, has had a hundred chances to smash filibuster by invoking cloture. He has never done so.

•

THE Negro people are not only interested in passage of the anti-lynch bill, but also in the anti-poll tax and the FEPC bills, weak though the latter is. They are interested farther in ending the terror in the deep South, in abolishing Jimcrow in the army—and above all, in stopping the imperialist war that Taft and his Democratic colleagues, at the bidding of Wall Street, are trying to provoke.

The GOP high command is trying to put itself in a grandiose position of bagaining with the Negro people, offering demagogic gestures on the anti-lynching bill in return for Negro and other minority votes. In the extremely limited time for Congress to remain in session, the GOP counts upon a sham fight upon the anti-lynch bill serving as a substitute for the actual passage of this and the other two bills. Having waited so late in the session to bring up the anti-lynch bill—that is, if mass pressure compels them to bring it up—the GOP will then argue that they have no time to take up the other two bills. The Worker

With respect to the 1948 elections, the anti-poll tax bill is decisive. But Taft and the Republicans were careful not to place that first on the calendar, even though it has already passed the House. It is this measure which will enable the third party and the candidacy of Henry Wallace to break through electorally in the seven poll tax states, against both the corrupt North Republicans and the polltax Southern Democrats. New York, N.Y.

Fishing in the troubled waters of the Democratic Party, the GOP is making a solid bid to swing some of the polltax states into their column in November. They intend to do this, not by breaking up the rotten poll tax system, but by by winning it over. An extra large vote in the South, by Negroes and whites now disfranchised, means a powerful vote for Wallace. The Republicans no more than the Democrats want to open the flood-gates to Wallace in the South, and consequently they have no intentions whatsoever of outlawing the poll tax, the same poll tax which prevents Negroes and thousands of whites from voting some of the lynch officials out of office.

Tues. 4-18-48

THERE can be only one answer to the cunning strategy which the Republicans are following in the Senate and that is to demand that there be no adjournment of Congress until all three of these bills are passed—the anti-lynch, anti-polltax and FEPC bills. Absolutely no unprincipled **bargains will be accepted, and no soap on permitting one bill to be played against another!** The Worker

The Republicans and the Truman Democrats are also far wrong if they think the Negro people are interested in combatting Jimcrow only in a narrow sense. They are only insulting the political maturity and intelligence of the Negro if they think he is not interested in Taft-Hartley slavery, in Palestine, Greece and China, in American imperialism's warmongering campaign against the Soviet Union, the European democracies and colonial independence. These issues, foreign and domestic, are being increasingly recognized by the Negro people as decisive in their fight against Jimcrow at home. These issues will be even more recognized as they are brought into the Negro communities and into the shops and fields. Tues.

Perhaps the major party bosses are deceived into thinking that the Negro people go along with A. Philip Randolph's acceptance of Wall Street's program of war, Soviet-baiting and red-baiting although Randolph cleverly disguised his surrender to the warmongers behind his defeatist "civil disobedience" proposal. 4-18-48

Negroes are opposed not only to a Jimcrow army, but they are opposed to permitting their bodies to be used as cannon-fodder in a war by Wall Street to impose Mississippi lynch law on the rest of the world. No section of the population is more interested in the over-all question of war or peace than 15 million Negro citizens.

But just so Wall Street's two party lackeys will have no misunderstanding on these questions, a national mass delegation of the Negro people, their labor and progressive allies, is more than ever necessary to visit Washington before Congress adjourns. The purpose: No Jimcrow, and no war! **Pass the anti-poll tax, anti-lynch and FEPC bills! Are you ready?**

Republicans Face A Dilemma On Civil Rights

The Record

The Senate judiciary committee, by a vote of 10 to 3, approved the anti-lynching bill Monday.

The three Senators who voted against it were: Moore, of Oklahoma, Republican, and Eastland of Mississippi and Fulbright of Arkansas, both Democrats.

Senator Eastland threatened a filibuster should the Republican leadership call the bill up in the Senate before adjournment Saturday. Columbia, S.C.

"The statement is made that what is in the bill is already in the law," Eastland declared. "If that is true, it (the bill) is an attempt to humiliate the South and I'm going to fight it until hell freezes over." Wed.

The Republicans, however, face a dilemma on the two pending civil rights bills — the anti-poll tax bill and the anti-lynching bill.

On the one hand they hope to profit from the Southern revolt against President Truman's civil rights program. Senator Taft, in a speech in North Carolina on June 5, advised the South to maintain its tradition of "individual liberties free from outside interference." And Senator Taft is the Republican leader on domestic affairs. 6-16-48

On the other hand the Republicans, as usual, are out to capture as many Negro votes in the crucial states as possible and the anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills have been their accustomed bait for this purpose-introduced and debated, but never passed.

The 1944 G. O. P. platform pledged the Republicans to: a permanent F. E. P. C., anti-lynching legislation and an anti-poll tax constitutional amendment. If no serious attempt is made to redeem at least one of these pledges, Negro voters may well ask themselves in November why they should trust pledges made in the Republican platform to be adopted in Philadelphia this year.

And there is no chance, if the adjournment deadline is to be met, that any of these measures can be passed save the anti-poll tax bill, which doesn't conform to the Republican platform since it attempts to do unconstitutionally what the Republicans pledged themselves to do by constitutional amendment. This measure passed the House July 21, 1947, and if now passed by the Senate could be made law. The Record

None of the other so-called civil rights bills have passed either house. Wed.

The attempt to bring up any one of these measures would provoke a Southern filibuster which could be broken only by cloture. And there are many Senators of both parties who are opposed to cloture for reasons of principle. In 1946 an anti-poll tax bill came up in the Senate in the last days of the session and Senator Barkley filed a cloture petition as soon as the bill was made unfinished business. It failed of the necessary two-thirds majority. There hadn't been time for the debate to degenerate into a filibuster. In February 1946 a cloture petition came up after 23 days of debate on the F. E. P. C. bill. Eight Republicans voted against it and it failed of imposition by exactly eight votes.

To have this happen this year would offset the Republican effort to bring up the bill and supply the Democrats with the argument that the Republicans were actually responsible for the measure's defeat. 6-16-48

But even with cloture applied a Senator can still talk for an hour on any bill and the Republicans do not have 25 hours to spend on the debate of the anti-poll tax or anti-lynching bill if they are to get away Saturday. Columbia, S.C.

Negro Leaders Flay GOP on Civil Rights

Daily Worker

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New York, N.Y.

The Republican Platform Committee in Philadelphia last week was told by spokesmen of 21 Negro business, church, professional, labor, and civil rights, of the disappointment of Negro voters at the record of the 80th Congress. The delegation demanded civil rights action from the GOP. Mon.

The organizations, with a total membership of 6,084,000, told the GOP their members were "deeply disappointed by the complete failure of the Republican-controlled 80th Congress to enact any of the civil rights legislation pledged in the 1944 platform." 6-21-48

While individual GOP and Democratic Congressmen have sponsored such legislation the group declared, **"A combination of conservative Republican and Democratic members of Congress have used every possible legislative device to avoid enactment of this promised and sore needed legislation."**

Members of the organizations continuations committee which drew up the statement were:

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Social Action Committee of the CME Church; George L. P. Weaver, CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination; B. F. McLaurin, AFL Brotherhood of Sleepingcar Porters; E. Albert Norris, National Alliance of Postal Employees; Miss Mabel S. Lewis, National Association of Negro Milliners, Hair Stylists and Dress Designers; Mrs. C. G. Johnson, Beauty Culture League; Walter White, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Dr. Rayford Logan, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity; Dr. J. E. Lattimore, National Medical Association; Dr. M. B. Hutto, National Dental Association; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, National Council of Negro Women; M. C. Clarke, National Negro Insurance Association, and Thomas Young, Negro Newspaper Publishers Association.

Mon. 6-21-48

The Press

Whites Charge Discrimination

Detroit Mich.

PHILADELPHIA (U.P.) — A Mississippi delegation to the Republican National Convention charged "discrimination against Whites" in a United States District Court appeal to have its members seated. Sun. 6-20-48

The appeal was filed on behalf of George L. Sheldon, former Nebraska governor now living in Missisippi, and Nelson E. Taylor, of Le Flore County. 6-20-48

They were members of an all-white anti-Taft group which sought unsuccessfully to be recognized as the Mississippi delegation. The National Committee recognized a faction headed by Perry Howard, Negro attorney.

Participation Is Announced In GOP Meet

Atlanta Daily World
Wed. 6-9-48

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—In addition to a number of colored persons being delegates, several colored persons will participate in various capacities in the Republican national convention which convenes in Philadelphia on June 21 Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, said last Thursday.

As a member of the commitee Mr Howard said, he secured the selection of Hobson Reynolds, head of the Elks' civil liberties department, to deliver a welcome address to the convention on June 21.

Bishop A. P. Shaw of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Baltimore, will deliver the invocation at the opening of the convention on June 21.

Other appointments announced by Mr. Howard include Albert Reading of Chester, Penn., as a reading clerk, and William Murray Simmons, son of Roscoe C. Simmons of Chicago, as a page.

NEGRO UNIT RECOGNIZED

New York Times

Howard's Mississippi Delegation Wins Test in Committee

Tues. 6-22-48

PHILADELPHIA, June 21 (AP)—The Republican National Convention Credentials Committee voted unanimously today to recognize the Mississippi delegation headed by Perry W. Howard, national committeeman. 6-22-48

The vote came after a hearing in which the Negro political leader pleaded that his faction be recognized. Opposing him were two white attorneys representing the so-called "independent" Republican delegation of Mississippi.

The Credentials Committee ignored the contention of the "independent" faction that if it was not seated Mississippi would be entitled to only four delegates. The Howard group is made up of eight delegates.

Meanwhile, Federal Judge J. Cullen Ganey deferred until tomorrow his decision on a dispute between the factions. George L. Sheldon, leader of the "independent" Republicans, seeks a preliminary restraining order to prevent the seating of the "regular" delegation led by Howard.

The suit was filed after the Republican National Committee voted last Friday to seat the Howard delegation.

Threat of Floor Battle

The Constitution

PHILADELPHIA, June 22—(AP) All threats of a serious convention floor battle on the GOP foreign policy stand—cold shouldering isolationism and pledging American leadership toward world peace — apparently collapsed tonight.

There were these fast Republican Platform developments:

1. Senator Vandenberg, Republican, Michigan, hailed the foreign plank as "magnificent." Wed.

2. Senator Brooks, Republican, Illinois, who battled in the Platform Committee last night to change some of the strong internationalist language of the foreign plank, told reporters tonight there will be no convention fight by him or other critics of the platform proposals. Atlanta, Ga.

3. GOP National Chairman Carroll Reece predicted "harmonious action" on the platform at the convention tomorrow. 6-23-48

The platform writers struck out preliminary draft language calling for United Nations' control of atomic energy. Brooks, a Resolutions Committee member, led the fight. "I did not succeed in having all my views accepted," he said, "but I accept it (the platform) as the best I could get."

But while harmony descended again upon the GOP policy-makers, the Party's labor stand was assailed by several union leaders as feeble and unconvincing. Wed.

The internationalist plank adopted by the Platform Committee after a stormy half-the-night session calls for bulwarking the United Nations by curbing the big power veto and setting up a world police force under the UN charter.

Rumblings of protest developed quickly on the GOP labor plank—which may sway many thousands of votes one way or another in November. 6-23-48

American Federation of Labor officials in Washington declared: "The labor plank is totally unsatisfactory. It fails to deal with advance in life," regardless of race and color.

The rights plank did not say specifically that it stands for a Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC). Language in the preliminary platform draft directly favoring FEPC was stricken out

The 2,400-word platform — believed to be the shortest in the Party's history—was approved by the 104-member Resolutions Committee after an uproarous session on the foreign plank and domestic policy as well. It goes to the full convention tomorrow for ratification. Wed. 6-23-48

Hobson Reynolds Warns GOP Must Correct Race Ills Now

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga. Tues.

By JIM FLEMING

PHILADELPHIA—(ANP)— "We Republicans) must move swiftly and at once, for the problems which face our democratic way of life cannot be put off," Magistrate Hobson R. Reynolds of Philadelphia thunderingly warned the Republican National convention.

Delivering the only major convention address by a Negro, the magistrate who will soon become Pennsylvania's first state senator called upon his party to allow all Americans to work together, regardless of race, creed and color Then he turned specifically to the plight of the Negro. 6-27-48

"We want to be comfortable as members of our party," he continued. "We want to share, without equivocations, each and every privilege of citizenship guaranteed us by the constitution of our country and we want and ask, that the party of our choice protect us in privileges assured every other segment of our American population. We ask no more. We will not be satisfied with anything less. True democracy and equality of opportunity must come now."

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

ANSWER QUERY

What is the duty and responsibility of the Republican party? Reynolds asked this question and then he answered it: 6-27-48

"Our party should not fail to do away with the effects of race prejudice. Our government can and should insist that colored citizens share responsibility with other citizens for the welfare of the nation. Democratic government must keep apace of science and realize that there is no basis beyond prejudice for the belief that one race is intrinsically superior to another."

Reynolds, who is also national director of the Elks Civil Liberties commission, charged a conspiracy against the Negro, despite the fact that "our men have fought for the defense and America in every war . . . down to World War II." He continued: Daily World

"During all the years that have followed the adoption by a Republican congress of the Civil War amendments to the constitution, conferring freedom and citizenship upon the Negro people, they have been the victims of an organized conspiracy to deny them that human freedom to which as citizens they are entitled.

PREJUDICE BLASTED

"Injustices that follow from ignorance and in-born, racial prejudices have most largely contributed to the present-day lack of a more cordial relationship between the races, and that cooperative spirit of unity which should exist, and which finally must exist, if we are to achieve that peace and economic prosperity which underlies all permanent progress."

Magistrate Reynolds reminded the some 20,000 listeners that of the significance of America's handling of its Negro citizens to America's destiny of world leadership; he repeated his plea for full citizenship. Atlanta, Ga.

"I do not believe that the Republican party will longer permit conditions as they now exist under the Democratic party to continue," he declared challengingly. "These loyal Negro Americans will never supinely and complacently accept a second class citizenship. They cannot be bribed or blackmailed into renouncing their just and equal status as citizens of this country. Sun. 6-27-48

Civil Rights Group Pickets GOP

Daily Worker

75 NEGROES, WHITES DEMAND ACTION ON ANTI-BIAS LAWS

New York

By Walter Lowenfels

PHILADELPHIA, June 21.—Republican delegates had to pass through a civil rights picket line of Negro and white citizens at Convention Hall today. More than 75 pickets circled in front of the main entrance this morning, and again this evening carrying signs that read: "Stop Talking, Start Acting. Pass Anti-Lynch, Anti-Poll Tax, FEPC Laws." The picket line was under the auspices of the Non-Partisan Committee for Civil Rights, the same committee that helped organize the historic civil rights demonstration of 10,000 in Washington earlier in the month.

The committee attempted to see Sen. Lodge of the GOP Resolutions Committee, and get a commitment from the GOP about the legislation the 80th Congress refused to pass. Magistrate Hobson Reynolds, Negro Republican and Elks leader, a delegate to the convention, finally did get National Republican Chairman Carol Reece to meet with a group of delegates who wanted to appear before the Resolutions Committee before it okayed its final draft on civil rights. Daily Worker

This correspondent heard Reece tell Reynolds that the time for appearances before the committee had passed last week. Reynolds' pleas that the GOP Negro delegates had only just arrived made no dent. Reynolds told reporters that the Negroes had been given the run around again. 6-22-48 New York N.Y.

The civil rights picket line made a sharp impact on the convention.

Several Negro Republican delegates joined the picket line themselves,

Strikers Picket GOP Convention

PHILADELPHIA, June 21.—A CIO communications picket line brought the fight against strikebreaking to Convention Hall today. The ACA has been on strike since May 1 against the local Inquirer radio and television station, WFIL. Picket signs and sound trucks told the GOP delegates: Tues.

"The Republican convention is helping WFIL to break our strike." 6-22-48

Joe Selley, international ACA president headed the picket line, which included men and women from a dozen different unions.

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including John A. Davis of St. Louis.

This reporter interviewed several dozen Negro and white delegates from states ranging from Florida to Minnesota. "What they're doing won't hurt," that's just what we need," were typical responses from Negro Republicans, while some white Republicans gave a favorable response, most of them kept iron faces, and one Southern white Republican said "down our way, we burn 'em."

Republican Party Platform Lousy

The Oklahoma Eagle

7-1-48

Thu. 7-1-48

Says A. Philip Randolph

Tulsa Oklahoma

PHILADELPHIA.—"The civil rights plank in the 1948 Republican platform is a warning to colored people that the Republican party is courting southern states and does not give a "picayune' for colored voters,'. A' Philip Randolhp, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, declared here last Tuesday.

Holding in his hands a copy of the platform, which has just been adopted by the convention, Mr. Randolph said, "This is Lousy."

"It is not sufficiently strong to convey the perfect futility of the civil rights plank. It would be a joke were it not such a tragic traversy upon decency and an insult to the common sense and pride of the Negro citizens of America.

The Republican party has descended to its lowest depths of opportunism and has become more 'Dixie-crat' than Mississippi and South Carolina. It is sufficient warning to Negroes that now the Republicans are courting southern states and that they no longer give a 'picayune' for the Negro vote.

It is a signal for the Negroes to become more militnat and aggressive in their fight to abolish Jim Crow in the army, transportation, education, and every other area of life in America by all of the forces they can mobilize, including the method of civil disobedience."

Opposes Armed Force Segregation

In New York, on June 26th Randolph announced formation of a league to campaign for non-compliance with the draft unless President Truman issues an executive order against segregation.

The program would be waged on a nationwide basis. It will call for a program of non-violent civil disobedience.

"I believe the peace-time draft law—the enactment of this peacetim edraft with no provisions for the limination of 'Jim Crow' in it —will set back the cause of civil rights in 100 years."

Willing To Make Sacrifice

The union leader said that even though "it may cost me my liberty" he would urge members fo his race nad others subject to the draft registration after Aug. 16th to refuse to register or be drafted.

GOP Group Is Reported Behind Civil Rights Plank

Montgomery Advertiser

PHILADELPHIA—(AP)—A subcommittee of Republican platform writers was reported Friday night to have voted in favor of a strong civil rights plank for the party's 1948 platform. 34

The group was the civil rights subcommittee of the GOP resolutions committee. Members said privately, after the meeting, that they voted for a Republican Party pledge to support laws or constitutional amendments against these things: Montgomery, ALA.

1—Poll taxes.

2—Lynchings.

3—Racial segregation in the armed services.

4—Unfair employment practices. Sat-6-19-48

A similar plank appeared in the 1944 platform. Before the declaration becomes official it must be adopted by the full resolutions committee and then the Republican Convention which starts Monday.

Meanwhile, members of the resolutions committee predicted the platform probably will be the "most international" in the party's history. Sat.

Harold E. Stassen, the only candidate to appear before the platform writers, asked that the party commit itself to future European aid "if the nations aided help themselves and move toward freedom." Stassen spoke up, too, for a stronger United Nations, with the charter rewritten and the veto power erased.

All in all, the campaign document to be given the Republican National Convention for approval next week seemed almost sure to contain strong foreign policy and civil rights planks.

The "most international" prediction came from U. S. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, chairman of the resolutions committee, as the nine subcommittees ended their hearings and huddled separately to confer on planks. 6-19-48

He told reporters "times have changed since 1920. All of our leading candidates are on record as favoring aid to Europe and participation in international affairs. We could hardly do other-

The Negro leaders testified before the civil rights subcommittee wise than to offer a platform suitable to these men."

It was in 1920 that Lodge's grandfather, Henry Cabot Lodge, helped keep the United States out of the League of Nations. of the resolutions group.

Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, said that since the Republicans won control of Congress in 1946 they have "miserably evaded" their 1944 platform promises on civil rights.

He said the Negro vote holds the potential balance of power in 17 states. He said this vote has become "increasingly an independent vote," and one of the chief reasons has been the "cavalier treatment" which most Republican leaders have accorded Negroes' claims to opportunity and justice. 6-19-48

Pledge Opposes Jim Crow In Armed Forces

The Lighthouse
Columbia, S.C.

PHILADELPHIA—(SNS)—The Republican Resolutions Committee early Tuesday approved a platform opposing racial segregation in the Armed Forces.

The platform also called for a far-reaching Civil Rights program, including enactment of fair employment, anti-lynch and anti-poll tax legislation.

34D

The platform is to be presented to the entire convention.

In addition the platform shunned isolationism, pledging to continue America's international cooperation. said the United Nations should be freed of the use of any veto in the peaceful settlement of international disputes; gives full power of the government to combat Communism; pledges the Republican party to a battle against high living costs and inflation.

HOUSING PLEDGES

On the housing issue, the resolutions committee wrote an a plank calling for a broad program of government-constructed, low-rent housing. Such legislation for housing was killed in the last hours of the Republican-dominated congress.

Jun. 6-27-48

Other pledges include:

A plank to support the States' claims to control over tide lands, rather than Federal control.

A strong pledge greeting Israel and calling for full recognition of the new country with integrity of boundaries

6-27-48

A plank supporting self-Government for the District of Columbia but not representation in Congress

A strong labor plank, stating that collective bargaining is an obligation as well as a right, applying to workers and employers, and the fundamental right to strike is supordinate only to paramount considerations of public health and safety.

Republican Convention Hears Spokesmen For 6 Million Negroes

Daily World

34d

Atlanta, Ga.

PHILADELPHIA — (S N S) — Spokesmen for twenty-one national Negro business, church, professional, labor and civil rights organizations with a total membership of 6,084,00 appeared before the Republican Platform Committee on June 18 to voice the disappointment of Negro voters at the record of the 80th Congress and to demand action by the Republican Party on civil rights legislation.

Fri. 6-22-48

The statement prepared by the continuations committee of the Negro organizations declared: "We would be less than honest with you and ourselves if we did not say frankly that the members or our organizations have been deeply dis appointed by the complete failure of the Republican-controlled 80th Congress to enact any of the civil rights legislation pledged in the 1944 platform .... Individual Republican and Democratic senators and congressmen have sought in vain to secure action upon the fair employment practice committee, the anti-lynching and the anti-poll tax bills. But a combination of conservative Republican and Democratic members of Congress have used every possible legislative device to avoid enactment of this promised and sorely needed legislation."

BALANCE OF POWER 6-22-48

Calling the attention of the Republican Party to the fact that the Negro vote, which holds the potential balance of power in reasonably close elections in 17 states with 295 electoral votes, has become increasingly an independent vote during the past 30 years, the Negro Spokesmen demanded to know whether or not the Republican platform for 1948 is to be meaningful. They urged the convention to take an unequivocal position on each of the issues outlined in the Declaration of Negro Voters, which was drafted on March 27 by representatives of the 21 organizations This declaration was presented to the Republican Platform Committee.

Daily World

The members of the continuations committee are Dr. Channing H. Tobia, Special Action Committee of the CME Church; George L. P. Weaver, CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination; B. F McLaurin, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; E. Albert Norris, National Alliance of Postal Employees; Miss Mabel S. Lewis, National Association of Negro Milliners, Hair Stylists and Dress Designers of America; Mrs. C. G. Johnson. Beauty Culture League; Walter White, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Dr. Rayford Logan, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity; Dr. J. E. Lattimore, National Medical Association; Dr. M. B. Hutto, National Dental Association; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, National Council of Negro Women; M C Clarke, National Negro Insurance Association; and Thomas Young, Negro Newspaper Publishers Association.

Atlanta, Ga.

The spokesmen for the 21 organizations at the Republican Platform Committee meeting were N. A. A. C. P. secretary Walter White and Dr. Channing H. Tobias of the Social Action Committee of the C M. E. Church.

Fri. 6-22-48

Civil Rights Planks Made Without Negroes

Intermountain

Voice

Ogden, Utah

By Mark Hyman

PHILADELPHIA (ANP)— The Republican party worked out a civil rights plank without the aid of a single Negro on the platform committee. In the nomination of president, one Negro spoke for Dewey, and none spoke for Warren.

34d

Bishop A. Preston Shaw of the Methodist Episcopal church led the convention in prayer. From among 39 Negro delegates and 35 alternates only two participated in the nomination of the candidates.

Fri. 7-9-48

Speaking for Gov. Dewey was the Rev. Arthur J. Payne of Baltimore. As the fourth man to second his nomination, he said that Dewey was a liberal who sought equality for all people in his state. He compared Dewey's actions against the promises of other leaders.

Roy Gordon and Jose Schaubah, representing the Virgin Islands, carried banners in the wild Dewey demonstration. Although admitted to the convention, the islanders had no vote.

Roscoe Conkling Simmons, silver tongued orator from the midwest, seconded the nomination of Senator Robert A. Taft. Telling the American story of freedom from 1776 through the Civil War, Simmons was greeted with mixed cheers and jeers.

A big howl went up when he said in regard to the Civil War, "Your fathers' blood wrote the freedom of my people of which I am a living example."

No Negroes came to the front for Gov. Warren, Gen. McArthur, Raymond Baldwin of Connecticut, Sen. Arthur Vandenburg or Harold Stassen.

The Republican party platform for 1948 is the usual ambiguous document that pops up every four years. When the text of this platform was finally released, the indifferent attitude of most observers was quite apparent.

With the disgraceful record of the 80th congress fresh in the minds of most persons, nobody became too excited over the civil rights planks in the platform.

A typical remark concerning the plank came from a man in the lobby of the Bellvue-Stratford hotel.

"This is just about the same thing they said in '44. I guess we can only hope that if they are elected they will do something about these things this time."

Intermountain

This seems to be the hopeful attitude of all loyal Republicans and the disgusted attitudes of their opponents.

Voice

This year's platforms includes a lot of rights, but it was made without the help of any Negroes on the committee. It condemns lynching, the poll tax and the idea of segregation in the armed forces. It calls for legislation against lynching and legislation to promote the "right of equal opportunity to work and advance in life.

Ogden, Utah

A sideline to the convention was the 50 man A. Philip Randolph picket line around convention headquarters. They were demanding a real civil rights program which would include some action against segregation in travel, a positive statement on FEPC, federal aid to education, a franchise to the restriction of membership in congress in states point out Dewey's support of an FEPC law in New York and his support of the anti-bias education bill as examples of his attitude toward the race. They also commend him for the appointments of Negroes in state offices.

Fri. 7-9-48

Opponents of Dewey speak of him as the man who let the bill that would provide an integrated national guard for his state die. They seem to feel that he promotes civil rights action only when he is able to do so.

The support for Warren is questionable. No FEPC laws have been passed in his state, California. His stand on civil rights seems to be an unknown quantity.

Intermountain

Bishop Shaw's prayer included the reading of the "Negro National Anthem," "Lift Every Voice and Sing," by James Weldon Johnson. He prayed:

Voice

"O God, our help in ages past, our hope for years to come, our shelter from the stormy blast, and our eternal home;

"We come to Thee conscious for the fact that faith in Thee not see Thee with our eyes and touch Thee with our hands, still Thou art nearer to us than hands or feet.

Ogden, Utah

"Verily we live in Thee and have our being. We thank Thee fo rthe fact that faith in Thee and willingness to be led by Thee have been in the past the history of our nation such a significant factor in its founding, growth, success, and progress, and exaltation to a place of world leadership and service.

Fri.

Gov. Dewey has had to face problems and situations in regard to Negroes and other minority groups, and he has had some "friend" who told him to "go easy" on the backing wider opportunities and rights for Negroes, if he desired to "go places" politically. The record shows that he has, nevertheless, backed and signed legislation for fair employment and outlawing discrimination in educational institutions based on race, creed or color. Indeed, he supported the first state FEPC bill and the first state fair education bill.

7-9-48

Judging by his past record, Negroes should get a "lift" knowing that, if the Republicans win the presidency, the race will still have a friend in the White House, after January 1949.

But, the presidency is more remote than the governorship, and Negro leadership will have to see that Gov. Dewey does not forget Negroes as he becomes involved in the maize of world problems. Most important, Negroes must do whatever they can to insure that the men who will be advising him and who will run the government, are not cast in the molds too different from Dewey so far as the rights of Negroes are concerned.

For instance, Pennsylvania Negroes sighed with alarm when they recognized the favorable spot into which Sen. Edward Martin had maneuvered himself when he released the delegates pledged to him as a "favorite son," to Dewey, 48 hours before the balloting for the candidate.

Pennsylvanians are afraid that Sen. Martin may be rewarded with the secretary of defense or the secretaryship of the army, since he has been a military man all his life. Both as state adjutant and governor of Pennsylvania, Sen. Martin refused to admit Negroes into the Pennsylvania National guard. He passed the buck, he blamed the federal government, he ignored pleas and petitions from veterans and Legionnaires. He remained adamant in keeping the Pennsylvania National guard lily-white.

7-9-48

Pennsylvanians are very much afraid that if Martin becomes important in federal defense, the Negro will meet new obstacles in his attempt to abolish jim-crow in the armed forces.

Negroes have not overlooked Dewey's progress as an administrator and of his success in "running the largest state."

Generals without Troops

Those of our eminent leaders who have the time and money which enable them to go on lobbying junkets to our political conventions ought to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. They ought not to pretend to be the spokesmen of millions of persons belonging to our various organizations when as a matter of fact they have never been elected, nor even nominated, as spokesmen, for these millions.

Nashville and Indeper

Take the case of a committee led by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They told the Republican platform committee a whopper last week. Said they represented an organized army of six million colored voters and came to express the wishes of these voters on platform planks.

Walter White, as a matter of fact can't even speak for the 600,000 members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He has no mandate from them to say what the members want from the political parties. And in the several organizations, religious and fraternal that Mr. White and Co. claimed to represent there are so many duplications that it would be difficult to tell what the total voting strength of the combination of organizations is.

Fri. 7-2-48

Perry W. Howard, a member of the Republican National Committee, could say with just as much validity as Walter White that he is a spokesman for all of the colored voters of the fraternal orders the church and social clubs of which he is a member. But Mr. Howard does not engage in publicity stunts like Walter White and Co.

At best, Walter White can say he is able to express the political views of a considerable number of those who followed the New Deal off into the wilderness. But even this faction is split in twain and Henry A. Wallace exerts more influence with these colored brethren and sisters than does Mr. Walter White. Wallace is promising them more than Mr. White.

7-2-48

Walter White ought to have learned by now that the one group of Americans you have less chance of fooling about your voting power and influence among voters are our practical politicians. And those were smart, practical Republican politicians who were listening with amusement as Walter White nd his associates were pointing with pride to having six million colored votes in their vest pockets.

Our Feminine Bilbo

the Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Rep. Claire Boothe Luce, addressing the Republican Convention at its opening session, referred to the Southern Democrats as a "Jim Crow wing led by lynch-loving Bourbons, white-shirted race-supremists of the Bilbo ilk at its worst, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic and, in short, antedeluvian." Gosh! This was not in quite as bad taste as her notorious "GI Jim" speech of 1944—but almost.

Upon reading it, a burst of light straight from heaven thrust itself down and broke the seals on the Book of Knowledge and revealed to us what we long had been seeking, a proper phrase to describe the glamorous and charming lady from Connecticut.

Rep. Luce is indeed, to employ one of the late Theodore Bilbo's favorite words, a "Limocoline Lady Bird"; Bilbo himself reincarnated as a female demagogue and rabble-rouser. Neither the late Bilbo nor the late Huey Long were as abusive in indicting whole people as their feminine counterpart. Mrs. Luce, who denounced Bilbo for indicting Italians and Jews, sees no paradox in indicting Southerners.

Wed. 6-23-48

Bilbo, whose small store of learning caused him to seek out little-used words for exhibitionist purposes was, as we have said, fond of the word "Limocoline." It is from two Greek words and means "mud-dwelling." But, never before has the word been so apt as now. We think of the glamorous Clare as a sleek white crane, beautiful of line, daintily moving with feet in the mud and beak muddy with pecking?

The Constitution

We trust we shall hear more from our feminine Bilbo.

Voice Of The People

The News 7-8-48 Birmingham, Ala.

Luce Talk

To the Editor of The News:

I am sure a great many Southern people were amused as well as moved by the irresponsible mouthings of the darling of the GOP Convention, Clare Boothe Luce in her own one-ring circus. It was politically indiscreet for B. Carrol Reece, chairman of the National Republican Committee, to have permitted her to have wrought such injury to the Southern constituency, since Mr. Reece is a native Tennesseean.

Mrs. Luce proceeded to divide the Democratic party into three wings, namely, the "Jim Crow Wing" of the South; the "Moscow wing" of the East, and the "Pendergast wing" of the West. Mrs. Luce should be reminded that on every national issue that came before Congress her "Jim Crow Democrats" voted with the Republicans.

7-8-48

There has been much talk here lately that some of the Republican leaders were planning to win the Solid South over to the Republicans but I am afraid they will not have much success unless they can silence Mrs. Luce's loose talk.

W. B. STRICKLAND.
Y. M. C. A., Washington, D. C.

Many Negro Delegates At GOP Meeting

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga

PHILADELPHIA — (ANP)—The largest number of Negro delegates and alternates to any Republican National convention — or to any political convention—are helping to name the man who will carry the G. O. P. banner in the 1948 national election. By the same signs, they are having a hand in, perhaps, selecting the next President of the United States.

Wed.

The latest and best count showed 34 delegates from 14 states and the District of Columbia, and 31 alternates from the same 14 states, although not all from the same states as the delegates.

6-23-48

Last minute contests, however, may make a difference as to whether all delegats will actually vote.

Two contests have already been decided. The Mississippi delegation led by Perry W. Howard was seated over its lily-white contestants, while the pro-Dewey delegation from Georgia, with J. W. Dobbs, noted Mason, as one of the leaders, was given a seat over its pro-Taft opponents.

DELEGATE LIST

The complete list of delegates follows:

Florida: George Parker, Washington, D. C.; David H. Dwight, Jacksonville; Mrs. Hattie I. James, Ixson; Mrs. S. B. Goode, Pensacola and David A. Douglas, Miami.

Daily World

Georgia: J. W. Dobbs, Atlanta; Toomer, Savannah; T. C. Williams, Charles Pidcock, Moultrie; L. B. Waycross; W. J. Shaw, Atlanta. and W. C. Ervin, Augusta.

Illinois: Roscoe L. Simmons, of Chicago and Valores J. Washington, Chicago.

Atlanta, Ga.

Kansas: P. G. Porter, Olathe.

Kentucky: J. E. Kuyendall, Bowling Green.

Wed

Michigan: Willaim Brooks, Detroit..

Virgin Isles Recognized By Republicans

Atlanta Daily World
Thu. 6-24-48

PHILADELPHIA—(ANP) — For the first time, the Virgin islands of the United States were recognized by a Republican National convention, it became known as two Virgin Islanders were given seats here.

Since 1920, the little Caribbean territory has sought recognition from the GOP—the same kind of recognition which the Democratic party had granted—but it always failed, although Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines, were full-fledged convention participants.

Those seated were Roy P. Gordon, of St. Thomas, chairman of tre legislative council of the Virgin islands, and Jose Shaubah, businessman from St. Croix.

IN POSITION

6-24-48

Officially, the Virgin Islanders were not voting delegates this year, but the approval they won from the rules committee, of which Buddington Kelland was chairman, means that the first steps were taken to insure full participation by 1952. In the meantime, the islands, of which William H. Hastie is governor, will be in position to elect two members to the National Republican committee.

Gordon, who lived in the United States for 15 years before returning to the Virgin Islands in 1936, visited delegation after delegation, "making friends and influencing people," in order to have the islands recognized. He found many ears which agreed with him that the islands should not be forced to have a one-party existence, but should be able to participate both in Democratic and Republican circles.

IN BOTH PARTIES

"This means," Gordon said, "that we can have friends in both parties and the Virgin islands need such friends. We are directly under congress in a way that a state is not; we must therefore have opportunity for representation, regardless of the major party which happens to be in power."

Gordon gave a great deal of credit to Perry W. Howard, national committeeman from Mississippi, for assistance which facilitated the seating of the Virgin islands representatives.

Many of the GOP delegates and

No Negro Is Chosen To Aid Plank Making

Fri. 7-2-48
St Louis Argus

PHILADELPHIA, June 25

By MARK HYMAN

(ANP) — Gov. Thomas E. Dewey was nominated for President, and Gov. Earl Warren of California for Vice President at the National Republican Party convention hall in Philadelphia last week.

The party also worked out a civil rights plank without the aid of a single Negro on the platform committee. In the nomination of President, one Negro spoke for Dewey, none spoke for Warren.

Bishop A. Preston Shaw of the Methodist Episcopal Church led the convention in prayer, June 24. From among 39 Negro delegates and 35 alternates only two participated in the nomination of the candidates.

Virgin Islands Had No Vote

Speaking for Gov. Dewey was the Rev. Arthur J. Payne of Baltimore. Roy Gordon and Jose Schaubah, representing the Virgin Islands, carried banners in the wild Dewey demonstration. Although admitted to the convention, the islanders had no vote.

7-2-48

Roscoe Conkling Simmons, silver tongued orator from the midwest, seconded the nomination of Sen. Robert A. Taft. Telling the American story of freedom from 1776 through the Civil war, Simmons was greeted with mixed cheers and jeers.

A big howl went up when he said in regard to the Civil war, "Your fathers' blood wrote the freedom of my people of which I am a living example."

Indifferent Attitude Greets GOP Platform

No Negroes came to the fore for Gov. Warren, Gen. MacArthur, Raymond Baldwin of Connecticutt, Sen. Arthur Vandenburg or Harold Stassen.

The Republican party platform for 1948 is the usual ambiguous document that pops up every four years. When the next of this platform was finally released, the indifferent attitude of most observers was quite apparent.

With the disgraceful record of the 80th congress fresh in the minds of most persons, nobody became too excited over the civil rights planks in the platform.

THE REPUBLICANS:

Platform and Candidates

The Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHEN WE state that political platforms are designed to be all things to all people, we eschew any vagrant impulse to cynicism. The platform is a formalized instrument or device, sanctioned in American political practice, to be used as a measure of a party's intentions. As time has gone on, platforms have grown in scope or coverage and planks have been added at the behest of many different groups, geographical, political, social, racial and others. Platforms have come to represent the party's effort to attract and retain the support of these varying groups rather than a genuine, honest pledge to do the things promised.

(34d) Sat.

By any standards, the Republican platform this year is a carefuly and skillfully drawn-up document. It is addressed to the major problems of domestic and foreign policy. It seeks to give the people assurance by placing the party behind a program to correct complained-of evils, to improve the Federal services where they must deal with the people, to reduce where possible the amount of Government in the affairs of the people, and to encourage the people to do for themselves many of the things which the people have come to expect the Government to do for them.

The above we gather from reference in the platform to "the vital opportunity for youth and for all enterprising citizens which our competitive system furnishes," to Government as "the servant of such a system," to the "economical and effective administration of Government," and to the proposal for "a well-paid and efficient Federal career service."

7-3-48

It is clear from the platform that the dominant element in the party intends to continue our so-called internationalist foreign policy, recognizing "America's self-interest in the liberty of other peoples" and the necessity for strengthening the United Nations. The platform is buoyant when it speaks of a foreign policy "dedicated to preserving a free America in a free world of free men." With due regard for safeguarding domestic industry and agriculture, the platform inspiringly pledges the party to support "the system of reciprocal trade and encourage international commerce."

Scarcely any American could hope for more than to see the foregoing promises translated into action.

This newspaper is compelled to agree with the following pronouncement on labor:

"The rights and obligations of workers are commensurate with the rights and obligations of employers and they are interdependent; these rights should be protected against coercion and exploitation from whatever quarter and with one regard for the general welfare of all."

To combat inflation, the platform pledges:

"Progressive reduction of the cost of Government through elimination of waste; stimulation of production as the surest way to lower prices; fiscal policies to provide increased incentives for production and thrift; a sound currency; reduction of the public debt," and a few other measures, all of which read good if the pledge is kept.

Small business will be pleased to learn that the party regards it as "the bulwark of American enterprise," and that "it must be encouraged through aggressive anti-monopoly action, elimination of unnecessary controls, protection against discrimination, correction of tax abuses, and limitation of competition by Governmental organizations.

To the farmer, the platform pledge of a long-term program of interest includes: "an accelerated program of sounder soil conservation; effective protection of reasonable market prices through flexible support prices, commodity loans, marketing agreements," and other means such as may be necessary to increase the number of family-size farms, the development of new crops and of new uses for existing crops.

The West is promised all it wants in reclamation and the States the power to lay claim to the wealth of the tidelands.

The future is painted brightly for the veterans.

The Courier

Housing is to be turned over to free enterprisers, but Government is to encourage "the building of better homes at less cost" and Federal aid is to be given to the States "for local slum clearance and low-rental housing programs only where there is a need that cannot be met either by private enterprise or by the States and localities."

Pittsburgh, Pa.

There are significant planks covering social security, health and education.

It is when the so-called racial planks are considered that the Negro citizen must be critical. The pledges in the 1944 platform were much more specific and direct than those in the 1948 platform and they were not carried out. What hope can Negroes have in the present planks unless their hope is based in the character and records of the candidates? The platform reads:

Sat.

"Lynching or any other form of mob violence anywhere is a disgrace to any civilized State, and we favor the prompt enactment of legislation to end this infamy.

7-3-48

"One of the basic principles of this Republic is the equality of all individuals in their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This principle is enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Constitution of the United States; it was vindicated on the field of battle and became the cornerstone of this Republic. This right of equal opportunity, to work and to advance in life should never be limited on any individual because of race, religion, color, or country of origin. We favor the enactment and just enforcement of such Federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right at all times in every part of this Republic.

"We favor the abolition of the poll tax as a requisite to voting.

"We are opposed to the idea of racial segregation in the armed services of the United States.

"We favor equality of educational opportunity for all and the promotion of education and educational facilities."

For comparison, the 1944 plaform pledged:

". . . an immediate Congressional inquiry to ascertain the extent to which mistreatment, segregation and discrimination against Negroes in our armed forces are impairing morale and efficiency and the adoption of corrective legislation.

The Courier

". . . the establishment by Federal legislation of a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission.

"The payment of any poll tax should not be a condition of voting in Federal elections and we favor immediate submission of a constitutional amendment for its abolishment.

"We favor legislation against lynching and pledge our sincere efforts in behalf of its early enactment."

Any comparison of the above planks from the two platforms is bound to lead to the conclusion that platforms by themselves count for very little. The leadership of the party and the position of dominance it may enjoy in the Government count for much.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

In 1944, the Republicans failed to win the White House or the Congress. They cannot be blamed too much for failing to live up to their promises in the two years that followed. But in 1946, the Republicans won both branches of the Congress. President Truman, on several occasions, gave leadership for a progressive legislative program in racial matters. The Republicans refused to follow this leadership or to rally behind leadership of their own. They were apparently content that their promises of 1944 should remain unkept.

One is compelled to ask, therefore, what chances there are that the Republicans will do better in the Eighty-first than they have in the Eightieth Congress?

The only possible clue is in the candidates they have chosen to lead the ticket—if these candidates should win and if the Republican party retains control of the Congress.

Sat.

At this time, The Courier reserves an expression of its position in the 1948 campaign.

7-3-48

But it is compelled to admit that the Republicans could scarcely have done better at Philadelphia. To say so is not to cast aspersion on any of the other candidates. It is a simple admission of the fact that both Governors Dewey and Warren have been excellent administrators in their own States. They are men who have hewn the way for themselves. They are men of intelligence, initiative and enterprise. They are at least the equal of any two men the party could have nominated.

Already there is talk of the South rallying behind President Truman, not because they love him more but because they fear him less than Dewey. In New York, Governor Dewey has put himself behind some of the measures placed in the Republican platform. His leadership and determination might spell the difference between Republican treatment of the 1944 platform and Republican action on the more nebulous planks in the 1948 platform.

The platform is good, but to the victorious candidates belongs fulfillment.

Committee Votes 48-44 To Give Representation

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.— (SNS) —The most decisive skirmish in the battle for recognition as official Georgia delegation apparently was won Friday by the Tucker-Williams 44 to seat their forces.

The decision came after a spirited and impassioned plea by John Wesley Dobbs of Atlanta, Ga., who was spokesman for the group in presenting the case of the delegation led by National Committeeman Wilson Williams of Columbus, Ga.

The report by the national committee was interpreted as reversing and rebuffing the decision of Secretary of State Ben F. Fortson, of Georgia, who earlier had ruled in favor of the Roy Fostor faction which had been criticised as lily-white.

The victory for the Dobbs-Tucker-Williams faction came after a bitter struggle between the two faction both in Georgia and before the committee here in Philadelphia. The winning group is led by Harry Sommers and is reported to favor the nomination of Gov. Thomas Dewey. The Roy Foster faction was believed to have been supporting Senator Robert Taft of Ohio.

Despite the fact that the decision of the committee usually sticks, Roy Foster promptly announced that his slate of 16 delegates would appeal the decision of the national committee on the floor before the credentials committee.

Both sides contended during the hearing that the other was a "romp group" which had bolted the party after an Atlanta convention back in 1944.

Despite the fact that Talmadge was not an issue in the contest his name repeatedly ever berated before the committee.

Monty Appel, a Washington attorney, was principal spokesman for the Foster Republicans. He urged that Secretaries of State John Wilson and Ben Fortson had duly certified Foster and his slate as required by Georgia law. He denied a tie with Talmadge with the assertion that half of the 32 nominees are Negroes.

Several Negroes are on the winning slate namely Wesley Dobbs delegate-at-large; W. J. Shaw, Joseph Crawford, and Dr. T. H. Brewer, alternates. Other Negro district delegates include L. B. Toomer, Savanah; A. C. Touchstone, Griffin; T. C. Williams, Brunswick; and alternates B. F. Cofer, A. T. Atwater, Rev. B. F. Mann, and G. S. Wigfall.

Roscoe Pickett Jr., of Jasper, pro-Foster delegate denied the link with Talmadge by pointing out that Ellis Gibbs Arnall was governor 1944 when the group won. He added that Secretary of State Ben Fortson, who ruled in favor of Fostor last May was an Arnold appointee.

Delegates OK 'Unity Platform'

Star

New York, N.Y.

By ALEXANDER H. UHL
STAR Staff Correspondent

CONVENTION HALL, Philadelphia, June 23—The 1948 Republican platform, which its chief creator, Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts described as "broad enough" to hold any one of the leading candadates, was adopted unanimously today by the full Convention. Thurs

It was pretty much of an apathetic crowd that listened to its reading by Sen. Lodge and it was not until the last half of it had been reached that applause greeted some of the declarations.

The first plank to win any response from the delegates was the anti-lynching declaration and the second was the anti-Communist stand. 6-24-48

GOP vs. Communism

In fact all indications now are that the coming campaign will be based on a GOP versus Communism slogan even stronger than that of 1946.

The plank promising full recognition and economic aid the new state of Israel, greatly strengthened from the original much weaker one, was greeted with probably the loudest round of applause.

Although the Republican plank on civil liberties was supposed to have been a stronger one than that of 194, it was received with deep disappointment by Negro leaders who wanted the party to match President Truman's Civil Rights program. 6-24-48

'Unity' Wins Out

Its failure to promise legislation against segregation in the Armed Forces, and its avoidance of direct mention of the FEPC almost produced a floor fight. In the end, however, proponents of a complete "unity platform" won and the platform went through automatically.

hief speaker at the morning session was Rep. Charles A. Haleck of Indiana, Republican Majority Leader of the House, who stressed the Middle Western conservative viewpoint of the party and left no doubt that radicalism and Communism again will be the party's chief targets.

"It was the Republican Party," he said, "that has called attention to the dangers of Communism in the United States. It was the New Deal Democratic administration that has coddled the Communists and allowed them to obtain high places in our Government."

Housing Problem

Star

Halleck told the convention that the Republican-controlled 80th 80th Congress is "licking the housing problem," adding "the American people know that President Truman's socialistic police state methods will not build houses and produce the goods."

"We are also licking the problem of prices, which in some instances have been too high," he continued. "We are solving this problem without resort to rationing and bureaucratic price control, the twin destroyers of production."

Complaceny

New York, N.Y.

Sen. Harry P. Cain of Washington, another of the day's speakers, warned the Convention against complacency: Thurs. 6-24-48

"We can win in 1948 and lose four years from now without half trying. Any effort short of our very best will bring disaster hurtling down on the heads of everybody, the innocent as well as the guilty."

Highlights in the GOP Platform

CONVENTION HALL, Philadelphia, June 22 (AP)—Here are the highlights of the Republican platform approved by the Resolutions Committee:

"Our foreign policy is dedicated to preserving a free America in a free world of free men. . . . Prudently conserving our own resources, we shall cooperate on a self-help basis with other peace-loving nations. . . . The United Nations should progressively establish international law, be freed of any veto in the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and be provided with the armed forces contemplated by the Charter."

New York N.Y.

"We pledge an attack on the basic causes of inflation, including progressive reduction of the cost of government and stimulation of production. . . ." Wed. 6-23-48

"The maintenance of armed services . . . to a degree which will insure our national security . . . recognizing the American principle that every citizen has an obligation of service to his country."

"Continuation of efforts . . . to reduce the enormous burden of taxation. . . ."

Star

"Collective bargaining is an obligation as well as a right. . . . The fundamental right to strike is subordinate only to paramount considerations of public health and safety. . . . We pledge continuing study to improve labor-management legislation . . ."

New York, N.Y.

"A long-term program in the interest of agriculture and consumer . . . sounder soil conservation; effective protection of reasonable market prices through flexible support prices, commodity loans, marketing agreements. . . ." Wed. 6-23-48

* * *

"A realistic and adequate adjustment of (veterans') benefits on a cost-of-living basis."

"Federal aid to the states for local slum clearance and low-rental housing programs only where there is a need that cannot be met either by private enterprise or by the states and localities."

Star

* * *

"Extension of the federal old age and survivors insurance program. . . ."

New York N.Y.

* * *

X*"Prompt enactment of legislation to end (lynching) . . . legislation to maintain the equal opportunity to work and to advance in life. . . . Abolition of the poll tax. . . . We are opposed to the idea of racial segregation in the Armed Services."*

Wed. 6-23-48

* * *

"Vigorous enforcement of existing laws against Communists and enactment of such new legislation as may be necessary to expose the treasonable activities of Communists and defeat their objective of establishing here a godless dictatorship controlled from abroad."

Court To Hear Howard-Miss. GOP "Lilly-White" Appeal Case

(34d)

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

PHILADELPHIA (ANP)—The issue of whether Perry W. Howard, Republican committeeman from Mississippi and the regularly elected delegate to the last GOP convention in Philadelphia or "lily white" factions of the state were the lawful delegates to the convention is to be decided in the circuit court of appeals for the third circuit at its regular September sessions, it was disclosed here last week by Atty. Raymond Pace Alexander. Thurs

Atty. Alexander, who is representing the National Republican committee in this case, at the specific request of Mr. Howard, received notice at his office that the "lily white" faction would appeal the decision handed down by . Cullen Ganey of the U. S. District court during the convention, dismissing a bill in equity and petition for injunction against Mr. Howard and his colleagues. 7-22-48

FACTIONAL CLAIMS

The opposing faction, led by George L. Sheldon, Nelson E. Taylor and others, claimed they were the duly elected delgates on an all-white ticket and represented the Mississippi "lily whites" to the GOP meeting. They attempted to hold up the proceedings of the convention by bringing a bill in equity in the local federal district court. The bill held up proceedings for two hours and then Carroll Reese, GOP National committee chairman, turned the bills in equity and injunction petition over to Atty. Alexander.

After three days of hearing testimony, Judge Ganey dismissed the injunction petition as well as the bill in equity, and held that Perry Howard and his group were the duly elected delegates to the Republican convention and that their party was the recognized faction of the state of Mississippi. Consideration testimony had been given which revealed that the "lily white" factions refused to permit a Negro to qualify or to become a qualified elector and voter in the Republican primaries of Missippi by systematically denying him the ballot through fraud, coercion, chicanery, misrepresentation and threats. 7-22-48

Thurs

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Mississippi Seat Challenge Denied

Star
New York 6-24-48

PHILADELPHIA, June 23 (UP)—A Federal court today again rejected a plea by an independent Republican group from Mississippi that it be named the official state delegation to the GOP national convention. 6-24-48

Judge J. Cullen Ganey ruled that the group failed to show that the U. S. District Court here had jurisdiction in the case. Thurs. 6-24-48

An independent group, claiming "racial discrimination," had sought to prevent the present Mississippi delegation from voting at the convention.

All-Out Plank for Civil Rights Approved

The Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.

BY EDGAR POE
(The Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

Convention Hall, Philadelphia, July 14.—In the face of stern warnings from Southern speakers that it would wreck the Democratic party in Dixie, the Democratic national convention today adopted an all-out "explosive" plank. Thurs.

By a vote of 651½ to 582½, the civil rights plank was amended to "highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on the issue."

The 4500-word platform was finally adopted after more than two hours of speech-making and roll calls, and left many Southern delegates fuming. Thurs.

President Truman in February touched off the revolt in Dixie with a 10-point "civil rights" message to Congress. By today's action, a majority of the delegates with the big block of votes from Eastern and Mid-Western states along with California backed up Mr. Truman.

Amended Plank

Thus, the amended civil rights plank, which has placed the Democratic party in disunity follows: 7-15-48

The Democratic party is responsible for the great civil rights gains made in recent years in eliminating unfair and illegal discrimination based on race, creed or color.

The Democratic party commits itself to continuing its effor to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination.

We again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws. On a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the constitution.

We highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights.

We call upon the Congress to support our president in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental American principles—the right to full and equal political participation; the right to equal opportunity of employment; the right of security of person, and the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation.

Ready to March

At least 13 of the 26 Alabama delegates were ready to march out of the sweltering Convention Hall and tried unsuccessfully to gain recognition from Convention Chairman Sam Rayburn of Texas when he gaveled the convention to a recess.

The Democratic party machinery in control of the nomination of President Truman had reportedly tried to avoid an all-out platform recommendation of the president's now famous civil rights message. The amendment that was adopted commending the nation's chief executive was sponsored by Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, a member of the platform committee from Minnesota. Times-Picayune

Humphrey earlier in the afternoon had made a two-fisted, rip-roaring speech in behalf of the amendment. It touched off a noisy demonstration of several minutes among delegates from all sectors of the nation except the South. Thurs.

Before the convention voted to amend the platform committee draft of the civil rights plank, a group of Southerners offered an amendment designed to place a "states' rights" plank in the platform in substitute of the "civil rights" plank but it was voted down by voice vote. 7-15-48

Speak for Amendment

Speaking for the amendment were former Governors Chauncy Sparks of Alabama and Dan Moody of Texas, House Speakers Walter Sillers of Mississippi and Cecil Simms of Tennessee.

The proposal by Simms and Mrs. Albert E. Hill, delegates from Tennessee, submitted a proposal calling on the Democratic party to reaffairm "its fundamental principles of states' rights as reserved in the federal consitution, and pledges that it will oppose any attempt, by legislation or otherwise, to invade the exclusive jurisdiction of the states in their domestic affairs."

GOP Recognizes Virgin Islands

The Courier
Sat 7-3-48

PHILADELPHIA — The seating of two Virgin Islanders at the Republican National Convention marked the first time that the Virgin Islands have been recognized at a GOP convention. Those seated were Roy P. Gordon of St. Thomas, chairman of the legislative council of the Virgin Islands and Jose Shaubah, St. Croix businessman. Officially, the Virgin Islanders were not voting delegates this year, although it is expected that they will be granted full participation by 1952.

Pittsburgh Pa.

Republicans Benefit From State Rights Fight

[illegible]

Lite 8-24-48

Columbia, S.C.

There are those among the States Rights Democratic leaders who complain that the States Rights movement is getting a lukewarm reception in certain of the Southern states. Governor Jester of Texas refuses to go along with the splinter party idea; he is still a Democrat. Governor Cherry of North Carolina has also adopted a hands-off policy; he too calls himself a Democrat. And there are others.

And everywhere throughout the South they are being denounced as betraying the Southern cause and aiding and abetting Harry Truman.

But this charge isn't necessarily so. The Republicans stand to benefit in most of the Southern states if the States Rights party doesn't get on the ticket, rather than the Democrats. Southern opponents of the President's civil rights program in these states will vote Republican and some of these states will as a result go Republican.

There is Texas, which voted Republican in 1928. If the States Rights party cannot capture the second Texas Democratic convention and enters a third-party ticket in the general election the state is almost certain to go to Truman and Barkley. But if the States Righters stay out of Texas, should they fail to capture the September convention, the Republicans have a better than even chance to win by attracting enough anti-Truman votes, which would be split by the entry of the Thurmond-Wright ticket, to win.

Only in North Carolina where already the Progressives have qualified will the entry now of the States Rights Democrats as a fourth party contribute to a Republican victory. Divide the normal Democratic vote into three fractions—Democrats, States Rights Democrats and Progressives—and the unsplintered Republicans may win. All that it takes is a plurality of the vote.

In Florida the result may be a split electoral vote, if not an outright Republican victory. The States Righters claim four of the Democratic candidates for electors. They will therefore vote for only four Democratic electors. The Republicans are inviting them to cast their other four votes for four of the Republican electors. "Anybody but Truman" is their slogan. As a result the eight electoral votes of Florida could be split, four for Thurmond and Wright, four for Dewey and Warren or if the Republicans are as strong in Florida as they claim to be the entire eight electoral votes may go to Dewey. Florida also voted Republican in 1928.

Lite 8-31-48

The Republicans will, of course, be the beneficiary of the States Rights movement even in those states, such as South Carolina in which the States Righters have absorbed the regular Democratic party organization. The regular Democratic votes will simply go to the States Rights candidates and Truman electors cannot get on the ticket except as bolters from the state organization. The magnitude of the certain Republican victory is simply increased.

Delegates and Alternates To Republican Convention

Pittsburgh Courier

Sat 7-3-48

PHILADELPHIA—These are the thirty-seven Negro delegates and thirty-four alternates from fourteen States attending the Republican convention here last week:

Pittsburgh, Pa.

DELEGATES

ARKANSAS: J. A. Hibbler, Little Rock.

MARYLAND: The Rev. Arthur Payne, Baltimore.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: George A. Parker.

FLORIDA: David A. Douglas, Miami; David H. Dwight and Mrs. Hattie I. James, Jacksonville; Mrs. E. B. Goode, Pensacola.

ILLINOIS: Roscoe Conklin Simmons and Valores Washington, Chicago.

KANSAS: P. G. Porter, Olathe.

KENTUCKY: J. E. Kuykendall, Bowling Green; John Leake, Louisville.

GEORGIA: J. W. Dobbs, Atlanta; W. C. Ervin, Augusta; T. C. Williams, Waycross; A. C. Touchstone, Griffin; W. J. Shaw, Atlanta; L. B. Toomer, Savannah.

LOUISIANA: James Lewis, J. A. Hardin, Bezile Jolicoeurand, Alexander F. Laneville.

MICHIGAN: William Brooks, Detroit.

MISSOURI: C. J. Dixon and John Davis, both of St. Louis.

MISSISSIPPI: Perry W. Howard, W. L. Mhoon, A. M. Redmond and John T. Risher of Jackson; W. J. Box, Corinth; C. C. Wells, Hattiesburg; Fred H. Miller, Mound Bayou; Lee M. Owens, Vicksburg.

NEW YORK: Harold C. Burton and Charles S. Hill.

OHIO: Chester K. Gillespie, Cleveland.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Miss Cassandra Maxwell, Orangesburg.

TENNESSEE: R. C. Grant, Nashville, George W. Lee, Memphis.

CALIFORNIA: Mrs. Echo Stanton Robinson, Los Angeles.

ALTERNATES

DELAWARE: John O. Hopkins, Wilmington.

GEORGIA: L. R. Bywater, Fort Valley; Mrs. Beatrice Wallace, Augusta; A. E. Adams, Cairo, and W. H. Ingram, Sparta.

ILLINOIS: Arthur J. Wilson, Chicago, and Elwood Graham, Chicago.

IOWA: A. A. Alexander, Des Moines.

KENTUCKY: John L. Lake, Louisville.

MICHIGAN: Robert L. Ward, Detroit.

MISSOURI: J. Monroe Gillmore Sr., Kansas City, and Henry D. Espy, St. Louis.

MISSISSIPPI: S. W. Miller, Jackson; C. T. Butler, Meridian; F. M. O'Shea, Charleston; J. H. Gearheart, Bolton; T. L. Zuber, West Point; James C. Gilliam, Clarksdale; R. L. Brown, Laurel, and G. L. Jefferson, Vicksburg.

NEW JERSEY: Mrs. Sara S. Washington, Atlantic City; E. Gaylord Howell, New Brunswick, and Pauline Puryear, Newark.

NEW YORK: William A. Cornelius and Mrs. Anna Stutley.

OHIO: Albertus B. Conn, Columbus; Jane E. Hunter, Cleveland, and Harold T. Gassaway, Cleveland.

PENNSYLVANIA: William A. Upshur.

WASHINGTON: Charles M. Stokes, Seattle.

KANSAS: Luther Harris, Wichita.

SOUTH CAROLINA: D. J. Dixson, Dr. W. L. Williams and S. Morgan.

Sat 7-3-48

Many Negro Delegates At GOP Meeting

The Lighthouse

Columbia, S.C.

PHILADELPHIA — (ANP)—The largest number of Negro delegates and alternates to any Republican National convention — or to any political convention—are helping to name the man who will carry the G. O. P. banner in the 1948 national election. By the same signs, they are having a hand in, perhaps, selecting the next President of the United States.

348

The latest and best count showed 34 delegates from 14 states and the District of Columbia, and 31 alternates from the same 14 states, although not all from the same states as the delegates.

Last minute contests, however, may make a difference as to whether all delegats will actually vote. Two contests have already been decided. The Mississippi delegation led by Perry W. Howard was seated over its lily-white contestants, while the pro-Dewey delegation from Georgia, with J. W. Dobbs, noted Mason, as one of the leaders, was given a seat over its pro-Taft opponents.

Lite 6-27-48

DELEGATE LIST

The complete list of delegates follows:

6-29-48

Florida: George Parker, Washington, D. C.; David H. Dwight, Jacksonville; Mrs. Hattie I. James, Ixson; Mrs. S. B. Goode, Pensacola and David A. Douglas, Miami.

Georgia: J. W. Dobbs, Atlanta; Toomer, Savannah; T. C. Williams, Charles Pidcock, Moultrie; L. B. Waycross; W. J. Shaw, Atlanta and W. C. Ervin, Augusta.

Illinois: Roscoe L. Simmons, of Chicago and Valores J. Washington, Chicago.

Kansas: P. G. Porter, Olathe.

Kentucky: J. E. Kuyendall, Bowling Green.

Michigan: Willaim Brooks, Detroit..

6-27-48

Missouri: C. J. Dixon, St. Louis and John A. Davis, St. Louis.

Mississippi: Perry W. Howard, Washington; A. M. Redmond, Jackson; John T. Risher, Jackson; W. J. Box, Corinth; Fred H. Miller, Mound Bayou; Rev. G. C. Wells, Hattiesburg and Lee M. Owens, of Vicksburg.

New York: Harold C. Burton, New York and Charles S. Hill, New York.

Maryland: Rev. Arthur J. Payne, Baltimore.

California: Mrs. Echo Stanton Robinson, Los Angeles.

Ohio: Chester K. Gillespie, Cleveland.

Lite 6-27-48

Pennsylvania: Justus A. Battis, Philadelphia.

Tennessee: R. C. Grant, Nashville and George W. Lee, Memphis.

Negro alternates delegated to 1948 Republican Convention are:

Delaware: John O. Hopkins, Wilmington. x x

Georgia: L. R. Bywaters, of Fort Valley; Mrs. Beatrice Wallace, Augusta; A. E. Adams, Cairo and W. H. Ingram, Sparta.

Illinois: Arthur J. Wilson, Chicago and Elwood Graham, Chicago.

Iowa: A. A. Alexander, Des Moines.

Kentucky: John L. Leake, Louisville.

Michigan: Robert L. Ward, Detroit.

Missouri: J. Monroe Gillmore, Sr. Kansas City and Henry D. Epsy, St. Louis.

Mississippi: S. W. Miller, Jackson; C. T. Butler, Meridian; F. M. O'Shea, Charleston; J. H. Gearheart, Bolton; T. L. Zuber, West Point; James C. Gilliam, Clarksdale; R. L. Brown, Laurel and G. L. Jefferson, Vicksburg.

New Jersey: Mrs. Sara S. Washnington, Atlantic City; E. Gaylard Howell, New Brunswick and Pauline Puryear, Newark.

New York: William A. Cornelius and Mrs. Anna Stutley.

6-27-48

Ohio: Albertus B. Conn, Columbus; Jane E. Hunter, Cleveland and Harold T. Gassaway, Cleveland;

South Carolina; Sassandra Maxwell, Orangeburg.

Washington, Charles M. Stokes Seattle.

Kansas: Luther Harris, Wichita.

Votes Of Negro Members Break Vote Deadlock

The Lighthouse

Columbus, S.C.

Lite 6-27-48

Subcommittee Snubs Petition Of Negroes For Civil Rights

By **LOUIS LAUTIER**

PHILADELPHIA—(S N S)—The credentials committee last Monday afternoon affirmed the action of the Republican National Committee in seating the Tucker faction delegates of the Republican Paarty in Georgia.

The vote came on the motion of Ed Schorr of Ohio to substitute the delegates and alternates of the foster faction for those of the Tucker faction. The motion was rejected by a vote of 26 to 24.

The action of the credential committee placed sixteen votes in the Dewey column. The Foster delegation is supporting Senator Robert A. Taft for the Republican Presidential nomination and the Taft forces, in an effort to win the sixteen votes of Georgia Republicans had former Senator George Wharton Pepper, a noted Philadelphia lawyer to argue the case for them.

The votes of two colored members of the Credential Committee, John T. Risher of Mississippi and Valores Washington of Illinois, gave the victory to the Dewey forces.

6-27-48

NEGROES REBUFFED

A committee representing colored delegates and alternates this afternoon was denied the privilege of presenting to the full resolutions committee resolutions embodying the colored delegates' views as to what the Civil Rights planks in the Republican platform should contain.

Prominent members of the resolutions committee were buttonholed as they made their way into the committee meeting by Edgar G. Brown and other members of the committee representing colored delegates. None would promsie to offer the resolutions of the colored delegates as a substitute for the report of the Civil Rights Subcommittee of the Resolutions Committee.

6-27-48

One of those stopped was Carrol Reece, chairman of the Republican National Committee. Brown told him that if colored delegates were not given an opportunity to present their views before the full Resolutions Committee, an effoort would be made to have them presented on the conventoin floor and, failing that, colored Republicans, would take them to the voters.

Lite 6-27-48

The Resolutions called for the ousting of Representative John E. Rankin, Democrat, of Mississippi, from Congress and for federal anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and anti-discrimination in employment laws

GOP Platform Shuns Isolationism, Calls for Civil Rights Program

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Tues. 6-22-48

PHILADELPHIA, June 22—(Tuesday)—(AP)—A pledge to continue America's international co-operation was approved early today by the Republican Resolutions Committee in a platform shunning isolationism.

The platform, which is to be presented to the Republican National Convention, also promises to battle for world peace through the United Nations.

In a slam-bang GOP family battle, the platform writers beat down repeated attempts to amend the foreign policy plank.

The plank said the United Nations should be freed of the use of any veto in the peaceful settlement of international disputes. This language did not mention Russia directly.

At home, the platform said 'if the Party is given full power of government it will press strong measures to combat Communism. It calls for a far-reaching Civil Rights program, including enactment of fair employment, anti-lynch, and anti-poll tax legislation.

It opposes racial segregation in the Armed Forces.

The platform pledged the Party to a battle against high living costs and inflation. 6-22-48

Although the meeting was held behind closed doors, Chairman Henry Cabot Lodge reported to newsmen later there were vigorous battles on the foreign policy plank and domestic policy as well.

Sen. Brooks, Republican, Illinois, was reported unofficially to have led in efforts to spike some sections of the foreign policy plank. And Charles S. Reed, of Omaha, Neb., took a leading role in preventing severe revision of the platform's original text, prepared by a Resolutions Sub-Committee.

On domestic policy, the resolutions group fell into the severest battle over housing, finally writing in a plank calling for a broad program of Government-constructed, low-rent housing. Legislation for such housing was killed in the last hours of the GOP-dominated Eightieth Congress.

The text of the platform was not given out immediately.

The document probably will be presented to the Republican Convention on Wednesday. The Convention could change it, but is not likely to.

Lodge disclosed among its planks are: The Constitution

A pledge to support the States' claims to control over tidelands, rather than Federal control.

A strong plank greeting Israel and calling for full recognition of the new country with integrity of boundaries. Atlanta, Ga.

A plank on education. Lodge said reporters would have to draw their own conclusions—after they see the language—as to whether it constitutes "Federal aid to education." Tues.

A plank supporting self-Government for the District of Columbia, but not representation in Congress.

Lodge said the anti-Communist plank does not indorse the Mundt-Nixon Bill. 6-22-48

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Lodge disclosed officially that the foreign affairs plank calls for elimination of the veto in United Nations questions involving peaceful settlement of disputes. He said it also urges the setting up of an international peace-keeping force.

The Resolutions Committee adopted a labor plank without a fight. The plank read like this as the meeting began: 6-22-48

"Collective bargaining is an obligation as well as a right, applying to workers and employers, and the fundamental right to strike is subordinate only to paramount considerations of public health and safety. Government's chief function in this field is to promote good will, encourage co-operation, and where resort is had to intervention, to be impartial, preventing violence and requiring obedience to all law by all parties involved. We pledge continuing study to improve labor-management legislation in the light of experience and changing conditions."

Simultaneously, a drive developed to make the preliminary platform draft call for new and severe legislation to control Communism—along the lines of the Mundt-Nixon Bill.

Trouble also threatened over the farm plank. Platform drafters were ready to praise a new farm program pressed through Congress in its closing hours, when Albert S. Goss, Master of the National Grange, rushed here from Washington to protest that it contains "too much regimentation." The Constitution

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The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky. Sun. 6-20-48

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The people of this Nation will be looking for a forthright program for implementation of this declaration. The grudging extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for one year does not look adequate ranged alongside the platform promise: "With necessary regard for domestic needs, we favor reciprocal trade agreements and the encouragement of international commerce."

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The Congress left housing out in the cold, but the platform now asserts: "Housing can be best supplied and financed by private enterprise, but Government can build and should encourage the building of better and less costly homes. We recommend Federal aid to the states for local slum clearance and low-rental housing programs, wherever there is a need that cannot be met either by private enterprise or by the states and localities." Fri. 6-25-48

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WE FAIL to find any evidence of an intention to give Federal assistance to education, a subject we predict will give the candidates anxiety unless handled promptly.

There will be many other issues, national and local, that will demand their attention, for that matter, and as always, it will be the candidate and not the platform who will persuade the voters in the showdown. We do not go along with those who dismiss the party platforms with cynical disregard. Only when me and women demand adherence will we begin to be an intelligent electorate, voting with our minds instead of our emotions. The Commercial Appeal

The Republican platform has many weaknesses, but on the whole it is a challenge to the Democratic Party which, in turn, meets in Philadelphia July 12 to begin its campaign. The spectre of WALLACE and his third party will be hovering in the Left Wing and the gliberals will employ it to the utmost in an effort to stampede the Democratic leaders into impractical declarations. Memphis, Tenn

Perhaps the strongest plank in the G. O. P. platform is its avowed attitude on international affairs. Coming from a party long identified as isolationist, it is a refreshing development. We sincerely hope that the Democratic Party will not be stampeded into anything less forceful or reassuring through the fear of WALLACE defections. Here, indeed, is a challenge to be met. 6-23-48

NEGROES INSIST

Daily Tribune

ON STRONG G.O.P.

Chicago, Ill

RIGHTS PLEDGE

Sat. 6-19-48

1944 Plank Evaded, Party Told

34d

Philadelphia, June 18 (AP)—National Negro leaders severely criticized the Republican party today and demanded that the 1948 platform contain a strong civil rights plank.

The Republicans, hard at work on a platform to be presented to the national convention next week, appeared to be moving toward what the Negroes were asking for—pledges of support for anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and fair employment laws.

Slaps At Congressmen

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the civil rights subcommittee of the G.O.P. resolutions committee that the Republicans dominating congress had "miserably evaded" similar platform pledges made in 1944.

Dr. Channing B. Tobias, Negro religious leader from New York, told the subcommittee: "The Negroes of this country, mark my word, are a solid line such as

just speaking thru my hat."

A committee member, Mrs. Vites Gates of Kentucky, demanded, "Is that a considered statement or a threat?"

Tobias said it was very considered. He said that "never before in the history of this country has there been such unity and determination on the part of the colored people to make American citizenship, in all that the word connotes, apply to them as well as other people."

Democrats Blamed

W. C. Meekins of North Carolina, another committee member, asked Tobias to remember that the acts against Negroes of which he complained have largely taken place in states controled by Democrats.

White retorted that the Negro leaders will testify concerning the Democratic platform later.

Chief Justice George W. Maxey of the Pennsylvania Supreme court, chairman of the subcommittee, wondered how a fair employment law would be enforced—he compared it with prohibition—but he hastily told Tobias and White: Daily Tribune

"Don't think we're antagonistic. Nobody in the world could be any more in favor of equal rights than I am. When a colored man is lynched, the whole United States army ought to protect that man."

White and Tobias said they spoke for 21 national Negro organizations with 6,094,000 members. Chicago Ill

Stassen Backs ERP

Meanwhile, Harold E. Stassen, appearing at his own request, urged another group of platform drafters to pledge the Republican party to a continuing European recovery program on what he called "a businesslike basis."

Stassen told a news conference, shortly before, that the Republicans should lead the way toward international co-operation. Sat

He said, however, that the party should "reject the proposition that we shall expend American moneys to further socialization of foreign countries." 6-19-48

Sen. Lodge of Massachusetts, chairman of the resolutions committee, told newsmen the platform will contain the Republican party's "most international program" in history. The resolutions committee will write the platform to be presented to the convention next week.

"Times have changed since 1920," said Lodge. "Today we have a different set of conditions. We've got to adjust ourselves to those conditions."

Lodge also urged adoption of a proportional system of selecting Presidents in the electoral college.

Green Asks $1 Minimum

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor,

write into the platform a raise in minimum wages to $1 an hour.

The union leader called the present 40 cents-an-hour minimum wage "completely unrealistic" and "without relation to present day standards." Daily Tribune

In addition to the hourly wage boost, Green called for: (1) elimination of the Taft-Hartley law; (2) curbs on inflation; (3) active efforts for world peace; (4) federal aid to education, and (5) improved social security coverage.

Home Rule Approved in GOP Platform

The Post
Washington, D.C.
Thurs. 6-24-48

Suffrage Plank Takes Place for First Time In Republican Program

34

By Edward F. Ryan
Post Reporter

Philadelphia, Pa., June 23.—District home rule today was anchored firmly in the Republican Party's national program.

The call for self-government for residents of the Nation's Capital rode with the GOP campaign platform recommended by the committee headed by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, jr. (R., Mass.), to unopposed approval by the Republican Convention Approval came on a voice vote in this morning's session.

Wording of Plank

It was the first time a District suffrage plank had taken its place in the official platform of the Republican Party.

The District plank puts the GOP on record this way:

"We favor self-government for the residents of the Nation's Capital." The Post

Leaders of this year's House drive for passage of the bill for District reorganization and home rule promptly hailed the self-government plank as a big boost for their legislation.

Representative Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.), chairman of this year's House District Committee and leader of the House fight for passage of the home-rule bill, said he was greatly pleased with the platform declaration.

Washington, D.C.

Auchincloss Pleased

Dirksen said he was glad to see that it emphasized the word "residents." This referred to the recommendation in the home-rule bill that would have made one-year residence in the District a basic qualification for voting for the

school board for the District. 6-24

Representative James C. Auchincloss (R., N. J.), head of the House subcommittee that developed and sponsored the home-rule bill, said the self-government plank in the platform had strengthened chances for favorable home-rule action by Congress next year. Thurs.

"I'm very pleased," said Auchincloss. "The plank has given those of us who are interested in home rule much encouragement to renew the fight for justice for the people of Washington." 34d

Auchincloss saw in the plank a direct indorsement of the principles of his home-rule bill.

Representative John J. Allen, jr., (R., Calif.), a member of the Auchincloss committee, said "I am very pleased to see the self-government section go into the platform. I think it assures the friendly consideration of home rule in the next session. 6-24-48

"Now that District self-government is in the national policy of the Republican Party, it's a favorable omen for home rule and an appreciated compliment to the work of the committee of which I was a member."

Auchincloss had earlier announced that if elected he will promptly introduce a home-rule bill and seek early House passage for it in the new Congress.

Negro Leader Warns GOP on Rights Pledge

34d
The Post
Washington D.C.

Kansas City, June 22 (AP).—A Negro leader, Walter White, warned the Republican Party today that voters of his race would view "with skepticism" civil rights planks of its national platform.

Wed. 6-23-48

White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the "skepticism" was the result of the Republicans' failure to keep their 1944 election promises.

Here for the opening of the association's thirty-ninth annual conference, White in an interview said the Republican Party in 1944 adopted a strong civil rights platform.

"Did Absolutely Nothing"

"They came into power in 1946 with majorities in both Houses of Congress," he added, "and they did absolutely nothing to fulfill their pledges. Wed.

"We have told the platform committee that if they are planning to repeat their performance it will result in increased opposition of Negroes against the Republican Party. 6-23-48

"The Wallace crowd has hopes

are not going to bolt lock, stock and barrel to a third party because they know a third party in the race simply results in an even more conservative group being elected than that now in power."

White came here from Philadelphia, where he talked to the Republican Convention platform committee. He explained he urged not only the adoption but the fulfillment of a civil rights program, including antilynching legislation, the institution of a fair employment practice committee, abolition of segregation in the armed forces and elimination of the poll tax.

"Most Independent" Vote

The Post

"In 17 States, with a total of 295 electoral votes, the Negro holds the balance of power," White said. "The Negro vote today is, by force of circumstances, the most independent vote in America."

White added that his group also would confer with members of the Democratic platform committee. He added the NAACP neither would indorse nor oppose any party, nor would it attempt officially to set a course for Negroes in individual political contests.

"If the Republican Party comes out with a civil rights platform we will first wait and see what the Democrats do and what the Wallaceites do," he explained. "We shall then follow our traditional policy of appraising factually, objectively and in nonpartisan fashion the possibilities of each platform." Washington, D.C.

Approximately 800 delegates from 40 States had registered for the conference today. The association claims a membership of 500,000 in 45 States.

THOMAS L. STOKES

The Constitution

It Would Help the South

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON.—The Republican convention in Philadelphia opened up the question of a long-overdue reform by one sentence in its platform: "We favor a revision of the procedure for the election of the President and Vice Presiden which will more exactly reflect the popular vote."

This was timely and appropriate for, during the last Congress, such a proposed reform by constitutional amendment was approved by the Judiciary Committees of both the House and Senate and reached the calendar, though failing of final action. It was sponsored jointly by a Republican and a Democrat—in the Senate by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Republican, Massachusetts, and in the House by Rep. Ed Gossett, Democrat, Texas. Consequently, endorsement of such a reform in principle in the Republican platform might very properly be followed by endorsement in the Democratic platform at the forthcoming Philadelphia convention. That would put it in a favorable legislative spot in Congress.

Senator Lodge's influence was seen in approval of the reform by the Republicans. He was chairman of the Resolutions Committee that drafted the platform.

Wed. 6-30-48

The Lodge-Gossett proposal calls for abolition of the Electoral College as such, though retaining the electoral vote, and for substitution of what would amount to popular election of President and Vice President. This would be done by giving to each candidate in each State the proportion of the State's electoral vote represented by his percentage of the vote in the State. For a simple example—if the vote of Ohio were divided 60-40 between the two major parties, then the candidates of one party would receive 15 electoral votes, the other, 10 electoral votes. As it is now the candidate who gets the majority of votes gets the whole electoral vote of a State—in Ohio, for instance, all of the 25 electoral votes.

While the need for such a reform long has been recognized to avoid what already has happened three times in our history, that is, that the candidate with the smaller popular vote has become President through the existing electoral system, there are other persuasive reasons which are dramatized at this very time.

One is the situation in the South growing out of resentment over President Truman's Civil Rights program. That has provoked proposals that a State committee be given authority to order the whole electoral vote of a State against the President, no matter what his popular vote may be. That would be impossible under the Lodge-Gossett reform.

Another healthy effect envisaged in the South would be encouragement for development of a real two-party system in that section. By making it possible for Republicans to get credit in electoral votes for the minority of votes they always poll in the South, it would be worthwhile to vote the Republican ticket there, for Republican votes would count. Senator Lodge says this would probably induce Republican candidates to campaign in the South.

A characteristic generally of our politics this year is tension over issues. This very likely will produce an intense and exaggerated appeal to minority groups, particularly in the large States where they are centered. The campaign will tend to be concentrated in such States. This invites not only arousing of projudice, but also actual corruption, as has been demonstrated in the past. The change in the electoral system would minimize the importance of the large States in elections.

The Constitution

Also the proposed reform would give electoral representation to independent and third parties if they are sufficiently strong in certain areas. In 1924, for example, the late Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin, who polled just under 5,000,000 votes, would have been credited with far more than the 13 electoral votes which he got for carrying his own State. He ran second to President Coolidge and ahead of the Democratic candidate, John W. Davis, in ten other States west of the Mississippi. A showing of that strength in electoral votes widely scattered over the West, reflecting the discontent in that area, might of itself have had a moderating influence on Republican Party. As it was, the G. O. P. old guard capitalized the so-called "Coolidge landslide" in a course that ended inevitably in economic collapse that had its origin in distress in the farm areas. Wed.

Similarly, a real electoral count on the basis of popular votes for the Wallace Third Party ticket this year might have its effect. 6-30-48

It is at least helpful that the change to a popular vote system has been projected for thinking and discussion. Atlanta, Ga.

Flirting With the South

The Constitution

PHILADELPHIA — While the civil rights plank in the Republican platform was strengthened considerably in the unprecedented nine-hour redrafting wrangle in the Resolutions Committee, it is yet less drastic—and calculated to be more acceptable to the South—than that contained in the party's '44 statement of policy.

The civil rights plank was one of those Resolution Committee Chairman Lodge had in mind when he stated that the preliminary recommendations of the various subcommittees were no longer recognizable. Even so, it remains, by Republican standards, a moderate document and one which is already drawing the wrath of numerous Negro delegates.

The '48 platform makes no mention of an FEPC. Atlanta, Ga.

Whereas the '44 platform stated specifically: "We pledge the establishment by Federal legislation of a permanent FEPC," the new one platitudinously declares: Wed. 6-23-48

"One of the basic principles of this republic is the equality of all individuals in their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This principle is enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Constitution of the United States; it was vindicated on the field of battle and became the cornerstone of this republic. This right of equal opportunity to work and to advance in life should never be limited in any individual because of race, religion, color or country of origin. We favor the enactment and just enforcement of such Federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right at all times in every part of this republic."

Moreover, in contrast to the '44 platform, which pledged "Congressional investigation and corrective legislation of mistreatment, segregation and discrimination in the armed forces," the '48 plank states merely: "We are opposed to the idea of racial segregation in the armed services of the United States."

The Constitution

And finally, while the '44 platform called for "immediate submission of a Constitutional amendment for abolition of the poll tax," the one adopted here yesterday reads: "We *favor* the abolition of the poll tax *as a requisite to voting.*"

Atlanta, Ga.

These general statements of policy rather than the specific pledges which extremists sought, represent a considerable compromise, especially since the leading candidate at this time is known to favor an all-out civil rights program. Gov. Dewey has the vast majority of the several hundred Negro delegates present. If he is nominated he can be expected to bolster the party's civil rights plank with campaign promises and allusions to the stringent Fair Employment Practices legislation enacted in New York State during his tenure as Governor.

Wed. 6-23-48

But if the nominee is Taft, who is on record as opposing the FEPC, or some other candidate with moderate views, the Republican statements on civil rights may be less repugnant to many Southerners than those of President Truman.

Especially could this prove true if the Democratic convention, in an effort to regain some of the Negro vote the polls show it is losing to Wallace, adopts a strong civil rights platform when it meets in this city next month.—J. T.

Rights Fight Carried To GOP Convention

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

PHILADELPHIA —(NNPA) — Southerners brought their fight against civil rights into the resolution committee of the Republican national convention last Thursday when Orwille Bullington of Wichita Texas, asked to be placed on the civil rights subcommittee. Tues.

At the organization meeting of the resolution committee, after Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, had been chosen chairman, the Texan, a six-footer, rebelled at being placed on the economics and small business subcommittee and demanded that a representative of the "Deep South" be named to the civil rights subcommittee, saying civil rights was one of the most important issues to come up before platform makers.

Mrs. Agnes Jones Gifford, of South Orange, New Jersey, said she would yield her place on the civil rights committee to Bullington.

To counter the Texan's move Edgar G. Brown, president of the National Negro Council, who later appeared before the civil rights subcommittee ,went into a huddle with Senator Lodge and insisted that a colored delegate to the convention also be placed on that subcommittee. 6-22-48

HOWARD IN MEET

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Finding Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi. in a meeting of the Republcian national committee, Mr. Brown secured from him the name of Dr. Lee M. Owens of Vicksburg, Mississippi, whom the Mississippi delegation had designated as its representative on the resolutions committee. Mr. Brown also learned that Miss Elizabeth Talbot of Buckhannon, West Virginia, another colored delegate, had been designated to serve on the resolutions committee

Mr. Brown gave both names to Senator Lodge, who appointed both Dr. Owens and Miss Buckhannon to the civil rights subcommittee.

At the meeeting of the civil rights subcommittee at Convention Hall last Thursday afternoon, Bullington attempted to heckle witnesses who urged that civil rights be included in the 1948 Republican platform. He got nowhere and apparently gave up.

The Story of the Missing Delegates

By A. W. Berry

Daily Worker

PHILADELPHIA, June 23.—The missing Negro delegates to this sprawling, kleig-lighted convention tell a greater story than do those who are here. Missing are the Negroes of Alabama.

Thurs. 6-24-48

New York, N.Y.

all their attention on the anti-poll tax legislation.

"If we are able to wield effectively and powerfully the ballot," he reasoned, "then we will be able to get for ourselves all of the other things that the Civil Rights program represents."

CUTS IN Thurs. 6-24-48

A white Mississippian, an alternate delegate, who seemed rather uncomfortable in the unsegregated atmosphere of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, cut in at intervals during the interview with the delegates. He thought that the lack of Negro North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia and a few other Southern states. These are the states of the "lily-white" delegations with here and there Negro alternates. Thurs.

It is the lily-whitism which pales the platform planks on Civil Rights. The absence of Negroes from most of the regular delegations from the South is a reminder of the Negro purges instituted by Herbert Hoover in 1928. And it is rumored the "great engineer" had a lot to do with the writing of the present convention platform. 6-24-48

Mississippi has a full delegation of eight Negroes, the only Southern state so represented. I talked with a number of the Mississippians in their hotel rooms. One, a Negro businessman of Meadville, felt that "we would have to go slow as it would be too bad if the whole Civil Rights program was passed overnight."

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

He thought that the Negroes would be caught "unprepared" for such blessings. Another delegate closer to the pulse of the people, because he is a newspaperman, said he was satisfied with the platform, but that he thought the party and the people generally should concentrate financial aid to P.V., which it said "is tottering," if the Harlem paper would support Wallace.

Sunday 6-22-48

Los Angeles, Calif.

Dr. Yergan, who has generally remained silent before Communist charges, is quoted by CNS as denying now that the council is Red. Its purpose, CNS said he stated, is "to acquaint the American people with conditions in Africa and to interest them in helping to improve these conditions." Sat. 4-17-48

Row Outcome 'Significant'

By JACK TARVER

Constitution Associate Editor

PHILADELPHIA, June 21—The Stop-Dewey coalition's effort to set the brakes on the New York Governor's bandwagon failed today as the Credential Committee voted 26-24 to seat Georgia's pro-Dewey Tucker delegation.

The Constitution

Upholding last week's action by the National Committee, the credentials group denied the claims of the rump delegation headed by Roy Foster, of Wadley, after an hour's hearing and another hour and twenty minutes of executive session deliberation. Atlanta, Ga.

The controversy had attracted national attention and banner headlines in the Philadelphia papers since it was regarded as the most significant pre-balloting test of strength between the Dewey and Taft-Stassen forces. 6-22-48

Gov. Dewey's chances of getting the nomination on the third or fourth ballot were being reappraised tonight following the Georgia action. Tues.

Several states with favorite son candidates turned up in the list of those voting for the Tucker delegation, which was known as favorable to Dewey.

WASHINGTON, June 21—(AP) Sen. Russell, Democrat, Georgia, a leader of the South's civil-rights bloc, today "disclaimed" a reported move to cast Georgia's 26 presidential votes for him at the Democratic National Convention. He said Georgia and other Southern States instead should back Sen. George, who has represented Georgia in the Senate since 1922.

These include, perhaps significantly, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois and Missouri.

For Roscoe Tucker, Harry Sommers, Elbert Tuttle, Barnaby Hill, and other members of the seated delegation, it was a victory doubly sweet, since reports were widespread that a deal had been made to head off the front-running Dewey—by seating the Georgia delegation opposed to him.

No later than yesterday, Taft's manager, Clarence Brown, had expressed belief that the Credentials Committee would override the decision of the National Committee and seat the Foster (pro-Taft) delegation. The Constitution

An indication of the significance of the Georgia contest was seen in Brown's observation that such a reversal of the National Committee "may overturn the whole thing." Atlanta, Ga.

The Foster faction had secured the services of George Wharton Pepper, former Senator from Pennsylvania and one of the nation's best known lawyers, to represent it before the Committee. Tues.

Pepper reviewed the circumstances of the Georgia GOP split in detail, and made an impassioned plea that the Foster delegation be seated. 6-22-48

He presented in evidence the minutes of Conventions he said were conducted in 132 Georgia counties in endeavoring to show the validity of the Foster claims.

The State passed a law in 1946 providing that the Secretary of State should pass on such disputes, declared Pepper. "Both sides agreed to the umpire. Both sides presented their cases to him. And then, when the Tucker delegation lost, they suddenly decided that they don't like the referee."

Tuttle, speaking for the Tucker faction, of which he is a delegate, ridiculed the legislation which "provides that Republican contests—but not Democratic ones—shall be determined by the Democratic Secretary of State.'"

"The law was passed after Gene Talmadge sent for Harry Sommers in 1944 and wanted to get together and name six Republicans and six anti-Roosevelt Democrats as electors," Tuttle said. "Mr. Sommers of course refused and two years later a Talmadge-controlled Legislature passed a specially rigged law so that Republican—but not Democratic—contests would be decided by a Democratic Secretary of State."

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"The law is applicable only to those parties polling less than 150,000 votes in Georgia in the previous presidential election. Tues.

"We haven't got a political office holder in Georgia competent to make that decision and never will have unless you gentlemen help us to build a second party in the State," Tuttle added. "Sec. Fortson did not consider the facts. He did not consider the law. He did only the bidding of his Democratic chieftains."

"I hope this case will stand on its own merits and not be influenced by the bigger issues of the Convention," Tuttle concluded. "I hope you will lay aside your feelings for the fine men who are seeking the Presidency and make your decision on the basis of right and justice." 6-22-48

This latter was apparently in reference to widespread reports the Foster delegation had made a deal to give six votes to Stassen in return for the support of the latter's following on the Credentials Committee.

"Collective bargaining is an obligation as well as a right, applying to workers and employers, and the fundamental right to strike is subordinate only to paramount considerations of public health and safety. Government's chief function in this field is to promote good will, encourage co-operation, and where resort is had to intervention, to be impartial, preventing violence and requiring obedience to all law by all parties involved. We pledge continuing study to improve labor-management legislation in the light of experience and changing conditions." Tues.

Simultaneously, a drive developed to make the preliminary platform draft call for new and severe legislation to control Communism—along the lines of the Mundt-Nixon Bill.

The Constitution

Trouble also threatened over the farm plank. Platform drafters were ready to praise a new farm program pressed through Congress in its closing hours, when Albert S. Goss, Master of the National Grange, rushed here from Washington to protest that it contains "too much regimentation."

Reps. Mundt, Republican, South Dakota, and Nixon, Republican, California, personally presented the anti-Communism plank proposal. Mundt said it proposes to "regulate, expose and identify Communism."

The general harmony of platform framing was interrupted as members of Congress, held in Washington for the late adjournment, took looks at the preliminary draft of planks prepared by members of the Resolutions (Platform) Committee in pre-convention sessions.

Some hinted there might be wrangles over housing and Federal aid to education.

But by and large, the proposed platform is reported to accept the challenge of President Truman and base its policy declarations on the record of the GOP controlled 80th Congress—with some elaborations. Atlanta, Ga.

The Civil Rights issue flared up anew as the Resolutions committee went into a crucial closed session to act on a draft of the platform. Tues. 6-22-48

A group of Negro leaders, including a number of late-arriving delegates, halted National Chairman Carroll Reece at the door of the resolutions meeting and demanded a reopening of hearings on Civil Rights.

One of their spokesmen told Reece some of the delegates wanted the platform to contain a pledge that Congress would refuse to seat any person who had helped "disfranchise Negroes.

He said they want the platform to mention specifically the name of Rep. John E. Rankin, Mississippi Democrat.

Reece replied that under its rules the Platform Committee closed hearings last Saturday. He said, however, he would see if anything could be done.

The proposed farm plank was quoted by the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin as favoring:

Votes Of Negro Members Break Vote Deadlock

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Tues. 6-22-48

Subcommittee Snubs Petition Of Negroes For Civil Rights

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By LOUIS LAUTIER

PHILADELPHIA—(S N S)—The credentials committee last Monday afternoon affirmed the action of the Republican National Committee in seating the Tucker faction delegates of the Republican Paarty in Georgia.

The vote came on the motion of Ed Schorr of Ohio to substitute the delegates and alternates of the foster faction for those of the Tucker faction. The motion was rejected by a vote of 26 to 24.

The action of the credential committee placed sixteen votes in the Dewey column. The Foster delegation is supporting Senator Robert A. Taft for the Republican Presidential nomination and the Taft forces, in an effort to win the sixteen votes of Georgia Republicans had former Senator George Wharton Pepper, a noted Philadelphia lawyer to argue the case for them.

The votes of two colored members of the Credential Committee, John T. Risher of Mississippi and Valores Washington of Illinois, gave the victory to the Dewey forces.

NEGROES REBUFFED

Daily World

A committee representing colored delegates and alternates this afternoon was denied the privilege of presenting to the full resolutions committee resolutions embodying the colored delegates' views as to what the Civil Rights planks in the Republican platform should contain.

Tues. 6-22-48

Prominent members of the resolutions committee were buttonholed as they made their way into the committee meeting by Edgar G. Brown and other members of the committee representing colored delegates. None would promsie to offer the resolutions of the colored delegates as a substitute for the report of the Civil Rights Subcommittee of the Resolutions Committee.

One of those stopped was Carrol Reece, chairman of the Republican National Committee. Brown told him that if colored delegates were not given an opportunity to present their views before the full Resolutions Committee, an effoort would be made to have them presented on the conventoin floor and, failing that, colored Republicans, would take them to the voters.

Fla. Candidate Forced to Quit Race, Flee Town

Lt. 12-4-1948

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PERRINE, Fla. — A Republican committee is investigating the reported threat that caused Ben Shavis, grocer and candidate for city commissioner, to withdraw from the race and flee town for his own safety. According to the Rev. A. D. Coleman, Republican committeeman, Shavis was told to "drop out of the race or die."

Shavis was the only colored person among the 15 who were seeking seven commission seats in the new South Dade municipality where colored voters outnumber white 316 to 278. Lt-12-4-48

The high man in the election would [illegible] line for mayor.

The [illegible] Mr. Coleman said Shavis [illegible] warned that "they would [illegible] down his house if he [illegible]draw." "They told [illegible] didn't want a colored [illegible] the Rev. Mr. Coleman asserted. [illegible] added that the threat [illegible]rbal message.

Official Action Sought

Calling for official action if the threat can be pinned down, the Republican club appointed a committee of three to probe the matter. Those appointed are Wesley E. Garrison, Leonard Friedman and D. A. Douglas, insurance agency manager.

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Douglas, who is serving on the Federal Grand Jury, said the threat is a violation of Federal civil rights, and added,

"It's a shame now in some of these small areas colored persons are taken out and killed and nobody hears anything about it."

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Could Be National Issue

Max M. Neumann said the case could become a national issue very easily.

The Rev. Mr. Coleman said Shavis's candidacy had been sponsored by the Republicans to "stimulate interest in the Republican party."

After the town was incorporated in May, Shavis ran for the commission in the first election and placed eighth among the candidates. Lt 12-4-48

Shavis who returned here, Tuesday, after what he called "a business trip" to Hastings, Fla., told reporters that he had not been threatened.

Florida Elects 1st Negro GOP Delegate

Defender Sat. 6-12-48

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MIAMI, Fla. — David A. Douglas, manager of the district office of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company of Atlanta, Ga., was recently elected delegate-at-large to the Republican National convention in Philadelphia June 21, the first Negro to be elected delegate in the state. Chicago Def.

Four delegates were elected from 13 candidates in the May 4 Republican primary. Douglas finished in second place. 6-19-48

Reared in Lake Charles, La., Douglas is the son of Mrs. Mary Douglas who still resides there. He is a graduate of Southern university, Scotlandville, La. He is chairman of the Negro Republican cub of Dade county, a member of the advisory committee of the American Red Cross and was recently appointed a member of the 10-man advisory committee of the City Commission of Miami. Douglas served in the armed forces and was honorably discharged in 1945, when he resumed his duties as the insurance firm's district manager.

Republican (Georgia)

Georgia GOP Faction Beckoning To Outraged Democratic Elements

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

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Thurs. 2-5-48

One branch of Georgia's Republican Party Wednesday laid out the welcome mat for Democrats fuming over President Truman's program for civil rights.

Roy Foster, of Wadley, Chairman of the faction regarded as "Lily White" (although it staunchly protests it has Negro members), sought to lure dissatisfied Georgia and Southern Democrats into the Republican fold with the statement that "there is plenty of room at the top in the Republican Party in the South."

Foster said his State Central Committee meeting here Saturday might recommend inclusion of planks to appeal to Southern Democrats in the Republican National Platform. 2-5-48

"I don't think the South ever will be treated by the Republican Party like it is about to be treated by the Democratic Party," he continued. "I believe the Republican stand on civil rights will be more in keeping with state's rights."

Foster said his group was being recognized by the Republican National Committee as the official Republican Party in Georgia, despite contrary claims by the faction headed by Roscoe Taylor, of Dawsonville. He said the Republican National Committee had made reservations for his delegation and he would take 16 delegates and 16 alternates to Philadelphia. Tucker previously had said the National Committee had asked for reservations from his group. Tucker was recognized by the National Committee in 1944 while Foster was recognized by the Secretary of State on the Georgia ballot. The Constitution

The Foster group Wednesday also won recognition of the Young Republican Clubs of Georgia which heretofore had steered clear of the feud raging in the senior party. By a vote of four to three following a three-hour debate, the Executive Committee decided to recognize Foster since the Secretary of State and the State Supreme Court did so in 1944. The Young Republicans scheduled a State convention here May 29.

Foster will ask his State Committee meeting at the Fulton County Courthouse at 10 a. m. Saturday to boycott the Republican Presidential Primary being sponsored by National Committeeman Wilson Williams May 11. The Committee will make plans for a State Convention. Atlanta, Ga.

Tucker Group Wins GOP Nod As Official Party in Georgia

Atlanta, Ga

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The Wilson Williams - Roscoe Tucker group (backers of Gov. Dewey) was designated as the official Republican Party in Georgia yesterday by the Republican National Committee. Atlanta, Ga.

The Committee, in Philadelphia, voted 48 to 44 to seat Tucker's delegation instead of the Roy Foster group which was backing Sen. Taft for the Republican Presidential nomination. Constitution

The decision of the Committee probably will be appealed to the convention's credentials committee next week. The credential committee's ruling can be appealed to the full convention. Sat. 6-19-48

It was the second victory of the Williams-Tucker group over the Foster organization at a national convention. The former was seated at the 1944 convention. The late Secretary of State John B. Wilson [illegible] the Foster electors on the Georgia ballot. Secretary of State Ben W. Fortson recently decided in favor of the Foster group again this year. 6-19-48

Many National Committeemen contended their decision for the Williams-Tucker delegation from Georgia was not a straight-out test of the Taft and Dewey strength in the National Committee. They said the fundamental issue was whether a Democratic Secretary of State in Georgia, who certified the Foster faction as the legal delegation, or the Republican organization in Georgia was going to name the Republican delegates. Sat 6-19-48

Former Lily-White Group Adds Negro Delegates to List

Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat. 5-15-48

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ATLANTA, Ga.—A bitter fight for the right to represene Georgia at the Philadelphia Republican National Convention is in the offing.

Last week the heretofore "lily-white" Foster faction changed its hue and elected Negroes as delegates to the Philadelphia meeting. The about-face was seen as the result of the turnaway given the Foster group in 1944 when it had an all-white delegation. Three Negroes were elected this year. They include Dr. J. W. Griffin of Bainbridge, Prof. L. W. Bywaters of Fort Valley and Mrs. Beatrice Wallace of Augusta as delegates-at-large. 5-15-48

James L. Grant of Savannah was one of the delegates named by the congressional convention in his district.

The Tucker faction, which was seated at the 1944 convention, boasts a third Negro representation throughout its structure and has sent Neg oes to national conventions since the early Twenties. This faction challenged the legality of the Foster group to hold district and State conventions, but was overruled in court. 5-15-48

Most prominent Negro Republicans in Georgia are aligned with the Tucker faction, which had the support of the late B. J. Davis, the lamented politician and newspaperman.

Bitter Fight For Seating Is Predicted

Atlanta Daily World

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Atlanta, Ga.

Both factions of the Republican Party in Georgia now boast Negroes as delegates. This was evident as the Roy Foster State Republican group met here Monday and voted to send an uninstructed delegation to the Republican National Convention. The Tucker faction, which was seated at the 1944 Convention, already listed Negroes on its slate. Wed 5-5-48

The Foster group which lost its bid for seats at the "44 Convention on the charge that it was "Lily White" elected three Negroes as delegates and altrnates to this year's National Convention in Philadelphia. A bitter fight for delegation seating is predicted. Wed 5-5-48

Among those elected were Dr. J. W. Griffin, Bainbridge; Prof. L. W. Bywaters, Fort Valley and Beatrice Wallace, Augusta, as delegates at large.

James L. Grant, first district, Savannah, was one of the delegates named by the congressional convention to the national meeting.

The state meeting barely escaped a split in the Foster faction as some district leaders charged Foster had stacked the convention with 150 "illegal delegates," but no challenge was made on any county's delegation on the convention floor.

Senator Taft's Southern campaign managers were present at the meeting.

National Committeeman Wilson Williams and Roscoe Tucker leader of the other State faction, were present as "observers."

Enterprise Journal
McComb, Miss

THE SHELDON MYSTERY

Nebraskans are always faintly surprised when they hear news of their former Governor, George L. Sheldon. He turns up every four years at Republican National conventions, seeking recognition for his faction of what passes for the Republican Party in Mississippi. He is regularly defeated by the other faction, led by National Committeeman Perry Howard, a Negro.

How come, Nebraskans ask, that a former Governor of Nebraska—all but forgotten—is living in Mississippi?

Mr. Sheldon was Governor of Nebraska from 1907 to 1909—40 years ago. He was, by all accounts, a capable Governor.

At the end of his term Mr. Sheldon, whose salary as Governor was only $2,500, found himself faced with the common necessity of making a living. He wanted to farm. He decided that land was a good deal cheaper in Mississippi than in Nebraska, so he moved there. In a few years he became a successful planter.

Jnr. 8-5-48

Mr. Sheldon's Mississippi neighbors wanted him to run for the Legislature. He was agreeable, since he had time to spare, but there appeared to be one insuperable barrier: he was a Republican and declined to become a Democrat. Since no Republican could beat any Democrat in Mississippi, a way had to be found out of this impasse. It was. Mr. Sheldon's neighbors arranged things so that no Democrat filed against him. Thus he became the one and only Republican to serve in the Mississippi Legislature since Reconstruction days.

8-5-48

A Republican who can achieve any prominence in Mississippi must be quite a man. It's too bad Nebraska lost him.

—The Omaha Evening World

Mississippi States' Righters File Ticket; GOP Factions Wrangle

[illegible]

Wed 8-18-48

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 18 (AP)—States' Righters were putting finishing touches on papers to place a Thurmond-Wright slate of electors on Mississippi's ballot today, while a bitter battle was in the making between two groups of Republicans who would support the Dewey-Warren ticket.

Heber Ladner, secretary of state, yesterday received the Thurmond-Wright slate but said "official" filing awaits a technicality—the signature of the secretary of the State Democratic Convention.

The other slates have been filed with Ladner—one by the independent Republicans and another by the regular Republicans.

The independents are an all-white group headed by George L. Sheldon, of Clinton, Miss.

The regulars are headed by Perry Howard, Negro attorney, of Washington. They have recognition from the national party.

* * *

SHELDON AND SEVERAL other independents yesterday served Ladner with a writ of mandamus. The petition on which it was based called on Ladner to place on the ballot as the Republican slate only those electors presented by the independents.

Ladner had previously received an opinion from the attorney general's office that both Republican slates should be listed on the ballot.

Wed 8-18-48

In the mandamus petition Sheldon and his associates contend that "by virtue of their being the first such group of candidates for presidential elector so filing," the independent slate is entitled under a 1948 legislative act (House Bill 876) to be the only group listed as pledged to the Republican nominees.

Asst. Atty. Gen. James Kendall took the matter under study. So did W. E. Gore, attorney for the "regular" Republican Party in Mississippi.

Sought To Keep Electors' Names From Ballot

Daily World
Wed. 8-18-48
Atlanta, Ga

JACKSON, Miss. — (NNPA) — Lily-white Republicans last Friday lost out in their efforts to have Presidential electors of the "black and tan" faction of the Republican party in Mississippi excluded from the ballot in November when the Attorney General's office authorized two slates of Republican electors placed on the ballot.

The authorization was contained in an opinion by Assistant Attorney General James T. Kendall to Secretary of State Heber Lander.

Kendall held that the slates submitted by both, the regular Republican State organization and the lily-white group, who call themselves Independent Republicans, be carried on the ballot as pledged to support the Dewey-Warren ticket.

Wed 8-18-48

The lily-whites, headed by former Governor George L. Sheldon of Nebraska who is now a plantation overseer in Mississippi, had contended that they had been the first to file with the Secretary of State.

The regular Republican party organization, headed by Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, contended that its group should be the only slate because the Republican national convention in Philadelphia had recognized it as the Republican organization in Mississippi by [illegible] its delegates over a contesting delegation of lily-whites.

The nine elector candidates of both slates are white.

South Remembers GOP's

Wash. Post

By Hunt Clement, Jr.

34d

ELEPHANTS never forget, but it is debatable how much the Republican elephant remembers.

GOP leaders apparently do not like to be reminded of the sad fate of the South's Hoover Democrats after 1928. Thousands of Southerners were then ready to cooperate openly with a Republican President. They were snubbed. Now, with Southerners unhappy again, Republican spokesmen are said to be "overlooking no bets in the long-range effort to make the two-party system more of a reality in the South."

The question arises, of course, what can the Republican Party do in the South, long-range?

June 10-17-48

Is the party to modify the position it has taken in its platform, and in the Eightieth Congress, to conform to the mores of Southerners who in large numbers will probably vote for Dewey? Hardly.

In truth, the GOP will be in a dilemma sectionally. It will know that in the Southern vote it again has a maverick, a maverick which has kicked out the slats of its Democratic corral but is by no means newly branded or bedded down. Yet it will suspect that among the dissatisfied Southerners who are still dissatisfied "Democrats," there are many who are willing to be shown how to live useful political lives in the Republican Party and prosper locally and sectionally.

Wash. D.C.

Colonel Had a Formula

HOW TO show them? One way is with patronage, and in its use of patronage to make friends in the South, the GOP has failed egregiously. In 1949, moreover, Federal patronage will be leaner; largely liquidated are the New Deal and wartime agencies which provided many thousands of clerkships. When the party bosses have run through the postmasterships and the jobs associated with the Federal judiciary the patronage hay will have been largely cut.

After 1928, it was patronage and "recognition" which were to be the mortar in a Southern Republican edifice; and for a brief season it looked as if the GOP meant business.

The late Horace A. Mann, a Washington tax lawyer, a Kentuckian called "Colonel" who was a warm friend of Herbert Hoover, had directed the Hoover campaign in the South. After the election, Colonel Mann proposed a realistic program under which leading Southern Democrats might be persuaded to break away from their traditional affiliations.

Many Southern Democrats, Colonel Mann reported, had borne the brunt of the regular Democrats' opposition—indeed, he had kept the Republicans in the background wherever possible—and those Democrats desired to help the new Republican President.

After all, Colonel Mann said, the Republican Party had been saying for years that it desired a strong two-party system in the South, and now many Southerners were saying the same thing. The time had come to show that the GOP was sincere, to show it not only by distributing patronage among the Democrats who had worked for Mr. Hoover, but also by advising regularly with a select number of them to the end that the nucleus of a respectable, aggressive Republican organization could be established and nurtured.

June 10-17-48

Mr. Hoover was favorably impressed at first. Then the Mann program was rejected, thrown out the political window, by an inner group headed, Colonel Mann believed, by Walter Brown of Ohio, who became Mr. Hoover's Postmaster General.

In any case, after Colonel Mann had confided to many Southern Democrats that Mr. Hoover had agreed with him wholeheartedly, the Kentuckian was repudiated. He became bitter, and in 1932 he hastened his own death by making a frantic and unsuccesful effort to prevail upon the late Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, to oppose Mr. Hoover for the Republican nomination.

Counting on the Rebels

THE REACTION of the Republican bosses in 1929 to what would have been at least a start toward the actual building of a two-party system in the South may, in late 1948, account for the obvious fact that the GOP is still only academically interested in the hammer-and-nails phase of a building program.

Republican architects are showing blueprints for a Southern exposure, but few carpenters are in sight. The Republican National Committee has promised that "topflight" Republicans will speak in every Southern State; it has employed a Southern editor, Bryan Collier, to instruct Southern Democrats how to vote a split ticket, and it is encouraging Southern Republicans to spend all the money the Southerners can raise.

In short, the Republicans are exploiting the South's "agin" vote. Happy in the conviction that Henry Wallace and the Dixiecrats are working for them, they sit in the shade while the angry Democrats whitewash GOP fences.

The Republicans could build in the South. Certain facts cause wonder that the Republicans do not forget about the poll tax, lynching and like matters, and concentrate on sending to the States a constitutional amendment calling for direct election of the President, with each State's party vote credited to the party's candidate.

The South would probably not vote for such an amendment, but if Dewey wins by the landslide the polls forecast, he should be able to prevail on three-fourths of the States to adopt it.

What such a system would mean to the Republican Party in the South is something to make the most practical Republican's mouth water.

1,677,000 'Wasted' Votes

CONSIDER that in the nine so-called Confederate States (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia) the Democratic Party polled 2,252,802 votes in 1944, and lost to the Republicans only 34 out of 770 counties and not one electoral vote. In the border States of Maryland, Kentucky and Tennessee, the Democrats lost 93 out of 239 counties but won all the electoral votes.

However, while the voters in those 12 States were giving the Democrats 3,260,588 popular votes, they were also giving the Republicans 1,677,947 votes. In short, the Republicans in 12 States polled approximately 33 per cent of the popular vote, yet saw the Democrats sweep the electoral vote and take over State and local government bag and baggage.

June 10-17-48

Suppose that a citizen's vote for President were actually counted for the candidate for whom he voted. In the South, Republicans would come out of hiding in the areas which are "solidly Democratic"; their new enthusiasm would spill over into a new interest in government at levels where competition is so badly needed—in the counties, cities and crossroads communities.

Until the Republican Party changes the election system, or changes its own spots, it will save money, if not prestige, by staying north of the Potomac River.

REFORM ATTEMPTS AID SOUTHERN EXTREMISTS

The Times

June 9-12-48

Truman Program, Wallace Visit and Critical Spirit in North Said to Hurt Negro Aspirations

New York. N.Y.

TREND APPARENT IN POLITICS

34d

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11—The political reaction in the South confirms the opinion of those temperate and enlightened Southerners who believed it would surely follow the current types of agitation for quick and drastic change in the social-economic system below the Mason-Dixon Line. Among those efforts they prominently list:

June 9-12-48

(1) The President's so-called civil rights program of Federal legislation which proposed to carry out, by force from the central government if required, measures to alter the whole structure of social organization in the South.

(2) The journey of Henry A. Wallace through the states of the old Confederacy, in which every measure to revive the most acute state of racial prejudice was deliberately taken by the candidate; and, prior to this journey, political activities and associations of Mr. Wallace elsewhere.

(3) The unsympathetic and uninformed rain of criticism in the East and North of the South's effort to make a reasonable solution of its great Negro problem.

(4) The warm reception in the East and North of any Southern literature, or books about the South, in which the plight of the Negro is dramatized and the work of those Caucasians who must solve it if possible is neglected or disparaged.

(5) The hero-making propaganda, in behalf of Southerners like former Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia, by Easterners and Northerners who are known in the South to favor quick and radical change in its social pattern. This weakened the influence at home of those Southerners who were beguiled by the flattery.

The first visible consequences, of course, were the stand of the Southern Democratic delegations at Philadelphia against the nomination of President Truman on a platform that endorsed the "civil-rights" program, and the development of this into the States' Rights national ticket.

Platform Compromise

The development was deliberately stimulated by the Americans for Democratic Action, a group in which the Roosevelt family and New Dealers are prominent and which has been active in movements to make drastic changes in the South. They stimulated it by opposing the platform compromise with which Mr. Truman and his spokesmen attempted to support the "civil-rights" program in language that would mean one thing in the South and another outside. And the ADA forced on the unwilling Administration a plank that spelled out in detail the things the President had told Congress he wanted. This made the States' Rights ticket inevitable.

Other consequences were the reappearance of Ku Klux Klan fiery crosses and hoods in areas where they have been seen but little in recent years; the renomination of Representative John Rankin over strong opposition in Mississippi; the renascence of the Huey Long family in control of Louisiana politics; the removal of Mr. Truman's name as the official Democratic candidate in that state; and the overwhelming nomination of Herman Talmadge in Georgia over an acting Governor, M. E. Thompson, who, though as much opposed to the "civil-rights" program, was burdened by the support of the non-Southern groups referred to above.

Southern Reaction

There will be other results of the same kind in the near future. This reaction, as was predicted by Southerners who understand the inequalities of their region and have tried to level them by gradual and reasonable means, will always follow an attempt of non-Southern politicians to change its social-economic structure by Federal force.

How little the problems and personalities of the South are understood by its outside critics was emphasized again this week after the victory of Mr. Talmadge. Many comments left the impression that Governor Thompson, who was backed by an unsavory state machine and has incurred no wounds in fighting the demagogy of "white supremacy," was a knight of social-economic reform in shining armor, and that in rejecting him Georgia citizens had dealt enlightenment a vital blow. Among these critics were some of the very persons who, by their fulsome patronage of his supporter, Mr. Arnall, had sapped the latter's influence with his fellow-voters.

Benefit to Communists

Who was benefited by the various agitations for overnight change in the South? Not Mr. Truman, who started the reaction, for in the most unlikely event of his election he would have stronger Democratic opposition from the South than before. Not the Southern Negroes, whose just aspirations will now be considered in a less favorable atmosphere than in recent years. Not the Southern whites, whose fears and prejudices have been aroused by the very persons who professed a desire to allay them.

The only beneficiaries are the Communists, whose purpose is to disunify the people of the United States in every possible way; and —if his "grand political design" has not been misrepresented—Mr. Wallace, who looks to reaction of any kind as the road to national political power for himself and his supporters.

But there can be some other benefit from the experience if the outside reformers of the South, including the sincere idealists, the practical workers for expansion of the Bill of Rights and the paid professional agitators of racial groups, have finally learned the lesson they hitherto have declined to learn.

Sun 9-12-48

Steady Advance

The South, on its own, and through the efforts of its best citizens, has made a long and steady advance since the fires of reconstruction died down. The Negro is voting in numbers which no one could have estimated ten years ago. The poll tax is in process of repeal by the states in which it exists. Lynching has become a remarkable occurrence because of its rarity, and Virginia under the prompting of Senator (then Governor) Harry F. Byrd has the most drastic anti-lynching law in the United States.

If the South is intelligently and sympathetically aided from outside in the solution of problems from which other sections are happily free, the progress will become very rapid.

But the South will not abandon the social forms of segregation while its population groups are as they are, and it will resist to any degree an attempt to end them by Federal legislation carried out by use of force. It will turn to the demagogues who voice this attitude with reckless and inflammatory speech which its better politicians decline to employ. And in national politics the Southerners will band together more closely, at the expense of some good laws and the two-party system, whenever it is convinced that its social-economic structure and its constitutional protections are in jeopardy from politicians elsewhere who would destroy them to get the votes of pressure groups in other sections.

White Ala. Editor Says GOP Has Soundest Racial Program

The Afro American
Date 9-18-48

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (ANP)—W. E. Brooks Jr., 26-year-old editor of the Brewton Standard, white daily, called upon the South to "stop being a political province" and vote Republican this year, with the idea that the GOP Party's performance on the racial issue is "less offensive to the South."

34

Speaking at the Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce meet, Brooks criticized President Truman and the Democratic Party, declaring:

Baltimore Md.

"For the last 16 years, the people of the South have had a daily dose of what the Democratic Party intends to do about the color question here. If that is the primary issue with any voter in Alabama, it should take him about 10 seconds to vote against the Democratic Party.

"The States' Righters," he continued, "offer nothing on the question of what to do about the colored man except an assurance that everything will be fine if we will but stick with them. But they will lead us deeper into the mire of sectionalism and minority party policies; and the South cannot afford another retreat of that sort."

Georgia Stirs to Republican Call

Herald Tribune

Campaign for Dewey and Warren Finds Solid Support in Southern Stronghold

June 10-19-48
34d New York, N.Y.

By Elmo Greene

ATLANTA—For the first time in its history, the Republican party is waging a campaign in Georgia for its national ticket. And Georgia, long regarded as a Democratic, "in the bag" state, gives every promise of respdoning graciously to the Republican wooing—whether or not it actually gives its 12 electoral votes to Governors Dewey and Warren.

Indeed, there have been confident predictions that Georgia will go Republican this year, for the first time.

Georgia Republicans and Democrats-for-Dewey are conducting, not a token campaign, but rather a real "grass roots" campaign, involving door bell ringing and other types of personal contact. Precinct and ward captains have been chosen for urban areas.

ON Peachtree Street in Atlanta, capital of a state in which there is still much mental association of Republicans with Union troops of Civil War days, it seems not a little incongruous to see a big, street-level headquarters promoting Governors Dewey and Warren.

Yet there it is, with blatant signs and pictures. Inside, full-time and part-time workers confidently and cheerfully go about mailing out literature, arranging meetings, handling correspondence and other details. Similar headquarters are operating in Savannah, Macon, Augusta, Columbus and other Georgia cities and towns.

As a matter of fact, in 100 of Georgia's 159 counties, there are active Dewey-Warren organizations. And so far as this writer has been able to determine, no Truman headquarters has been opened in the state. Most Georgians—the State Democratic Executive Committee included—are opposed to President Truman because of his civil rights stand.

June 10-19-48

Governor Warren's speeches indorsing states rights have appealed to Georgians. Recently, Representative Hugh D. Scott Jr., of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Republican National Committee, came to Atlanta and said that the Republicans were striving to take the government out of the ivory towers of Washington and bring it back to Main Street." This statement also appealed to states rights sentiment in Georgia.

MR. SCOTT spoke, by the way, to more than 500 Georgians and Southern Republican leaders at a $50-a-plate dinner. The Democratic "Atlanta Constitution," edited by Ralph McGill, had this to say following Mr. Scott's visit:

"We have heard of the Dewey thoroughness. But we never expected him to be so thorough as to select as his National Chairman, and send into the South, a man whose grandfather was a Confederate soldier under Marse Robert E. Lee himself and who was wounded fighting for the Confederacy at Gettysburg.

"Yet that is this Republican's background. To send such a messenger into the Deep South in so critical a year is almost as unethical as shooting quail on the ground. We stand in awe of the Dewey efficiency."

The "Constitution," as well as a number of other newspapers in Georgia, is urging the formation of a strong two-party system in Georgia. The newspapers are urging the people who do not want to vote for President Truman, to vote for Governor Dewey. Indeed, the Savannah "Morning News" and "Evening Press" have announced their support of the Republican ticket.

TO quote "The Atlanta Constitution" again:

"The Atlanta Constitution, strongly of the opinion that the nation must maintain the two-party system and that splinter parties such as the Wallaceites and Dixiecrats are harmful, urges that every Southerner examine his or her political beliefs.

"Those who do not agree with the historical development of the Democratic party should determine now not merely to vote Republican, but to work Republican. Let us be sure that Georgia goes either Republican or Democratic on Nov. 2."

Take Macon, Georgia, in Bibb County, right in the middle of the state. There, a leading citizen in the person of Hamilton Holt, who has been urged in the past to run for Governor of Georgia on the Democratic ticket, has announced his support of the Dewey-Warren ticket. A business man, he is a past president of Kiwanis International.

And the Macon "News" has this to say of Macon citizens who are backing the Republican ticket:

"Among these are some of Macon's foremost and most highly respected citizens. There can be no doubt that they are Republicans on principle and they are to be commended for having the courage to come out in the open and say so. And though we are opposed to them on principle, we regard their action as a good thing for Macon and for Georgia."

June 10-19-48

FOR the first time in the history of the University of Georgia, at Athens, a club has been formed espousing the cause of Republican candidates for President and Vice-President. Its members are mostly law students, who say they realize in what jeopardy they are placing their future political careers, by forming a Dewey-Warren club.

Not only, however, are Republican leaders interested in carrying Georgia for Governors Dewey and Warren for the national party's sake, they also are eager to use a Georgia victory as a basis for establishing a two-party system for state offices.

Already, the State Republican Central Committee has served notice it will enter candidates two years hence in races for governor, lieutenant governor and all other state offices. Widely discussed as the Republican gubernatorial candidate in 1950 is Harry Sommers, Atlanta automobile dealer for 26 years and a national committeeman from Georgia; as lieutenant governor, Brigadier General Elbert P. Tuttle, Atlanta lawyer, who comanded a field artillery battalion in the South Pacific in World War II.

State Chairman W. R. Tucker, of Dawsonville, a lawyer and real estate man, says that "every one realizes that this is a golden opportunity to establish a real second party in Georgia, and all of us are working to that end. Reports from over the state are most encouraging, and if every one continues to work until Nov. 2, we have a chance of carrying Georgia."

June 10-19-48

He points out, though, that it will take a Republican majority of popular votes to do the job; not a mere plurality. Under a recently revised general election law, it is necessary for a party to get a majority of all votes cast before it can claim the election. "If we obtain only a plurality," said Mr. Tucker, "the Legislature will then name the electors."

IT is difficult to determine at this point just how strong Governor J. Strom Thurmond's States Rights party is in Georgia. Acting Governor M. E. Thompson opposes the States Rights Democrats, as do most of Georgia's leading newspapers. On the other hand, Governor-Nominate Herman Talmadge is thought to be quietly giving his support to the Dixiecrats.

If the Dixiecrats should succeed in preventing any party from receiving a majority of the votes cast, and subsequently the election of Presidential electors should go to the Legislature, it is likely the Talmadge-dominated Legislature would vote for the States Rights electors.

However, Georgia has approximately 1,250,000 registered voters—the large number due to no poll tax requirement for voting and the voting-age minimum being eighteen years—and only about 70,000 votes were cast in the recent Democratic primary. So, with concerted effort, it should not be too difficult for a party to get a majority of votes in the Presidential election.

Flirting With the South

The Constitution

PHILADELPHIA — While the civil rights plank in the Republican platform was strengthened considerably in the unprecedented nine-hour redrafting wrangle in the Resolutions Committee, it is yet less drastic—and calculated to be more acceptable to the South—than that contained in the party's '44 statement of policy. Atlanta, Ga.

The civil rights plank was one of those Resolution Committee Chairman Lodge had in mind when he stated that the preliminary recommendations of the various subcommittees were no longer recognizable. Even so, it remains, by Republican standards, a moderate document and one which is already drawing the wrath of numerous Negro delegates. Wed.

The '48 platform makes no mention of an FEPC. 6-23-48

Whereas the '44 platform stated specifically: "We pledge the establishment by Federal legislation of a permanent FEPC," the new one platitudinously declares:

"One of the basic principles of this republic is the equality of all individuals in their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This principle is enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Constitution of the United States; it was vindicated on the field of battle and became the cornerstone of this republic. This right of equal opportunity to work and to advance in life should never be limited in any individual because of race, religion, color or country of origin. We favor the enactment and just enforcement of such Federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right at all times in every part of this republic."

Moreover, in contrast to the '44 platform, which pledged "Congressional investigation and corrective legislation of mistreatment, segregation and discrimination in the armed forces," the '48 plank states merely: "We are opposed to the idea of racial segregation in the armed services of the United States."

The Constitution

And finally, while the '44 platform called for "immediate submission of a Constitutional amendment for abolition of the poll tax," the one adopted here yesterday reads: "We *favor* the abolition of the poll tax *as a requisite to voting.*"

Atlanta, Ga.

These general statements of policy rather than the specific pledges which extremists sought, represent a considerable compromise, especially since the leading candidate at this time is known to favor an all-out civil rights program. Wed. 6-23-48

Gov. Dewey has the vast majority of the several hundred Negro delegates present. If he is nominated he can be expected to bolster the party's civil rights plank with campaign promises and allusions to the stringent Fair Employment Practices legislation enacted in New York State during his tenure as Governor.

The Constitution

But if the nominee is Taft, who is on record as opposing the FEPC, or some other candidate with moderate views, the Republican statements on civil rights may be less repugnant to many Southerners than those of President Truman.

Atlanta, Ga.

Especially could this prove true if the Democratic convention, in an effort to regain some of the Negro vote the polls show it is losing to Wallace, adopts a strong civil rights platform when it meets in this city next month.—J. T. Wed. 6-23-48

Randolph Says GOPs Court Southern States

St. Louis Argus

Fri. 7-2-48

PHILADELPHIA—(NNPA) — The civil rights plank in the 1948 Republican platform is a warning to colored people that the Republican party is courting southern states and does not give a "picayune" for colored voters, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, declared here last Tuesday.

Holding in his hands a copy of the platform, which had just been adopted by the convention, Mr. Randolph said "This is lousy," adding: 7-2-48

"It is not sufficiently strong to convey the perfect futility of the civil rights plank. It would be a joke were it not for such a tragic travesty upon decency and an insult to the common sense and pride of race of the Negro citizens of America.

GOPs Courting Southern States

"The Republican party has descended to its lowest depths of opportunism and has become more 'Dixie-crat' than Mississippi and South Carolina.

"It is sufficient warning to Negroes that now the Republicans are courting southern states and that they no longer give a picayune for the Negro vote.

"It is a signal for the Negroes to become more militant and aggressive in their fight to abolish Jim Crow in the Army, transportation, education and every other area of life in America by all of the forces they can mobilize, including the method of civil disobedience."

South-GOP Courting-- Randolph

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

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Republicans In New York, Democrats In South

Columbia Record.

A group of hidebound Republicans in the little town of Lansing in upstate New York, have issued an invitation to the Democrats of the South to join them in voting Republican this year.

The invitation, inserted in the Congressional Record by Representative W. Sterling Cole of New York, has not reached South Carolina or if it did, The Record missed it.

And some of its content should not be missed. It shows an appreciation of the South by some of the Republican voters, an appreciation that isn't seconded too often by the Republican politicians.

"We . . . from the rock-ribbed Republican town of Lansing . . . which has never voted Democratic," the resolution reads, "extend the hand of friendship to the Southern Democrats, our fellow Americans. We agree with Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, who said:

"'I see with the deepest affliction the rapid strides with which the federal branch of our government is advancing toward the usurpation of all the rights reserved to the states . . . and that, too, by constructions which, if legitimate, leave no limits to its powers . . . It is not by consolidation or concentration of powers, but by their distribution that good government is effected . . . What has destroyed liberty and the rights of man in every government which has ever existed under the sun? The generalizing and concentrating all cares and powers in one body. Columbia, S.C.

"We believe, as did the founders of our nation, in a federal republic of limited constitutional powers; and in the system of checks and balances between the legislative, executive and judicial departments—no one supreme, no packed court or rubber-stamp Congress. Tue. 8-3-48

"We resent the swarms of bureaucrats who suck their living from honest industry, swelling their functions to fatten their pockets. Tue. 8-3-48

"We abhor the demagogues who inflame strife to prey on the ignorant. We commend the law-enforcement officers of your Southern states who have so courageously reduced mob violence almost to the vanishing point, even when aroused by vicious crimes; we wish that an honest workman in the North could be equally protected against mob violence when going to work.

"We deplore the lack of mutual understanding between the good people of the North and South, which by dividing our strength has played into the hands of groups who would weaken and destroy our nation . . . Our public servants should cease to be sensitive to special pressure groups if and when the great body of our nation speaks its mind without the division of traditional parties . . . While the amalgamation of the two great parties may be impractical or even undersirable . . . we hope that your people and ours will so vote that our nation as a whole will emerge stronger to face the problems which now confront us."

And what is the difference between the creed of these rock-ribbed Republicans of up-state New York and the creed of the average South Carolina, Texas, Georgia or Virginia Democrat? It reads like a proclamation written by Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina or a resolution presented to the South Carolina Democratic convention by Senator George Warren.

8-3-48

Why then do these gentlemen call themselves Republicans in New York and Democrats in South Carolina and vote for different persons for President?

Why worship words and ascribe to them more power than are ascribed to ideas? Why be afraid of a word?

G. O. P. CAN CHANGE

8-21-48

Editor, The Advertiser:

It has been my privilege to hear two of our delegates to their recent Democratic Convention give their comments on the convention, and their ideas of what the future holds for the South. One of the delegates was of the walkout group, and the other remained in the convention until the bitter end. Both of these men apparently feel that the South's hope still is in the Democratic Party. It is my opinion that these men are without vision.

We need men who can look ahead for a decade or two and guide us through the shoals through which we are now passing. The old ideas, labels and shibboleths will no longer meet our problems of today.

We are now witnessing one of the great dangers to democratic government—government by the minority. Well organized, small groups, are exercising pressure and force absolutely out of proportion to their numbers. As one example we saw the recent Democratic Convention made subservient to the Negro vote in some of our large Northern cities. This vote is not large, but is decisive in turning the majority in these states in either direction. Even though we deplore the fact that minorities are now controlling our government; for our own preservation we must adopt some of their tactics.

The South is especially favored as a minority. We are the largest minority in this country. If we had been as wise as some of the minority politicians of the North, we would never have had to witness the past Democratic convention. How are we as a minority to exercise our influence. The only way is to have both the Democrats and Republicans compete for our electoral vote.

If each of the parties knew that the Solid South would support the party which adopted the most favorable platform, both would outdo each other to satisfy the South. Instead of being the whipping boy we become the fair lady with both parties seeking our favor. As matters now stand, the Democrats take us for granted and the Republicans make no efforts to please us as they know that we are lost to them anyway.

In the name of self preservation, we must let the Republicans know that we will support them if they give us more favorable attention than do the Democrats. True the Republican Party of the period of Reconstruction was our enemy and the Democratic Party was our friend. I feel certainly that the Republican Party is as capable of reversing itself as has the Democratic.

I am not dogmatic about the ideas set forth above. If anyone has a better plan let us hear it. We of the South who are interested in her welfare must devise some plan for her protection.

Montgomery. 8-21-48 ED SMITH.

One-Party Rule Bane Of Dixie, State GOP Leader's Message

If the South can forget what happened to Grandpa and rid itself of the one-party rule, it will go forward in peace, prosperity and happiness.

9-28-48

That is the advice of Claude O. Vardaman, Alabama's leading Republican.

In a speech before the Young Men's Business Club at a luncheon meeting at Hooper's Cafe yesterday, Mr. Vardaman attributed the political ills of the South to the one-party system.

"Most of the reasons for the continuation of the one-party system," Vardaman said, "spring from prejudice and hatred which came from the War Between the States which was settled before any of us was born."

Mr. Vardaman, who is chairman of the Republican committee in Alabama, came to the meeting with a miniature elephant in his lapel and wearing a broad tie with large red elephants painted on it.

He told the Y. M. B. C. members that, if they voted the Dewey-Warren ticket for the presidency, they would know whom they were voting for. "But if you vote under the rooster," he added, "you won't know whom you are voting for."

* * *

HE SAID Truman followers have threatened court action to force all electoral votes to go for the Truman-Barkley ticket. "This will come after the election," he said. "And all of you can guess what will happen if it is taken to the Supreme Court, made up as it is today."

The Republican chairman described Dewey as the best fitted man in America to be president. He pointed to Dewey's success as governor of New York as an example.

9-28-48

Admitting that New York has an FEPC law, Mr. Vardaman said it was enacted by the state and conducted on a state level. He said it became necessary there because of the peculiar situation caused by immigrants.

The Republican Party, he said, has never tried to jam a civil rights program down the throat of the South. He described the Republican bills to outlaw poll tax and lynching as no more than gestures on the part of the congressmen who introduced them.

He read the Republican civil rights plank, which he said was in one paragraph. It stated merely that no person should be denied the right to work and improve himself because of his race, religion or national origin.

* * *

IN AN EXPLANATION he said, "Not one of you in this room would object to a Negro improving himself." He emphasized that Southern Republicans discussed and approved the plank before it came before the Philadelphia convention and pointed out that the plank did not mention segregation.

Mr. Vardaman accused men in the present national administration of being responsible for Communists in government jobs.

He also alluded to the fact that it was the Democrats who recognized Russia and added "It was not the Republicans who made the deals at Potsdam and who let the Russians enter Berlin first."

9-28-48

Mr. Vardaman said the people who have been following the Truman administration are disillusioned and are turning to Dewey.

The speaker's reference to leaders in the current administration as "soft-headed saps" and "bucklebrained bureaucrats" brought laughter from the audience.

Mr. Vardaman predicted victory for Dewey and Warren and added: "The 'D. C.' in Washington, D. C. means that Dewey is Coming."

GOP Flirt

The Post

By Drew Pearson

Washington, D.C.

Philadelphia.—The Republican Party has always flirted with the idea of breaking the Solid South. It has also posed as the party of emancipation, the champion of a square deal for the South.

Sen. Robert Taft

Yet when it comes to nominating the most coveted prize in the Republican Party, it treats Southern delegates as so many pawns to be bartered back and forth across the counter. These are the delegates traditionally bought and paid for, who can tip the scales for or against the leading candidates. Tues.

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The Advertiser

The Savannah Morning News

Montgomery, Ala.

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This newspaper recommends one line in the above editorial as a fitting slogan for Southerners who at long last have awakened to the perfidy of their Northern betrayers: "We Have Had Enough!"

Such words, appropriately might well echo and re-echo up and down and across the Southland as a battle-cry against the political party that has bitten the hand that so long has fed it, against a radical partisan organization that has become as much of an enemy of the South as were the Carpetbaggers in Reconstruction days! We congratulate our esteemed Alabama contemporary on its courage and on its forthrightness in recognizing at long last the cardinal need of the people of this region, coupled with the determination to support the best practicable plan to fulfill it! The Advertiser!

Voice Of The People

New-Birmingham Ala

EDITOR'S NOTE

Because of the heavy run of letters to the editor, it has been impossible to use all of them on this page. Today and hereafter as many letters as feasible will be found on the page opposite this one, or elsewhere as required. Again, we request writers to hold their letters, if possible, to 300 words, and to refrain from improper or libelous comments on individuals. We reserve the right to shorten all long letters.

Wed. 7-28-48

Vote Republican

To the Editor of The News:

I would like to answer Donald E. Whelan's charge that The Dothan Eagle deserves a booby prize for backing the Republican Party.

I am of the opinion that Mr. Whelan missed the real significance of the Southern revolt of the Democratic Party. I also do not believe that many Southerners have any intention of going with the Republican Party permanently. The Eagle wants the South to vote for the Republican Party just to show the Democratic Party that the South is not to be kicked around. 7-28-48

If Mr. Whelan will look around the South I don't think he will find very much the Democratic Party has really done for the South. The reason why it has not is because in order to get the Southern vote in the past they have had to do nothing. The states that get all the federal improvements are the so-called "doubtful" states. If the South can vote for something other than the Democratic Party just once it will prove that it can be a "doubtful" state and it will regain some of its political importance.

As to Mr. Whelan's charge that The Eagle has laid an egg, I would like to say that if the South votes for a ticket this Fall that has openly kicked it in the teeth, the South as a whole will have laid a bigger egg. We all know that there is really no ticket for the South to vote for and hope to win with. All the major parties have strong planks on civil rights. The South really has no choice. So why not vote for a ticket that has a chance to win, so as to put teeth in the "bite" that the South owes the Democratic Party?

STEWART M. BAKER, JR.

The essence of democracy is representative government. Are there still those naive enough to believe the South has representation in the Democratic Party? How long will the South, fettered by futile loyalty, cast forth its pearls to be trampled by swine?

Let the South once and for all demonstrate to the Democratic Party, the Republican Party and to itself, that it is a political power to be reckoned with. Then the scoffing and rebuke will turn to the respect which politicians accord all politically crucial areas.

State government should control problems which are basically of local, rather than national concern. When state authority is displaced by federal authority, the handling of local problems is often placed in hands which are too far from the problem and too far from the people.

Unhappily there are prominent national figures who believe social reform can be accomplished merely by the passing of a few laws. History has repeatedly shown (witness prohibition) the fatuity of such a motion.

Changes when they come must come from the people, and from those people directly concerned.

Too often the word "prejudiced" has been applied to the South. If the word means judging before the facts are known, certain very deluded, and very, very liberal hypocrites have thrown a verbal boomerang.

No one is attempting to persecute the Negroes. Their progress from slavery toward an effective Southern citizenship has been remarkable. I personally look forward to, and will in every way assist, their continued growth. The nurture for that growth will come from rich Southern soil and cannot be affected by some political mystic waiving a magic wand, chanting weird babble.

7-28-48 WARREN J. BOWLES.

520 North 40th Street.

Dewey And The South

Uncertain Southern voters looking for a place to light in this political year have now a pretty clear idea of what the Republicans have to offer. The platform has been adopted, and Gov. Dewey has been named the standard-bearer. He has said very emphatically that he approves of the platform and will stand upon it and, if elected, do all that he can to see that its pledges are carried out. Birmingham, Ala.

That platform cannot be pleasing to Southerners who believe that civil rights questions should be decided by state rather than by federal action. One plank of the GOP platform reads: Sat.

"Lynching or any other form of mob violence anywhere is a disgrace to any civilized state, and we favor the prompt enactment of legislation to end this infamy." 6-26-48

The succeeding paragraph declares that the "right of equal opportunity to work and to advance in life should never be limited on any individual because of race, religion color or country of origin. We favor the enactment and just enforcement of such federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right at all times in every part of the republic." Although that section does not refer by name to a federal fair employment practices commission, a re-enactment of that system which caused so much annoyance and friction in the South is undoubtedly referred to.

Then follow two other short planks:

"We favor the abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

"We are opposed to the idea of racial segregation in the armed services of the United States."

This last plank, incidentally, goes farther than a plank on the same subject in the 1944 Republican platform. Four years ago, the party merely recommended a commission to study segregation and to suggest legislation.

These are provisions of the platform on which Presidential Candidate Dewey says he firmly stands. They are in line with his own record. New York state, under him, has an active State Commission Against Discrimination, patterned after the federal Fair Employment Practices Commission. His political philosophy would seem generally to lean toward centralization of power in the federal government. The News

Southern Democrats who seek a large measure of state's rights certainly can find no comfort in Dewey or the GOP platform. Nor will they find any, of course, in Henry Wallace or the platform his party is expected to adopt at its convention in Philadelphia following the Democratic meeting in July. Birmingham, Ala

Are they still clinging to the will-o'-the-wisp hope of nominating some popular hero like Gen. Eisenhower, whose attitude on civil rights issues is largely unknown? Or are they hell-bent on splitting the Democratic Party and thereby destroying their best chance of an effective voice on civil rights legislation at this time? Sat. 6-26-48

It is probable, of course, that Dewey will pick up some Southern votes over his total of four years ago. That he will double his Southern support, as Alabama GOP Chairman Vardaman predicts for this state, is unlikely.

Warren Hinted Able To Swing Souths' Votes

Montgomery Advertiser

Republicans Of Dixie Think He And Dewey To Draw Democrats

Sat. 6-26-48

By A. F. MAHAN, JR.

PHILADELPHIA—(AP)—Southern Republicans predicted today the nomination of Governor Earl Warren of California for vice-president will swing a tremendous number of normally Democratic votes to the GOP in November.

He won both the Republican and Democratic nominations for governor in California in 1946.

John Wilkinson, North Carolina delegate and Republican senatorial nominee, flatly predicted in seconding Warren's nomination that his party will carry the Tar Heel State.

All was not peaceful, however, on the deep-South Republican front. 6-26-48

Emory Akerman, a Florida delegate and supporter of Harold E. Stassen for the presidential nomination, told a reporter that, while he assumes "all good Republicans" will support the Warren ticket, there "is strong resentment over the way things were handled" at the convention.

Resentment Seen

Asked what Stassen supporters resented, Akerman said:

"The way Mr. Stassen was squeezed out Friday (for the vice-presidential nomination), with nominating speeches going on until three or four in the morning (for president) and with the way we took long day recesses and held long night sessions."

Akerman said he found somewhat similar sentiment among Wisconsin's delegation, but hastily added:

"Everybody seems to think Governor Warren is a very fine man and nobody blames him for the way things were run."

C. C. Spades, chairman of the Florida delegation and its new national committeeman, said he thinks the selection of Dewey, whom he supported, "perfectly splendid." Sat. 6-26-48

Support Seen

"I think Governor Warren will have a tremendous appeal in the South because of his dual party position in California," Spades told a reporter. "I think he will appeal to Democrats as well as Republicans."

George Norwood, South Carolina national committeeman and an original supporter of Senator Taft (R), Ohio, said he was "very much pleased with the presidential ticket" and that Dewey always had been his choice, next to Taft. 6-26-48

"I suspect Governor Warren will add strength in the South," Norwood said. "I believe we will carry North Carolina."

Asked about GOP chances in strongly Democratic South Carolina, Norwood replied: "I'm sorry to say it, but I don't believe we have much chance of carrying my state.

Alabama Chairman Claude O. Vardaman, a Deweyite who yielded Alabama's first place on the roll call so Oregon could nominate Warren, said:

"It is the strongest possible ticket we could have nominated. I think its election is a foregone conclusion. It will get a tremendous vote in Alabama."

REPUBLICAN MEETING

34d

South Votes Against Beliefs, Martin Says

The Record Columbia, S.C.

Fri. 4-9-48

By TINA CANNON

A determined plea for more South Carolina Republicans was made today by United States Sen. Edward H. Martin of Pennsylvania, keynote speaker at the state convention of the Republican party today at the Township auditorium.

"The Republican party today is closer to the ideals of Jefferson and Jackson than the present Democratic leadership," the speaker declared. "Millions of Southern Democrats believe in home rule and state sovereignty. But they vote for the party of centralized bureaucracy. They believe in economy in government. Yet they vote for the party of extravagance and taxing and spending. They want recognition for their consistent party voting. Yet they vote for the party which takes them for granted.

The Record

"They believe in old-fashioned Americanism. Yet they vote for the party which has nutured Communism in this country. It was the Republican party which forced Harry Truman, although he was as balky and reluctant as the Missouri mule, to take steps toward combing the Reds out of the hair and hide of the government. It was a Republican Congress which passed the loyalty legislation for federal employment that the previous Democratic Congress did not pass."

Promises Housecleaning

Senator Martin continued that there is only one way to get rid of the communists in the state, commerce, labor, and national defense department, "by electing a Republican president, and by reelecting the Republican Congress next November. Then we'll clean house from top to bottom. We'll fumigate the federal structure. The lovers of Stalin and his aggressive dictatorship will be driven from their comfortable hiding places.

"I am inviting the 364-day Republicans of the South to join us on that other day of the year, Election Day."

Columbia, S.C.

He accused the Democratic administration of "incompetence, inefficiency, waste, extravagance, and misuse of public funds," plus "15 years of deficit financing", and said that "the brain-trusters, the parlor pinks, and the muddle-minded theorists took over the once-great Democratic party and tossed overboard the principles of Jefferson and Jackson, the bedrock philosophy of the Democratic party."

Martin did not mention the racial legislation now being sponsored by the majority in the Republican Congress and steered clear of all 'civil rights' talk. Fri.

His address was broadcast over WIS, WTMA, and "WFBC. He is a former major-general in the army, and was a wartime commander of the 28th Division. 4-9-48

J. Bates Gerald of Charleston, state party chairman, was nominated for United States senator, together with these United States House of Representatives candidates:

W. Tate Baggett, Jr., of St. Stephens, first district; Edward Moore of Sumter, second district; D. F. Merrill of Easley, third district; Frank Bradfield of Dillon, sixth district.

Candidates from the fourth and fifth districts will be named by the district executive committees.

Presidential electors nominated were Gerald, C. B. Ruffin of Bishopville, Mrs. John E. Messervy of Charleston, George Norwood of Greenville, Joe E. Hines of Spartanburg, Mrs. G. J. Cherry of Charleston, J. C. Hambright of Rock Hill and W. B. Daughtry of Sumter.

Named delegates to the National party convention were Gerald, Mrs. Messervy, Edgar Morris of Pickens and Modjeska Simkins of Columbia, delegates at large, and Baggett and Norwood from the first and fourth districts, respectively.

34d

Norwood and Mrs. Messervy were reelected as national committeeman and committeewoman. 4-9-48

Delegates were present today from every South Carolina county except Beaufort, Hampton, Edgefield, Allendale and Cherokee. Approximately 125 persons attended.

A number of the delegates were Negroes, who sat segregated from the white delegates.

On the platform of the Township auditorium today were several signs, one of which read, "Got Enough? Vote Republican." Another said, "Let's Win the State in '48." Fri

Gerald repeated his claim to the official state party chairmanship last night after B. L. Hendrix of Estill, rival claimant to the position, said he would "appeal to the courts for a decision as to the state chairman." Columbia, S.C.

Hendrix, heads a faction known as the "old Line" Republicans who plan a state convention here April 22.

The Record

Gerald said he had been named to the chairmanship at the 1940 and 1944 national party convention. He added that Hendrix would have to take "any fault he might find to the national convention."

ADDRESSES STATE SENATE

United States Senator Edward H. Martin, Pennsylvania Republican, told the State Senate today to beware of "a great centralization of government at the national and state capitals."

The Record

Martin was presented to both Senate and House before addressing the state Republican convention at the Columbia Township auditorium.

He declared that "we cannot have the local self-government we should have . . . as long as state and local governments seek grants of money.

Columbia, S.C.

"These are critical times," he said. "This is the only country in the world where we can get together as we are here today. It's worth fighting for." Fri. 4-9-48

34d 1948

Socialist Party

STRENGTHEN CIVIL, POLITICAL LIBERTIES, ESTABLISH RACIAL EQUALITY, SAYS SOCIALIST PARTY

The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

(34d)

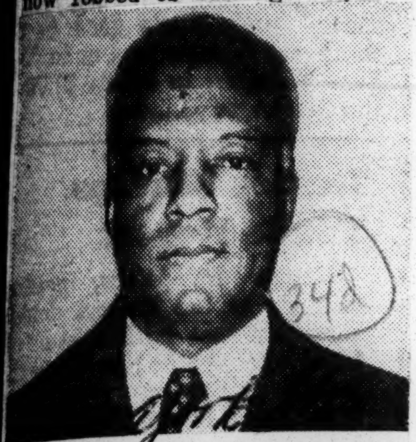
Sat 5-22-48

READING, Pa. — (ANP) — The seven-point national platform of the Socialist party, adopted at its convention here May 7-9, contains two items of interest to Negro Americans. The two are: "Strengthen Civil and Political Liberties," and "Establish Racial Equality."

Under the racial equality heading, the party declared "Democracy cannot tolerate two classes of citizenship. Complete political, economic and social equality, regardless of race, religion or national origin must be established."

It advocated the abolition of segregation in the armed forces, in all public institutions and in housing; passage of legislation for a fair employment practices committee, "long overdue"; anti-lynching legislation to "wipe out the worst blot on the American scene;" naturalization rights for Japanese immigrants who had demonstrated their loyalty and indemnification for those who suffer losses of property during World War II; removal of discriminatory barriers against immigration on grounds of race, color or national origin; and guaranteeing the right to vote by citizens now robbed of suffrage.

Sat 5-22-48



34d

Post

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, AFL Pullman Porters president, says: "I will vote for Norman Thomas because he is a hard-hitting champion of equality, justice and freedom for all men; and because a large Socialist vote will help build a non-Communist mass people's party.

Fri 10-29-48

New York, N.Y.

"I'll tell you more Sunday, October 31 at 1:30 PM at City Center, 135 West 55th Street, New York City. Admission is free."

RALPH McGILL

Let's Welcome The Growing Pains

34d

The Constitution

Time was when the tourists came down to look at our magnolias; to sigh over our camellias; to walk softly amid the ghosts of our old ante-bellum mansions which the owners showed for cash, calling them "pilgrimages" to mask the exacting commercialism of the tours.

Now, they come to see our eroded fields; to develop statistics on tenancy; the incidence of various diseases, our literacy quota, and our diets.

Tues 10-24-48

Even our own engineers tell us that the old mansions are really uncomfortable and costly. They can, by lowering ceilings and pumping in great amounts of rockwool, make it possible to heat one in terms of the ordinary budget. They must have been uncomfortable on cold days in the so-called good old days when there were plenty of hands to tote in logs and to keep the logs poked up.

All this has been good for us, even though it often tastes worse than the sulphur and molasses which used to be given to one and all in the Springtime to thin the blood and rid it of the Winter vapors and miasmas.

Atlanta Ga.

There is great joy in and around Natchez, where the pathetic pilgrimages were centered and where the patient old homes received their annual horde of the curious, looking at these museum pieces, as at a new kind of pyramid or a variation of the Navaho cliff dwellers, with their pottery, their silver work, wood carving and rugs.

Oil has been found near Natchez and the town has shed its genteel air of poverty and soon the pilgrimages will be no more and the old houses will take on a new air of pride. Maybe, even, they will finish that queer one where the old paint buckets and the ancient brushes remain, just as they were left on that sad day when war called and the workers went away to fight.

Trends The South is in transition as our people continue to leave the soil; as the white and colored displaced persons and high school graduates continue to migrate; as the new industry comes and its trend continues to indicate that in the years ahead the migration will slow down and our best young people will be able to stay at home. The industry is coming. It isn't coming fast enough, but it will. The period of transition is going to be an uneasy one, full of wild and heated reports; filled with tensions and with some flares of violence. But nothing is going to stop the trend.

Everything reflects it. The States in the South that are losing population; those that are barely holding on; those with a higher average income but whose troubles are magnified in that their sounder raw material resources are about used up and industry is not coming fast enough to take up the slack; the increase in city population; the troubles of towns with factory jobs for women and not enough for men; the ceaseless hunt for places to live. All these factors and more testify to the fact of transition.

Politics So, for that matter, do our politics. The Dixiecrats are the beginning of the death rattle of a way of politics. The Dixiecrats will gasp and rattle on for another two or four years, but they, too, can hardly fail to see they are an impossible paradox.

Tues 10-24-48

They cannot go on expecting to defend the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution with a fine frenzy and ignore the other nine.

They cannot speak of democracy and of the rights of people, and refuse to allow Truman's name to be on the ballot in their States so that the people may exercise the right to vote for whom they please—another guarantee of the Constitution which the Dixiecrats, interested in only one paragraph of the Constitution, ignore.

The Dixiecrats are themselves one with the old houses at Natchez; the fireplace to heat a great room with high ceilings; the julep stirred with the silver spoon and songs from "the quarters."

We are in a period of change and we will suffer through it, but pretty soon we will begin to see what a light there is ahead in the way of better living and more prosperity and schools and medical care and we will wonder why we ever clung so fast to much that was a part of the dead-and-gone-and-buried past which, however beautiful and sentimental, was past and gone.

RALPH McGILL

Truth Does Its Own Work

The Constitution

34d

Mon 10-25-48

I am going to be hovering around, peering over the shoulder of the cub reporter assigned to do my obituary—which I trust will be many years from now—and if he doesn't have one line in it I am going to scare him right out of the place by writing it in myself.

The line I want is this—

Atlanta Ga.

"He was one of those who worked to save and establish 'The Voice of America'."

I think I am prouder of that than any other job I've done. It proved something to me that I believe fundamental. I believed that if we could tell the story of America to the peoples of the world—the real story—it would do great things for us and for our way of life. Now that "Voice" is paying dividends.

South I think the same thing about the South. That is one reason I make a lot of appearances on platforms outside the South. I try to tell the real story of the South. I am proud of what the South is trying to do. I admit our problems, our errors and our failures. But we have a story to tell which is a good one. It makes for better understanding. It is helpful. You can be honest and aggressive, not dishonest and apologetic. I try to say, "Yes, these things are true and this is why they are true and this is what we must do to correct them. This is what the real South believes and wants."

The trouble is, too many of our Southern "voices" have been self-promotional voices. It is best illustrated by so many of our political figures who ate the Klan's bread and then turned on them, with never an explanation to the rest of the nation that many of our people are not well informed; that they have just grievances; that they are caught in the mills of friction and prejudice. They just go on beating their publicity drums, trying to make it appear that the people who go to the Klan, fooled and cheated by those who exploit their fears, are wilfully mean and vicious people. The Klan exists only where government has failed to solve local problems.

Mon 10-25-48

Work So, you have to try and work it out your own way—to say that the Klan is wicked and evil and not a solution for troubled fearful people. But you must present a solution. You've got to keep pointing out that the Dixiecrats and their fake states rights platform isn't the Southern answer either—that the answer is to be found in more jobs and more opportunity for all the South—not in isolation or the legalization of wrongs.

The fakers and the self-servers make it a hard job to do. But you have to keep trying. The real "Voice of the South" has a difficult time being heard. There are many who make up that voice, but the clamor from the other sort is loud.

Well, anyhow, the truth does its own work, if slowly. And the truth is the best tool to use.

"—— of America Two years ago the Congress had killed the radio "Voice of America" as an economy measure. I worked, without pay, for William Benton, then Assistant Secretary of State. I had only a minor part in it. But I, with others, appeared before congressional committees—I lobbied—I appeared on radio programs—I wrote for it—I wrote letters to congressmen. . . . I served as chairman of a national committee to help save it.

And we saved it. "The Voice of America" is just a news report. It is beamed to Russia, among other nations. It is truth—a true account of life and news in this country—not of gangs, Hollywood divorces, lynchings, strikes, and so on.

The Russians attacked it viciously. We then knew it was being heard.

They then sought to "jam" it. They succeed now and then.

They then attempted to ridicule it.

Results But, things happened. More and more deserters came over to us. More and more evidence was at hand that the Russians were learning we were not war-makers; that we did not want to conquer Russia—that we did not seek to "encircle" her.

Now comes two young Soviet aviators. They flew a plane into our German zone. They told of the growing dislike of the Soviet system. They had determined to come to the Americans because of "The Voice of America." They were asked how many listened to the program. They said they believed everyone with a radio listened.

Mon 10-25-48

They had heard, from the voice of this country, the stories of the Berlin blockade; of the Russian schoolteacher who jumped to escape her own countrymen; of the many disputes between the two countries. They chose to accept the "Voice of America" versions.

Truth does its own work.

"The Voice of the South" can do that if all those who go to make up that voice will not lose faith, but will keep on with the truth.

Political Sentiment In South

The News

Yesterday's Gallup poll report of political sentiment in the South respecting the presidential campaign testifies to deep divisions prevalent in this traditionally Democratic region.

While the survey was made with uncertainty and confusion still existing in some states respecting the choices actually to be presented on the various state ballots, general trends are clearly evident and in considerable measure, though not in all cases, likely will be reflected in the results.

Sat 10-16-48

The situation in Alabama presents one example, however, of the probable variation between this indicated sentiment and the outcome of the voting. A 32 per cent support for President Truman is shown by the poll, but there is no prospect that an opportunity will be presented to express that sentiment as the national Democratic candidate apparently will not be represented on the ballot.

B'ham, Ala.

All of the state's Democratic elector nominees are pledged against Mr. Truman. Gov. Thurmond, candidate of the States' Right group, was given a 43 per cent backing in this poll in any case and doubtless will get a much higher proportion at the polls. Pro-Truman leaders have been urging that Democrats vote for the anti-Truman elector nominees. They are planning post-election court action seeking to force the counting of Alabama's electoral vote for Mr. Truman.

* * *

Besides Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina evidently are safely in the Thurmond column and Louisiana also seems very likely to go for him.

This poll indicated that the race between Truman and Dewey is close in both Virginia and Florida.

In Georgia, Truman was shown far in the lead but since the poll was taken, a States' Rights slate has been named with strong backing in the Talmadge organization and the results probably will vary widely from the poll indications.

In North Carolina Truman obtained a poll percentage of 44 compared to 34 for Dewey but many observers believe the results there will be close.

* * *

It is apparent then that a broad split prevails in the ranks of Southern Democrats and that the Republicans will make a very substantial advance.

Whether the Democrats will come together in strong unity after this election, as they did after the Hoover-Smith race in 1928, and how much of their gains the Republicans will be able to hold—these are important questions bearing on the political future both of this region and the country as a whole.

Sat 10-16-48

It is much too early to form any positive conclusions in these connections, but even if the great gap in Southern Democratic ranks should be closed the trend toward a decidedly stronger Republican opposition in the South seems to have a good chance of being maintained. Such a trend has many promising aspects. It is an accentuation of splintering tendencies that would be alarming.

As the Votes Were Cast

The Constitution

As we write, the cold fingers of an Autumn wind still drip a rain that has fallen all day over most of the central and northern section of the State as Georgia and the sister States went to the polls.

Wed 11-3-48

The hour for closing the polls is still a little while away, as this is written, but one may see in the balloting many results other than those of the winners and the losers. Particularly is this so for the South.

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While the critics talk of disfranchisement in the South, the South points to the fact that more Negroes are voting than ever before in her political history. While the viewers-with-alarm speak of the Ku Klux Klan and intimidation, the South points to the fact that it has been but 25 years since the Klan was a terrifying force, and that while today it is as contemptible, and as harmful to justice as before, it is but a shell of the power it knew a quarter century ago.

Atlanta Ga.

Against it is rallied all that is best in the South. It cannot achieve any real substance.

There were, in the balloting, many factors of which the civil rights controversy, distorted and perverted to the basest political use, was but one. Already written in the results is the inevitable fact that more and more human rights are to have fuller and fuller recognition in the South, stripped of legislative fiat, and existing because a just people will them to exist.

The barriers against such a development are not built on rock, but on sands of poverty and inadequate information.

Written in this election, too, is the fact of a troubled South, seeing little to feel good about in either major candidate and none at all in Wallace or Thurmond.

A region in transition, seeing the mule going and the tractor and cotton picker coming; witnessing the steady loss of rural population and the corresponding growth of urban totals; uneasily recognizing that while industry is coming it must come faster to take up the pressure in the cities and towns; hopefully observing the pastures where once cotton only grew—a region in this transition period is fearful that in this election there is some awful portent of an attack by industry on the farm support plan which would smash a South stretched thin by all that is involved in the going of the mule and the coming of the tractor.

Wed 11-3-48

Written in the balloting, too, is another fact for which the vote totals are not required. That is the real revolt against the one-party system. This year it is not an angry South against Al Smith because he is a Catholic and a wet, but a South angrily examining itself and debating its political bonds, and determined to make this campaign the starting point of a real assault on the ancient barricades of the one-party system, with its feudal demands of loyalty.

All this, and more, is written in the balloting and all this is known even before the ballot boxes close and the first ballot is counted.

The South, Dewey and Truman

The Constitution

Recently, Public Opinion Surveyor Elmo Roper announced that Gov. Dewey, of New York, was so far out in front in the campaign for the presidency he saw no reason to take any more polls.

That would seem to be an accurate report.

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Nowhere is there any enthusiasm for Harry S. Truman. Even those who support him do so largely because they have less enthusiasm for Tom Dewey.

Tues 9-14-48

Dewey will carry enough States outside the South to make what the South does merely an emphasis of his victory. At least 45 electoral votes in the 11 Southern States are already lost to the President. Most of these will go to the Dixiecrats. There may be others, Georgia's, for example, which will go for another Democrat.

Atlanta Ga.

Some Southern States, and Georgia is expected to consider this, will wait to see what happens in the election. The electoral votes are not cast until well after the November election. A decision as to what to do can be made after the election if any wish to wait. Some Southern States, realizing that Truman is to be gone after this year, may decide to cast their votes with the party in order to be "regular" for the future. Virginia has done this.

Tues 9-14-48

At any rate, the wise States will wait and see what is needed. If their votes could elect Truman they would then be able to defeat him or throw the election into the House of Representatives. If he is soundly defeated, as indicated, by voters outside the South, they can then determine whether or not they wish to remain "regular."

There is the very real possibility that the Republicans may crack the Southern States as widely, or even wider, than they did in 1928 with Herbert Hoover. Hoover carried Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Texas.

Dewey is given an excellent chance today in Florida, Virginia, North Carolina and there is a growing chance for him in Texas and Tennessee.

The South---At the Political Crossroads

The Constitution

Atlanta Ga

Sun 10-10-48

Well, folks, here the South is at the political crossroads. Let's go sit on the porch of the crossroads store, whittle and talk politics.

We have plenty of conversational topics.

The fourth-party Dixiecrats, calling themselves the States' Rights Party, will meet in convention at Augusta on Monday. Even their nominee, Strom Thurmond, knows they would be doing the South, and its best interests, a real service if they would adjourn as a fourth party of vanity and ambition and say: "We want to defeat Harry Truman. Therefore we will support Thomas E. Dewey." Their claim they seek to throw the election into the House of Representatives is ridiculous on its face. Let every thoughtful Southerner look toward France and Italy and see what happens when a country gets away from the two-party system and sets up many parties. The States' Rights Dixiecrat Fourth Party is a dead-end street and is as harmful to the American two-party system as the Wallace Third Party. It is a concoction of false motives and has no principles save expediency.

The only arena where the States' rights issue can be settled is in Washington. We can look only to Congress, to whatever administration is there, and to whom we send there, in the great decisions concerning Federal and State powers.

Let's bolster that statement with two buttressing facts: Three weeks ago the Republican vice presidential nominee, Gov. Earl Warren, made a speech in Springfield, Mass. He forthrightly said that he and the Administration would try in every way to decentralize the Federal government so as to turn back to the States every possible problem which could be solved by State and local government.

Sun 10-10-48

On Friday night Hugh Scott, Chairman of the National Republican Committee, spoke in Atlanta. We have heard of the Dewey thoroughness. But we never expected him to be so thorough as to select as his National Chairman, and send into the South, a man whose grandfather was a Confederate soldier under Marse Robert E. Lee himself and who was wounded fighting for the Confederacy at Gettysburg. Yet that is this Republican's background. To send such a messenger into the Deep South in so critical a year is almost as unethical as shooting quail on the ground. We stand in awe of the Dewey efficiency.

Chairman Scott—the National Committeeman—said: "Our constitutional system has been reared upon the fundamental concept of the rights of the States and of local home rule."

This sets many a Southerner to wondering. The Republican platform calls for an FEPC; Thomas E. Dewey himself established a State FEPC. If the Republican attorney general were to so advise, the anticipated Republican Administration might suggest that it was in favor of a Fair Employment Practices Commission, but that constitutionally it was not possible to establish a Federally policed FEPC. Therefore, the States would be urged to establish their own, as New York has done, while the Federal Government established an acceptable committee to conciliate, negotiate and recommend in the field of employment discrimination.

So much for the Republican aspect of it—and of their campaign to win some Southern States.

The Democratic Party in the South is at this same crossroads. In North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas leading Democrats have publicly said they would vote the ticket. That is true of Sen. McKellar, the arch Truman foe in the Senate, and of others in the same anti-Truman position. They see, as those in Georgia cannot avoid seeing, that Truman is not the party.

Sun 10-10-48

They see, too, that if the intent of the Southern revolt, other than that of the "kept" States' Rights Dixiecrats, is to defeat Harry Truman, then the result is assured. The recent registration in New York City, lower even than in 1944, was a vote against Harry Truman. It means even New York City may go Republican for the first time since 1924. Harry Truman is defeated. That is what Southern revolt wanted. Its leaders must now either fish or cut bait. With Truman's defeat assured, they must now turn to keeping the Party intact and in operation for future years. Whatever the defeat, it will not be worse than that in 1928. After that it looked as if the Democratic Party was wiped out for a generation. It was back in power in 1932.

So, we hope that Georgia and other Southern States will, with an eye on France and Italy where too many political parties have helped bring political ruin, vote either the Republican or Democratic ticket. Let's not deceive ourselves with the follies and farces of the Dixiecrats or the Wallaceites. Let us protect ourselves and the nation with the two-party system. Don't throw away your vote. Make it count.

The South's Year Of Decision

BY HARRY S. ASHMORE

Executive Editor, The Arkansas Gazette

(From The Southern Packet)

B'ham News

B'ham Ala

Mon 12-6-48

DURING THIS DISTURBED political season it was customary for Southern political writers to draw a political parallel between the elections of 1860 and 1948. The comparison was as disturbing as it was obvious. The whole political South seemed to be suffering from another attack of secessionist fever, and if armed rebellion was never actually threatened, there was a full-fledged political revolt which became the basis for a new Southern party boasting its own candidate for president and vice president. The sole issue in the campaign, so far as the rebels were concerned, was states' rights, and the principal right in question, even as in 1860, was the right of the South to treat her Negro citizens as she saw fit without interference from the federal government.

Mon-12-6-48

Harry Truman's remarkable victory seems at first glance to have left the faces of the Southern political pundits as red as those of their confreres across the nation. As it turned out, the Dixiecrat movement was one of the most conspicuous failures in American political history. The 38 electoral votes accorded Gov. Thurmond in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana are meaningless, for in those states the Dixiecrats had seized the local Democratic machinery and presented their candidates in the guise of regulars. Elsewhere in the region the Dixiecrats ran under their true colors and could not muster sufficient popular support to throw a single Southern state into the Republican column.

Yet the Dixiecrats did have a considerable importance. Although they tried to be polite about it, it was quite clear that they were in fact the anti-Negro party. Whatever their real motives may have been—there were those who thought they could detect a distinct odor of tidelands oil—the case they presented to the Southern voter was a familiar one. They appealed to his prejudices and played upon his fears. They hurled the reckless charge that election of either major candidate would mean Negro domination of the South, and for good measure added the allegation that the federal civil rights program endorsed by both the Democrats and Republicans is Communistic in nature and in inspiration.

Unpleasant as all this was, the Dixiecrats inadvertently performed a great service for the South by demonstrating that the race issue is no longer a certain ticket to public office for any demagogue who cares to use it. They employed it in all its historic variations under the most favorable of circumstances—in a season when the Democratic Party seemed doomed to defeat, when ther was a genuine Communist threat abroad, and when so determined an evangelist as Henry Wallace had invaded the region to make the first direct appeal for the Negro vote since reconstruction. With all the odds apparently in their favor, the Dixiecrats succeeded in proving only that white supremacy, in its classic form at least, is a dead issue.

* * *

A Political Factor

WHATEVER MEN MAY SAY privately, the votes cast on Nov. 2 make it quite clear that it is no longer good politics to stand up in public and proclaim that the Negro is all right in his place, but that his place is not at the polls. Segregation can be defended, but the denial of civil rights that has always accompanied it has become indefensible even in the South. The simple and eloquent fact is that the Negro—who has always been a tremendous negative factor in shaping our political institutions—has already become a potent, positive political factor in the region.

The record speaks for itself. Despite all the barriers to the franchise that still exist in the South, something like 700,000 Negroes were qualified to vote in the recent election, an increase of more than 600 per cent since 1940. In another four years, if that rate of progression is maintained, the total will be more than 2,000,000. And the ballot is not now confined, as it was in the past, to a meaningless general election. These Negroes are voting in the primaries, where their ballots count.

The practical results of the trend are already beginning to show—directly in Richmond, where a Negro has taken his place on the city council of the old seat of the Confederacy, indirectly in Arkansas where the state university this fall admitted a Negro student to its medical college without prejudice. The Negro voter

has arrived in the South. He may be greeted with fury, as in the case of the Dixiecrats, or with rejoicing as in the case of the Progressives, but he can no longer be ignored.

The passing of the one-party system is inevitable with the enfranchisement of the Negro. It was domed from the moment the United States Supreme Court in a Texas case ruled that the party primary is an integral part of the general election and is therefore subject to the suffrage provisions of the constitution. This means simply that the Negro can no longer be disfranchised under law, although he can be—and thousands doubtless will be in the rural South for many years to come—by extra-legal processes.

* * *

No White Primary

IN THE WAKE OF this decision and those that followed the last practical reason for maintaining the one-party system vanished. There were other factors in the South's loyalty to the Democratic Party—tradition, the bitter memories of the GOP as the party of military occupation, the natural economic identity of the agricultural South with the low-tariff Democrats. But 80 years dull memories and alter economic considerations. It has long been preposterous to assume that there is no important area of political disagreement in the South, as there is in the rest of the nation. The South stayed in the Democratic bag in recent years because, under the then court-approved doctrine of states' rights, she could do her electing in her white Democratic primaries.

But in 1948 the primary was no longer white even in South Carolina, and the Democratic Party has itself formally and finally abandoned the doctrine conceived by John C. Calhoun. It is no longer practicable for a Southerner to choose his political party in terms of where a man shall sit in a streetcar. The civil rights planks of the two major parties are almost identical, and the splinter party established in protest, as most Southerners recognized, offered no politically meaningful alternative.

It is the pressure of public opinion inside the South as well as out of it—that has made the enfranchisement of the Negro inevitable. Whether or not that pressure is immediately reflected in federal legislation, it will soonor or later wear down many of those Southern political institutions which have served to set the region apart from the nation. It will have its effect, too, upon our social and economic institutions, although there is no reason to believe that segregation itself will disappear in accordance with the impetuous schedule laid down by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

* * *

On The Credit Side

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Bham. Ala.
Bham News
Mon. 12-6-48

MOST STUDENTS OF Southern politics agree that the dismantling of the one-party system and the increasing participation of the Negro in public affairs belong on the credit side of the ledger. Certainly the white Southerner has been no less a victim of his peculiar institution than the Negro; the practical results are written in every one of those dismal charts which record the relative standing of the states in per capita income, health, and educational attainment.

But the old political system did preserve a sort of order and stability—even if it was all too often the motionless order of stagnation. Politics, like nature, abhors a vacuum, and when the one-party system disappears some other system must replace it. The tumultuous campaign of 1948 makes it clear that the transition is not likely to be orderly. We have felt the first birth pangs of political competition in the South, but the Dixiecrats were reluctant midwives, loath to abandon permanently the Democratic monopoly which has served them so well. It is one of the monumental ironies of our time that these men, whose purpose was to prevent the Negro's active political participation, have actually contributed materially to breaking down the party machinery that shackled him.

Mon. 12-6-48

This is the reality underscored by the strange elections of 1948: A great mass of ill-equipped votes are thrusting against the hard shell of the Southern political system, and it is cracking in many places. With the help of God and a few politicians, the South can, without serious disruption, accommodate the millions of Negro citizens who are beginning to exercise the powers conferred upon them 80 years ago. It is heartening that the voter, who often seems far wiser than the men he puts in office, apparently recognized the nature of the challenge before him when he went to the polls and made certain that the Dixiecrats would be buried beneath Harry Truman's landslide.

Inheriting The Remains Of The Democratic Party

Columbia Record
Columbia, S.C.

It has always been the hope of the South that when the day of the New Dealers was passed that the Democratic party should be returned to the Southern Democrats for safekeeping.

Thur. 7-15-48

And the South, if it had played its cards that way, might have been in a position to inherit the remains this year.

But can South Carolina and the other Southern states—not all of them—who have been participating in the Southern revolt expect to inherit?

They are ready to break their ties with the national party and go off in a fourth splinter party, nominating their own candidate and writing their own platform. This would leave them blocked in a dead-end street, going nowhere, divorced from both major parties, denounced by the third or Wallace party.

The big city Democratic organizations will go down in defeat with Truman, of course, but they will survive and may even salvage a little from the general wreck of the party's hopes.

Columbia, S.C.

Some of the Southern states, also, such as Texas, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee have not, of course, yet planned to break with the national party and, where the Republicans do not win, will be in a position with the big city machines to pick up some of the pieces.

7-15-48

But what can South Carolina and the other Southern Revolters do? They seem to have gone too far to turn back. And nothing that happened in Philadelphia was designed to ease their aches or placate them. Their arguments and pleas went unheeded. The platform committee turned down their request for a state rights plank and wrote a compromise civil rights statement which went too far for the South, not far enough for the North. And when the Southerners took their state rights plank to the convention the majority added insult to injury by rejecting it and adopting instead the Humphrey amendment commending the President for his civil rights fight and pledging the party to support the Truman civil rights proposals item by item. The appeal to the convention proved to be a tactical error, but Southerners couldn't leave well enough alone.

Columbia Record.

For all practical purposes the New Dealers completed the job which had been begun under Roosevelt. They took over the Democratic party in 1933. Yesterday, however, under Truman they went beyond this and virtually read the Southern Revolters out of the party, certainly gave them an invitation to get out.

If the Revolters now had the vision and the foresight to accept this invitation and use it as an excuse to set up the two-party system by voting Republican they could snatch victory from this defeat, swelling the Republican majority in the House and guaranteeing that the Republican majority in the Senate, otherwise threatened, would be secure by electing some Republican congressmen from the South.

7-15-48

But they are not doing this. They still call themselves Democrats although the party moved far away from them. They expect to cast their electoral votes for somebody else than Truman. But they still hope somehow they will be there to pick up the fragments when the explosion is over.

34d

The South's Year Of Decision

By HARRY S. ASHMORE
Editor, The Arkansas Gazette
Writing In The Southern Packet

The Advertiser

DURING this disturbed political season it was customary for Southern political writers to draw a political parallel between the elections of 1860 and 1948. The comparison was as disturbing as it was obvious. The whole political South seemed to be suffering from another attack of secessionist fever, and if armed rebellion was never actually threatened, there was a full-fledged political revolt which became the basis for a new Southern party boasting its own candidate for president and vice-president. The sole issue in the campaign, so far as the rebels were concerned, was states' rights, and the principal right in question, even as in 1860, was the right of the South to treat her Negro citizens as she saw fit without interference from the federal government.

Sun 11-21-48

As it turned out, the Dixiecrat movement was one of the most conspicuous failures in American political history. The 38 electoral votes accorded Governor Thurmond in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana are meaningless, for in those states the Dixiecrats had seized the local Democratic machinery and presented their candidates in the guise of regulars.

Montgomery Ala

THE Dixiecrats inadvertently performed a great service for the South by demonstrating that the race issue is no longer a certain ticket to public office for any demagogue who cares to use it. They employed it in all its historic variations under the most favorable of circumstances—in a season when the Democratic party seemed doomed to defeat, when there was a genuine Communist threat abroad, and when so determined an evangelist as Henry Wallace had invaded the region to make the first direct appeal for the Negro vote since Reconstruction. With all the odds apparently in their favor, the Dixiecrats succeeded in proving only that White Supremacy, in its classic form at least, is a dead issue.

Whatever man may say privately, the votes cast on November 2 make it quite clear that it is no longer good policies to stand up in public and proclaim that the Negro is all right in his place, but that his place is not at the polls. Segregation can be defended, but the denial of civil rights that has always accompanied it has become indefensible even in the South. The simple and eloquent fact is that the Negro—who has always been a tremendous negative factor in shaping our political institutions—has already become a potent, positive political factor in the region.

The record speaks for itself. Despite all the barriers to the franchise that still exist in the South, something like 700,000 Negroes were qualified to vote in the recent election, an increase of move than 600 per cent since 1940. In another four years, if that rate of progression is maintained, the total will be more than 2,000,000.

The practical results of the trend are already beginning to show—directly in Richmond, where a Negro has taken his place on the city council of the old seat of the Confederacy, indirectly in Arkansas where the state university this fall admitted a Negro student to its medical college without prejudice. The Negro voter has arrived in the South. He may be greeted with fury, as in the case of the Dixiecrats, or with rejoicing as in the case of the Progressives, but he can no longer be ignored.

The passing of the one-party system is inevitable with the enfranchisement of the Negro. It was doomed from the moment the United States Supreme Court in a Texas case ruled that the party primary is an integral part of the general election and is therefore subject to the suffrage provisions of the Constitution. This means simply that the Negro can no longer be disfranchised under law, although he can be—and thousands doubtless will be in the rural South for many years to come—by extra-legal process.

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IN THE WAKE of this decision and those that followed the last practical reason for maintaining the one-party system vanished. There were other factors in the South's loyalty to the Democratic party—tradition, the bitter memories of the GOP as the party of military occupation, the natural economic identity of the agricultural South with the low-tariff Democrats.

In 1948 the primary was no longer white even in South Carolina, and the Democratic party has itself formally and finally abandoned the doctrine conceived by John C. Calhoun. It is no longer practicable for a Southerner to choose his political party in terms of where a man shall sit in a street car. The civil rights planks of the two major parties are almost identical, and the splinter party established in protest, as most Southerners recognize, offered no politically meaningful alternative.

It is the pressure of public opinion inside the South as well as out of it—that has made the enfranchisement of the Negro inevitable. Whether or not that pressure is immediately reflected in federal legislation, it will sooner or later wear down many of those Southern political institutions which have served to set the region apart from the nation. It will have its effect, too, upon our social and economic institutions, although there is no reason to believe that segregation itself will disappear in accordance with the impetuous schedule laid down by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Sun 11-21-48

MOST students of Southern politics agree that the dismantling of the one-party system and the increasing participation of the Negro in public affairs belong on the credit side of the ledger. Certainly the white Southerner has been no less a victim of his peculiar institution than the Negro; the practical results are written in every one of those dismal charts which record the relative standing of the states in per capita income, health, and educational attainment.

But the old political system did preserve a sort of order and stability—even if it was all too often the motionless order of stagnation. Politics, like nature, abhors a vacuum, and when the one-party system disappears some other system must replace it. The tumultuous campaign of 1948 makes it clear that the transition is not likely to be orderly.

We have felt the first birth pangs of political competition in the South, but the Dixiecrats were reluctant midwives, loath to abandon permanently the Democratic monopoly which has served them so well.

Montgomery Ala.

This is the reality understood by the strange election of 1948: A great mass of ill-equipped votes are thrusting against the hard shell of the Southern political system, and it is cracking in many places. With the help of God and a few politicians, the South can, without serious disruption, accommodate the millions of Negro citizens who are beginning to exercise the powers conferred upon them 80 years ago.

Truman Gives South Reply: "I'm Everybodys President"

The Defender

Sat 3-20-48

WASHINGTON—Governors of seven Southern states meeting here last week pledged themselves to make a last ditch against the nomination and election of President Truman.

In a "little convention" held four blocks from the House, the conference of Southern Governors adopted a resolution calling on the people of the South to join them in their fight repudiating the President's stand on civil rights.

The resolution was adopted less than 24 hours after President Truman reaffirmed his intentions to fight to the last inch for his civil rights program. Asked by Mrs. Nanna Thomas of Alabama, National Democratic Committeewoman whether she could "go back and tell my people that you are not going to tear up our social structure in the South and that you are everybody's President," the President is said to have replied: "I do not take back one word I said. I stand on the Constitution of the United States, I am everybody's President."

Sat 3-20-48

Repudiate Party

The seven governors put their grievances in a scorching report, the heart of which declared: "We go on record as repudiating the present national leadership of the Democratic Party in sponsoring the so-called Civil Rights program.

Sat 3-20-48

"We recommend to the people of the southern states that they fight to the last ditch to prevent the nomination of any candidate for President or vice-President who advocates such invasions of state sovereignty as those proposed in the said program.

"We recommend to the people of the southern states that, if the National Democratic Party should nominate any candidate who advocates such invasions of state sovereignty as those proposed in the said program, that we shall see to it that the electoral college votes of their states are not cast for such nomination."

Those governors joining in the report were: Fielding Wright of Mississippi; Beauford Jester of Texas; James E. Folsom of Alabama; M. E. Thompson of Georgia; Strom Thurmond of South Carolina; Ben Laney of Arkansas. Governor Preston Lane Jr. of Maryland presided at the meeting, by virtue of his post as chairman of the Southern Governors Conference.

Sat 3-20-48

He refrained from voting and took no part in arguing the merits of the report. Governor William M. Tuck of Virginia and Governor Millard F. Caldwell of Florida, were understood to favor the report. The governor of Kentucky took no part in the conference and significantly has not joined the Conference of Southern Governors in their controversial regional educational pact.

Birmingham News

Asleep Too Long

To the Editor of The News:

South, wake up! We have been asleep too long already. Go to the polls and vote. Vote your convictions instead of leaving it to others and criticizing the officials later.

Birmingham, Ala.

The South has some splendid leaders like Lister Hill and Sparkman of Alabama, R. B. Russell and Ellis Arnall of Georgia and any number of others in different Southern states. It is up to the leading newspapers of the South to start, immediately, getting their names before the public.

The Republican and Democratic conventions should have been serious and dignified but they sounded like a group of little boys playing marbles. Order was hard to restore. Conditions are too critical, all over the world, to take a convention so lightly. 7-28-48

If the convention, in Philadelphia, was conducted in a democratic manner, I do not know the meaning of democracy. The South was ignored every time an important issue came up. Sam Rayburn said the "yeas" won every time, but once or twice it was a "toss up." This is not a "fair method" in deciding critical issues. We believe in 'secret ballot' and this should have been used Wednesday, July 14.

One section of the country cannot force an issue on another, which they did at the convention, without protest. If this is a democracy should the federal government step in and take our states' rights away? Each section has very serious problems to work out and it isn't up to one section to try to solve them for another. For instance, the North, East and West have the foreign-born Americans and what are they doing about it? We, in the South, are not trying to run their affairs, for we do not know the circumstances involved. We are progressing with our problem, and rightly so, but it cannot be solved overnight, so to speak.

(MRS.) RENA H. JOLLY.
Auburn, Ala.

Meddlers Handicap South

WASHINGTON. — The political reaction in the South confirms the opinion of those temperate and enlightened Southerners who believed it would surely follow the current types of agitation for quick and drastic change in the social-economic system below the Mason-Dixon Line. Among those efforts they prominently list:

1. The President's so-called civil rights program of Federal legislation which proposed to carry out, by force from the central government the whole structure of social organization in the South.

2. The journey of Henry A. Wallace through the states of the old Confederacy, in which every measure to revive the most acute state of racial prejudice was deliberately taken by the candidate, and, prior to this journey, political activities and associations of Mr. Wallace elsewhere.

Commercial Appeal

3. The unsympathetic and uninformed rain of criticism in the East and North of the South's effort to make a reasonable solution of its great negro problem.

4. The warm reception in the East and North of any Southern literature, or books about the South, in which the plight of the negro is dramatized and the work of those Caucasians who must solve it is possible is neglected or disparaged.

5. The hero-making propaganda in behalf of Southerners like former Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia, by Easterners and Northerners who are known in the South to favor quick and radical change in its social pattern. This weakened the influence at home of those Southerners who were beguiled by the flattery.

The first visible consequences, of course, were the stand of the Southern Democratic delegations at Philadelphia against the nomination of President Truman on a platform that endorsed the "civil-rights" program, and the development of this into the States' Rights national ticket.

Commercial Appeal

THE development was deliberately stimulated by the Americans for Democratic Action, a group in which the Roosevelt family and New Dealers are prominent and which has been active in movements to make drastic changes in the South. They stimulated it by opposing the platform compromise with which Mr. Truman and his spokesmen attempted to support the "civil rights" program in language that would mean one thing in the South and another outside. And the ADA forced on the unwilling Administration a plank that spelled out in detail the things that President had told Congress he wanted. This made the States' Rights ticket inevitable.

Other consequences were the reappearance of Ku Klux Klan fiery crosses and hoods in areas where they have been seen but little in recent years; the renomination of Representative John Rankin over strong opposition in Mississippi; the renascence of the Huey Long family in control of Louisiana politics; the removal of Mr. Truman's name as the official Democratic candidate in that state; and the overwhelming nomination of Herman Talmadge in Georgia over an acting governor, M. E. Thompson, who, though as much opposed to the "civil-rights" program, was burdened by the support of the nonSouthern groups referred to above.

THERE will be other results of the same kind in the near future. This reaction, as was predicted by Southerners who understand the inequalities of their region and have tried to level them by gradual and reasonable means, will always follow an attempt of nonSouthern politicians to change its social-economic structure by Federal force.

11-4-48

How little the problems and personalities of the South are understood by its outside critics was emphasized again after the victory of Mr. Talmadge. Many comments left the impression that Governor Thompson, who was backed by an unsavory state machine and has incurred no wounds in fighting the demagogy of "white supremacy," was a knight of social-economic reform in shining armor, and that in rejecting him Georgia citizens had dealt enlightenment a vital blow. Among these critics were some of the very persons who, by their fulsome patronage of his supporter, Mr. Arnall, had sapped the latter's influence with his fellow-voters.

WHO was benefitted by the various agitations for overnight change in the South? Not Mr. Truman, who started the reaction, for in the most unlikely event of his election he would have stronger Democratic opposition from the South than before. Not the Southern negroes, whose just aspirations will now be considered in a less favorable atmosphere than in recent years. Not the Southern whites, whose fears and prejudices have been aroused by the very persons who professed a desire to allay them.

The only beneficiaries are the Communists, whose purpose is to disunify the people of the United States in every possible way; and—if his "grand political design" has not been misrepresented—Mr. Wallace, who looks to reaction of any kind as the road to national political power for himself and his supporters.

But there can be some other benefit from the experience if the outside reformers of the South, including the sincere idealists, the practical workers for expansion of the Bill of Rights and the paid professional agitators of racial groups, have finally learned the lesson they hitherto have declined to learn.

THE SOUTH, on its own, and through the efforts of its best citizens, has made a long and steady advance since the fires of reconstruction died down. The negro is voting in numbers which no one could have estimated 10 years ago. The poll tax is in process of repeal by the states in which it exists. Lynching has become a remarkable occurrence because of its rarity, and Virginia under the prompting of Senator (then Governor) Harry F. Byrd has the most drastic antilynching law in the United States.

If the South is intelligently and sympathetically aided from outside in the solution of problems from which other sections are happily free, the progress will become very rapid.

11-4-48

But the South will not abandon the social forms of segregation while its population groups are as they are, and it will resist to any degree an attempt to end them by Federal legislation carried out by use of force. It will turn to the demagogs who voice this attitude with reckless and inflammatory speech which its better politicians decline to employ. And in national politics the Southerners will band together more closely, at the expense of some good laws and the two-party system, whenever it is convinced that its social-economic structure and its constitutional protections are in jeopardy from politicians elsewhere who would destroy them to get the votes of pressure groups in other sections.

How Is The South Going To Vote?

The Columbia Record

In a division of the southern vote on the civil rights issue most editors expect the bulk of that vote to remain in the Democratic party, with the Dixiecratic Party receiving too few electoral votes to throw the Presidential election into the House of Representatives. Some editors see the Dixiecratic party continuing after the coming campaign as a separate party. But the majority opinion is that the greatest long-range effect of the Democratic party split will be an in-

Sat 8-7-48

creased sentiment—and vote—fo a strong Republican party in the South to give the South a bargaining position between the two major parties.

Syracuse (N. Y.) **Herald-Journal** (Ind.): "Assuming the embattled Southern Democratic states succeed in obtaining 127 electoral votes for their states' rights candidate Governor Thurmond of South Carolina) for President, Mr. Truman obviously would be sunk politically. But it remains to be seen whether these states that have been in the Democratic column ever since the Civil War actually will bolt. That national Democratic leaders are busy behind the scenes pulling strings to keep them in line is certain. If some of the prophets of old were around today perhaps they could tell us what the results will be, but without their assistance we'll have to give it up for the moment."

Norfolk Virginia-Pilot (Ind. Dem.): "Our own guess is that... the Birmingham war dance...will amount to practically nothing... There is no evidence that it was more representatives of the South's responsible Democratic leadership than the Jackson, Miss., convention that was its parent. The same three Governors that came to Jackson—Wright (of Mississippi) Thurmond and Laney, of Arkansas—came to Birmingham (and Laney withdrew) ...Absent from the Birmingham meeting were all the other top-drawer Democratic leaders of the South, including Senator Russell, of Georgia, whom all but a handful of the Southern delegates supported for the Presidential nomination at ...Philadelphia."

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Cincinnati (Ohio) **Times-Star** (Rep.): "Three influences are astir in the South. One...would stick by the old party regardless of repeated rebuffs. A second, which got the nod at Birmingham, is breaking away from the Democratic party and forming another. A third... would like to merge with the Republican party..The immediate outlook...is for the appearance of a separate party, a minority, of course, but with the opportunity to make the same bargains with the two leading parties that other minorities have been doing."

Washington (D. C.) **Post** (Ind.): "From the walkout at Philadelphia has come a splinter party that may be expected to make its influence felt in the years ahead. From the viewpoint of the Democratic party that is a misfortune. but from the viewpoint of the South it may be a blessing in disguise. Certainly it is conducive to more honest politics. And if it results in genuine political contests between two well-defined political groups, the net effect should be salutary."

The Columbia Reco

Columbia (S. C.) **Record** (Ind.-Dem.): "The whole (Dixiecratic) movement, like the Hoovercrat movement in 1928, is futile. Any splinter party is futile, as the Prohibitionists, the Socialists, the Communists have demonstrated. The United States has built its political system around two parties, now styled the Republicans and the Democrats. If the South wants to make its protest meaningful and effective it will have to shift not from the Democratic party to the Dixiecratic splinter party but to the Republican party."

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Austin (Texas) **American** (Dem.): "Texas and other states of the South would have a decent two party system if the Republicans infiltrating the party and using its precinct convention machinery, in alliance with Democrats thinking like Republicans, to obtain control of Democratic party processes would get out of the party, adopt their own label publicly and take with them all those who pretend to talk like Democrats, who get elected on the Democratic ticket by saying they are Democrats, and promptly become the messenger boys of the Republican party."

~~They~~ Hinder The Negroes' Advancement In South

The Columbia Record

The South, under Southern leadership, has been making real progress in eliminating the handicaps under which the Negroes have been forced to live and work in the South and in so doing it has benefited the entire South, whites and Negroes, both.

And this process has been speeded up in the past 15 years. Lynching has almost disappeared as a crime; it is the only major crime in which there has been any substantial decline. And this was done by Southerners under Southern leadership. The Negroes are being accorded everywhere the right to vote and to participate in party affairs. It took a federal court decision to win this right for them in South Carolina, but the decisions which prohibited the Democratic party of South Carolina from discriminating against Negroes on account of race were written by Southerners—a South Carolinian and a North Carolinian.

Thur 8-5-48

Columbia S.C.

And the South has also made marked progress in eliminating the poll tax as a requirement for voting. Georgia is the latest of the Southern states to act; Virginia will vote next year on a repeal amendment submitted to the voters. South Carolina might already have acted if the federal anti-poll tax bill had not been made a hardy congressional perennial. The constitutional amendment to repeal the poll tax as a qualification for voting passed the Senate of South Carolina overwhelmingly. The measure was favored by the House judiciary committee, only one member of which opposed it. It failed to pass, but the effort to secure it eventual passage has not been abandoned. It has simply been pushed aside by the agitation for the federal anti-poll tax law.

Thur 8-5-48

It has made progress in improving the education of Negroes and is making more progress. And what is still more important Negroes are now earning good wages in the South. It is a sellers' market for labor.

Now this progress isn't as rapid as it should be. It isn't even as rapid as it might have been had not the civil rights issue been raised to set off a new racial prejudice exhibition. It would not have been half so hard to convince the Democratic party of South Carolina that it should accept the inevitable and admit Negroes to membership if Truman had not entered the competition for Northern Negro votes by making the South the goat of his vote-seeking.

The civil rights program, as a political issue, has retarded and handicapped the Southern effort to do justice to all races.

"Federal laws designed to end segregation, to force social equality and revolutionize the customs of a whole people, must," The Christian Science Monitor warns, "be questioned.

Thur 8-5-48

"Action of this kind can do more harm than good. The new awareness of injustices is a healthy development. Reform is overdue. But reform is a bigger thing than passing a law. Unhappily, much of the civil rights issue is today surrounded by ignorance and intolerance as between races and sections which retard real reform.

"In the South even those most ready to concede the need for change feel that the South is misunderstood, and are resolved to defend their own rights of local self-government. In the North, hasty, doctrinaire concepts of reform tend to foster an unfortunate holier-than-thou attitude and to overlook the discriminations—often unconscious but still cruel—experienced by Negro and Jew in the North.

"There is really little disagreement on the need for reform. The big question is, How? Both education and legislation are needed in the great enterprise of extending and developing civil rights in America. But legislation—impelled by a combination of sincere but overzealous reformers and politicians seeking partisan or personal advantage—can easily get too far ahead of education. Such measures would be 10 times harder to enforce than prohibition; they would be nullified and in the process would engender new bitternesses.

Thur 8-5-48

"The great need in the civil rights picture today is not for more coercion, but for more Christianity. With more understanding—more willingness to put oneself in his brother's place and to examine the beam in one's own eye—reform can be speeded."

Here is a voice of sanity from the North. But it will not be heeded. There are no votes to be gathered by sanity on either side. Every year the civil rights fight will be repeated.

But it should be remembered also that making a political football of these problems simply plays into the hands of the demagogues and the race-baiters.

REVOLT IN THE SOUTH

The Defender

The true revolt in the South is not to be found in the childish and ill-tempered outbursts of the raning Dixiecrats. Its real manifestation is in the growing awareness of the common citizens of both races of that long backward segment of the nation that differences in race and color of skin are too flimsy a foundation upon which to build a society, an economy, a political system which will endure.

Sat 8-21-48

Chicago Def

Each day brings fresh evidence that an ever increasing number of Southerners whose vision has been stultified by the mists of racism and fears kept stirred up by a little handful of demagogues, are opening their eyes to the realities of life in a democracy. Slowly but surely the understanding is dawning upon the South that no man's rights and privileges are secure so long as any man's are hampered or flouted.

In Tennessee last week, Negro voters were in the vanguard of the peoples' movement, which broke the 30-year strangle hold of "Boss" Crump on the political life of that state. In one Texas city, Negro and white voters jointly elected a colored neighbor to serve as their party precinct chairman, while in another a white man went to court to enforce his right to attend a law school designated "for colored only." In Alabama, white and colored farmers pooled and exchanged their labor and machinery to get in their bumper cotton crop before the market breaks.

Sat 8-21-48

In Oklahoma, the legislature is taking steps to revise the laws which for 40 years have required the separation of the races in the state's institutions of higher learning. In Georgia, Negro citizens have boldly challenged in the Federal court a sneak attempt to purge them from the voting lists, with public support from daily newspapers and white community leaders. In South Carolina 30,000 Negro citizens, armed with a ruling handed down by a Federal judge, who is a member of one of the state's oldest and most distinguished white families, flock to the polls to vote in the Democratic primaries for the first time in 75 years.

All of these unprecedented happenings in the South occured within the span of the past week. These are the true signs of the revolt of Dixie.

For What Reason?

The Record

Why should not any Southerner who thinks as a Republican, acts as a Republican, believes as a Republican vote the Republican ticket in any election? Columbia, S.C

Mon. 2-9-48

There was a time, of course, when a single issue—the "white supremacy" issue—kept Southerners in the Democratic party. But that time is now past. The Democratic party is vying with now the Republican party in the promotion of a legislation program aimed at capturing the Negro vote. Actually the Democratic party has done more for the Negroes than the Republican party has since it was in a position to do more.

The other day Senator Taft, the Republican leader on domestic affairs in the Senate and a candidate for the Republican nomination for president, voted in committee against the F. E. P. C. bill, the enactment of which is asked by President Truman, the Democrat.

It offers an opportunity to build up two political parties in the South. And the South needs the two-party system, if it is ever to get anything out of the federal government. Mon. 2-9-48

Ridiculous

Says Representative Joseph R. Bryson of Greenville, South Carolina's prohibitionist in the Congress, talking at Charleston: 3-10-48

"It would be ridiculous to desert the party of our grandfathers simply because one man betrayed it." The Record

In the first place, of course, Representative Bryson has his facts mixed. The Democratic party has not been betrayed by any one man—Harry Truman or any body else. Truman didn't invent the policies that he is following; he isn't the inventing kind. And he isn't alone in his advocacy of these policies. The Democratic party, which Mr. Bryson means by his grandfathers' party, was a changed party before Harry Truman ever became vice president even. Let the Greenville Congressman compare the 1932 Democratic platform with the 1936 platform and confess that Harry Truman is not the author of the evils of which he complains and which he naively persists in thinking can be cured by any device so simple as nominating somebody born south of the Mason and Dixon line, even if that were possible. Columbia, S.C.

The ridiculous thing in this situation is that the South is angry at Truman when the South itself is the author of all of its troubles, when it has the remedy within its grasp and does not have the courage nor the sense to seize upon it. For the South's impotence in national affairs, of which its present unhappy condition is only one instance, derives from the fact that the South deliberately elected to make itself a one-party area, to put all of its eggs, its liberties and its existence in the Democratic basket. The result has been what might have been expected. The South has no real influence in either party. And it must be so until the South erects in every Southern state, two parties—one Democratic and one Republican either of which may win an election and both of which nationally will court the South for the South's votes. Wed.

Even more ridiculous, however, is the whole idea of a grandfathers' party. South Carolina before the Confederate war, when it was a state of some influence in national affairs, was no one-party state. And the notion that the South Carolinians of today should keep themselves in thrall to the Democratic party because their grandfathers after Reconstruction made a choice which seemed wise in that day is downright silly, even when advocated by a Democratic member of the Congress from South Carolina. Those grandfathers were men of courage and sense and initiative and you can put it down that in the light of today's conditions they would not simply be squirming and squealing, threatening to go off nowhere in a splinter Southern party. They would have the wisdom to meet today's issues face to face and to reject their own post-Reconstruction decision. After all Reconstruction's remedies are not the cure for today's ills.

3-10-48

If today's South Carolinians were worthy of them they would reject these abortive ideas and those of them who think more nearly like the Republicans would vote Republican and those who think more nearly like the Democrats would vote Democratic. In everything else we have grown and built in the spirit of our grandfathers. Why allow the politicians to keep us tied to an ox cart in politics in the day of paved roads and automobiles, airplanes and television?

The Record

Columbia, S.C.

Isn't this the ridiculous thing that we cling to one party because our grandfathers' voted for it in a different day, under different circumstances, to meet that day's crisis?

Wed. 3-10-46

South And GOP

Movement To Free Dixie From One-Party Status Is Gaining Momentum With Rapidity

BY FRED TAYLOR The News

For years critics of the South have been saying, among other things, that what we needed most was to be freed from the shackles of one-party government. Birmingham, Ala

As long as this condition continued, they pointed out, the South could expect little from the Democratic Party and nothing from the GOP. Sun. 2-29-48

TAYLOR

It also might be pointed out that the first step toward shaking off a one-party government is for the South to free itself from the shackles of one candidate.

A Southwide movement to do just that is gaining the momentum of a roaring prairie fire. The blaze of revolt against the Truman leadership in the Democratic Party burned brighter in Alabama at week's end, with agitation over the president's "civil rights" program feeding the flames.

* * *

FROWN ON GOP—The Republicans have done little to win friends and influence Democratic voters in the South. This might be considered natural enough, as politics goes, since the GOP rarely had a look-in down this way. There was the exception of the 1928 campaign, when the religious issue so stirred Southern voters that six states—Texas, Tennessee, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky—in the so-called Solid South voted for Herbert Hoover over Al Smith. While Alabama was counted for Smith by a margin of some 7,000 votes, some party leaders chuckled over reports that a good job of Democratic counting was done. Sun. 2-29-48

It has been difficult for the Deep South to forget many things associated with the Republican name since the horrors that followed in the wake of the War Between the States. Sun

* * *

HOSTILITY—It is only natural that Democratic leaders should expect little help or sympathy from the GOP. Despite the urging of a few GOPers that the Republican Party now woo the Southern states, the GOP-controlled Congress is hastily pushing toward enactment of the same "civil rights" proposals advocated by Mr. Truman.

Montgomery's Marion Rushton, state Democratic national committeeman, who is running for reelection, declared that "We cannot expect help from Republicans, Communists, appeasers nor apparently from certain leaders of our own party."

In that statement, Rushton apparently was hitting not only at President Truman but some Alabamians who have been elected to high office.

Talladega's Tom Abernethy, State Democratic Executive Committee member and editor of The Daily Home, sees no help coming from the GOP. As a candidate for presidential elector, Abernethy pledged to vote against Truman, declaring "I would not cast my vote for a Republican candidate, seeing no gain for the South in choosing between two factions of demonstrated hostility to our way of life." 2-29-48

* * *

GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY — When Republicans hold their rallies in Alabama, GOP leaders invariably predict that "one of these days Alabama will go Republican."

Those were the exact words of GOP State Chairman Claude Vardaman at the Republican Lincoln Day rally in Birmingham a few weeks ago. But when he made that prediction, he had no inkling of the Democratic revolt that would be started by Truman's "civil rights" proposals.

Some Alabama Republican leaders feel that the GOP now has a golden opportunity to grab off Alabama and other Southern states. The News

But they'll have no more chance than President Truman, if he is the Democratic nominee, as long as the Republican-controlled Congress bulls ahead in an attempt to enact the "civil rights" proposals. Birmingham, Ala

Obviously, the Republicans are trying to do exactly what Truman and other Democratic bigwigs had in mind: Win the heavy minority Negro vote in population centers of the East and Middle West. Sun. 2-29-48

* * *

LOST BALL — No one who knows his political A B Cs now doubts that President Truman is a lost political ball.

The South alone can bump him off, even if he is nominated. And many now doubt whether he'll be nominated.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that Alabama is going to choose presidential electors who will vote against Truman.

State Democratic Chairman Gessner McCorvey predicts the state will send to the Democratic National Convention unpledged delegates who will refuse to vote for Truman or any other candidate advocating his "civil rights" legislation.

Gov. Folsom is trying to discourage the Democratic revolt in Alabama. He contends, none too convincingly, that differences can be ironed out in the party. And he holds himself out as the "favorite son" presidential candidate Democrats of Alabama and other Southern states should support to help work out those differences.

But Chairman McCorvey sums up the attitude of Alabama and other Southern states Democrats rather neatly.

"The South," he says, "is no longer in the bag."

NO SALE

The Dothan Eagle

The Dothan Eagle having viewed it fore and aft, came out the other day for the Republican ticket. And the letters to the editor flowed like wine. One of these was written by one H. M. Shelton of San Antonio, Texas, who said:

"Editor, The Eagle: We've all had enough but . . . why not lead a fight for Southern Autonomy. We can appeal to the United Nations Organization to partition the United States, as it partitioned Palestine . . . and perhaps avoid war . . .

"Let us go all-out for secession and Southern Autonomy. We can win . . . Both

Ireland and India whipped the Britis without war. Surely the South can do th same for the North."

Nix—that's where we came in.

Effort Of North To Change Mode Of Life In The South Augurs Strife In Congress

The Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.
Sun. 7-18-48

Bitter Debate Expected On Civil Rights Issue—Program Seen As Truman's Efforts To Win Votes Of Negroes In Other Sections

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By WILLIAM D. SISSON

WASHINGTON, July 17.—Eighty-seven years ago, in 1861, it was the determined effort of the North to change the way of life in the South that brought on the Civil War . . . the bloodiest conflict of all history for the number of men involved.

Today the efforts of the North to again change the way of life in the South has brought on what is in effect a bloodless civil war. This time it is a battle of words, of political maneuvering. But the effect is the same. And once again the South finds itself outmanned but full of the courage of its convictions.

7-18-48

Mr. Sisson

That this is indeed a bloodless civil war was evident at the Wednesday afternoon session of the Democratic National Convention when the big cities of the North teamed with the so-called liberal fringe of the party to ride rough shod over the South and write into the party platform the strong but misnamed civil rights program. It was this same combination that ruthlessly beat down the efforts of the South to put a states' rights plank into the platform.

The battle will get into full swing when Congress meets July 26 for what promises to be a bitter but historical session.

Both parties, Democratic and Republican, have promised more and more civil rights in their platforms.

President Truman has been fighting for a 10 point civil rights program since last January and now he has put the Republicans on the spot. He has in effect told them to produce or shut up talking about civil rights.

Civil Rights Issue Puts South In The Middle

The Commercial Appeal

The President has thrown a challenge to the Republicans on other issues but the concensus is that the principal fight will center around the civil rights proposals.

President Truman and his advisers and leaders want to get the civil rights proposals enacted into law as a move they believe will assure them the votes of the Northern negro and other minority groups.

Memphis, Tenn

The Republicans want the votes of those same groups.

7-18-48

The result will be that the Southern Democrats will find themselves caught in the crossfire between the Northern and "liberal" elements of their own party and the Republicans.

Sun

It looks right now like a superhuman job the Southerners face if they are to prevent the passage of the anti-poll tax, the anti-lynching, anti-segregation, a fair employment practices law and similar measures. But the Southerners have always had to fight. They knew how to fight and they will be in there this time battling with every possible weapon.

7-18-48

The South, Too, Is Changing

The Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

By RALPH McGILL
Editor, The Atlanta Constitution

Sat.

WHAT "happened" to the Southern position at Philadelphia has been long in the making. It has been happening, if we want to use that word, for some years.

In a time when it is essential that we think clearly and understand the position in which the South finds itself, it will be a tragic error if we in the South think of what happened at Philadelphia in terms of a sudden plot, or a political gamble quickly conceived in one of those smoke-filled rooms.

7-24-48

What "happened" at Philadelphia, basically, was that the Eastern and Western party leaders determined to go ahead with the sort of party most likely to succeed in their regions. They deliberately made the choice not to appease the Southern position because they believed their political existence in the East and West depended upon their being a liberal party. They formally rejected the long-held theory that in years of defeat the Southern wing must be the reservoir of the party's remaining strength.

In thus shaking out of the party's decisions the conservatism of the Southern businessman, banker, farmer and professional man—which often in the past had jostled harshly and out of tune with the Eastern and Western conceptions of party policy—the Democratic Party became an urban party, dedicated chiefly to the interests and pressures of city masses and of the expanding West which is fighting for industry.

Sat. 7-24-48

But all of this didn't happen suddenly, but very gradually. Until the eighties, this country was a rural country. But since that time its population has been shifting to the cities. This movement was accelerated by two wars. In the South, we got an extra push to migration by the boll weevil of 1920-21, which drove thousands from the farms.

The recent world war, which was a war of supply, jammed our cities with new residents. They remained when war was done. And from the rural regions the movement to the cities continues.

The United States of America now has about 60 per cent of its population in cities of from 2,500 population on up. In addition to that, it has thousands of persons in every state who are in the rural bracket of population because they live on small farms. Actually, these are subsistence-type farms and the owner works in industry, leaving to his family the business of keeping the chickens, the few pigs, the cow or so, and the small acreage of grain and vegetables. If we could have an accurate break-down of our population we would find a surprisingly large portion of it tied with industry.

The packed cities, with their labor unions, their herd fears and emotions; their restiveness in the face of the always-present threat of unemployment; reduction of working days, and strikes, are not, and never will be, conservative in politics. They will want, and get, more and more "liberalism" from political parties.

ALL this has been growing gradually. What "happened" at Philadelphia might have happened in 1944 had it not been for the war. But what took place there in 1948 will not be reversed. The Democratic party of the old era ended on July 14, in the afternoon session of the convention. It was ended out of no malice for the South. There was no joy in the doing. But there was determination.

What the answer is for the South none may say with confidence. But certainly the answer is not the dismal fourth-party doings at Birmingham, where existed the same sort of leadership that in 1860 pushed a South, reluctant to indulge in the Civil War, into conflict with an unreasoning denial of history and reality. It was "leadership" which tried to justify the moral wrong of slavery with the Bible; which tried to create a nation with slavery as its keystone. Of all the Southern States at the time, only South Carolina and Mississippi were blindly whooping for war—a war that need not have happened.

No more unrealistic or futile demonstration could have been made than that at Birmingham. It was no wonder that even those who seek to defeat Harry Truman withdrew themselves from that wild affair, with its gyrating persons who would solve everything by having the band play "Dixie" very loudly while the crowd cheers. Arkansas' Gov. Laney came home from Philadelphia, where he had led the early fight, to say the answer lies within the party. So, at Birmingham, there was South Carolina, Mississippi, and the smell of tidelands oil money—and a cold shiver as one thought of 1860.

Sat.

The answer does lie in the party—or in the establishment of the two-party system down to the precinct level. The answer is not in forming another splinter party to go along with Henry Wallace's in accomplishing nothing.

7-24-48

The South, too, has cities fighting for industry and for more income. The South cannot turn away and find the answer or its own future in madder and louder band music or the jigs and shrieks of those who want to secede and repeal the emancipation proclamation.

All this has been "happening" since the eighties.

Time and economics and the machine age have caught up with us. The cities have taken over. And we have cities in the South. We must continue to progress and fight for our place. We cannot "walk out."

Why Try To Conjure Up Impossible Bugaboos?

The Record

The Greenville Observer conjures up the idea of an all-Negro government for the South as a bugaboo or red herring.

"James Ford, the Communist candidate for vice president four years ago," it points out, "advocated that an all-Negro state be set up in the South and it is expected that this will be the next clamor of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People except that it would want the state to include several of the present Southern states.

34 Sat. 7-10-48

"A showdown is going to come in the South before many years. It is inevitable. Either the better class white people are going to have to put up a stiff fight against further encroachment on their rights, move out or live under conditions that will be unbearable." Columbia, S.C.

The Record is not privy to the plans of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and it does not know what it may have in mind. But it does know that the whites constitute a majority in every one of the Southern states. From a minority of 243,000 the whites in the six states of the lower South, in which the Negroes are concentrated, have increased since 1880 to a majority of 3,600,000 in 1940. The Record has a naive idea that the whites of the South being in the majority, are capable of taking care of any suicidal threat that might be made by the Negro minority. And if this idea isn't sound what happens then to "white supremacy?"

The question at issue is not Negro government, but Negro representation in the process of choosing the men who govern both whites and Negroes. And there is no more reason to expect a revolution in South Carolina than there was to expect it in the other Southern states which already are allowing Negro participation in Democratic party affairs. The state Democratic convention of Texas was attended this year by Negro delegates. And the sky didn't fall.

There are enough real problems in South Carolina and in the South without conjuring up bugaboos. And one of them is the problem of granting the Negro the minimum rights as a citizen to which the courts say he is entitled and so make it more difficult for him to become a victim of Communist propaganda. Sat. 7-10-48

They Should Have Taken Time To Think First

Record. Columbia S.C.

The Southern Democrats, who attended the national Democratic convention and were flattened by the Truman-New Deal steamroller, probably have reasons to feel agrieved at the treatment accorded them. MON.

There is no mystery about it, of course, and the defeat should have been expected. It is the inevitable result of the single-party system that has kept the South in the bag and denied it an effective voice in either party. 34d 7-

But the inevitability of the Southern rout at Philadelphia nor even the South's ultimate responsibility for its own disaster do not alter the fact that the Democratic party was kept alive through the lean years of Republican victories chiefly by Southern support and during these years took its color largely from the South.

The South deserved better treatment from the Johnnie-come-latelies who took over the Democratic party after the Roosevelt victory.

It was given almost no consideration. Politics is a profession in which appreciation for past favors must always give way to today's or tomorrow's ambitions, but usually these things are done with more finesse and in a manner and a style such as not to create new wounds on top of the old ones. At Philadelphia this was disregarded.

The so-called civil rights plank, written into the Democratic platform, was in its final form not an expression of liberal thought—it involves ideas that are the negation of liberalism and are more consistent with totalitarism than with Democracy—but merely a cheap political device to win the support of the minorities and the left-wingers in the North.

Clearly the South was called upon to take some action in its own defense. But the action taken should have been the result of calm study and considerable planning. It was not the time for any spur-of-the-moment flare-up, no time for intemperate oratory. The Southern politicians needed to give themselves a cooling off period. They needed to think, before they leaped.

The Dixiecrats who met for their rump conference-convention at Birmingham did not take time to think. There was some talk, before the meeting, that it would be simply a conference at which the Southerners, who feel they cannot support Truman and Barkley, might discuss their future and plan what might be done. Suddenly it turned into a convention nominating Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for the presidency and Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi as vice president. Apparently the oratory was too much for the wiser counselors who wanted to think before they acted. MON. 7-19-48

There was talk at the conference-convention that it was a "grass-roots" movement. But the fact is that it was not. The persons attending the meeting were not delegates named to attend a convention. Of necessity they represented only themselves. Governor Thurmond was there, but not as the representative of South Carolina, nor as the representative of the Democratic party of South Carolina. Record

His selection by the conference as the Dixiecratic presidential nominee is, of course, a compliment to him and to South Carolina. It is a signal tribute to the role played by him in the state rights fight both before and during the national Democratic convention. Columbia S.C.

But there isn't any certainty that Governor Thurmond as a presidential candidate will have the support of the Democrats of South Carolina. The South Carolina delegates to the national convention were pledged to Thurmond, but the vote on the resolution, pledging the state's delegates to him, was anything but general or unanimous. The party's electors are intended to be pledged to vote against Truman and they may be pledged by the state executive committee or by the state convention to support the Thurmond-Wright ticket, picked for them but without their authority by the Birmingham conference-convention. But this isn't a foregone conclusion. MON.

The whole movement, like the Hoovercrat movement in 1928, is futile. Any splinter party is futile, as the Prohibitionists, the Socialists, the Communists have demonstrated. The United States has built its political system around two parties, now styled the Republicans and the Democrats. If the South wants to make its protest meaningful and effective it will have to shift not from the Democratic party to the Dixiecratic splinter party but to the Republican party. 7-19-48

SO HERE WE ARE

EDITOR, The Advertiser: It seems to me—as a traditional Southern Democrat—that the time is as ripe as it ever could be for the emergence of a two-party system in the South, the lack of which clearly has been the bane of our political and economic existence. The party of our fathers has been too sure of us. The opposition party has owed us nothing. So here we are.

34

The reason for our unhappy predicament—our position of complete disinheritance—is that the average Southerner, whatever his political leanings, has been unable to bring himself to the point of breaking with a tradition so deeply rooted as the one that demands that he vote as his forbears have been voting since secession and reconstruction days. Call it loyalty, call it what you will, what is the whole business but a form of regimentation? For, after all, what is loyalty? And to what should a man be required to give his ultimate fidelity, if not to his innermost convictions? The Advertiser

The choice of a political party for the intelligent voter in the South today should not be a difficult one, despite all the tumult and the shouting. The two major parties are, admittedly, so close together in creed that the choice simply resolves itself into a question of leadership. Which party, for the time being, offers the better men at the top? That is the question the intelligent Southern voter must answer in his own mind and of his own free will—not only now, but so long as the tenets of both major parties are so closely aligned. Montgomery, Ala

This is not to say at all that any man should vote for any given ticket. It is to say simply that he should strive to throw off the shackles restraining the exercise of his own free will and intelligence. Let him vote as he believes. For in this direction—and in this direction, alone—lies emancipation for the individual voter. And until he achieves this, democracy is a mere fiction.

Sat. 7-31-48 RALPH H. ALLGOOD.
Dadeville. Ala.

Southern Democrats Adopt Senator Morse's Tactics

The Record

Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon, killed the Southern regional education compact measure by injecting the segregation issue into the debate and insisting that there should be written into the resolution approving the agreement a provision that no school established under it could comply with Southern segregation laws. It was a bit of quick thinking.

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Wed.

But in so doing he taught the Southern Democrats the lesson of how they can prevent any of President Truman's civil rights measures being brought up. 5-26-48

The Congress is now set to adjourn June 18. And it has a pile of "must" measures which it is required to pass if the government is to function in the months ahead.

A Southern filibuster would stymie this adjournment move. And the Democrats can offer themselves the chance to talk at length by offering segregation amendments to such measures as supply the excuse, for their own purposes taking a leaf out of Senator Morse's book. Columbia, S.C.

The first bill on which they will use the Republican method for this purpose is the draft bill. Senators Richard B. Russell of Georgia and Senator Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina are prepared to introduce an amendment to the bill giving all inductees the right to demand that they serve only with members of their own race.

The army, navy and air force practiced racial segregation during the war, with a few exceptions, and the Negroes have been campaigning for the abolition of this segregation. Senators Russell and Maybank profess to believe—and they may be right—that President Truman, as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, will issue the orders abolishing segregation. Secretary of Defense Forrestal and Secretary of the Army Royall, however, have undertaken to assure the Senators that no such change is contemplated. The Record

But Senators Russell and Maybank want more assurance than this.

"If there is any one civil right," Senator Russell said, "it is the right of choosing one's associates." Columbia, S.C.

There has, of course, never been a "voluntary segregation" clause written into a draft bill. The Southerners have never before felt that they needed any such assurance. And, as it turned out, they didn't.

Maybe they do not need it now, but this is a political year and all the furore raised about civil rights and segregation in the armed services, including even the threat of two Negro leaders to institute a civil disobedience campaign against the draft unless segregation in the armed services be abolished, isn't too reassuring. Wed.

And they do need to consume some time, if they are to prevent the anti-poll tax bill or the anti-lynching bill's being brought up for passage. 5-26-48

The Constitution

Stassen's Bid in the South

Atlanta, Ga. Wed 5-12-48

WASHINGTON—The announcement that Harold Stassen is opening Southern headquarters in Atlanta is interesting and significant, indicating that the young man from Minnesota is going to make a real, organized campaign for Republican delegates from the South. But it takes on added significance with the almost simultaneous showing in the Gallup Poll that he runs neck and neck with President Truman in the South. This might be expected to give Mr. Stassen ideas—if he does not have them already—to try, if nominated, to capture some Southern States for himself and the Republican Party. This is no new enterprise for ambitious and energetic Republican candidates. It lures them periodically.

It would, indeed, be a healthy thing for the Republican Party to get a real foothold in the South and establish the two-party system there. You can get lots of Southerners to agree with that. To be effective and permanent, however, such a party division would have to be along economic lines—that is, a division on economic issues between what we term conservatives and progressives. There are plenty of both in the South.

But, ever since the War Between the States, this natural division has been confused and beclouded by the Negro issue and the traditional stand of the Republican Party and its association wtih the War Between the States and Reconstruction, so that the South has clung to the Democratic Party, with a single exception.

The Constitution

Because of this and other circumstances, there has been no incentive for those in the South who would normally be Republicans—and there are many of them—to create a real Republican Party there. So they accept the Democratic custom. And it suits them and the conservative interests with which they are affiliated.

For it is all right with them when Republicans are in charge of the Government. And, with Democrats in charge, it is generally all right, too, for they are able to send plenty of conservatives to Congress because of the control they exercise through restrictions on the franchise both of Negroes and of poor whites—the elimination of which is a part of the Truman civil rights program. Atlanta, Ga.

And, when there is any real threat to their vested interests, as there was in the New Deal of President Roosevelt which his successor espouses, then there is always the Negro issue to fall back upon for exploitation. That explained the big interests that supported Gene Talmadge in Georgia two years ago. It explains what's going on now. "White supremacy" is a convenient cover and camouflage. Wed 5-12-48

So now the South boils up and, as usual, Republicans see an opening. It is worth remembering that the only Republican success in breaking into the solid South since the War Between the States was because of extraneous issues, not economic issues. In 1928, it was the religious and prohibition issues—embodied in the candidacy of Alfred E. Smith, a Catholic and a "wet"—that diverted enough Southern votes away from him to give Herbert Hoover four States—Virginia, North Carolina, Florida and Texas. That looked at the time like a start for a Republican Party in the South, but there was no firm foundation in an economic division on issues.

Now it is the racial issue, not an economic issue. In their spleen, a great many Southern voters seem ready to rise up and vent their wrath in extraordinary ways, judging from the Alabama primary and the Jackson, Miss., convention. They can have a party of their own or, lacking that, they can be mad enough to go off and vote Republican. Harold Stassen is an attractive figure, though he stands alongside other Republicans and Harry Truman on civil rights.

What is happening is very satisfying to big Southern interests, some of them absentee-owned, and encouragement is coming from that quarter. This, however, is not to minimize the real resentment of many other folks at President Truman. They seemingly are so aroused that they are willing to forget basic economic issues—such as, for example, the current attempt in the Republican Congress to check expansion of TVA, which, if successful, could set back development of the South for many years; and the attack also on the wage-hour act, passed primarily for unprotected Southern workers. Wed 5-12-48

While some Southern States might go Republican this year, the Republican Party is not likely to establish itself in the South on a permanent basis until the civil rights issue is finally settled, so that there will be a real division along economic lines which is essential for political parties. A Republican administration, of course, could do something about the civil rights issue, and it would be an achievement comparable to its original freeing of the slaves.

Birmingham News

Who Is Confused?

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To the Editor of The News:

You continually write of confusion among what you choose to call the "bolters."

Yes, there is some confusion in the South, confusion generated by the same kind of "Tories" who tried to confuse the 13 colonies, confusion in the minds of timid and self-centered false political leaders who are constantly crying that we have nowhere to go.

Like our illustrious colonial "bolters" we propose to cut out a new road to civic honor and political respectability. In this labor of love for political freedom there will be no "Tory" newspaper or self-centered false political leader found with an ax in his hand or sweat on his brow among the pioneers digging this new road. No, they will be too busy spreading false reports and crying that we are digging a road to nowhere. [illegible]

There is no confusion in the minds of those hardy pioneers who are even now digging that road. There is no uncertainty in the determination of those courageous, real statesmen who are pushing that road ever nearer to honor and respectability.

Into that road will go sweat and tears, toil and sacrifices and the hope for the future of the South, all invested by loyal hands and hearts who will complete the job in spite of the "Tory" newspapers and the fair-weather politicians. In the presence of courage, confusion retreats, for confusion is the weapon of the selfish and cowardly.

When love's labor is finished and the new road is opened to traffic, who will demand the place of honor? None other than the "Tories" and their fellow travelers, the faithless political leaders whose false leadership made the new road necessary, but who would not aid in its building.

HARRY A. TAYLOR,
Member, House of Representatives, from
Hale County.

Birmingham, Ala.

South Would Be Loser

The Constitution

Thur 9-16-48

Editor Constitution: We mustn't overlook that every citizen that is born in the United States is an American citizen and under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights is guaranteed life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. On the other hand, assuming that these persons left Georgia, then Georgia would be the loser and it wouldn't be long before they would be clamoring for these citizens to return.

Do we recall several years ago when agents from the East were trying to entice the laborers away from the cotton plantations, that we rebelled? Many tried to stop them.

Atlanta Ga.

Do we realize that these citizens are consumers and that they are responsible, in large part, for our economy being successful?

Those who advocate such a policy not only are shortsighted but they are doing a great disservice to us here in Georgia.

There are some who tell us that if the Northerners would leave us alone we would get along beautifully and it is equally true if some of our Southerners would be more realistic in evaluating the blessings that we enjoy as is, they, too, would leave us alone.

ARMAND MAY.
Atlanta.

SUDDEN DEATH FOR SOLID SOUTH

34d

The Advertiser

It seems to The Advertiser that our political architects, in considering the South's political future, are giving too little thought to the implications of the indicated reform of the electoral college.

In the tumult of the Presidential race and the activity of the third and fourth parties of Wallace and Thurmond we are preoccupied with plans based on the present election system.

The candidacies of Wallace and Thurmond are methods of insuring the defeat of Truman Both are punitive in character. We speculate on the highly remote possibility of throwing the election of the President into the House of Representatives.

We speculate that Thurmond will get more electoral votes than Truman. We debate whether, after Truman, the South can re-invest the Democratic Party and mold it nearer the heart's desire, and whether the Southern revolt would have been more telling and availing if we had wrenched ourselves loose from Reconstruction remembrances and voted Republican this year.

In any event, all the divergent thinking on the likely future of the South politically has one thing in common—assumption that the present method of electing a President will endure.

That is far from certain. There is, for example, a strong movement in motion to revise the electoral college system under the terms of the Gossett-Lodge amendment. This would usher in a functioning two party system in the South inevitably.

Sun 9-12-48

Under the present system, if Thurmond gets but five more votes than Dewey—he garners Alabama's entire 11 electoral votes. But under the proposed new system, the 11 electoral votes would be divided on the basis of a popular vote percentage. Thus, if Dewey got 30 per cent of the popular vote in Alabama, he would also get 30 per cent of its electoral vote. That would give the G. O. P. something to work for in Alabama.

This bill has already received favorable report from congressional committees and no doubt the South's present manipulation of its electoral strength will intensify sentiment for reform of the outmoded electoral college—which hasn't served its original purpose in more than a century.

Montgomery Ala

Among the advocates of the reform is Senator John Sparkman. So far, the advocates of the measure have had all the best of the argument. Chiefly they concentrate on the weakness of the present system which permits the election of a President although his opponent is the choice of the majority voting in an election (Grover Cleveland was defeated in 1888 despite a popular majority). It is contended with obvious logic that such a change would immediately crack the Solid South and make it a prize to be contested by all parties.

The only substantial objection to the reform so far adduced is that it would go far beyond making the South a two-party system. It might make it, with the rest of the country, a 10 or 12 party system with the lamentable results witnessed in France.

Nevertheless the heat is on for electoral college reform. If it comes, we Southerners will have to entirely reorder our political planning. We should be considering now whether or not this reform is more solid and enduring than all the devices, such as electoral vote withholding put together. The possibilities and desirabilities should be commanding more of our thought.

Sun 9-12-48

THE SOUTHERN LIBERAL

(34d)

The Defender

WE Negroes spend a good deal of time being sorry for ourselves and we are without doubt largely justified; but once in a while we begin to realize how difficult and almost impossible it is for other people to be themselves, especially if they happen to want to fight on our side. I think I have always had a great deal of sympathy for the young Southern white man who wants to be honest, and I know there are such persons. I remember that one of my first experiences in the South was witnessing the driving out of a liberal white professor from a North Carolina University because he had the temerity to say in print that the two greatest figures in the South since the Civil War, were Robert E. Lee and Booker T. Washington. He did not suffer mob violence, but he found that the climate of Massachusetts was a great deal pleasanter for him after that. He went there and finished his life's work there.

Sat 9-25-48

Every time I see a young white Southern Liberal say something fair and decent on the Negro problem, I watch him. Pretty soon the pay-off is bound to come. After a while he either becomes silent and you gradually forget everything he said, or he begins slowly, and deftly to walk backwards. He tries rather desperately to maintain his small reputation as a liberal, as one representing the forward-looking South, but gradually you begin to place him. He is a Southerner who has liberal instincts, but no courage. I do not for a moment say that these people were not honest in what they said. But I do say that when they realize that what the cost in the South is for a person who is liberal on the Negro problem, they usually do not have the courage to go forward. They either stand still or they walk backwards. And the reason for all this is shown perhaps most clearly today in the case of Don West.

Chicago Ill

DON WEST

Don West is a fine young Southern white man, born and reared in Georgia and choosing Georgia as the place of his life's work. On my way from Atlanta to New York, I used to drive through the little town called Lulu, in North Georgia, where Don West became a school teacher. I did not know him at that time, I did not meet him there. I met him when he was in New York on a scholarship, and heard him talk bravely and finely. I hoped that he would keep it up and be among that small and scattering vanguard which is trying to bring modern civilization to the South. But I knew it was going to cost him something.

Sat 9-25-48

Now today we can see what it is costing. Don West is a poet. He has published several little volumes; one of which is called: CLODS OF SOUTHERN EARTH, and one of the poems in that book dealt with Harlan, Kentucky. Everybody knows that Harlan, Kentucky, is one of the nastiest places on earth for workers, black or white. It is in the hands of a consciousless monopoly and anybody who thinks liberally or talks liberally would better keep away from Harlan. Now Don West had this little school in North Georgia and did some rather fine things in making the people think straight on the Negro problem. Then he became Professor of English and Southern Folk-Lore at Cglethorpe University in Atlanta. Oglethorpe is not much of a school. It used to be celebrated chiefly for wholesale distribution of honorary degrees to rich Northerners, who could not get them in any other way. It has low standards and difficulty in keeping going; and this probably was in part the reason that Don West taught at Oglethorpe.

Sat 9-25-48

CHARLIE LEWALLEN

The Cocoa Cola University in Atlanta would not have had him on a golden salver, not with the economic liberalism that he talked about. There are not many other institutions in the South who wanted him and I do not know, but I have a suspicion, that the school board at Lulu began to look at him with a certain disfavor. At any rate Don West came to Atlanta, and then a libel suit for $10,000 was brought against him. In one of the poems in his book he had used a purely fictitious name "Charley Lewallen". Somebody in Georgia who claimed to have that name sued Don West for libel.

Now there is no way of proving that this man was not lying. Georgia does not keep birth records to any extent. If a man says his náme is "Lewallen" or "Chigureus" then that is his name. So this man sues Don West. He probably has no case in any real court, but what he or his backers can do in Georgia, and indeed in most of the United States, is to keep Don West on the hotseat. He can make him spend money, as he already has for a year, fighting a case, which at best in nonsense and in its worse aspects, simply persecution of a man in Georgia who dares to be liberal. Back of this man undoubtedly is the power of the Ku Klux Klan, the power of the unspeakable Talmadge, and of other bigots.

Sat 9-25-48

If you are interested in helping white people in the South, and God knows you ought to be, send a dollar to S. T. Capps, a teacher in the Atlanta School System and buy Don West's book.

THE DON WEST DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Post Office Box 1178
Atlanta, Georgia

Let Not the Worst Obscure the Best

(34d)

The Constitution

Georgia and the South are going through a period which will not be ended with words or with prayer, although both will help. Nor with violence, which hurts the cause of the South.

White people and colored people in the South have a record of co-operation and mutual regard which far outweighs that of violence and dislike.

Sun 9-26-48

We think it highly important the thoughtful men and women of both races take stock and face our present dilemma, not avoid it. It must be solved within the famework of law, not violence.

The officials of Georgia, elected and nominated, must make it plain to the people—all the way from the Governor to the county legislator—that the laws of Georgia are paramount and that any action necessary in the field of racial tensions must be taken by the legally constituted officers of the law. To allow any other course is to invite anarchy which will grow like a civic cancer and will consume the South.

Atlanta Ga

We do not believe that Federal fiat

Sun 9-28-48

will solve our problem. But the South must face the fact that while we properly resist what we believe to be unconstitutional proposals, and while the problem is not one to be solved overnight either by law or good intent, we, nevertheless, have not moved fast enough to give the Negro in the South that to which he is entitled, namely, better homes, better schools, better medical care, an opportunity to work for good wages, and equality before the law. We can provide those without upsetting the pattern. The platform of the State Democratic Party includes all those things, as adopted at Macon in 1946 and as reaffirmed thereafter.

At a time when the South has seen, we believe, that it has acted too slowly in providing what the Negro long has been entitled to; at a time when the feeling of strain and ill-will is being exploited by the Communists as well as by the political machines of each party; we beg of every person in the State and the South, white and colored, to refuse to be stampeded by propaganda and false witnesses.

9-26-48

Those Southerners who produce violence, through the Ku Klux Klan or whatever other agency, are doing the South great disservice and delivering her into the hands of her enemies. Violence allows our enemies to prove their distortions.

There is no sovereign specific.

Only a fool would say the Southern pattern of separation of the races can, or should be overthrown. But only a worse fool would say that within that framework the South should not do what is right and proper and long overdue.

Sun 9-28-48

Let the great decency of the vast majority of our people, of both races, rise to dominate this period of crisis so that the worst among us shall not obscure the best.

Poll On Dixie

Elmo Roper

Columbia Record

Columbia S.C.

By ELMO ROPER

One thing was abundantly clear at the Democratic Convention: the South is still the "Solid South." But whether or not the South will be solidly Democratic in November may not be quite so sure.

It now appears at least possible that in some Southern states the regular Democratic organizations will run electors pledged to candidates other than President Truman. In at least a part of the South, there may be a two-way race between Truman and the rump convention Democrats. In some of the upper states of the region below the Mason-Dixon line, such as Virginia, where the Republicans have on occasion polled almost 40 per cent of the vote, the three-way split might allow the Republicans to break into the Solid South for the first time in twenty years.

Our Presidential surveys over the last two years among voters in the South indicate a decline of great proportions for President Truman.

Thurs. 7-22-48

VOTING PREFERENCES OF SOUTHERN VOTERS
1946-48

	Truman %	Dewey %	Wallace %	Express No Opinion %
April, 1946	51.0	25.0	...	24.0
July, 1946	59.3	22.4	...	18.3
April, 1946	37.0	35.0	3.2	24.8
July, 1948	37.4	41.1	3.8	17.7

These results clearly show that a large number of voters of the South are at least flirting with the idea of bolting the Democratic party over the civil rights issue. In the year during which the President has made his recommendations on civil rights, his support among voters in the South has dwindled by more than one-third. On the other hand, Republican strength—undoubtedly benefiting from the protest—has almost doubled.

Yet it is still too early to write off the South from the Truman column next November. The vast majority of the voters in that region are accustomed to voting Democratic on election day—and it's a custom that seems hard to break. It would be more likely that the rebel Democrats stand a better chance of winning the support of the voters than does the Dewey-Warren ticket. Then, too, the Republican margin which we found existed just before the Democratic Convention took place is by no means decisive. It is possible—perhaps probable—that most of the delegates who did not walk out of the Philadelphia convention will be loyal to regular Democratic organizations and will be able to win a considerable portion of the South for Truman at the polls.

But the fact remains that the Democratic party at this stage can no longer look upon the South as a firm anchor of 115 "sure" electoral votes. It is now necessary for some one to campaign in the South to win votes. And, for the first time in two decades, it might well be worth the effort of the Republican candidates to take their campaign into the deep South.

Columbia, S.C.

The revolt of the South may cost the Democrats dearly in the November elections.

But whether or not this possible loss in the South over civil rights will be a **net** loss for Truman is something else again. In passing the strong civil rights plank in its platform, the Democratic party now holds out greater promise to the underprivileged minority groups of the nation than it did before. The position of the Northern big city machines and labor and liberal elements of the party has been strengthened.

Thurs. 7-22-48

We don't know yet how much the civil rights debate has helped the Democratic party cause in the big cities of the country where there is a concentration of minority peoples. We will, of course, have some indication when the results of the first post-convention survey, now in the field, are known.

But a special between-conventions survey, taken just after the Republicans met in Philadelphia, showed that the traditional Democratic strongholds in the big cities were in precarious shape, indeed.

Voting Preferences of Voters In Cities of Over 1,000,000
July, 1948

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The best guess now is that the action of the Democratic convention on the civil rights issue has increased Truman's chances in the big cities but has weakened him in the South. Only time will tell which of the two is the greater political advantage. One thing is certain: the strange coalition of Southern conservatives, Northern big city machines and Northern liberals which was held together by the personality of Franklin Roosevelt sorely misses that personality now.

Task Confronting The South Outlined

Journal + Guide

Norfolk, Va.

Sat.

ATLANTA, Ga. — The South is confronted with the task of building respect for individual human personality, asserted Paul D. Williams, president of the Southern Regional Council, in the opening address of the Southwide meeting on human and civil rights held in this city on Friday, Feb. 27.

The meeting, sponsored by the council, an interracial organization, and held in the Schroeter Building of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, was attended by upwards of 400 white and colored delegates. It was called to make a study of civil rights and to seek some means of strengthening these rights throughout the South.

"We live in an hour of crisis for the South, for the nation and for the world," declared Mr. Williams. "Anyone who thinks otherwise is so wrong it is useless to waste time convincing him he is wrong."

Continuing, the council president said:

"The President of the United States, in a recent reply to the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, wrote the following about civil rights: 'The objectives, of course, is to implement a program of justice and fairness from the ground up and that is as much a matter of education as of legislation. The program which I sent to the Congress is a minimum one from a legislative standpoint, but, unless we educate our people of all colors to live and get along together, all the laws in the world will not work, as the 14th Amendment has amply proven.'

"This need for an enlightened public opinion is one phase of the civil rights report which has been largely overlooked. In the words of the President's committee itself: 'Government action alone, whether federal, state, local, or all combined, cannot provide protection of civil rights. Everything that government does stems from and is conditioned by the state of public opinion. Civil rights will never be adequately protected until the intelligent will of the American people approves and demands that protection.'

"That is why we are here today.

"This meeting was called by the Southern Regional Council in conjunction with a number of other organizations, most of them educational or religious in character. It is not a political meeting. At the time of its planning, the country had before it the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, issued in November, 1947. We in the council have thought it a proper part of our function to help to build in the South a knowledge of the duty which confronts the South of strengthening our region's respect for individual human rights. We, and most of the organizations cooperating in the conduct of today's meeting, have long been engaged in one phase or another of that effort. It is an effort calling for accuracy, reasonableness and temperatures. It is an effort to do nothing less than bring about among a whole people—thirty-odd millions of southerners—an attitude of mind respectful of individual human personality, and devoted in matters public to the administration of justice, and in matters private to the enlargement of human liberty. Our conference today is a part of that long task.

"Certain things are set before you as a basis for discussion. You have the full report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. You have a convenient short digest of that report. You have also in mimeographed form a pamphlet here called 'The Condition of Our Rights, from the Files on Civil and Human Rights in the South.' This latter will give you the background of recent history within the South on the problem of getting popular respect in local communities for everyone's rights as people and as American citizens.

"Whatever is the outcome of the controversy now in progress about legislation in this general field, the South confronts and will confront the task of building this respect for people which is our high inheritance in religion, in law, in government, and in culture. Much has been said in anger about preserving 'southern traditions.' Let us remember that the truly great southern traditions go back deep into our history. They are the traditions of Washington, Jefferson, and Mason, who had much to say about bills of rights and basic human freedoms. Those are the southern traditions worth preserving.

"Your workshops today afford us an opportunity for all of us as southerners to put our minds on this positive and constructive job. It is the job of bringing about in our home communities a habit of

WHAT PEOPLE ARE THINKING

Herald Tribune Thurs. 7-22-48
New York, N. Y.

BY ELMO ROPER

Survey Shows Break in Solid South Is Possible

Thurs, 7-22-48

One thing was abundantly clear at the Democratic Convention: the South is still the solid South. But whether or not the South will be solidly Democratic in November may not be quite so sure.

It now appears at least possible that in some Southern states the regular Democratic organizations will run electors pledged to candidates other than President Truman. In at least a part of the South there may be a two-way race between Truman and the rump-convention Democrats. In some of the upper states of the region below the Mason-Dixon line, such as Virginia, where the Republicans have on occasion polled almost 40 per cent of the vote, the three-way split might allow the Republicans to break into the solid South for the first time in twenty years.

34

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Herald Tribune

A Hard-to-Break Custom

Yet it is still too early to write off the South from the Truman column next November. The vast majority of the voters in that region are accustomed to voting Democratic on Election Day—and it's a custom that seems hard to break. It would be more likely that the rebel Democrats stand a better chance of winning the support of the voters than does the Dewey-Warren ticket. Then, too, the Republican margin which we found existed just before the Democratic Convention took place is by no means decisive. It is possible—perhaps probable—that most of the delegates who did not walk out of the Philadelphia convention will be loyal to regular Democratic organizations and will be able to win a considerable portion of the South for Truman at the polls. Thurs 7-22-48

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Between-Conventions Survey

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New York, N. Y.

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JUDY BROWN: South Was Making Progress, Now Truman Has Set Us Back

It is a tragedy that now that the North and South have gradually grown together and have come to feel again as one great country, the president and those who think with him should have thrust a wedge between us. It is nonetheless tragic because we know that it will be mended and in time perhaps forgotten. But this will not be today or tomorrow. For the fact is that not being understood we are deeply offended.

Birmingham Ala 7-21-48

THE TENOR of many of the editorials and of a number of well-known columnists' articles, while perhaps meant to be kind, are, in fact, superior and even arrogant in tone. They say we are an over-sensitive people but that is not a good word for us. We are high spirited and proud and do not relish being spoken of as the poor South, the unfortunate South—almost as though there was something inferior in our civilization. Few of the articles written by these Northern and Eastern people show intelligent understanding of our situation. They have blundered badly. The president, if one may be allowed to say so, by his tactless, stupid, unnecessary, ill-timed and ill-advised civil rights effort, made a great ~~mistake. For~~ it is a blow which will strike in more ways than one. Wed

For the fact is, as we Southerners know, the relations between the Negroes and the whites of the South are better than they have ever been—the former are no longer held down by poverty. They have the things which they have always wanted and the lack of which has made them unhappy. While educational advantages in the South are not what they should be for the Negroes, they are not for the white people either. And this is true not only of this section but of the entire country. While there is an excess of crime, surely it is no worse in its ratio to the population than crime among the white people of the North and East. 7-21-48

We are trying with every means in our power to educate our Negroes, to give them constantly better advantages and to care for their health. There are free clinics everywhere. Every day we come to understand each other better. The progress of the race here is steady and sure. Housing was never before what it is today with comforts and luxuries.

7-21-48

* O DEAR! One could wail and weep indeed, for we were getting along so nicely, and the Negro was, with the help of his white friends marching steadily forward to the destiny for which he was intended. Every day he was proving himself of better stuff more worthy of the privileges which he most desired. Few of the Negroes really wish to associate intimately with the whites. Few care to live side by side with them. In most respects they really like things as they are.

Perhaps we are off our stride in discussing this matter in our little column. Certainly we do not speak for the paper or anyone else. But even a mere average woman can see what has been done to our Democratic Party, how important friendships of long standing have been broken. How enmities have been engendered; what changes will come to pass because of the insistence on this plank when it was so obvious that it was distasteful, shall we say insulting, to the South. Of all Mr. Truman's mistakes, this was the worst. Wed

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Light, Not Heat

News

To the Editor of The News:

I read in The News the telephone poll which was taken on how the average Birminghamian feels about the recent political situation. I was shocked by many of the responses.

As we well know, the South has always been considered inferior by the rest of the nation. The views shown by some of those interviewed certainly did not help to prove that we are an intelligent, free-thinking people. Many said they did not like President Truman or his platform, but because they are and always have been Democrats, they could not possibly change. Birmingham

My husband's family has always voted for one party, and my family has always voted for the other. Just because my parents vote one way, I do not find it imperative that I follow them. My husband and I agree that we will carefully study each nominee and his platform and decide who we think is the best man, regardless of his political party.

I realize it is difficult to break away from the way one has been brought up, but when one is given the privilege of voting he should be able to stand alone and decide for himself. Granted the man your grandfather and father voted for was a good man, but that does not necessarily mean that that party still has an able man. No one political party is completely infallible. Ala. Wed.

The thing we all want is the most fit and able man for the position of president. What difference does it make whether he is a Democrat, Republican or dark horse?

Everyone should form his own opinion and then go to the polls in November and vote with his head, not his heart!

(MRS.) JACQUELINE MURRAY.
1714 30th Avenue. North. 7-21-48

Walter White Cites "Real Americanism"

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 7-18-48

Believes Bolters Do Not Represent Southern Majority

NEW YORK — Describing the civil rights plank adopted on July 14 in the platform of the Democratic Party as an example of "real Americanism," Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Saturday expressed the appreciation of the half-million NAACP members of this action.

Mr. White declared the NAACP delighted at the specific inclusion of remedial legislation and other action against long-standing abuses like lynching, th poll tax, job discrimination and segregation in the Democratic platform. "We believe," Mr. White stated, "the victory of decency at Philadelphia marks the greatest turning point for the South and for America which has occurred since the Civil War. Both parties are now committed to implementation of the major recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Daily World

NOT MAJORITY

The NAACP secretary expressed the belief that the southern delegates who walked out on the Democratic convention in protest against its firm stand on civil rights do not represent majority opinion in the South. "We have more than 700 branches in the South through which we keep closely in touch with opinion there," Mr. White pointed out. "Except in a few isolated instances, the type of sectional selfishness and bad manners exhibited at Philadelphia are not approved by church, labor, student and veterans' groups in the South. In sheer self defense, the South is going to find new political leadership to replace that which disgraced the South in fighting civil rights." 7-18-48

South May Agree on '44 Rights Plank

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, June 22—(AP)—Rep. Rankin, Democrat, Mississipi, a leader in the Southern revolt against President Truman's Civil Rights Program, today indicated that Dixie Democrats may agree to repeating the party's 1944 plank on that issue. Wed.

In a statement issued after a conference with the President, Rankin declared that he was "not without hope that the Democratic Convention will reach a satisfactory agreement on the civil rights issue." 6-23-48

He added:

"If that convention adopts the same plank on this question that was inserted in the platform of 1944, I am assured that it will be adhered to.

"It would be far less offensive to the people of the South than the plank on this subject inserted in the Republican platform of 1944, and which I understand is being inserted in its platform in Philadelphia now."

Not In The Bag

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

To the Editor of The News:

It's not in the bag any longer. The states' righters are to be congratulated on their successful convention in Birmingham. The race now is definitely between Gov. Dewey and Gov. Thurmond for president. Truman will not, in my opinion, carry a single state in the electoral column. Gov. Thurmond will carry the electoral vote of the majority of the Southern states whereas Gov. Dewey will sweep the rest of the states.

In my humble opinion, Gov. Dewey will be our next president and inasmuch as the Republicans and Southern Democrats have lots in common, Gov. Dewey should, when he takes office in Washington next January, appoint such staunch believers in a free government to high government offices, such men as Gov. Thurmond and Gov. Wright. They should be "drafted" to serve in our free federal system of government. Fri. 7-23-48

The Northern Democrats belong to radicals and the radicals to them. They're done for now.

HOBSON GUTTERY.

Carbon Hill, Ala.

Two Parties

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

For many years there has been intermittent talk in the South of the establishment of a genuine two-party system. This newspaper, along with a great many Southerners, has long recognized benefits that might be derived from such a system. The present confused political situation in this region, with its indications that many more Southerners than usual may vote Republican in the national election this year, again brings the two-party issue to the fore.

There are many Southerners who are disposed to be Republican yet who, for local and practical reasons, continue to vote Democratic. They desire to participate in the Democratic primaries which generally determine the occupants of local and state offices. Participants in those primaries pledge themselves to support the nominees of the party. They do not always do so in national elections, of course. Many have voted for Democratic local candidates and for Republican presidential electors. Sun 4-11-48

But not so many have voted Republican nationally as might otherwise have done so because of the realization that a Republican administration, though its general national policies might seem more satisfactory, still at this stage of things might not give as much sympathetic consideration to the South as would a Democratic administration.

* * *

This business, then, of establishing a really competitive Republican Party in the South is very complicated. How it can be done by anti-Truman Democrats who nevertheless insist on designating themselves as faithful Democrats is very hard to see. In fact, we don't think it can be done.

These anti-Truman Democrats are going to be facing some very hard choices, in all probability, if they stand by their pledges to oppose Truman under any circumstances.

Obviously the choice in the electoral college, as we have suggested so many times, may be between Truman and someone less acceptable. Southern electors may have the balance of power. It may not be a question simply of refusing to support Truman when his defeat was assured in any case. It may be a definite choice between Truman and a less acceptable Republican—Dewey, for instance, who has long championed the civil rights program which now actually prevails in New York state—with Southerners having decisive votes. The News

It may even be that in the Democratic convention Southern delegates may face a choice between Truman and a less acceptable candidate. What, for instance, would Southern anti-Truman Democrats think of the liberal Douglas, who is being increasingly mentioned for the nomination?

Birmingham, Ala.

No, the anti-Truman Democrats, insisting on their loyalty to Alabama democracy, are

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Do We Want A Southern Party?

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

The talk increases that if the Democrats at Philadelphia next week either nominate President Truman or adopt states' rights and civil rights planks unsatisfactory to them, then Southern Democrats will hold a convention of their own and name their own candidates.

That will be no new step for Southern Democrats. In 1860, the Democratic Party was unable to agree either on the slavery issue (states' rights) or a presidential candidate. So they split and held two conventions. The Southerners nominated John C. Breckinridge and the Northerners Stephen A. Douglas.

The result was the election of Abraham Lincoln as president. Combined, the Democrats would have won in 1860, as Breckinridge got 845,763 votes, Douglas 1,375,157, and Lincoln 1,866,352. The Democrats lost in 1860 because they could not get together. And they did not win another presidential election until 24 years later, 1884. Will a split in 1948 bring about another long party drouth? And will it be worth it? Thurs. 7-8-48

* * *

It is the history of politics in this country that no party split or third party has succeeded if it was built upon a single issue. A sectional party, no matter how lofty its motives and sincere its purposes, would remain a sectional party. It could never expect to win a national victory. Its influence would always be the limited influence of a minor party.

Just what would the Southern "bolters" expect to accomplish if they hold their projected convention in Birmingham and draw up their own platform and name their own candidates? They do not expect to win the election, of course. Do they still cling to the dream of throwing the election into Congress and stampeding a Republican majority there into accepting Eisenhower over the Republican Party's own choice?

Within the national Democratic Party, the South's votes and influence both count. Outside the party, neither would count.

Birmingham, Ala.

If the South loses the fight in the convention but sticks by the party, it will be in position to continue the battle, in the party and in Congress, for the principles it holds. If it quits the party, it will have injured its position. Thurs. 7-8-48

We might as well face the fact that the South is only a wing of the Democratic Party.

That was true in 1860. It is still true. The "Solid South" provides fewer than half the electoral votes needed for election. We should not expect to dictate to the party.

A minority, of course, always has the right in a free country to rebel. But before it does so, it should carefully consider what it would gain by rebellion, and what it would lose. In this case, the losses would be many and obvious; the gains nebulous.

South Is Not Without Support

Journal + Guide

Norfolk, Va.

Sat. 7-31-48

FREQUENTLY spokesmen for the South complain that "the North does not understand the South's race question" and wants to force upon the South the acceptance of a northern concept of the question, which, it is assumed, is contrary to the southern concept. Actually, the South has very strong support in the North on questions involving the traditional southern race issue.

Most conservatives in the North, Republicans and Democrats, believe that the South should be allowed to proceed in its own way. Failure of the Republican Party leaders to comprehend the meaning of this position to Negroes gradually lost that party this vote in the big cities of the North, which received about a million migrants in the exodus of Negroes from the South between 1920 and 1940.

Northern capital is heavily invested in southern industries. Especially is this true of the textile, utilities and transportation industries. These investors have felt that their capital outlays were safer when the southern states have had their way about labor and other economic and social conditions in the region. Some have felt it was to their interest to be as aloof as possible toward the Negro, and to go along with the region's politics. In some cases certain political characters like the late GENE TALMADGE of Georgia were financed by the absentee financial interests, which according to current reports, are financing young HERMAN TALMADGE in his present unholy crusade.

A good many Democratic and Republican writers in the North who wield considerable influence have taken sides with the southern dissenters on the civil rights proposals. Mr. RAYMOND MOLEY, once a ROOSEVELT follower, thinks the TRUMAN administration blundered badly in taking a stand on the civil rights issue. "Instead of consulting southern leaders," he says "and soliciting their help in achieving more equality through cooperative action with the states, TRUMAN hurled the book at Congress."

Mr. DAVID LAWRENCE, Republican stalwart, thinks that, "the problems of race antagonism . . . must be solved by evolution—by appealing to the sense of fair play and the spiritual side of human beings, who must come to know that all of us are God's creatures and that no discrimination on the basis of race or color or creed can be justified by anyone believing in the Christian philosophy."

The trouble with Mr. MOLEY's prescription is that for eighty years it has been tried but has failed to work. It did not work under the late President WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, who applied it faithfully. Nor did it work under Mr. HARDING, Mr. COOLIDGE and Mr. HOOVER, who tried it. It failed to work under FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, who despite his progressivism, carried the South along with him. In eighty years the South has refused to give its Negro citizens *a single civil right or civil liberty of its own accord.* Such limited civil rights or liberties as Negroes enjoy have come through annulment by the courts of statutes adopted by the southern states with the specific purpose in view of denying Negroes the full benefits of the Bill of Rights and the 14th and 15th amendments.

Sat. 7-31-48

Mr. LAWRENCE expresses beautiful sentiments which imply that the Christian philosophy can be brought to bear upon the problems of the races with some salutary results. That is a reasonable expectation. The heart of his remedy is the churches. On the question of slavery, the churches split into northern and southern bodies, the latter taking the side of slavery in the 1860's. As far as is ascertainable the southern churches, while accepting the abolition of slavery as a fact and as desirable have rejected the Christian philosophy whenever it came to matters of "race and color."

Journal and Guide

The South is by no means alone in its advocacy of the right to deal with the race problem in its own way. The South has plenty of sympathizers in the North. Meanwhile the cause of human rights is gaining more and more advocates in the North and South. Never before were so many Americans in disagreement with the wishful thinkers who are waiting for nature to solve the problems of humanity.

Norfolk, Va.

The South's Influence

News-

Birmingham News

Birmingham Ala.

To the Editor of The News:

Your editorial entitled "Do We Want a Southern Party?" misses the point entirely.

What, we should ask ourselves, is the South ever going to become of age politically?

The same paper that carried your editorial carried an account of the nauseating and disgusting spectacle that took place in Philadelphia when the Negro, Walter White, and other Negro political leaders bearded the pre-convention platform committee in their den and proceeded to lay down the law to the national Democratic Party. That committee sat there and heard leading Southern Democrats denounced as bigots and stigmatized as conservatives without manifesting any resentment whatever. Had a group of Southerners appeared before the committee and denounced leading Northern Democrats as bigots and conservatives, their action would have been resented and resentment would have been manifested on the occasion. Instead of that, the South is expected to take these insults lying down, and yet you tell your readers "within the national Democratic Party the South's votes and influence both count. Outside the party neither would count."

7-13-48

The trouble is that your statement is not supported by the facts. We have no influence in the national Democratic Party, not enough influence to cause resentment at this maligning of Southern leaders. It does not matter what anybody says about us. It is okeh by the North. Nearly 50 per cent of the electoral vote necessary to elect a president is in the South. That vote can be delivered with clocklike regularity for the Democratic Party if that party stands for the decent things in life. We do not have to campaign for that electoral vote.

Tue. 7-13-48

It does not cost the Democratic Party any money to get those votes. Instead we send money to doubtful territory and yet we are expected to stand by and let the tail wag the dog and the Northern and Eastern Democrats, so called, cater to the basest element in society and destroy our way of life and repudiate our most cherished traditions, all because The News says that we have some influence and votes in the Democratic Party.

We already have a Southern party in Alabama and all the other Southern states. The only question before us is whether or not we will support a national organization that is not in harmony with our way of thinking. If we will keep the Democratic Party in the state intact and absolutely independent in national affairs, a repetition of the disgusting spectacle that occurred in Philadelphia, as reported in your paper, will not be repeated.

HORACE C. WILKINSON.

Money Willed To Help North And South Relations

Journal + Guide

Norfolk, Va.

Sat. 8-7-48

By Associated Negro Press

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — A n undetermined sum was left for the establishment of a fund which would work for better relations between the North and the South by a wealthy Boston lawyer, it was revealed here this week when the will of Edgar J. Rich was filed in the Middlesex County Probate Court.

Sat.

Rich, who died at the age of 83 July 17, named this fund the Lincoln and Lee trust fund for the Winchester Public Library to "bring about better relations better the North and South."

8-7-48

His will left $100,000 in specific bequests to friends and relatives and the rest of the estate to the Lincoln and Lee fund. The value of the latter fund will not be determined until the estate has been evaluated.

A native of Winchester, Rich had specialized in the study of the history of the Civil War and the Reconstruction period in American history.

Journal + Guide

Income from this fund, he said, would buy "books, pamphlets, pictures and mementos relating to Abraham Lincoln and Robert E. Lee, including books relating to the Civil War and the causes leading to it, and books relating to the Reconstruction period, in the hope that by the lives of these great Americans there may come about a better understanding between North, and South."

Norfolk, Va.

Sat.

Rich's will also provided that in case the fund could not be spent "wisely" for the purposes indicated, part of it may be used to pay for lectures on Lincoln and Lee and to give prizes to pupils of Winchester High for the best essays on these men.

8-7-48

THOMAS L. STOKES

The Constitution

The South Inherits Control

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs, 7-15-48

PHILADELPHIA—Over the still live and kicking frame of Harry Truman the fight started at the Philadelphia convention for control of the Democratic Party—and it will go on henceforth. The President, still the titular leader of the party though somewhat scarred, must carry it through the campaign. If he loses, he probably will not have too much influence in the continuing fight for party control. If by some outside chance he should win, he would have more to say.

In the case of such temporary bankruptcy as that in which the party would find itself in defeat, if it does not already exist to a considerable degree, it is usual that the holder of the most notes takes over. On that theory, it seems that the Southern conservative leaders, who must be distinguished always from the Southern people as a whole, would assume control temporarily, as they always have in such contingencies in the past.

They hold the most notes. They control States which, under ordinary circumstances, always can be counted upon to go Democratic by party label, and thus provide a nucleus for victory, even though Franklin D. Roosevelt would have won every one of his four victories without a single Southern State. But those were unusual conditions in unusual times and cannot be considered the norm.

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Furthermore, the South controls key minority posts in Congress because of the one-party system that gives them full benefit of the seniority system, and it is there, in Congress, between times, when the party is out of power, that not only the record but the decisions on leadership and policy are made.

President Truman got less than a draw in his battle at the convention with Southern-wing leaders. While his renomination was not successfully challenged, nasty as the Southerners tried to make it for him, that is about all he got out of the convention.

He did not get the forthright civil rights plank he wanted in the platform. He did not get as running mate a representative of the younger, progressive element. While his choice, Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the Supreme Court, refused to enter the contest, the President nevertheless would have had plenty of trouble getting him nominated, not only because of almost solid opposition in the South, but formidable resistance elsewhere. Thurs.

A group of convention leaders, including Senators, took both of these matters out of the President's hands. They compromised the civil rights program to appease the South and dictated the selection of Sen. Alben W. Barkley, the 71-year-old party warhorse, as vice presidential nominee, the latter also designed as a peace overture to the South, though not too graciously received.

President Truman's defiance of the South is most commendable and very courageous and is a highlight of this convention that probably will become historic. But it cannot end with that. The Southern leadership that he so bravely flaunted cannot be dismissed airily and forgotten, as some are suggesting. 7-15-48

Rather, for the long-range future of the party, they must be constantly kept in mind as constituting the major problem for anyone who wants to make the Democratic Party a progressive party and, for that, to tap the reservoir of progressivism in the South which is more potent than many people suppose. For this it is necessary to appeal to the people of the South over these leaders who so misrepresent so many of them so often, and some of President Truman's advisers recognize the wisdom of such a course.

The Constitution

It is necessary to arouse the people to raise up new and progressive leaders. But for the people to be able to do that, it is necessary that they participate in politics more widely. This will require some sort of civil rights program to remove the shackles of disfranchisement in poll taxes and "white" primary dodges, as well as racial discriminations. There Congress comes in if States themselves cannot be induced to shake off these fetters. This brings into the picture Republicans and progressive Democrats from outside the South. As President Truman himself has seen so plainly, a civil rights program is very essential to a progressive Democratic Party. Atlanta, Ga.

How hard it is to raise up new leaders in the South under present conditions is illustrated by recent events, including some at this convention. There is, for example, the case of Sen. Claude Pepper, of Florida, who professes to be a progressive Southern Democrat. He indulged here in day dreams, chasing around for a candidate to "stop Truman" and finally ended up, like Narcissus, by looking in a mirror, being charmed by what he saw, and printing his own name at the bottom of posters of "The People's Candidate," originally made for Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. Thurs. 7-15-48

There are the cases of Sens. Lister Hill and John Sparkman, of Alabama, who have good records on economic issues. But both took fright at the civil rights program, joined the anti-Truman movement, and thereby raced right back into the sheltering arms of big interests in their States, which always had fought them and which use what is commonly called "the nigger issue" to work their purposes.

Rebuilding the Democratic Party will be a slow and painful process, perhaps. It will require new leadership all around, as well as recognition of the younger generation. But it should not overlook the South. 7-15-48

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ixiecrats 'Hold Fire' Under Negro's Attack

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Atlanta Constitution

Fri. 7-9-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 8—(AP)—Southern Democrats held their fire today as a Negro leader called them "bigots" and demanded that President Truman's civil rights program be written into the 1948 Democratic Platform.

The Southerners not only kept quiet but one of them predicted that a compromise will be reached in the battle over racial issues which has started a small war within the Democratic Party.

Sen. Hoey, of North Carolina, told a reporter:

"I am confident that we can reach an agreement on civil rights that will be satisfactory to President Truman and probably satisfactory to the South. We do not, however, expect to satisfy the extreme elements of either end."

Walter White, of New York, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the Democratic Platform Drafting Committee: 7-9-48

"The Democratic Party has been too much dominated by those who have attained and held power through disfranchisement, lynching and racial discrimination. The day of reckoning has come when the Democratic Party must decide whether it is going to permit bigots to dictate its philosophy."

The CIO also urged that the Truman program be adopted—including laws to ban poll taxes, lynching and racial discrimination in hiring. This is the program the Southern Democrat leaders don't like.

The CIO asked the Democrats to adopt a "Roosevelt platform." And the CIO spokesman, Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey, rapped the '48 Republican platform as "one of deceit, designed to fool the people." He said there is nothing in the GOP platform that attracts the interest of labor.

The CIO proposals included repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor act, price controls, broader social security, Federal housing, Federal aid to education, health insurance, an excess profits tax and other measures.

Joseph A. Beirne, President of the Communications Workers of America, also asked for repeal of the Taft-Hartley law and proposed a lot of other planks. But unlike the CIO he said nothing about lynching, poll taxes and fair employment practices.

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, a Negro religious leader from New York, appeared with Walter White. They said they spoke for 21 national Negro organizations with 6,000,000 members.

The handful of Southerners on the committee said not a word. It was a surprising contrast with the stormy reception White and Tobias got when they testified before a Republican platform committee here last month.

Progressives Hit Snag in Georgia

The Constitution

Wed 9-22-48

Atlanta Ga

The Henry Wallace group in Georgia may have a shock coming to it when and if it comes into the Secretary of State's office with petitions bearing thousands of names by Oct. 2. Approximately 60,000 names of registered voters in Georgia are required on a petition to get Wallace's name on the ballot—and the names of Larkin Marshall, Macon Negro running for the Senate, and James Barfoot, a former University of Georgia teacher, running for Governor.

Disorders have broken out in Atlanta when Wallace workers allegedly blocked streets and virtually tugged at the coats of pedestrians, insisting that they sign the petition. Many persons have said they signed the petition under misrepresentation when the Wallaceites merely told them: "This is a petition to cut the cost of living."

Now comes Secretary of State Ben Fortson with the warning that he isn't going to accept a jumble of thousands of names on a petition on the theory that they represent 5 percent of Georgia's registered voters.

"The burden is on the petitioners to show that the names on the petition are bona fide registered voters," Fortson warned. "In my opinion, the only sure way to determine that they are registered voters would be for those signing from each county to have their petition attested to by the tax commissioner or clerk of the Supreme Court that they are registered voters. I don't think a petition presented with a jumble of names without evidence they are registered voters would serve as a proper document to enable any candidate to get his name on the general election ballot."

The Georgia law requires a person to obtain signatures of 5 percent of the voters if he was not a member of a party polling 5 percent of the votes cast in the past election. This law was passed at the request of the late Secretary of State John B. Wilson for the purpose of eliminating from the Georgia ballot the Communist Party, Socialist Party and some individual candidates who perennially cluttered up the ballot without a chance of carrying a county. In effect, however, it also eliminated the Republican Party from State races and made opposition to the Democratic Party impossible without a petition. The constitutionality of this law has been protested in speeches and articles, but not in court.

Wed 9-22-48

There has been talk of the 1949 Legislature repealing this act. However, the activities of the Henry Wallace group are putting a damper on this move.

It may or may not be of any political significance, but 10 of the 29 counties which Thompson carried in the gubernatorial primary had in them State parks—parks on which the State had spent money improving.

The race was close in four more counties in which parks were located.

When Jim Gillis, Sr., of Soperton, resumes the post of State Highway Director—which he held under a Rivers administration and during the 67 days Herman Talmadge claimed the office of Governor last year—he will have a close supporter in the House. His son, Hugh, is the newly nominated Representative from Treutlin County. Hugh's older brother, Jim, Jr., formerly was in the Senate.

Atlanta Ga

Have The Liberals Surrendered?

Journal & Guide

Sat 8-21-48

Norfolk Va

HAS the organized liberal movement in the Southland surrendered? At times the silence of those who have fighted in movements for improvement of conditions in the South makes one, even with the friendliest of regard, wonder. We refer specifically to the conferences culminating with the organization in 1943 of the Southern Regional Council as successor to the Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

After the notable Durham Conference of southern Negroes on Oct. 20, 1942, a statesmanlike and far-reaching manifesto was issued as "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South." Southern white men and women could not ignore that conference nor the firm and sane program drafted there, so that a second conference was held at Atlanta, with spokesmen for the majority race participating. Their reply, known as the Atlanta Statement, was signed by more than three hundred southern white people on April 8, 1943.

Out of these two conferences grew a third, bi-racial in character and composed of delegated individuals. From it came the Richmond Statement of June 16, 1943, drafted in collaboration by white and Negro delegates from the Durham and Atlanta conferences.

While the Southern Regional Council, which grew out of these three conferences, is doing a yeoman job in seeking to hold in check the most adverse characteristics of southern demagoguery, it at times seems to be waging a losing campaign.

These were liberal or progressive men and women. If ever their voices were needed to be raised in defense of decencey, humanity, and democracy this is the time to do so. GEORGE S. MITCHELL, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, wired a statement to the Southern Governors Conference held in Florida early in February, and submitted it to two of the three wire news services. Either they failed to distribute that important statement on an issue of national interest or the southern daily press, with rare unanimity, suppressed it—instead however, playing up every unfavorable facet of the civil rights issue that was available.

There are admittedly fair-minded editors on the South's daily press, but the chiefs of the news desk are far less objective in their selection, display, and treatment of news of a racial or interracial character. This is the statement sent to the southern governors by MR. MITCHELL:

"Surely the statesmanlike thing for the South to do in the civil rights controversy is to declare a nhonest intention to provide speedily the fundamental civil rights which the nation and the world expect from us. These include protection from physical violence, the right to citizenship (including service on juries), equality of opportunity in education, health, housing, and travel, and persistent efforts to get fair play in private employment.

"Should also include access to state and local administrative employment in at least the degree of fairness shown in this regard by southern offices of federal agencies.

"If the governors speak responsibly to this effect the nation will gladly let the South implement these rights itself. More, the nation will help with funds. That way lies sound progress, the other nothing but bitterness. We of all peoples understand the less of history on this sort of thing. Responsible citizenship can do no less than this.

Similarly, the white press gave scant consideration to a statement (published elsewhere in this edition of the Journal and Guide) issued by the board of directors of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association. This statement endorsed the civil rights proposals of the Administration and the civil rights measures now before Congress, and deplored the irresponsible words and actions of certain governors and legislators, some of them "northerners," following President TRUMAN's message to Congress on civil rights—not only for Negroes but for others short-changed on them.

In truth, then, *have* the liberals surrendered?

ANNISTON (ALA.) STAR

~~Atlanta Constitution~~

Fascist Trends in the South

Atlanta, Georgia

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, who was handpicked as a Presidential candidate after several others had thrust aside the crown, is now using his temporary prominence in an effort to improve his chances as a reputed candidate for the upper house of Congress against Sen. Johnson. And in his addresses, he accuses almost everyone who disagrees with the Dixiecrat point of view as being tinged with the Communist brush.

The facts are, however, that it is the Dixiecrats themselves who are guilty of resorting to totalitarian methods. This was never more blatantly indicated than in the recent action of the Louisiana Central Committee in ruthlessly removing the names of Truman and Barkley from the Democratic ticket and in substituting the names of Thurmond and Wright as nominees of the Democratic Party. This was done with utter disregard for the expressed wishes of the people.

Wed 10-6-48

'The Party'

The Democrats of Louisiana were lawfully represented at the Democratic National Convention. They participated in its proceedings and did not walk out as the Mississippi and part of the Alabama delegation did when the South failed to get a States' rights plank written into the platform. It was assumed, therefore, that they accepted the verdict of the majority in good faith according to traditional Democratic procedure.

But now we find the successors of Huey Long throwing the Democratic procedure into the discard and setting up the claim that they are the Democratic Party in Louisiana, after the fashion of Louis XIV of France, who said, "I am the State!" Moreover, we now find the Democratic Executive Committee of Tennessee, the State of Boss Crump, with somewhat of equal ruthlessness removing the names of anti-Truman electors from the Nov. 2 ballot in retaliation.

Started in Alabama

This callous procedure was started here in Alabama when the Chairman of the State Committee used the common funds of the Committee to help elect himself and his Dixiecrat sympathizers over the opposition of ex-Gov. Sparks and others who had contributed equally to the election funds.

The Anniston Star has never been very much interested in

Harry Truman as a man. The editor of this paper was in London when his nomination was maneuvered by many of the same persons who are opposing him so vigorously today. The prospect of his becoming President was greeted with great gloom by conservatives and liberals alike throughout the United Kingdom. But today he is arrayed against the selfish interests who thought they could control him, and we are interested in him as representative of the Democratic Party.

Because of our interest in Democracy as the party of the people, we have been alarmed at some of the appointments Mr. Truman has made and some of the associates he has cultivated. His championship of Ed Pauley, who is a representative of Tidelands oil interests, now so concerned with the Dixiecrat movement, is a case in point. For if private monopoly gains control of that essential resource we would be immeasurably handicapped in the event of another war.

Party Is Bigger

But the Democratic Party is bigger than any one man, and that fact should be emphasized when the Dixiecrats and the Republicans center their fire on the man who temporarily occupies the White House. It is the Party that has successfully led the fight against totalitarianism in two great world wars, and hence it is that we become greatly alarmed when we see a group of men who call themselves Democrats walk out of deliberative assemblies every time they fail to enforce their composite will, as the Dixiecrats did at Philadelphia and more recently in Texas.

But big money is involved in American politics today, and selfish interests do not quibble over the means they employ to attain their ends.

Mer-11-6-48

Here in Alabama we had thought the late B. B. Comer had ended corporation rule in the affairs of our State for all time; we thought that Teddy Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and FDR had decided the issue nationally. But monopoly never sleeps, and existing trends toward totalitarianism, viewed in the light of the aftermath of another world war, lead us to fear that some man on horseback may crucify American democracy and set up in its stead a corporate state after the pattern of Mussolini's Italy.

In view of such a national tragedy it is time for us to cease our divisiveness and stick together, all for one and one for all in defense of our country and its traditions.

Is the South Being Unreasonable?

The Constitution Mon 8-9-48

The writer, Democratic Representative from Arkansas, is completing his third term in the House of Representatives. A resident of Little Rock, Ark., he is a graduate of the University of Arkansas and of George Washington University Law School. Congressman Hays was formerly Assistant Attorney General of Arkansas, a Democratic National Committeeman and, from 1936 to 1942, he held administrative posts in the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Atlanta Ga

WASHINGTON—The respectable and thoughtful individual in the South is experiencing two equally authentic reactions to the controversy over civil rights. One day he says, "Why can't these agitators leave the race problem alone? I'll vote Dixiecrat if this doesn't stop." The next day, he weighs the intemperance of some of the "bolters" and the dangers of a Splinter Party and is depressed by that development.

He knows that the "States' Righters" won't get far. Following strictly the constitutional pattern, proponents of civil rights still can give us plenty of grief. Our reliance must be placed on the sense of justice of the American people and their political representatives.

Fourteen years ago a speech in a Senate debate over civil rights ended with these words "Do not enact this legislation. It will awaken the sleeping monster that brought on the Civil War."

It was the plea not of a Southerner but of one completely above suspicion on race matters and firmly attached to the liberal tradition—the late great George Norris, of Nebraska.

We of the South are quick to disavow a revival of issues provoking disunion (the occasional fears of our Northern friends on this score amuse us) but the Truman civil rights proposal goes deeply into the basic assumptions and fixed ways of life upon which our social stability rests. We will have none of it.

The Constitution

... apply a harsh judgment upon us for repudiating the Truman program in its totality. We are not unreasonable. When we threaten to be unreasonable, our better natures always become assertive and then we seek a basis for a compromise.

The dramatics at the Democratic Convention this year overshadowed the significant fact that every Southern member of the platform committee okayed the compromise civil rights plank. We do not oppose civil rights. We do oppose mixing civil rights with certain social aspirations, even legitimate ones, which are not subject to realization by legal penalties.

A fact that many of our critics overlook is that since Reconstruction most Southern lawyers have been sensivtive to basic rights of Negro citizens and have sought, often without compensation, to protect them in court actions against invasion of the rights of person and property. Much remains to be done toward the grand ideal of equality before the law, but progress is being made. Every sensible observer knows that Federal legislation would retard rather than help this development.

Mon 8-9-48

What about the health of Negroes? I know that any suggestion related to the physical well-being of this race often is dismissed by those who are absorbed in political controversy. But my point is that progress is being made in attitudes, and through better health practices both races are demonstrating how to attack a common enemy. Tremendous progress is being made because the intelligent leadership of the South knows that the penalty for non-cooperation is a high mortality rate.

What about education? In Arkansas, we are comparatively poor in economic resources. We have at all times found it difficult to maintain minimum school standards for white children. Yet we have made significant strides toward providing equal facilities for Negroes.

In Arkansas we have provided an increase of $5,500,000 for each of the next two years to improve Negro schools. This will mean better buildings and transportation and more and better teachers. There is now in effect a planned program to equalize the two school systems. This cannot be done overnight but shortly, in those towns having an accredited high school for white students, there will be an accredited high school for Negroes.

One of my Negro friends in Mississippi wrote me: "Negro education has too long been inadequate and insufficient. I believe that our people are now willing and anxious to do something to improve educational opportunities for Negroes; but neither group (white or black) is willing to wreck the white standard in order to raise the Negro standard immediately. If Mississippi is required to equalize educational opportunities within its own resources, it will mean the lowering of the inadequate standards for whites."

Atlanta Ga.

That is why we of the South have fought consistently for Federal aid to education.

In the field of higher education, I admit that we have, to some extent, lagged in our obligations. But something has been done. Southern Governors made an outstanding contribution to the solution of this problem in proposing a system of regional universities offering professional and graduate study. The States needed Congressional authority to enter into the necessary interstate compacts, yet the bill failed of Congressional approval. Thus, the Federal Government blocked one of the region's self-initiated programs.

In the economic field, also, new attitudes are developing. We need an enlightened Negro citizenship. As his zeal for education is realized, the Negro can contribute more toward supporting community, State and National institutions. His influence is felt far outside strictly racial matters: progress among Negroes will be reflected in the general progress of the section.

Despite the attitude of some of our critics, we are not fighting a defensive rear-guard battle in opposing these proposed Federal programs. We are insisting on the right, reserved to us under the Federal Constitution, to make those far-reaching decisions upon which the happiness of both races depends.

South Has Own 'Iron Curtain,' McGill Declares

The Advertiser

Adv. 10-21-48

Montgomery Ala

LOUISVILLE, KY., Oct. 20—(AP)—The South has its own "iron curtain," Ralph McGill, Atlanta newspaper editor, said in an address here today.

Speaking before the first day's session of the Southeastern Library Association convention, McGill said:

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"We have our own iron curtain in the South, and it's lack of information and education. Even radio hasn't become the mass educational medium it should."

Referring to the Ku Klux Klan, McGill called the organization a "sucker trap to enrich its promoters and a refuge for Fascist type sadists." The speaker said the Klan carries little weight in the South.

Adv. 10-21-48

"In Georgia," he said, "we feel like getting down on our knees and thanking God that old Doc Sam Green is the imperial wizard." He said Green wouldn't "make it a dangerous thing."

Miss Helen Harris of Knoxville said the worst library service in the nation is found in the Southeast and that Mississippi and Kentucky are among the lowest in the group.

The observations came from a two-year survey of library services over the nation.

Let the South End Its Political Slavery

The Constitution – Mon 11-1-48

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following was written as a Letter to the Editor by W. A. Thompson, of Atlanta. The editors feel that the views expressed are so pertinent to the present political situation as to warrant publication in full.

Atlanta, Ga

Editor Constitution: How long will we people of the South continue to worship the fetish that regardless of merits of issues and fitness of candidates, we must vote the Democratic ticket in national elections merely because such was the habit of our fathers and grandfathers?

Ever since the War Between the States the South has been treated as a neglected stepchild simply because Northern Democrats always knew in advance that they had us in the bag and would keep us, and the Republicans knew that they didn't have us and couldn't get us even if they tried. So, for over three-quarters of a century the leaders of both parties have quadrennially written us off *ab initio*, knowing that we would vote the Democratic ticket even if the devil himself were its candidate and the only plank in his platform called for the hanging of every man residing south of the Mason and Dixon line.

All that the Northern Democrats have had to do to get us into the bag was to hold their convention, pick a candidate who was to their liking and then stand off and watch us take the bait. And we have always swallowed it, hook, line and sinker. I am a son of a Confederate veteran, have been a Georgia voter all my adult life, and am about as guilty as any of the rest of us. But not so from here on out. Hereafter I vote for the man and what he stands for.

But I thoroughly agree with you, Mr. Editor, on your recent editorial, "The South at the Crossroads," which was further emphasized in your radio address of last Monday evening on the obvious evils and danger of any but the two-party system. Even if J. Strom Thurmond should win enough electoral votes to throw the election of a President into the House of Representatives, he could not possibly win in that forum because there are enough States represented in that body by Republicans to elect Dewey on the first ballot, if they all so voted. But suppose a few of them didn't so vote. There are still enough brainy and courageous men in the House—Republicans and Democrats—who would see to it that Thurmond is defeated because they know that he just doesn't have the stature and experience to fit him for successfully steering this nation through the turbulent and dangerous diplomatic waters that even now threaten to engulf us. So, a vote for Thurmond on Nov. 2 is a vote for Dewey in any event.

If it had been a debatable question as to whether the South would be carried by the Democrats or by the Republicans in the approaching election, no amount of persuasion could have induced Mr. Truman to even whisper anything about civil rights, which now appears as the throbbing issue in the South, and certainly *no* spokesman for the Republican Party would have dared whisper about it, for it would have meant certain defeat for whichever party committed the indiscretion. But I am not so much concerned about that particular issue as I am about our past stupidity in overlooking the vast benefits that would be right now flowing to our section of the nation if about half of us had joined up with the Republican Party years ago, for by having done so the South would today have an active and influential part in shaping the policies of both of the parties and all of us would feel once more that we are a real part of the United States of America.

Mon 11-1-48

And why wouldn't this be a good time to start while we have a good face-saving issue? If Mr. Dewey should win the election by virtue of having carried the South, or any substantial part of it, he and the Republican Party would naturally want to keep us, and the Northern Demcrats would just as naturally want to win us back four years hence. Then for the next four years both parties would be falling all over each other in their efforts to see which could do the most for us.

For nearly a century the campaign battles between the Republicans and Northern Democrats have all been waged on ground so far removed that we hardly knew that the battles were in progress. Who in the South ever saw on our soil a presidential candidate of either of the major parties, or heard one make a campaign speech—until radio came along and assisted us in eavesdropping on what was going on? But if Mr. Dewey should become the winner by virtue of help from the South, then there will be so much campaigning in this area four years hence that we will once again realize that we are really and truly a great part of so great a nation.

I shall vote for Mr. Dewey.

THOMAS L. STOKES

34d Political

A Forward-Looking Southerner

Atlanta Constitution

WASHINGTON—Things move by fits and starts in this world. Now forward a little, now backward, and vice versa. A backward step here is often offset by a forward step there. Typical of the forward step is what is going on in the State of Arkansas in the Deep South. It was brought to national attention again recently by the visit here of the young, newly elected Governor, Sidney S. McMath, and a group of his young associates, many of them war veterans like himself, who helped him to his election and will occupy key posts in his young men's administration which begins with his inauguration Jan. 11.

Mon 12-27-48

The Governor-elect, who had a distinguished war record with the Marines and in the gruelling Pacific campaign from island to island, has likewise proved his mettle on the political battlefield. He attracted wide notice with a clean-up of rackets as Mayor of Hot Springs, a resort city, and he and his vigorous young lieutenants broke up a poll-tax racket to defeat the machine and win his election as Governor. It was the old device familiar in Southern politics where bosses buy up poll tax receipts by the thousands and vote lists of names en bloc. This vote is often the balance of power.

Atlanta Georgia

The victory was along a wide front, for the McMath group enlisted young men of like mind all over the State to run for the Legislature. As a result, the new Governor will have a Legislature sympathetic with his program. Their success shows what a political group can accomplish if it has ideas, ideals and energy and gets right down to the precinct level with an organization to do a job.

It was heartening to sit around with the young men and listen to them talk about their aims—new schools, new roads, expansion of public power projects to utilize the power potential of the State's many rivers, the greatest power potential of any State in the union.

An objective in the political field is elimination of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. Arkansas is one of seven Southern States that still has this restriction. It is imbedded in the State Constitution. The new Governor will ask the Legislature to start the protracted process of repeal by passage of a resolution to submit the issue to the voters.

While his opponents exploited the racial issue in their campaign against him, he refused to use it, saying flatly that the Negro was not an issue in the campaign. That is not an easy position to take in the South.

The Arkansas adventure offers a hopeful offset to what is going on in other Southern States. In Georgia Gov. Herman Talmadge is taking a backward step. He is seeking to deprive the Negroes of suffrage through an educational test device which can be distorted, as it has been in Alabama and other Southern States, to stop Negroes from voting. In South Carolina a move is under way to upset court decisions upholding the right of Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary.

Among other reasons, the new Arkansas Governor and his young men came here, frankly, to find out what Federal funds are available to their State for various purposes, such as schools and roads and public health. One of them remarked, with a grin, that they had discovered the State was entitled to three or four millions more than they knew. They deployed all over the city in their mission.

Mon 12-27-48

There was a little political missionary work done while they were here, too, designed both for their interest and for that of President Truman and the Democratic Party nationally. The President received the Governor-elect at the White House and he also dropped in at a reception of the Arkansas Society in honor of Mr. McMath and his associates.

Arkansas gave the President the largest vote proportionately of any Southern State. It is the President's desire to encourage progressive Democratic forces in the South, and Arkansas is a good symbol now with its incoming administration. The President hopes to see the Democratic Party in the South become, in time, a real progressive party which can root out such influences as those represented by the Dixiecrats. He owes the Dixiecrats nothing. He defied them, and they were shaken loose by his victory. His interests lie elsewhere, and so do those of the Democratic Party nationally.

The South in Struggle

Sun Worker

By Sam Hall
Chairman, Communist Party of Alabama

34l Political

Sun 10-31-48

TUESDAY IS THE DAY. Not only one of the most fateful election days in the history of our country and of the world, but in a very particular way a great historic day in the life of the South.

Of course, the people of the South are bound up with the struggle for war or peace, fascism or democracy—the key issues in this election. But also the South is fighting to break through the bonds of semi-feudal exploitation and win some of the democratic rights that are enjoyed now in the rest of the country.

Above all, Tuesday's election in the South marks a milestone in the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed Negro people in the South.

In Tuesday's election probably 800,000 Negro southerners will be eligible to vote as registered voters. Many will be kept away from the polls by terror and intimidation—many more will vote in spite of such intimidation. This in itself will make Tuesday's election one of the most important in the South since Reconstruction.

New York N.Y.

TO THOSE WHO, like the Communists, take a long view of the election, the new Progressive Party's initial bow to southern voters Tuesday will mark the beginning of a new day in southern politics.

Since Reconstruction the South has been ruled by a one-party dictatorship. The Democratic Party in the South has been controlled throughout this time by the Wall Street-landlord combination and it has been the "white supremacy" party.

Only once before was there a serious challenge to this dictatorship. This was at the turn of the century when the Populist Party made rapid gains in the South and even won state power in North Carolina. At first, this party united, at least to a degree, Negro and white, but it did not consistently fight to liberate the Negro people. It failed. And this failure underlined a truth that the Communist Party has been hammering on ceaselessly since it was organized. That truth is that no political movement can achieve anything progressive in the South unless it fights for the liberation of the Negro people.

★

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY has made a good start in fighting on the question of full rights for the Negro people. It has nominated Negro candidates for office in the South and it has begun the fight for full voting rights for the Negro people and against the anti-Negro terror.

Thus at a time when the forces of the people in the South are stirring into action, there arises a political weapon which is indispensable for the people's struggle. The Negro people in the South are surging forward more militantly than at any time since Reconstruction.

Many sections of the white population are in motion. White students are militantly undertaking struggles with the Negro people against Jimcrow in higher education. The white workers, with all their backward prejudices, are moving through their trade unions and have learned the first lessons of Negro-white unity. Small white farmers in several states are joining the Farmers Union, alongside Negro farmers and are making their demands heard.

The solid South is cracking wide open. The desperate move of reaction to use the Dixiecrat movement to again solidify the South through anti-Negro prejudice is doomed to failure, regardless of what temporary successes it might achieve at one place or another.

Sun 10-31-48

INTO THIS POLITICAL flux is thrust the new Progressive Party. Already it is acting as a pole attracting sections of all the various people's tides. This process will continue. That is why the fact of the organized Progressive Party in the South is the most important aspect of the 1948 elections.

This is not to minimize the importance of a maximum vote on Nov. 2. Just the opposite. Future success in building this party will depend greatly on the size of the vote in the various states.

Anyone would be naive to think that the Progressive Party will be built in the South without facing the most vicious opposition and attack. The greatest protection against future attack on this party is a large vote on Nov. 2.

The Ku Klux Klan politicians will hesitate to open up with fascist attacks on the new party as it moves ahead in the future if the Nov. 2 elections have proved that thousands of voters in each state support the Progressive Party.

There are some who say that after the elections they will help build the Progressive Party, but that on Nov. 2 they don't want to waste their vote, so they'll cast it for Truman.

We know the whole political argument against this reasoning, but I want to close this column with just one aspect of the case for voting Progressive on next Tuesday. A vote for the Progressive Party now is the best way to guarantee the building of that party tomorrow.

Senator Olin Johnson Furnishes Nation's Press A Perfect Symbol Of His Southland

Journal Guide

By ARTHUR P. DAVIS

646

THE WIDELY publicized picture of Senator Olin Johnston's "empty table" at the recent Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner here in Washington struck me as being unconsciously symbolic.

The South Carolina Senator, of course, was trying to broadcast and dramatize the South's antagonism to Truman's civil rights proposals. This he did very effectively, but he also did much more. Unwittingly he furnished to the national press a perfect symbol of his native Southland.

Sat 3-6-48

In all the modern world, there is no region that is more "empty" than the South. Morally and spiritually empty, empty of genuine culture, of Christianity and of even ordinary human decency, it is one of the most depressing wastelands in our modern society. And I can think of no better symbol for it than an empty table placed, as was Senator Johnston's, in the midst of numerous other tables around which sat normal human beings, enjoying the company of **all** their fellowmen.

* * * *

THE SOUTH HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE PROBLEM CHILD of our nation—a vicious but imbecilic child in a family of normal children. We are ashamed of the unfortunate brat, and we hide her away from the public view as much as possible. Bue she will break out and act up as she has done recently. On these occasions, she not only embarrasses us deeply; she also distresses us because we realize that there is absolutely no hope of the child's recovery.

Norfolk Va

Frankly, there is something utterly fantastic about a group of responsible legislators—senators, congressmen, and governors—stating hysterically that they will fight to the bitter end rather than have ordinary human decency come to their region. Such fanaticism in the twentieth century makes you wonder about human nature.

It is not only the viciousness of the idea that hurts. It is also the religious zeal with which these southern leaders openly voice their opposition to what the rest of the civilized world considers a good action—the giving of minimum freedom to all people. It is hard to understand the self-righteous wrongness of these southerners. In fact, allowing even for the whole tragic history of the region, it is still difficult for a sane man to understand their attitude.

* * * *

ANOTHER REMARKABLE THING ABOUT THIS attitude is the essential unity of southern opinion concerning it. A highly educated leader like Darden, the president of the University of Virginia, takes the same stand that Senator Byrd, a relatively uneducated politician, takes. The governor of a comparatively liberal state like North Carolina joins hands with the governor of Mississippi. The liberal editor and the yellow-journalist close ranks whenever there is danger of freedom coming to their homeland. There is seemingly no opening wedge anywhere. Whenever there is a question of touching the status quo, the whole region falls back upon tradition, and nothing can pass that iron curtain.

Sat 3-6-48

It would perhaps be therapeutic for the whole nation if the South were really to carry out its threats and secede politically from the Democratic Party.

* * * *

SUCH A STEP WOULD CLARIFY MANY ISSUES and give that party a chance to represent adequately the groups it is supposed to represent. If Truman's party remains as it is now, half-modern and half-medieval, it will not only lose the coming election: it will go out of existence. The thinking of the world has gone too far to allow such strange bedfellows even in politics. Although the President is neither a great liberal nor a great genius, he has enough good, hard, political common sense to realize this fact.

Returning to Johnston's **empty table**—I for one sincerely hope that the senator's gesture of protest is not only symbolical but truly **prophetic**. If the southern Democrats withdrew and formed their own empty little party, Negroes for the first time could vote the Democratic ticket without feeling unclean.

South Benefits By Party Split, Andrews Says

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery Alabama
34l

Future Political Gain

Seen If Dixie Firm On Rights Issue

Fri-10-8-48

The present split in the National Democratic Party was described Thursday by Rep. Andrews (D), Alabama, as "the South's greatest political opportunity since the Civil War."

"If we continue to present a solid front on states rights," he said in an address to the Exchange Club, "it will pay dividends . . . the rest of the nation will turn to us for leadership."

The congressman lambasted President Truman as the "worst enemy of the South since Thaddeus Stevens" and blamed him almost wholly for the situation now facing the Democratic Party.

"All the king's men and all the king's horses couldn't keep Governor Dewey from being elected the next president," he said. "Democratic leaders in Congress tried to keep Truman from announcing for re-election.

Certain Defeat

"He was told that his entry into the picture would mean almost certain defeat for the party. But Mr. Truman is a headstrong man and wouldn't take this advice."

Andrews said Truman has been calling the present Congress "the worst in history" because it wouldn't pass his civil rights legislation and "set him up as a dictator."

Fri-10-8-48

'If Truman had his way, he added, the nation will have a federal F.E.P.C. law and a division within the justice department which could be the "most powerful gestapo force in the world."

The congressman from Union Springs praised States' Rights Candidate J. Strom Thurmond as the only man running for the presidency who is not catering to minority interests and "playing cheap politics."

He said Thurmond is a cleancut person with high morals who "has had the courage to campaign for the old fashioned principles of constitutional government."

None Needed

Andrews turned to the major planks in Truman's civil rights program. None of them are needed, he said, and all are a violation of states' rights and the U. S. constitution.

"If we ever decide to abolish the poll tax," he said, "let's do it on Capitol Hill in Montgomery, not on Capitol Hill in Washington. The federal constitution clearly gives this authority to the states."

Fri-10-8-48

As to the proposed anti-lynching bill, he said all states have laws against murder. That's what lynching is, he added, and the southern states are prepared to handle it.

Fri-10-8-48

States' Vs. 'Civil Rights'— Just What Is It All About?

34d

BY BEM PRICE
Associated Press Staff Writer

The News

What's all this Democratic fuss about?

What prompted the delegates from Mississippi and some of those from Alabama to quit the national party convention at Philadelphia in a huff and head for Birmingham to hold their own convention tomorrow?

Fri.

A fast answer to both questions would be "civil rights" or "states' rights."

7-16-48

And both answers would be correct, though one is a part of the other and both are becoming synonymous.

Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

ACTUALLY THE "CIVIL RIGHTS" angle is part and parcel of the states' rights issue and the latter is as old as the constitution.

The South, you say, objects to President Truman's proposals for an anti-lynch law, abolition of the poll tax, an end to segregation and a fair employment practices commission.

Jefferson held, though his actions sometimes deviated from his beliefs, that the Federal Constitution was to be interpreted strictly and the government had no powers not expressly granted in the basic law.

Fri.

Ironcially, the fourth chief justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall, of Virginia, held during Jefferson's administration that the constitution implied many powers, and he so held in opinion after opinion.

7-16-48

By establishing these legal precedents, Marshall laid the foundation for the thousands upon thousands of laws, rules and regulations now part of the accepted functions of the government.

The South's first revolt against broad interpretation of the constitution came in 1832 during Anrew Jackson's administration.

South Carolina, objecting to the imposition of federal tariff laws, sought to rule them void. Jackson, a Southerner, promptly moved federal troops to Charleston and the incipient secession died.

That is true and one Southern objection is that these laws are aimed at the South in an effort to legislate an answer to the race problem.

But even more fundamental than that is the South's belief that these proposals go beyond the powers granted to the federal government in the constitution, and encroach on the law-making rights of the individual states to govern their internal affairs without interference.

No sooner was the U. S. Constitution ratified, Sept. 17, 1787, than a wrangle began over interpretation.

Fri. 7-16-48

* * *

ALEXANDER HAMILTON fought hard for a broad interpretation of the document's wordage and in doing so gave rise to the Federalist Party.

His chief opponent was Thomas Jefferson—to become the third president—whose followers became known as Democratic Republicans. He is the man present-day Democrats regard as the founder of their party.

THERE WERE OTHER MINOR revolts off and on during the years, but the great one did not, of course, come until 1860 when the Southerners withdrew from the Democratic convention again on an issue of "states' rights."

The News

This time it was over the issue of territories determining whether they should enter the union as free or slave states. The party refused to incorporate the proslavery Southern view in the platform.

Birmingham, Ala.

South Carolina, incidentally, had decided in 1852 that a state had the right to secession from the union, the idea being that the states voluntarily had formed the nation and were at liberty to withdraw.

7-16-48

The South, of course, lost the great war.

So, you see, this issue of states' rights has been going on for quite a spell.

From the way the present Birmingham conference is shaping up, it is likely to go on for some time, too.

In The Nation

The Times

An Argument Over States' Rights in Virginia

Tues. 8-3-48

New York, N.Y.

34d

By ARTHUR KROCK

The decision of the Southern Democrats to elevate their filibuster above the usual level by concentrating on the powerful historical arguments and records which support their position against the Truman-Republican "civil rights" program brings back into contemporary news the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798. This is inevitable because the respective, authors of these celebrated political papers, Jefferson and Madison, based them on the separation of powers in the Constitution between the Federal Government and the several States.

By this reasoning, which is founded on a simple phrase in the Tenth Amendment and has been repeatedly sustained in the courts, no Federal statute is valid which supervenes the right of a State to establish such voting qualifications as a poll-tax or to enact laws for segregation of whites and Negroes as now practiced in the South. Furthermore, by this same reasoning, there is no Federal statute which could interfere with the States in enforcing their police laws or prescribe local employment standards (a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission).

8-3-48

In 1798 the central Government was attempting through the Alien and Sedition Laws to prevent the states from protecting the liberties of their citizens. It was then that Jefferson chose the Kentucky Legislature to make the famous declaration that the Union is a compact of the states; that powers not specifically granted to the central Government are reserved by those states to themselves; that hence each state has the right "to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress." John Breckinridge, who presented Jefferson's views to the Kentucky Legislature, toned them down by eliminating the phrase that in such instances "nullification of the act is the rightful remedy." And Madison's draft for the Virginia Legislature was even more modified.

Long a Precedent

Later, despite these elisions, the resolutions were cited as a sound basis for the nullification of a Federal law by a state and then for outright secession. But, though these interpretations were unsound, justified neither by the background nor the text of the Jefferson-Madison documents, the effect of the resolutions was that Federal statutes which infringe on powers reserved to the states are unconstitutional, and they set a precedent against such usurpations which was respected for many years.

Now, however, a contrary suggestion has appeared, and a recent expression of it comes from Virginia, whose Senators—Byrd and Robertson—oppose the so-called civil rights legislation on the ground of unconstitutionality as marked out in the Federal charter and strengthened in the resolutions of 1798. Virginia also is the state which changed its election laws last spring so that Presidential electors on a party ticket that got a popular majority are not legally committed to vote for the head of that ticket. The device was to remove the names of the national candidates from the ballot, leaving only the names of the electoral candidates there.

The Times

This change was proposed to the Legislature by Governor Tuck a week after Senator Byrd told a Richmond audience that the Truman program was "a mass invasion of States' rights never before even suggested, much less recommended, by any previous President of any party affiliation in the nation's history." And for this statement he relied on the doctrine of the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798.

Why Jefferson Acted

Whereupon two young historians made a fresh survey of these papers, developing one or two new details concerning their preparation, and came to a different conclusion as to their chief significance which they addressed to the present controversy in Congress. The result of their research not only was published in the quarterly of the ancient College of William and Mary, at Williamsburg, Va.

New York N.Y.

It was preceded by an exultant editorial note in which Senator Byrd and Governor Tuck were admonished to be sure of their history before they felt such confidence that "one hundred and fifty years later they were following in the footsteps of Jefferson and Madison." The reason for this warning is to be found in the following summary of the resolutions by Adrienne Kock and Harry Ammon, the latter a professor at Sweet Briar College in Virginia:

> However interesting these famous resolutions may be for the Constitutional doctrine they contain, they were intended *primarily* as a defense, practical and spirited, of civil liberties. * * * The Alien and Sedition Laws were therefore more than the occasion of the resolutions; they were the cause.

This apparently is expected by the historians and the editor of the William and Mary Quarterly to be a sockdologer for Senator Byrd, Governor Tuck and all others who oppose the Truman program as unconstitional. Yet how it affects their position is not easy to see.

Tues. 8-3-48

In 1798 the Federal Government through a majority in Congress sought to usurp states' rights for what many people then and most people since considered an evil, totalitarian purpose. In 1948 the President and a majority in Congress seek to usurp these same rights for what many people now consider a good democratic purpose and many do not. But, if these rights of the states exist, they are the same in 1948 as they were in 1798. The *purpose* of their infringement cannot change that.

'MONGRELIZED' SOUTH IS SEEN BY EASTLAND IF TRUMAN TRIUMPHS

The Commercial

34d

Fiery Mississippian Talks In Memphis For Candidates Of States' Righters

Sat. 9-11-48

SAYS TRADITION IN DANGER

Memphis Tenn

Claims President Is Already 'Hopelessly Defeated'—Hits Often At Proposals For Civil Rights Legislation

(Pictures on Section Page)

By ROBERT TALLEY

If the South surrenders in its fight against President Truman's civil rights program, its traditions and culture will be "destroyed and mongrelized," Senator James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, declared in an address in Memphis last night.

The fiery Mississippian, speaking in behalf of the States' Rights Democratic Party's candidates for president and vice president, addressed a large crowd at Bellevue Park in the first local rally staged by that group. The party's candidates are Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for president, and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi for vice president.

Hits Eastern 'Mongrels'

He was introduced by T. Walker Lewis, Memphis business man and civic leader, as L. C. Gaerig, temporary chairman of the local States' Rights Committee, presided.

"If the Southern states should surrender and support Truman, as the Eastern bosses of the party have boasted that we would do, the whole civil rights program will be enacted and our Southern institutions, our traditions and our culture, will be destroyed and mongrelized by the mongrels of the East who now control both of the old political parties," Senator Eastland said.

Sat. 9-11-48

Confidently, the speaker asserted that President Truman already is "hopelessly defeated," and declared that the race lies between Governor Thurmond and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican nominee.

Expects Democratic Control

"The least the South will gain is control of the Democratic Party," Senator Eastland continued. "We will control the minority committee assignments if the Republicans win because the Southern states that support Thurmond and Wright will have more senators and congressmen than the Eastern wing of the party, and they'll have to come to us to get their committee assignments."

The senior Mississippi senator, one of the originators of the States' Rights movement, declared flatly that "we'll get more electoral votes than the Truman Democrats."

"The independent attitude of the South in not giving its electoral votes to any candidate who sponsors this monstrous civil rights program has been of tremendous help in defeating it thus far," the speaker continued.

Says South Threatened

"We must now have support from other sectons of the country and I say to you, as one who has played a small part in this program's defeat so far, that the attitude of the Southern people has brought us help from totally unexpected sources."

The senator again paid his respects to Mr. Truman by declaring that a vote for the President would be "a wasted vote."

"A vote for Thurmond," he went on, "is a vote for the South. It will aid us in defeating this civil rights program that threatens the very foundation of our Southern customs and Southern institutions.

"We ask the people of Tennessee to join their brothers in the South and vote for Thurmond. There is no way to vote for either Truman or Dewey without indorsing the civil rights program. That is just what it all means.

Greeted By Committee

"If the South should take this thing lying down, it will sacrifice its self-respect."

34a

Senator Eastland came to Memphis by auto from his home at Ruleville, Miss., and planned to return there last night. He was accompanied by a number of North Mississippians.

Greeting him at the Peabody was a Reception Committee headed by Mr. Gaerig. It included Troy N[illegible], chairman of the Executive Committee of the local States' Rights group; John H. Rawlings, treasurer; Dr. T. R. Montgomery, chairman of the Finance Committee, and A. W. Bonds, Ed Worthington, Ed Erwin and Nathan Goff. Senator Eastland was the group's guest at a dinner at the hotel before his speech.

CA 9-11-48

Unable To Get Band

Among those who called at the hotel room to greet the senator was Edward S. Elliott, 81, 675 Adams, who has been a public accountant here for 67 years. Another was Preston Parks of Somerville, Tenn., Democratic presidential elector for the Eight Congressional District, who recently announced he would support Governor Thurmond in preference to President Truman.

Music at the Bellevue Park rally was supplied by a sound truck, as the local committee's efforts to obtain a high school band were unsuccessful. The invocation was pronounced by Jimmy Stroud, head of the Memphis Union Mission.

States' Righters To Be Back Strong In 1952 McCorvey Promises

The News

Thur 11-4-48

Says Truman Victory Only Temporary Loss; GOP Hopes Crushed

B'ham News

BY FRED TAYLOR
News Staff Writer

The amazing victory of President Truman has only temporarily defeated the States' Rights Democratic movement in the South, Alabama Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey had declared today.

As McCorvey was making this statement, Gov. James E. Folsom proceeded with plans to institute court action in an attempt to force the state chairman and 10 other Democratic electors to vote for Truman in the electoral college.

The Democratic ticket in Alabama, pledged to States' Righter Strom Thurmond, registered an even more lopsided victory over Republicans than expected and all but crushed GOP appeals for rebirth of a two-party system in the state.

AS INDICATED from early vote returns, only one of the 11 constitutional amendments had been rejected by the state's electorate. The defeated proposal was Amendment No. 11, which would have paved the way for consolidation of Birmingham and Jefferson County governments by referendum.

McCorvey predicted that the Dixiecrat forces, which carried Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina, would have an "even stronger" organization in 1952, with more Southern states joining.

Thur 11-4-48

"We may be temporarily defeated, but we're not going to give up," said McCorvey.

Gov. Folsom, who took the stump for Truman and was elated over the president's triumph, said court proceedings were being filed so "this thing can't happen in Alabama again." He was referring to the fact that Truman was not represented on the Alabama ballot in the general election.

DEWEY FORCES, who had hoped to poll 75,000 to 100,000 votes in Alabama, were jolted by a five to one shellacking. Returns from 1,622 of the state's 2,408 boxes gave:

Democrats	127,634
Republicans	25,540
Wallaceites	1,126

The Prohibition ticket polled only a few hundred votes.

Sen. John Sparkman's victory over his Republican opponent, Paul G. Parsons, Birmingham attorney, was even more of a landslide. Reports from 1,517 boxes gave Sparkman 129,354 and Parsons 21,888.

Meanwhile, Sen. Lister Hill predicted that the South would be able to block enactment of the Truman "civil rights" program in the next Congress.

HILL, VACATIONING at Point Clear, Ala., said Southern senators and representatives would receive more important committee assignments under the Democratic majority, and consequently would be more influential in the 81st Congress. Sen. Hill was Senate whip during the latter years of Roosevelt's administration and held this key post until Republicans wrested control of the Senate from the Democrats in the 1946 elections.

"We will continue to oppose the civil rights program just as vigorously as we have in the past," Sen. Hill said, "and I have every reason to believe we will be as successful in defeating this legislation."

34a

The States' Rights Democrats had hoped to show sufficient strength in Southern and border states to gain the balance of power and throw the presidential election into the House of Representatives. Failure of other states to join in the movement kept them from doing this, McCorvey said, in predicting that other states would come in during the next four years

Thur 11-4-48

* * *

THE NINTH (JEFFERSON) District's Rep. Laurie Battle won an overwhelming victory over his GOP opponent, Hiram Dodd, Birmingham attorney. Returns from 195 of the county's 258 boxes gave Battle 28,833 and Dodd 4,502.

Democrats likewise retained three other contested congressional seats by huge majorities. Incomplete returns gave Rev. Bob Jones, Scottsboro, 6,954 votes to 805 for his GOP adversary, Harry J. Frahn, Sheffield, in the Eighth District.

In the Sixth, Rep.-Nominate Ed deGraffenreid, Tuscaloosa, polled 6,947 to 1,180 for GOPer Bill Ivey, Columbiana, and in the Fourth, Rep. Sam Hobbs got 6,590 to 650 for Republican B. Hogan Stewart, Sylacauga.

Democratic nominees also won lopsided majorities over Republican opponents in Jefferson County races, with returns from 195 boxes giving:

County Commission president:	
W. D. Kendrick	28,821
Hugh McCary	4,384
Circuit Judge No. 3:	
Judge Alta King	28,698
W. L. Longshore	4,476
Tax collector:	
J. W. Hamilton	28,715
Kendall G. Springfield	4,263
Tax assessor:	
L. A. Whetstone	28,296
Orrie W. Lirwin	4,828
County treasurer:	
Joe L. Kirby	28,879
James B. Foster	4,566

* * *

RETURNS FROM 1,105 of 2,408 state boxes showed the following vote on amendments:

No. 1 Amendment (Placing Talladega County Officers on a Salary Instead of a Fee Basis)—For 27,065; against 23,855.

No. 2 (Authorizing a 4-Mill Property Tax in Marion County to Finance a Public Hospital)—For 28,023; against 21,949.

No. 3 (Authorizing a Similar Tax to Finance Hospital in Escambia County)—For 29,561; against 19,996.

No. 4 (Authorizing 5-Mill School Tax in Tuscaloosa County)—For 30,255; against 21,213.

No. 5 (Authorizing Any County except Mobile, Montgomery and Jefferson Counties to Levy 4-Mill Property Tax to Finance Public Hospital)—For 33,648; against 21,213.

No. 6 (To Permit Jefferson County to Issue Bonds For a New Sewage System)—For 35,764; against 21,222.

Thur 11-4-48

No. 7 (To Abolish Justices of the Peace and Set Up An Inferior Court in Dothan) — For 25,463; against 23,055.

* * *

NO. 8 (TO AUTHORIZE Any School District in Jefferson County to Increase Taxes to the Level of Those Levied in Birmingham)—For 28,257; against 26,288.

No. 9 (Directing That No Court of Record be Abolished or Located Outside Any County Seat Without the Voters' Approval)—For 25,995; against 25,469.

No. 10 (Providing for Appointment of National Guard Officers Instead of Their Election by Members of Their Units)—For 27,924; against 25,444.

No. 11 (Birmingham - Jefferson Consolidation Proposal—For 20,417; against 46,350.

'WE'RE HERE TO STAY,' SAY STATES' RIGHTERS

Commercial Appeal

Sun 10-10-48

Plans Drafted To Make Party Permanent, Nationwide

34a

From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 9.—Win, lose or draw in the Nov. 2 presidential election, the States' Rights Democratic movement "is here to stay."

That was the decision Saturday of leaders from seven states and reports from five others as plans were drafted to make the organization permanent and nationwide.

"The States' Rights fight is a long-range campaign with the 1948 phase one battle in a total war," said Merritt Gibson of Longview, Texas, national campaign director in the headquarters here.

His statement followed a conference here of party leaders from Florida, Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi, and reports from Tennessee, Georgia, Texas, Virginia and North Carolina.

"The States' Rights movement will continue in existence long after the Nov. 2 general election and will fight subversive elements seeking to bypass the constitutional rights of the states," he announced.

"We agreed that ours is not a campaign from a partisan sense but is a movement against a dangerous trend toward a total state in the United States," he said. "We are striving to prevent America from following the pattern of European countries which lead first to a totalitarian state and then the destruction of individual liberties and the government themselves."

Officials attending Saturday's conference here included: James G. Horrell from Florida, Leon Nonal from Alabama, Amis Guthridge and Talbot Field, both from Arkansas; O. W. Baylor from Kentucky, Mel Glenn from South Carolina, Leander Perez and John U. Barr from Louisiana and W. W. Wright from Mississippi.

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for governor over State Rep. John R. McIntire.

Trumanites Win Texas Bout; Seven Primaries Draw Eyes

The Advertiser

34a

By The Associated Press

President Truman bagged Texas' 23 electoral votes Tuesday [illegible] a roaring Democratic state convention which climaxed a struggle of states righters to capture the big vote prize.

Adv 9-15-48

Winning out two-to-one, the Trumanites scratched four anti-Truman county delegations from the convention roll. The purged groups promptly marched out, some [illegible] Thurmond banners. [illegible] other counties went along on the walk, but a number of idividuals left those delegations to remain with the President's backers. Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina is the States Rights candidate for president.

Montgomery

The convention, held at Fort Worth, thundered applause to keynoter C. C. McDonald who said that Democrats fighting among themselves might permit the election of Republican Candidate Dewey.

The convention's action promised President Truman the sixth largest electoral vote bloc in the nation, assuming the customary Democratic victory in Texas.

Seven other states held primary elections with interest centering on how large a vote the two parties can poll on the heels of a record-smashing Republican victory in Maine Monday.

Maine elected Rep. Margaret Chase Smith its first woman senator with a margin of 94,651. The previous high GOP margin in the strongly Republican state was 8[illegible] 481 [illegible] 193[illegible].

Adv 9-15-48

In general, interest was not intense in the primaries which were held in Minnesota, Colorado, Michigan, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Washington and Vermont.

Early New Hampshire returns gave a broad lead to former Congressman Sherman Adams seeking the Republican nomination

34d 1948

PAUL ROBESON:

Fascism Will Not Come to America

The National Guardian
New York New York
3d Party

I DO not fear the next four years; I do not foresee the success of American reaction; I see only its attempts and its failure. By 1950 there will be no fascist threat in our land.

I have seen fascism in many places, and I know something of how it works, but I know more of why it does not work for long.

Too often we consider minutely how the fascists will come, what devices they will use, how swiftly they will move; too rarely do we consider the mechanism of resistance.

Wed 12-15-48

I have seen both fascism and resistance, overseas and in our own country. I know that resistance to fascism is growing far more rapidly than fascism itself in our land.

When I toured the South I saw that resistance sending its Close to 1,000,000 Negroes live in states governed by Talmadge and guided by Thurmond. That dilemma of democracy must be resolved.

Many people sought to resolve that and similar dilemmas by voting for Harry Truman and the Democratic Party. The fact that they did not vote for Henry Wallace does not greatly dismay me. It is most important that they saw those dilemmas clearly and voted for a promise of solution. If by their votes they succeed in forcing the Democrats to progressive action, our aim will have been won. If the Democrats dare this time to betray their promise, and if we are there with the people, by 1950 the Progressive Party will be on the path of victory.

BUT we must learn to work a little better. During the campaign we Progressives made mistakes. Some of those were inevitable. We were building then, and we had to build fast.

We worked too much as if our road pointed to election day and ended on election day. We did not reach the street-corners save at the last moment. What we said in the great meeting halls was good, but the people were in their communities, on their farms. We were not there, or not enough of us were there. Vito Marcantonio is one man among us who has known how to work with people. Vito Marcantonio is back in Congress.

Now we have a new opportunity for work. We can go to people; we can serve them without asking for their votes. We can work to clear their slums and to lower their rents; we can get them better schools and playgrounds. Then when election day comes around, we shall not be strangers ringing doorbells; we shall be friends.

Wed 12-15-48

Long before an election was in sight I sang in little Negro churches and on picket lines, and I did not then ask for votes. Now I will go back and sing again. If other Progressives now begin to work close to the people, close to their homes, then we shall build a party that can last, a party that is not suspect because it ends on election day.

WE of the Progressive Party offer a form, a channel for American resistance.

When the chips are down the names our enemies may call us will not matter. Once a slaveholder said this: "We warn the North that every one of the leading abolitionists is agitating the Negro slavery question merely as a means to attain their ulterior ends . . . a surrender to socialism and communism — to no private property, no church, no law, to free love, free lands, free women and free children."

Wed 12-15-48

Though the language is that of our modern white supremacists, it was first used by George Fitzhugh, a Southern slaver, in 1857.

The abolitionists were not frightened, not dismayed, not defeated by that language.

hird Party

Americans have always nurtured a great distrust of the ranting politicians and the ranting press. But when that distrust is confirmed by the hard evidence of oppression and terror, then the sly, easy tolerance of corruption will vanish, and Americans will come out fighting.

LET no one be deceived by the election returns. Let every man who would know the true feelings of Americans count up the Progressives who voted for Truman; the voteless Progressives in the South, and in Illinois, Nebraska, Oklahoma; those who were frightened but who will not stay frightened.

The bipartisans still hold the government, but let us not look through the spectacles of the enemy. The abolitionist Wendell Phillips, speaking at the grave of John Brown, said: "True, the slave is still there. So, when the tempest uproots a pine on your hills, it looks green for months—a year or two. Still, it is timber, not a tree. John Brown has loosened the roots of the slave system; it only breathes—it does not live—hereafter."

Wed 12-15-48

IN the final months of the campaign I was in a little Southern town. The Progressive Party candidate was scheduled to hold a meeting at a Negro church. For days before, the Klan in the neighborhood had circulated handbills warning the people to stay away, promising to ride that night. On the day of the meeting the Klan mobilized in the hills. Yet the meeting was held.

Some people came, but not many. The candidate and I and a few others stood inside the church watching the handful trickle in. At dusk the Klan came down in their cars. But when they came abreast of the church there were a hundred or more Negro men from the fields standing in front of the church, silent and ready. And the Klansmen did not stop.

We had not called those men to defend us. The Progressive Party had not summoned them. They were not Progressive Party people. They came because they would not allow the men of force and violence to keep them from something they wanted to hear.

Wed 12-15-48

That resistance is hard to measure at the ballot box.

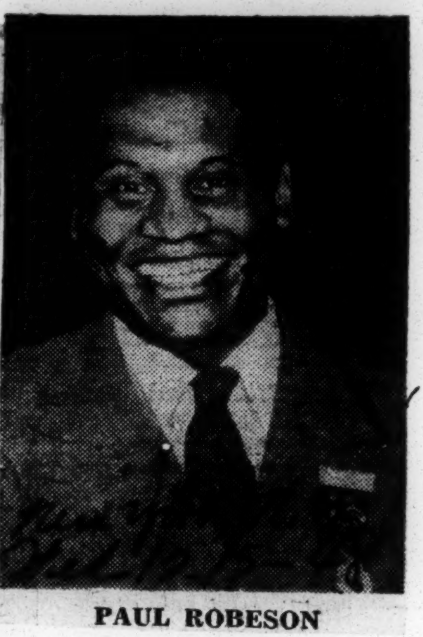
BOSS Crump swore that we would not come into Memphis. The American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan threatened that if we did sneak in, we would not get out so easily. We did not sneak into Memphis; we entered it boldly after a Negro church invited us, and no one dared to move against that Negro community, aroused and militant.

When I think of American resistance to fascism, I think of that preacher in a little Florida town who stood up in the square, looked at the menacing Klansmen and said, "I am going to stay in the Progressive Party. If anyone wants to find me, this is my name and here is my address."

The South is filled with such preachers and such people. roots deep into the soil, and if any man tells me that American fascism will come out of the South, I laugh. I know that American fascism will meet its first and most crushing defeat in the South. I know that American fascists, no matter what name they bear, no matter what banner they fly, will go down into dust, and that it will not take long.

Wed 12-15-48

Joseph Hirsch, whose painting, "Two Men," is reproduced above, is one of America's foremost realist painters. This painting, voted by 120,000 visitors as the favorite at the contemporary American art exhibit at the 1939 World's Fair, is reproduced here by permission of the Museum of Modern Art of New York.



PAUL ROBESON

Following The Color Line

Northwest Enterprise

3rd party

34d

GEORGIA U FIRES PROFESSOR FOR SUPPORTING WALLACE

Seattle, Wash.

Supporters of Henry A. Wallace reported setbacks today on three fronts in the Deep South.

James Barfoot, the Wallace party's proposed candidate for governor in Georgia, said he had been fired from his assistant professorship at the University of Georgia at Athens, and that he planned to fight the ouster on the principle of academic freedom.

Dean O. C. Aderhold of the College of Education wrote President Harmon Caldwell of the University that Barfoot's political activities had become so extensive and involved that his effectiveness as a teacher had become impaired.

The dismissal of the 35-year-old teacher is effective June 1.

At Miami, Fla., a meeting of the University of Miami student senate was called to discuss the discharge of three instructors who say they were victims of a "political purge."

The three instructors—Dr. Leonard Cohen, Jr., Dr. Charles C. Davis and Prof. Daniel D. Ashkenas—told a student rally yesterday they were fired because they supported Wallace for President.

Larkin Marshall, publisher of a Negro weekly newspaper at Macon, Ga., and a candidate for the U. S. Senate on Wallace's People's Progressive Party ticket, was denied a ballot when he refused to sign a pledge of allegiance to the Democratic Party.

5-19-48

The Reaction To Wallace

The Columbia Record

Thirteen cases of political pressure or intimidation against school, college and university teachers who have taken an active part in support of Henry Wallace's Progressive party are now on record. In addition to which two preachers have lost their pulpits for showing an interest in the third party movement.

34d

All such cases so far reported have been from the Eastern part of the United States, but 10 have been in the North, as against only five in the South. Aside from the Constitutional "freedom of speech" guarantees involved, these cases have raised again the old controversy over academic freedom—allowing teachers and professors complete freedom of thought, without censorship from higher authorities.

March 23-48

Columbia S.C.

This year's cases of faculty intimidation are by no means confined to backwoods institutions. Columbia University, Northwestern, Williams College, Oglethorpe and University of Georgia are among the tonier institutions of learning involved.

At Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., 25 professors have been forced to withdraw from active work for the Wallace movement. Prof. Curtiss MacDougall, third party candidate for United States senator from Illinois, has defied this order by refusing to withdraw his candidacy, and he is still hanging onto his academic job.

Firing of Prof. Frederick L. Schuman was first demanded by Williams college alumni after he had written a critical review of ex-Secretary of State James F. Byrnes' book, "Speaking Friendly." Schuman refused to quit, however, and at the third party convention in Philadelphia, he played an active part in drafting the Progressive platform.

Columbia University Teachers' college dropped Prof. Clyde Miller from its faculty after his name had appeared on a list of some 700 members of the national committee for Wallace.

Prof. James Barfoot was fired from an assistant professorship at University of Georgia after he was nominated as third party candidate for governor in the state. At Oglethorpe university, Prof. Don West was dropped for Progressive Party activities, but he was later reinstated for the remainder of the term.

A similar temporary reinstatement has been reported at Methodist college, Evansville, Ind. Several days after he had presided at a political rally where Henry Wallace spoke, Dr. George Parker was asked to resign his post as an instructor in Bible and philosophy. After students and Evansville citizens had protested, however, Dr. Parker was given his job back for the remainder of the term.

Mar 8-23-48

At Lycoming college, Williamsport, Pa., Dr. Clarence R. Athearn last March accepted appointment as Lycoming county chairman for the Progressive party. Athearn was then asked to resign this position by the college president, Dr. John W. Long, and he did. Two months later Dr. Athearn was notified that his contract for the following year would not be renewed.

Three professors claiming to be the victims of a political purge have been dismissed at University of Miami, in spite of protests by the student body of the Florida institution. They are Dr. Charles C. Davis, Dr. Leonard Cohen and Prof. Daniel D. Ashkenas. Their cases are now on appeal before the university board of trustees.

Prof. Lyndon K. McNair voluntarily resigned his post as Dean of the State Teachers college, Lyndon, Vt., after he had announced his support of the Progressive party and had been denounced for it in Vermont newspaper editorials.

Censure of grade and high school teachers for political activity has been reported from Chicago, Buffalo and Tarpon Springs, Fla. In Chicago the city council's school committee set up a group to investigate charges of subversive teaching by a Senn High school civics instructor, Miss Emily Noack. Charges of "un-Americanism" brought against Eleanor R. Dushane, a Buffalo, N. Y., East High school teacher, were carried to the state supreme court after a six months' controversy had involved students, parents and fellow teachers. For organizing a Wallace Committee in Tarpon Springs, Fla., George T. Frantzis was fired as Greek Parochial School principal.

Columbia S.C.

The two preachers who have thus far been reported dismissed from their pulpits for political activity are the Rev. Richard H. Bready, Centenary Methodist church, Cumberland, Md., and the Rev. Isaiah J. Domas, Unitarian church, Atlanta, Ga.

Wallace Supporters Hear Georgia Speaker

The Columbia Record

Larkin Marshall, Negro candidate for the United States Senate in Georgia and co-chairman of the Georgia Progressive party, was to be keynote speaker at the Wallace for President conference which was being held in Columbia this afternoon.

The conference, which was held in the Carpenter's Hall on Heidt street, opened with less than 25 people, including reporters, present. Of these nine were Negroes. The conference was opened by Mrs. Robert New, co-chairman of the state party with the Rev. J. A. Dyer, Negro pastor of Plymouth Congregational church.

Columbia S.C.

Dyer said just before the meeting opened that it was planned for the Progressive party to nominate men for all statewide offices for which there are races this summer, including also the races for Congress.

Asked if there was any significance in the Progressive party's meeting in the union hall, Dyer answered that "it was just a place to meet."

Miss Jeannette Lee, acting secretary of the party in South Carolina said that this was the first attempt at a statewide meeting.

The purpose of the meeting was to organize and coordinate activities of the party in South Carolina, according to Jim T. Crown, field organizer in the Southern states.

Mr. Crown, who is a student at the University of Florida, was in receipt of telegrams of support from Henry Wallace, Progressive party candidate for the presidency, and from Paul Robeson, Negro baritone and supporter of the Wallace party. Both telegrams expressed confidence in election. Crown said that he would read the telegrams at the meeting.

The meeting was opened with the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner."

One delegate from Charleston, Samuel Richardson, said that he had voted in Ward 11 in Charleston in the Democratic primaries this month. He said that he was a Progressive on the "national" level.

MR. WALLACE VERSUS LIBERALS

The Defender

Chicago, Ill.

Henry Wallace has declared he has no intentions of abandoning his Third Party movement despite the fact that the platform of the Democratic Party is so liberal that the Southern bigots have voted to secede. The charges which Mr. Wallace has repeatedly hurled against the Democratic Party were fully answered in Philadelphia. As a matter of fact, both Republicans and Democrats have decisively defeated the reactionary elements in the two major parties.

Mr. Wallace charges everyone else but himself with hypocrisy. He alone, according to his own estimate is the sincere leader of the common people.

We believe Mr. Wallace's claim requires analysis. One question comes to mind immediately: If Mr. Wallace and the Third Party are so dedicated to liberalism, why have they put up candidates to run in opposition to nationally recognized liberals?

Robeson's wife, 17 others seek office with Wallace

Tribune Los Angeles

NEW YORK — Seventeen Negroes are candidates on the ticket of the Henry Wallace party in 13 states, the Progressive Party claimed today.

One, Larkin Marshall, Macon, Ga. newspaper publisher, is running for the U. S. Senate. Nine are candidates for the house of Representatives. Another, Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, wife of Paul Robeson is a candidate for secretary of state in Connecticut. The nine congressional candidates are:

Dr. Ulysses Campbell, dentist of Newark, N. J.; Dr. John E. T. Camper, physician of Baltimore; Alfred M. Carroll, attorney of Louisville; Earl B. Dickerson, attorney of Chicago; Ada B. Jackson, Brooklyn teacher; Sidney Moore, retired postal employee, Los Angeles; Joseph H. Rainey, magistrate, Philadelphia; Willard B. Ransom, attorney, Indianapolis; Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson, attorney, St. Louis.

8-7-48

Other Negro candidates on the Progressive Party ticket are:

James T. Allen, carpenter, Los Angeles, running for the state assembly; Oscar Brown, Jr., radio commentator, Chicago, for state representative in the first senatorial district; Thomas M. Clarke, attorney, Chicago, for municipal court judge; Dorothy Smith Dailey, newspaperwoman, Roxbury, Mass., for state representative; Dr. Clifford Doyle, physician, Chicago, for Cook County coroner; Rev. F. D. Gholston, Harrisburg, Pa., for the state legislature; Allan Freelon, educator, Philadelphia, for the state legislature.

8-7-48

Augustus F. Hawkins, Los Angeles, state assemblywoman for reelection (Hawkins is also a Democrat,) Robert A. Henson, salesman, Philadelphia, state legislature; Albert Janney, factory worker, St. Louis, Mo. for state represetative; Edna Lee Johnson, law student, Indianapolis; for state auditor, Sidney A. Jones, attorney, Chicago, Ill.; for state assemblyman; Ulysses S. Keys, attorney, Chicago, for municipal court judge; Charles A. Melton, member of Marine Shipbuilders' Union, West Chester, Pa., for state assembly; Sam Parks, steel worker, Chicago, for sanitary district trustee; Dorothy Pearson, Philadelphia, for state legislature.

Mrs. Pauline High Reed, union representative, Chicago, Ill., running for presidential elector; Eslanda Goode Robeson, anthropologist, Enfield, Conn., secretary of state; Booker T. Washington Rowe, electrical tester, Philadelphia, for state legislature; Samuel W. Drucker, school principal, Oklahoma City, for presidential elector; Donald H. Smith, butcher, Jamaica, Long Island, for state senate; Milas S. Stephens, tailor, Chicago, for state representative; Rebecca Stiles Taylor, newspaperwoman, Chicago, for Secretary of State; Arthur P. Townsend, life insurance counsellor, San Bernardino, for state assembly; Edward Washington, union officer, Jamaica, Long Island, for state assembly; France Williams, Los Angeles, for state assembly, and Nelson M. Willis, attorney, Chicago, for presidenial elector.

Boos Greet Wallace's 'Dixie Aid'

The Constitution

DURHAM, N. C., Aug. 29—(AP)—Henry A. Wallace's Southern campaign met with violent opposition here tonight as he proposed a $4,000,000,000 Federal aid program for the South.

Mon 8-30-48

Eggs were hurled into his audience, some members of which stopped his oratory with boos. Firecrackers exploded in the meeting hall of the North Carolina Progressive Party convention bringing several hundred persons to their feet.

Atlanta Ga.

Wallace, previously halted several times by boos and catcalls as he tried to get across his message, stopped completely for a time and pleaded with the audience:

"Please sit down! Please sit down!"

Portions of the audience, estimated by police at 1,300, began a chant:

"We want Wallace! We want Wallace!"

His speech, climaxing the State Party Convention, was the closing event on his first day of a whirlwind campaign tour of the South.

Shortly before Wallace reached the Armory in downtown Durham, a group of 20 men—identified by police as mostly war veterans, marched through the hall displaying derogatory signs.

Some read: "Wallace—the Hitler of today" and "Send Wallace back to Russia."

One of the men was knocked down by a Progressive. The marcher said he was hit with a chair. Police separated them.

Earlier today the tousel-haired Iowan spoke before non-segregated audiences in Virginia without incident. He told a news conference here he was well pleased over the absence of racial segregation thus far.

Asserting in his dinner speech that the South wants to own its industries and farms, Wallace added:

"I propose that the Federal Government advance a billion dollars a year for four years to aid Southern industry and agriculture. And this should be in addition to Federal aid for schools, hospitals, homes, health and social security."

The money would be no handout, he declared.

"Each year billions, literally billions of dollars of profits are drained from Southern labor in field and factory by large corporations owned by wealthy and powerful men who reside elsewhere. We Progressives propose only that the Federal Government, through taxation of these riches, return to the people of the South a part of the stolen fruits of their toil and sweat."

At Richmond earlier, Wallace declared the Dixiecrats are an invention to make the Trumancrats look liberal."

"The Dixiecrats are an invention to divert the people of the South from real problems to false ones, from high prices to hot words, and from the great issue of war and peace to the rantings of demagogues," he said. "The men who have held the South in bondage for so many years are frightened."

Wallace Met By Negro Secretary

The Defender

NEW YORK—Miss V[illegible] Scott, Negro, and personal secretary to Henry A. Wallace, former vice-president of the United States, met Wallace when he arrived here by plane New Year's Day.

Chicago Ill.

Wallace journeyed to New York after his Chicago speech announcing his candidacy for the presidency.

Chi Progressives Name 5 Negroes

The Lighthouse

CHICAGO—(ANP)—Five Negroes have been drafted as candidates for Cook County offices on the Progressive Party slate, it was disclosed here last week. They are Dr. Clifford M. Doyle, for ctiy coroner; Thomas M. Clark and Ulysses S. Keys, for associate judges of the Municipal Court; Sam Parks, for sanitary district trusteeship and Atty. Earl B. Dickerson as congressman for the First District.

Currently the Progressive Party is seeking declaratory judgment in Circuit Court here to place it on the April primary and November election ballots as a regular party. Its suit is based upon the fact that Prof. Homer F. Carey, party's candidate for state's attorney, amassed 313,000 votes to lead the Progressive ticket for Superior Court judge Nov. 4. Hearing on the case is set for Monday, Jan. 5.

Columbia S.C.

N. J. Doctor Runs On Third Party Ticket

NEWARK, N. J.—(ANP) — Dr. Ulysses Campbell, outstanding physician, has been selected to run on the third-party ticket from the Eleventh Assembly District. The selection was made by the Wallace-for-President Provisional committee, which consists of the New Jersey Independent Citizens League and representatives of municipal wards of the district.

B'ham Interracial Group for Wallace

The Courier

BIRMINGHAM — (ANP)—Supporters of Henry Wallace for President here organized a group this week with an interracial staff of officers and membership.

Louis Burnham, president of the Southern Negro Youth Congress and vice president of American Youth for Democracy, is secretary-treasurer of the new group. Other officers are Philip Tindle, chairman, and Joanna Tylee, publicity director.

Pittsburgh Pa.

LENA OBJECTS TO MISUSE OF NAME

The Defender

NEW YORK—Stage and screen star Lena Horne last week withdrew permission for her name to be used as a columnist by "Peoples Voice" newspaper over the issue of a third party.

Chicago Ill.

The Jan. 6 issue of the paper carried an endorsement of Wallace's candidacy in Miss Horne's column.

Sat 1-17-48

The actress pointed out that she had made no decision on the matter, and that the statement was attributed to her without her knowledge.

Robeson for vice president? Not necessarily so—Wallace

3rd Party

MIAMI BEACH—Henry Wallace doesn't think he'll have to resort to Paul Robeson as a running mate in order to get Negro votes for the presidency.

Asked what he thought of Robeson as a vice presidential candidate during a press conference, attended by Negro and white reporters at the swank Roney Plaza hotel, Wallace answered:

"I do not think it's necessary to put a Negro on the ballot with me to get a large part of the Negro vote."

The worker - new york N.Y. - 3rd Party

Sun. 4-25-48

Face to Face

Wallace and the New Party Become an Issue in the NAACP

By Benjamin J. Davis
Member, New York City Council

(34d)

RECENTLY, the dominant leaders of the NAACP, despite numerically small but important top differences, have been profoundly disturbed over certain refreshingly democratic and politically independent currents which are beginning to appear among the organization's 600,000 members. 4-25-48

Most significant of these currents has been the marked upsurge for Wallace and the New Party, reflecting the grass-roots orientation of the whole Negro people. In order to combat this trend, the NAACP leaders issued a statement re-affirming the organization's conditional "political non-partisanship." The statement hit out at several states where local branches and leaders have expressed themselves in favor of Wallace, in particular at Pennsylvania, where Judge Rainey, popular and militant president of the Philadelphia branch, is candidate for Congress on the Wallace ticket in order to give this large, Negro underprivileged community its first representative in Washington. Obviously, this statement was anything but non-partisan.

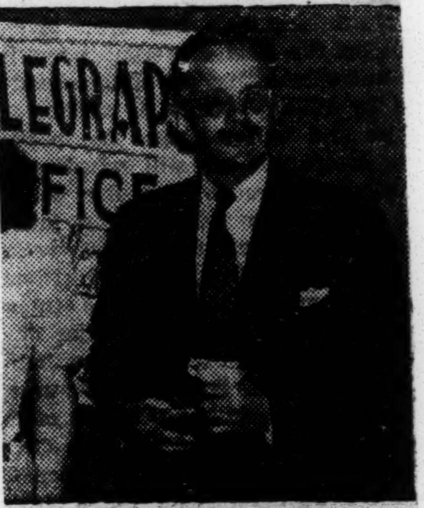
Further, a group of nationally prominent Negro spokesmen recently convened at the behest of the NAACP leaders and issued a political declaration, which was supposedly non-partisan and neutral, but which even a babe could see was weighted in favor of Truman. Besides, everyone knows that Walter White, chief executive officer of the NAACP, who should be a "paragon of political neutrality," has been using the "non-partisanship" policy as a smokescrene to campaign for Truman, that is, until he stuck his neck way out for Jimcrow army Eisenhower and had to quickly draw it back when a wave of revulsion swept the ranks of the NAACP and other Negro and progressive organizations. (In justice to White, he withdrew his eulogistic, if unofficial, nomination of Eisenhower. But will he draw the same conclusion as will thousands of other NAACP members: that the terrible and awful Communists who first warned against danger of Eisenhower's candidacy, were right?)

4-25-48

NEVERTHELESS the Wallace-New Party sentiment in the NAACP has continued to snowball. It has become such a serious problem for certain leaders that the April issue of the Crisis, official monthly organ of the NAACP, had to take special note of a large proportion of pro-Wallace letters criticizing a previous editorial dealing with Wallace. And that is unusual procedure for the NAACP national office.

Soon the annual NAACP convention, scheduled for June, will be taking place. Therefore certain stop-Wallace "non-partisan" leaders of the NAACP want to make sure that the Wallace groundswell among the members and branches does not burst forth at the convention. It might break out in many forms, not the least of which would be sharp opposition to some of the undemocratic features of the organization. Thus far their stop-Wallace maneuvers have not worked any too successfully; so now desperation is beginning to set in.

Consequently, the main editorial in the April issue of the Crisis is headed "Keep an Eye on Communists," proving once more that red-baiting, like Soviet-baiting, is the last refuge of those who try to dam up the peoples' tide of progress. Evidently, the position of the stop-Wallace camp is getting more precarious and the 600,000 NAACP members are about "to get out of hand."



WALTER WHITE

Based upon a slanderous interpretation of recent developments in Czechoslovakia, this scurrilous editorial warns the NAACP members against "being taken over" by the Communists as "Czechoslovakia was captured," lest the members find themselves "backing up the Communist Party's current line of action." That the Communist line is to combat the bi-partisan Truman program of war, fascism and police state reaction, the editorial does not attempt to discuss—it just yells "Communists!" That the NAACP's own secretary Walter White White had to apologize when he disagreed with the Communist line against Jimcrow Eisenhower, it discreetly avoids.

4-25-48

ALTHOUGH certain national officers of the NAACCP, pretend to invite an inter-racial membership, the editorial raises questions about welcoming whites" into the branches implying that they are the Communists. This is not only an attempt to incite division between Negro and white at a time when the cause of the Negro most needs Negro-white unity, it is also a cowardly ruse to launch a witch-hunt in the NAACP, of all places!

Nowhere in the editorial are the words "Wallace and the New Party" mentioned; but the intelligence of the NAACP members, which certain stop-Wallace leaders seem to underestimate, will put two and two together.

If Negro and white Americans were as free from war hysteria, monopoly domination, and fascism as the people of Czechoslovakia, our country would indeed be lucky. Considering that even the NAACP is "suspect" in the eyes of Rankin, it is disgusting to see NAACP leaders picking up Rankin's line of "Keep an eye on Communists."

However, it remains to be seen whether the red-baiting of certain NAACP leaders will be able to stifle the free expression and honest convictions of the membership on Wallace, the New Party and on other major issues at the June convention.

Sen. Taylor's Arrest

Daily Worker New York

(34d) 3rd Party

THEY arrested Wallace's running mate, Sen. Taylor, down in Birmingham. He tried to walk through a door marked for "Negroes only."

In Nazi Germany, they had signs for "Jews only."

Our imitation-fascists are getting bolder—and more worried.

While they were arresting Sen. Taylor for trying to bring the American Constitution to Alabama, Attorney General Tom Clark was reviewing a "counter-May Day" parade in New York. No doubt, to Attorney General Clark, true loyalty consists in supporting the filthy Jimcrow system of which he and his Democratic Party are a vital part. To challenge the Jimcrow filth of "white supremacy" will become a crime punishable by $10,000 fine and 10 years in jail if the anti-Communist" Mundt Bill is passed. The arrest of Sen. Taylor shows that the anti-Communist hysteria is really aiming at the establishment of the KKK philosophy over the entire United States. That is, it is speeding American fascism.

While Sen. Taylor is arrested for defying Jimcrow, President Truman's so-called Civil Liberties program, hailed by the anti-Wallace "liberals," has completely collapsed. The Democratic Party leadership through Sen. McGrath, assures the Southern lynchers that Truman has no intention of ever enforcing it by "invading states' rights." Mon. 5-3-48

The hope of the Negro people—as of the entire country—is the New Party, challenging the trusts, their Jimcrow and their war plans.

On Wisconsin Ballot

The Herald

MADISON, Wis., Aug. 4 (AP).—State Attorney General Grover Broadfoot ruled today that the Secretary of State may place Henry A. Wallace's name on the November election ballot in Wisconsin despite the fact that there is a variance in names used by the party. Mr. Wallace's national party has adopted the name Progressive. In Wisconsin the party took the name People's Progressive to avoid being identified with the former Wisconsin Progressive party.

Admits Abducting 3rd Party Aides

(34)

ATLANTA — J. P. Hillen of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation—named as member of a mob which abducted five Progressive Party workers in Augusta on Sept. 26 for 'associating with colored people' last Saturday substantiated the workers' charge—denied previously—and admitted his role in the incident.

The GBI agent, named by Mrs. Anne Leathers of Atlanta, as among those who carried off the Wallace supporters, made an official report to Gov. M. E. Thompson in which he denied that all the workekrs were beaten [illegible]

[illegible] rked by M [illegible]

He said, "The inci [illegible] edly occurred, but it [illegible] pen just as they (th [illegible]) stated it to begin w [illegible] its commission, thes [illegible] in every way to use [illegible] to their advantage."

Hillen said the mo [illegible] abduction was the f [illegible] Progressive Party wo [illegible] been openly associating with the colored race in that locality." The workers said they were abducted by a mob of 200 men, carried 12 miles out of town and beaten.

The Third Party Should Get The Credit

Black Dispatch – Oklahoma City

34

"Why," you ask, "is all of this confusion, dissension and revolt extant in the Democratic party respecting the question of civil rights?" This subject has been up for discussion before in the Republican and Democratic parties without creating any such wild disorder. Why should everyone explode like a bomb when the subject is mentioned in 1948?

The answer is simple. The Third party in the United States in 1948 hangs over the heads of the two old parties as did the ancient sword of Damoclese in the days of Dionysius. The Third party is exposing the pretense, double dealing and deception of the parties of Jefferson and Lincoln, and President Truman and his advisers decided that something had to be done about it, if the Negroes in the doubtful states of the North are to be held in the Democratic column, come November.

Sat. 7-24-48

The same party planks over which so much ado had been made in the past thirty days in the City of Brotherly Love, were incorporated in body of the old party platforms four years ago, but there was no Third party to expose the duplicity of the mule and the donkey in those days. But with Henry Wallace and Glenn Taylor putting empty words into vigorous action, with their unsegregated meetings down in Dixie, and thousands of Negroes deciding they will vote this fall for priceless principles in which they believe, the inner circles in both parties realize they must match the action program of Wallace and Taylor or they are lost.

The leaders of the revolting governments in the South are not dumb. They sat in the convention four years ago and saw this type of plank placed in the Democratic platform without protest—at least without violent severance of party relationship. We must analyze the difference between their placid emotionalism of 1944, as compared with their desperation and suicidic attitude in 1948. There's some substance in the political waters in 1948 absent in 1944. We have already told you what it is.

7-24-48

Well, when thieves fall out honest men get their just desserts. Civil rights planks in political party platforms hitherto have meant nothing in America. Truman in 1948 had more guts than Governor Dewey in 1944, who refused to allow his civil rights committee in the state of New York to report until after the presidential campaign. That's when the fireworks started. Failing to secure the presidential nomination, Governor Dewey had Senator Ives and associates to enact a fair employment practice act in the state of New York, and while we understand there has been no positive and stern enforcement of this law since placement on the statute books, it nevertheless is there, and was going to plague the Democrats this fall, as evidence of the Dewey position on civil rights. Dewey also has appointed a large number of prominent Negroes to high office since election as governor.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

Mr. Truman knew earlier in the year he would have to do something tangible about civil rights, but it is doubtful that he would have gone further than offering lip service to the question had it not been for the Third party menace. You hear all this talk about the Negro going to remain with the Democratic and Republican parties this fall. That's a bunch of bumcombe. The masses of Negroes, after you leave the conservative and very careful leadership, have decided fully to vote for a team of men who have the moral courage to speak out in the nation against evil and who spell wrong out in terms of lynching, voting, the right to fair employment, educational opportunity and health.

Never again should shallow-thinking Negro leaders in the South join in with reactionary forces opposing outside influences. It is the Northern Democrats who have told

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Progressive Party Strategy

3rd Page

Issues and

By ERNEST

Times-Picayune

If the performance of the Wallace Progressive party at its Philadelphia convention left any room for doubt that it had been captured by the Communists, its subsequent maneuvers in various senatorial and congressional contests should be persuasive. The pattern of its behavior is so characteristic of the Communists that its inspiration could come from no other source. It is concentrating its fire on liberal candidates in states and districts where they have the best chance of winning. The beneficiaries of its intervention will be the kind of ultra-conservatives it professes to dislike most.

34a

As usual, there is method in the Communist madness. Both their short-range tactics and long-range strategy call for defeat of liberals and election of what they call reactionaries. Their immediate test is support of the Marshall plan. They want to beat anyone who favors European rehabilitation, whatever his record on any other issue, because that is the line of Russian foreign policy and adjustment of their own operations to the service of this line is always the first concern of non-Russian Communists everywhere. Liberalism itself is the secondary test. The Communists always prefer conservatives to liberals in public office because they think conservatism impedes the kind of reforms that would postpone the day of the world revolution they believe inevitable.

Thurs 8-19-48

ILLINOIS PROVIDES the best demonstration of the Communist-Progressive party attitude in this campaign. Here Paul Douglas, a member of the University of Chicago faculty and a liberal by any known test, has won the Democratic nomination and is opposing Senator C. Wayland Brooks, a conservative isolationist, who has won the Republican nomination for re-election. Douglas is campaigning on a platform that Henry A. Wallace would have to agree to on all important domestic issues. But Douglas also is defending the Marshall plan. So the Progressive party is running Curtis McDougal against Douglas and Brooks. McDougal has, of course no chance of winning. All he can hope to do is split the left-of-center vote enough to re-elect Brooks. And that is obviously why the Progressive party is keeping him in the campaign. It prefers the conservative Brooks to the liberal Douglas.

Americans for Democratic Action, an organization of anti-Communist liberals, charges in a booklet just published that "in Illinois the GOP helped circulate third-party petitions to make sure they (Progressive-party candidates) got on the ballot." The Progressive party, under its controlling leaders, wouldn't hesitate to accept this kind of help.

* * *

SIMILAR SITUATIONS exist in some congressional districts in Pennsylvania, Oregon, and New York, where the Progressive party may have enough votes to throw elections to anti-Marshall plan candidates. While Wallace himself has been evasive about the question of contributing to Republican victory in local elections, the Communists have not been so reticent. In the Daily Worker of December 29, 1947, a Communist party writer warned candidates for Congress to "come to terms with the third party" or they would "come into sharp collision with mass pro-Wallace voters." In other words, they were threatened with third-party opposition unless they voted against Marshall plan aid to Europe.

Thurs 8-19-48

Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, liberal congresswoman from California, was very bluntly told that the third party would enter a candidate against her unless she toed the line against the Marshall plan. She supported the plan and Wallace later appeared publicly with the third-party candidate in her district.

As originally conceived by the Communists, the third party was intended to help elect a Republican president by taking votes away from Truman. But now that Dewey is supporting the essentials of the Truman foreign policy, this has become less important than the congressional elections. That's why the Progressive party is shifting its emphasis.

WALLACE ASSAILS PEACETIME DRAFT

Times-Picayune

3rd Page

Rebirth of New Deal Party Aim, Says Candidate

(International News Service)

Louisville, Ky., Aug. 24.—Henry A. Wallace said tonight his Progressive party would like to see "a government of the people purchase and operate the Wall Street banks and railroads and power trusts."

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The Progressive party presidential candidate offered the plan in an address at Louisville's Memorial auditorium during which he denounced "monopolists and profiteers" for high prices that he said are "murdering" people who cannot afford the necessities of life.

New Orleans, La.

Wallace declared that the Progressive party is dedicated to the rebirth of the New Deal, and he again urged President Truman to initiate a meeting with Premier Stalin.

The former vice-president said: "And I call upon him to publicly announce that until such a conference is held he will not undertake to proclaim the draft. I call upon him to announce that no American boy will be called into service until every avenue of peacetime settlement has been attempted.

"It is in the president's power to do just that, to hold off the draft that has been passed against the will of the people.

"This is one time when the president does not have to sign a measure with regrets. He needs not proclaim and draft and then blame Congress for it. He can stop it now."

Wed 8-25-48

Wallace attacked both major parties and asserted that the Progressive party is the only party which will cut out the root of todays' inflation — "war expenditures." He also said that his party will destroy what he called rigged prices and monopoly control of our economy.

Wallace Says Democrats Furnish 'Tweedledum Style of Tweedledee'

Fri. 7-16-48

Louisville, Ky.
Fri 7-16-48
The Courier-Journal

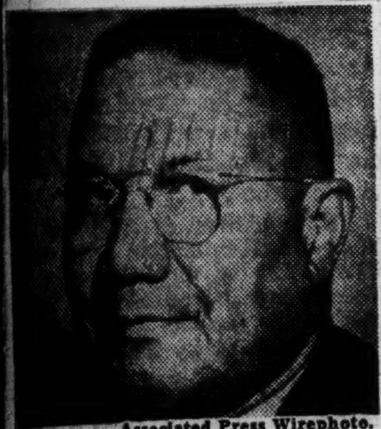
'Bipartisan' Record Assailed

New York, July 15 (AP)—"Only the tweedledum version of the Republican tweedledee" came from the Democratic convention, Henry A. Wallace said today.

Assailing the record of the "bipartisan 80th Congress," the New Party's standard-bearer said in a statement that the Democratic convention "underscores the futility of placing any hope or faith in the Democratic Party."

Promises a 'Preview.'

The party's platform and convention speeches, he said, "would give the impression that the party . . . has been a knight in shining armor jousting endlessly with the Republican dragon in Congress.



Associated Press Wirephoto.

CHARLES P. HOWARD

May be Wallace's keynoter.

Louisville Ky.

"But who can forget," Wallace added, "the bipartisan responsibility for military adventures in Greece, Turkey, and China, for high prices, for no housing, for the Taft-Hartley antilabor law?"

He assailed the Democrats' record on minimum-wage standards, social security, and health legislation.

He said "The New Party welcomes the call for a special session of Congress. When Congress meets it will give the country a preview of what bipartisan campaign promises mean.

Won't Aid the People.

"We shall see each party trying to outmaneuver the other so as to snare votes," he said, "but at the same time passing no bills that might really aid the people."

Wallace claimed "it was the creative fresh strength of the New Party that forced the old parties to talk liberal even though they acted reactionary."

The Wallaceites will move into Philadelphia this week to complete the convention cycle. The New Party's convention will be July 23 to 25. Headquarters will be established in the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel by Saturday.

And one week later the party will choose as its standard-bearers Wallace for President and Idaho's Senator Glen H. Taylor for Vice-President. 7-16-48

Wednesday the party's platform committee, headed by Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell, professor at the University of Chicago and onetime New Dealer, will begin hewing its campaign planks.

Proposed for the party's keynoter is Charles P. Howard, 53, Negro attorney and newspaper publisher of Des Moines. Howard has been prominent for 25 years in Iowa Republican circles.

Wallaceites Ready to Move Into Philadelphia Saturday

Washington Post
Washington, D.C.

Philadelphia, July 15 (AP).—Wallaceites move into Philadelphia Saturday to complete the political convention cycle.

Howard

The Nation's newest political party, which variously has called itself the Progressive, New, Third and Wallace-for-President party, will hold its founding conclave here July 23 to 25.

The Republicans held sway in Philadelphia the week of June 21 and the Democrats wound up their session early today. Fri 7-16-48

Wallaceites will establish headquarters at the Bellevue-Stratford by Saturday.

And one week later the party will choose as its standard-bearers Henry A. Wallace for President ad Idaho's Senator Glen H. Taylor for Vice President.

Tugwell Heads Platform Group

Wednesday the party's platform committee, headed by Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell, professor at the University of Chicago and one-time New Dealer, will begin hewing its campaign planks.

Proposed for the party's keynoter is Charles P. Howard, 53-year-old Negro attorney and newspaper publisher of Des Moines, Iowa. Howard has been prominent for 25 years in Iowa Republican circles.

Opening of Wallace headquarters Saturday coincides with a meeting of another fringe of the Democratic Party at Birmingham, Ala., where Southerners will hold a rump convention to select their own presidential candidate and separate platform.

Delegates Summoned

Luke W. Wilson, assistant manager of the Wallace convention, said the National Wallace-for-President Committee "has issued our convention call 'broadside' for 4248 delegates and 531 alternates."

That's eight delegates for each of the Nation's 531 electoral votes and one alternate for each vote.

In States where the party has not been established the convention call was sent to the State Wallace-for-President Committee with authority to designate delegates. 7-16-48

Other States elected delegates at founding conventions.

The Wallaceites will shift from Convention Hall to Shibe Park for the acceptance speeches of Wallace and Taylor on the night of July 24.

A price ranging from 65 cents to $2.60 will be placed on the 33,000 seats at the park. Convention Hall seats 13,000.

Wilson said proceeds "will help pay convention expenses. The city of Philadelphia gave the Republicans and Democrats $200,000 each for holding their conventions here. But we didn't get a cent."

The city did, however, extend to the new party the use of Convention Hall.

Wallace and Taylor will come to Philadelphia Thursday or Friday of next week. Their nomination will be sometime Saturday afternoon. Washington D.C.

Wind-up Sunday

Sunday, the final day of the conclave, the new party will adopt a platform, elect officers and lay down party rules.

Elmer A. Benson, former governor of Minnesota and chairman of the national Wallace-for-President committee, is scheduled to come to Philadelphia early next week along with five cochairmen.

They are Albert J. Fitzgerald, president of the CIO-United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; Singer Paul Robeson; Sculptor Jo Davidson; Mrs. Anita McCormick Blaine of Chicago and Dr. Tugwell.

Miami Police Stop Wallace Delegates

Star Dispatch
Sat 4-24-48

Said Call Came From Oklahoma City to Hold Them

Five delegates who left Oklahoma last Thursday to attend the national committee of the Wallace for President organization meeting in Chicago, were arrested by police in Miami, Okla., just before they reached the Kansas line on mysterious charges that have never yet been fully explained. The group was held around 45 minutes and grilled separately as to their antecedents and what they were doing, and their luggage searched. [illegible] group they had been arrested for speeding.

Oklahoma City

Kate Walker, who has been doing a deal of work circulating Wallace petitions over the state, was singled out by the police to be questioned, and as a matter of fact, when the group was brought into the police station, the captain said, "I want to talk to Kate Walker." One of the policemen questioned another youth separated from Mrs. Walker, said a police radio call from Oklahoma City had asked that the Wallace group be held for questioning.

"We reached Miami without anything important happening and were coasting slowly down the main street, noting a road-block ahead, and when we arrived there perhaps a half dozen cars in front of us blocked our passage. A policeman walked up and observing our car with large Wallace stickers on it, said, 'This is the car we're looking for,'" declared Mrs. Walker during the course of an interview regarding her experience.

"I told him I owned the car when he asked us regarding who owned the automobile in which we were riding, and the officer got in our car. We turned around and drove into a little lot, where they questioned us sufficiently to decide we were the folk they were looking for. He then told us we would have to go to the police station," Mrs. Walker said.

"On our way to the station we saw a large trailer that we later learned is owned by a preacher who is running for congress in that district. He had across the trailer, 'White Supremacy.' In the station we were separated into groups and subjected to sharp questioning," said Mrs. Smith. "The captain promptly proceeded to take my purse and search it and I said to him, 'Why are you searching my purse?' and he said, 'That's a usual procedure.'"

Sat 4-24-48

The young woman says she was subjected to grilling as to where she lived, what her work is and where she was going. The interrogator constantly went outside consulting with someone, but shortly his demeanor changed and he became almost totally another person and very conciliatory, said the Wallace worker.

The sister of Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Ophelia Roy, questioned in another room, asked to go to the car and get her identification papers from her purse, which the officer allowed her to do, but going with her. Mrs. Roy said that when they arrived at the car she found two plainclothesmen going through all of the luggage in the car. When Mrs. Roy inquired what authority the men had to search her luggage and purse, she states the officer said, "That's the FBI."

Later, being released, the group went on to Chicago where they attended the Wallace meeting. Mrs. Roy said just before they left the officer took pains to tell her that it was not the FBI that searched her bags, but two plainclothes policemen.

The three passengers in Mrs. Walker's car were students from the university at Norman. "Talk about a police state, we seem to have it right here in Oklahoma," said Mrs. Walker.

Remember Senator Taylor? The Flurry And The Roar? The Answer Remains Three-Ply

The Times

34d

Sen. Glen H. Taylor still owes the city of Birmingham $50.

Remember the senator? Around Birmingham Jail, they claim him as their most distinguished alumnus.

Thur 10-21-48

After all, it isn't every day you can meet a candidate for vice president right in the same jail.

Police Judge Oliver C. Hall said the senator should pay the $50 for trying to persuade an officer to let him enter a door marked for Negroes.

GLENN TAYLOR

* * *

ONLY JUDGE HALL said the senator's persuasion was: assault and battery, disorderly conduct and interferring with an officer in performance of his duty.

The judge also gave the senator 180 more days in jail—suspended.

The Idaho lawmaker, quite a guitar player, was' put on six months' probation. If he came back to Birmingham and tried to persuade any more officers, the 180 days would stick.

Six months have passed and Birmingham has seen no more of the senator.

Now about the $50. City taxpayers need have no fears. The senator has covered his fine with a $100 bond.

B'ham, Ala.

Sen. Taylor, who didn't like Judge Hall's verdict, appealed his case to Circuit Judge Lewis Bailes at the courthouse.

AN UNUSUALLY slow-moving case, the Taylor affair is not expected to come up again before early 1949.

By that time, with the presidential question settled, the senator may:

1. Forfeit (pay) his $100 bond to the city and forget the whole thing.
2. Return here for an entirely new trial in criminal division of Circuit Court.

If Judge Bailes agreed with Judge Hall, this could go on and on.

"There's considerable doubt, however, that the Taylor case will ever reach the Supreme Court. Few disorderly conduct cases do.

These are the city's chances: (a) If the senator wins his appeal, they lose $50; (b) if he loses his appeal, they win $50; (c) if he doesn't show up, they get $100.

Invites Negroes To Help Draft Third Party Platform

Age
New York City

Sat. 6-19-48

6-19-48

Scores of Negro organizations have been asked to help write the platform that the new party of Henry Wallace will adopt at its national founding convention in Philadelphia, July 23, 24 and 25.

Declaring that "this is a party for ordinary Americans and we want the representatives of ordinary Americans to tell us what he wants," Rexford G. Tugwell, named provisional chairman of the platfrm committee by the National Wallace for President Committee, formally issued the invitations to several hundred national organizations.

6-19-48

Ga. U. Teacher, Wallace Supporter, To Be Dropped

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

A notice from the University of Georgia to James L. Barfoot, candidate for Governor of Georgia on the Wallace-for-President ticket, informed him that he will be dropped after this quarter from his position as assistant professor at the University of Georgia College of Education.

Fri 5-14-48

It was stated in a letter written by college dean O. C. Aderhold to Herman Caldwell, President of the University, "It is apparent that Mr. Barfoot's political activities have become so extensive and involved that he can no longer be effective as a member of the staff in achieving the purpose and objectives of the College of Education."

Fri 5-14-48

Recently Larkin Marshall, Negro Publisher from Macon and candidate on the same ticket for Senator, was denied a ballot in the Bibb County Democratic Primary at Macon Wednesday because he refused to sign a pledge of allegiance to the Democratic Party.

Wallaceites Nominate 9 Negroes

The Courier

By J. DON DAVIS
(Courier Texas Bureau)

Sat 8-21-48

HOUSTON, Tex. — Four uniformed Negro police officers were on duty when the Dixiecrats staged their rebel convention at the huge Coliseum here, last week.

With a widely publicized promise by Wallaceites to picket the rebel meet fading out, and with only four pickets appearing in an abbreviated effort, the convention was minus racial incident and eight Negroes sat in the Convention Hall.

Pittsburgh Pa.

NEGROES NAMED

At the Progressive convention in Dallas, Wednesday, nine Negroes were named to run for offices. The Rev. Stacey Adams, formerly a Democratic precinct chairman, will make the race for Lieut. Governor. Herman Wright, white Houston attorney, heads the ticket.

Paul Robeson arrived too late to participate in the convention proper, but rendered a concert and made an address before an unsegregated crowd at Dallas' exclusive Yacht Club.

Other Negro candidates named by the Progressives were: F. M. Johnson, Waco newspaperman, State treasurer; John Gipson, Dallas, railroad commissioner, and Mrs. Marie Anderson, Dallas, State Legislature.

Sat 8-21-48

ELECTORS CHOSEN

Nominated for Presidential electors were Volita Fountaine, Longview; Ronnie Cook, Houston; the Rev. S. Y. Nixson, Longview; the Rev. L. V. Bolton, Houston, and R. D. Dixon, Dallas.

At the Republican convention in Waco, a bold bid was made for the States' rights Democratic vote, but a resolution was passed approving of "one or more Negroes" to places of importance on the Dewey-Warren campaign committee.

3rd Pt.

allaceites arge Attack Augusta

9-27-48

GUSTA (AP)—Five workers Henry Wallace's Progressive reported last night they dragged from their head- slapped and beaten at Grovetown, a place outside the city.

told police that between men in a dozen auto- descended upon their quarters in a private home yesterday, kicked in a window door and rode them out of city.

of the five, Forbes Hill, 23, a blackened eye and on the face he said he suf- The other four were wom- of whom said they were and cuffed.

M. C. Watkins, to whom made their complaints, said other officers were investi-

five were members of a of four men and four women from Atlanta Party headquar- to obtain signatures here to the Progressive Party candi- on the Georgia election bal-

9-27-48

Atlanta, Palmer Weber director of Party activi- said he had reported "the to Gov. M. E. Thompson, Georgia Bureau of Investiga- the Federal Bureau of Inves- and to U. S. Atty. J. Saxon Savannah.

PARTY OFF LLOT, HIGH URT RULES

Tribune 9-3-48 Chicago Ill

allace Leaders Plan Write-In

BY GEORGE TAGGE

Illinois Supreme court yes- kept the Progressive national and state candi- the Nov. 2 ballot.

Leaders of the new party met here with Henry Wallace, Presidential candidate, to plan a write-in campaign of unprecedented magnitude.

A single word—"denied"—was all that came out of the high court in blasting the hopes of Progressive leaders and workers. This word turned down a motion for leave to file a petition for mandamus to compel the state certifying board to put the candidates on the Illinois ballot.

Wed 9-15-48

Thus the Supreme court refused to examine the question of constitutionality raised by the Progressives regarding a legal provision that 200 valid nominating signatures must come from each of at least 50 counties. The electoral board ruled Aug. 31 that this requirement was not met.

Write-In Only Recourse

There is talk of taking the case to the United States Supreme court and of getting the state legislature to amend the election laws but neither action could help the Progressives in the coming election.

A write-in campaign appeared to be the only recourse for Nov. 2 voting. In Cook county, where Progressives have most of their strength, the write-in drive will be facilitated by the fact that Progressive candidates for county, sanitary district, Municipal court, congressional, and legislative offices will be on the ballot.

Democratic officials took the offensive in the long legal battle to bar Progressives from the ballot. James A. Farley, former Democratic national chairman, estimated recently that 85 per cent of the Progressive votes will come from Democratic ranks.

Valid In 41 Counties

Secretary of State Edward J. Barrett, Democrat, organized the objections to the state-wide Progressive petitions. Testimony of county clerks before the electoral board knocked out enough signatures so that Progressives were left with valid petitions from only 41 counties instead of the required 50. In nine counties the Progressives averaged 190 valid signatures instead of 200.

Of no avail was the fact that the Progressives amassed 75,000 signatures in the state. Only 25,000 are required.

The electoral board acted on the basis of a 1935 amendment to the election law, enacted when the Democrats had unchallenged control of both the state legislature and executive departments. This 50 county requirement was assailed as unreasonable and unconstitutional.

Discrimination Charged

Progressive party attorneys in their brief contended that the geografical feature discriminates against voters in the more populous counties in putting candidates on the ballot.

Under the 1935 amendment, the 87 per cent of the voters who reside in the 49 most populous counties could not form, by themselves, a new political party, the brief set forth. Yet 25,000 of the remaining 13 per cent of Illinois voters, properly distributed, could do so.

Wed 9-15-48

Particularly galling to the Progressives' leaders is the fact that the Prohibition, Socialist, and Socialist Worker parties got on the Illinois ballot without any trouble. None of these splinter parties came any where near satisfying the stringent election law requirements for nominating petitions. But Democrats did not bother to knock them out of the race.

Tells Need For Law Revision

Edgar Bernhard, chairman of the Chicago division of the American Civil Liberties union, said the Supreme court action points up the urgency of obtaining "reasonable" provisions in the state election law.

"It so happens that I personally am opposed to the Progressive party," Bernhard said, "but that does not alter the fact that it should not be impossible for a new party to get on the ballot even if challenged."

Atty. H. I. Green of Urbana, prominent downstate lawyer, told a reporter that the 1935 amendment falls in with a trend toward totalitarianism.

3d Party, Off Ballot, Scans Next Move

~~Daily~~ Tribune

Thur 9-2-48

BY GEORGE TAGGE

Progressive party leaders, shaken by an order barring Henry Wallace for President and state candidates from the Illinois ballot, said they will remain active in the fall campaign. The only question was how.

Chicago

Last resort of the Wallace crusaders would be a write-in campaign. But they still hoped to do better than this, and huddled with attorneys trying to find some recourse from the decision of the state electoral board Tuesday which held their nominating petitions invalid.

No Basis For Appeal Seen

Most lawyers were agreed that there can be no appeal from the decision. It was reached primarily by Justices Francis Wilson and Walter T. Gunn of the Illinois Supreme court, sitting on the board in place of Atty. Gen. George F. Barrett, Republican, and Secretary of State Edward J. Barrett, Democrat. Both Barretts were barred because they are candidates for re-election.

State Auditor Arthur C. Lueder, Republican, made the decision unanimous. The political result would have been the same if he hadn't. A layman, he received several messages during the deliberations suggesting legal points to be raised. These were speedily knocked down by the justices.

Thur 9-2-48

Twenty-three county clerks had testified that fewer than 200 valid signatures appeared on Progressive petitions in each of their countries. This reduced to 41 the number of counties in which Progressives had the required signatures.

The decision merely said that the Progressives lacked valid petitions from the required 50 counties, not stating how close they had come to the goal.

Now the Progressive leaders have intensified interest in a case before the Supreme court involving their candidates for Cook county and Municipal court offices. Whether these candidates will be on the Nov. 2 ballot here is at issue. Progressives won a Circuit court order to put them on the ballot. Democrats got an Appellate court order blocking this. The Appellate court action is being appealed by the Progressives.

Chicago Ill

Strength in Cook County

Most of the Progressive party strength in Illinois is in Cook county. If the county candidates are on the ballot, the Progressives will be assured of a column which would facilitate a write-in drive for Wallace and the state candidates.

Chief Justice William J. Fulton of the Supreme court was informed yesterday at his Sycamore home that unless the high court decides the case today, four Progressive candidates for congress and 11 candidates for the state legislature will have no chance of getting on the ballot in Cook county.

Thur 9-2-48

Further, if the Supreme court ruling is delayed until Sept. 8, the Progressive county candidates will not get on the ballot regardless of how the decision goes. Today and Sept. 8 are statutory deadlines for the certification of these candidates by election officials.

The next regular term of court opens Sept. 13. Chief Justice Fulton said he would ascertain the wishes of the other justices.

THE WALLACE PETITIONS

Daily Tribune

The state electoral board has stricken from the ballot in Illinois the names of Henry Wallace for President and his Progressive party candidates for state office.

Fri 9-3-48

Because two statutory members of the board are themselves candidates, their places on the board were taken by two justices of the Supreme court, one Democrat and one Republican. The third member was State Auditor Lueder, a Republican. The law requires that petitions for state and national office must be signed by at least 200 qualified voters in each of 50 counties in the state. The Progressive petitions were attacked by a former Democratic candidate for office on the grounds that sufficient valid signatures had not been obtained in a sufficient number of counties.

Chicago Ill

The justices, it must be presumed, acted as judges and not as political partisans in the matter. Mr. Lueder's vote to make the ruling unanimous was clearly against the interests of his own party. It is obvious that few if any Republican voters are going to be attracted to Wallace.

We think it sound public policy that any candidate with appreciable support, which Wallace undoubtedly has in this state, should be given a position on the ballot. The laws on filing of candidates should be construed liberally in this respect. These theoretical rights, however, cannot overcome clear illegalities, and the Wallace petitions, from the evidence presented, seem clearly to have failed to comply with the law.

Fri 9-3-48

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7 Wallaceites Warned in Ga.

Newark Star

COLUMBUS, Ga., Sept. 25 (UP)—Police reported today that seven Progressive Party campaign workers collecting signatures to a petition to place party nominees on the Georgia ballot were taken from a hotel here late last night by a group of men, at least one of whom was armed.

Sun 9-26-48

Party headquarters in Atlanta said the workers were forced out of their hotel at Gunpoint and driven 30 miles to Haminton, Ga., where they were warned of "violent treatment" if they should return to Columbus.

Sun 9-26-48

The night manager of the hotel said the seven Wallace workers had been "interviewed" earlier in the day by police.

Wallace Party Leader Wants Paul Robeson As Secretary Of State

The Birmingham News

SAVANNAH, Ga.,

For the sake of world peace, says the Progressive Party candidate for governor of Georgia, the Negro singer, Paul Robeson, should be secretary of state.

James Barfoot, the gubernatorial candidate, Wednesday night addressed a party rally at the Negro Masonic Temple, attended by a sprinkling of white persons in the audience of about 500.

Birmingham Ala.

WITH ROBESON sitting nearby, Barfoot, a former teacher at the University of Georgia, declared:

"I would like to see Paul Robeson secretary of state. No two nations of the world would go to war if he were."

Fri. 10-8-48

The rally was not interrupted by police, who Tuesday night stopped a meeting in the City Auditorium, at which the noted Negro singer was to appear, when sponsors declined to abide by the city's segregation law. Police officials explained that since last night's meeting was in a private

building the segregation law did not apply.

Both meetings were sponsored by two locals of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union affiliated with the CIO. Union spokesmen charged the police used violent methods in halting the meeting in the City Auditorium—a charge that Police Chief Truman F. Ward stoutly denied.

Tri 10-8-48

CLARK FOREMAN, a leader of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, said the officers shoved speakers from the microphone and swarmed throughout the auditorium with night sticks.

Raid on Negro-White Dance Is Protested by Wallaceites

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Wash Post

The Progressive (Wallace) Party of the District yesterday protested to President Trumar and the District Commissioners a police raid on a Negro-White dance of Wallace supporters here Saturday.

Times 10-13-48

Seven persons, arrested in the raid on charges of lottery or liquor law violations, were granted continuances of hearings until October 19 and 20.

The arrests were made at a dance sponsored by the United Negro Allied Veterans of America, in Laborers Hall, 575 New Jersey ave. nw., after police undercover men bought whisky and "chances" on a rafle of liquor. More than 35 policemen participated in the foray.

Wash D.C.

The number of policemen participating was stressed by the Progressive Party in a telegram to the District Commissioners which said in part:

"We note that Major Barrett has given as a reason for the high crime rate in Washington that he does not have enough police. We should like to call you attention that . . . he used nearly 50 police to break up a veterans dance on the pretext that certain individuals were selling liquor without a license and holding a rafle . . ."

In the telegram to Mr. Truman, the Party cited a raid several days ago on a private home where a number of white persons and one Negro had gathered. Police had declared they had received a report of a shooting at that address.

The telegram state "Civil rights of all people of Washington are endangered . . ."

[Both Maj. Robert J. Barrett and Assistant Supt. Floyd E. Truscott were in New York attending a meeting of police chiefs when the dance was raided.]

Acting Police Supt. Robert S. Bryant yesterday refused to comment on the telegrams except to say an investigation was underway into the raid on the private home.

Times 10-12-48

Slated for a hearing October 19 on liquor charges growing out of the dance incident are Walter E. White, 23, of 1313 49th st. ne., Winfield Shirley, 23, of 2327 Virginia ave. nw., Bernard C. Campbell, 29, of 1007 15th st. se., Winston C. Edwards, 30, of 2914 Sherman ave. nw., and Sidney Goldreich, 25, of 3812 Florence dr., Alexandria.

Edwards and Goldreich together with Edmund S. Majchrzyk, 24, of 516 2d st. nw., and Frank E. Trusclair, 27, of 2911 Sherman ave. nw., were also charged with lottery law violation. Their hearing was continued until October 20

Wallace Hits Arrest of Communists

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Thurs. 7-22-48

3rd Party

CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA, July 21.—Henry A. Wallace, candidate for President of the new party, today denounced the Federal indictments against leaders of the Communist Party as an action "intended to suppress political freedom." In a message telephoned to the New Party's convention headquarters here late this afternoon, Wallace sharply challenged the motives of the bi-partisan administration in producing indictments at this time. Citing the concern of the American people over the critical situation in Berlin and the powerful opposition rising against inflationary home policies of both old parties, Wallace charged that the arrests were a diversion aimed at stifling opposition to these policies.

"It is interesting and highly significant," said Wallace, "that these red scares over the past two or three years have been timed to silence opposition to new turns in the bi-partisan get tough foreign policy. . . . Both the administration and the bi-partisans in Congress make allegations to make headlines, make headlines to make fear and make fear to stay in power."

He warned that bi-partisans were embarking on a path similar to that of the Hitler anti-Comintern axis and asserted strongly that he would continue to fight against these policies "in defense of the constitutional liberties of all the American people."

Daily Worker

"Defense of the civil rights of Communists in the first line in the defense of the liberties of a democratic people," the New Party standard-bearer declared. "The history of Germany, Italy, Japan and Franco Spain should teach us that the suppression of the Communists is but the first step in an assault on the democratic rights of labor, national, racial and political minorities, and all those who oppose the policies of the government in power."

New York, N.Y.

HOLD PLATFORM HEARING

Wallace's statement on the indictments came toward the close of a day devoted to hearings on the platform to be adopted by the new party. In contract to the old parties, public hearings to which representatives of peoples organizations were invited were held here and testimony taken on planks they wanted to see in the platform.

Thurs. 7-22-48

Seated behind a long table in the ballroom of this hall, the 74-member platform committee, shirt-sleeved because of the oppressive heat, heard the testimony of more than a score of organiations.

Today's testimony was devoted largely to organiation interested in foreign policy and in civil rights and a series of specific recommendations covering U. S. policy in the Far East, Latin America, Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone, the Middle East and the Balkans were made.

Daily Worker

David Kuselwitz, 36, of 118-14 national chairman of the Progressive .Zionist .League .(Hashomer-Hatzair) asked inclusion of a plank in the New Party program for immediate lifting of the arms embargo against Israel and announced that his organization had voted to become an integral part of the new party. **Kuselwitz followed to the microphone Hyman A. Schulson, of Washington, who testfiied for the American Zionist Emergency Council.**

New York N.Y.

The Platform Committee announced that it supported the principles proposed by both Zionist spokesman and that the platform would include their proposals.

PUERTO RICAN PLANK

Other planks sought by representatives who testified included:

- Independence for Puerto Rico, with U. S. economic aid to repay the Caribbean people for 50 years of imperialist exploitation.
- **Ending aid to Chiang Kai-Shek and advancing economic help to China through the United Nations only after a democratic coalition government has been formed.**

Economic aid to Latin America through the UN, ending the arms standardization plan with these countries and withdrawal of U. S. forces from military bases in that area.

Thurs.

- **Ceasing U. S. expenditures in Greece to continue the civil war, which is costing American taxpayers $102,000 daily.**
- **Breaking relations with Franco Spain.**
- **A universal suffrage bill, in addition to an anti-poll tax bill guaranteeing the vote to every one who meets qualifications of age, residence, freedom from criminality and freedom from insanity.**

7-22-48

TUGWELL REPORTS

Rexford G. Tugwell, chairman of the Platform Committee, announced results of the first executive session of the group in drafting the platform, which will be presented to the convention Sunday. Planks have already been written into the document, although changes are expected to be made as a result of testimony being offered at the hearings, Tugwell added.

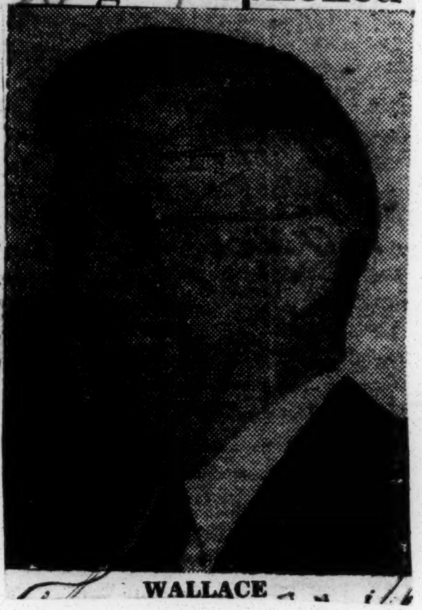
Those planks already drafted include:

- **Effective price controls to take the profit out of inflation.**
- **Public ownership of the largest banks, the railroads, electric power and gas industry and "industries primarily dependent on government fund and purchases."**
- **Repeal of the Taft-Hartley law and re-enactment of the principles of the Wagner and Norris-LaGuardia acts.**
- **Government credits at low interest to assist tenants, sharecroppers and small farmers.**

7-22-48

Among those who testified today were the National Teachers Division of the CIO United Public Workers, the Society for the Prevention of World War III, the Negro Elks, the Council for the advancement of the Americas and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Testimony on the platform will continue tomorrow, with the convention proper set for its official opening Friday night. On Saturday Wallace and Sen. Glen Taylor will be nominated and will make their acceptance speeches at a great mass meeting in the evening at Shibe Park.



WALLACE

Wallace Followers Vs. Rebecca West

Herald Tribune · New York, N.Y.

Third-Party Advocates Disagree With British Writer's Philadelphia Report

Fri. 7-30-48

To the New York Herald Tribune:

Maybe I am prejudiced because my own son was among the youth described as "horrible" by Rebecca West in an article on the Wallace convention and therefore should keep silent. Nevertheless, I feel I must speak out my shock that a woman of Miss West's caliber and assumed perspicacity should have gone so far astray. I personally know many of the boys and girls whom she labels "stupid," "unintelligent," etc. May I tell her that, far from being the failures she thinks they are, they are unusually alert, fine young people and exceedingly well read. They are the kind who know and love good music, prefer intelligent English and Continental films to Hollywood's tawdry concoctions and are devotees of the Museum of Modern Art.

I have been trying to be fair and understand what she means by the words "sullen" and "sad" which she applied to them. Many of the kids had little money and hitch hiked or sat up in buses for great distances. Then, with beds at a premium, sat up again all night in Philadelphia. Perhaps Miss West mistook fatigue for sullenness.

For many years I was in newspaper work in Europe. I attended many of those early Nazi and Fascist meetings to which she referred. If Miss West wrote equally vitriolic articles about those gatherings, I never read them. One of my earliest impressions of Vienna, where I lived three years, was the sharp division between Nazi and democratic youth. I saw that division again in Germany, in Italy and in Spain. Therefore I believe I know what I am saying when I assure Miss West that the only thing "horrible" about those kids in Philadelphia the other day was her complete misunderstanding of them. Also, that even if they were as she construed them, good taste and simple kindness should have saved her from flailing any group of youngsters with such calloused words.

7-30-48

As for "their inciting to riot" by joining hands in brotherhood with their Negro fellow Americans, when has friendship ever maddened instead of placated? What epithets would Miss West not find for Abraham Lincoln, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Julia Ward Howe!

Fri.

There has been much comparison lately of the present post-war generation with that which followed the first world war. Which would you rather have? The hurt and disillusioned youth of the jazz age, who carried hip flasks full of law-breaking liquor or fled, when they could, to expatriation in Europe or a youth, whether you agree or not with their political views, who can be excited about housing and prices, poll taxes and education, national health problems and a Department of Fine Arts? Regardless of politics and Presidential campaigns, please let us accord these young people's interest in the problems of their country a greater respect than Miss West would allow it.

MARTHA FOLEY.

New York, July 26, 1948.

To the New York Herald Tribune:

I count myself among those "horrible" persons to whom Rebecca West refers in her article in today's New York Herald Tribune, i. e., a follower of Mr. Henry Wallace.

I also was at the convention this past week end and mingled "with the crowd," but what I saw and heard was contrary to what Miss West reports. It is quite evident that Miss West is consumed by a passionate hate, that she came to the convention with a prejudiced mind, and that she has poured her bitterness into her articles published by your paper.

Herald Tribune

In my opinion, her articles are a disgrace to your paper and serve only to lower your standard of news reporting.

New York, N.Y.

AUGUSTA SARGENT.

New York, July 26, 1948.

Fri. 7-30-48

To the New York Herald Tribune:

I am not a follower of Mr. Henry Wallace, so my withers are unwrung, but I imagine a good many Americans of all political faiths were unpleasantly surprised by Miss Rebecca West's comments on the absence of personal pulchritude in the young people at the Wallace convention.

7-30-48

Miss West begins by describing the young delegates as "horrible"—a word which, in this particular context, has more of a tea-at-Schrafft's quality than we have come to expect from Miss West's sturdy intellect.

Fri.

Miss West goes on to say that she has never seen so many young men with sullen eyes and dropped chins, or so many young women "with the restless look on their faces that comes of profound insecurity, of consciousness that neither their physical or mental resources are adequate. . . ."

Whatever her faults, Miss Rebecca West is certainly not calculating. At one fell swoop, she has given a nasty and unforgettable shock to all those of her readers who are too unsymmetrical to be gainfully employed by John Robert Powers. Accurate Miss West may possibly be, but from now on, it will be a rare cotillion which she is asked to lead.

It is not quite clear, from Miss West's piece, just exactly what her convictions are, but whatever they are, she certainly has the courage of them. With admirable recklessness, she completely ignored the two questions which were bound to come to any reader's mind.

1. To Miss West, the young delegates looked "horrible." But how did Miss West look to the young delegates? Did they find her the tastiest arrangement of protoplasm their sullen eyes had ever lit upon?

2. How, for that matter, does Miss West look to anybody?—young or old, political or non-political?

It would have been an editorial inspiration for the Herald Tribune to have printed Miss West's picture along with her piece. One assumes, of course, that Miss West's own chin is undropped and unimpeachable. It is, at any rate, the structure with which she leads.

MARGARET HALSEY.

New York, July 26, 1948.

Herald Tribune

To the New York Herald Tribune:

Miss West's article on the Wallace convention succeeded more in covering a cynical woman's philosophy of life, or I should say death than covering a political convention. The abhorrence and hatred of people who differ with Miss West's immaculate existence is so apparent that reportage is nonexistent—only a sickening hatred of human beings is discernible through the whole piece.

GWEN ANDERSON CHODOROV.

New York, July 26, 1948.

New York, N.Y.

To the New York Herald Tribune:

As a not unyouthful observer at the Progressive party's convention this last week end, may I respectfully declare that Miss Rebecca West has come up with a fascinating commentary on that event. (Herald Tribune, July 26, 1948.)

It had not occurred to me before that one might indulge in personal aestheticism and amateur psychoanalysis as bases for judging a group of young people.

Miss West has depicted the majority of the youth at that event as "very horrible indeed."

The boys were "sullen," chinless and apparently witless. The girls were "insecure" and maladjusted.

This physiognomical once-over fills me with awe, especially when one reflects that many of these repulsive faces and Babbittish bodies were beautiful enough to defend Miss West's homeland.

7-31-48

If Jewish faces, Negro faces, Asiatic and Indian faces, the rough, red faces of farmers and steel workers and the faces of Irish and Armenian and Italian, do not appeal to Miss West's own notion of what faces should be, then she should eschew the unfortunate and ignorant method of judging people by their fleshly outwardnesses. I have never been of the impression that a "sullen eye" and a "dropped chin" meant a lack of cerebral capacity. I think that when we start judging people by their bony structures, we might as well put Miss America up for President.

Herald Tribune

In conclusion may I say that as a very collected, strong-jawed and extremely secure young woman, I was forcibly reminded, as I read Miss West's report on our youth, of those who attempted to perpetuate a race of stalwart blond Aryans.

New York, N.Y.

MARY GRAEME DOUGLAS.

Ossining on Hudson, N. Y., July 26, 1948.

Fri. 7-31-48

[We are glad to give full opportunity to the critics of Miss Rebecca West to reply to her articles on the Wallace convention. As our readers know, it is the policy of the Herald Tribune to open its columns to widely varying types of opinion. Both because she ranks among the most distinguished of British writers and because she is a singularly keen observer of events, the work of Miss West has always been welcome in our pages. Her reports should be equally welcome, in our judgment, in the mind of every one who desires to form his opinions upon the basis of a complete, rather than a partial record.—Ed.]

34d 1948

Third Party (California)

New Republic

Two weeks ago, Henry A. Wallace devoted one of his two days in Los Angeles to appearances in the Douglas 14th District. He and Sidney Moore, a Negro who is the New Party's candidate for Mrs. Douglas' congressional seat, rode up and down Central Avenue, the center of the Negro neighborhood. The two of them conferred with Negro leaders, and the next night 32,000 persons in Gilmore Stadium heard Wallace extol Moore's virtues.

Probably, the immediate damage that Wallace's participation in the primary campaign has done to Mrs. Douglas' chances is slight. There are only 832 registered IPP voters, out of a total of 175,000, in the district. The real danger for Mrs. Douglas will come in the fall. A strong campaign for Moore then might divide the progressive vote and assure a Republican victory.

Wallace found great interest in the New Party's attitude toward Mrs. Douglas when he went on into Oregon and Washington. In response to repeated questions, he said his party might still support her. Mrs. Douglas, he said, "has one of the outstanding progressive voting records in the US Congress. Whether we fight for Moore or not depends on how the situation works out. If Helen Gahagan Douglas becomes a war-monger we'll do everything we can to put Moore across."

Supporters of Mrs. Douglas point out that she was worked hard from strategic spots in the US delegation in the United Nations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs for better relations with the Russians and a genuinely democratic foreign policy. She opposed the Truman program for aid to Greece and Turkey and fought attempts by reactionaries to twist the Marshall Plan to their uses.

6-7-48

Iowa ex-Republican last night's keynoter; Wallaceites promise Negroes 'the moon'

L.A. Tribune Sat 7-24-48

Los Angeles Calif.

PHILADELPHIA—Charles P. Howard, Des Moines, Iowa, who was a Republican for 25 years, was keynote speaker of Henry Wallace's New Party convention when it opened here last night.

Three times chairman of the Negro division of the Republican Party of Iowa and an alternate delegate to the Republican national convention in 1932, Howard resigned from his Republican county central committee early this year to support Wallace.

34d

"It is obvious that only the New Party of Wallace really intends to fight racial discrimination and segregation in America," he gave as his reason. "The old parties have repeatedly broken their pledges to Negroes and will continue to do so."

L.A. Tribune

Fifty-three years old, Howard has been practicing law in Des Moines since 1930 and publishes two weekly newspapers. As infantry lieutenant in the first World War, he has three sons, who are veterans of World War II.

Sat 7-24-48

"The strongest platform on civil rights for Negroes since the Reconstruction era" was promised by new party officials here today.

The convention is expected to demand of President Truman that he use executive powers to end segregation in the armed forces immediately; to call for "complete outlawing of racial discrimination and segregation . . . an end to discrimination in federal service and federal supervision of polling places in the South where Negro voting rights are ignored."

L.A. Calif

The platform is expected to call specifically for anti-poll tax and anti-lynch legislation, "halting of federal aid to any agencies practicing discrimination, prohibition of discrimination in government contracts, a permanent FEPC, state legislation to outlaw discrimination and segregation, and abolition of immigration restriction based on race."

Some 500 Negro delegates and most of approximately 30 Negro candidates, running for state and federal office on the New Party ticket, will take part in formally organizing the New Party and writing the platform.

Larkin Marshall, Macon, Ga., publisher and first Negro candidate in Georgia to run for the U. S. Senate since post-civil war days, is scheduled to nominate Sen. Glen Taylor, of Idaho, for Vice President.

Sat 7-24-48

Both Wallace and Taylor will accept the nomination Saturday night before an expected crowd of 35,000 at Philadelphia's Shibe Park, city baseball grounds, scene of the only outdoor session of the political conventions. Opening speaker at today's session will be Magistrate Joseph Rainey, president of the Philadelphia NAACP.

Among writers of the platform are: Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, dean of Howard University medical school, and Estelle Massey Osborne, former president of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses.

L.A. Tribune

Paul Robeson, now one of four co-chairmen of the National Wallace for President Committee, is, as was to be expected, playing a leading role in the convention.

3rd Party Sessions Draw Largest (150) Delegation

The Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

PHILADELPHIA—The convention of the Progressive Party which nominated Henry A. Wallace and Sen. Glen H. Taylor for President and Vice President respectively, last week, was attended by over 150 colored delegates, over three times the combined total that attended the Republican and Democratic conventions.

34d Sat

The Republicans named only 31 official delegates and alternates while the Democrats selected 17, none of whom played the significan major roles in shaping policy and program as did the Progressive Party delegates.

Among the Delegates

A partial list of the delegates follows:

7-31-48

ALABAMA: the Rev. Beauford Helms, Church of God.

LOUISIANA: Joseph Thomas, Ernest Scott, Raymond Tillman, Albert Taylor, Andrew Nelson, Rudolph Moses, Grace Tillman, Sargent Caufield and Chester Lanier.

MASSACHUSETTS: Martin Richardson and Dr. R. A. Simmons, Boston; Mrs. Dorothy Daily and Miss Edna Brown, Roxbury.

WASHINGTON STATE: Florentine Ware, Carl Brooks and the Rev. R. H. Harris, Seattle; Alice Thorn, Tacoma; and Irvin Jones, Vancouver.

CALIFORNIA: Horace Alexander, Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass and Miss Marguerite Robinson, Los Angeles; Dr. Matty Crawford, the Rev. John Doggett and Henry O. Mariott, San Francisco; Miss Lydia D'Fonsica of Alameda; Luke Dungan, San Joaquin, Jay Brown, Alameda R. Proctor, Oakland; and Dr. Zuretti L. Goosby, San Francisco.

TEXAS: the Rev. Stacy Adams, John Glenn, Mrs. Olivia Hall, Mrs. Bessie Johnson, Mrs. Lulu White, Oliver Lockridge, Hank Jarman, Isaac Mayberry, Sherman Steward. Rock Richardson, Will Earl, R. A. Adams, James Addison, Elijah Johnson, Charles Demerson, R. H. Smith, Joe West, George Coleman, Eugene Wartell, David Hanna and the Rev. James Wilson.

GEORGIA: Miss Julia Allen, Larkin Marshall, William Bowens, Floyd McKissick, Mrs. L. Marshall, James Edwards, Guy Fraser, F. L. Hutchins Jr., John W. Newsome, William Stephens, A. L. Thomas, Murray Branch, the Revs. Herbert Pratt and C. T. Pratt.

PENNSYLVANIA: Arnold Scott, Ted Wright, Majorie Rochelle, Pauline Wilson, the Rev. John Hodge, John Williams, William Bunks, Charles Melton, the Rev. F. D. Gholson, Gollicum Patton, Harry Mosley and Catherine Harley.

Sat

MISSOURI: Ross B. Bracy, Dr. W. C. Bridges, James T. Bush, James Carr, Ray Wolverson and Margaret Wilson, St. Louis; Marvin C. Pettit, Julius Jones and Mrs. Helen Harris, Kansas City; Abraham Holman, Wyatt; Henry Jennings, South Kinloch; Miss Vivian Smith, Bernie; Hazel Teabeau, Jefferson City.

NEBRASKA: Hazel Green, Ernest Turner, Rowena Seals, Geraldine Jarrett and Clifford, Henry.

NEW JERSEY: Mrs. Carrie Davis, Toms River; Calvin Morrison, East Orange; Wendell Williams, Paterson, and Herman Curtis, Camden.

ILLINOIS: Albert R. George, Jack Burch, Joseph Gardette, Ralph Turner, Leeman Parrish, Mrs. Pauline Reid, Jesse Glanton, Hilliard Ellis, Earl B. Dickerson and Bernard Lucas, all of Chicago.

7-31-48

INDIANA: Jacob Blake, Rosemary Hutchinson, Edna Johnson, Anderson Jones, Rubin Michelle, James Taylor and Louise Abrom.

KANSAS: Mrs. William Price, John Dunn, William Harris, the Rev. John Faust and Eldon Burnett.

KENTUCKY: Caesar S. Bell, Clayton Mayberry, Nathaniel Mackenzie, Frederick Marrero, Robert Winlock Jr., Andrew Wade 4th, Alfred M. Carroll, and these clergymen representing the Church of God in Kentucky—the Revs. Bert Dyer, John Estes(C. M. Bell, Nelson Lonen, J. F. Tratt and Isom Bailey.

TENNESSEE: the Revs. Same Coke, Paul Donner and J. A. Carmichael, Chattanooga.

VIRGINIA: Dr. L. F. Palmer and William H. Moses, Hampton Institute.

OHIO: the Revs. Tom McIntyre and G. E. Wiggs.

INDIANA: the Revs. W. T. Foster, Junior Howard, Lewis Allen, Alton Kitchens.

The Afro-American

Maryland Delegates

Prominent members of the delegation from Maryland are:

JAMES S. MARTIN, co-chairman of the State Progressive Party; former chief of the De-cartelization Branch of AMG in Germany; member of the important Resolutions Committee of the convention.

DR. JOHN E. T. CAMPER, co-chairman of the State Progressive Party. Candidate for Congress from the 4th District.

Baltimore, Md

ELEANOR N. SOYRING, former national president of the United Federal Workers of America, CIO; former member of the National CIO Executive Council.

HAROLD BUCHMAN. State Director of the Progressive Party. Independent Democratic candidate for City Council in 1947.

Unions Well Represented

HENRY BEITCHER, assistant State Director; former chairman of the Washington Industrial Union Council, CIO; former vice-president of the Maryland and D.C. Industrial Union Council, CIO.

Sat

MICHAEL J. CLIFFORD, former president of the CIO steelworkers' local at Rustless Iron & Steel Co. Candidate for Congress in 2nd District.

7-31-48

PHILIP C. KULINSKI, former official of Local 239, UAW, at Fisher Body. Candidate for Congress from the 3rd District.

HENRY T. HUNT, former mayor of Cincinnati.

JACK ZUCKER, International Representative of UE, CIO.

IRV DVORIN, Baltimore Port Agent of Marine Cooks & Stewards, CIO.

WILLIAM W. HILL, president of the largest Westinghouse local, 130 UE, CIO.

I. DUKE AVNET, attorney.

The full list of delegates follows:

LABOR DIVISION: Irv Dvorin, Jack Zuker, Ben Fino, Sam Fox, Marshall Jones, Charles Swan, Milt Seif, Viola Bell, Max Cohen, Al Soyring, Robert Lee, Eleanor Nelson Soyring, Charles Bagley, Pete Forrest and Judson McDaniel.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Dr. Alexander J. Walker, I. Duke Avnet, Dr. Roger Lewis and Mrs. Herman Ginsberg.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE: James S. Martin, Dr. John E. T. Camper, Harold Buchman, Henry T. Hunt, Mrs. Luke Wilson, Mrs. Roger Lewis, Dr. William H. Watts and John Anderson.

YOUNG PROGRESSIVES: Stan Askin, Fred Scott, Robert Edelson, Bea Kanter, Mary Coffee and Ruth Ellen Hammer.

Howard To Keynote Wallace Meet

NEW YORK—(NNPA)—A former colored Republican leader has been selected to deliver the keynote address at the third party convention that meets in Philadelphia July 23-25, the National Wallace for President Committee announced here last Thursday.

34d

C. B. Baldwin, Wallace campaign manager, said the keynoter would be Charles P. Howard of Des Moines, Iowa, attorney and publisher and a Republican leader in Iowa for 25 years. He said Mr. Howard would be proposed by the Convention Arrangements Committee, headed by Josiah Gitt, publisher of the New York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily.

Mr. Howard was a Republican until he resigned from his Republican County Central Committee early this year to support Mr. Wallace. He was an alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1932 and was three times chairman of the colored division of the Republican party in Iowa.

He is 53 years old and a graduate of Drake University, where he was a four-letter athlete. He was a 1st lieutenant in World War I, serving overseas with the 366th Infantry. He practices law and publishes two weekly papers in Des Moines. He is married and has three sons, all veterans of World War II.

New Party Proved Friend Of Negro People by Deeds

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Mon. 7-26-48

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By Abner W. Berry

PHILADELPHIA, July 25.—The convention of the two old parties were haunted by the struggle of the Negro people for their rights. They sought a winning slogan with which to channel that struggle into the ballot box, much in the fashion of a crew of crafty advertising specialists planning to market a new soap.

Henry Wallace's Progressive Party convention, too, was dominated by the Negro people's anti-jimcrow struggle. But the new party delegates and committees were concerned with making their party the channel of the people's struggles. It makes a big difference as to how a vote comes to the ballot box.

Earlier on Friday Charles P. Howard, the keynoter, told members of the press that he had deserted the Republican party after "hoping for 30 years" to realize the broken promises. "I found there was no hope in that party—or the emocratic Party—for human dignity," he explained as the main reason for leaving the GOP.

This attitude was mirrored on the floor of the convention. Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, of New York, sat coatless in a clerical collar, cheering the opening night's speakers. River boatmen, sitting across the aisle from him under the Tennessee standard were equally rapt, as were the tobacco and furniture workers of North Carolina and the Negro college professors of Virginia.

ATTACKED BY KLAN

I made my way down the crowded aisle to where James L. Barfoot, Georgia Progressive gubernatorial candidate sat. He answered my mock question about contending delegations from Georgia, as the Dems had, with a half-serious but emphatic reply: "We're united here," and to back it up a wag shouted above the roaring cheers, "Say, I bet it will be Wallace on the first ballot." And then there were ripples of laughter mingling with the cheers.

Barfoot, who lost his professional job at the University of Georgia because of his political activities, was flanked by eight Negro delegates—one-half of the delegation. He and the delegates told a story which most of the Southern delegates have to tell. It's a story that the television cameras and radio commentators can't pick up. The Georgia Progressive Party, the day before they left, held an anti-Klan rally on the ground of the State Capitol.

After tiffs with the police, delaying the meeting, Barfoot was followed home by two carloads of Klansmen. The cops, fearing a scandal in connection with a gubernatorial candidate, finally showed up and herded the mobsters away. Alabama delegates were baited by the Birmingham Post. Their addresses, published, drew hostile calls and in one case a delegate's home was searched.

The delegates from the South had seen the ugly face of white supremacy and were seeking in the convention a weapon with which to fight it. Mrs. Pauline Dobbs, the pretty and willowy young leader of the picket against the Dixiecrat white supremacy convention in Birmingham, in a seconding speech said to tumultuous applause:

"The white supremacists say they are out to defend womanhood, but we white women—and Negro women—of the South are learning to defend ourselves."

The nominating and seconding speeches starred Negro and Southern delegates. Larkin Marshall, senatorial opponent of the white supremacist Richard Russell of Georgia, gave a partial reason for this in his speech nominating Glen H. Taylor for the vice presidency. "I say our country, knowing all too well that in the minds of the old parties my people are not citizens, but subjects. In the eyes of Glen Taylor, however, I am a free man. I am equal among equals."

A dozen seconding speeches, or more were made by Negro delegates during the nominating sessions. And Southern delegates, Negro and white, concentrated on the Negro question and Civil Rights.

It is significant that very first ovation, bordering on a demonstration came the first night before the keynote address was given Miss Shirley Graham when midway through her remarks she shouted: "Jimcrow must go." The floor and the galleries took up the chant while the banners waved and swirled. The states' standards seeming to dip a little more approvingly than the others.

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

The three days of the convention here for white and Negro delegates, alike, were just like the keynote speech had said of it.

Attorney Howard, the Negro leader from Henry Wallace's Iowa, who had found human dignity for the first time," declared:

7-26-48

"The wagon train to freedom is now making up."

Taylor Opens Door To 'Pink' Group Support

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Fri 7-23-48

He Says Reds Will Vote Dewey Ticket To Help Bring New Depression

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

PHILADELPHIA—(AP)—Henry Wallace's third party convention gets going Friday with vice presidential hopeful Glen Taylor already openly accepting any votes the Communists want to offer the ticket.

In fact, the issue of communism in one form or another stalks through nearly all the preliminaries to the formal founding of the "new party."

It comes up in platform making, committee meetings and news conferences.

The rules committee even met in the Pink Room Thursday at convention headquarters at the Bellevue Stratford Hotel, and the badges passed around to the press were—bright red.

Americans for Democratic Action called the new party a Communist "tool."

Noisy Row

James Loem, Jr., ADA national executive secretary hurled that charge at platform committee hearings. It stirred up a noisy row.

Rexford Guy Tugwell, committee chairman, barked back that ADA's statement was "intemperate and insincere" and intended to "impune the motives of the new party."

The spectators hissed Loeb, cheered Tugwell.

Then, Dr. Joseph Johnson, dean of the medical school of Howard University, Washington, D. C., a committee member said:

"I resent very much the appearance of Mr. Loeb before me as a Negro to state that a week ago the ADA won a fight for civil rights (in connection with the Democratic party patform)."

He said this was "an insult to every Negro" because just getting words into a platform was not accomplishing anything.

Loeb's statement was given to newsmen nearly 20 hours in advance of his appearance before the committee. Immediately after Tugwell and Johnson finished their replies to him, copies of their remarks prepared long before, were passed to reporters.

Not Worried

But Taylor and other convention figures say they aren't worried about all the talk of Communist infiltration into the party, because the party isn't Communist and isn't being run by Communists.

When party founder Henry A. Wallace comes to town Friday he is expected to say plenty more along the same line.

The pattern for this convention has been all worked out ahead of time. Wallace, former vice president who was fired from President Truman's cabinet for his ideas about Russia, will be the presidential nominee. Taylor, the crooning Idaho senator who says he originated the "cowboy campaign" and expects to sing in this one, gets second place on the slate.

The platform was hammered together ahead of time. It is against the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan for European recovery. It is for cooperation with Russia to obtain world peace.

Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell, Chicago University professor who was an original New Deal brain truster, is running the platform committee. He gives out a few splinters at a time in a sort of strip-tease effect.

For Thursday's installment, Tugwell announced the platform recommends that anyone 18 years old be allowed to vote, that laws be passed against lynchings, poll taxes and racial discrimination, that the House Unamerican Activities Committee be abolished.

Would Get Votes

And at hearings on the platform, 81-year-old Dr. F. E. Townsend said the new party would get "millions of votes" if it would go for his plan for $100-a-month pensions for the old and needy.

Both Wallace and Taylor have said they don't like communism but expect to get some votes from Reds.

Taylor did tone the color down to pink at a news conference Thursday.

"I think the pink Communists will support the new party," he said, "and the red Communists will support Dewey because the best way to get a revolution is to get another Hoover depression."

Sparring nimbly with questioners, Taylor defined a pink Communist as one who believes in democratic progress, in evolution instead of revolution. A red Communist, he said, wants revolution.

Republican presidential candidate Thomas E. Dewey let Taylor's remarks pass. His executive assistant, James C. Hagerty, said at Pawling, N. Y.:

"Governor Dewey never has any comment on anything that Mr. Taylor has to say."

Not Particular

Taylor went on to say he would accept the votes of anyone. He said he renounces and denounces Communists, but there is a difference between Communists and Communists' votes. He said he isn't renouncing votes of monopolists, either, although he doesn't expect to get any.

He said no, he would not concede that Communists are helping to make party policy. He said he doesn't know of a single Communist engaged in third party work.

The Communist program, Taylor said, "calls for nationalization of everything." He said the new party wants only nationalization of basic, key industries.

"The difference is a matter of degree and not of kind?" a reporter inquired.

"Of course it's a matter of degree," Taylor shot back.

Americans for Democratic Action slugged away at the new party over the red issue when Executive Secretary James Loeb, Jr., said in a statement prepared for platform committee hearings:

"Mr. Wallace's candidacy does not obscure the fact that the Communists and their collaborators guide the main policies and word the major pronouncements of this (new) party."

Without cracking a grin or hedging an inch, Taylor told his news conference:

"We'll get enough votes to be elected."

"Where?" someone challenged.

"I'm not a statistician. I just take the issues to the people and depend on their good judgment."

The senator has done some banjo-strumming campaigning on horseback in past years.

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The Afro-American

3rd Party (Conv)

Edgar Brown Urges March on Capital During Stirring Speech to Platform Unit

Baltimore, Md.

Promises Made by Other Major Parties Not Enough, Group Representatives Insist

Sat 7-31-48

By STAFF CORRESPONDENT

PHILADELPHIA

Branding the platforms of both the Republican and Democratic Parties as meaningless, Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council, Thursday, urged the New Party to demonstrate its avowal to protect all citizens by riding herd on the special session of Congress.

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In an eloquent five-minute speech before the platform committee, Wednesday, Brown proposed that the New Party reassemble in Washington Monday morning after its adjournment here Sunday and lead a march on the Capital to insure passage of strong civil rights measures and other legislation important to minority groups.

Brown recommended that the convention re-assemble at the Washington Monument, proceed to the Jefferson and Lincoln Memorials and then to the Capital. He said they would be joined by at least 100,000 persons in such a march.

Sat.

Congress, he thundered, should stay in session "until the Constitution is enforced against Dixiecrats" and if necessary until Federal troops are sent into the South to see that colored citizens are protected "in their Constitutional rights to vote in the November elections for President and Congress."

7-31-48

Tugwell Seeking Rights Action

In a statement Thursday, Rexford G. Tugwell, chairman of the 72-man platform committee, said the New Party's plank on civil rights would be couched in forceful language.

He disclosed that the draft which would be submitted to the delegates on Saturday would call for a Presidential proclamation ending segregation and all forms of discrimination in the armed services, in Federal employment and in the Panama Canal Zone and all territories, possessions and trusteeships."

The platform, he said, would demand Federal antilynch, anti-poll tax, anti-discrimination and fair employment practice legislation and legislation abolishing segregation in interstate travel.

Further, Tugwell said, the platform would call for special programs to raise the low standards of health, housing and educational facilities for minorities and hold that Federal funds should be denied to any State or local authority which witholds opportunities or benefits for reasons of race, creed or color.

Brown Draws Applause

Brown's appearance was one of the highlights of the hearings and drew a resounding burst of applause when he finished.

He declared that Henry A. Wallace, the New Party's Presidential nominee, "struck the first historic blow for civil rights and full enforcement of the Constitution, regardless of race, creed or color, four years ago at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago."

The New Party, he said, was in a position "to blaze the way and get the record straight on the Republican and Democratic Representatives and Senators and their respective nominees for President before 13,000,000 colored citizens are called upon this time to cast their ballots in November."

The Afro-American

If Wallace were President, Brown added, there would be no hesitancy about sending troops to the South to protect the rights of minorities.

Baltimore, Md.

In addition to passing the entire civil rights program, Brown said Congress should be demanded to expel Democratic Senators Olin D. Johnson, South Carolina, and Eastland and Stennis of Mississippi; and Rep. John E. Rankin of Mississippi.

7-31-48

Representatives from more than 60 organizations were heard by the platform committee during its two-day session.

Sat

Committee Mixed

Among members of the committee were Joseph Johnson, of Washington, Mrs. Paul Robeson of Enfield, Conn.; Mrs. Estelle M. Osborne, New York;! Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, New York; the Rev. Stacy Adams, Dallas, Tex.; and Julius Jones, Kansas City, Mo.

Most of the persons who addressed the committee said they had been disappointed with the deeds and promises of the two major political groups.

The only person to attack the policies of the New Party was James Loeb Jr., national executive secretary of the Americans for Democratic Action, who was in turn bitterly denounced by Johnson, dean of the Howard University Medical School.

Just Words So Far, He Says

Grabbing the mike after Rexford G. Tugwell, chairman of the committee had labeled the ADA's attack as "unscrupulous demagogic denunciation," Johnson said he resented Loeb's claims that the ADA had won the civil rights fight within the Democratic Party by having a civil rights plank adopted.

He said the insertion of a civil rights plank in the Democratic platform did not mean that a civil rights program would be passed by Congress.

Panama Represented

Thomas Richardson of Panama City, representing the United Public Workers—Panama Canal Zone appeared before the committee to speak against discrimination in that possession.

Sat

Although the NAACP went on record as opposing the New Party Madison Jones, of New York, who said he represented the organization, asked the party to pass a strong civil rights program.

Shirley Graham, noted New York author and lecturer, asked the party to pay particular attention to the needs of colored women, who she described as the "lowest-paid group" in the nation.

She said that since colored women were largely employed in domestic work, they could not unionize and were without the benefits of social security.

7-31-48

Opposition to Draft

Speaking for the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, Winston Edwards, delegate from Washington, said the colored soldier was opposed to the draft and deplored the "cold war talk."

Nelson M. Willis, Chicago attorney, speaking for the Illinois Elks, asked the party to request Congress pass a law enumeratnig the requirements which a State can set for voting. He said he feared that some States will find other means of keeping colored persons from voting if an anti-poll tax law is passed by Congress.

Wallaceites Reject Move Against Reds

The Post

Washington

3d

Motion Defeated To Declare Party Does Not Indorse Russian Policies

D.C.

Mon. 7-26-48

By Mary Spargo
Post Reporter

Convention Hall, Philadelphia, July 25.—The Progressive Party today elected its permanent officers and adopted its 1948 platform, after defeating a bitter but one-sided floor drive to declare in its platform the party does not give "blanket indorsement to the foreign policies of any other nation."

34d

The party's first convention, a which it nominated Henry Wallace for President and Senator Glen Taylor for Vice President then was adjourned at 8:12 p. m. (EDT).

Permanent Officers

Permanent officers elected are:

Chairman, Elmer A. Benson, Farmer-Laborite former Governor and former Senator from Minnesota.

Cochairman, Paul Robeson, Negro baritone, and Albert Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical Workers, CIO.

Secretary and campaign manager: C. B. (Beanie) Baldwin.

Treasurer, Clark Foreman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The Post

Vice chairman, Mrs. Eleanor Gimbel of New York, Fred W. Stover of Iowa and Alvin Jones.

Adoption of the platform, which calls for negotiation with Russia, rpudiation of the Marshall Plan, and repeal of the draft, among its many planks, after some five hours of debate and speeches.

Vainly Fitzgerald permanent chairman of the convention, called for the referral of all amendments to the national committee.

Washington

When the showdown came on a question of whether the convention would go on record as not indorsing the policies of the Soviet Union only a few scattered votes, throughout the hall were heard in favor of it.

D.C.

The proposed amendment snowed under by vociferous opponents, would have said in effect that while the Progressive Party was critical of the foreign policies of the United States, it did not indorse all those of Russia.

The convention did adopt an amendment to the platform's peace plank saying it is the "joint responsibility" of Russia and the United States to end the menace of war. The amendment said this country has grater responsibility for peace than Russia "because it has vastly greater power for war."

Mon.

Other Amendments

Besides beating down the mild plank designed to keep the party from implied indorsement of Soviet Russia's foreign policy, the convention amended its platform to:

7-26-48

1. Eliminate a demand for a unified homeland for the Macedonians.
2. Indorse the idea of a world government and a world federal legislature.
3. Call upon the Arab peoples and the Jews to resist British and American imperialism.
4. Demand preservation of rights of conscientious objectors and restoration of civil rights to conscientious objectors who have been penalized.
5. Indorse establishment of a department of culture, with a secretary of cabinet rank.

Vermonter Offers Plank

The attempt to amend the platform to put the Progressive Party specifically on record as not indorsing the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, was touched off by Delegate James Hayford of Vermont.

The Post

Hayford asked the convention to add this plank to its section on peace:

"While we are critical of the foreign policy of the United States it is not our intention to give blanket indorsement to the foreign policy of any other nation."

Hayford said the plank was offered without any intention of indulging in 'Red-baiting" but he said without such a plank the general impression might be given that the party was condemning the foreign policy of this nation, while supporting that of the Soviet Union.

34d

The summer's campaign, he said, would be far more easier if this impression were specifically rejected by the convention.

De Lacey Opposes Proposal

Hugh De Lacey, former left-wing Democratic Representative from Washington, promptly rose in opposition to the amendment.

"If there is any merit in the platform at all," De Lacey declared, "it is that it comes out fighting for a firm, solid positive basis of friendship between this country and the Soviet Union."

The Vermont amendment, De Lacey declared, is the result of "pressure from outside."

Platform Committee

Chairman Rexford G. Tugwell said the committee believed the position of the Progressive Party had been made perfectly clear in an amendment approved by the committee.

Washington

The platform makers, Tugwell said, were satisfied they had not indorsed any nation's foreign policy by saying:

D.C.

"Responsbility for ending the tragic prospect of war is a joint responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States."

Pennsylvanian Speaks Up

Mon

Then a delegate from Pennsylvania, Albert Hartunian, said:

"From reading this platform studied here, one would be perfectly justified in drawing the conclusion that we indorse the Soviet Union's policies 100 per cent."

"I do not support the Soviet Union's policies 100 per cent. I favor this amendment that we make our position clear."

The Rev. Mr. Frye of New York State, urged adoption of the amendment.

7-26-48

"I am in favor of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union," he said, "but not blind friendship. e are not Communists, here."

ate Edwin Smith of Vermerly a member of the Labor Relations Board, opposed the amendment, saying it was a compromise with Red-baiting.

When Fitzgerald put the question the few scattered votes for the amendment were drowned out by the volume of "Noes" that rocked the hall.

A last-minute committee sponsored change in the plank relating to colonial and dependent peoples which resulted in the striking out of a demand for a unified homeland for the Macedonians was made quickly today. Coincidentally, news had come from Belgrade that the Yugoslav Communist Party, in its defense against the Cominform, charged that the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria is being repressed.

Plank Overwhelmingly Adopted

However, Louis Adamic, author, a native of the Balkans, said that the decision to change the platform had been made without any advice from any foreign nation.

The plank, complete with the elimination of Macedonia, was overwhelmingly adopted.

The committee's new preamble to the peace plank, adopted without dissent, called for providing a "structure of peace through Government by making the United Nations an effective agency for cooperation among nations" and added:

"Responsibility for ending the tragic prospect of war is a joint responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States. We hope for more political liberty and economic democracy throughout the world. We believe that war between East and West will mean Fascism and death for all. We insist that peace is the prerequisite of survival.

"We believe with Henry A. Wallace that 'there is no misunderstanding or difficulty between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. which can be settled by force or fear and there is no difference which cannot be settled by peaceful hopeful negotiation. There is no American principle or public interest, and there is no Russian principle or public interest, which would have to be sacrificed to end the cold war and open up the century of peace which the century of the common man demands.'

"We denounce anti-Soviet hysteria as a mask for monopoly, militarism and reaction. We demand that a new leadership of the peace seeking people of our Nation—which has vastly greater responsibility for peace than Russia because it has vastly greater power for war—undertake in good faith and carry to an honorable conclusion, without appeasement or saber-rattling on either side, a determined effort to settle current controversies and enable men and women everywhere to look forward with confidence to the common task of building a creative and lasting peace for all the world."

Tighe Woods Assailed

Delegates approved a demand for "removal by the President of the present national housing expediter," Tighe Woods, on grounds he is under the wing of the real estate lobby.

They approved a pledge to work for amendment of the Railway Labor Act which would permit rail workers to "enjoy the right to strike." They also called for $100 monthly retirement pensions, promised extension of price guarantees and crop insurance to all basic crops and plumped for Social Security extension to cover all agricultural workers. Also they approved a move for $35 weekly unemployment compensation and gradual elimination of excise taxes on "the basic necessities of life."

They voted to condemn military control over scientific expression and communication.

They approved a committee amendment to include the aircraft, synthetic rubber and synthetic gasoline industries among industries the party wants to nationalize.

Proposals Rejected

Th convention rejected an amendment which would have called upon the President to recall his representative to the Vatican.

It also rejected an attempt to strike out a provision calling for legislation to make it a Federal crime to disseminate anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and all other propaganda by mail, radio, motion picture or other means of communication.

The session brought a quick succession of speeches.

Anna Louise Strong, California author, assailed American policy in China, underscoring demands for withdrawal of American troops from China, and an immediate stop of aid to Chiang Kai-shek.

Paul Robeson, cochairman of the Wallace-for-President Committee, told the delegates he was strongly opposed to the Marshall Plan and "the whole fabric of American imperialism."

Rogge Hits Loyalty Program

O. John Rogge, former assistant to the Attorney General who quit the Justice Department in a dispute revolving about the department's decision not to continue the sedition trials, made a blistering attack on the President's loyalty order, and on the type of charges being brought against Federal employes.

"We must take successful action in the form of this Progressive Party or we shall be saddled with fascism, American style," Rogge said.

Writer Howard Fast told the delegates he was the first of the writers, artists and scientists to be attacked by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and declared he was proud to have been a member of an organization devoted to the interest of republican Spain.

Rockwell Kent, artist and illustrator, successfully urged the convention to adopt a plank calling for a department of culture, with a secretary of Cabinet rank.

In its final minutes the convention approved a resolution protesting the slaying some months ago of George Polk, CBS correspondent in Greece. The resolution said there were "strong indications" Polk was slain by agents of the Greek government.

Wallace Backs Nationalization Of Big Industry

Herald Tribune
New York, N.Y.

3rd Party

Again Parries Questions on Red Influence in Party; Convention Sessions On

Sat. 7-24-48

By Don Irwin

A Staff Correspondent

PHILADELPHIA, July 23.—Henry A. Wallace indorsed today the principle of industrial nationalization now under study by the platform committee of the new party convention that will nominate him for President here tomorrow.

Mr. Wallace made the statement shortly after his arrival here from New York at 11:40 a. m. to take over the reins of the convention, which held its first business session tonight in Convention Hall.

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At the meeting, Charles P. Howard, Negro publisher from Iowa, in his keynote address, condemned wholesale the foreign and domestic policies of the two major parties and praised Mr. Wallace and his running mate, Senator Glen Taylor, of Idaho, as the men to chart new trails.

34 Sat.

With thousands of partisans expected here by special trains for tomorrow's session, tonight's audience hardly more than half filled the 14,000-seat hall. But it was a lusty throng, singing catchy Wallace songs and applauding Wallace slogans, sweltering all the while under Kleig lights. Most unusual of the Wallace symbols was a row of corn stalks that stood in the Iowa delegation.

7-24-48

Shortly after he stepped off the train and greeted the knot of enthusiastic supporters who met him at Broad Street Station, Mr. Wallace declared his chances for victory were "better than the dopesters will admit," but he declined any election forecast.

Interviewed later at the party's headquarters in the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Mr. Wallace backed the principle of public ownership of basic industries and "large" banks if it improves service to the public. He said he favored a "progressive capitalism" consisting of "a certain amount of planning between government and industry."

34

Although outspoken on this and some other fields of new party policy, Mr. Wallace refused, a bit grimly at times, to answer questions on others—notably reports of Communist infiltration into party leadership. His stand brought heated exchanges with some reporters and bursts of applause from others among the 250 persons who jammed the steamy conference room.

In an effort to forestall questions that came anyway, Mr. Wallace said in his preliminary remarks: "There is one subject on which I won't talk, and it will be a great waste of time for you to bring it up—Communism."

Mr. Wallace said he was sure reporters wanted him to announce that he was either repudiating or embracing Communist support. Reading from the text of a two-month-old radio interview, he said he would repudiate no support that came to him because of his interest in world peace. He observed that Communists want peace because they want to see success for the "Russian experiment," while he wanted it to make way for social progress.

Trying another angle, a reporter asked for comment on the Russian-American deadlock over the Soviet blockade of Berlin. Mr. Wallace shut this one off with a promise to deal with the issue in his acceptance speech tomorrow night.

Thomas Brushed Off

Discussion struck a snag again when Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president who is doubling as a convention correspondent for "The Denver Post," raised the question of a debate with Mr. Wallace. Mr. Wallace replied that he would debate with President Trumon or Governor Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, his Republican opponent, but otherwise he would "conserve my strength."

Mr. Wallace also tangled with Dorothy Thompson, the columnist, when she objected to his declaration that pre-Communist Yugoslavia had a "medieval" land-ownership system.

The keynote address at Conention Hall was delivered by Mr. Howard, who was until recently a member of the Des Moines Republican organization.

Declarin gthat "this is really only the second convention to meet in this election," Mr. Howard described the Republican and Democratic conventions, whose decorations are being re-used by the third party, as "two sections of the same convention."

The Progressive Party Convention was the most spirited and spontaneous of the three national political conventions in this city this year. It also was the best disciplined. But anybody who thinks that there was anything mechanical about the enthusiasm is being misled, as can be attested by a witness of the wild scenes in Convention Hall and the madcap throng that packed about Henry Wallace's automobile as it threaded its way out of Shibe Park after the acceptance ceremonies there, scrambling to grasp his hand in a frenzy reminiscent of that seen in similar demonstrations for the late Franklin D. Roosevelt at the peak of his career.

7/22/48

Perhaps the real tragedy here, for those seeking, searching people and for their groping Messiah, who seems caught up in a spell of hypnotism, is the attempt by a hard and shrewd group, including Communists, to manipulate this movement for purposes of their own, with no conscience about using explosive issues to divide the nation in a precarious time, or stirring up trouble for trouble's sake.

And for this the major parties must take part of the blame by leaving undone during recent years some of the essential things that should have been done, and by being wary and political and diplomatic when boldness was required and a quest sought for new ways in a new age.

Tues. 7-27-48

For this Henry Wallace's third party, like other third parties through our history, will provide an irritant to make the two major parties seek new and bold solutions of our problems. That it already is having this effect was demonstrated to a degree by the platforms of the Republican and Democratic Parties adopted at their own conventions here recently, and likewise by the new aggressive tack of President Truman, leader of the party that will obviously suffer most from the new Progressive Party, in pointing out the derelictions of the Eightieth Congress to which his party also contributed and which he is now asking Congress to repair in its special session.

Withdrawal uld Help, 000 Told

Courier-Journal 7-25-48

OBERT L. RIGGS.

pondent, The Courier-Journal.

Philadelphia, July 24.—Henry A. Wallace called tonight for the removal of United States troops from Berlin.

He demanded that action, which would leave Russia in military control of the German capital, in a speech accepting the Progressive Party's nomination.

Addressing a crowd of close to 0,000 in Shibe Park, Philadelphia's baseball field, Wallace laid upon the shoulders of the United States Government the entire blame for the Berlin crisis.

The crisis, he said, is the inevitable result of the Truman Administration's "get-tough-with-Russia" policy. Instead of pressing for a showdown with Russia over Berlin, Wallace said, this country should pull out its troops in a search for peace.

Says Truman Would Suffer.

Such a military withdrawal, he said, would not cost the American people any loss of prestige. It would cause President Truman loss of prestige, he said; it would cause a loss of prestige to John Foster Dulles, who is Governor Thomas E. Dewey's foreign-policy adviser.

All the bankers, brokers, and generals who dominate the Truman Administration, Wallace said, would lose prestige if there is no showdown over Berlin. "But," he added, "the American people won't lose prestige by demanding fundamental discussions looking to peace.

"Our prestige in Germany went sinking when we divided Germany and established the western sector as [illegible] British colony. When we [illegible] we gave up Berlin politically. We can't lose anything by giving it up militarily in a search for peace."

Nominated [illegible]

Wallace and his running mate, Glen H. Taylor, cowboy-singer Democratic senator from Idaho, were made the new party's nominees this afternoon at a convention session which formalized a decision made months ago.

Tomorrow the convention will approve a platform which goes somewhat to the left of the Roosevelt New Deal on domestic issues and which disagrees with the Truman Administration's foreign policy at every point at which it conflicts with Russia's wishes.

A condensation of the platform text and other convention news are on Page 6. Governor Dewey says on Page 7 the U. S. must not surrender its rights in Berlin "under duress."

Senator Taylor, in his acceptance speech to the crowd at the ball park, echoed the platform's denunciation of the Marshall plan, of the Truman Doctrine in Greece and Turkey, and echoed its demand that the United States pull out of China and Korea—which would give Russia a free hand in Asia.

'Free Samples Around World.'

"The European Recovery Administration," Taylor said, "is not a plan to aid friendly nations to recover economically. It is not even a plan to feed hungry people. It is a cynical scheme to enable our cartelists and exploiters to filch billions of dollars from the pockets of American taxpayers for a scheme to corner world markets. The idea is to use taxpayers' money and send free samples all around the world."

For more than a half hour before the acceptance speeches the crowd responded like the faithful n old-fashioned revival while iam Gailmor, Wallace's fund-raising expert, extracted money from it.

Gailmor did not announce the amount raised in pledges and cash, but it ran into a large figure. He got at least 10 promises of $1,000, many more for $500 and $250, and smaller pledges.

The climax of the money raising came when Gailmor called on all those willing to give from $1 to $20 to stand and wave the folding money at the television cameras. At least 15,000 responded to his plea and waved their money.

The crowd had been warmed up for the money-raising by fiery speeches from Vito Marcantonio, the extreme left-wing representative in Congress from New York's American Labor Party, and by Paul Robeson, the famous Negro baritone.

Robeson Talks and Sings.

Robeson, who long has proclaimed his admiration for Russia, not only spoke, but sang. The crowd joined with him on the choruses of "Marching On With Henry Wallace," which is sung to "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

There were not more than 3,000 vacant seats in the stands, which hold 33,000.

Taylor, the most informal of left-wingers, closed his speech by participating in a barbershop quartet with his wife, his brother, who is a railroad engineer, and the Taylors' teen-age son. The two young Taylor boys also joined in. The song was "I Love You As I Never Loved Before."

Snake Dance Held in Park.

Before Wallace mounted the speaker's stand at second base, he and Taylor, accompanied by their wives, rode around the ball park in an open car while the crowd chanted, "We want Wallace." A second car followed, carrying Taylor's children and brother.

Behind the car several hundred spectators poured onto the field in a well-organized demonstration. Most of them were young. They joined hands in a snake dance like college students celebrating a football victory.

This country would not be in the midst of a crisis with Russia if he were President, said Wallace, who was dumped as Vice-President by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944 and dropped from Truman's Cabinet two years ago because he publicly opposed the policy of halting Soviet expansion.

'Carbon-Copy' Republicans.

Had he or Roosevelt been President during the past two years, Wallace said, this country would have reached an agreement with Russia. Until such agreement is reached, he said, Germany will continue to be the core of every world crisis.

Wallace charged that the Truman Administration and the "carbon-copy" Republicans who cooperate on foreign policy have slammed the door twice recently in the face of Russian efforts to seek peaceful solutions to Soviet-American problems.

He recalled that two months ago Premier Stalin and Foreign Minister Molotov interpreted a note from U. S. Ambassador Bedell Smith as an invitation to negotiate.

Tells of Russians' Eagerness.

"Do you remember," he asked, "how the Russians responded with what seemed like real eagerness? You remember that day. It was as if somebody suddenly declared peace. But what happened?

"Within 24 hours our Administration, having consulted its carbon-copy opposite party, slammed the door it had itself swung open."

Wallace reminded the crowd that he then sent a letter to Stalin, setting forth a program for negotiations which Stalin welcomed.

"When Stalin responded to that letter," Wallace said, "the get-tough boys slammed the door again. Since that time there have been no more approaches—except toward conflict. There are two sides to every curtain.

"And so Germany still festers at the heart of all peacemaking. Yet, by closing the door to peace talks with Russian leaders, nothing remains but the fruitless discussions of minor officials in Berlin.

"I say the peace of the world is far too fragile to be shuttled back and forth through a narrow air corridor in freighter planes.

"I say the lives of our children and our children's parents are far too precious to be left to the tempers of second lieutenants at road barriers where zone meets zone, or to the generals who are quoted calmly as favoring a 'show of strength.'

"I say that if reasonable men, men without special interests, peace-loving men — if Franklin Roosevelt were in Washington today—there would be no crisis in Berlin. Long before this, the leaders of both nations would have rooted out the causes for conflict.

Lashes At Big Bankers.

"We hear it said that we should have a showdown at Berlin. But what is the showdown about? What is the American public interest which will be served by a showdown? There may be some private interests, some interests of Dillon, Read, and international bankers.

"Dillon, Read's distinguished alumni, Secretary Forrestal and General Draper, and Dewey's Wall Street lawyer, John F. Dulles, are major advisers on this issue.

"But I have yet to meet the American in shop or field or college or independent business who wants to give up his life to defend Dillon, Read."

Two years ago, Wallace said, he warned President Truman that the bankers and the brokers and the big brass had launched us upon a dangerous policy—the get-tough policy.

"Berlin need not have happened," he said.

"Berlin did not happen. Berlin was caused. When we were set upon the road of the get-tough policy, I warned that its end was inevitable. Berlin is becoming that end."

The Wallace party, which yesterday named itself the Progressive Party, set up a permanent organization under rules which give its leadership firm control of its affairs.

Majority Can Do Business.

Those rules permit the national committee to call a national convention at any time and to limit the gathering to the consideration of such subjects as shall be decided upon by the committee.

The rules also provide that it shall not be necessary for a majority of delegates to be present before business can be transacted. Instead, a majority of those present, no matter how small their number, can do business. This is a technique familiar to Communist organizations.

In addition to his assault upon Truman's foreign policy, Wallace charged the President with deserting the Roosevelt New Deal on the domestic front.

"In Hyde Park," he said, "they buried our President. In Washington they buried our dreams. One day after Roosevelt died, Harry Truman entered the White House.

'Ghosts' Entered Government.

"And 46 days later Herbert Hoover was there. It was a time of comings and goings. Into the Government came the ghosts of the great depression, the banking-house boys, and the oil-well diplomats.

"In marched the generals—and out went the men who had built the T.V.A. and the Grand Coulee, the men who had planned social security and built federal housing, the men who had dug the farmer out of the Dust Bowl and the workman out of the sweatshop.

"A time of comings and goings—the shadows of the past coming in fast—and the lights going out slowly—the exodus of the torch-bearers of the New Deal."

Wallace's Answer On Reds Is Neutral

Washington Post

342

Washington, D.C.

By Robert C. Albright

Post Reporter

7-24-48

Philadelphia, July 23.—Henry Wallace, still refusing to renounce or embrace his Communist support, came here to witness the birth of his New Party.

For nearly an hour he parried questions on everything from communism to the famed "Guru letters," at a press conference as unusual as this so-called "people's" convention.

Then he sat around in his suite waiting for his party to be founded at a convention hall singfest tonight. He had only one thing in common with Harry S. Truman. He never waited around in suspense.

3rd party

Saturday the still unnamed new party will nominate Wallace and Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho as inevitably as the Democrats chose Truman and Barkley. And Saturday night, in the Philadelphia Athletics' sprawling Shibe Park, Wallace and Taylor will "accept."

The highlight of Wallace's day was the embattled press conference, in which another presidential candidate, in the role of a reporter, vied with other newsmen in Wallace point and counterpoint. No referee was present and there was no decision count.

Only one point was really settled, and Wallace scored that at the start. He reread an old statement saying Communist support was "a political liability" but said he wouldn't repudiate any support "which comes to me on the basis of interest in peace."

"No matter how hard you try," he told reporters, "you are not going to get me to indulge in any Red-baiting, and no matter how hard you try you are not going to get me to say I embrace communism."

7-24-48

Met By Chorus

Mr. and Mrs. Wallace arrived from New York at 10:40 a.m. A small but enthusiastic crowd of about 500 greeted them as they stepped off the train. A banjo-strumming "youth for Wallace" club chorus struck up "We're going to Roll Wallace Along." Wallace himself allowed that "after this convention things are really going to roll."

Unlike his more sanguine running mate, Senator Taylor, Wallace said he never has predicted he will win in November but "my chances are better than many of the dopesters will admit."

The crowd trailed along as Wallace walked the few blocks to his Bellevue-Stratford headquarters. Senator Taylor, C. B. (Beanie) Baldwin, his campaign manager and Elmer Benson, former Governor and Senator from Minnesota and chairman of the National Wallace for President committee, hoofed it with him.

Conference on Roof

Normal mid-morning street crowds showed only passing interest. There were some cheers and a few boos. In his seventh floor suite Mr. and Mrs. Wallace posed for pictures, then Wallace faced the mass press turnout on the roof of the hotel.

The new party's preselected standard bearer opened the strange press conference by reading excerpts from a letter from George Polk, American newspaperman recently murdered in Greece, and personally presenting Bill Polk, brother of George, to reporters.

The letter inclosed a copy of George Polk's resignation from Newsweek magazine complaining the magazine wasn't objectively "resisting the impluse to drift with public feeling."

Wallace quoted George Polk's December, 1947, London letter to Bill, referring to "frightening developments in the U. S. A," and saying: "Molotov has assumed a very stupid line here and has succeeded in getting the United States, France and Britain to put aside their own differences just to oppose Russia."

'Guru Letter' Mystery

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, appearing here as Reporter Thomas of the Denver Post, got in a few questions about the Smith Act, under which 12 top Communist Party leaders were indicted.

Then questioners hit the one issue Wallace wouldn't discuss, the vague and mysterious "Guru letters" written to the late leader of a New York mystic sect. The question was did Wallace write them. And Wallace wouldn't say.

"A great deal has been published about the Guru letters; will you tell us if you wrote them?" a reporter asked.

"I never discuss Westbrook Pegler (the syndicated columnist who has written often about the letters)," Wallace replied.

"I'm Westbrook Pegler," came Pegler's own voice. "I don't want you to discuss me, but the letters—did you or did you not write them?"

"I will never engage in any discussion with Westbrook Pegler," replied Wallace. 7-24-48

Martin Hayden of the Detroit News, tired his luck and Wallace snapped: "I will never engage in any discussion with a stooge of Westbrook Pegler."

Warren B. Francis of the Los Angeles Times asked the same question and got the same reply.

Washington Post Reporter Mary Spargo then spoke up. She said she was not acquainted with Pegler and did not like his column. But she said the question was being asked by legitimate newspapermen and wanted to know if Wallace were going to call everyone a Pegler stooge when asked it.

Mencken Speaks Up

Wallace then varied his line to say, "I will handle that in my own way but I will not discuss it on this occasion."

But the press barrage wasn't over. A dry voice spoke up.

"My name is Mencken, H. L. (Baltimore Sun papers)," it said. "Will you call me a stooge of Pegler?"

Wallace said he wouldn't.

"Then will you tell me—did you write them?" asked Mencken.

Wallace saidhe wanted to get on to something important.

"Why not answer now? We're all here," said Mencken. Wallace didn't answer. Doris Fleeson of the Bell Syndicate tried again, with the same results.

Some Definitions

The press conference got back to Wallace's views and the New Party candidate told reporters what he meant by "progessive capitalism," limited nationalization of industry and cooperation with Russia for peace.

Progressive capitalism—the opposite of reactionary capitalism which he said controls production to create a scarcity and to obtain maximum tprofits. He said progressive capitalism involves planning at key spots to obtain moderate prices, moderate profits and maximum production.

Nationalization—He was less definite than the New Party's platform. Wallace said he favored public ownership of aircraft factories and public utilities and might be for nationalization of the coal industry, but would go slow when it came to steel. Public ownership of large banks might become necessary, he said, if present Government policies force a depression "more serious than in 1932."

Relations with Russia—He neither plans another letter to Stalin or a trip to Russia but he would try both "if I thought it would further the cause of peace."

No Answer to ADA

He was asked if he thought it possible to negotiate in good faith with Russia—if Russia hadn't shown "bad faith" after Yalta and Potsdam. Wallace conceded Russian pledges of free elections in liberated territories had not been honored but said both sides were partly to blame. Part of the difficulty, he said, was a misunderstanding of the meaning of the word "free."

Asked how he would define the word "free" he said both sides should agree in advance on a meaning, adding: "I'd like to see a free election in this country, as far as that goes."

Wallace said he plans no answer to Americans for Democratic Action for charging his new party is the Communist-dominated instrument of the Soviet.

"You are not going to entice me into saying anything about the rank and file of ADA," he said, "because they really ought to be with us."

He was asked if he might step out of the race in view of the strong civil rights plank adopted by the Democrats.

"I am not going to quit," he said. 7-24-48

He told reporters that if he were President one of his first acts would be to end segregation in the armed forces by presidential proclamation.

Scrap Bombs, Repeal Draft, Party Urges

Washington Post

Washington, D.C.

7-24-48

Philadelphia, July 23 (AP).—Destruction of all atom bombs, repeal of the draft law and peace with Russia! That was the cry today of Henry Wallace's third party in the semi-final draft of its 6500 word platform.

The platform, being whipped into final shape by the 74-member party resolutions committee, calls also for "full equality" for Negroes and other minorities.

It asks Government ownership of a large segment of the Nation's economy—at first the large banks, railroads and electric power and gas industries.

It demands a return to price controls to fight the high cost of living.

It promises "a greater New Deal."

It proposes a Federal bonus for war veterans "based on length of service."

In the "peace, freedom and abundance" platform, the party declares itself the heir of "Jefferson Jackson and Lincoln—of Frederick Douglass, Altgeld and Debs—of Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt."

Here are other things the pre-

Russia—The New Party pledges "through negotiation and discussion with the Soviet Union, in good faith, to find areas of agreement to win the peace."

Disarmament—Work through the United Nations for a world disarmament agreement to outlaw the atomic bomb, bacteriological warfare, and all other instruments of mass destruction; to destroy existing stockpiles of atomic bombs; to establish United Nations controls, including inspection, over the production of atomic energy.

United Nations—"The new party will work to realize Franklin D. Roosevelt's ideal of the United Nations as a true world family of nations, by defending its charter and seeking to prevent its transformation into the diplomatic or military instrument of any one power or group of powers."

Also, in the interest of peace, repeal the peacetime draft, and repudiate the Marshall Plan for European aid nad the "Truman Doctrine." Establish in the United Nations a fund to promote international recovery.

Civil Rights—"Full equality" for the Negroes and other people and enactment of Federal antilynch, antipoll tax, antidiscrimination and fair employment practices legislation, and legislation abolishing segregation in interstate travel. Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and prohibit the FBI "from investigating or interfering with the political beliefs and activities of citizens." Abrogate President Truman's "loyalty purge order." 7-24-48

Monopoly—Public ownership "of key sectors of the economy wherever monopolies block expansion of the economy or deny the people the enjoyment of an abundance of goods and services at fair prices. As a first step, the largest banks, the railroads, the electric power and gas industries, and industries primarily dependent on Government funds or Government purchases will be placed under public ownership."

Labor—Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act and "restore labor's equality in collective bargaining by re-enacting the principles of the Wagner and Norris-La Guardia Acts. Grant employes in publicly owned industries the right to organize and to strike. A $1 an hour minimum wage for all workers.

Housing—An emergency Federal Housing program "to build within the next two years four million low-rent and low-cost dwellings for homeless and doubled-up families, with priority to veterans, a long-range program to build 25 million new home sin 10 years.

Agriculture—Price supports for all major crops; low-cost crop insurance; protect the family-size farm; help tenants to farm ownership; support co-ops.

Security and Health—"Extend Social Security protection to every man, woman and child in the United States, providing old-age pensions of $100 a month for all persons at the age of 60, disability and sickness benefits."

Taxation—Free from income taxes all families and individuals "whose income falls below the minimum necessary for a decent standard of living." Tax corporations "at steeply graduated rates to eliminate profiteering."

Education—Guarantee with Federal funds "every man, woman and child in America" the right of a good education.

Women—Legislation "to guarantee full economic and political equality to women."

Independent business—"Encourage and safeguard independent business by providing adequate working capital and development loans at low interest rates, granting tax relief, and giving independent and small business a fair share of Government contracts."

Youth—Guarantee to youth "the right to education and employment without discrimination. The New Party will lower the voting age to 18."

Economic planning — Develop, on the TVA pattern, hte regional plans nad river-valley authorities projected by Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Israel—Immediate full recognition of the new state, lifting of the arms embargo to permit shipment of arms to Israel; employment of economic and diplomatic sanctions against nations "carrying on or abetting aggression against the ew state; prompt generous finan- ial assistance."

Freedom of "colonial peoples—Grant independence to Puerto Rico.

Wallace's Stage Managers

Washington

PHILADELPHIA.—At this third political convention to be held in Philadelphia there can be few surprises. The ground has been too carefully prepared from the first day, now more than six months ago, that Henry Wallace gave his consent to lead a third-party movement.

Childs

The resentment of non-Communist liberals and radicals at the domination of the Communists and fellow travelers may boil up. And there is reason to believe Wallace would welcome such a protest, which would show that the convention is not too tightly stage-managed.

But otherwise the program will move on toward the climax in Shibe Park when Wallace and his running mate, Senator Glenn Taylor of Idaho, appear before a crowd that is certain to be wildly enthusiastic. This is a propaganda show, and the propaganda is aimed not so much at the present as at the future.

The shrewd stage managers are aiming at 1952. They do not believe, as Wallace says he believes, in the future of American capitalism. They see in inflationary prices and the trembling uncertainty of the stock market the symptoms of a new crash and depression, and they want to be ready to lead millions of dissatisfied Americans in another political direction.

These stage managers are something new on the national political scene. With one or two exceptions, they have never before engaged in the rough-and-tumble of American politics and they never held elective office. Behind a barricade of mimeograph machines these dedicated men and women have carried on a propaganda warfare.

Sun. 7-24-48

THIS IS not said to belittle their influence. In organized labor, before Philip Murray of the CIO decided on a showdown, the power they exerted was far out of proportion to their numbers. Almost the only substantial labor support for the Wallace party comes today from the United Electrical Workers.

The most conspicuous stage manager is C. B. Baldwin, one of the few former associates of Wallace in the New Deal, beside him in the present venture. A Virginian, he has an easy surface manner that belies his intense energy and organizing capacity, as does his smooth, boyish face.

Almost as important in some respects as Baldwin, himself, is his new wife, the former Lillian Traugott, who was in Europe for the Office of Strategic Services for part of the war. Mrs. Baldwin is thoroughly familiar with the politics of the Left both in Europe and this country.

Post

The individual who has made himself invaluable to Wallace personally is Lewis Frank, jr. Soft-spoken, a brilliant intellectual, Frank is always at hand to help in the preparation of a speech or to discuss with the third-party candidate his doubts and difficulties.

The son of a wealthy paper-box manufacturer in Detroit, Frank might almost be a character out of one of the highly successful plays of Lillian Hellman with their sharply drawn villians, their pathetic victims and their heroes. Miss Hellman is one of the "big names" that lend prestige to the party and who presumably also comes through with generous contributions.

Sun. 7-24-48

ONE OF the few officeholders active in the party is Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York City. Marc, as he is called by almost everyone, must be rated as one of the four or five top managers of the party. He knows a lot about practical politics and he has a demagogic skill in stirring a crowd.

Between Marc and another active manager, Lee Pressman, a rivalry is said to have grown up. Pressman, who resigned as counsel for the CIO when Murray forced a showdown over Wallace, is running for Congress on the third-party ticket in a Brooklyn district. He has an aggressive personality and a powerful intellect.

Paul Robeson, the Negro singer and a member of the executive committee, is high on the list. So is Clark Foreman, who was formerly the active force in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Another former CIO executive taking a leading part in the Wallace movement is John Abt.

Perhaps the major theme of the convention is peace with the Soviet Union. This is sounded at a moment when relations between the two nations, at the point of greatest friction in Berlin, have deteriorated so that alarmist talk of war is heard frequently.

7-24-48

The dedicated men and women working for the third party know this very well. Berlin is a kind of lurid backdrop for what happens here. If war with the Soviet Union should come, the FBI would move at once to confine thousands suspected of allegiance to world communism rather than to the United States. And it is no secret that some of those who would be confined are here at this convention. That is part of the drama just offstage, but you would never suspect it watching the stage managers go about their work.

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Wallace Men Set Date For 3d Party Convention

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

(34d)

From Wire Dispatches.

Chicago, April 11.—Leading supporters of Henry A. Wallace today hit the U. S. stand in the Italian elections and issued a call for a national convention at Philadelphia July 24-25 to launch formally a third party.

About 400 members of the Wallace for President Committee, meeting here with Wallace to lay the groundwork for the new party, called on his supporters and clubs to send representatives to the convention, to found the party, select a name, and adopt a platform.

4-12-48

The organization already has its candidates—Wallace and Senator Taylor, (D., Ida.), as his running mate.

Told to Ignore U. S. Advice.

The committee, repudiating the U. S. Government's stand in the crucial Italian election next Sunday, sent cables to Italian political leaders calling on their followers to ignore American advice and to vote for any candidates desired.

The committee also called for a defeat of the draft and universal-military-training programs as part of a nation-wide "peace drive."

The delegates called for "establishment of a truly representative democratic Italian Government.

They condemned "the efforts of our Government to interfere in the April 18 elections and to dictate their outcome."

Preach War Is Inevitable.

The Courier-Journal

The peace resolution declared, "the militarists and monopolists preach that war is inevitable . . . against a great ally in the common struggle" and that "responsible leaders are moving with calculated steps to militarize our way of life."

"Under cover of war hysteria," the resolution said, "political bankruptcy seeks to retrieve its losses, monopoly to maintain its profits, and militarists their dominance."

Louisville

Dr. Francis E. Townsend, president of the Townsend Clubs of America, used delegates to work for a national "cradle-to-grave insurance plan as the best guarantee against depression."

Ky.

The message to the Italian people urged them "to vote for the candidates of their free choice and not to yield to coercion or intimidation."

It said, "we repudiate our Government's threat to cut off food from Italy unless the election results please it. Hungry children must not go unfed because their parents do not vote as ordered from abroad." The message indorsed "the Wallace plan for international aid through the United Nations to all needy peoples regardless of their political beliefs."

4-12-48

The peace resolution also called for a halt to "wasteful" arms expenditures and a stop to "the militarizing of our science."

Rebecca West Calls Wallace Tactless at Press Conference

Herald Tribune

3rd party

Declares He Alienated Almost All Questioners; Reading of Polk Letter Puzzles Reporters; His Handling of 'Guru' Issue Criticized

(34d)

By Rebecca West

PHILADELPHIA, July 23.—I have just come from a press conference given by Henry Wallace, and I wish the general public could have attended it. People could have learned so much just by watching the faces of Henry Wallace and the men and women who questioned him. There was a reciprocal process of softening and hardening which it was fascinating to observe.

First, Mr. Wallace came in, very attractive with that handsomeness which at first recalls the ruggedness of Lincoln, though perhaps it would be more accurate to call it the male counterpart of the windswept picturesqueness of Katharine Hepburn.

He began the press conference oddly by reading a letter which George Polk, the American Columbia Broadcasting System correspondent whose tied and mutilated body was recovered from Greek waters, had sent some time before his death to "Newsweek," announcing his resignation on the ground that that paper lacked objectivity in the handling of news. The letter was in his hands because George Polk had sent a copy to his young brother, a Harvard student, who sat on the platform.

Wonders What Was Meant

It was a dreadful crime, and this was a pietous occasion, and one wondered just why Mr. Wallace had brought the matter up. He ended his reading of the letter by an intimation that th thought not enough was being done to track down the murderers of George Polk. This seemed puzzling.

Was he hinting that nobody cares if an objective reporter gets killed? If so, who in particular was he alleging did not care? Did he mean that the State Department or C. B. S. was rubbing its hands and saying, "We are so pleased that Mr. Polk was murdered because he told the truth and we certainly are not going to put ourselves out to find the murderers, except for the purpose of slipping them a few bills?"

If he did not mean that, what did he mean? If he meant that, then this country is in a terrible

which in almost eevry case alienated the questioner in a deep way It was as if he had heard a great deal about sabotage as an admirable thing from his far-left friends and, being an absent-minded man, had started sabotaging himself.

He did not answer the extremely logical and sensible question of a Negro who wanted to know whether he would send troops down South to enforce a Federal law giving Negroes full civil rights, and every time he dodged this question his face grew softer and less rugged.

Then somebody asked him whether he wrote the celebrated "Guru" letters. These letters appear to be remarkable only for their resolute mysticism, and as this is no crime nor even bad manners it seems odd that Mr. Wallace should not admit that he wrote them if he did write them, and deny that he wrote them if he did not. It would also have been comprehensible if he had told the questioner to mind his own business and leave other people's private letters alone.

Will Speak at Own Time

But instead his face got softer and softer, and he said that he would answer no question put to him by a stooge of Westbrook Pegler. There was not the slightest evidence that the questioner had anything to do with Westbrook Pegler, and the newspaper men began to look more granitish than ever.

Then Mr. Pegler got up and said, "I am Westbrook Pegler," and the name seemed hard as iron with all its consonants. Mr. Wallace refused to answer him because he was Westbrook Pegler, and his face and voice seemed pappy.

Other people pressed him for an answer, among them Henry Mencken. He is a short man and Mrs. Wallace a tall man, but he seemed to be made of a more durable substance, and his very blue eyes looked hard as fact itself. With perfect good humor he asked what possible reason Mr. Wallace could have for not answering this question, when obviously the matter had gone so far that it was only sensible to clear it up.

Mr. Wallace, his face now the same substance as a tallow candle, said that he would speak of this matter at his own time and his own discretion. Others pressed him along the same lines, and he remained as immitably evasive.

Questioned by Thomas

Sturdy old Norman Thomas got up and asked him why he attacked Dewey and Truman for refusing to debate with him when he had refused to debate with Norman Thomas himself, and he clung with gentle obstinacy to his inconsistent stand.

Then somebody asked him about Tito and the Cominform, he was inspired to deliver a shi address on Yugoslavia which was technically remarkable because it revealed in a very few words that he knew nothing whatsoever about the present or the past of Yugoslavia, two quite large subjects.

He spoke of the "feudal economy' of Yugoslavia, in spite of the fact that there has been no feudalism in Yugoslavia since the fourteenth century owing to the Turkish occupation, except in the districts which formerly belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where they were abolished on the fall of that empire in 1918. Yugoslavia is a land of small landed proprietors, without a tract of feudalism.

That brought up Dorothy Thompson, who knew Yugoslavia well, and she came down on him like a ton of quite well-mannered but still crushing bricks. He then excused himself in a short discourse which showed that he did not know the meaning of the expression "feudal economy."

Raises Polk Case

What was also remarkable was that he appeared to think that Moscow had been trying to make Tito break up large estates and give the peasants the land, when anybody conversant with the facts knows that Moscow wanted Tito to break up the peasants' properties and form collective farms.

Then the contrast of substance in questioned and questioners became most remarkable. A man got up who said htat he represented C. B. S. He was a quiet man and he spoke politely and without raising his voice. But he asked Mr. Wallace what exactly he thought C. B. S. could have done more than they were doing to find the murderers of Mr. Polk, and told what they were doing.

Mr. Wallace found no answer. He just said that he thought that they could be doing more, and the man quietly asked him what he meant by more.

If one is to supply the objective truth about the occasion, one must say that Mr. Wallace was like a candle in great heat, twisting, pliable, deliquescent.

The Henry Wallace Way

The Times-Picayune

The Henry Wallace convention closed, appropriately enough, with a circus session in a baseball park. It was featured by oratory lurid enough to please all malcontents here and abroad who are wholly displeased with these United States. Its platform calls in practical effect for "making America over" into a totalitarian state very much after the Moscow pattern, with government ownership of many industries and regimentation of employments in such private enterprises as may be left for a time unseized. It calls for repudiation of the European recovery plan, for "peace with Russia" to be negotiated by Henry. And it promises, after the totalitarian fashion, that the rulers of the remade government will give prodigally, out of the nation's assumedly illimitable and inexhaustible abundance, to gratify the wishes and satisfy the cravings of the discontented.

7-26-48

New Orleans, La.

Its plank on Communism reportedly was rewritten and toned down into a promise to fight for the "constitutional rights" of Communists to free speech. Whether that implies their "right" to advocate the overthrow of democratic constitutional government by force and violence is not set forth by the platform summary. But some of the convention orators denounced the indictment of Communists charged with plotting our government's overthrow by violence—apparently conceding by implication at least, that practice as a "right" to Mr. Stalin's American followers and agents.

Here we have the closest approach yet recorded by any American party to the Communist "ideal" of despotically centralized power administered by a ruling group of "representatives of the people" to bestow blessings upon their wards. How it worked out in Hitler's Germany, how it is being worked in Stalin's Russia, may cause misgivings in millions of American minds. But Henry might do better, according to his own belief and that of his admirers. If you want that sort of thing, you might get it more quickly under Henry. But if you don't, you will be wise to let him go wherever he is going without your company or vote. 7-26-48

Wallace Backers Are Seen Trying To Sing Him Into the Presidency

Times. ~~New York~~ N.Y.

Tunes Have a Prominent Place in New Party's Convention, With 'The Same Merry-Go-Round' Likely to Be Theme

7-23-48 Fri.

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Special to The [N]

PHILADELPHIA, July 22—Supporters of Henry A. Wallace are going to try to sing him into the Presidency. Every session of the national convention of the New party, which will convene tomorrow night in the Municipal Auditorium, will open with a "Sing for Wallace" program, lasting half an hour.

Apparently the theme song of the convention will be "The Same Merry-Go-Round," published by People's Songs, New York, which says: Fri. 7-23-48

"It's the same, same merry-go-round

"Which one will you ride this year?

"The donkey and the elephant bob up and down

"On the same merry-go-round.

"The elephant comes from the North,

"The donkey may come from the South.

"But don't let them fool you

"Divide you and rule you

"Cause they've got the same bit in their mouth.

"If you want to ride safe and sound,

"Get off-a the merry-go-round.

"To be a real smarty,

"Just join the New party

"And get your two feet on the ground."

Wallace supporters man a sound truck, bearing a miniature merry-go-round with elephants and donkeys instead of the customary horses, from which they appeal for support for the Wallace-Taylor ticket on the streets here.

Another song, entitled "Great Day," reads in part:

"One of these mornings bright
and fair Fri. 7-23-48
"Harry Truman won't be there.
"Dewey was a washout in '44,
"In '48 he ain't much more."

Still another song reads:

"Columbia's the gem of the
ocean, they say.
"We're fighting Jim Crow in
Columbia today."

The New party's publicity department had said that the headquarters of the convention's rules committee, of which Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York is chairman, would be in the Pink Room of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. However, a later notice on the hotel's bulletin board said that the committee's headquarters were moved to the Green Room.

The convention's committee of arrangements avoided possible sarcastic comments by assigning the Western Union to the Red Room. However, the press badges for the convention, which were distributed today, are a bright red.

Atlanta Constitution

Mooning For Henry Wallace

Atlanta, Ga. - Tues. 7-27-48

348

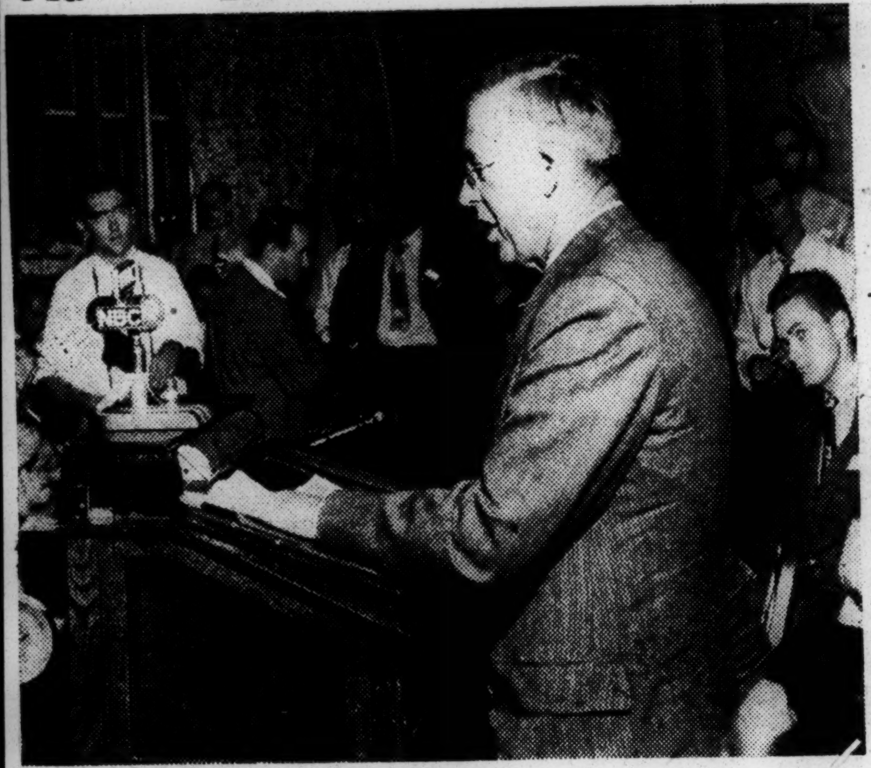
PHILADELPHIA—The three-day national convention and ceremonies here attending the formal birth of Henry A. Wallace's Progressive Party carried a deep undertone of tragedy, like the throbbing theme of a great orchestra, despite the excited surface gaiety and enthusiasm generated by its preponderantly youthful chorus.

These people gathered here from all over the country, many coming by day coach and some by hitchhiking. They were suffering from a persecution complex that provoked them to strike out bitterly in every direction. This, of itself, was an indictment of some aspects of our society and civilization of which our two great major parties must take heed, for the cry of the persecuted and downtrodden that went up here was an indictment of them and their manifest inadequacies of the moment.

Here was raised again, as through the centuries, the mourning of Israel and Rachel weeping for her children. Here in anguished tones rose the threnody of former black slaves still with the yoke of discrimination about their shoulders, though they live in a free land; in the scorching denunciation of a Negro woman writer, Shirley Graham, the biographer of Frederick Douglas and George Washington Carver, who inspired the Convention to reiterate in a reverberating chant her challenge: "Jim Crow must go"; in the bitter talk of Paul Robeson, who gives voice in glorious song to the tragic plight of his race; in the call to action by the Convention's keynote speaker, Charles Howard of Iowa, prominent lawyer, a Republican for 30 years, who told why he and so many of his race look to the new political movement in one simple sentence: Tues. 7-27-48

"For the first time in my life, I am experiencing human dignity."

Here were raised the protests of others who are sensitive to the uncertainties of this curious postwar age when there is no peace; of war veterans and those who might again become war veterans and of their parents against the drift toward another war; of writers and artists who are fearful of the shackles being imposed on freedom of the mind and the spirit of atomic scientists who are constantly conscious of the moster they created and harried by the worry that unthinking or willful men may let it loose upon the world; of young people and old people who are afraid for their own security in an economy bolstered up paradoxically by expenditures for rebuilding the places laid waste by the last war and production of armaments for another possible war, flimsy foundations.



"I never discuss Westbrook Pegler". . . .

STAR Photos by Irving Haberman

. . . "My name is Westbrook Pegler."

Wallace Refuses to Answer Pegler

Star New York, N.Y.

PHILADELPHIA, July 23 (AP)—Henry A. Wallace refused today to answer questions from columnist Westbrook Pegler or discuss the so-called "Guru letters."

The matter came up at Wallace's news conference when a reporter inquired whether the New Party presidential nominee was prepared to repudiate or comment "on the Guru letters."

These are letters which Pegler, a Hearst columnist, has said Wallace wrote to the head of some mystic cult in New York City.

"I never discuss Westbrook Pegler," Wallace said. 7-25-48

Back in the middle of the room a man stood up. Sun.

"My name is Westbrook Pegler," he announced.

He said that in the last few moments, Wallace had been speaking about various letters and also about newspapermen getting all the facts. So Pegler tried to get Wallace into discussing those "Guru letters."

Wallace flushed, looked straight at Pegler and said:

"I will never engage in any discussion whatsoever with Westbrook Pegler."

Pegler sat down. Somebody who said he was from the Detroit *News* got up and asked:

"Did you write the Guru letters?"

"I will never engage in any discussion with the stooge of Westbrook Pegler," Wallace declared.

Warren Francis of the Los Angeles *Times* asked why Wallace never has brought suit in connection with reports of these letters.

Again Wallace said he wouldn't discuss anything with a Pegler stooge. Sun. 7-25-48

And he continued to fend off questions, saying he would discuss the matter in his own discretion and at a time of his own choosing.

Big Southern Vote Is Seen

Star New York N.Y. Sun. 7-25-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 23 (AP)—A prediction that the Wallace New Party will get on the ballot in every Southern state except Florida—and has a "very good chance" of winning in some of them—Came today from Clark Foreman.

Foreman, who heads the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, told reporters that Wallace's ticket will make an unexpected showing in November, especially if the special session of Congress abolishes state poll taxes. He is here as a delegate to the New Party's convention. 7-25-48

He predicted that elimination of the poll tax would mean many New Party voters going to the polls in November while Republicans, Democrats and Dixiecrat civil rights revolters would not turn out in numbers. Seven Southern states have poll taxes.

Jordan Stokes, Nashville attorney, sat with Foreman at the news conference. He said there is a "very definite chance that Tennessee will go to Wallace on the Republican nominee" in the November voting. Democrats traditionally have carried Tennessee although Republicans often are victorious in some areas in that state.

Wallace Party Convention Opens Today

By Tom O'Connor
STAR Convention Bureau

PHILADELPHIA, July 22—Henry Wallace's Gideon's Army of liberals, progressives and radicals is trooping into Philadelphia today to take its stand for a New Deal.

New York N.Y.

The formal opening of the founding convention of the New Party will take place tomorrow night at Convention Hall when Elmer Benson, former governor of Minnesota and now chairman of the National Wallace for President Committee, raps the gavel and calls the some 2600 delegates to order. Star

In that hall, where the Republicans fought over a candidate and the Democrats over a platform plank, the Wallaceites will be fighting not at all. The candidates have been picked, the platform is pretty well set, and the convention will serve principally as a huge rally—for Wallace and Taylor. N.Y.N.Y.

Meanwhile the platform committee is holding its open hearings and the luminaries are holding pre-convention press conferences.

So far the issue of communism and the relationship between the New Party and the Communist Party have dominated press conferences and presumably will dominate press reports. There are no signs, however, that it will dominate the convention.

Leaders and delegates appear to have worked out an approach to the issue, and are intent on shoving it aside. Star. N.Y.N.Y.

At today's first press conference, held by Taylor, the press began to cross-examine on the Communist question. A number of reporters fancied themselves in the role of prosecuting attorneys.

Thomas Forgets Role

At the afternoon press conference, held by Mrs. Elinor Gimbel, chairman of Women for Wallace, the press corps was augmented by the reporter accredited to the Denver *Post*, one Norman Thomas, who also happens to be the Socialist candidate for President.

Thomas began with questions but soon was making a speech on Czechoslavakia.

With Mrs. Gimbel, were Mrs. Lawrence Steefel or Minnesota, National co-chairman of Women for Wallace; Mrs. Katherine Van Orden, of New Jersey, honorary chairman of the League of Women Shoppers; Mrs. Harriet Crocker of Rhode Island, former chairman of the Rhode Island League of Women Voters, and Estelle Massey Osborne of New York, former president of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses.

The women boasted that half of the state directors of the Wallace movement were women, that most of the half-million signatures collected on the Wallace petition in California were obtained by women, and that 34 women were running for local or state office on the Wallace ticket. Star.

Must 'Follow' Wallace

New York N.Y.

However, reporters wanted to talk about communishm, so that was the talk. Mrs. Gimbel summed it up for Norman Thomas (whom she failed to recognize):

"If the Communists are willing to follow the Wallace line, all right. Mr. Wallace does not follow the Communist line. We do not consider this a very serious problem. If anybody gets in who wants to overthrow the government, we'll throw them out quick."

Thomas left the room remarking to a friend: 7-23-48

"We don't want to waste our shots. We'll save it for the Wallace press conference."

Wallace is due to arrive at 10 a.m. tomorrow and the New Party faithful are busy drumming up a big reception for him at Broad St. station.

Handbills announcing his arrival are being distributed, and the two sound trucks are plugging hard to get a crowd out.

The kind of turnout obtained may show up Philadelphia's attitude toward the New Party.

So far the attitude seems to be one of cool tolerance.

New Party Tunes Peace With Russia Platform

Birmingham Ala

Wed. 7-21-48

BY MAX HALL

PHILADELPHIA, July 21—(AP)—With the CIO and AFL coldly staying home, Henry Wallace's third party began hearing suggestions for a "peace with Russia" platform today and worked itself up for a revival-singing convention.

"Everyone wants Wallace
Friendly Henry Wallace,
Friendly Henry Wallace
In the White House."

A group of Wallace supporters was singing that on the sidewalk. The "New Pary's" founding convention will sing it—and other songs—Friday, Saturday and Sunday. A convention song-book was issued today.

As for the platform, two days of public hearings started today but the first tentative draft of the document was written yesterday.

It says—according to Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell, platform chairman—that "capitalist America and Communist Russia can and must live together in the same world."

IT SAYS THE PARTY "pledges through negotiations and discussion with the Soviet Union, in good faith, to find areas of agreement to win the peace." wed.

It condemns the Marshall plan and other aspects of the U. S. foreign policy. It accuses the Republicans and Democrats of rejecting the United Nations and of obeying "the dictates of big business."

The platform goes before the convention for adoption Sunday.

The AFL and CIO were not among the 60 groups, even though the platform is certain to condemn the Taft-Hartley labor law. They didn't even reply to the invitations.

340

An AFL spokesman, Publicity Director Phil Pearl, said that the letter was thrown in the waste basket "because we regard the third party as a front for the Communist Party" (Wallace denies it). The CIO merely referred reporters to the action of executive board which condemned the third party last January.

wed. 7-21-48

Judging by advance indications, the Wallace convention may be the most musical political shin-dig on record.

THE DELEGATES, meeting in the same convention hall where the two major parties met, will choose a permanent name to replace "New Party," nominate Wallace for president and Sen. Glen Taylor of Idaho as vice president.

On the list for the Wallace hearings are some widely-known organizations like the National Education Association, the Townsend old-age movement, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the United Electrical Workers (CIO), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the National Farmers Union.

For example: Armenians for Wallace, Armenian Progressive League of America, Armenian Compatriotic League of America, Armenian National Council of America, Armenian Youth of America. Ga.

Other examples: Provisional World Council of Dominated Nations, United Harlem Tenants Council, Amigos de Wallace, Women's Auxiliary of the National Maritime Union, and Slovenian-American Women's Committee.

Atlanta

"The Donkey is tired and thin.
"The Elephant thinks he'll move in.
"They yell and they fuss,
"But they ain't foolin' us, 'cause
they're
"Brothers right under the skin."

Constitution

Wallace himself, who will make his entrance into town on Friday, is responsible for the great emphasis on mass singing at his convention.

Wallace Says: He Would Talk With Stalin

Fri 7-23-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 23—(UP)—Henry A. Wallace said today that he would "go over to Russia" and see Premier Josef Stalin if such action would serve the cause of peace.

Wallace made the statement at a news conference called shortly after he arrived here to be on hand at the founding convention of his new third party. The convention opens tonight. It will nominate Wallace and Sen. Glen Taylor of Idaho for president and vice president tomorrow afternoon.

Wallace said he had received no invitation from Stalin to visit Russia but that he would be glad to exchange views with the Soviet leader—by letter or personal visits—if such action would promote peace.

Columbia S.C.

The third party candidate urged reporters not to question him about his Communist support.

"No matter how hard you try, you are not going to get me to engage in Red-baiting, and no matter how hard you try you are not going to get me to admit that I am a Communist," he said.

Wallace read a part of a radio statement he made last May in Albuquerque, N. M. It said:

"I will not reject any support that comes to me on the basis of interest in peace."

Today he conceded, however, that Communist support "is a political liability."

The Columbia Record

Wallace also:

1. Said that if he were president now one of the first acts would be to end all kinds of segregation in the armed services.

2. Declined to discuss the tense Berlin situation, but promised to deal with United States-Soviet difficulties in the German capital in his acceptance speech Saturday night.

3. Said he had never discussed "one way or the other" the law under which a New York federal court this week indicted 12 United States Communist leaders on charges of seeking violent overthrow of the government.

Wallace said earlier on his arrival that the founding of the third party would mark "a great turning point in the history of the world."

Fri 7-23-48

Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass has been appointed national co-chairman of Women for Wallace and secretary of the credentials committee for the Wallace new party convention to be held in Philadelphia July 24-25. She is publisher of a Los Angeles, Calif., newspaper.

SCENE IS SIMILAR BUT CAST CHANGES

New York Times

Delegates Are Eager, Attentive and Orderly—Response Is Quick to Oral Shafts

By LUTHER A. HUSTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, July 23—The Progressive party convention opened here tonight with much the same trapping as the Republican and Democratic conventions that met in the same hall in recent weeks. But the cast was vastly different.

Sun 5-23-48

No one could liken the delegates at this political gathering to the group the Republicans brought here in June or the stalwarts that assembled under the banners of the Democrats earlier this month. The faces and the clothes of the Wallace party delegates were as different from those of the old parties as were the words their orators uttered. And that amounted to quite a difference.

There was a decided difference, also, in the atmosphere that prevaded the hall and in the demeanor of the delegates. Where old-party delegates had been blasé, indifferent often to what was being said and done on the platform, the New party delegates were eager, attentive, orderly and more spontaneously responsive to the verbal shafts hurled y speakers who may have ignored doctrinaire political logic but were not lacking in fervor.

New York, N.Y.

Air of Expectant Gayety

There was an atmosphere of expectant gayety, reflecting the youth and political freshness of the majority of the delegates, when the first session opened. The crowd was larger than at either of the opening sessions of the major party conventions and was orderly with less milling in the airles and on the floor.

The same scorching lights bored down on the delegates, the speakers on the platform and the toilers in the press box. Banners and flags, the inevitable trappings of such gatherings, were present in about the same assortments and profusion.

Suspended from the great dome of the hall, directly in front of the rostrum and over the heads of the delegates, was a five-pointed red, green, blue and black star. One point was for Franklin D. Roosevelt, one for Henry Wallace, one for Thomas Jefferson, one for Abraham Lincoln and one for the late Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska.

Above the stage, behind the speaker's platform, was strung a large ribbon-banner bearing the quotation, "Let Us Create a Better America," from the words of Mr. Wallace.

Along the base of arena boxes suspended at the sides of the convention floor another streamer proclaimed Mr. Wallcae's dictum: "When the old parties rot, the people have a right to be heard through a new party."

"Name" Band Is Lacking

The "Sing for Wallace" program which preceded the formal opening of the convention was spirited but resembled a revival meeting more than an offering of a philharmonic society.

A notable absentee was the "name" band that performed at the Republican and Democratic functions. The pipe organ reverbated from its chamber below the stage but banjos and mandolins and accordions provided most of the instrumental accompaniment.

When Charles P. Howard came to the rostrum for his keynote speech Iowa delegates marched in the aisles waving tall corn stalks.

A delegate from Missouri flaunted a banner inscribed "Missouri wants a brave big man, not a brave little man."

Another sign read, "Rockin' chair's ready, piano's in tune, send us back our Harry, Independence, Mo., for Wallace."

The demonstration for Mr. Howard brought the delegates to their feet, standing on their chairs. A cloud of banners, placards and state standards waved over the convention floor. It was not a particularly long demonstration but it was fervent.

Mention of the names of Mr Wallace and Senator Taylor brought cheers from the delegates just as the names of candidates and party heroes do at the major party conventions. The name of President Roosevelt was cheered as long and as loudly as it was on many occasions when mentioned at the Democratic convention.

All told, although it was the birth-night of a party that challenges most of the tenets of the parties it would like to drive from the political scene, it diverged but little from the methods and the procedure which have become tradition with the Republicans and the Democrats. The difference was chiefly that which distinguished the impetuousity of youth from the mellowness of age.

March Troops From Berlin, llace Cries

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 7-25-48

ylor Says This Nation OnRoad To Extinction; Red Indictments Flayed

They're Nominated

Party Plans To Support Communists In Fight For Free Speech Right

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

SHIBE PARK, PHILADELPHIA — (AP) — Henry A. Wallace got formally into the 1948 presidential race Saturday with a call for America to march its troops out of Berlin.

In an acceptance speech taking his Progressive Party's nomination, he said this country has nothing to lose by giving up Berlin "in a search for peace."

He said:

"If I were President, there would be no crisis in Berlin today."

Before he came to this big baseball yard with its 35,000 seats nearly filled, his supporters called approvingly when Rep. Vito Marcantonio, of New York, said the government is trying to "destroy us by intimidation and by the indictment of Communist leaders."

Urges Protest

"I call on my fellow members of the Progressive Party," Marcantonio stormed, "to join with all believers in democracy and freedom and go to Washington Aug. 5 to protest to President Truman and the Justice Department against the indictments of Communists."

7-25-48

Paul Robeson, the Negro singer and actor, followed through with a similar appeal to join the on-to-Washington march to combat the "hysteria" he said the administration is whipping up.

Communist leaders were indicted earlier this week on charges of advicating violent overthow of the government.

Twice Wallace said in his address of acceptance that there would be no Berlin crisis if he were in the White House.

"I am committed," Wallace said, "to peaceful negotiations with the Soviet government . . .

More Red Meat

"The American people want and deserve fewer Red issue and more red meat."

It was to frenzied cries for peace, on a platform of peace through dickering with Russia, that Wallace was nominated unanimously for the presidency by zealous third party followers.

By this side, the party convention placed Senator Glen Taylor, of Idaho, as the vice presidential candidate.

The Advertiser

That was at a long, roaring session in Convention Hall at which delegates didn't let their enthusiasm sag for a minute.

They whistled and whooped and sang and stampeded through the aisles with banners aloft. Or they hooted or hissed or booed. It depended in which direction the orators and nominators thundered.

Montgomery, Ala.

Permanent Party

They adopted a constitution to make the party permanent, with a national committee and plans for annual conventions.

Sun.

They received, for formal approval Sunday, a platform that says in 7,000 words what their party stands for and promises.

And through all the speeches and action and documents ran one main theme: the cause is peace, Wallace is the great crusader for peace.

7-25-48

Then Saturday night, the convention shifted out doors, to the Philadelphia baseball park, for Wallace and Taylor to deliver their acceptance addresses.

"A new frontier awaits us," Wallace said in the text he wrote out in advance. "No longer West to the Pacific — but forward across the wilderness of poverty, and sickness and fear . . .

"This is the American way—to conquer the forces of nature—not our fellow men."

Wallace said there's still one world but—"frozen in one fear."

"In all earnestness," he said, "I assure you that if I were president, there would be no crisis in Berlin today.

"I assure you that without sacrificing a single American principle or public interest, we would have found agreement long before now with the Soviet government, and with our wartime allies."

Core of Crisis

Germany, Wallace said, will be the core of every world crisis until there is agreement with Russia. World peace, he said, is too fragile "to be shuttled back and forth through a narrow air corridor in freighter planes."

"Our prestige in Germany went sinking," Wallace said, "when we divided Germany and established the western sector as an American and British Puerto Rico, as a colony.

The Advertiser

"When we did that we gave up Berlin politically and we can't lose anything by giving it up militarily in a search for peace."

Taylor, like Wallace, was nominated unanimously and with the acclaim of noisy, parading delegates.

And in his own acceptance speech, just ahead of Wallace, he declared:

"Today the forces of greed have embarked America on a policy of preparing for a war of extinction.

"I say to you, my friends, that is the only issue: Whether we shall live or whether we shall perish."

The only way a "terrible atomic ordeal" can be avoided, he said in his prepared text, is by replacing warmongers in high places with a man of good will.

"The only such man available," he said, "is Henry Wallace."

Wallace's formal nomination came after Albert J. Fitzgerald of Lynn, Mass., permanent convention chairman, told delegates that if they can win control of Congress and put Wallace in the White House the world will have peace.

Montgomery, Ala.

CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA — (AP) — A 27-year-old woman from Birmingham, Ala., Mrs. Pauline Thomas Dobbs, made one of the seconding speeches for Henry Wallace at the Progressive Party convention Saturday.

She got loud cheers from the crowd when she said the Ku Klux Klan "dominates the Democratic party in the South" and then declared:

"The Klan says it is to protect white southern womanhood. With the new progressive party and Henry Wallace, we white southern women—and Negro southern women—will protect ourselves."

Mrs. Dobbs was introduced as the woman who led a picket line against the "Dixicrat" States, Rights convention at Birmingham a week ago.

Sun.

She told a reporter she is a housewife, a native of Birmingham, and an unsuccessful candidate for the State Legislature in 1946.

7-25-48

There are 26 delegates, one Alternate, and four observers from Alabama at the Wallace convention. Chairman of the delegation is Robert Travis, of Bessemer, described here as a law student and veteran.

Peace Conference One Of New Party's Goals

PHILADELPHIA —(UP)— The new progressive party called Saturday for nationalization of some key industries, a reversal of policy aboard, a broad-guaked for world peace, abolition of the "quarantine Communism" progrom in Greece and Turkey, repeal of the military draft act and "repudiation" of the giant European recovery program.

The platform committee was headed by Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell, one-time assistant secretary of agriculture and one of the late President Roosevelt's original brain trusters. It included a sprinkling of uneversity professors, labor leader, authors, and persons long associated with liberal political groups.

First For Reds

The new party announced that it will "fight for the constitutional rights of Communists" to express their views, oppose the Mundt-Nixon Communist control bill, and try to abolish the federal "loyalty purge program" as administered by the FBI.

"Big business," the old-line political parties and "aggressive" diplomacy provided the main platform targets.

"No glittering party platforms or election promises of the Democratic and Republican Parties can hide their betrayal of the needs of the American people," the platform charged.

Recommendations

The Advertiser

Specific recommendations included:

Prices—Controls that will "reduce and keep down" prices for food, shelter and clothing; allocation of scarce goods.

Peace—"Immediate cessation" of armament expenditures, abandonment of military bases, abolition of the draft and "negotiation and discussion" with Russia.

Civil Rights—Elimination of "segregation and discrimination in all its forms"; full equality for all; federal legislation against lynching, discrimination, segregation and the poll tax.

Farmers and farm economy of "planned abundance" including a guaranteed annual farm income of $3,000, a five-year price support program for all crops, and subsidies if necessary to encourage high production.

Labor—Immediate repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, a dollar-an-hour minimum wage; improvement of labor's standards, right-to-strike in publicly owned industries and collective bargaining for federal workers.

Housing—Federal program to build 4,000,00 low-rent and low-cost dwellings within the next two years and a "guarantee" that every family will have a "decent home."

Montgomery Ala.

Health and Welfare—A National system of health insurance, old age pension of $100 monthly for all over 60, increased funds for maternity care, and public dental and medical health programs.

Taxes—Exemption from taxes for those whose income falls below that necessary for decent living standards, "effective" taxes on excess profits and undistributed income, and progressive elimination of excise taxes.

Atomic—Action to outlaw the atomic bomb, destroy A-bomb stockpiles, and establish international atomic control by the United Nations.

Sun.

Israel—Removal of the arms embargo, admission to the new state.

7-25-48

Charging that both Democrats and Republicans are "profaning the American ideal of freedom," the Progressive Party in its platform promised it would give voters a "real chance" to move forward to "peace, freedom and abundance."

The 6,400 word platform on which Henry A. Wallace and Glen H. Taylor will campaign for the White House, touched upon almost every phase of American life and bitterly charged both old-line parties with "betrayal" of the people.

Sun.

The platform was approved by Wallace before publication. It will be adopted by the party's first convention tomorrow.

The new party called "as a first step" for nationalization of the largest banks, railroads, the Merchant Marine, the the electric, power and gas industry, and other unspecified enterprises dependent on government funds.

Public Ownership

"The progressive party will initiate south measures of public ownership as may be necessary to put into the hands of the people's representatives the levers of control essential to the opation of an economy of abundance," the platform said.

7-25-48

The platform contrasted sharply in most despects with the positions taken by both the Democratice and Republican parties.

The progressives proposed immediate negotiation with Russia

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. 7-24-48

Courier Journal - Louisville, Ky.

Associated Press Wirephoto.

TALKING STRATEGY in Philadelphia yesterday prior to the opening of the New Party convention were Henry Wallace, his running mate, Democratic Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho, and the National Wallace for President Committee. From left: front row, Taylor, Wallace, Cochairman Paul Robeson, and Chairman Elmer A. Benson, former Minnesota Governor, and in back, Rexford Guy Tugwell, University of Chicago professor and a cochairman; Treasurer Clark Foreman; Campaign Manager C. B. Baldwin, and Albert Fitzgerald, labor leader and another cochairman.

WORTH IT, SAYS BLIND DONOR:

Student Gives Blood to Attend Convention

The Afro-American

34

3rd party (conv)

PHILADELPHIA

It cost George Jackson, a blind college student, a pint of blood to attend the Progressive Party Convention last week, but he thought the sessions were worth it.

Jackson, 19, sold the blood to Graduate Hospital in New York for five dollars to help him make the trip here from his home in Montclair, N.J.

Baltimore, Md.

His constant companion and "eyes" during the sessions was pretty Irene Klein, white, also, 19, of Newark, a student at Montclair Teachers College.

Sat,

Both were delegates to the Youth Conference that followed Youth conference that followed the three-day convention of the new party which nominated Henry A. Wallace for President.

"Convention Buddies"

Jackson, a sophomore at Seton Hall College, and Miss Klein met three days before the convention at a Wallace rally in Montclair.

When they ran across each other again in Philadelphia, Miss Klein decided they would be "convention buddies," and that's the way it was. 7-31-48

"I needed a man to protect me," was the way Miss Klein put it.

They made all the sessions together and she described the excitement to her companion.

"Small Price" to Pay, He Says

Son of a minister, Jackson is studying physcology and hopes to do graduate work at Columbia University.

He said he joined the Progressive Party movement because he believes Mr. Wallace is a man who will look out for the interest of all. 7-31-48

That pint of blood? Small price, Jackson said, to "sit in on history."

LACK OF CASH ENDS PROGRESSIVE RALLY

The Times New York, N.Y.

Youth Group Wastes Free Time at Hall in Quibbling, So It Fails to Adopt Platform

Tues. 7-27-48

3rd party

By **WILLIAM G. WEART**

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, July 26—In spite of frequent warnings from the rostrum, quibbling over rules technicalities and other minor matters so delayed the founding convention of the Young Progressives of America that it passed into history late today without a platform or passing upon several resolutions.

(conv)

The two-day session was gaveled to a close just before 6 o'clock, when free use of the Municipal Auditorium ended. From that hour on, the new youth organization would have had to pay $1,140 an hour, the amount required to pay ninety-five maintenance employes and other costs.

As the zero hour approached, Arthur Gilbert of New York, chairman of the platform committee, requested that the proposed platform be referred to the organization's national committee for adoption following consideration of amendments.

34

Repealed Draft Demanded

The platform, as drafted, followed in every detail the one approved by the adult convention yesterday. In addition, it called for repeal of the draft law and the franchising of all citizens to vote, upon reaching 18 years of age.

Another plank called for "the right of every political party to express its position without intimidation or fear." It added that it should be made clearer, however, "that the Young Progressives of America would deny the fascist groups in this country any occasion to infringe on the liberties or freedom of any American citizen."

One of the resolutions which failed to reach the delegates called for a young people's mass demonstration in Washington against racial discrimination, "bipartisan war policies" and the draft. Miss Dorothy Smith Dailey of Boston, Negro candidate for State Representative in Massachusetts, reported that delegates from her state and Connecticut were leaving this city for Washington tonight. Many of them, she said, were hitch-hiking because they lacked funds to journey by train or bus. Tues.

The credentials committee reported that 2,010 delegates and observers, representing forty-four states and Puerto Rico, participated in the two-day convention of the group, which pledged itself to support the policies and candidates of the senior branch of the party—Henry Wallace and Senator Glen Taylor. 7-27-48

Co-Chairmen Are Elected

Today's session was opened by Miss Christine Walker of Detroit, the convention's permanent chairman, who was elected national co-chairman of the youth group along with Alvin Jones of Louisiana, a national vice chairman of the Progressive party.

Two New Yorkers, Seymour Linfield and Elsie Wilcox, were chosen executive director and treasurer, respectively. The assemblage also endorsed thirty-one vice chairmen named by the nominations committtee, including several members of left-wing labor unions and representatives of religious, student, farm and student organizations.

After extensive debate, centering around technical points, the convention adopted rules prepared by a committee which met throughout the night under the leadership of Walter Wallace, Negro student at Columbia University and national co-chairman of Students for Wallace.

Represenative Leo Isacson, one of the three members of the third party in Congres, touched off a noisy demonstration when he stopped at Convention Hall to make a brief address before continuing on to Washington for the extra session of the Eightieth Congress.

The Times

Mr. Isacson described the Progressive movement as a party of all races, all religions and all creeds. "We are," he said, "a new party which belongs to the new generation of Americans. We will fight for the principles for which the major parties only pay lip service." New York, N.Y.

In conclusion, he promised to work in the extra session of Congress for repeal of the peacetime draft, "so you won't have two years taken out of your lives for no reason since there is no danger of war today." 7-27-48

34d

Wallace Party Sets Convention For July 24-25

PM New York, N.Y.
Mon 4-12-48

(Copyright, 1948, by Chicago Sun-Times and The Newspaper PM, Inc.)

CHICAGO

Boosters of Henry Wallace for President wound up a busy week-end of activity here in which they:

¶ Set July 24-25 for a National convention at Philadelphia to launch, name, and adopt an official platform for a nwe Third Party.

¶ Formally established the Illinois Progressive Party with a peace-prosperity-security platform and three candidates for the State slate. PM

¶ Urged the people of Italy to disregard "efforts of our government to interfere and dictate" in the national elections there next Sunday. (*See page* 9.)

¶ Condemned the draft proposals and Universal Military Training and appealed to Americans to "dispel the hysteria of war."

400 Delegates 40 States New York, N.Y.

In setting the convention date, the Wallace-for-President Committee, comprised of some 400 delegates from 40 states, declared that the major parties have passed into the "hands of economic royalitst." The Republican nominating convention starts in Philadelphia June 20. The Democrats hold theirs in the same city, starting July 12. Mon

Both, said the Wallace group, "have conspired to deny our citizens the simple democratic right to vote for a program in which they can believe and for candidates whom they can entrust with its execution." 4-12-48

One of the main goals of the new party, asserted Sen. Glen Taylor (D., Ida.), Wallace's running mate, "is to keep America from going Fascist."

The committee's convention pronouncement echoed this idea. "We issue this call conscious of the grave responsibility of the new party to the people of our nation and to the cause of peace," it declared. PM

Peaceful American

In the anti-conscription action, the delegates charged that "a small group of powerful men would force the American people to abandon both peace and freedom."

"Under cover of war hysteria," the resolution said, "political bankruptcy seeks to retrieve its losses, monopoly to maintain its profits and militarists their dominance."

The committee called on all Americans to combat all moves toward arms spending, conscription, universal military training and "the militarizing of our science. New York

"War," it stated, "is not inevitable." N.Y.

Among those who spoke at the meeting was Dr. Francis E. Townsend, president of the Townsend Clubs of America. He urged the delegates to work for a national cradle-to-grave insurance plan and he said he supports Sen. Taylor because "he is not controlled by big business." Mon

One after another, the delegates for each state described their difficulties. Some can't get public assembly halls for their meetings. Others can't get advertising space in their local papers. Still others said that officials "showing any signs of cooperation" with the Third Party movement, are dismissed from their positions.

20 Million Votes 4-12-48

Wallace told the group the new party can draw 20,000,000 votes in November. He cautioned, however, that the party should not compromise its original stand for peace and civil rights "just to win votes."

In his broadcast speech on Saturday, he declared: 4-12-48

"I have been asked many times to join in the highly emotional attacks on Communists, which provoke violence and lead to the suppression of civil liberties.

"I will not join a chorus that has no purpose but the suppression of civil rights. I do not fear Communists or the ideas of Communists, if we keep and extend our democratic system. The only way to compete with Communists is to solve the problems for which they offer radical solutions."

Wallace Will Open Convention Friday

Herald Tribune

34d

Negro Publisher Mentioned for Keynote Speech

New York, N.Y.
Sun. 7-18-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 17 (UP).—Henry A. Wallace's third party set up headquarters here today in preparation for its three-day national convention which opens Friday in Convention Hall, scene of the recent Republican and Democratic conventions.

7-18-48

Delegates will choose Mr. Wallace as their Presidential nominee and Senator Glen H. Taylor of Idaho as his Vice Presidential running mate. Their acceptance speeches are scheduled for Saturday night at a rally in Shibe Park. The price of seats will range from 60 cents to $2.60.

The first session Friday morning will feature a keynote address and adoption of an official name for the party. Prominently mentioned for the keynoter job is Charles P. Howard, of Des Moines, Iowa, Negro attorney and newspaper publisher. Nominations and balloting will be held Saturday afternoon.

On 40 State Ballots, New Party Claims

Star
New York, N.Y.
Thurs. 7-22-48

PHILADELPHIA, July 21 (UP)—C. B. Baldwin, campaign manager of Henry Wallace, claimed today that New Party candidates would be on the ballots of at least 40 states, including the four largest, in the November Presidential election. Baldwin made the prediction at his first pre-convention press conference.

34d

Baldwin said Illinois was the latest state in which the Wallace forces have obtained recognition. He said the New Party has obtained 100,000 signatures to get on the Illinois ballots. Illinois law requires only 25,000 signatures.

Doesn't List Others

"Now we are assured a line in New York, California, Pennsylvania and Illinois—the four largest states," Baldwin said in a message to leaders of the Illinois Progressive Party. "We will make it on at least 40 ballots." 7-22-48

Baldwin did not enumerate the 36 other states where he expects the party to be represented.

By getting on the "big four," the Wallace movement can cause considerable trouble for the Truman-Barkley ticket, because it would be expected to draw heavily on the left-wing votes which supported the Democratic ticket under the late President Roosevelt. Thurs.

New York has 47 votes in the electoral college. Pennsylvania is next with 35. Illinois has 28 and California 25.

Appeasement Plan Would Produce Bigger Crisis

The Record

Henry Agard Wallace, third or Progressive party candidate, for the presidency told his nondescript followers at Philadelphia, that "if I were President there would be no Berlin crisis today."

34d

And then he went on to make it clear what he meant, inviting the United States to march its troops out of Berlin "giving it up militarily in a search for peace."

"I am committed," Wallace said, "to peaceful negotiations with the Soviet government." Columbia, S.C.

And so, of course, is every other party. But it takes two sides to make for peaceful negotations and if the Russians are not prepared to join it Wallace's wishful thinking would amount to nothing. Mon.

His idea of surrendering to the Russians in Berlin and abandoning our international responsibilities is another piece cut out of wishful-thinking cloth. 7-26-48

There would, as Mr. Wallace says, be no Berlin crisis in such circumstances. The crisis would come later and on a much

The News

After Wallace Convention—What?

Mr. Wallace has been nominated and one of the queerest political conventions ever to assemble in America is now a thing of the past. The American people who listened to it on the radio or saw some of it in television or simply read about it in the papers have been puzzled and surprised. Perhaps they didn't know exactly what to expect, but what they heard from Philadelphia over the week-end was like nothing they ever saw or heard before.

Tues. 7-27-48

* * *

Like the Republican convention of last month, it was well organized. Unlike the Democratic convention, there was never a dull moment. There was energy and excitement. Even though Wallace and his supporters must know he cannot possibly win, there was no spirit of defeatism present such as dogged the Democrats. Some reporters are sure that Wallace was thinking ahead to 1952 and laying the groundwork for what he considers to be his big chance four years hence.

Birmingham, Ala.

There was more disagreement among the delegates than had been anticipated by the general public which thought that the convention would be a cut-and-dried thing. The right wing, supported by Rexford Guy Tugwell, was routed, but there was an attempt at any rate to get in an amendment to the foreign policy plank disavowing servile following of "the foreign policy of any nation." It didn't work, and the left-wingers won the argument. The party-liners won on every count, and Henry Wallace stands indicted as a tool of the Reds. The platform goes along the line of disavowing America's present relations with Russia, and calls for out-and-out appeasement to be first shown by a withdrawal from Berlin. Tugwell and certain followers of his, especially from New England and the Middle West, admit disturbance in their thinking, but for the time being it seems as though they will go along.

The News

* * *

The great mass meeting in Shibe Park on Saturday night may have surprised the critics of Wallace's program. Thirty thousand people paid to get in, then shouted and sang with a fervor which must have disconcerted many a listener to the goings-on. But their enthusiasm must indicate that there is a considerable body of Americans who feel keenly the need of some sort of program that is vitally concerned with a dynamic crusade for peace. It is possible, of course, that only on the Eastern seaboard could such a gathering have taken place. The test of Wallace's appeal will come when he begins to stump the country. Can he duplicate the interest he built up in Philadelphia when he speaks in such cities as Chicago and Kansas City and Denver? Can he arouse the people of smaller towns in the hinterlands? Here, gathered in Philadelphia for a special occasion, were thousands who had come for the specific purpose of supporting him and letting off steam. The thousands of leftists who live in New York and Baltimore and Washington were near at hand, and they were present to lend their voices in shouts and songs. Are there comparable crowds elsewhere? It is very doubtful. The Saturday night gathering served as catharsis, and it is quite possible that there will never be the same sort of opportunity again during the campaign.

Birmingham Ala

Tues

7-27-48

The News

But the supporters made an impression. They also made a substantial contribution to the campaign treasure chest. The Republicans had the money, in various candidates' camps, to wine and dine the delegates. These people for Wallace were mostly confused little folk who paid their own way and then dug into their pockets to make small contributions. They paid for tickets to get in the ball park, and then they pledged another $50,000 toward the campaign's expenses. When a man has invested a dollar of his own in an enterprise, he is anxious to see it succeed.

Birmingham, Ala

Tues

7-27-48

Negroes Play Prominent Role At New Party's Convention

Defender

Chicago

PHILADELPHIA—As the NAACP predicts that four million Negroes will vote in the fall election, the new Progressive party convention here was well represented by Negro delegates from all sections of the country.

Spurred to enthusiasm by election of Charles Howard, Des Moines Negro publisher and attorney as temporary chairman of the convention, the 30 Negro members of the Progressive party who are candidates for office were prominent in all convention affairs. Hundreds of others swelled the total of delegates, observers and guests.

Labor Well Represented

Despite disavowal of the party by top labor leaders, 47 AFL unions, 31 CIO unions, 14 railroad unions and six independent unions were represented at the convention.

Sat. 7-31-48

A partial list of the Negro delegates included:

Louisiana: Joseph Thomas, Ernest Scott, Raymond Tillman, Albert Taylor, Andrew Nelson, Rudolph Moses, Grace Tillman, Sargent Caufield and Chester Lanier.

Massachusetts: Martin Richardson and Dr. R. A. Simmons, Boston; Mrs. Dorothy Dailey and Miss Edna Brown, Roxbury.

Washington: Florentine Ware, Carl Brooks and Rev. R. H. Harris, Seattle; Alice Thorn, Tacoma and Irvin Jones, Vancouver.

California: Horace Alexander and Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, Los Angeles; Dr. Matty Crawford, the Rev. John Doggett and Henry O. Mariott, all from San Francisco; Miss Lydia D'Fonsica of Alameda; Luke Dungan, San Joaquin, Jay Brown, Alameda Roscoe Proctor, Oakland and Dr. Zuretti L. Goosby, San Francisco.

Texas: Rev. Stacy Adams, John Glenn, Mrs. Olivia Hall, Mrs. Bessie Johnson, Mrs. Lulu White,

Oliver Lockridge, Hank Jarman, Isaac Mayberry, Sherman Steward, Rock Richardson, Will Earl, R. A. Adams, James Addison, Elijah Johnson, Charles Demerson, R. H. Smith and Joe West.

Georgia: Miss Julia Allen, Larkin Marshall, William Bowens, Floyd McKissick, Mrs. L. Marshall, James Edwards, Guy Fraser, F L. Hutchings, John W. Newsome, William Stephens, A L. Thomas and Murray Branch.

Pennsylvania: Arnold Scott, Ted Wright, Marjorie Rochelle, Pauline Wilson, Rev. John Hodge, John Williams, William Bunks, Charles Melton, Rev. F. D. Gordon, Gollioum Patton, Harry Mosley and Catherine Harley.

Missouri: Rosa Brown Bracy, W. C. Bridges, James T. Bush, James Carr and Margaret Wilson, all of whom live in St. Louis. Marvin C. Pettit, Julius Jones and Mrs. Helen Harris of Kansas City and Abraham Holman of Wyatt, Henry Jennings of South Kinloch, and Miss Vivian Smith of Bernie.

Nebraska: Hazel Green, Ernest Turner, Rowena Seals, Geraldine Jarrett and Clifford Henry.

New Jersey: Mrs. Carrie Davis of Toms River, Calvin Morrison of East Orange, Wendell Williams of Patterson and Herman Curtis of Camden.

Indiana: Jacob Blake, Rosemary Hutchinson, Edna Johnson, Anderson Jones, Rubi Michelle, James Taylor ad Louise Abrom.

Kansas: Mrs. William Price, John Dunn, William Harris, Rev. John Faust and Eldon Burnett.

Kentucky: Caesar S. Bell, Clayton Mayberry, Nathaniel Mackenzie, Frederick Marrero, Robert Winlock, Andrew Wade and Alfred M. Carroll. 7-31-48

Illinois: Albert R. George, Jack Burch, Joseph Gardette, Ralph Turner, Leeman Parrish, Mrs. Pauline Reid, Jesse Glanton, Hilliard Ellis, Atty. Earl B. Dickerson, Bernard Lucas, Jay Jackson, Rev. Paul Turner, Dr. Ralph Scull, Tom Clark. Atty. Sidney, Charles D. Murray, Mrs. Paul Kigh Reid, and Arthur G. Brice, Jr.

Sweeping Rights Demand Highlights Inclusive Program

The Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By LEM GRAVES Jr.

(Courier Washington Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA—A demand for a sweeping program of civil rights' legislation in all areas of discrimination and a challenge to President Truman to issue Executive Orders ending jim crow in the armed services and in Government employment was incorporated in the platform adopted by the Progressive party in convention here last Sunday.

The Progressive platform, on which Henry Wallace and Senator Glen Taylor will run for the two highest offices of the land, was more detailed and more inclusive than the declarations of either the Republican or Democratic party platforms, molded in conventions held here recently.

On civil rights, the platform declares:

CIVIL RIGHTS

Sat.

"The Progressive party condemns segregation and discrimination in all its forms and in all places.

7-31-48

"We demand full equality for the Negro people, the Jewish people, the Spanish-speaking Americans, Italian-Americans, Japanese-Americans, and all other minority groups.

"We call for a Presidential proclamation ending segregation and all forms of discrimination in the armed services and Federal employment.

"We demand Federal anti-lynch, anti-discrimination, and fair employment legislation and legislation abolishing segregation in interstate travel.

"We call for immediate passage of anti-poll tax legislation, enactment of a universal suffrage law which would permit all citizens to vote in Federal elections, and the full use of Federal enforcement powers to assure free exercise of the right of franchise.

"We call for a Civil Rights Act for the District of Columbia to eliminate segregation and discrimination in the Nation's capital.

"We demand the ending of segregation and discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone and all territories, possessions and trusteeships.

"We demand that Indians . . . be given full citizenship rights and the right to administer their own affairs.

"We will develop special programs to raise the low standard of health, housing and educational facilities for Negroes, Indians and nationality groups and will deny Federal funds to any State or local authority which withholds opportunities or benefits for reason of race, creed, color, sex, or national origin.

"We will intiate a program of education, in cooperation with State, local and private agencies to combat racial and religious prejudice.

The Courier

"We support the enactment of legislation making it a Federal crime to disseminate anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, and all other racist propaganda by mail, radio, motion picture or other means of communication.

"We call for constitutional amendment which will effectively prohibit every form of discrimination against women—economic, educational, legal and political."

This platform, which very closely parallels the recommendations of President Truman's Civil Rights Committee, far out-distances the platform pledges of the major parties, Republican and Democrats, in both concepts and in specific endorsement of a wide range of legislation which would largely eliminate discrimination and segregation from the United States public life.

The Progressive platform was headed "Peace, Freedom and Abundance."

Major planks in the platform dealt with peace, the United Nations and international policy, housing, political freedom within this country, economic planning and a miscellany of domestic matters, chief among which were the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, and nationalization of large banks, railroads, the merchant marine and certain types of public utilities through Government ownership.

INTEREST TO RACE

Of special interest to the race were the planks which called for:

ARMED FORCES

Abolition of jim crow in armed services, elimination of the officer caste system, revision in military court procedures and admission of young men from the ranks to the military academies;

GOVERNMENT

Abolition of the electoral college, home rule for District of Columbia, Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, declaration of election days as holidays;

Pittsburgh, Pa.

HIGH COST OF LIVING

Price controls for food, shelter, clothing, essentials of life and basic materials, reduction of excessive profits, subsidies for farm prices, allocation of goods and materials in short supply.

Sat.

Also GI bill extension to cover merchant seamen and guaranteeing the rights of Negroes to file terminal leave application in the South;

EDUCATION

7-31-48

A flexible tax policy based on ability to pay, exemptions from tax assessments for those whose income falls below a decent standard of living, opposition to all sales taxes, effective excess profit taxes a Federal education system including Federal grants in aid, a Federal department of education with cabinet rank, abolition of segregation in education and the elimination of school quotas based on race, creed or color, support for legal action on behalf of Negro students who are discriminated against and a national program of adult education.

The platform was 6,000 words long, almost three times as long as the Republican platform and some 2,000 words longer than the Democratic platform. On almost every issue, the Wallace platform is more explicit and more detailed.

On almost every issue its position represents a radical departure from the proclamation of the major parties.

Wallace Party Beats Attacks On Reds' Line

Herald Tribune

New York, N.Y.

Refuses to Alter Its Foreign Plank

Benson Named National Chairman, Platform Is Voted, Convention Ends

Mon. 7-26-48

By Don Irwin

PHILADELPHIA, July 25—The founding convention of the Progressive party rejected today an amendment to its consistently pro-Soviet platform that would withhold "blanket indorsement" from any nation's foreign policy.

The meeting's final session in Conventinon Hall went on to beat down every other effort by minority delegates to delete outcroppings of the Communist party line from the party plaform, which the convention adopted tonight.

The convention adjourned at 8:10 p. m. after election of officers for its new permanent national organization. The "week-end" session began officially Friday night to save working delegates from taking time from their jobs. When adjournment came after a round of singing, delegates' seats on the floor were barely half filled. Convention work started in Philadelphia Wednesday when the platform committee began a two-day series of public hearings.

Backs Communist Line

Herald Tribune

Today's actions topped off a five-day accumulation of evidence inescapably aligning policies of the new party that nominated Henry A. Wallace for President last night solidly behind doctrines advanced by the American Communist party.

New York, N.Y.

Cause of the most protracted debate at an otherwise anti-climactic session, the foreign policy resolutions was introduced by three members of the Vermont delegation and, judging by applause, had substantial backing in other state groups.

Mon.

Proposed for insertion in the platform section dealing with Russian-American relations, the amendment read: "Although we are critical of the foreign policy of the United States, it is not out intention to give blanket indorsement to the foreign policy of any nation."

7-26-48

In opposing the amendment, Rexford G. Tugwell, platform committee chairman, and Lee Pressman, its secretary, said they felt the object of the amendment was covered in another amendment, affecting the platform's preamble, adopted earlier in the session.

Advocating a "world federal legislature" to prevent war and chaos in the atomic age, the section specifically cited by the committee officers went on to say:

"Such a structure of peace through government can be evolved by making of the United Nations an effective agency of co-operation among nations. This can be done by restoring the unity of the great powers as they work together for common purposes.

For World Government

7-26-48

"Since the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, this principle has been betrayed to a degree which not only paralyzes the U. N. but threatens the world with another war in which there can be no victors and few survivors. Beyond an effective U. N. lies the further possibility of genuine world government.

"Responsibility for ending the tragic prospect of war is a joint responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States. We hope for more political liberty and economic democracy throughout the world. We believe that war between East and West will mean Fascism and death for all. We insist that peace is the prerequisite of survival."

Herald Tribune

James Hayford, of West Burke, Vt., co-chairman of his state's delegation, insisted that he and two of his colleagues had "no intention to red-bait" in introducing the "blanket indorsement" resolution. He went on: "anyone reading the platform would be justified in drawing the conclusion we indorse Soviet foreign policy 100 per cent."

New York, N.Y.

In rebuttal, Hugh DeLacey, a former Democratic Congressman from Washington, declared the amendment resulted from "pressure from the outside." He demanded unity on the principles of the platform "to change the position of the only government on earth we can have anything to do with—our own."

Mon.

Amendment Defeated

After considerably more of the most outspoken debate this convention has seen in public, the amendment was defeated on a voice vote. The hall was crowded, with 8,000 spectators in addition to 3,000 delegates, but the "noes" were several times greater in volume than the "ayes."

7-26-48

Almost immediately thereafter, another dispute arose over a committee proposal to delete Macedonians from a list of "traditionally oppressed and dispersed people" whose national aspirations the platform supported. Marshal Tito's Communist government in Yugoslavia, now at odds with Russia in matters ideological, has recently taken the side of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria.

In addition to its pro-Russian foreign stand, the Progressive platform, as finally adopted at 7:25 p. m. after more than seven hours of discussion, calls for broad domestic reforms, including nationalization of industries now under "monopoly" control, elimination of all bars to civil rights, safeguarding of the constitutional rights of Communists, renewed price controls, broad-scale public housing, repeal of restrictive labor legislation and national health insurance.

Consideration of the platform opened with an appeal from Dr. Tugwell that delegates recall the successive collapses of previous progressive parties and remember "the value of solidarity and the dangers of contention."

Tugwell Quotes Roosevelt

Herald Tribune

He declared that President Roosevelt, if alive, would support the Progressive party. To substantiate the claim, he recalled a private conversation in 1932, before Mr. Roosevelt took office, in which, Dr. Tugwell said, the late President said it would be impossible to hold together the disparate elements that made up the Democratic party. Mr. Roosevelt, he said, concluded the talk by saying: 'Rex, at the end of eight years there may not be a Democratic party. But there will be a Progressive one.'"

N.Y.

The week-end convention ran hours over schedule as delegates proposed scores of amendments, despite repeated insistence by Mr. Pressman and Albert J. Fitzgerald, convention chairman, that the matter before the meeting was a general policy statement, not a wholesale legislative program.

While the delegates wrangled, the convention's nominating committee submitted for convention for approval the names of its selections as leaders of the permanent progressive party organization set up by convention vote yesterday. They were:

For chairman, Elmer A. Benson, former Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota. Mon.

Co-chairman: Paul Robeson, barytone, and Mr. Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, a Congress of Industrial Organizations affiliate.

Secretary and campaign manager, C. B. Baldwin, head of the Wallace campaign to date.

Treasurer: Clark Foreman, a former aid to Mr. Wallace when the candidate was Secretary of Agriculture. 7-26-48

Vice-chairmen: Mrs. Elinor Gimbel, Fred W. Stover and Alvin Jones.

The New York national committeemen were Representative Vito Marcantonio, O. John Rogge, Representative Leo Isacson, Dr. George B. Cannon, Mrs. Ada S. Jackson, Charles Collins, Sam Burt, Arthur Osman, George Provost and Ruth Young.

Adjournment of the convention was followed by convening of delegates planning to found a new, permanent national youth organization to back up the Progressives. Three thousand delegates who met tonight at the Broadwood Hotel will gather tomorrow in Convention Hall.

NEGRO EX-REPUBLICAN WALLACE KEYNOTER

Times

A former Negro Republican leader has been selected to deliver the keynote address at the third party convention that meets in Philadelphia July 23-25, the National Wallace for President Committee announced here yesterday.

C. B. Baldwin, Wallace campaign manager, said the keynoter would be Charles P. Howard of Des Moines, Iowa, attorney and publisher and a Republican leader in Iowa for twenty-five years. He said Mr. Howard would be proposed by the Convention Arrangements Committee, headed by Josiah Gitt, publisher of The York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily. Fri.

Mr. Howard was a Republican until he resigned from his Republican County Central Committee early this year to support Mr. Wallace. He was an alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1932 and was three times chairman of the Negro division of the Republican party in Iowa. N.Y. N.Y. Fri.

He is 53 years old and a graduate of Drake University, where he was a four-letter athlete. He was a first lieutenant in World War I, serving overseas with the 366th Infantry. He practices law and publishes two weekly papers in Des Moines. He is married and has three sons, all veterans of World War II. Fri. 7-16-48

Wallace Youth Group Product of Frustration

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

PHILADELPHIA, JULY 27.

THOSE eager, insecure youths who, as the newly-named Progressive Youth Organization, have said "amen" to every bit of the dangerous dogma of HENRY WALLACE's Progressive Party, are like the children who followed the *Pied Piper of Hamelin*. They are not the starry-eyed youngsters whom the piper charmed. In general they are so grim or at times so riotous, that even a Communist journalist who covered their meetings here remarked on the transformation as they softened into brightness when PAUL ROBESON, one of their heroes, sang to them.

They are those who are hungry for expression of their needs for identification with something big they feel is theirs. They are the ones who—whether by their own shortcomings or those of society and politics—have felt themselves the persecuted and the wronged. Wed. 7-28-48

They horrified REBECCA WEST, the British novelist-turned-reporter. To her they seemed dangerous dull dupes—those "most likely to fail" in their classes in school—those most likely to be the heralds of Fascism in the United States once they feel disillusion in the stiff discipline of Communist domination.

They are at once dangerous and tragic. They are a part of the strategy of those directing the Progressive Party who are only incidentally useful now. They have been set up for the future. That is what HENRY WALLACE was talking about when he told them about finding the glorious possibility of a long future. That was what GLEN TAYLOR was talking about when he told them of his many defeats, and his election to the Senate at long last by 215 votes.

They are for 1952. They are also for something else. In the panel discussions of their convention, emphasis fell on the tender nerves of minorities. The Jews, the Negroes, the miners, the Yugoslav-Americans, the Croat-Americans, the German-Americans—all these were at once made newly conscious of their difference from other Americans. If the aim was not incitement of bitterness, that was the effect.

The same technique was used in the Progressive Party convention. Those who are a part of it were made to feel embattled and separate from the rest of the nation. Repeatedly they were told they would be called Reds and that they must be ready not to care; indeed, to be proud of it.

Many of them are realistic enough to know the Progressive Party will not win the Presidency this year. But they are talking of electing congressmen to "hold the balance of power in Congress between the major parties so they will have to do what we want." And they are talking selecting a President in the future. The Courier-Journal

We would not be fair if we failed to see that this is not all the fault of the young Progressive members. Some of them are personally maladjusted. Some of them are naive. Who isn't at 18? Some of them are afraid of the draft, and have followed with yearning admiration the WALLACE promise of peace, abundance and goodwill. Louisville, Ky.

They don't know enough to be convinced of realities. They don't want to believe—not if as deft a charmer as GLEN TAYLOR and as earnest as evangelist as HENRY WALLACE tell them it is not so. But if real wrongs did not persist in our society, if the major political parties had really done what their platforms have promised in the past there would be no Young Progressives today nor would there be any tomorrow. The same alarming graft of Communist foreign policy on domestic discontents has been accomplished among these young people as was performed in the Progressive Party. Wed.

If mature and intelligent Americans do not see this as a challenge, they too are contributing to the danger for us all. 7-28-48

New Party Pledges Peace With Russia

Star
New York. N.Y. Sun. 7-25-48

By ALEXANDER H. UHL
STAR Convention Bureau

PHILADELPHIA, July 23—Peace with Russia based on mutual agreement, on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations, is proposed in the New Party platform which will be presented to the full committee on Sunday.

The full platform committee spent today going over the New Party's appeal to American voters and by this evening had approved the party's foreign policy commitments.

Cites Wallace Letter

The Russian plank as approved at executive session read:

"Henry Wallace's open letter suggested and Premier Stalin accepted a basis for a sincere peace discussion. They concluded that specific areas of agreement can be found if the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations and acceptance of the right of peoples to choose their own forms of government and economic systems are mutually respected.

"The New Party therefore pledges, through negotiations and discussion with the Soviet Union to find areas of agreement to win the peace."

(Associated Press reported a pledge to seek destruction of all atomic bombs and work for a world agreement outlawing atomic warfare is contained in the "peace with Russia" platform.)

Longest Platform Sun

The New Party platform is a longer document than either the Republican or Democratic platforms. Including a brief preface, it runs about 6500 words. Members of the committee said tonight they expected to have it ready for distribution to the press and to delegates Saturday so that it might be thoroughly studied before it is voted Sunday. 7-25-48

The platform covers three main topics which have become the party's slogan — *Peace-Freedom-Abundance.*

The peace section, which covers American foreign policy, makes the following points:

¶ Repudiation of the Marshall plan, as presently functioning, with insistence on American aid being administered through the United Nations.

¶ Repudiation of the Truman doctrine in Greece and Turkey on the grounds of supporting a reactionary royalist government while using Greece as a possible base in case of war with Russia.

Star

Admission of Israel

¶ A demand for strengthening the UN by defending its charter.

¶ Creation of a UN reconstruction and development fund to promote international recovery without political conditions and with priority for those nations which suffured most from axis aggression.

¶ Strong support for admission of the new State of Israel into UN with all the attributes of sovereignty that go with such admission. N.Y. N.Y.

The foreign policy section is sharply critical of the present American bi-partisan approach toward foreign relations, and accuses both parties of rejecting the UN as an instrument for world recovery; of using the Marshall plan to rebuild Germany as a war base; of financing and arming corrupt governments in Greece, Turkey and China; of betraying the Jews of Palestine and of having to impose a peace-time draft because of an unnecessary war crisis. Sun. 7-25-48

Covers Lynching, Bias

It also declares that American policy has begun an atomic armaments race.

The section dealing with freedom covers civil rights and includes:

¶ A promise of the end of segregation in the armed services by executive order; anti-poll tax legislation, anti-lynching legislation and fair employment practices.

¶ Opposition to loyalty drives against foreign-born trade unionists and political leaders.

¶ Abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

¶ A fight against the Mundt-Nixon bill.

¶ Opposition to any breakdown in separation between church and state.

The section on abundance starts with the premise that the nation's "natural resources and wealth belong to the people."

Howard Left GOP for Wallace

Star
New York N.Y.

CONVENTION HALL, Philadelphia, July 23 (AP)—Charles P. Howard, keynote speaker at the New Party's founding convention, is a 54-year-old Negro attorney who has practiced law in Des Moines since 1920. He also is publisher of the Des Moines *Observer*. Sun. 7-25

Howard says he has been a Republican "all my life" until early this year when he decided to support Wallace. He was three times chairman of the Negro division of the Republican Party in Iowa.

Wallace's Third Party

New York, N.Y.

Philadelphia, which already had suffered the Republican and Democratic conventions, had Henry Wallace's new party on its hands this week-end. There was no suspense at this convention, however, as to who would win the nomination. It was in the bag for Wallace for President and Senator Glen H. Taylor, of Idaho, for Vice-President.

Three thousand delegates were expected for the convention, which opened Friday evening, continued yesterday and will finish tomorrow. To put the delegates in a happy mood, every session was to open with songs. One of them was "The Same Merry-Go-Round," and its theme was there's no use bobbing up and down with the donkey and the elephant—get off the merry-go-round, be a real smarty and join the new party.

The platform was shaped under the guidance of Rexford Guy Tugwell, who was an original member of President Roosevelt's brain trust. Subject to convention approval, it had three main headings, "Peace," "Freedom" and "Abundance." Sun 7-25-48

"Peace" called for scrapping the Marshall plan and our aid to Greece and Turkey and substituting a United Nations reconstruction fund which would provide assistance to needy nations without political conditions; that is, it would embrace Russia and her satellites. Negotiations would be held with Russia to straighten everything out.

The "Freedom" section of the tentative platform dealt mainly with assuring full civil rights to racial minorities and full equality for Negroes, Spansh Americans, Japanese Americans.

The "Abundance" section called for government ownership of the largest banks, the railroads, the electric power and gas industry "and industries primarily dependent on government funds and purchases,"

At Thursday's platform hearing James Loeb jr., national executive secretary of Americans for Democratic Action—non-Communist liberals—waited patiently to get a hearing and then appealed to the new party to renounce its Communist support. He told the committee members that although Wallace was the party's Presidential candidate, "the Communists and their collaborators guide the major policies and word the major pronouncements of this party." His words fell on unreceptive ears. Tugwell angrily replied that Americans for Democratic Action was resorting to "unscrupulous and demagogic denunciation."

BROAD NATIONALIZATION PLANK
IS DRAFTED BY WALLACE PARTY

Times.

By W.H. Lawrence

New York, N.Y.

Philadelphia, July 21--Public ownership of a large segment of American industry and finance was recommended today in a tentative draft of the new party platform on which former Vice President Henry A. Wallace will seek the Presidency. Thu. 7-22-48

With the party's foreign policy plank already committed to adandonment of the Marshall Plan and to the seeking of a negotiated settlement with Russia, the domestic program, released today by Rexford Guy Tugwell, resolutions committee chairman, went a long way toward matching the traditional Communist party program for this country.

It went far beyond the policies of the New Deal and the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt whose program Mr. Wallace professed to support when he announced his independent candidacy for President after he had been dismissed from President Truman's Cabinet. Thu. 7-22-48

March on Capital Urged

Times, N.Y. N.Y.

Platform hearings, held throughout the day and night, were marked by an angry challenge of a Negro leader, Edgar Brown of Washington, who urged the convention to move from Philadelphia to Washington on Monday to march on the convening special session of Congress to pressure it for enactment of the complete civil rights program. Thu. 7-22-48

He thundered that President Truman should follow the example of President Grant and use Federal troops, if necessary, to enforce the right of 10,000,000 Negroes to vote in the South. 7-22-48

He said that the party of rebel Southern Democrats, who met in Birmingham, Ala., last Saturday to nominate Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President, should be "outlawed" and the citizenship of its leaders, whom he termed "home-grown Hitler Dixiecrats," should be taken away. N.Y. N.Y.

Party leaders said that if Mr. Brown's demand was repeated in the convention it might win limited approval in a decision to send a large group to the Capitol to demonstrate in favor of the civil rights program. Thu. 7-22-48

Utilizing three headings, "peace, freedom and abundance," as the keynotes of its platform, the new party promised Americans an "economic bill of rights" in which it asserted that "the cure for the excesses of private monopoly is democratic control through public ownership."

The initial step, the platform said, should be the nationalization of the largest banks, the railroads, the electric power and gas industry "and industries primarily dependent on Government funds and purchases."

Gerland Schafland of Coyngham, Pa., Pennsylvania state chairman of the Progressive Party, urged that the coal and steel industries should be specified as industries which would be nationalized first, and asserted such a move would win the party votes among workers in these two key industries.

His suggestion won support from Lee Pressman of New York, committee secretary and former CIO general counsel, who pointed out that while the steel industry recently granted wage increases totaling $160,000,000 annually, it had, in the last few days, increased prices to add $620,000,000 to its income annually.

Other key domestic planks in the Wallace party platform were:

Inflation—Establishment of effective price controls "to hold down prices, squeeze out excess profits and allocate materials and goods which are in short supply."

Labor—Outright and immediate repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, and re-enactment of the principles of the Wagner and Norris-La Guardia Acts. Unless labor has the right to organize, to bargain collectively, and to strike," a decent standard of living for all is only a dream."

Farmers — Protection against "the encroachment of corporation farms and absentee owners." The new party would encourage expanded production, guarantee price support for all major crops, expand the farm security program, and assure Government credit at low interest rates.

Power—Establishment of additional regional plans and river authorities on the TVA pattern to achieve cheap power, rural electrification, soil conservation, flood control, reforestation, and to accelerate the growth of undeveloped areas, particularly in the South and West.

Economic Planning — Provision for a "council of economic plannig" to develop plans for assuring high production, full employment, and a rising standard of living."

In making the tentative platform planks public while hearings still were in progress, Mr. Tugwell emphasized that they were subject to change and revision on the basis of testimony and in the discussions of committee members.

C. B. Baldwin, campaign manager for Mr. Wallace, predicted at a press conference today that the former Vice President would receive "an astounding vote" for President, but he would not be more specific.

He said Mr. Wallace's Vice Presidential running mate, Senator Glenn Taylor of Idaho, would arrive tomorrow morning and hold a press conference, but Mr. Wallace would not come until Friday, the convention's opening day.

With many of the platform drafters and other party leaders preoccupied by the indictment in New York of top American Communist leaders, which they interpreted as an attack upon their organization, a note of levity was introduced into the platform hearings by the repeated, unsuccessful efforts of a young man, whose name could not be understood, who wished to appear for an organization he called "Onward Christian Communists."

The platform group hopes to debate its final draft in executive sessions Friday and Saturday. It will go before the convention Sunday.

Virginia to Send 55 To Wallace Convention

Post. Washington, D.C.

Richmond, Va., July 19 (AP).—Virginia will send 44 delegates and 11 alternates to the Wallace party national convention, opening Friday in Philadelphia, George Elwood, executive secretary of the Progressive Party of Virginia, said today. Tue. 7-20-48

About half of the Virginia delegation will be Negroes, Elwood said. Headquarters for the Virginia delegation will be the Hotel Warwick and a caucus will be held there Friday prior to the convention opening at 8 p. m. to elect a chairman of the delegation and to discuss the platform planks as disclosed in a preliminary draft. 7-21-48

Elwood said that the party's campaign to obtain the necessary 100 signatures to certify it on the ballot is continuing. Wed

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Wallace Sees No Loss if U.S. Yields Berlin

Herald Tribune New York, N.Y.

Sun. 7-25-48

He Blames Truman For Russian Crisis

Accepts Nomination of Progressives; Taylor Terms E. R. P. a 'Steal'

By Don Irwin
A Staff Correspondent

PHILADELPHIA, July 24.—Henry A. Wallace charged tonight, as he accepted the new Progressive party's nomination for President, that the Russian-American impasse at Berlin "was caused" by the Truman Administration's "get tough" policies.

Critical of major-party performance at home and abroad, but conciliatory toward Russia, the acceptance speech was delivered at a floodlighted outdoor ceremony in Shibe Park, big league baseball stadium. Senator Glen H. Taylor, of Idaho, accepted the new party's Vice-Presidential nomination at the same session.

The meeting climaxed the second day of the three-day Progressive party's founding convention here.

At Shibe Park Mr. Wallace received his third thundering ovation of the day from about 20,000 cash customers who paid up to $2.35 to hail the nominee and take part in a well staged three-hour political pageant. Young for the most part and chock full of noisy enthusiasm, they clapped, shouted, sang and whistled for the candidate and his program.

7-25-48

Cheered for 32 Minutes

Earlier, a near-capacity crowd of 13,000 cheered for thirty-two minutes at Convention Hall after Mr. Wallace's name was placed in nomination for eventual ratification by acclaim of nearly 3,000 delegates. The demonstration was halted only by the announcement that Mr. Wallace would appear at the hall at the end of the session. When he finally came to the rostrum with Mrs. Wallace, Senator Taylor, Mrs. Taylor and the three Taylor children. The hall went wild for another twenty minutes, although neither candidate did more than wave.

The Shibe Park crowd failed to hit the capacity of 33,000 forecast by the Wallace camp, despite perfect weather. Typical of the "common man" audience was the fact that good bleacher seats were filled solid, while the higher-priced reserved area behind home plate had plenty of room.

Both Bring Families

His appearance with Mrs. Wallace and Senator and Mrs. Taylor and their three children at 5:25 p. m. was the signal for another and, if anything, more feverish demonstration which lasted twenty minutes. The applause welled back in waves as the candidates grinned, waved in turn to their supporters. Neither said anything audible.

At Shibe Park, Mr. Wallace assured his followers "in all earnestness" that if he were President, "there would be no crisis in Berlin today." "I assure you," he continued, "that without sacrificing a single American principle or public interest, we would have found agreement long before now with the Soviet government, and with our war-time allies."

Supporting implicitly the Soviet side in the Berlin controversy, Mr. Wallace declared that the Western powers lost prestige in Europe anyway when they backed partition of Germany and division of Berlin.

"When we did that," Mr. Wallace said, "we gave up Berlin politically and we can't lose anything by giving it up militarily in a search for peace."

Terming world peace "far too fragile to be shuttled back and forth through a narrow air corridor in freighter planes." Mr. Wallace said Germany "will be the core of every world crisis until we come to agreement with the Soviet Union."

The candidate stressed his own correspondence with Premier Joseph Stalin following the abortive Russian-American negotiations two months ago and emphasized the need to "sit down and talk it over."

On the domestic front. Mr. Wallace declared that the Progressive party—so named at the opening convention session last night—would draw its example from Thomas Jefferson, first leader of the Democratic party, and Abraham Lincoln, who took office "four score and seven years ago" as the first Republican president. He declared the original ideals of both major parties dead.

Mr. Wallace called for a second "Emancipation Proclamation" to end racial discrimination and bring "full, free and complete citizenship everywhere in the United States."

Mocking the boast of major party candidates that they accepted their nominations without commitments, Mr. Wallace repeated "with pride" commitments to:

Place human rights above property rights.

Remove power over big business from private to public hands "wherever necessary."

Negotiate peacefully with the Soviet government and strengthen the United Nations.

Use the power of the United States to help "people of the world, not their exploiters and rulers."

Plan for production for peace to develop "progressive capitalism" and protect "truly independent enterprise" from monopoly.

Fight restrictive labor legislation.

Expand health and education facilities and provide "economic security" for "elder citizens."

Mr. Taylor devoted the greater part of his acceptance speech to an attack on the European Recovery Program as "the greatest fraud, the greatest steal, ever perpetrated in all history."

"Yes," Mr. Taylor charged, "this multi - billion - dollar armament program is another device to promote scarcity at home, keep prices high, help our monopolists, intimidate their victims all over the world and, of course, it means fabulous profits for the armament makers—a very small and select clique."

Mr. Taylor said he knows the Progressive ticket will win "because I do not believe that God in His mercy will inflict this terrible atomic ordeal on mankind."

The Shibe Park ceremonies were relied on by the Progressive leadership to finance much of the convention's cost through the sale of tickets at a $2.35 top to the thousands of Wallace supporters who have streamed into town since yesterday. Some came by all forms of public transportation; more drove their own cars, hitch-hiked or traveled at excursion rates on special trains from New York. Some stayed in hotels; more in rooming houses or makeshift accommodations volunteered by sympathetic Philadelphians.

The night session followed a full day's business session at Convention Hall which saw adoption of a permanent national organization for the Progressive party. It took the form of a resolution setting up a national committee, introduced by Representative Vito Marcantonio, American Labor party, of New York, chairman of the convention rules committee. A fifteen-minute ovation greeted Mr. Marcantonio, a party hero and one of the two A. L. P. members of the Eightieth Congress, when he submitted the report.

Under the resolution, the national committee must call annual national conventions, as opposed to the quadrennial affairs favored by the major parties. States would be entitled to a minimum of two national committeemen, with one extra committeeman for every five electoral votes in excess of thirteen.

One provision—permitting the committee to elect forty additional members at large—precipitated the first floor fight at the hitherto unanimous convention. The Maryland delegation objected that the provision short-circuited the representative process, but was defeated on a show of hands. Committee members are to be chosen by the national convention.

The delegates and alternates, estimated at 3,000, chose as the convention's permanent chairman Albert J. Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations. Elected co-chairmen were Mrs. Lawrence D. Steefel, of Minnesota, and Alvin B. Jones, of of Louisiana. Chosen secretary was Louis Adamic, novelist.

The convention will remain in session through tomorrow, when delegates will consider the party platform, made public today by Mr. Marcontonio's committee. It will also elect national officers for the party and choose its first national committee. Adjournment is set for 5:30 p. m.

Beginning tomorrow and running through Monday, the new party will also hold a youth convention in Convention Hall. Representatives of farm and student youth and racial minority groups will attend.

Washington Calling

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala

By MARQUIS CHILDS

PHILADELPHIA.

AT THIS third political convention to be held in Philadelphia there can be few surprises. The ground has been too carefully prepared from the first day, now more than six months ago, that Henry Wallace gave his consent to lead a third-party movement.

Sat

The resentment of non-Communist liberals and radicals at the domination of the Communists and fellow-travellers may boil up. And there is reason to believe Wallace would welcome such a protest, which would show that the convention is not too tightly stage-managed.

But otherwise the program will move on toward the climax in Shibe Park when Wallace and his running mate, Senator Glen Taylor, of Idaho, appear before a crowd that is certain to be wildly enthusiastic. This is a propaganda show, and the propaganda is aimed not so much at the present as at the future.

The shrewd stage managers are aiming at 1952. They do not believe, as Wallace says he believes, in the future of American capitalism. They see in inflationary prices and the trembling uncertainty of the stock market the symptoms of a new crash and depression, and they want to be ready to lead millions of dissatisfied Americans in another political direction.

7-24-48

These stage managers are something new on the national political scene. With one or two exceptions, they have never before engaged in the rough-and-tumble of American politics and they never held elective office. Behind a barricade of mimeograph machines, these dedicated men and women have carried on a propaganda warfare.

THIS is not said to belittle their influence. In organized labor, before Philip Murray, of the CIO, decided on a showdown, the power they exerted was far out of proportion to their numbers. Almost the only substantial labor support for the Wallace party comes today from the United Electrical Workers.

The most conspicuous stage manager is C. B. Baldwin, one of the few former associates of Wallace in the New Deal beside him in the present venture. A Virginian, he has an easy surface manner that belies his intense energy and organizing capacity as does his smooth, boyish face.

Sat

Almost as important in some respects as Baldwin, himself, is his new wife, the former Lillian Traugott, who was in Europe for the office of strategic services for part of the war. Mrs. Baldwin is thoroughly familiar with the politics of the left both in Europe and this country.

The individual who has made himself invaluable to Wallace personally is Lewis Frank, Jr. Soft-spoken, a brilliant intellectual, Frank is always at hand to help in the preparation of a speech or to discuss with the third-party candidate his doubts and difficulties.

The son of a wealthy paper-box manufacturer in Detroit, Frank might almost be a character out of one of the highly successful plays of Lillian Hellman with their sharply drawn villains, their pathetic victims and their heroes. Miss Hellman is one of the "big names" that lend prestige to the party and who presumably also comes through with generous contributions.

7-24-48

ONE of the few officeholders active in the party is Rep. Vito Marcantonio, of New York City. Marc, as he is called by almost everyone, must be rated as one of the four or five top managers of the party. He knows a lot about practical politics and he has a demagogic skill in stirring a crowd.

The Advertiser

Between Marc and another active manager, Lee Pressman, a rivalry is said to have grown up. Pressman, who resigned as counsel for the CIO when Murray forced a showdown over Wallace, is running for Congress on the third-party ticket in a Brooklyn district. He has an aggressive personality and a powerful intellect.

Montgomery, Ala

Paul Robeson, the Negro singer and a member of the executive committee, is high on the list. So is Clark Foreman, who was formerly the active force in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Another former CIO executive taking a leading part in the Wallace movement is John Abt.

Sat

Perhaps the major theme of the convention is peace with the Soviet Union. This is sounded at a moment when relations between the two nations, at the point of greatest friction in Berlin, have deteriorated so that alarmist talk of war is heard frequently.

7-24-48

The dedicated men and women working for the third party know this very well. Berlin is a kind of lurid backdrop for what happens here. If war with the Soviet Union should come, the FBI would move at once to confine thousands suspected of allegiance to world communism rather than to the United States. And it is no secret that some of those who would be confined are here at this convention. That is part of the drama just offstage, but you would never suspect it watching the stage managers go about their work.

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34d 1948 Third Party (Georgia)

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Georgians Set Up People's Party, Nominate Negro

The Worker

By A. W. Berry

MACON, Ga.—Larkin Marshall, a Negro publisher of the "Macon World," was named candidate for the U. S. Senate, at the meeting here last Sunday that formed the People's Progressive Party of Georgia. The meeting, which organized a party to support Henry Wallace for President, was held in the Municipal Auditorium, and was not segregated. The vote of the 325 Negro and white delegates in the Municipal auditorium to nominate Marshall was unanimous. Marshall is the first Negro to be nominated in Georgia for high office since Reconstruction days. He is state vice chairman of the new party. He will run against Sen. Richard H. Russell.

A total of 55,000 signatures are required on nominating petitions to place the new party on the ballot in Georgia.

5-16-48

★

THE DELEGATES adopted a party program calling for an end to jimcrow; a foreign policy based on a strong UN, destruction of atom bombs and peaceful relations with the Soviet Union. The program also called for anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and FEPC. The program also called for legislation, and urged "outlawing the Ku Klux Klan and similar hoodlum groups that carry on their cowardly work under masks."

The party platform adopted includes a farm program to make "every farmer an owner," and a comprehensive labor plan which calls for a $1 an hour minimum wage law, repeal of the Taft-Hartley act and outlawing use of police in labor disputes.

★ Worker

SEN. GLEN H. TAYLOR, third party vice presidential candidate, attended the convention with his wife and two sons.

Taylor told the gathering that reports say 250 atom bombs "would make the world uninhabitable," and warned that "we are fighting now for our lives. I don't suppose our brass hats," he declared, "if they started a war, would stop after dropping 249 atom bombs."

After approving the nominations committee's recommendations for officers and electors, a floor fight developed when delegates opposed a proposal to refer candidates' nominations to the state executive board of the party. The committee had proposed waiting to allow Rev. Joseph A. Rabun, its first choice for Governor, 10 days to make up his mind. The matter was resolved when the delegates voted 63-51 to give the executive committee power to choose as gubernatorial candidate either Rev. Rabun or Prof. James S. Barfoot of the University of Georgia.

★

RABUN, who was present as a visitor, told the delegates that "moral obligations" and "previous commitments" would force him to say "No" if pressed to accept the nomination at once. He would require, he said, at least 10 days to confer with others. He is a Democratic gubernatorial candidate.

Other officers elected were Rev C. T. Pratt, Dalton, co-chairman; William W. Stafford, Atlanta, secretary; Mrs. Herman Rich, Atlanta, treasurer and Don West, Douglasville, executive vice chairman.

Wallace Party Group Studies Its Platform

N.Y.N.Y.

Tribune, New York N.Y.

34d

Wed 7-21-48

Foreign Policy Is Believed Main Topic; Committee Will Hear 40 Speakers

New York, N.Y.

By Don Irwin

A Staff Correspondent

PHILADELPHIA, July 20.—The third party convention called here to nominate Henry A. Wallace for President on Saturday began quietly to take shape today.

With new symbols replacing left-over emblems from the recent Democratic convention, the party's seventy-four-member platform committee met all day and into the night in a closed session at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, the convention headquarters.

Mr. Wallace's known position against most stands taken by the two major parties was the only clew to the committee's work. When it recessed for dinner at 6:15 p. m., Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell, permanent committee chairman, told reporters he had "no authority from this very big committee to say a thing."

Then Dr. Tugwell, one of the original members of the late President Roosevelt's "brain trust," went on to say, in answer to a question, that the session had been devoted solely to discussion of "tentative planks," and that no draft platform could be prepared until after public hearings set for tomorrow and Thursday.

It was generally reported that the greater part of the discussion at the session was given over to foreign policy, the focus of Mr. Wallace's main attack on the major parties. The third party candidate has charged that their bi-partisan foreign policy is leading to war, and has advocated broad-scale efforts to come to terms with Russia and greater use of the United Nations to build world peace. Herald Tribune

Other items on the Wallace program call for restoration of price controls; repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act; abolition of Jim Crow practices and of the House Committee on Un-American activities; Federal aid to long-range housing and local education; and a national health-insurance program.

More than forty speakers, mostly from left-wing groups, are scheduled to appear at the platform hearings, which will be held in the ballroom of Convention Hall. Among the group spokesmen slated to speak is Dr. Francis Townsend, whose liberalized old-age pension plan has been indorsed by Mr. Wallace. Herald, Tribune

The real work of the convention will not start until Friday night, when delegates, expected to number 2,500, will take over the Convention Hall where President Truman was renominated last week. The formal and certain nomination of Mr. Wallace and Senator Glen H. Taylor, of Idaho, a former Democrat, is set for Saturday night at Shibe Park, a baseball stadium. A platform will be adopted Sunday.

Hardened to such affairs by the Republican and Democratic conventions of the last month, Philadelphians paid little attention to outside signs of third-party activity centering around the Bellevue-Stratford. 7-21-48

Most striking of these was the display on the hotel's marquee, where previously had rested a rubber Republican elephant and papier-mache Democratic donkey. Now it is the platform for a streamer-sign that says "Wallace-Taylor" three times and is surmounted by a dozen red, yellow and blue signs that read variously: "Freedom," "Peace," "Abundance." Across the street is still a billboard reading "So produly we hail the Democratic National Convention."

In front of the hotel, orderly young men and women were doing some business selling seats for the Shibe Park rally—but there were few takers. Proceeds will be used to defray convention costs. Inside things were calm. Most delegates aren't expected to arrive until Friday. The advance guard of platform committee members and staff workers were busy on the building's second and third floors. Reporters were reduced to interviewing each other. N.Y.N.Y.

The Wallace Platform Strikes Up An Old Tune

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky. Sun.

PHILADELPHIA, JULY 24.

THE WALLACE Progressive Party convention has a rather terrifying quality about it. It is not easy to describe because the symptoms are many and they are clouded. 7-25-48

First, let us take the Progressive Party as its sponsors would have us recognize it—a protest against persistent wrongs of the old parties. Under this limitation, the WALLACE party might seem a legitimate protest. If the protesters seemed a little blind, one might excuse it as the misty vision of sudden inspiration. For some of the injustices which convention speakers denounce are unquestionably real—political and economic discrimination based on race for one, an economy which denies wage earners the right to own a house for another, and an inflation which discourages thrift, oppresses the poor and threatens us all with the spectre of depression for a third.

These disturbing facts, of course, are not discoveries of the WALLACE party. Yet all of them exist, and were this the only nation in the world—if we had nothing to do to assure bounty and blessings except to mend our own shortcomings—then we might applaud the WALLACE party's pointing them out.

The WALLACE followers' promises go on and on. Domestically they promise to end JIM CROW, to build 8,000,000 homes for veterans and working people, to bring national health insurance, a $100 per month old age pension, a dollar an hour minimum wage, repeal of the TAFT-HARTLEY Act, repeal of the draft "and compulsory military training." All of this would be nice. 7-25-48

However the United States does not exist alone. The last promises of the WALLACE party—relating to repeal of the draft—is a key to one mightily terrifying suspicion. It was developed in the keynote speech of CHARLES P. HOWARD, who charged the United States with deliberately fomenting war for profit.

This is parrot-like repetition of Communist propaganda. This is what makes it apparent that the WALLACE party is the instrument of an ideology that would destroy the freedoms that flutter bravely on its banner. This is what makes us feel that the men of good will who have gone into the WALLACE movement—and there are many—are dupes. Mr. HOWARD rings the changes: "The President's greetings are in the mail. And they bear postmarks of corruption in China and betrayal in Israel, and murder in Greece. They bear the mark of every Nazi we have restored to power in Germany."

Heaven knows we are not one to defend the notorious record of the 80th Congress, or to praise the Government of Greece or China, or to proclaim our policy for Palestine has been steadfast. But we have been dealing with ugly realities, we have been accepting the least repugnant of courses in our dealings with Greece and China. We have undertaken in these lands, and in every country where the MARSHALL Plan will work, to preserve the circumstances out of which freedom may grow.

In allowing Communist conspirators to enchain these peoples, as Mr. WALLACE's friends would have us do, we would have seen their freedoms vanish forever or until slavery became so intolerable that the whole Communist world broke into flame.

So it is apparent that real domestic grievances, plus wildly imaginative domestic promises, have been woven into a heavy fabric of Soviet dogma to make the Progressive doctrine. The Courier Journal

In a way the honest men in the movement are as pathetically attached to a time that is gone as are the Messrs. WHERRY, KNUTSON and TABER among the Republicans. The latter gentlemen have forgotten that time and events have passed since WARREN HARDING's death. The former seem to have been asleep since FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT first took office. They rush back to him in every speech. They seem to have forgotten that much of what he advocated has been written into law, never to be removed. They seem unconscious of the forces which began to break thunderously about him as the Axis war drew near. Louisville, Ky.

For if their eyes were open then they could not talk so glibly about how the last war began at Munich without understanding that Munich has moved today to Berlin. Sun. 7-25-48

Wallaceites Start Work on Platform

34d

The Post

Washington, D.C.

Philadelphia, July 20 (AP).—Platform makers for Henry A. Wallace's third party got down to work today on the eve of open hearings at which representatives of more than 40 organizations will testify. Wed. 7-21-48

An executive session of the 74-member group centered attention on foreign policy and a proposal for nationalization of basic industries.

Windmill signs separately calling for "abundance," "freedom," "peace," went up on the marquee at Bellevue-Stratford Hotel headquarters where the Republican elephant and Democratic donkey drew so much attention in recent weeks.

Mass Rally Is High Spot

Convention arrangements moved ahead with announcement that Albert Fitzgerald, president of the CIO United Electrical Workers, will introduce Wallace for his presidential nomination acceptance speech at Shibe Park Saturday night. 7-21-48

The mass rally will high spot the new party founding convention which opens Friday night. It will be open to the public with tickets selling at 65 cents, $1.30 and $2.60 to raise campaign funds.

Discussion of foreign policy, a platform committee spokesman said, appeared to be antibipartisan—as the Truman Administration insisted on it—and against both the Marshall Plan and the Truman doctrine.

"They believe," he stated, "that the question of peace can be worked out through a strong United Nations with relief based on need rather than on political expediency."

Nationalization Program

The Post

Commenting on nationalization of industry, the spokesman said "you can surmise that there will be a give and take on how far the nationalization program will be discussed. Mostly it involves certain public utilities and what we regard as basic industries."

The Wallace movement, he continued, certainly will call for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and it was understood the platform will be strong on civil rights. The policy statement is expected to include a preamble spelling out general principles and the basis for a new party.

Among those who will appear tomorrow and Thursday at open policy hearings are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Dr. Francis Townsend, leader of the Townsend old age pension movement; the United World Federalists, the Teachers Union, the Congress of American Women and the Physicians Forum. Wed.

Others on the list include the Friends Committee on National Legislation; Society for Prevention of World War III; Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; Child Care Center of New York; Civil Rights Congress; the People's Lobby; National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

International Workers Order; New York Tenants Council; Association of Scientific Workers; United Public Workers; American Committee for West Indian Federation; American Zionist Emergency Committee; the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

Wallace Convention Conferees

The Post. Washington

Wed. 7-21-48

PLATFORM DRAFTERS—Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell (left) of the University of Chicago, chairman of Henry A. Wallace's Third Party platform committee, and Lee Pressman of New York, committee secretary, as they conferred in Philadelphia yesterday before the committee began its executive sessions. 7-21-48

New Party Platform Calls for 'Joint Responsibility'

The Times-Picayune

Last Big Business Finished by Convention

New Orleans, La.

(The Associated Press)

Convention Hall, Philadelphia, July 25.—The new Progressive party formally adopted tonight a platform saying Russia and the United States share "joint responsibility" for "ending the tragic prospect of war."

Mon.

That was the last big business of a party convention which already had made peace its major issue and Henry Wallace its presidential candidate.

There wasn't much left to do but elect the party's permanent officers and members of its national committee, then adjourn.

And by that time there wasn't much of anyone left in this big hall—delegates, spectators or convention officials.

Battle Over Reds' Policy

Delegates didn't rivet the platform together without a battle over Russian foreign policy.

They settled it by crushing a proposal from a scrappy but weak minority that the platform declared:

"Although we are critical of the foreign policy of the United States, it is not our intention to give blanket endorsement to the foreign policy of any nation." 7-26-48

A Vermonter protested in vain that the party is endorsing Soviet foreign policy "100 per cent."

It strung along with an Indiana delegate's views that the defeated amendment would be "an insinuation against a friendly ally."

So Henry Wallace runs on a platform which promises "negotiation and discussion with the Soviet Union to find areas of agreement to win the peace."

With him runs Senator Glenn Taylor of Idaho, the convention's pick for vice-president.

James Hayford of Westiburke, Vt., started the scrap over whether the convention should say indirectly that the party is not backing Russian foreign policy. Two other Vermont delegates joined in offering the proposal.

No 'Red Herring'

Hayford said he wasn't trying to bring a "red herring" into the proceedings. But he said the platform as it stood opens the party to the charge of condemning American foreign policy "en toto" without saying a word of criticism about the policy of any other nation.

Mon.

Somebody else in the Vermont section got up to declare that in the platform "we endorse Soviet foreign policy 100 per cent and I don't support any foreign policy 100 per cent." 7-26-48

Someone from Pennsylvania said he favors "friendship with Russia but not blind friendship."

Members of the platform committee said they thought nothing was needed beyond the language already approved, which says Russia and the United States must share responsibility for keeping the peace. 7-26-48

And a big hand went up for Hugh Delacy of Seattle, Wash., a former member of Congress who urged delegates not to yield to "pressure from outside," not to "back up" but to take their stand for a "firm, solid basis of friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union."

'Appeasement' Charge

And Carl Leon Eddy, of Indianapolis, protested that the Hayford amendment was an attempt at "appeasement," at appeasing those who can't be appeased.

While Hayford's amendment took a beating, the convention put into the platform a denunciation of "anti-Soviet hysteria as a mask for monopoly, militarism and reaction."

Delegates went on record for erecting a structure of peace through "just enforcement upon individuals of world federal law, enacted by a world federal legislature."

The Times Picayune

With the platform peace planks finally okayed, the convention thumbed through amendments to the section on freedom. It took a few but rejected many.

And it yelled a lusty "no" to every attempt to sacrifice "free and open" discussion for speed.

Convention Chairman Albert J. Fitzgerald pulled off his coat and announced: "I haven't got anything to do until a week from today. Go to it."

But back through the delegate ranks many empty spaces were showing. And a New Yorker said there was "great danger" that important parts of the platforms would be adopted with a lot of delegates gone.

But the convention turned down his idea of leaving the rest of the amendments to the party's national committee to cull over and accept or reject.

The freedom section is the one that demands "full equality for the Negro people, the Jewish people" and other racial or national groups.

New Orleans, La.

Rights of Communists

It promises a fight for "the constitutional rights of Communists" and all other political groups to express their views.

There wasn't any opposition when Rose Russell of New York offered a plank urging "the full right for teachers and students to participate freely and fully in the social, civic and political life" of nation and community.

On a show of hands, the delegates put into the platform a pledge to respect the freedom of conscientious objectors to war and to "effect an amnesty" for those imprisoned in World War II.

The long session sandwiched some extra speeches into the work routine, vice-presidential candidate Glen Taylor turned up for a few minutes and got a big hand.

O. John Rogge Speaks

After the freedom section was approved, O. John Rogge of New York, former assistant attorney general, got a big hand and predicted a Wallace-Taylor victory in November.

Mon.

Delegates produced a big cheer when he said he thinks it is "un-American" and "unconstitutional" for 11 persons to face fines and imprisonment because they defied the authority of the House committee investigating un-American activities. 7-26-48

"It is to the shame and infamy of little bipartisan men that 2,000,000 federal employes have been subject to a loyalty check," he declared.

Rogge said the new party would put an end to the "monkey business" of the "little men" in Washington which he said has created a "stifling atmosphere" that tends to deprive the "common people of their freedoms."

While the convention was plodding through speeches and platform, Taylor and Representatives Vio Marcantonio and Leo Isacson of New York, gathered in an upstairs room to say they "intend to call the bipartisan bluff" in the special Congressional session starting tomorrow.

They are the only men in Congress who speak for the new party. So they will need a lot of help to put over a program which they said in a news conference statement includes "halting the Marshall plan, repealing the draft and Taft-Hartley labor laws, providing housing, a higher minimum wage, price controls, bigger old age pensions, anti-lynching legislation, and other items in the new party platform.

The convention went into its final session unanimously backing Wallace and Taylor. But it got to fussing about the platform from which the candidate will operate.

Various delegates turned in amendments and argued for them. Most of them were discarded quickly.

But Lee Pressman, secretary of the committee that drafted the 7000-word platform, brought in the new language pinning on Russia as well as this country responsibility for averting war.

It was in the form of a preamble to the section on peace.

Last Big Business

Adoption of the policy statement was the last big business left for the founding convention of the new party. Wallace and Taylor were nominated yesterday and accepted a few hours later.

Even as the platform for "peace, freedom and abundance" was submitted to the delegates, signs of dissatisfaction with parts of it appeared.

Convention Chairman Albert J. Fitzgerald told a reporter:

"Sure there'll be some fights."

He ruled that no amendments would be considered which were not submitted in writing before the reading of the platform was completed.

Pennsylvania delegates thus were barred from making any attempt to obtain a party promise for government ownership of the coal industry.

The Pennsylvanians still were talking about offering an amendment when the deadline came. They accused a reporter inquiring about their plans of being a "Red baiter."

Committee's Draft

As drafted by a 74-member committee, the platform, among other things, calls for:

Immediate public ownership of the largest banks, the railroads, merchant marine and power and gas industries.

"Negotiation and discussion with the Soviet Union to find areas of agreement to win the peace."

Loud cheers broke out on the convention floor when planks were read which promise:

To make distribution of anti-semitic, anti-Negro and anti-racial propaganda a federal crime.

To "fight for the constitutional rights of Communists" and all other political groups to express their views.

To repeal the Taft-Hartley labor law.

The Progressive party went into the wind up session of the convention with an extra $50,000 in the kitty to help finance its campaign for the Wallace-Taylor ticket.

Publicity Director Ralph Shikes told a reporter that was the net take at a rally last night at Shibe Park. It was there that Wallace and Taylor accepted their nominations.

Vacant Seats

Delegates were up late last night listening to Wallace. And there were large stretches of vacants seats both on the floor and in the spectator galleries when the convention started its Sabbath session.

A report accrediting 3240 delegates and alternates to the convention was approved unanimously. Mrs. Lawrence Steefle, Minneapolis, chairman of the credentials committee, said every state and Hawaii and Puerto Rico were represented.

Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell, University of Chicago professor and one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's original "brain trusters," headed the platform drafting committee.

He told the convention that had President Roosevelt "lived on into the peace, he would have led a movement like that which we now join."

Delegates cheered when he gave his reason for saying so. Back in 1932, when Roosevelt still was governor of New York, Tugwell quoted him as saying:

"Rex, at the end of eight years there may not be a Democratic party. But there will be a progressive one."

As for the platform itself, Tugwell said:

"We hope that as time passes it will be remembered as the beginning of revitalization for the institutions of the America we have loved so deeply.

"We have worked not only for our nation's health but for her honor. We pass that responsibility now to you."

Housing Plank

A plank on housing was inserted belatedly into the Progressives' platform. A party spokesman said it was omitted by error from previous drafts.

Mon.

It pledged reorganization of the building industry, abolition of discrimination and segregation in housing and conveniently located homes near places of employment "with adequate provision for health, education, recreation and culture." 7-26-48

A statement issued by the party's nationalities division said minority groups rallied to the Progressive banner "because we want a party pursuing a policy of lasting peace through international co-operation."

Revised Wallace Platform Asks A-Bomb Junking, Price Controls, Civil Rights, Peace With Reds

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Bonus to Vets Also Promised In New Draft

Philadelphia, July 23 (AP)—Destruction of all atom bombs, repeal of the Draft Law, and peace with Russia! That was the cry today of Henry Wallace's third party in the semifinal draft of its 6,500-word platform.

The platform, being whipped into final shape by the 74-member party resolutions committee calls also for "full equality" for Negroes and other minorities.

It asks Government ownership of a large segment of the nation's economy.

It demands a return to price controls.

It promises "a greater New Deal."

It proposes a federal bonus for war veterans "based on length of service."

In the "peace-freedom-and-abundance" platform the party declares itself the heir of "Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln—of Frederick Douglass, Altgeld, and Debs—of Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt."

Here are other things the preliminary draft proposes:

Russia—The New Party pledges "through negotiation and discussion with the Soviet Union, in good faith, to find areas of agreement to win the peace."

Disarmament—Work through the United Nations for a world disarmament agreement to outlaw the atomic bomb, bacteriological warfare, and all other instruments of mass destruction: to destroy existing stockpiles of atomic bombs; to establish United Nations controls, including inspection, over the production of atomic energy. 7-24-48

United Nations—"The New Party will work to realize Franklin D. Roosevelt's ideal of the United Nations as a true world family of nations, by defending its Charter and seeking to prevent its transformation into the diplomatic or military instrument of any one power or group of powers."

Also, in the interest of peace, to repeal the peacetime draft, and repudiate the Marshall plan for European aid and the "Truman Doctrine." To establish in the United Nations a fund to promote international recovery.

Civil Rights—"Full equality" for Negroes and other persons and enactment of federal anti-lynch, antipoll-tax, antidiscrimination, and fair-employment-practices legislation, and legislation abolishing segregation in interstate travel. Abolish the House un-American Activities Committee and prohibit the F.B.I. "from investigating or interfering with the political beliefs and activities of citizens." Abrogate President Truman's "loyalty purge order."

Monopoly—Public ownership "of key sectors of the economy wherever monopolies block expansion of the economy or deny the people the enjoyment of an abundance of goods and services at fair prices. As a first step, the largest banks, the railroads, the electric power and gas industries, and industries primarily dependent on Government funds or Government purchases will be placed under public ownership."

Labor—Repeal the Taft-Hartley Labor Act and "restore labor's equality in collective bargaining by re-enacting the principles of the Wagner and Norris-La-Guardia Acts. Grant employees in publicly owned industries the right to organize and to strike. A $1-an-hour minimum wage for all workers.

Sat. 7-24-48

Housing—An emergency federal housing program "to build within the next two years 4,000,000 low-rent and low-cost dwellings. . . . With priority to veterans, a long-range program to build 25,000,000 new homes in 10 years."

Agriculture—Price supports for all major crops; low-cost crop insurance; protect the family-size farm; help tenants to farm ownership; support co-ops.

Security and Health—"Extend Social Security protection to every man, woman, and child in the United States, providing old-age pensions of $100 a month for all persons at the age of 60, disability and sickness benefits."

Taxation—Free from income taxes all families and individuals "whose income falls below the minimum necessary for a decent standard of living." Tax corporations "at steeply graduated rates to eliminate profiteering."

Education—Guarantee with federal funds "every man, woman, and child in America" the right of a good education.

Women—Legislation "to guarantee full economic and political equality to women."

Independent Business—"Encourage and safeguard independent business by providing adequate working capital and development loans, at low interest rates, granting tax relief, and giving independent and small business a fair share of Government contracts."

Youth—Guarantee to youth "the right to education and employment without discrimination. The New Party will lower the voting age to 18."

Economic Planning—Develop, on the T.V.A. pattern, the regional plans and river-valley authorities projected by Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Sat. 7-24-48

Israel—Immediate full recognition of the new State, lifting of the arms embarg to permit shipment of arms t Israel; employment of econom and diplomatic sanctions agai nations "carrying on or ting aggression against the ew state; prompt generous financial assistance."

Freedom of "Colonial Peoples"—Grant independence to Puerto Rico.

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15 PLANKS FOR MINORITIES:

Afro-American

34d

Progressive Platform Strong on Civil Rights

Baltimore, Md.

7-31-48 Sat.

PHILADELPHIA

Of the 99 planks in the platform adopted by the Progressive Party during its founding convention here, at least 15 are designed specifically to benefit colored persons. The platform, a 22-page document, was adopted by the convention delegates Sunday night, with no major changes in spite of prolonged debate over several issues.

In addition to these planks aimed directly at correcting problems confronting colored and other minority groups, many of the remaining 84 will indirectly benefit them insofar as they help citizens of the United States generally.

The Civil Rights Planks

The 15 planks, which would better conditions both here and abroad, follow:

1. Ending of racial discrimination and segregation of all kinds.
2. Full equality for the colored people.
3. No segregation in housing.
4. No segregation in education.
5. Antilynch legislation.
6. An immediate Presidential proclamation ending racial discrimination in the Army and Government employment.
7. Federal scholarships to insure that everyone with the ability will get a higher education.
8. Ending of all discrimination against racial minority groups.
9. Entrance, to West Point and Annapolis to be based on competitive examinations rather than on Congressional appointment.
10. Home rule for the District of Columbia.
11. Admission of Hawaii and Alaska as the 49th and 50th States of the Union.
12. Independence for Puerto Rico.
13. Freedom of Korea.
14. Self-determination of all colonial peoples everywhere, as to whether or not they want to be free.
15. An end to deporting of foreign-born labor leaders.

Active Role in Party Setup

The emphasis on racial problems in the platform was held consistent with the emphasis placed by the party on participation of colored persons in the entire convention, which was culminated with the election of several to high posts in the established organization.

Among the elected officials of the body, as now constituted, are Paul Robeson, co-chairman with Albert E. Fitzgerald; Alvin Jones, Louisiana law student, one of three vice-chairmen; Dr. J. E. T. Camper, national committeeman, representing Maryland.

Keynoter's Contribution

Perhaps the most significant work during the convention proper was that done by Charles P. Howard, attorney and publisher from Des Moines, Iowa, who served as keynoter.

Declaring that the Congressional order of the day has been to kill, kill, kill, Mr. Howard, a Republican leader for 30 years, said:

"This killing was the joint handiwork of Republicans and Democrats, a majority of both parties, plotting together in a Congressional Murder Incorporated.

"And the final hypocrisy is that these very men met in this very hall and drew up civil rights planks for their party platforms. Civil rights planks.

"How many times have they both courted us with the same shabby promise, and how many times have they both betrayed us? I remember 30 years of promise and 30 years of betrayal.

"The plain fact that I stand here before you tonight defines our party. For the first time in my life, I am experiencing human dignity.

"Choice and Change"

"Two things lie at the heart of democracy — choice and change. And these are the very things upon which the new party has been founded. In Henry Wallace we see one again the image of the mountain men who visioned a great nation where there was only desert and forest.

"Once again we offer to Americans the precious right of choice. The old parties . . . . They offers you a jim-crow America—we say that those who perpetuate jim crow are criminal and we propose to fight them with everything we have.

"The new trails await us. The frontier awaits us. The rebirth of this nation awaits our coming, and we are on the march."

34d
3rd party

Wallace Platform Body Rows Over Communism

Courier Journal Ky.
Fri. 7/23/48

From Wire Dispatches.

Philadelphia, July 22.—The New Party's platform committee was plunged into angry debate today by a demand that it demonstrate its independence of communism and totalitarianism by indorsing the European Recovery Program and by condemning all "police states," whether in Mississippi or Russia.

James Loeb, Jr., executive secretary of American for Democratic Action, outwaited all efforts to discourage his testimony through delay. He told the platform-committee members to their faces that although former Vice-President Henry A. Wallace is the party's presidential candidate, this "does not obscure the fact that the Communists and their collaborators guide the major policies and word the major pronouncements of this party."

A Few Persons Hiss.

A few persons hissed Loeb as he talked. Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell, an original New Deal brain truster and now chairman of the Wallace platform committee, and Dr. Joseph Johnson of Washington, dean of Howard University's Medical School, made angry replies.

Tugwell said the A.D.A. resorted to "unscrupulous and demagogic denunciation" and appeared to be getting ready to indorse Governor Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican presidential candidate, since it already had denounced both President Truman and Wallace and had failed to persuade General Dwight Eisenhower to seek the Presidency.

Johnson, a Negro orator of great skill, took violent exception to the A.D.A.'s claim that it had won the battle for civil rights in the successful fight from the floor to expand the Democratic platform pledge. This was, he said, "an insulat to every Negro" who knew that old parties wouldn't keep their platform promises and that the only hope of the Negro race rested with the New Party, led by Wallace and Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho. He was applauded vigorously.

Says It Follows Red Course.

Neither Tugwell nor Johnson answered the A.D.A.'s charge of Communist control in the Wallace party. Although Tugwell himself made speeches in behalf of E.R.P., the platform draft already made public repudiates the Marshall plan. Tugwell confessed to reporters today his dissatisfaction with the E.R.P. plank and other phases of the proposed platform, but he said he would make no floor fight on these issues.

Loeb later said at a news conference that Tugwell's refuseal to discuss the Communist issue proved that "The third party is irrevocably committed to the course set by the Communist Party."

"It is an acknowledment that Mr. Tugwell still prefers not to recognize or discuss the dominant role of the Communists within the third party," Loeb said.

He said the best indications of Communist influence in the third party were the persons associated with it.

"This is the same old crowd," he said. "The only difference is that Mr. Wallace is in the picture. That is tragic. Mr. Wallace has taken them (the Communists) from the Texas League to the major leagues in one jump."

Friday 7/23/48 Ky

Believes Reds Being Used.

Loeb said he believed Wallace was convinced he was only using the Communists to advance his own cause. He said, however, that no one else—not even John L. Lewis—had been able "to get the best of the Communists."

"And if Lewis can't do it," he said, "I don't think Wallace can."

The sharp exchange came toward the end of a day during which Taylor had welcomed Communist votes for the Wallace-Taylor ticket, but said he expected to get the "pinks" only—not the outright "Reds."

Taylor predicted that the revolutionary "Reds" will vote for Dewey on the theory that their best chance of overthrowing the Government is to have another Administration like that of former President Hoover.

Wants Any Support. 7/23/48

Taylor, who will be the party's vice-presidential nominee, said he would welcome the support of Communists or anyone else who is for the Wallace-Taylor program of "peace-abundance-freedom."

The Idahoan said there were two kinds of Communists in this country, the pinks and the Reds.

"I think the pink Communists who believe in the democratic processes, that is, evolution instead of revolution, probably will support the New Party," Taylor said. A Red Communist, he said, wants revolution.

Taylor saw no chance for Communists of any kind to gain control of the New Party, whose founding convention opens here tomorrow.

In a radio interview tonight Taylor said he could not conceive of any circumstances under which he or Wallace could withdraw from the 1948 political wars.

Ky. Fri. 7/23/48

Blames Berlin On Bungling.

As for the tense state of affairs in Berlin, Taylor blamed that on what he termed a "bungling, bipartisan foreign policy which got us into a well-nigh untenable position."

"I hope we can bumble through until the new President takes over next January 20," he said. "Mr. Wallace can straighten things out."

The convention will pick a party name tomorrow night, nominate Wallace and Taylor on Saturday night, and adopt its platform Sunday.

Wallace, meanwhile, charged that the peacetime draft is a "giant step toward the establishment of a regimentation in this country which we would have called "fascism" in other countries."

Courier Journal

In a statement released from New Party headquarters, Wallace said in connection with a New Party youth convention scheduled for the week end that the platforms of the two "old parties" contain "not one single word dedicated to the specific needs of young people."

"But," Wallace said, "don't think they have neglected you. Their performance—if not their promise—has built an ironclad program for young people. For the first time in America's peacetime history the two old parties have joined hands in passing a peacetime draft law."

Townsend Gives Ultimatum.

The Wallace party, which has confidently counted on the support of the Townsend old-age pension movement, got an ultimatum earlier today from its founder, 81-year-old Dr. Francis E. Townsend. He said he would not indorse Wallace and his party unless the platform specifically included his $100-a-month pension program, based on a 3 per cent gross-income tax on individuals and businesses. Dr. Townsend claimed influence on "several million votes."

In Columbus, Ohio, the State Supreme Court today ruled that the Wallace ticket could go on the State's election ballots next November. The Ohio secretary of state previously had refused to permit it.

Wallace press headquarters here said the Ohio court action meant the party would be on the ballot in at least 11 states. It said that in addition the party had obtained enough petitioning signatures to go on the ballot in Illinois and Massachusetts and had submitted lists in six other states.

The Wallace Party Platform Problems

34d

A CURIOUS dilemma faced REXFORD GUY TUGWELL and his fellow-members of the platform committee in HENRY WALLACE's third party. They had two major problems. The first was to uphold WALLACE's contention that peace with Russia is just a matter of friendly negotiation. The second was to write a domestic declaration which would make the Democratic platform seem harsh toward human and civil rights.

Courier Journal

They seem to have failed. In upholding the WALLACE position with regard to Russia they have called for repudiation of the TRUMAN Doctrine and the MARSHALL Plan. To a great many Americans this has a familiar ring, which in the light of today's realities can be likened to the entreaties of blind isolationists before Pearl Harbor. In out-doing the Democrats on the domestic front, Mr. TUGWELL and his associates have strained themselves to little avail.

Ky. Fri. 7/23/48

The WALLACE platform writers also indulged in some criticism of the Republicans and Democrats. But it was not based on what strikes us as real deficiencies. Instead it was a Soviet-sounding scolding for "rejecting" the United Nations and financing "corrupt and fascist governments" in Greece, Turkey and China.

This strange affinity with the Communist line appears in the statement by Mr. WALLACE himself on Tuesday's arrest of American Communist leaders. The similarity of his and the Communist Party's comment on this turn is striking. WALLACE says: "The bi-partisans will play up the indictments and hearings and trials to promote fear"; the Communists: "The domestic counterpart of the criminal bi-partisan attempts to turn the war in Berlin from cold to hot." WALLACE says: "The history of Germany, Italy, Japan and FRANCO Spain should teach us that the suppression of the Communists is but the first step in an assault on the democratic rights of labor, national, racial and political minorities, and all those who opposed the policies of the Government in power"; the Communists: "The Communist Party . . . defend and have always defended the economic welfare and democratic rights of the American people . . . We accuse our accusers of seeking to subvert America's democratic institutions and replace them with a fascist dictatorship."

City Officials Demand Jim Crow At Auditorium

The Black Dispatch

Oklahoma City Okla

Senator Taylor Address Cancelled

34d

Sat-5-15-48

By MALCOLM S. WHITBY

The scheduled Municipal auditorium Sunday afternoon address of Sen. Glen Taylor, vice presidential running mate with Henry A. Wallace on the Progressive party ticket, was cancelled Wednesday by state party chairman Carl von der Lancken, who told a reporter that City Manager Wm. "Bill" Gill and auditorium manager Jimmy Burge insisted on strict segregation arrangements, which he flatly refused after a lengthy conference earlier in the week.

Sat-5-15-48

Mr. von der Lancken expressed outrage over the ruling when no law whatsoever exists requiring jim crow seating arrangements. He added that his party would immediately take steps to "crack this discrimination wide open and Senator Taylor will return in a few weeks to speak in the same hall under American conditions."

The Progressive party leader showed a Municipal auditorium receipt No. 6568, dated April 30, in the amount of $75 for use of the Hall of Mirrors on Sunday, May 16, signed by J. C. Burge, manager, and Mary Lago.

Mr. von der Lancken also showed a letter signed by James C. Burge, auditorium manager, which read as follows:

"With reference to your reservation of the Hall of Mirrors in the Municipal Auditorium for May 16, 1948, for the address of Senator Taylor of the Progressive Party, and your payment of $75.00 rent, I desire to go on record confirming my statement to you on May 7th, at the City Manager's office, that if you refuse to comply with the regulations of the Auditorium toward segregating Negroes and Whites, your reservation will be cancelled and your money refunded. As heretofore stated, you are at liberty to divide the Hall by the center line, or in any other manner you see fit, but our experience in Oklahoma City requires that, for the protection of persons and property, and to avoid disturbance, such a policy is wise.

"If there is no change in the thinking of your party with reference to the handling of this situation since I last talked with you, you may consider your reservation cancelled, and your money is available at any time."

34d

Immediately on receipt of this letter outlining the segregation demand, the Third party leader said he held a one-hour conference with City Manager "Bill" Gill and Mr. Burge, during which conference the two held to their jim crow requirement on the scheduled meeting.

Mr. von der Lancken further expressed his views in a prepared statement following a direct statemen that early court action would be taken. The Oklahoma Third party leader's statement is as follows:

"Sen. Taylor and the Progressive party of Oklahoma refuse to be bound by any undemocratic house rule which attempts to legislate jim crow when no law whatsover exists that requires segregation at public hearings.

"The ruling of City Manager Wm. Gill is an attempt to dictate a policy of second-class citizenship for the Negro people. We believe that if white and Negro Americans could die together on the battlefield to smash Hitler's idea of race supremacy, then they can sit together to hear a talk on democracy.

"The Progressive party will fight this breach of contract—right down the line. If we are unable to obtain the auditorium for Sen. Taylor Sunday, we will crack this discrimination wide open and the senator will return in a few weeks to speak in the same hall under American conditions.

"A matter of principle is involved and the Progressive party is a party of principle."

34d 1948 Third Party (Wallace)

The Senator from Idaho and New Party leader refused to bow to Dixie Bourbon traditions—and won many a Southerner's esteem

34

By ABNER W. BERRY

THE REACTIONS of southern newsmen to Sen. Glen H. Taylor, I thought, were a fair barometer of his effectiveness. They had one two-word description of the new party Vice Presidential candidate: He's honest.

I saw him meet the press in four cities—Winston-Salem, N. C., Birmingham, Ala., and Macon and Atlanta, Ga. "Well," he invariably greeted reporters, "just fire away, no holds barred." And when they did, he made no effort to win them by concessions to that outworn myth of "the Southern social pattern." His answer on segregation was thorough, and among the newsmen his position was respected. He "believed that segregation is discrimination; it's wrong and unconstitutional and I refuse to live by it. I don't go along with the liberals in the North and South who raise all the little legal questions and say 'Now you've got to go easy with this race question.' If it's wrong then we ought to get rid of it—**now**."

Down-to-Earth Answers

The Worker

His father, he says, was a Texas preacher "and he had all the Biblical reasons for segregation. I believed them until I found out better after I'd nearly starved to death out in Idaho." He would sometimes go on to chat about his father, telling how he had to leave the church because he wanted to be free to "criticize the big boys who ran the brothels and kept a private pew" at the same time. "Pa wasn't so straight on the race question," he explains, "but I was straight enough on that, all right."

New York, N.Y.

The Senator will expand on his feelings about segregation with the least prodding. "Now about segregation: I usually tell the white person who defends it to place himself in the place of the Negro who cannot find a place to eat or a hotel to sleep in or a good school for his children. And I say to him, 'How would you like to be placed like that in America?' Of course, they wouldn't like it. Well if you wouldn't like it how do you think the Negro feels. The whole thing is just that simple to me."

Sun. 7-11-48

In [illegible] place was this answer on segregation followed by the one-time stock question: "Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro?"

The senator always brought his position on foreign policy down to earth and shunned all diplomatic doubletalk: "If the Russians were arming the Mexicans to fight us, dredging their harbors and building their military roads, as we are doing for the Turks against the Russians, I'd vote for a military appropriation to get them out. But they are not; and they have a right to be suspicious of what our generals are doing."

With these sort of answers he cuts right through what built-up prejudices the newspaper people might have had. As a pretty young woman reporter put it: "He just about charms you with his frankness and plain old common sense. Don't you think so?" I had to answer in the affirmative; I had seen it happen.

But with the audiences it is another matter. He won them just as he had won the newsmen, only better. And that's as it should be: the reporter has a short-lived relationship with the senator; the followers of the new party are comrades-in-arms in the political war to save the country from monopoly, potential fascism and war.

How He Got the Political Bug

He imbues his audiences with a sense of success based on his own experiences. Here before them is a man who has reached an honored position in America in a determined fight against fraud. He is a common man who beat the money power in the Northwest and won a seat in the United States Senate in a six-year peoples grass roots campaign. "I won an election without one newspaper advertisement and without one minute's time on the radio," he explains.

The editorial writers attempt to poke fun at him for having been a singing cowboy, but Taylor turns this into one of his strong points. His cowboy band, he says was ruined in 1929 by "talking pictures and the depression. Just one of them was enough to do it—but we got 'em both at the same time. So he and his little troupe had to move into the smaller towns where there were no facilities for sound pictures.

It was in one of these little towns that he later got the political bug. But not until he had read a lot of books on economics and sociology. One book, in particular, had stressed the point that "The object of all knowledge is action." He has forgotten the author, but he remembers that he started casting about for a way to act.

He found it in the summer of 1937, while laying over in a small town to allow the use of the local theatre by the Governor of Idaho for a political rally. Attending the rally and seeing the hammy quality of the governor's acting plus his poor understanding of the issues, he made up his mind. Politics it would be. "Why I knew more about what the people needed than that bird did, and his campaign acting was only amateur and I was a professional." He had seen "oranges piled 10 feet high for miles, left to rot while we raised a generation of rickety children who couldn't pass the physical tests in the last draft." He had lived in his station wagon. His 12-year-old son, Arod, spent his first years there. He knew from books and experience what the Common Man needed and wanted.

Wouldn't Be Licked

His wife, Dora, wasn't surprised when he told her the same night: "I think I'll run for the Senate." She just said sleepily, "that's nice," or something like that, and went back to sleep. (They were still living in the station wagon.) After that the family established residence in Pocatello, and in 1938 Taylor ran for a seat in Congress but lost in the primaries. He used his cowboy band then. It was a political innovation.

"Now just so the record is straight," he tells his audiences, "Pappy O'Daniel (U. S. Senator from Texas and former governor) started his singing cowboy campaign in May, 1938; I started mine in April. I want it understood that I've never followed Pappy in anything."

In 1940 Taylor ran for the Senate and won in the Democratic primaries, but lost by 14,000 votes in the general election. Roosevelt carried the state by 25,000 votes that year, he says, but the state organization thought he "ought to be taught a lesson" and worked for his defeat. In his campaigning, aided by his wife and five-year-old Arod (named in honor of his mother: "Dora" spelled backward), he went to the "end of the roads," into communities "no bigshots ever visited."

During the war he had to go out of the state to get a job in a war plant because local plants would say "We have no suitable job for a senatorial candidate." But he was back for the senatorial race in 1942. He won the primaries again but lost by only 4,000 in November. This time he could not put on his family entertainment act; Mrs. Taylor had to stay at home to care for the baby (Paul Jon) who had come, and she would not allow yopng Arod to accompany his father on his tours.

Technique of Campaigning

This time he had to ride a horse. He couldn't get gasoline. In fact he had just a little over 100 dollars for all of his expenses. The newspapers were full of publicity about a (screwball) cowboy. About this Taylor says, "Shucks, I had no way of getting myself before the public," but his act was opening doors to him. "One farmer, seeing me ride down the road toward him," the Senator relates, "dropped the reins over his plow and ran to greet me. 'Well I'll be, he shouted, 'it's you, ain't it? Heard 't over the radio and just thought it was all talk. Well I'll be! Guess I better tell the folks about this.' I'll bet that man got me 40 or 50 votes."

Taylor's political ardor wasn't dampened by the two defeats. He went back to his war plant job and filed again in 1944. No cowboy stuff this time. He campaigned in a business suit and left his horse at home. But he stuck to the small towns he had cultivated for six years. He had no advertisements and no radio time so he thought up a new wrinkle: He wrote 3,000 letters in longhand to friends throughout the state. "If you are interested in the technique," he offers smilingly, "it took me eight weeks' time. And I'll add this: you won't be bothered with writer's cramp after the second day's work."

SEN. GLEN TAYLOR

His "dignified campaign" also got him plenty of publicity. He had become a "screwball" in a business suit and a Homburg. He won the primary. The old state party chairman was changed and he got some money for his campaign.

Success Story of The Common Man

When the returns started coming in his opponent darted out in front. There were the returns from the city districts which were counted first. He caught up when the country districts were counted. And he won the election by 216 votes. "I cashed in on my political ignorance," he claims. "I wasn't smart enough to campaign through the big towns." He tells his audiences that he had to work hard to get "the best job I ever had. But the way things are going now it looks as if I'll be rocking on Harry's new porch soon—that is, if Hank'll let me."

He shows how he was able to do it in Idaho and gives his listeners a perspective of victory for America. His "success story" is immediately translated into its broader counterpart—the struggle for political power by the Common Man.

He winds up many of his talks with: "They say I'm crazy. Guess I am, too: because I sure do want peace." And as for understanding the needs of the common people he quips: "I ought to understand them. Why I've been so common that it hurt."

The Senator can still campaign with music, as he and his family demonstrated in his appearances in Georgia. He has proved himself a political cowboy who could ride out the West and coax Eastern and Southern hands away from the old owners of the range. The folks were with him whether he had a guitar or a string of hard words for the bankers and generals. HE's a winner—with charm and intelligence and courage.

Third Party Row Flares in Nevada

The Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 7-10-48

RENO, Nev.—Meeting in this city to found the Nevada State Independent Progressive party and to convene the first convention of the new party, delegates were thrown into turmoil when the convention chairman resigned almost before he took his seat.

George Springmeyer, attorney of this city, who was elected convention chairman, had placed in the preamble a provision that declared the Nevada State Independent Progressive party in opposition to communism. Sat.

Other delegates declared they would exclude that part of the preamble. Springer, aroused, flatly declared he was not a Communist, and bolted the meeting . . . Following his departure, delegates struck his proviso from the preamble.

Mrs. Charlotta Bass, Los Angeles publisher, declared she would die before she would let anyone tell her whether or not she was a Communist. 7-10-48

Delegates were elected to attend the national convention of the IPP to convene in Philadelphia from July 23 to 25.

Georgia Pastor Quits Over Wallace Support

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

ATLANTA, May 7—(AP)—An Atlanta preacher, a leader in Georgia for Henry Wallace's third party bid for the presidency, is leaving his pulpit, he says, because his congregation has been stamped into race consciousness.

The Rev. Isaiah J. Domas, pastor of the Unitarian-Universal Church, said last night his congregation had accepted his resignation, effective Sept. 1. Fri. 5-7-48

He said that two groups existed within the church—one a "vocal, ultra-race-conscious minority," the other a "non-vocal, less race-conscious minority." The latter group, he said, had "allowed themselves to be stampeded by the ultra race-conscious element when faced by the fact of bad publicity in the local press."

Domas served as co-chairman of arrangements for a speech Wallace made before a mixed white and Negro audience in a Negro church here last Winter. Fri. 5-7-48

Chairman Phillip G. Hammer of the church's public relations committee said Domas' activities on Wallace's behalf had a "great deal" to do with the acceptance of the pastor's resignation. 5-7-48

Alabama CIO Bars 3d Party

CIO News

By BOB CHRISTOFFERSON

NO Third Party in 1948—Aid to Europe—A ban on persons who subscribe to Communist principles holding office in the state CIO—Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act—Continuance of the CIO's Southern Organizing Drive—An end to wage differentials between the North and the South.

This was the gist of resolution adopted by the ninth constitutional convention of the Alabama CIO Council held April 23-25 in Montgomery. The convention also called for:

A new Federal minimum wage law of 75 cents an hour—Federal aid to education—Funds and facilities for labor education—Low-cost housing—An adequate armed force without Universal Military Training—Support of veterans' legislation—Support of the United Nations Appeal for Children.

The resolution opposing UMT but favoring an "adequate regular army, navy and air force" was adopted by a standing vote of 98 to 60, but only after lengthy debate.

There was no division, however, when it came to slamming the door in the Communists' faces, nor in making known the convention's stand on the Third Party.

Adopted unanimously was a constitutional amendment which read: "Persons who subscribe to Nazi, Fascist or Communist principles shall be ineligible to hold office in the Alabama CIO Council."

ALSO adopted unanimously was the anti-Third Party resolutions, which proclaimed "opposition to the Third Party movement of 1948 . . . is the official stand of the CIO in Alabama."

The resolution declared that "unity of all progressive forces . . . in 1948 is one of vital importance to the welfare and security of America." It termed the Third Party a "threat to this much-needed unity of progressive forces in the coming elections."

"An element in America foreign to our way of life" is using the Third Party in order to benefit "from the discord and chaos it can achieve among America's progressive forces by the injection of the Third Party issue into the nation's politics in the 1948 elections," the resolution said.

The sweep against left-wing elements was complete. Right-wingers took every position on the state executive board.

Carey E. Haigler and Eugene M. Wells, both former Birmingham steelworkers, were re-elected president and secretary-treasurer respectively. Haigler to his fourth consecutive term and Wells to his third. Haigler is also state CIO director in Alabama.

Elected vice presidents at large were Tom Green, Birmingham, Steelworkers, and Willie Harris, Bessemer, Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.

U. S. Senators Lister Hill and John Sparkman, both friends of labor; Gov. James E. Folsom, the Director of CIO Councils, John Brophy and Secy.-Treas. Sherman H. Dalrymple, of the CIO Organizing Committee, were among the speakers.

Brophy told the delegates that the great lesson of the past insofar as labor is concerned "is that we succeeded in the past when we pulled together." He gave a picture of the domestic and world conditions that shaped CIO policy on the Third Party and ERP and said that all but a "minority" in CIO will follow that policy.

Oklahoma Bars Wallace's Party in July Primary

Times-Picayune

New Orleans, La.

(The Associated Press)

Oklahoma City, June 12.—Henry A. Wallace's Progressive party was denied a place on Oklahoma's July 6 primary ballot today by the state supreme court.

The court ruled that the Progressives did not constitute a political party under Oklahoma election statutes.

The ruling came on an appeal by A. B. Cooper, Oklahoma City detective agency manager, from a decision by Secretary of State Wilburn Cartwright, who ordered Progressive candidates placed on the primary ballot.

Sun. 6-13-48

Cooper had challenged the sufficiency of the Progressive nominating petition, attacked the validity of their non-Communist affidavit and asked the court to prohibit the secretary of state from recognizing them as a political party. 6-13-48

Party to Stay; Wallace Says

Detroit, Mich.

Free Press

NEW YORK—(AP)—Henry Wallace said that the New Party would be continued after the November election, no matter how the election comes out.

Wallace, whose decision to be an independent candidate for President was chiefly responsible for establishment of the Third Party, made the statement at a meeting of volunteer workers for Wallace at the party's headquarters. Wed. 6-23-48

3rd Party a Force for Good—Wallace

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

Standard Bearer Hopes Congress Will Act

PHILADELPHIA

Hope that the special session of Congress would "at the very least pass an anti-poll tax law and strong legislation against lynching was expressed Sunday by Henry A. Wallace, Progressive Party candidate for President.

In his first press conference as the official nominee of the Progressives, Wallace said that he realized passage of civil rights legislation by the special session might weaken the new party "from a purely political standpoint."

Sat. 7-31-48

Speaking as the party leader, Wallace declared, however, that "We're in this not for personal gains, but to pressure for equality, political and social gains for all the people."

Greater Influence Ahead

He expressed belief that the party already has been an impelling force in this direction and predicted an "even greater effect" on national policy.

The Afro-American

He said he believed the founding convention of the Progressive Party would "unleash liberal forces over the country."

Wallace talked with representatives of colored newspapers in his Bellevue-Stratford Hotel suite for nearly an hour. The conference was requested by the newsmen.

With him were Charles P. Howard, Iowa attorney and convention keynoter; George B. Murphy Jr., an assistant campaign manager, Milton Smith, of the public relations office; and Mrs. Viola Scott, the candidate's personal secretary.

Integration Cited

Baltimore Md

Asked to comment on a weekly newspaper editorial suggesting that he withdraw from the Presidential picture because he would be indirectly aiding the Republicans, Wallace pointed to the enthusiasm at the convention and the way colored citizens were "completely woven into every fibre of the Progresive Party."

Moreover, he said, he could not let down the people who believed in peace. He saw no meeting ground with the Democrats, he said because he felt the administration was leading the country into war.

Fears Reactionaries Work

Further, civil rights legislation in Congress would be stymied by Southern reactionaries in key positions, he added. Sat.

If Congress really wanted to act on this legislation, Wallace said, ways could be found to beat off a senate filibuster by imposing cloture. 7-31-48

Wallace, whose general press conference at the convention had been fraught with tense unfriendliness. Was quite relaxed at this one and seemed to enjoy it.

At the earlier meeting with the press, the party standard-bearer said if he were President today one of his first acts would be to issue an executive order ending jim crow in the Armed Forces.

THIRD PARTIES

From the Horse's Mouth

Time

6-7-48

The U.S. Communist Party said flatly last week that Henry Wallace's third party, platform and all, was strictly a Communist idea. The statement was made in a resolution prepared for the Communist Party's convention, and published in *The Worker*. Chicago, Ill.

After the usual run of epithets about the "bipartisan war coalition" and the "reactionary, imperialist essence of the Marshall Plan," the resolution declared that, as soon as the war ended, the Communist Party had "boldly proclaimed the need . . . for a new people's party." The resolution added modestly: "Because of its correct line, the Party was able to carry on effective mass work and make significant contributions . . . to the forging of the new political alignment and people's coalition." Mon.

The resolution admitted that Henry Wallace's party was not all that could be desired. Certain ideological faults would have to be corrected. "It is necessary to expose the illusion that the abolition of monopoly rule . . . will usher in a system of 'progressive capitalism'" (a pet idea of Henry Wallace's). But that was minor. "The central immediate task of the Communists," the resolution declared, "is to help the people's coalition to realize its immediate tasks." 6-7-48

~~New York Herald Tribune,~~
New York, N.Y.

Wallace's Address Accepting Nomination

PHILADELPHIA, July 24 (UP).—Following is the text of Henry A. Wallace's speech accepting the Progressive party's nomination for President:

Four years and four days ago, as Vice-President of the United States and head of the Iowa delegation to the Democratic convention, I rose to second the nomination of Franklin Roosevelt, and said:

"The future belongs to those who go down the line unswervingly for the liberal principles of both political democracy and economic democracy regardless of race, color, or religion . . . Roosevelt can and will lead the United States, in co-operation with the rest of the world, toward that type of peace which will prevent World War III."

That was four years ago. Do you remember that summer of casualty lists, and the wreckage still smoldering on the beaches of Normandy? A time of dying, and, destruction . . . and yet, something more.

For in that time, you remember, every one of us held a dream. At the lathe, in the fields in early morning, at the kitchen window, sweating out a barrage in the line, every one of us dreamed of a time when the sound of peace would come back to the land—and there would be no more fear, and men would begin to build again.

And in that dark time, you remember, Franklin Roosevelt looked beyond the horizon and gave us a vision of peace, an economic bill of rights; the right to work, for every man willing. The right of every family to a decent home. The right to protection from the fears of old age and sickness. The right to a good education. All the rights which spell security for every man, woman and child, from the cradle to the grave.

It was the dream that all of us had, and Roosevelt put it into words, and we loved him for it.

Two years later the war was over, and Franklin Roosevelt was dead.

And what followed was the great betrayal.

Instead of the dream, we have inherited disillusion.

Instead of the promised years of harvest, the years of the locust are upon us.

In Hyde Park they buried our President—and in Washington they buried our dreams.

One day after Roosevelt died, Harry Truman entered the White House.

And forty-six days later, Herbert Hoover was there.

It was a time of comings and goings.

Into the government came the ghosts of the great depression, the banking-house boys and the oil-well diplomats.

Exodus of the Planners

In marched the generals—and out went the men who had built the T. V. A. and the Grand Coulee, the men who had planned Social Security and built Federal housing, the men who had dug the farmer out of the dust bowl, and the workman out of the sweatshop.

A time of comings and goings . . . the shadows of the past coming in fast—and the lights going out slowly—the exodus of the torchbearers of the New Deal.

I was still in the Cabinet—hoping that we might yet return, somehow, to the course Franklin Roosevelt had charted for the nation in peace. And in that great hope, two years ago this month, I wrote to the President.

I warned him that we had fallen upon cynical counsel, that the bankers and the brokers and the big brass had launched us upon a dangerous policy—the "get tough policy."

I said then that "our post-war actions have not yet been adjusted to the lessons gained from experience of Allied co-operation during the war and the facts of the atomic age."

I said that it would be fruitless to seek solutions for specific problems without establishing an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence—and I warned that our "get tough" policy would only produce a "get tougher" policy. That warning was before the crises in Greece, in Italy, in Palestine, in Czechoslovakia. That warning was two years ago—two years before Berlin.

Cites Changes in Period

You have read your papers. In the two years since the people who planned for living were eased out of Washington, and the ghosts who plan for destruction were invited in—in those two short years during which the Department of State has been subtly annexed to the Pentagon, and the hand of military has come to guide the pen of the diplomat—we have ricocheted from crisis to crisis.

The "get tough policy" has spawned its inevitable breed—the "get tougher policy."

And what harvest do we have of all our hoping, what fruits of the hard-won victory? Not peace—but the sword; not an economic bill of rights—but a mounting bill of wrongs.

Not life—but tens of thousands of deaths, on unnecessary battlefields in Greece—in Palestine—in China.

One world, yes—frozen in one fear.

The world's eyes today focus upon the burning spot of the cold war—Berlin.

Berlin need not have happened. Berlin did not happen. Berlin was caused.

When we were set on the road of "get tough" policy I warned that its end was inevitable. Berlin is becoming that end.

Agreement Held Possible

There is no reason why the peace of a world should hang on the actions of a handful of military men stationed in Germany!

In all earnestness, I assure you that if I were President, there would be no crisis in Berlin today. I assure you that without sacrificing a single American principle or public interest, we would have found agreement long before now with the Soviet government, and with our other war-time allies.

Long before now we could have embarked upon a policy for Germany upon which a sound foundation could be built for peace throughout Europe.

It is not by accident that Germany has become, once again, the heart of a crisis.

Germany will be the core of every world crisis until we have come to an agreement with the Soviet Union. We have been maneuvered into a policy whose specific purpose has been this, and only this: to revive the power of the industrialists and cartelists who heiled Hitler and financed his fascism, and who were the wellspring of his war chest.

Questions Western "Peace"

In the Western zone of Germany today, we are told, there is enjoyed "peace with justice."

This so-called just peace is not just. It is a peace which rebuilds the war-making potential of German industry in the Western zone.

This justice is being dispensed by local judges, of whom 70 per cent are former Nazi officials. German war industry is on the rise again—and its managers are the same Krupp and I. G. Farben men who made Germany into Hitlerland.

There is no peace, no justice—for either Allies or former enemies in our German policy. It is a child born of lust for power and profit.

With a Germany groomed and muscled as the easternmost outpost of another war, we cannot make a peace. Nor can the world which watches helplessly.

I repeat. If I were President, there would be no crisis in Berlin. Do you remember when—only two months ago—our Ambassador to Moscow sent a note to the Kremlin? It was a note which seemed to be an invitation to sit around the table of reason—an invitation to talk over the problems which have created this continued state of crisis. Do you remember how the Russians responded with what seemed like real eagerness? You remember that day.

Recalls Letter to Stalin

It was as if somebody had suddenly declared peace. Sit down and talk it over, we said—that's the way. But what happened?

Within twenty-four hours, our Administration, having consulted its carbon-copy opposite party, slammed the door it had itself swung open.

On that day, I addressed an open letter to Premier Stalin. I detailed a program which would have safeguarded the interest of both nations and preserved the peace. Ten days later, when Stalin responded to that open letter, the "get tough" boys slammed the door again. Since that time, there have been no more approaches—except toward conflict. There are two sides to every curtain.

And so, Germany still festers at the heart of all peace-making—yet, by closing the door to peace talks with Russian leaders, nothing remains but the fruitless discussions of minor officials in Berlin.

I say the peace of the world is far too fragile to be shuttled back and forth through a narrow air corridor in freighter planes.

I say the lives of our children, and our children's parents, are far too precious to be left to the tempers of second lieutenants at road barriers where zone meets zone—or to the generals who are quoted calmly as favoring a "show of strength."

I say that if reasonable men, men without special interests, peace-loving men—if Franklin Roosevelt were in Washington today—there would be no crisis in Berlin. Long before this, the leaders of both nations would have rooted out the causes for conflict.

We hear it said that we should have a showdown at Berlin. But what is the showdown about? What is the American public interest which will be served by a showdown? There may be some private interests . . . some interests of Dillon Read and international bankers. But there is no public interest. Dillon Read's distinguished alumni, Secretary Forrestal and General Draper and Dewey's Wall Street lawyer, John F. Dulles, are major advisers on this issue, but I have yet to meet the American in shop or field or college or independent business who wants to give up his life to defend Dillon Read.

I think we should look coldly at some of the facts which confront us if the cold war developed into a hot war:

There is not a single nation on the European continent prepared to put an army into the field to defend Anglo-Saxon, that is, British and American policies. N.Y. N.Y.

We can buy generals with dollars, but we can't buy wartime armies. These generals won't die in battle. Soldiers would. We can support—and we are supporting—armies during this time of cold war, but we can't purchase suicide. We can buy governments, but we can't buy people.

It is said that we must have a showdown or lose prestige. Truman may lose prestige. Dulles may lose prestige. But the American people won't lose prestige by demanding fundamental discussions looking to peace. Our prestige in Germany went sinking when we divided Germany and established the Western sector as an American and British Puerto Rico—as a colony. When we did that we gave up Berlin politically and we can't lose any thing by giving up militarily in a search for peace.

We who are met here tonight—who are met here at a time of crisis—are talking to the people of the United States and the world on behalf of the everlasting principles of the founding fathers of our country.

Tells of Jefferson's New Party

We who are gathered here tonight, recall the crisis of 150 years ago when Thomas Jefferson was attacked here in the city of Philadelphia—attacked because he spoke courageously for the peaceful settlement of alleged differences between the United States and France.

It was a time of terror unsurpassed till now.

Thomas Jefferson was slandered as the tool of French revolutionaries bought with French gold.

One hundred and fifty years ago Thomas Jefferson took leadership in forming a new party—a successful new party which overcame the odds of a hostile press, of wealth and vested interests arrayed against it; and of a government which sought to undermine the new movement by jailing its leaders.

The party Jefferson founded 150 years ago was buried here in Philadelphia last week. It could not survive the Pawleys, the Hagues, the Crumps, the racists and bigots, the generals, the admirals, the Wall Street alumni. A party founded by a Jefferson died in the arms of a Truman.

But the spirit which animated that party in the days of Jefferson has been captured anew. It has been captured by those who have met here this week end with a firm resolve to keep our tradition of freedom that we may fulfill the promises of an abundant, peaceful life for all men.

Four score and seven years ago, the successful candidate of another new party took office in Washington.

Fulfilled Party's Promise

Lincoln, with the Emancipation Proclamation, fulfilled the promise of the new party which he led to victory. He headed a government of the people, by the people and for the people. In the generations which followed his party became a party of the corporations, by the corporations and for the corporations. The party of a Lincoln has been reduced to the party of a Dewey.

But we here tonight—we of the Progressive party—we here dedicate ourselves to the com-

plete fulfillment of Lincoln's promise; we consecrate ourselves to a second emancipation; an emancipation that will achieve for the Negro and all Americans of every race, creed and national origina full, free and complete citizenship everywhere in these United States.

We ally ourselves against those who turn to nightmares the peoples' dreams of peace and equality.

We ally ourselves to stand against the kings of privilege who own the old parties—the corrupted parties, the parties whose founders rebelled in times past, even as we do today, against those whose private greed jeopardizes the general welfare.

We stand against their cold war and their Red smear, under cover of which they steal our resources, strike terror into our hearts, and attempt to control our thoughts and dominate the life of man everywhere in the world.

We stand together to stop the disasters—economic, political and military, which their policies must breed.

Present-Day Application Needed

Only those who take the spirit of Jefferson and Lincoln and apply it to the present world situation can bring the peace and security which will end fear and unleash creative force beyond the power of man to imagine.

It was in the spirit of Jefferson and Lincoln that Roosevelt challenged the money changers in his first inaugural address fifteen years ago. It was in the spirit of Jefferson and Lincoln that he told the Wall Street crowd that they had met their master. In the spirit of Jefferson and Lincoln he outlined the Four Freedoms and the economic bill of rights.

It was in the spirit of Jefferson and Lincoln that he addressed that great Senator, George Norris, and said: "I go along with you because it is my honest belief that you follow in their footsteps — radical like Jefferson, idealist like Lincoln, wild like Theodore Roosevelt, theorist like Wilson—dare to be all of these as you have in bygone years."

Franklin Roosevelt did not fear; he reveled in the names hurled by those who feared the shape of his vision. We of the new party — the Progressive party—shall cherish the adjectives and mound of hate thrown at us. They are a measure of the fear in the temples of the money changers and the clubs of the military. The base metal of vituperation cannot withstand the attack of truth.

Herald Tribune

We of the Progressive party must—and will—carry on where Roosevelt and Norris and La Guardia left off. They preserved for us all that was most precious, the old-fashioned Americanism that was built for us by Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.

A New American "Wilderness"

There are some who say they agree with our objectives, but we are ahead of our times. But we are the land of pioneers and trail blazers. Though we have reached the end of old trails to the West; a new wilderness rises before us. The wilderness of poverty and sickness and fear. Once again America has need of frontiersmen. A new frontier awaits us—no longer West to the Pacific—but forward across the wilderness of poverty, and sickness, and fear. We move, as the Pilgrim ships moved, as the Conestoga wagons moved, not ahead of our time, but in the very tide. And always before us, the bright star, the dream of the promised land, of what this nation might be.

But the American dream is no Utopian vision. We do not plan rocket ships for week-end trips to Mars. The dream is the hard and simple truth of what can be done. In one fleet of heavy bombers lies wealth and skill that could have saved Vanport from the flood waters, that could have taken a million veterans out of trailer camps and chicken coops. We can build new schools to rescue our children from the firetraps where they now crowd two at a desk. We can end the murderous tyranny of sickness and disease. The dream is nothing but the facts. The facts are that we spend $20,000,000,000 a year for cold war. The facts are that world health authorities, given one-tenth of this sum, could in one year with two billion dollars—wipe from the face of the earth tuberculosis, typhoid, malaria and cholera!

The cold war has already brought death to millions of Americans.

Look at your friends. Read the papers. Here are casualty lists. Millions—sick of cancer, tuberculosis, of pellagra, of heart disease and polio. We can prevent and cure not only these diseases but a vast host of others by devoting our science as enthusiastically to peace as to war.

Must Conquer Nature's Forces

A nation that is shaped for life, not death, can save these lives—your lives, the lives of your families. Together we must rise up and write an end to the casualty lists of the cold war. This is the American way—to conquer the forces of nature—not our fellow men.

Within the past month other men, candidates of the graveyard parties, have stood in this city, have flexed their muscles, and have declared their intention to continue the cold war whose heaviest tolls have been taken here at home. Both have said that "partisan politics must stop at the water's edge."

They have declare their agreement. It is an agreement which would doom the nation and the world.

It is the policies which operate beyond the water's edge; the policies which demand heavy arms, and draft acts, and the waste of resources and skills in producing for disaster—it is those policies which determine the real wages for American workers, prices for American consumers, and the life span of all the people of the world.

Yes, other candidates have stood before the American people to declare that they have made no commitments to obtain their nominations. But they have committed themselves; they have committed themselves to the poliices of the big brass and big gold; to their policies of militarization and imperialism; to the policies which cast a shroud over the life-giving, life-saving course Franklin Roosevelt had charted for this postwar world.

Admits His "Commitments"

I tell you frankly that in obtaining the nomination of the Progressive party—a nomination I accept with pride — I have made commitments. I have made them in great halls and sports arenas, in huge open-air meetings and in small gatherings. I have made commitments in the basement of a Negro church and in union halls and on picket lines. I have made commitments. I have made them freely. I shall abide by them. I repeat them with pride:

I am committed to the policy of placing human rights above property rights.

I am committed to using the power of our democracy to control rigorously and, wherever necessary, to remove from private to public hands the power of huge corporate monopolies and international big business.

I am committed to peaceful negotiations with the Soviet government. I am committed to do everything I can through the new party to save the lives of those who are now to be drafted through the establishment of peace without sacrificing any American principle or public interest.

New York, N.Y.

I am committed to appointing to positions in the Cabinet and Administration men whose training and private interests cannot conflict with their public responsibilities.

I am committed to building and strengthening the United Nations as an instrument which can peacefully resolve differences between nations.

I am committed to using the power and prestige of the United States to help the peoples of the world, not their exploiters and rulers; to help the suffering, frustrated people in the colonial areas of the world even as we help older civilizations which have felt the full destructive force of war.

I am committed to planning as carefully and thoroughly for production for peace as the militarists and bankers plan and plot for war. For many of today's 60,000,000 jobs are cold-war jobs, unstable jobs, suicide jobs. I am committed to making 60,000,000 —and more—jobs of producing for peace—house-building jobs, school-building jobs, the jobs of building dams and power plants and highways and clinics.

I am committed to a program of progressive capitalism—a program which will protect from the tentacles of monopolists the initiative and creative and productive powers of truly independent enterprise.

I am committed to fighting, with everything I have, the ugly practice of stifling with Taft-Hartley injunctions and the power of government the free trade union organizations of our workers. I am committed to rooting out the causes of industrial conflict and anti-labor practices; to returning us to the basic principles of the national labor relations act and to strengthening the democratic organizations which give our workers safeguards against economic and political injustice.

I am pledged to fight the murderers who block, impede and stifle legislation and appropriations which would eliminate segregation and provide health and education facilities to bridge the gap of ten years life expectancy between a negro child and a white child born this day.

I am pledged to licking inflation by stopping the cold war, the ruthless profiteering of monopolies and the waste of resources which could give us an abundance of the goods of peace.

I am committed to helping lift the heavy hand of fear from our elder citizens, whose minds and bodies have served to build this America and whose reward must be the economic security which will enable them to spend their days with the peace of mind that comes from work well done and appreciated. And I am committed to those programs—principally the program for peace, which will lift from our young people the dread of war and drafts and unemployment and which will replace these fears with hope born of security and the equal opportunity to develop fully their individual talents and careers.

N.Y. N.Y.

I am committed—as I have been my whole life through—to advancing those programs for agriculture which will increase the productivity of our land and better the lives of our farmers and their families.

I am committed to stopping the creation of fear, to using all my powers to prevent the fearmakers from clogging the minds of the people with the "Red issue. The American people want and deserve fewer red issues and more red meat. Millions know and millions more must see that it is not the Kremlin, not the Communists who have sent milk to 24 cents a quart and meat to $1.30 a pound; that it is the red issue, not the Reds, who did this to us.

Yes, I am committed and I am confident the new party will commit itself to the principle of using our democratic process to the end that all men may joy the benefits made possible by modern science.

And I am committed and do renounce the support of those who practice hate and preach prejudice; of those who would limit the civil rights of others; of those who would restrict the use of the ballot; of those who advocate force and violence; and I am committed to accept and do accept the support of those who favor the program for peace I have outlined here; the support of all those who truly believe in democracy.

Face to Face

Wallace's candidacy presents the opportunity for a new emancipation

The Worker New York, N.Y.

By Benjamin J. Davis

(34d) Third Party

HENRY WALLACE'S announcement of his candidacy was a political bombshell, the impact of which was hardly lessened by the fact that the country anticipated it. The full force of his great crusading call to action last Monday has still to be felt.

Sun. 1-4-48

It has already jarred the smug and reactionary leaderships of both major parties. Truman, it seems, was so unnerved that he mislaid the so-called anti-inflation bill which he denounced only to sign, and which has as much value to the hard-pressed consumers as one of the numerous collar buttons that Truman must have dropped under the counter when he was a haberdasher.

A bad conscience induces clumsiness. Truman had a similar attack when, several months ago, he endorsed every word of Wallace's speech for American-Soviet friendship, and then fired him from the cabinet for making it. But if Truman is nervous now, he should wait a while.

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THE REPUBLICAN HOPEFULS pretend pure ecstasy over Wallace's action. But they doth protest their happiness too much. In fact they give the impression of whistling to keep up their courage as they walk through the graveyard of the decadent two-party system. The editorial comment of the Republican **Herald Tribune** the morning after was much more sober when it declared that Wallace **"will cut into all parties to an extent. . . ."**

But the real joy is to be found among the American people—the women and youth who want peace, the breadwinners backed against the wall by monopoly-high prices, the Negroes, Jews and other minorities for whom American democracy is getting to be an illusion, the organized workers who want freedom from Taft-Hartley chains, the millions of Americans who despise and want to prevent fascism at home. The Worker New York, N.Y.

Through the candidacy of Henry Wallace the American people have spoken in terms that will be heard around the world. The people on every continent and in every country will know more confidently than ever that the American people share with them a deep longing for peace and freedom—and that the American people will fight for it. The colonials, the Greeks, the Chinese, the Porto Ricans will see that the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, the "anti-Communist" camouflage for Wall Street's imperialist slavery, are not the doctrines or the plans of liberty-loving Americans. Sun 1-4-48

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THE NEGRO PEOPLE can well regard this as an historic opportunity for a second emancipation—emancipation from the political slavery of the two-party system. **For 85 years since the Civil War,** the Negro people have seen their **hopes** for enforcement of their constitutional rights dashed by successive Republican and Democratic Administrations, except for the all-too-brief Roosevelt era.

Negro citizens have been fed demagogy, lies, hypocritical and empty promises for so long that they now realize that Wall Street has no intention of permitting its two major parties to fulfill them.

The situation for Negro, as well as white Americans, was beginning to deteriorate to such an extent that it appeared futile to large sections of the voters to cast their votes, since they had either tweedledee Republicans or tweedledum Democrats to choose from.

In the crucial 1948 Presidential elections, that situation no longer exists. It will be possible in '48 to vote for freedom, equality and peace, for a progressive America—and for the man who has spoken out for these principles in Alabama as well as in Madison Square Garden. The Worker New York, N.Y.

But hard work lies ahead, and, above all, organization and struggle against the powerful imperialist forces who will stop at nothing to kill off this healthy new-born babe upon whom history has placed so much destiny and responsibility. Sun. 1-4-48

I am confident that the Negro people will be in the forefront in building Wallace-for-President clubs, in organizing expressions of support, in joining and getting the third parties on the ballot, in hastening the progressive political realignment which alone can establish peace, progress and freedom for our country. In such struggle, we can look forward to a Happy New Year!

Wallace Group Can't Use NAACP Name

New York, N.Y.

NEW YORK.—(INS)—Henry Wallace's supporters were warned Saturday that they cannot use the name of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in their efforts to gain Negro votes for the Progressive party.

34 Fri.

The N.A.A.C.P. severely censured a group of its members for using its name in literature issued by the Youth for Wallace movement in support of third party candidates. 3-6-48

Life of the Party

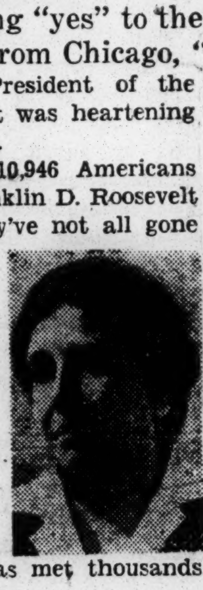
The American People Are Eager for Third Party

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Fri. 1-2-48 34d

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

LEAP YEAR 1948 is off to a good start with Henry Wallace saying "yes" to the American people, in announcing Monday from Chicago, "I shall run as an independent candidate for President of the U. S. in 1948." It was heartening news to millions.

After all, 25,610,946 Americans did vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944 and they've not all gone deaf, dumb and blind. Mr. Wallace did not act on the spur of the moment. He's been around our big country, West, South, Mid-west, New England, and has met thousands of these people.



They had their ears glued to the radio, the little people in the small houses, all over the land, waiting for his word on Monday. They want a people's party—a place to go in '48. They want a candidate who will unite the forward-looking forces—the union members, the farmers, the Negro people, the women who want peace and bread for their families, the eager youth who want security for a future.

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WHAT A BIG "Whoopee!" went up in Oklahoma, West Virginia, Texas, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Connecticut, California and elsewhere (places **PM** apparently never heard of. Nor do they know **PM**). 1-2-48

People want to vote for what they want and fight to get it, not vote for what they don't want and know darned well they will get it. They're tired of the shadow-boxing between "Waste-less Truman and Eat-less Taft." They don't prefer either Tweele-Dem or Tweedle-Rep for another four years, with war and depression a certainty. Daily Worker

Chicago was a good place for Mr. Wallace to speak. Two big states have recently launched third-party movements—Illinois and California. New York, N.Y.

"The wind that swept Chicago on Nov. 4 was a political one, leaving in its wake two badly jarred political machines and a new political party that is here to stay," Gil Green writes in Political Affairs for December.

The top candidates of this newly established party won 313,000 out of 700,000 votes cast. The old-party politicians were sure that only 300,000 would turn out to vote. It might have been so, if the people had no place else to go but to accept their slate.

The Progressive Party qualified for its place on the ballot in Cook County (which represents more than half the voters of Illinois) after a whirlwind three weeks peitition drive in August, which secured 122,000 signatures. A bound book with 100,000 more signatures collected by the Progressive Party, was presented to Henry Wallace, urging him to be their candidate. 1-2-48

IN CALIFORNIA, a tremendous petition campaign is going on right now to secure the 275,000 signatures necessary to put a new party on the ballot in that state. They must collect at least 450,000 to ensure the required valid signatures. Daily Worker

They are off to an early start because the filing date is earlier than in other states—Feb. 26. Their party's name is "The Independent Progressive Party of California," and they are determined to be in the field this year.

That a Californian, Gen. John C. Fremont, was the nation's first third party candidate in 1856, representing a new progressive anti-slavery party called the Republican Party, that he was defeated, "but in 1860 they elected Abraham Lincoln President of the United States," we are reminded, in this party's excellent pamphlet, "Of the People."

They do have history in California. Gold was discovered in "them thar hills" in 1848. New York, N.Y.

THEY POINT OUT: Our country is the only one in the world in which the common people have not long ago developed their own political party, independent of monopoly and machine control. Our state is one of the most progressive in the country and we think it is fitting that California take the lead in this historic step forward." Fri.

They are not children of pioneers who crossed the plains in covered wagons or sailed around the horn for nothing, as you can see. They are making fresh discoveries from San Diego to Eureka—in 1948. 1-2-48

I suppose if Max Lerner of **PM** had been around in 1856, he'd have called "Fremont's candidacy "an adventurist move," as he now calls Wallace's. He tells PAC leaders that "their" conclusion is the same as the Communists and their reasoning is the same." So if a Communist states that two plus two equals four it cannot be, to Mr. Lerner. **PM** would rather be wrong than agree with a Communist.

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Fri. 1-2-48

Time Chicago, Ill. Mon. 5-31-48 Acm

THE CHAPLINS AT WALLACE RALLY†

California was not like the Middle West.

THIRD PARTIES

Time Chicago, Ill.

"In the Interests of Peace"

Henry Wallace was at station KGO in San Francisco last week when the news was brought to him that Joseph Stalin thought his suggestion for a U.S.-Soviet meeting (TIME, May 24) was a fine idea. He looked astonished. Flushed, in a choked voice he said: "If I have done anything that moves the world further toward peace . . . my whole campaign has been tremendously worthwhile." Mon.

It was a high point of his West Coast campaign, which had begun in Los Angeles, carried him into Oakland, San Francisco, San Diego, Seattle, Spokane, and would carry him 9,000 miles. 5-31-48

One from Oona. He had flown into Los Angeles saying, "I have come in the interests of peace." California was not like the Middle West, which had received its native Iowan for the most part with austere interest. In Hollywood, pink-hued stars turned out to welcome him with huzzas. Film Director William Wyler entertained him. A capacity crowd of 30,000 filled Gilmore Stadium to cheer him. Contributions rolled in. Charlie Chaplin's wife Oona signed a check for $1,000.

In a week of speechmaking and money-raising, he took in an estimated $147,000.

He learned that Secretary George Marshall did not share Joe Stalin's enthusiasm for a U.S.-Soviet meeting, at least not on the terms that Wallace had laid down. To 8,000 University of California students he cried: "I have no doubt that many of you felt, on reading Stalin's reply, that there was a new ray of hope in the world." Then he bitterly denounced Marshall and the U.S. State Department. Time

Stain of Blood. Almost everything else he said was denunciatory. Chicago, Ill

To a Mexican audience in Los Angeles he cried: "I wish I could say that you Mexican-Americans have been rewarded for everything you have contributed to California. But it is a shame upon your country that you have not. This . . . is one of the many disgraces which has made necessary a new political party." Mon.

To 6,400 in Seattle: "The policies of Truman, Vandenberg, Marshall and Forrestal have stained the world with blood and have laid the foundation for the greatest bloodshed the world has ever seen . . . We must have . . . an understanding [with Russia]." 5-31-48

Wallaceites by the thousands ate it up.

Young High School Liberal Kidnaped By Pontiac Trio

PONTIAC, Mich.—(ANP)—A trio of thugs riding in an automobile last week picked up and slugged Eerl O'Brien, 18, young liberal active in high school youth movements and the Wallace third party.

Young O'Brien escaped with his life by breaking the hold of one of his kidnappers and from a spot off the road, ran to the Telegraph road. There he was picked up by Earl Becker of Royal Oak and taken home.

It is believed that the high school senior was picked up because of his political views. He told police that one of the men who beat him kept calling him a n......r lover."

A $2,000 cash award has been offered by the Pontiac City commission for information leading to the capture of O'Brein's attackers. Also according to James Frazier of the commission, a business man has offered to donate a lot as part of the reward for the captor of the kidnappers.

The commission also passed a resolution condemning the flogging of the high school senior.

Ohio Refuses Wallace Party Spot On Ballot

The Courier Journal Louisville, Ky.

Group to Carry Fight To State Supreme Court

Sat. 6-5-48

By the United Press.

Columbus, Ohio, June 4. — Henry A. Wallace's new party was banned from the Ohio ballot today and the party immediately announced it would carry the fight to the State Supreme Court.

Secretary of State Edward J. Hummel announced he would not place the party on the 1948 presidential ballots because he said, it violates a section of the Ohio election laws barring political parties or groups engaged in un-American activity.

Declines to Tell Reason.

Sat. 6-5-48

Hummel wrote Nathan R. Zahm, administrative director of the Wallace-for-President Committee, that an investigation showed the party was not entitled to a place on the ballot. The secretary of state's office declined to specify the exact reason for barring the party.

The section of law under which the ruling was made says in part that "No political party or group which advocates, either directly or indirectly, the overthrow, by force or violence of our local, State, or National Government or which carries on a program of sedition or treason by radio, speech, or press or which has in any manner any connection with any foreign Government or power or which in any manner has any connection with any group or organization so connected or so advocating the overthrow . . . shall be recognized . . . in the State of Ohio."

Won't Disclose 'Evidence.'

The Courier-Journal

"We don't want to disclose what evidence we have now," the secretary of state said.

The Wallace committee in Cleveland said attorneys now were considering the ruling, but in New York a spokesman for the national committee said the decision would be appealed in the Ohio Supreme Court as provided by the law.

The letter to Zahm pointed out that an original Wallace affidavit filed April 2, 1948, did not include a passage stating the third party has no connection with a foreign Government or power. Such a passage is required by law.

A second affidavit including the passage was filed on April 6. The secretary of state conducted his investigation and barred the party within the 60-day deadline provided by the law.

Louisville, Ky.

Didn't File In Primary.

Sat. 6-5-48

The third-party movement also may be banned from the Ohio ballot under a provision of the election law enacted last year that stipulated the presidential candidates must be nominated by a national convention to which delegates and alternates are elected at a primary.

Wallace did not file delegate candidates in the May 4 state primary. To qualify such candidates he would have had to file an affidavit six months earlier under the anti-un-American-activities provision under which the party was barred.

Fired, He Says

JAMES BARFOOT (above), the Wallace party's proposed gubernatorial candidate in Georgia, says he has been fired from his teaching job at the University of Georgia effective June 1. Barfoot, 35-year-old professor of education at the university said he would fight the ouster on the principle of academic freedom. He was selected tentatively as a gubernatorial candidate at a Wallace-for-president convention in Macon, Ga., last week, but had not accepted the nomination. (AP photo.) 5-14-48

The Editors' Roundtable 34d

The Record

The Wallace Third Party

Columbia, S.C.
Mon. 1-12-48

Editors, in very large majority, view Henry Wallace's presidential candidacy as a sincere, but mystically misguided, desire to save the world—this strangely blended in large, but indeterminate, part with a personal desire to "get" Harry Truman. Majority opinion is that Wallace's net effect on the Democratic vote will depend principally on whether over-confident Republicans go overly conservative, driving enough of their support to the Democrats to more than offset the leftist votes the Democrats will lose to Wallace. Many editors see Wallace's strategy as the wrecking of the Democratic party by a "reactionary" Republican victory—with a swing back to "liberalism" and Wallace in 1952. Others think he only wants to prove the total vote for "peace."

Miami (Fla.) **Herald** (Ind.): "Mr. Wallace's purposes . . . are a mixture of a messiah complex with the will to sabotage President Truman's chances for re-election. . . . He thinks that by disorganizing the Democrats he will help elect the Republicans, that the GOP being so hidebound in its conservatism the American people will become so fed up that they will boot out both houses and bring Henry and his liberal cohorts to Washington in 1952." Mon. 1-12-48

St. Joseph (Mo.) **News-Press** (Ind.): "It was Harry Truman who edged Hank out as vice president in 1944 and by the gift of the gods kept Hank from being president in April, 1945. It was Harry Truman who fired his gabby cabinet member when James F. Byrnes found squawk of a jealous rival is music to my ears!"...Damon said that. Wallace was undermining the American mission in its international commitments. . . . The tragedy of the Wallace announcement is twofold. It means the Republicans will feel they can nominate any old candidate and that he can win. In this they may be right. . . . It will give aid and comfort to Russia, when our relations with that country are such that it is highly important this country present a united front." 1-12-48

New York Times (Ind.-Dem.): "It is easy to see why Mr. Wallace's position in these matters (Russo-American relations) delights the Communists. It is more difficult to see how it can reassure any thoughtful American who remembers the circumstances and the consequences of Mr. Chamberlain's visit to Munich in September, 1938."

The Record

Shreveport (La.) **Times** (Ind.-Dem.): "If Mr. Truman tries to become too conservative, he may lose a lot of the labor vote. If he tries to out-socialist Wallace, his goose is cooked. If he tries to straddle the fence, he may fall off as he has done on so many occasions in lesser matters since becoming President. . . . And, on the other hand, Mr. Wallace's candidacy may turn out to be one of those Louisiana affairs in which he would suddenly find that welfare of the nation rests in election of someone other than himself, with his consequent withdrawal—for a few 'perquisites'." Columbia, S.C. Mon 1-12-48

Cincinnati (Ohio) **Enquirer** (Ind.): ". . . we shall not attempt to probe the mystic mentality which prompted the latest declaration of this Don Quixote of American politics. . . . One could hardly suspect so untainted a knight in shining armor of thinking of possible trading at the height of the presidential tourney. We suspect, rather, that he fancies himself doing the cavalierly thing—committing political suicide for an Ideal."

—Edited by James Galloway

Wallace Names 6 Men To Run His Third Party Campaign

PM New York, N.Y. 34d Thurs. 1-29-48

Henry Wallace has named a six-man "brain trust" to direct his Third Party campaign for President as leaders of a National Wallace for President Committee with New York headquarters in the Hotel McAlpin. They are:

¶ C. B. Baldwin, executive vice-chairman of the Progressive Citizens of America, who will act as campaign manager. Baldwin, who served as Wallace's personal assistant in the Agriculture Dept. for two years, was formerly Farm Security Administrator. 1-29-48

¶ Elmer Benson, as committee chairman, a former U. S. Senator, a leader of the Farmer Labor Party in Minnesota, defeated for Governor in 1939 by Harold Stassen.

¶ Paul Robeson, Negro singer and actor, who announced last year he would abandon the treater and concert stage to "talk up and down the Nation against race hatred and prejudice." PM New York, N.Y.

¶ Jo Davidson, sculptor, ardent admirer of FDR, organizer of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, honorary chairman of PCA. Thurs 1-29-48

¶ Rexford G. Tugwell, a pioneer New Dealer, former Under Secretary of Agriculture and Governor of Puerto Rico, now a law professor at the University of Chicago.

¶ Angus Cameron, committee treasurer, editor-in-chief of Little, Brown & Co., publishers.

WALLACE RETURNS; TO REST UP-STATE

The Times

34d New York, N.Y.

Asked Who Will Finance Third Party, He Asserts 'People' and Not Corporations

Thurs 1-1-48

RUNNING MATE NOT PICKED

'Fine,' He Comments as Taylor Is Mentioned—Fight to Rule ALP Is Intensified

Henry A. Wallace, who announced that he would run for President on a third party ticket in a radio speech in Chicago Monday night, returned late yesterday afternoon from Milwaukee. He will go to his country home in South Salem, N. Y., to rest for a month before resuming his campaign.

Mr. Wallace arrived by plane at La Guardia Field at 5:35. The plane, which originally had been due to arrive at 1:44 P. M., was delayed by a storm in arriving at Milwaukee from Seattle. Flying conditions were good between Milwaukee and New York City.

Mr. Wallace was accompanied by Harold Young, his personal political adviser; C. B. Baldwin, executive vice president of the Progressive Citizens of America, the organization that started the movement to nominate him for President, and Theodore Peck and Ralph Shikes of the local PCA staff. Thurs 1-1-48

He was met at La Guardia Field by Miss Viola Scott, his personal secretary. After a brief interview he left by bus for Grand Central terminal, where he boarded a train for Katonah, which is near South Salem.

Hopes 'People' Will Help

Asked how he expected to finance his campaign, Mr. Wallace replied that this was "up to the people." He indicated that he expected no difficulty in getting adequate contributions from workers, professional persons, housewives and others. The Times

"I certainly don't know any other way," he said. "I don't think the corporations will finance it."

Asked whether his running mate had been selected, Mr. Wallace said there had been no decision on whom the proposed third party would nominate for Vice President. He added that he expected that his nomination and that of a candidate for Vice President would be made at a national convention next spring. New York, N.Y.

"Would Senator Glen H. Taylor, Idaho Democrat, be a satisfactory candidate for Vice President?" Mr. Wallace was asked. 1-1-48

"That would be fine," he replied.

Mr. Wallace said he did not know when headquarters would be set up in New York City. Mr. Baldwin said that Wallace headquarters would be established in the near future, but it was not made definite as to whether they would be separate from the present headquarters of the PCA.

Publication that pressure was being brought on leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who are opposed to Mr. Wallace's third party candidacy, to make a fight for control of the State Committee of the American Labor party to prevent that party's nomination of Mr. Wallace brought immediate reaction from that party's left wing. New York N.Y.

A spokesman for the group of Mr. Wallace's Labor party supporters said that the possibility of a fight for Labor party control had been under consideration and that a canvass of the situation had convinced the left wing party leaders that they could win control.

Under the rules of the Labor party, its candidates for Presidential electors will be named by the 750 members of its State committee, sitting as delegates to a State convention. These members of the State committee will be elected, five for each Assembly district in the State, at the primary election in April. The Times

The Communistic or left wing of the Labor party now controls the party organization in Manhattan and Brooklyn, with the right wing in control of the Bronx organization and with the situation in Queens doubtful. To keep control of the party organization, the right wing would have to elect much more than a majority of the State committee members up-State.

Reported Ready to Quit

Hyman Blumberg, State Chairman of the Labor party and a vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Jacob S. Potofsky, its president, have been reported to be in favor of quitting the Labor party because of its supposed domination of certain county organizations by Communistic elements. The decision of the Amalgamated to fight for control of the Labor party or to abandon it is expected to be made at a conference of its leaders. A spokesman for that group said he could not at this time even make a guess as to what the decision would be. The Times

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, in her syndicated column, wrote that she was sorry that Mr. Wallace had listened to "people as inept politically as he is himself."

Mrs. Roosevelt said that she wanted Mr. Wallace in 1945 to leave active politics to become the leader of independents of the country but that Mr. Wallace then said he believed it his duty to remain in the Democratic party. She added that Mr. Wallace never had been a good politician.

City Councilman Michael J. Quill, international president of the Transport Workers Union, said he had been quoted incorrectly by certain Philadelphia and New York newspapers in connection with the candidacy of Mr. Wallace.

"We have made no statement whatever concerning Mr. Wallace or the third party," Mr. Quill said.

Algernon Lee, national chairman of the Social Democratic Federation, declared that Mr. Wallace had offered himself as "a messiah" to the American people but that only the Communists, fellow-travelers and pseudo-liberals swayed by illusions and wishful thinking would follow him and even these not very far. New York, N.Y.

Norman Thomas, chairman of the national action committee of the Socialist party, declared that Mr. Wallace's attack on the Marshall plan for the economic recovery of Western Europe put him in the company of the Communist Daily Worker and Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of The Chicago Tribune. Thurs.

James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers party, declared that organized labor should enter the political field and set up its own party and "not clutter up the field with another splinter capitalist party like the Wallace movement." 1-1-48

Mayor O'Dwyer said he was too busy with snow removal problems to comment on the third party candidacy of Mr. Wallace.

"I am not interested in such matters," the Mayor said. "I have only one thing on my mind — snow."

RALPH McGILL

34d

3rd Party

Henry Wallace---Behind the Grant

The Constitution

They tell me that during my recent journey to Europe, a number of persons gave me the back of their hand and the rough side of their tongues at the time of the Henry Wallace meeting in Atlanta. Fri. 1-2-48

I learned about it on my return, and I was not surprised or hurt. I took refuge with Voltaire in the fact that while you may cure ignorance, there is no cure for stupidity, nor is there any immediate cure for the sly boys on the make. It is comforting to know that, finally, time heals all wounds. Atlanta, Ga.

All I had been saying was that Henry Wallace was a good fellow, even though disastrously mistaken and, in my opinion, dangerously exploited by many persons and groups in this country who long had been without any front man behind whom to operate.

So, since I didn't even know I was getting the back of a hand, I never felt it.

Wallace Fri. Now, let us examine the Wallace position and analyze it as best we can on the basis of the evidence.

A man with a cause is in a difficult position. Wallace has been, and is, in a most dangerous one, insofar as he himself is concerned.

Not even the traditional screaming fishwives can make as much clamor as the left-wing radical groups. And the Communists, who do not give a damn about anybody or anything save the Soviet Union, will use a man until there is nothing left in him to use and will keep the applause ringing in his ears all the while. 1-2-48

Also, his attacks on Truman brought him the applause of the politically disgruntled, and it is quite possible, listening to all this thunder on the left, he thought it was a message from God, thundering for him to put on his armor. But in time he will find that it wasn't God, but just the radicals who sometimes like to play God. And, apparently, sometimes think they sound like Him.

Thinking I certainly do not know the mental processes by which Mr. Wallace arrived at his present status. He certainly is not a Communist, but he has allowed himself to be badgered into becoming the Soviet Union's mouthpiece and best friend in this country.. The Constitution

Whatever his mental processes, the strategy of those who are working behind the Wallace front is obvious. His own following was never large enough to win for him the convention nomination. By accepting the support of the various Communists and Communist-front organizations, he has made himself a symbol and target. I don't think he realizes this at all. But those who manipulate him do. Atlanta, Ga. Fri 1-2-48

Strategy The strategists who are managing him, as a front for their own strategy, are seeking to line up all possible dissident and disgruntled groups. Fri. 1-2-48

At a time when Americans were being asked to support their foreign policy, a bipartisan policy, he was seeking to weaken it by applauding and speaking for every single Soviet policy.

The strategists behind him have this one objective—and they care nothing at all for Wallace—except to use him.

They want to bring about the election of a Republican so reactionary that in 1952 the country will react so strongly against Republican stupidity that it will go far to the left politically.

So let's see what has happened.

Flight Properly alarmed over the possible results of Wallace's party, liberals are in full flight from the Wallace third party. The Constitution

Name some of them? Certainly.

The CIO Political Action Committee turned its back on a third party. Atlanta, Ga

Dr. Frank Kingdon, Cochairman of Mr. Wallace's own Progressive Citizens of America, resigned.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, chief unit in the American Party in New York, have indiced they will not go along with the ALP. Fri. 1-2-48

The left-wing newspaper PM said "No."

Americans for Democratic Action have rebelled.

Even the staff of Mr. Wallace's own magazine, the New Republic, was disrupted so badly that Mr. Wallace felt himself compelled to resign.

Commies William Z. Foster, the leader of the Communists in this country, has informed his people in New York they must become so active in support of the third party that the people will know "the real champions of the third party are the Communists." Fri. 1-2-48

Whether he wishes it or not, Mr. Wallace, in becoming a candidate of a third party, is, in effect, becoming the Communist candidate for President of the United States.

It becomes more and more obvious that he may be of great help to Mr. Truman—not a handicap. The Truman chances are not good, but Wallace has not hurt them. And will not.

This to me is tragic, because Henry Wallace is fundamentally a fine, decent person, honest, and possessed of a real love for his country. But he has a real genius for self-delusion, and this weakness, played upon by the Communists and the self-seeking groups who use him, as well as by others like him who suffer from self-delusion, will make of him an ignominious spectacle long before November and the election. And I'm sorry, because I like him.

As We See It

34d

They've Begun to Throw The 'Red' Book at Wallace

By Joseph Starobin Daily Worker

THEY ARE BEGINNING to throw the book at Henry Wallace, the "red book," I mean. They are going to shout themselves "red" in the face about Henry A. Wallace as a "front" for the "Reds"—and, of course, the American people are supposed to be so doped up with anti-Communist prejudice that the "Reds" become "Russians" and so Henry A. Wallace becomes a front for the Russians—just as Wallace himself predicted last Monday night. New York, N.Y. Fri. 1-2-48

Even hopeful office-seekers like Frank Kingdon don't seem to be able to maintain a decent difference of opinion in a decent way. He, too, steps in with a mud-pie on New Year's Eve. He could not have his way in PCA. And so he stoops to rancor.

IT IS QUITE TRUE, gentlemen, that the American Communist Party favors a third party, and favored it before Wallace decided to run.

Kingdon asked who first called upon Wallace to run. The answer of course is, as Wallace gave it, that hundreds of thousands of American at a multitude of meetings urged him to do so. Among these were American Communists.

All it proves is that American Communists felt the need for a third party, and fought for it, and will continue to do their utmost for it. It does not prove anything about Wallace, whom no one has to certify as not being a Communist. Neither does it prove that the Wallace movement is nothing more than Communist. Daily Worker

It is a much bigger movement than ours, bigger than we could possibly have conjectured. And we are the first ones to see that, and say so. We cannot possibly control a movement of such majestic proportions and we do not intend to. New York, N.Y.

But neither are we going to abdicate our own duties to our time just because some people are already so terrorized by the theory of "guilt by association" that they refuse to do anything progressive for fear of being associated with Communists. Fri. 1-2-48

It's just tough, gentlemen, tough on you. The American people intends to fight for peace and abundance whether Frank Kingdon likes Communists or not. **And the Communists are not going to stop fighting for peace and abundance just because Frank Kingdon doesn't have the courage of his own convictions. That is, if his opinions of the very recent past were really convictions.**

•

ONE THING about the Wallace movement which distinguishes it from previous progressive coalitions lies precisely in this: **that he refuses to treat Communists like second-class Americans; he refuses to let a witch-hunt within his movement split it open before it has even begun to do its job.** Daily Worker

There have been many great progressive achievements, such as the organization of the CIO, or some of the Roosevelt campaigns when many a politician sought the brains, the hard work, the self-sacrifice of American Communists, and repaid all this with a knife in the back.

Some sought our help, at the doorsteps and in the back rooms of their election campaigns, but were the first to turn around and create this system of political castes, of "untouchables" in American life. "The Moor had done his work; the Moor may go." New York, N.Y.

Every popular organization has suffered from this system of political Jimcrow, this political racism. Washington, the capital of the country, is a city of fear because of it, a "J. Edgar Hooverville," as a German Communist, Gerhart Eisler, put it out of his own bitter experience. Fri. 1-2-48

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WELL, IT'S TIME to stop this deformation of American politics.

We Communists intend to do our small bit, the most that we can in a cause which we believe meets the immediate and long-range interests of our people. Millions of Americans agree that such a movement as Wallace is leading meets their needs; **the fact that we thought so earlier neither disqualifies us, nor makes Wallace a front for us—the very idea is an insult to both.** Fri. 1-2-48

If we make mistakes, we will be criticized by our fellow-men, and, first of all, we will criticize ourselves. We ask no special favors or privileges. Neither do we beg them from others. We will make no special gains except in the sense of a general gain for all.

And the man who is frightened at the line of duty because we are fighting on that same line could not have had his heart very deep in it to begin with. So much the worse for him.

Wallace And The Split

To Editor of The News:

What in the world do we want with a third party? There is no good in it. You can't get anywhere with it. I belonged to a third party way back in 1892, and I have been ashamed of it ever since. I think if Mr. Wallace will pull down and get in line with the Democrats or the Republicans, he would do the country more good. That is if he will leave the Communists, since neither of the other parties will have them. Birmingham, News

If Henry would get in line with Mr. Truman, and if Mr. Truman would drag his civil rights plank out of his platform and let the Southern Democrats line up with him, we might possibly get somewhere. I do not want the Republicans to get in office. I am afraid they will have things in a bigger mess than already in. They haven't been in office for so long a time that I doubt they would know where to hang their hats. Wed. 3-10-48

If Mr. Truman (or the government) will get rid of the Communists, then they would find a more oportune time to look after the civil rights proposition. If the Communists get control of our country, there will be no civil rights. I noticed a few days ago the government had arrested 30 Communists and had them about ready for deportation; 20 others were arrested, but they did not have them ready for deportation. That is really getting them out of the country, 50 out 50,000.

W. C. WILLIAMS.

Carbon Hill, Ala.

Birmingham

Ala.

Wallace Presents 3d Party Program For Health and Social Welfare

PM New York N.Y.

Thurs. 4-22-48

ATLANTIC CITY

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¶ Both unemployment and old-age insurance benefits should be liberalized. Wallace pointed out that the average weekly jobless insurance benefit payment was under $18 in October, 1947, and that the old-aged and survivors' insurance benefit averaged $24.10 a month in June, 1947.

¶ A minimum social security benefit payment of $35 a week, based on the estimate that a dollar-an-hour minimum wage was essential to insure a decent American standard of living.

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¶ Wallace urged a change in the present method of paying out social security benefits on the basis of what the worker has paid in, regardless of the size of his family. "A system of social security which pays the same benefit to a worker whether he has five children or none is indifferent to the health and welfare of the people," he said.

Health and Disability Insurance Outlined in Party Program

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¶ Pointing out that the United States is the only modern industrial nation which fails to provide maternity insurance to mothers, Wallace urged expanded maternal and infant health services. The lack of maternity insurance, he declared, penalizes motherhood by destroying the livelihood of the mother when she most needs peace of mind, a true sense of security and the absolute guarantee that her physical needs will be met. Maternity insurance—already in operation in Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, the Soviet Union and many other countries—would assure to every working mother continuity of income for a period before and after the birth of her child.

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The Tar Heel Crusade for Wallace and Taylor Is On

Daily Worker

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New York, N.Y.

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Thurs. 4-29-48

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Virginians Form New Party, Vow Defeat of Byrd

The Worker 3rd Party 348 New York, N.Y.

Sun. 7-11-48

RICHMOND, Va.—Three hundred and fifty-two delegates and 60 observers meeting in Richmond last Sunday founded the Progressive Party of Virginia to press for the election of Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor and to work for the defeat of Harry Byrd's political machine. They came from every section of the State and represented 15 organizations as well as 3,600 individuals who signed delegates credentials. They consisted equally Negro and white delegates.

One of the resolutions pledged "full support to Henry Wallace, Glen Taylor and other leaders of the new peoples' party in their fight against bi-partisan reaction, and their leadership in the fight for peace and abundance." Resolutions demanding the passage of anti-Poll Tax, anti-lynch and FEPC legislation, sharply attacking the Mundt Bill and calling for the abolition of the Un-American Committee, were also passed. Realizing the tremendous importance of the fight now being waged by the maritime unions against anti-labor injunctions, the delegates unanimously condemned the injunction issued against maritime labor.

★

THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES of the Progressive Party of Virginia, adopted after a spirited, democratic discussion in which many rank and file delegates participated, sharply attacked the "machine-controlled politicians of Virginia" who are running the government "for the benefit of the privileged few and have permitted the land and the people of Virginia to be despoiled for the Tobacco Trust, the Railroads, the Chemical monopoly and for the wealthy owners of our mines and natural resourves." The Worker

Some of the major points included in the State Program are a demand for a constitutional convention to set up a democratic constitution, repeal of the polltax and all laws restricting the right to vote, repeal of all segregation laws, a $3,000 minimum salary for teachers and a large school expansion program.

the repeal of all state anti-labor laws, aid to farmers' cooperatives, a veterans' bonus, the improvement of labor safety laws and a liberalized unemployment compensation system, state rent control and the control of all monopolies in the interests of the people.

New York, N.Y.

DR. CLARK FOREMAN, addressing the delegates on behalf of the national Wallace Committee, called the South today "the root of fascism in America," attacked the Democrats and Republicans for double talk on civil rights and called the new party, firmly based on the unity of the Negro and white people of the South, the only way to bring democracy to Virginia and the rest of the South. Sun.

Paul Robeson, also representing the national Wallace Committee, provided the highlight of the convention for many delegates with his songs and also with his brief but deeply stirring talk. Robeson launched out at bi-partisan reaction, stressing that this new party was going to be a genuine people's party and that because it would have the support of the people it would win many tremendous victories for democracy. Sun.

7-11-48

★

THE CONVENTION completed its work with the election of 11 Presidential electors and an executive board and state committee for the new party. Chosen as the Progressive Party's Presidential electors were: William H. Moses of Hampton; Nathaniel W. Winkler of Norfolk; Herbert George of Richmond; Louis Ginsberg of Petersburg; Miss Irene Watkins of South Boston; Mrs. Clara H. Saba of Roanoke; William D. Ruffner of Luray; Miss Virginia Spelman of Alexandria; Edgar S. Fraley of Bristol; Robert C. Davenport of Fairfax County and William Johnson of Norfolk. 7-11-48

Mrs. Virginia Foster Durr was chosen chairman of the new party, George Elwood of Richmond was elected secretary, and Wilbert Reavis of Richmond was elected treasurer. Nine co-chairmen were elected. These are Marvin Caplon of Richmond, Mrs. Sarah d'Avila of Arlington, Mrs. Volena Higgenbotham of Hampton, Mrs. Senora B. Lawson of Richmond, Dr. L. F. Palmer of Hampton, Moses Riddick of Suffolk, Mrs. Clara H. Saba of Roanoke, Max Sussman of Richmond and A. W. Williams of Norfolk. The Worker

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THE PROGRESSIVES

Daily Tribune

Mr. Wallace's party will not be christened, as it were, until Friday evening but there seems to be no secret about the name the child is to bear. It will be known as the Progressive party. The name will be wholly satisfactory to the Communists who have been father, mother, and midwife to this baby. Chicago, Ill.

"Progressive" is the Communists' synonym for Communist. When they speak of a progressive trade union they mean that it is safely under Communist domination. A progressive play is one which would not bring a blush to Stalin's cheek. A progressive political program is one which follows the party line. The word is found in this special sense in almost every column of the Daily Worker. 7-22-48

The opposite of "progressive" is "reactionary" in all vocabularies, including the bolshevik, but to those who regard "progressive" and "Communist" as exact equivalents, reactionary means non-Communist and anti-Communist. Thus, the British Labor party, Mr. Churchill, and the most conservative peer in England are alike reactionary in the language of the

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Wallace Talks With Congressional Candidate

The Age. New York, N.Y. Sat. 7-24-48

7-24-48

Discussing plans for the national founding convention of the new political party which meets in Philadelphia July 23-25 are Henry Wallace and Margaret Bush Wilson of St. Louis, Mo. Mrs. Wilson, a convention delegate, is also the new party's candidate for Congress in the 11th Missouri congressional district. She is an attorney and women's leader.

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13 Negroes At Wallace Dinner At $100 A Plate

BY LILLIAN SCOTT

Chicago Defender Chicago Illinois

NEW YORK—The $100 a plate choice filet mignon dinner of the Henry Wallace for President forces here last week at the Hotel Commodore was sparcely attended by Negroes with only a baker's dozen showing up.

Those present were Paul Robeson and Dr. Joseph Johnson, dean of Howard University's Medical School on the dias; and Shirley Graham, Dr. George Cannon, Mrs. Estelle Massey Osborne, the Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, George Murphy, Charles Collins, Belford Lawson, Marjorie McKenzie Lawson; Viola Scott, Dorothy Strange, and Dr. Thomas A. Williston of Washington. Most of the above are formally identified with the Wallace Campaign like Miss Scott who is Wallace's personal secretary, Dr. Cannon who is president of the Harlem for Wallace group, and Murphy and Mrs. Osborne who are working on the campaign staff.

Sat. 5-1-48

1,250 Attend

The dinner attended by between 1,000 and 1,250 persons illustrated many of the new techniques the Wallace campaigners are bringing to bear for the Negro vote. Chief among these was the liberal use of Negro entertainers and satiric sketches on jimcrow and discrimination in semi-review held at the dinner called "Showtime for Henry Wallace."

Sat. 5-1-48

The entertainment is also given at every Wallace rally and as an entire program on Sundays in New York. One of the sketches narrated by actress Edith Atwater was a fashion show of what to wear in the atomic age. And about one dress worn by a modern Southern belle she said, "Note the cunning segregation of the black and white"—"the addition of Southern hemp," etc.

WHAT THIRD PARTY MUST DO TO GET ON THE BALLOT

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. 34d

Tues. 1-6-48

Here is a birds' eye view of the election laws in various states governing either nomination of independent candidates, or placing a third party on the ballot, or, some cases, both:

The toughest laws are those in California, Illinois, Delaware, Massachusetts, Nevada, South Dakota and New York. Nevada and California want a petition signed by a straight five percent of the number who voted in the last general election. Daily Worker

In the case of California, this is about 175,000 signatures. Massachusetts wants a straight three percent, or about 50,000 signers. South Dakota requires 10 percent of the votes in the last previous election. Illinais demands 25,000, but at least 200 must come from each of 50 counties. New York, N.Y.

Delaware wants at least 250 from each of its three counties. New York wants 12,000, but at least 50 must come from each county. 1-6-48

Other states with tough requirements, but not as tough as the above, are Missouri, which requires 25,000 petitioners; Oregon, with 12,000 signatures needed; Michigan, which wants only 8,000 but no more than 35 percent can come from any one county; North Carolina and North Dakota, which asks for 10,000 and 15,000 signatures respectively.

A TOKEN NUMBER

A third group consisting of about half the states, has more reasonable requirements, with either one-half, or one or two percent of those who voted in the last general elections needed to a petition or, in a few cases, a small flat figure.

Among these states are Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Maryland, Connecticut and Indiana. 1-6-48

Several states demand only a state convention or mass meeting. Among these are Georgia, Oregon, Idaho, Iowa, Washington, Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico and Tennessee. Daily Worker

And a few others, like New Jersey, Arkansas and Virginia, require only a token number of signatures to a nomination petition.

Only a single state—Florida—makes an impossible provision for a new party to get on he ballot. N.Y.

MY DAY

Henry Wallace has done U. S. and the world a great disservice

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Tues.

34d

By Eleanor Roosevelt

HYDE PARK—One of the main things that Henry Wallace attacks, namely, universal military service, will come up in the new session of Congress. Purely military universal service has never been much to my liking. But at the present time I think it is probably one of the most important gestures we can make to convince the U.S.S.R. that we mean to remain strong in a military way until some settlement is made within the United Nations which will make it possible for the U. N. to be strong enough to hold even a big nation in check. Tues 1-6-48

Then, I would agree that disarmament was justified and much to be desired. Yet I am not sure that even then I would not approve of one year of universal service for boys and girls alike. The military part of it I would cut, but I would keep the discipline. I would make it a point to stress physical development and health, and then make the service consist of work of value to the community and the country. And I would tie it in, where possible, with the individual's preparation for his life work.

FOR YEARS people have searched for a way in which to give youth the same sense of responsibility and selfless devotion to their country which is called out in time of war. This year of service might well be the substitute that has been looked for. We need to start our lives as citizens with a sense of responsibility to the community. Later we will be called upon within our communities to do many services and perhaps we will enter fields of public service, but a first year of work for the nation may well be the first intimation to many youngsters that they have obligations as well as privileges because of their citizenship in a democracy.

I think there is plenty of room in this country for us to fight to improve our democracy. I am frank to say that I was deeply troubled when I read of the machinery to be used by the loyalty review board. We are far from having achieved the rights of minorities in this country. And I can understand why Mr. Wallace wants to fight for some changes which are long overdue and without which we cannot feel that we have a true democracy. Louisville, Ky

IF, IN ORGANIZING a third party, Mr. Wallace has in mind simply forcing the Democrats to make better nominations and then trowinhg his third-party strength to those candidates, he may, of course, have a few successes. In addition, if he hopes to force the Democratic candidate for President to come out for more liberal policies, after which he, Mr. Wallace, would bow himself out of the picture, he may have some success there too. But there is no assurance that this is what he intends ot do, nor that he will succeed in doing it. Tues 1-6-48

In the last analysis, he may simply make it possible for the Republicans to nominate a complete reactionary and still win. He may find his party repudiated by all liberal congressmen who will feel that they are being tagged with communism. If he thinks that a completely reactionary four years will bring us a saner four years afterwards, I am afraid he will find that is not the way the pendulum usually swings. Great reaction brings chaos and confusion afterwards.

I do not think we have the time to go through reaction to the right and then to the left. It would take too long to reach a normal middle-of-the-road period. We might survive, but the rest of the world would not — and so my conclusion is that Mr. Wallace has done both his own country and the world a great disservice.

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LETTERS From the Readers

Wallace & the South

34d

Dear Sir:

Today there is a wholesome awakening of liberal progressives throughout the South—both black and white. Those elements have long been victimized by a one-party system characterized by bigotry, racism, corruption, and reaction. These people not only want a place to go, they must have a place to go. Conceptual arguments about working within the Democratic Party will not suffice to dismiss the reality that these persons cannot work within that party. These people must have a tool through which they can democratically achieve equality, security, dignity and freedom The third party is the answer.

Silsbee, Tex. H. IRVIN THOMPSON

1-19-48

C. B. Baldwin is certainly barking up the wrong tree if he thinks the Negro voters will support a third party in 1948. I think it has already been clearly demonstrated that most of organized labor will not support the third party now. Since Negroes are mostly workers, labor's decision will undoubtedly affect most of them in the same measure as other workers are affected.

Weaning the Negro voter away from the Democratic Party in 1948 is going to take more than Baldwin's specious reasoning. Baldwin belittles Truman's record on civil liberties by getting all worked up over the loyalty order. No single Government document since President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, creating a Fair Employment Practices Commission, has been as widely praised by the Negro press and organizations, as well as prominent individuals, as has the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The report contains everything that Negro leaders have been saying for many years.

The Truman record on civil rights, higher education, his appointments of Negroes to key governmental posts, and his pronouncements such as his speech to the NAACP convention last Summer in Washington, will make it difficult for the rank-and-file Negro voter to accept another candidate whose record is less known.

There was a time when you could frighten the Negro voter into voting Republican by raising the bugaboo of the Southern Democrats ruling the country if a Democrat were elected. The Negro in the South today, with plenty of help from his Northern brother, is attempting to gain a foothold within the Democraic Party right down in the solid South. And he is succeeding. Negroes are gaining political influence in the Southern states and they aren't going to throw it away by voting for a third party while they have Southern politicians making overtures to them.

On the other hand, liberals have long pointed out that the hope of liberalizing the Democratic Party lies in the South. Give the vote to Negroes and labor, eliminate the poll tax and a liberal party would emerge. This process, I believe, is taking place. Negroes and labor are working together politically in the South. To support a third party in the South today would be foolishly throwing away all that Negroes have gained since 1944, and make no mistake about it, the Southern Negro has long been schooled in looking out for his own best interests so high within the Democratic Party. Even Southern Negro Republicans are now registering as Democrats! 34d

Of course, it will be said that the influence of Negro vote in the South is negligible; that Baldwin really meant Negroes in Northern pivotal states. Since PCA is conducting a "practical crusade" then let us be practical and realize that the Northern Negro vote while not *controlled* is *influenced* by the following factors—the Negro press, Negro organizations, political machines and organized labor.

The Negro press was divided in the 1944 campaign with the larger papers supporting Dewey. Recent editorials indicate that Truman still stands high with the Negro press in general. 1-1948

It is also doubtful that Negro organizations would support a third party. Certainly the recent statements of the leaders of two of the most outstanding organizations, Walter White of the NAACP and Lester Granger of the National Urban League, would indicate that the thinking of Negro leaders is contrary to a third party. Mr. White has already informed New York newspapers that the NAACP is not supporting a third party.

Lester Granger's views on Wallace are even more specific. Writing in the *Amsterdam News*, Mr. Granger indicates his "distrust of the Great Commoner is based on the obvious discrepancy between his past record in office when he was able to do some of the things which he expresses as a candidate for office." Recalling Wallace's record in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Granger indicts Wallace on the grounds that, AAA's collusion with white landlords of the cotton South who robbed their Negro tenant farmers of AAA 'parity checks' was notorious during the depression years and is still bitterly remembered by the Negro victims." Although these abuses were called to his attention, Wallace did nothing about them. Under Wallace, the Bureau of Census was a "hot-bed" of racial discrimination and was unchanged by the Secretary of Commerce. Nor did Wallace's mild comments on the Detroit riot endear him to Granger who concluded: "It is nice to know that as a candidate he is against sin, but I'm much more interested in knowing what he did about sin when he had a chance during three successive appointments as a ranking member of the President's Cabinet."

New York GLOSTER B. CURRENT

Alabama Seen as Fertile Soil for Third Party

Populist Tradition Still Strong Among Small Farmers, Negroes, Labor; Potential Coalition Seen for Wallace

The Worker

By MARY SOUTHARD

New York, N.Y.
Sun. 2-8-48

THOSE WHO SAY that the third party movement hasn't a chance in Alabama, that the people must resign themselves forever to the Democratic Party, have forgotten their history. **A little more than 50 years ago there was a powerful independent voters' movement which burst the bonds of Democratic Party machine control, elected several Congressmen, claimed twice to have elected a Governor (who, it was said, was kept out of office by fraudulent vote-counting), and several times elected a controlling number of Representatives to the State Legislature.**

34D

This upsurge of independent voters had roots in the Grange, the Green Back Labor Party (which polled more than 42,000 votes for the Governor in 1880, and sent W. M. Love to Congress in 1878 from the Eighth Congressional District), the Farmers Alliance and a number of smaller organizations which sprang up over the state during the '70s and '80s.

How Movement Developed

This movement grew out of the revolt of thousands of small white farmers of Alabama against the Silk Hat boys—the merchant planters, the banks and the railroads. Over 90 percent were being choked by mortgages at high interest rates; cotton was four cents a pound; and the railroads were milking millions out of the farmers in sky-high freight rates. The Worker Sun.

In their plight thousands of small white farmers began to see through the spurious slogan of white supremacy, which had fooled many of them into uniting with the Bourbon planters to bring the Democratic Party back into power in 1974. They saw that there were irreconcilable interests: those of the Silk Hats—the merchant planters, banks and railroads—and those of the Wool Hats, that is, themselves, who were losing their lands and being driven into starvation. 2-8-48

And they began to organize and to fight against the Democratic machine control of the political life of the state.

The first major fight was put up in 1890, when Reuben Kolb ran for the gubernatorial nomination in the Democratic convention (no state primaries were held at this time for party candidates). Kolb was a native Albanian, farmer and former Confederate officer. He was widely known to the farmers of the state from his work as the first Commissioner of Agriculture and his fight for agricultural schools and experimental stations. "Genial Reuben" he was called. Kolb lost the nomination by only 32 votes of county delegates.

IN 1892 the Democratic Party was split with the Kolb followers setting themselves up as the Jeffersonian Democrats opposed to machine rule. There were two conventions, two platforms and two sets of candidates. The Worker

Kolb and the Jeffersonians campaigned on a platform of fair elections, good schools, just taxation, against the banks and trusts, against the convict lease system (convicts were being leased to the coal operators), and for the protection of the "colored race and their legal rights."

In the August, 1892, election, Jones, the machine candidate, claimed the victory over Kolb by a slim margin of 11,435 out of 242,483 votes cast. In the national election that year the Populist candidate Weaver (National People's Party) polled 85,128 votes in Alabama out of the total of 242,843. New York, N.Y.

Kolb claimed that he had been elected by a majority of 40,000 votes and that he was cheated out of the office by fraudulent vote-counting. There is ample evidence of this, since ballot box practice in Alabama at this time was so corrupt that two congressional investigations were ordered (but never carried out). 2-8-48 Common talk among the working people for many years credited Kolb with the victory.

3rd Party Movement Cheated at Polls

In 1892, after the August elections, a third party convention was held in Birmingham with several thousand delegates present. It united the Jeffersonians around Kolb, the small but aggressive Populists led by Manning, certain Republicans and several other groupings of voters, plus considerable support from the mine workers, who two years later conducted their first strike against the operators. For two years Kolb's paper, the People's Tribune, published in Birmingham, circulated over the state, spanking the third party fight. Sun. 2-8-48

In 1894 Kolb ran against Oates, the machine candidate, in a hot and bitter campaign. Kolb claimed the election, though "official" figures gave the victory to Oates: 109,160 against 83,394. The thousands of farmers who had supported Kolb refused to give in and Kolb went to Montgomery to be inaugurated.

So there were two inaugurations. Oates, in the State Capitol, and Kolb, surrounded by hundreds of his supporters, on the streets of the city. The Populists went home peaceably, but they demanded that the Legislature pass an election contest law, and that Kolb be installed as the duly elected Governor.

In 1896, A. T. Goodwyn, Populist candidate for Governor polled 89,290 votes against the Bourbon Democrat, J. F. Johnston's 128,541.

There is no doubt that the Populist-Jeffersonian-Alliance movement was cheated out of thousands of votes, or that they won the majority of the people to the support of their program.

Its Strength And Weaknesses

The Worker

This powerful movement can be credited with many important reforms and improvements in the living conditions of the people of Alabama: the setting up of agricultural schools and experimental stations for the farmers; the railroad commission to fight malpractices of the roads; improvement of the public school system; improvement of the convict labor system; establishment of statewide primaries and the Australian ballot system, and many others.

More important, perhaps, this movement was a tremendous school for thousands of people, who learned to feel their own power when it was organized into political activity, and who saw the Bourbon Democratic Party exposed as the instrument of the planters, the banks and the corporations, and therefore rejected it. New York, N.Y.

The Populist-Alliance movement caused fear and panic in Democratic ranks. The constitutional convention of 1901, for all its white-supremacy-shouting about disfranchising the Negro, directed its whole system of ballot box restriction (polltax, property qualifications, educational requirements, etc.) primarily at the thousands of white farmers and the growing working class around Birmingham and the mill towns—the very people who had challenged their power so strongly in the Populist movement. Sun. 2-8-48

The central weakness of the Populist movement in Alabama was that it did not, except in rare cases, promote a fighting unity betwen white and Negro farmers. The failure to do this left the concealed weapon, white supremacy, in the hands of the nearly routed enemy, and he used it to get back into power in 1901.

Tradition Still Strong

The Populist tradition is still strong in the rural white counties of Alabama. It shows in the tremendous support which these voters have given to Gov. Folsom—the small white farmers today are the backbone of support to the Governor's program. Sun. 2-8-48

Today the forces for a third party movement are much more powerful. To the small farmers is added the potential strength of some 250,000 organized workers, white and Negro, and an organized and fighting movement among the Negro citizens of the state. Already in the vote around the self-starter amendment a potential coalition of these three main groups was seen.

To them belongs the fighting tradition of Alabama Populists—and the lessons of their struggle against the Silk Hats.

WALLACE TO SEEK NEGROES' SUPPORT

The Times

340

Congress Candidates of That Race Will Be Entered by Third-Party Forces

New York, N.Y.
Tues. 3-2-48

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 1—Henry Wallace's third-party forces will bid for a big Negro vote this fall by running Negro candidates for Congress in favorable districts throughout the nation, it was learned today.

Agreement in principle to this proposal was reached within the past two weeks in conferences in which Mr. Wallace and C. B. Baldwin, his campaign manager, participated directly, it was understood.

Selection of actual districts will be left to the individual state organizations in the movement, but present tentative plans call for tw ocandidates in New York, one in Harlem, the other in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn; two in Chicago and one each in Cleveland, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Atlanta and Los Angeles.

There also is reported to e strong sentiment for the nomination of a Negro to stand for the Uinted States Senate in Ilinois. There have been Negro members of the House in recent years, but no Negro has held a Senate seat.

Entry of third-party candidates is certain in most instances to bring about the defeat of sitting members of Congress, even if it does not lead to victory for the Wallace forces. Among the more prominent in this category are Adam Clayton Powell Jr. in Harlem's Twenty-second District, Helen Gahagan Douglas in Los Angeles' Fourteenth District and Frances P. Bolton, a Republican, in the Cleveland area's Twenty-second District. Tues. 3-2-48

It is understood that Mr. Powell and Mrs. Douglas could have third-party endorsement or, at the very least, a "hands off" concession, if they would oppose the Marshall Plan. Mr. Powell, elected under the Democratic and American Labor emblems in 1946, has said he may not be a candidate this fall.

Split on Rights Grows

This latest revelation of campaign strategy came as the split within the Democratic party over the civil rights issue became more sharply defined and as Republican Congressional leadership indicated that civil rights action would be held to a minimum.

In a bold stand for the Truman Administration in the rebellious South, Seenator Lister Hill of Alabama, who must stand for re-election in two years, announced that he had qualified today "as a delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia." The Times

"I have always opposed Federal legislation for fair employment practice commissions, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, anti-segregation and other such Federal bills on questions which should be determined by our sovereign states," he declared. "I shall continue to fight such Federal measures and to support the principle of state's rights.

"I support our foreign policy, including the Marshall Plan, and am opposed to isolation in foreign affairs, domestic affairs and national Democratic party affairs. I continue my support of Harry S. Truman, the head of the Democratic party." New York, N.Y.

The revolt in the South against President Truman because of his civil rights stand continued, however, and Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi in a speech on the floor appealed to the President "to gracefully withdraw his name from consideration as a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination with the hope that our party may still be salvaged from the ruins which he has left."

Tues. 3-2-48

With this situation obtaining the Wallace thirty-party movement, which drew a very heavy Negro vote in preliminary election tests in Chicago and the Bronx, may capitalize on dissatisfaction within Negro ranks. Tues. 3-2-48

Texas Refuses To Bolt; States Ignore War Parley

Chicago Defender

Chicago [illegible]

ATLANTA, Ga.—Texas, which has maintained what its citizens call a cooperative alliance with the United States, proved a good ally last week, when its politicians broke the back of the revolt against President Truman's civil rights program by refusing to go along with a move to oppose his nomination for re-election.

Texas action, following by two weeks a similar stand by Tennessee Democrats, was considered as the death knell for the pathetic rebellion against decency in the Democratic party.

The Texas State Democratic Committee voted 36 to 14 to give full support to the party nominee for president, no matter who he is. Two weeks earlier, Tennessee's Shelby County political boss, Ed. Crump, was handed a similar setback.

Sat-5-1-48

Bolt Voted Down

One of his henchmen, Roane Waring, proposed an anti-Truman resolution. The measure was decisively voted down. Roane, who lives in Memphis, as does Crump, is a former National Commander of the American Legion.

In view of the two resounding defeats to the "Dump Truman" forces in the south, the grass roots convention called for Jackson, Miss., May 10, at the urging of Gov. Fielding Wright, seems doomed to failure. Wright was one of the leading forces in the rebellion.

The convention may go on, but with most southern political leaders giving it the cold shoulder, it will be at best a one day carnival with much ranting and raving, and no success.

Those attending the gabfest can be looked to for a frenzied war dance against the President and the Negro people. The meeting, however, has been crossed off the list by veteran observers as having no bearing on the way southern delegates will vote in the party convention in Philadelphia.

They draw their proof from the fact that only four Democratic chairmen showed up here April 12 and 13 for a widely heralded war council against the President and his pronouncement in favor of democracy. Even with Mississippi's chairman, represented by proxy there were only five present.

Talk For Those Absent

Answering the roll call were South Carolina's W. P. Baskin, who called the parley, James S. Peters of Georgia, Joe H. Williams of Florida, Gessner T. McCorvey, Alabama, all state chairmen, and J. O. Emmerich, representing Herbert Holmes of Mississippi.

These five went on record pledging to withhold the electoral vote "of the entire south" from President Truman or any candidate advocating full constitutional rights for Negroes.

The view which has most weight in the south is that all delegates should be sent uninstructed except for an admonition to fight a civil rights plank in the platform and to oppose a civil rights candidate before the actual nomination. They are not to oppose the party choice for election, no matter what his stand on rights for Negroes.

Employees Say Race Issue Lies Behind Condon Probe

Journal Guide

WASHINGTON — (ANP) —The race issue underlies the un-American Activities Committee's investigation of Dr. Edward U. Condon, director of the Bureau of Standards, say employees of the agency.

These employes point out that over considerable opposition from subordinates, Dr. Condon has stood for a policy of integrating competently trained Negro scientists into the professional ranks of the bureau's personnel. At present there are about 20 Negro professional workers in the agency, as compared with only three before the war.

Norfolk, Va.

UNDER-COVER MOVE

Since 1946, when Dr. Condon began converting Negro war-service scientists to permanent employes, there is said to have been an under-cover move on to get him out of the bureau. This drive was accentuated last Spring following an interracial party at the agency for children of employes.

It is reported that in planning the party, some members of the committee collected contributions from Negro employes. However, when it was discovered that almost all of the Negro employes of the bureau had contributed and were planning to come and bring their children, the planning committee announced that the party was off because it had not been able to collect sufficient funds to provide refreshments.

When word reached Dr. Condon that the party was being called off, allegedly because Negroes were going to attend, he is said to have ordered the group to go through with the party.

CLEARED BY FBI

Two weeks ago, the committee on un-American Activities began investigating Dr. Condon, claiming that he has been associating with Communists." However, the Department of Commerce, of which the Bureau of Standards is a unit, refutes the charge. Officers of the agency say that Dr. Condon is a loyal American. They point out that he has been cleared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

3-20-48

Secy. of Commerce M. Averell Harriman said that in his opinion the subcommittee investigating Dr. Condon is itself un-American. He declared that the subcommittee had summoned members of his staff to secret sessions and has published its interpretation of their testimony.

MRS. ROOSEVELT COMMENTS

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt wrote in a column a week ago that the committee was "unjust and really subversive" in "handling its affairs." Rep. Adolph Sabath of Illinois had this read into the Congressional Record.

Only 6000 Negro Voters In Alabama Georgia and Texas Leaders

Weekly Review — Sat 8-7-48 — B'ham, Ala.

34e

The Southern Regional Council reports that of the 521.080 Negroes of voting age in Alabama there are only 6,000 qualified voters.

Weekly Review

Causes.

The heavy poll tax serve restrictions in registration, inadequate statewide Negro leadership, and general apathy account in part for the low standing of Alabama. Nevertheless the number of qualified voters has trebled since 1940.

Sat 8-7-48

Qualified Negro voters in other Southern states are as follows: Arkansas, 47,000; Florida, 49,000; Georgia, 125,000; Louisiana, 10,000; Mississippi, 5,000; North Carolina, 75,000; Oklahoma, 50,000; South Carolina, 50,000; Tennessee, 80,000; Texas, 100,000; Virginia, 48,000.

983,290 NEGROES IN ALABAMA

The Alabama Department of Archives and History released the following figures on population this week:

B'ham, Ala.

Total, 2,832,961; White, 1,849.097; Negro 983,290; Other races, 574. Other races consist of Indian. 464; Chinese 41; Japanese, 21; Other, 48. Native born in Alabama all classes, 2,820,797; Foreign born in Alabama, all classes 12. 164.

These figures were taken from the U. S. Census, 1940.

Registration Of Colored On Increase In Mobile

Journal Guide Sat 3-20-48

34e

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(ANP)—Negroes in Montgomery county and in Mobile are taking advantage of President Truman's continued insistence upon racial equality and civil rights for Negroes, according to the two county boards of registrars here last week.

Norfolk Va

On March 15, the Montgomery board reported that 20 Negroes appeared seeking registration—the largest number yet to appear before the board in one day. However the 20 did not register with the idea of voting in the primary, but only in the November general election, it was disclosed.

Political observers indicated that Negroes were being advised to vote for Truman because it is feared white voters of Alabama might forsake him. No member of the board would comment on the increase in Negro registration.

SEVEN NEGROES

In Mobile, board records showed that out of 54 voters registered at a special session for voting in the May 4 Democratic primary, seven were Negroes. Two of this number were denied registration.

One board member said that the seven were the largest group to come before the board in a single day since the Boswell amendment went into effect. The amendment is designed to restrict Negro voting.

Sat 3-20-48

Adopted in November, 1946, it requires prospective registrants to be able to understand and explain the federal constitution. Its constitutionality is the subject of a suit pending in federal district court here.

Industrialist Urges Negro Vote Education

Advertiser

34e

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Oct. 12.—(P)—John B. Turner, president of the Associated Industries of Alabama, said today Alabamians must accept the fact that Negroes eventually will be voting generally in Alabama. He urged that steps be taken to enable them to vote intelligently.

Wed 10-13-48

Montgomery, Ala.

Addressing the Birmingham Kiwanis Club, Turner said those who now vote should prepare the way for an intelligent Negro vote through education.

Disgusted But Hopeful

To the Editor of The News:

The News

I want to congratulate your fine paper on its editorial policies in regard to controversial problems of this troubled era.

I have been greatly vexed by the antics of our so-called elected leaders in Alabama, as have many other citizens in our state. I have always taken a great interest in exercising my guarantee and right to vote. I consider it my greatest and most precious privilege in my beloved America. I now realize that my privilege is being infringed upon. In the recent Democratic primary some friends and I went to great trouble to obtain the views and platforms of our presidential elector-candidates. Very little definite information was available, and thus we could not know for whom we voted. That very thoughtful rule concerning the fact that 11 men must be voted for or the ballot was void insured the election of a majority of undesirables. This, sir, in my opinion, is power politics in one of its vilest forms.

Thur 8-12-48

B'ham Ala

34e

My second vexation is due to the fact that our duly elected representatives have seen fit to cast aside 100 years of social progress in our state in order to further personal prestige. It is not likely that our "Pine Stump Ciceros" will realize or care whether or not they play right into the hands of "Molotov's Mechanized Maggots"! The Jim Crow note is being monotonously but so terribly and efficiently played in strategic centers of our nation and its outposts. The maddening tune is again creating discord, dissatisfaction and desertion from those principles of unity, godliness and justice upon which our liberty was founded.

Fellow citizens of my state, my nation and yours, there must be a leader somewhere among us who has justice in his heart, integrity in his actions and an inborn love for his fellow man. We must find him who will work toward the interests of our people.

[illegible]

My third vexation is the fact that you and I collectively have allowed those "Cominform Cancers" to penetrate the physical structure of our labor unions, manufacturers' unions, city and national governments. If we are to be treated as a senseless crowd, a mindless mob, then let our leaders funnel our petty animosities with a wise caution for our constitution toward those malignant growths which may some day cause our destruction.

These are the thoughts of a disgusted but still hopeful veteran of the European combat theater and a citizen of the great state of Alabama, which is still an integral part of America.

L. H. CARTER.

U. S. Judges Deliberate On Alabama Vote Law

34e(2)

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

MOBILE, Ala.—(P)—A three-judge Federal Court yesterday concluded a trial on constitutionality of Alabama's Boswell Amendment, referred to as a weapon of "white supremacy" advocates.

Counsel for 10 Mobile County Negro plaintiffs introduced letters by State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey to other Party officials in which he had called the voter-qualification law "all important."

Wed 12-22-48

McCorvey had warned in a letter to members of the State Democratic Executive Committee:

"We are going to see our poll lists flooded with thousands of voters who have not yet fitted themselves to participate in our government" unless registration laws were tightened.

"There are any number of counties in Alabama's black belt where, unless we do something to tighten up our registration laws, we will very likely, in a few years, have only colored county officials, as in many of these black belt counties the Negroes outnumber the white people from five to one to ten to one," he wrote.

Wed 12-22-48

The amendment to the State Constitution was adopted in a 1946 State referendum.

The court announced that a decision in the case would be returned at a later date.

Assistant Attorney General Silas C. Garrett, III, asked the judges "not to strike down the Boswell Amendment" because of the alleged maladministration of officials acting under it.

He asserted in a closing argument that the amendment was enacted to ensure that "only qualified citizens become electors."

George N. Leighton, attorney for the Negroes, called on the court to declare the Amendment unconstitutional.

He asked for an order restraining the Mobile County Board of Registrars from acts allegedly infringing on the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs.

The Amendment requires applicants for registration as voters to be able to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution to the satisfaction of the Board of Registrars.

Wed 12-22-48

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

Removal Of Dead Up To Board Of Registrars

EDITOR, The Advertiser: I notice in an editorial in The Advertiser this morning mention was made of the County Democratic Executive Committee's responsibility in purging the poll list. The editorial includes an excerpt from the recent report of the Montgomery County Grand Jury. This report states that the removal from the poll list of the names of persons who are dead or who have removed their residence from Montgomery County, or the State of Alabama, "can be done by the committee's requiring an enrollment, prior to the primary, of all members of the party who desire to participate in the primary and it is not necessary to amend the state laws."

I do not know of any authority which the County Democratic Executive Committee has either to purge the poll list or to require an enrollment of voters. A check of the applicable laws indicates that the responsibility for purging the poll list rests with the Board of Registrars. This is covered by Article 3, in title 17, of the Alabama Code of 1940. The following is taken from Section 44:

Sun. 6-13-48

"The Board of Registrars shall meet in each county on the first Monday in January, 1940, and every two years thereafter, for purging the registration lists, and may continue in session one week. The names of those who have died, become non-residents of the state, become insane, and been so declared by inquisition of lunacy, or who have been convicted of any offense mentioned in section 182 of the constitution, since being registered, or otherwise disqualified as electors under the provision of the constitution, and any names which may have been fraudulently entered on such list, shall be stricken from the registration list."

6-13-48

In construing this section, the attorney general of Alabama rendered an opinion in 1940 (Report of Attorney General Jan.-March, 1940, page 273), which holds that the Board of Registrars has the sole authority to purge a duly registered voter from the poll list.

The Montgomery County Democratic Executive Committee recognizes the need for a re-registration of voters in Montgomery County and if it had the authority to bring about such re-registration, I am sure it would take immediate action.

R. T. GOODWYN, JR.
Chairman, Montgomery County Democratic Executive Committee.
Montgomery.

Voters Should Have Right Of Choice

THE MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER, for many years a stalwart spokesman for the Democratic Party in Alabama, has pledged its support to the States' Rights Democratic ticket in November. In line with its views, it takes mild exception to our recent expression of concern over a situation in which Truman supporters in several Southern states may find themselves without a way to vote their convictions this Fall.

The situation has come about because presidential electors chosen in the regular Democratic primaries of those particular states are now being instructed to cast their electoral votes for the Thurmond-Wright ticket.

Advertiser.
Montgomery, Ala.

The Advertiser says in part:

The fact is, of course, that a majority of Alabama Democrats, in an election where the issue was clearly drawn, okehed the arrangement which exists today. They voted overwhelmingly for anti-Truman electors. If there was deprivation, it was deprivation by majority vote.

But we can scarcely take The Times to task for failing to understand what has happened in Alabama when it is evident that thousands of Alabama voters have forgotten that they voted for all of this last May.

Wed. 8-11-48

Nevertheless, this misunderstanding illustrates a point The Advertiser has previously made and one from which we believe Democratic executive committee members should take warning. If there is any legal way to place Truman-Barkley electors on the November ballot, it would be a wise precaution to encourage it. Otherwise, in the months and years to come there may be complaints—unwarranted but sincere and angry—that voters were foxed. They weren't, but they shouldn't be given the opportunity to think so.

WE SINCERELY hope the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee will be prevailed upon to follow The Advertiser's warning and do all within its power to see that a slate of Truman-Barkley electors is indeed placed on the ballot.

We cannot agree with the Montgomery newspaper, however, in terming any possible complaints in the future, "unwarranted."

8-11-48

We do not in any sense minimize the significance of the Alabama primary in which the electors were overwhelmingly nominated on an anti-Truman platform. At the same time, it cannot be said with certainty that these anti-Truman votes were pro-Thurmond, simply because the Thurmond-Wright ticket was not advanced until long after the primary was held.

As we have said, it is entirely likely that the States' Rights ticket will attract a large majority in Alabama as in a few other states. Even so, there can be no justification for depriving what Truman-Barkley minority there may be from having its say-so.

8-11-48

A basic tenet of democracy honors the rule of the majority, but this does not envision the suppression of a minority. Where the ballot is concerned, "deprivation by majority vote" is no more morally right than deprivation by force.

We do not believe we are guilty of "failing to understand" what is happening in Alabama. We understand there are some qualified voters who may not have a free choice in casting their ballots for presidential electors. That is sufficient to leave us profoundly disturbed.

Alabama Congressman Asks Repeal Of 14th Amendment

Chi. Defender

WASHINGTON — With crocodile tears in his eyes and his voice quavering, Rep. Sam Hobbs of Alabama, Friday introduced a resolution to repeal the 14th amendment. It interferes with freedom of religion, he declared.

The 14th amendment, ratified shortly after the civil war, guarantees the rights of citizenship to all Americans, and gives them equal protection under the law.

Sat. 7-17-48

Although Representative Hobbs, who hails from the fourth Alabama Congressional district claims that his proposal is intended only to "restore religious freedom" it was looked on as a move to further disenfranchise Negroes by denying them the rights of citizenship even on paper.

Chicago, Ill.

The Alabama Congressman said he entered his bill as a result of the recent Supreme Court decision banning religious instruction in public schools. He said there actually had been two such recent rulings, that "are susceptible to interpretations that may destroy the very life of this nation."

The decisions were based on the 14th amendment which says in part: "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens." Representative Hobbs said this was the section which concerned him. He asserted that it denies people the right to put schools to any use that pleases them, including teaching religion.

Sat. 7-17-48

Rep. Hobbs was elected to office by less than 15 per cent of the people of voting age in his district. The others were mainly denied the vote by the poll tax system.

THE PASSING THRONG
BY ATTICUS MULLIN

The Advertiser

The person who votes in the general election in November and who fails to vote under the Democratic rooster, will not be able to make a race in the Democratic primary of 1950 and may not be able, even, to vote.

Lots of people claim they are in a quandary as to what to do. Some claim they want to vote for Truman for President. Every person entering the Democratic primary in May had a chance to vote for Truman when there were more than 11 presidential electors on the ticket who were not against him. Those persons pledged themselves, no matter how they voted then, to support the Democratic nominees.

Thur. 8-26-48
Montgomery, Ala.

There is a great deal of difference between the National Democratic Party and the Alabama Democratic Party. The Alabama Democratic Party is a state institution qualified to do business in Alabama and with an emblem and other things registered with the Secretary of State. The National Democratic Party is merely a nucleus of state Democratic parties. The emblem of the National party is the donkey. The emblem of the Alabama Democratic party is the crowing rooster and under that rooster the words "White Supremacy." Could you ever imagine a national party with Truman at the head being in favor of white supremacy? Of course not.

Thur. 8-26-48

The issue is so simple here in Alabama that no wonder newspaper polls are showing ten to one and more for the Thurmond and Wright ticket. That is the way Democrats in Alabama feel. I have talked to hundreds in the last few weeks, perhaps thousands, and in very few instances did I find a man or woman who wanted to vote for Truman again. They have already voted once and most of them are sorry they voted for Truman the first time.

To vote regular, you make one mark under the rooster

Tuskegee Negroes Fail to Register

Pitt. Courier 24e

TUSKEGEE, Ala. — Although the registration books in Macon County have been open since Jan. 9, and although 81 per cent of the county's total population is made up of Negroes, not a Negro had been registered for voting up to last week. More than 200 whites have registered, an election official said.

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81 PER CENT OF TUSKEGEE

Mont. Advertiser 34e

Editor, The Advertiser:

Mr. G. L. McAllister's news item on Tuskegee, Ala., and accompanying pictures appearing in The Advertiser over date of Nov. 29 might have been interesting reading for people outside of Tuskegee, but I know that the Negro population of this town (which is 81 per cent) must have been sickened while Mr. McAllister talked carelessly of "interracial cooperation and friendliness" existing here.

Montgomery, Ala.

I note, too, that he spoke of "good streets." The streets serving 81 per cent of Tuskegee's population are often impassable. But, maybe he was referring only to the streets serving the white residences.

Mr. McAllister spoke, too, of a 100-acre lake which provides recreational facilities, but failed to say that this lake is closed to the vast majority of Tuskegee's citizens (the Negroes). I notice also that no mention was made of the fact that Negro students attending high school in this area are expected to pay a fee of $20 per year; that the school building is badly in need of repair and improvement.

Too, Mr. McAllister mentioned nothing of the wide discrepancy in the number of whites and Negroes voting here (there are 2,300 white electors but only 153 Negroes registered to vote in this area. Keep in mind that the Negroes outnumber the whites in population 5 to 1, yet the whites out-vote the Negroes 15 to 1); that only nine Negroes have been registered in the last three years, yet over 200 whites were registered during this same period; that th Negroes are at the registration place each time the doors are suppose to be opened but cannot find the registration board members; that only 15 out of the "famed Tuskegee Institute's" 800 employes are registered voters; that less than 100 of the Negro-staffed 1,400-employee veterans Hosptial are registered voters.

Now, all these Negroes know their A. B. C.s. Why not let them take part in government.

Dec 11-23-48

Mr. McAllister would have done his paper a great service if he had asked the "city and county fathers" to divulge the names of those who took part in the recent Ku Klux Klan parade and cross-burning party two weeks ago. Or, since these guardians of the citizens here seem to be bent on doing what is fair and just, if they would permit a band of Negroes to parade in the business district of town (under black sheets), return to their parked cars, fix a flat tire and burn a cross in the public square.

Yes, when I read the news article appearing in yesterday's Advertiser it made me nauseated.

I am not a Northern agitator. I was born in the South and have not spent one month away from here.

oting Irregularities oted in Arkansas

The Call
Kansas City, Mo.

24e

Fri.

8-6-48

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—(ANP). —An overhauling of the voting system and voting laws in Arkansas was being demanded by many citizens following the recent primary elections in the state.

Negro voters were very critical. Although no one tried to prevent them from voting, many white citizens crowded around colored polling places and looked on to see how they voted.

As a whole such irregularities as the open ballot rather than secret, no verification of voters or voting lists, irregular counting of ballots and shortage of ballots were noted throughout the state, not only in colored precincts, but in the white also.

Political campaigners were even noticed in several polling places openly speaking to the voters after they received their ballots. Poll tax payment was not authenticated in many places.

Speaking of these evils found in many of the state's polling places the Arkansas Gazette wrote:

"Some of the irregularities cited above are theoretically forbidden by the law, but by long custom the law is generally ignored. Our voting system is patently inadequate; it invites chicanery.

"A complete overhaul of the voting laws should be high on the list of urgent business for the next legislature."

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by Negroes eats Holt in Arkansas

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat 8-21-48

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—The deci- ive power of the intelligent use of e ballot was shown in Arkansas week when the Negro vote de- ted a candidate for Governor had hoped to ride into office race-hate platform.

the State's ,000 Negro voters joined with -thinking white electors last sday in turning back the guber- torial bid of former Atty. Gen. ck Holt in the run-off primary the Democratic nomination to at high office. With the aid of the Negro vote, 36-year-old Sidney McMath, fighting prosecuting attorney of Garland County (Hot Springs) won the election by slightly more than 10,000 majority Democratic nomination in Arkansas is tantamount to election.

McMath's victory was significant in view of the fact that third-place candidate James (Uncle Mac) Mackrell of the July 27 preferential primary not only threw his support to Holt, but served as his campaign manager in the run-off election.

INJECTED 'RIGHTS' ISSUE

Both members of the Holt political team stooped to the low of injecting so-called States' rights and the race question into the run-off primary as issues. They attacked McMath for "straddling" the civil rights program and accused him of failing to speak out for Southern "traditions" including segregation.

Holt's strategy obviously was to create hysteria on the part of the emotional element of whites by painting nightmarish pictures about so-called social equality.

In reply McMath told Arkansas voters his opponents was using the race issue to "frighten you by saying unless he was elected Governor, the Negroes were going to take the Government. His entire approach to this problem is absurd and ridiculous."

REPERCUSSIONS

There were several post-election repercussions. Holt said Saturday that a "correct" count of votes would reveal that he and not McMath won the nomination. He added: "I won the election last Tuesday and I am going out and get it."

Meanwhile, Governor Ben Laney charged that the "controlled" Negro block voting was the deciding factor in last week's primary. He said that McMath received votes "from Negroes who didn't know for whom they were voting, but were voting because they had been told to do so."

The Governor said that in Ouachita County, in which he lives, the larger part of the McMath majority there came from Negroes.

GOVERNOR RAPS RACE

"I have no objection to the independent Negro who knows for whom he is voting," Laney asserted. "But I do object to a vote which is fixed. I condemn organized, fixed and controlled block voting."

Sat 8-21-48

The Governor is a member of the States' right crowd. He attended the Dixiecrat rebellion at Birmingham, but declined to bolt.

Political observers scoffed at Laney's charge of "fixed" voting by Negroes. Several queried what afforded a worse example of bloc voting than the blind support whites in a number of Southern States give to rabble-rousing candidates who advocate "white supremacy" and a denial to the Negro of his rights as a citizen.

REFUTES GOVERNOR

McMath said the Governor's charge was "obviously not correct and absurd on its face.

"The election is over and the people have spoken," he continued. "I have too much to do preparing for the job ahead to become engaged in any controversy with Mr. Laney or anyone else."

He said the only bloc voting with which he was familiar was directed by politicians active in Holt's campaign. Unofficial returns indicate a record-breaking vote estimated at 301,500 in last Tuesday's gubernatorial primary.

Progressive Voters Meet; Pledge Non-Partisan Policy

(34e) Fla Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

By JAMES B. LaFOURCHE

MIAMI — (ANP) — Re-affirming its independence, the National Progressive Voter's league in a three day conclave here at the Mt. Zion Baptist church stated through its militant president Maynard H. Jackson, that its 15,000 members scattered throughout the nation had pledged themselves to a non-partisan policy. Thurs

The Florida session, described as a "political Workshop," drew to the playground city of the south, members from every southern state. The conference took on the aspect of a miniature national convention where serious thought was given to the studying and evaluating of the candidates and their respective parties. 9-4-48

Said Pres. Jackson: "We stand on voting men and measures regardless of party."

STUDY BALLOT

Considerable time was given to the study of the rights of citizens and the power of the ballot. The one great goal of the organization is to get more Negroes registered in time for the next November elections.

Mr. Jackson stated that the Miami conclave had ben forced on the PVL as the result of the upheaval by southern governors protesting the proposed adoption of Pres. Truman's 10-point program, and the entry of Wallace as the third party candidate. It was also admitted that there was considerable speculation as to who the Republican standard bearer might be. Daily World

CONDITIONS REVEALED

Tuesday morning's session was devoted to the "State of the Nation," at which time representatives from Georgia, Alabama, Mississipi, and Louisiana told of the peculiar conditions existing in their respective states as pertains to the registration of Negroes and the jim crow impediments which have to be circumvented. Atlanta, Ga.

Outstanding among the visitors were Pres. Maynard H. Jackson, Atlanta; Mr. and Mrs. M. W. Merritt, Augusta, Ga.; A. C. Partee, Dallas; H. M. Morgan, Tyler, Tex. Prominent Miamians were D. H. Douglas, Atlanta Life Insurance Co., Atty. L. E. Thomas, the Rev. E. T. Graham and Charles A. Lockhart, (AFL) labor leader. 9-4-48

The Vote In Florida

The News

Florida Democrats nominated a governor this week. The total vote, with only 11 precincts to be heard from, was 571,438. Alabama Democrats in their primary May 4 cast a total of 310,929 votes.

34e Fla

But Florida has a smaller population than Alabama. The 1940 official census gave Alabama 2,832,961 people and Florida only 1,897,414. Since 1940, it is true, Florida has gained in population more than has Alabama. A Census Bureau study estimated that during the war years, 1940-46, Florida gained 13 per cent in civilian population and Alabama lost 12 per cent. What readjustment there has been since then is uncertain, but in any case Alabama surely has more population still than has Florida.

How, then, account for the fact that almost twice as many Florida citizens vote in their Democratic primary as do Alabama citizens in theirs?

Birmingham, Ala.

One obvious explanation is the poll tax situation. Florida has no poll tax. Alabama has the most restrictive of any of the states where the poll tax is still a prerequisite to voting. The poll tax is a deterrent of voting. Otherwise its retention would not be a matter of importance. Fri 5-28-48

More Florida citizens may vote, moreover, because of population characteristics. In Florida, 27 per cent of the people, by the 1940 census, are Negro; in Alabama, 34 per cent. There is, also, a higher percentage of Florida citizens of voting age. The 1940 census showed Florida had 62.6 per cent of the total population of voting age, while in Alabama the percentage was only 54.9.

Another fact to be introduced in the picture is that Florida in 1940 polled 485,492 votes, and Alabama only 294,219 votes. The current large vote, relative to Alabama, is, therefore, nothing new. The 1944 figures were: Florida, 482,803; Alabama, 244,743.

But the proof of voting statistics lies, in some measure at least, in the quality of government that results. In that respect, Florida does not seem to have suffered from lowering the barriers to more voters. Florida's state government certainly stands up well under comparison with Alabama's. The News Fri.

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Furthermore, even if Florida government and politics are not superior to Alabama's, it could still be argued that Florida's democracy reaches a higher level. And that, in time, should mean superior government. For democracy presupposes the ability of people to govern themselves. The more people there are who participate in government by voting, the better the government will be, eventually. Birmingham, Ala.

Too few people in Alabama are concerned, or are permitted to be concerned, about the kind of government they have. In the long run, we shall suffer for it. State poll tax reform could help remedy this situation. It could also help forestall undesirable federal efforts to bring about such reform. 5-28-48

Negro Vote Exceeds White In Perrine Community

Memphis World

34e

Memphis Tenn

PERRINE, Fla.—"I talked it over with the Lord and the Lord told me to withdraw," was the statement reputed to have made to Mrs Jula Wyatt, a Perrine City Clerk, by Ben Shavis, Negro grocer and carpenter, as he last Friday dropped out of the race for a place on the Perrine City Commission.

This statement controverts an earlier contention on the part of Republican leaders in this farming community who claim that Shavis dropped out of the race because of threats made to him against his life by enraged white citizens of the community. "For reasons" not made clear after his withdrawal from the race, Shavis went to Hasting, Fla., returning on Tuesday. He claim that he went to the Western Florida city on "business."

Tues. 11-30-48

Asked about the threat, he said: "I didn't hear that until I got back."

"That's a kind of false alarm that is all that is. Really, I haven't been threatened." Shavis said he originally entered the race because he "felt like there ought to be a colored man in there." He dropped out last week, he said, because "I didn't feel like I was able to fill that office." Tues. 11-30-48

Republicans leaders investigating a reported "drop out or die" threat and Perrine officials who expressed surprise at the charges, adthere was nothing concrete to go on.

Leonard Friedmna, member of a three-man Republican committee, said the gruop had failed even to contact the Rev. A. D. Coleman, Negro Republican committeeman from Perrine who first made the charges before the Republican Headquarters Club Monday night.

William C. Besselievre, assistant police chief of Perrine, conceded there had been "a few rumors floating around--on the White side."

"I heard this morning that somebody was pretty well lit up when he made certain remarks," the assistant chief said. He added however, that Shavis had reported nothing to any member of the Perrine police force, which consists of two white and three Negro policemen.

For the election the registered Negro voters outnumber the White 316 to 27 and Barfiled said an advisory Negro council headed by Shavis has been masterminding most of the municipal affairs affecting the large Negro community.

mitted after a day's scouting that

On the Negro council's recommendation and with the financial support of the Negro community, Barfield said, the new municipality had developed a Negro section and employed three Negro policemen--all in less than six months.

Interracial cooperation in community affairs, he emphasized, has been well-night perfect in Perrine.

Mob Breaks Up Church Meeting, Chases Pastors

34e

The Courier

Sat 8-21-48

Pittsburgh, Pa

GREENSBORO, Fla.—In a frenzical attempt to kill all efforts of Negroes to register and vote, a band of white citizens of this small town entered a church Sunday and armed with shotguns and rifles broke up a meeting on voting rights and gave chase to two ministers and a teacher of the town.

Approximately thirty persons, gathered in Antioch Baptist Church, pastored by the Rev. Robert Bush, assisted by Frank Williams, teacher, and the Rev. William McNeally, were being instructed of their rights as voters and being told why the franchise should be exercised when more than fifty armed men entered and dispersed the meeting.

The three leaders were chased more than half a mile.

34e

Lost Cause, 1948

BY ROWENA W. TOBIAS

The Nation

Sat 8-14-48

New York N.Y.

Charleston, S. C., August 4

WHILE the Dixiecrat fireworks fizzled through the headlines, the South's last-ditch abortive battle to preserve a one-party, one-color political system has been lost in Charleston's Federal District Court. The last citadel of "white-only" voting has been breached by federal fiat, a far more significant fact in changing the pattern of Southern politics than all the shenanigans of Thurmond, Wright, Laney, and company. Judge J. Waites Waring, in ruling, on July 16, that Negroes must be allowed to enrol and vote in Democratic Party primaries in South Carolina, and that no qualifying oath of opposition to the "so-called FEPC law" may be required of them, has closed the last legal loophole against Negro participation in Southern politics. In the first week that the party books were opened to Negroes, over 4,300 of them enroled in Charleston County alone.

South Carolina has been the test case. This is the state which has gone furthest in seeking legal stratagems to keep Negroes out of party affairs. After the Supreme Court decision giving Lonnie E. Smith, a Negro, the right to vote in the Texas primaries of 1944, leaders of the South Carolina Democratic Party decided to erase all statutes concerning primaries from the state code and adopt the line that the party here is a private club holding private nominations. Waring's decision slashes away this technical interpretation and returns to the heart of the matter—that primaries are a part of the election machinery and, in South Carolina, the only effective and meaningful election. He has invited South Carolina "to rejoin the Union" in these words: "It is time to . . . adopt the American way of conducting elections."

Other Southern states have carefully observed developments in South Carolina. Georgia's last primaries were open to Negroes, Alabama's new qualifications apply equal treatment to white and Negro, and Mississippi's policy of intimidation of Negroes has not been altogether successful. South Carolina remained the last state with a "pure" white primary, and if its politicians had won, the rest of the South would quickly have followed the battle-plan laid down here. An interesting parallel can be drawn between the present era and the days preceding the Civil War, when South Carolina also gave active and ideological leadership to a lost Southern cause.

The personalities involved heighten the basic drama of the story. In spite of Southern howls about "outside interference," the decisive blow against white supremacy has been delivered by a native son of Charleston. Judge Waring is the scion of an old and conservative family, and a former leader in South Carolina machine politics. His inside knowledge of party tactics, in fact, has enabled him to circumvent all the twists and turns of the political leaders. His new status as a social outcast and almost a "lunatic" has, it is true, contributed some bitterness to his clashes with lawyers who appear in his court on day-to-day matters, but it has not deterred him in his adherence to Constitutional principles.

Robert McC. Figg, a lawyer with a brilliant record as prosecutor, originated the idea of removing the primary laws from the state code. He also acts as an advisor to the party and to South Carolina's Governor J. Strom Thurmond, the fair-haired boy of the Dixiecrats. Figg, who does not come from an old-line Southern family, could be compared to John C. Calhoun, defending a doomed class and tradition and often recognizing the inadequacies of the men and events for which he serves as apologist. But his public allegiance to "states' rights" is unswerving.

Sat 8-14-48

The Governor, fairly young and fairly liberal, for the South, is also an important figure in this historic moment His ambitions and his inclination for personal publicity have catapulted him into the front of the white-supremacy armies (just as they got him into *Life*, standing on his head), but his battalions, whether or not he realizes it, are fighting for control over what remains of a wrecked Democratic Party, and not for the Presidency. Since even this limited campaign seems like another lost cause, Thurmond's leadership here may cost him the Senatorial seat that he had hoped to win in 1950. One observer at a recent meeting of the Dixiecrats in Jackson, Miss., summed up the movement by citing Jim Watson's comment on the 1920 Republican convention that nominated Harding: "There I stood, knee-deep in midgets."

The Nation

While the hotheads hare off after the Dixiecrats, most local politicians are still trying to decide what course to follow. Some adopt the plan of W. W. Ball, the irascible and autocratic editor of the Charleston *News and Courier*, who wants to abolish primaries altogether and nominate, in aristocratic conventions, "men of property." Others hope to establish new qualifications for voting in the national elections that may nullify most of the potential Negro ballots. Still others look forward with genuine relief to a two-color, two-party system which will break the Solid South and return it to national prestige and participation in both major parties. Now, they believe, all Southerners who are actually Republican in economic and social principle will find it respectable to join the G. O. P. Thus, in the end, a free ballot for Negroes may mean a free ballot for white Southerners.

New York N.Y.

WHITE SUPREMACY IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY was hard hit when a special federal court, on August 3, declared it unconstitutional for New Mexico to deny the franchise to reservation Indians. Only a few days earlier, the Supreme Court of Arizona had knocked out that state's ban against Indian voters by reversing one of its own decisions of twenty years ago. Now, for the first time in history, Indians everywhere in the United States can vote. The federal government has finally fulfilled the promise of Indian citizenship made in the Mexican Cession treaty, confirmed by act of Congress in 1924, and guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment. The leader of the contemporary Indian war for freedom from white supremacy was a former marine sergeant, Miguel Trujillo, a full-blooded Isleta Indian. His attorneys were supported by the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Congress of American Indians, the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, and the Indian Bureau. n the basis of his victory, Navajo, Apache, and Pueblo Indians look forward to the use of the ballot in their fight against starvation. For six months, Arizona and New Mexico welfare officials, apparently with the tacit approval of the White House and Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing, have denied federal and state social-security benefits to the aged and blind and the dependent children of Indian blood, who probably need such assistance more desperately than the members of any other group in the country. The newly enfranchised Indians of the Southwest are no longer in a mood to accept this shameful discrimination with stoical resignation.

The Nation

Sat 8-14-48

New York N.Y.

Sat 8-14-48

DUSTIN' OFF the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

The Defender

Now It's All Over: Truman Got Our Vote

Sat [illegible]

34e

Chicago Ill

Lucius Harper

AT the time this is written (Monday morning), we are not certain who will occupy the White House for the next four years. Judging from the amount of confusion that has been stirred up during the campaign, we lean, however, to the belief that Thomas Dewey of New York will be the man. We wore President Truman's badge on our coat lapel throughout the struggle — even at some Republican banquets — and have no apologies to offer. Whoever occupies the White House will have to go forward under the Truman program—and not backward.

President Truman set into motion in his special message before Congress last February 2 the most progressive program fathered by any president since Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. In fact the Ten Point Program that

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he outlined—seven of which vitally concerned our well-being as American citizens—can be looked upon, in the light of present day events, as a Second Emancipation Proclamation. Although Congress sidestepped the issue, and did not act upon President Truman's recommendations, we share with him the belief that it was the "worst Congress" in the history of the nation. Whatever may be said to the contrary, this congress "muffed the ball" to aid in making America truly democratic in spirit as well as in words. Are we to be surprised when Stalin laughs at our bogus and fraudulent democracy?

34e

IN case you have forgotten, here is what Mr. Truman asked the 80th Congress to do in order to make our Constitution function without regard to race, color or creed, and it turned him down:

"1—Establishing a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.

"2—Strengthening existing civil rights statutes.

"3—Providing Federal protection against lynching.

"4—Protecting more adequately the right to vote.

"5—Establishing a Fair Employment Practice Commission to prevent unfair discrimination in employment.

"6—Prohibiting discrimination in interstate transportation facilities.

"7—Providing home rule and suffrage in Presidential elections for the residents of the District of Columbia.

"8—Providing Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and a greater measure of self-government for our island possessions.

"9—Equalizing the opportunities for residents of the United States to become naturalized citizens.

"10—Settling the evacuation claims of Japanese citizens."

WHEN Congress by-passed President Truman's request, he went ahead and tried to accomplish rights for Negroes by issuing two executive orders; one was designed to achieve equality of treatment and opportunity in the armed forces, and the other strengthened the fair employment practices policy in the civil federal establishment. He recognized the legal ability of Negroes by placing one on the Federal bench, Judge Irvin C. Mollison, and he went further and made a Negro a governor, William Hastie. One very important committee having to do with the body politic, President Truman has named a Negro as member.

34e

At the expense of splitting his own party and thereby losing his post in the White House, he stuck by his Civil Rights program from beginning to end, yet there were thousands among us who accused him of "just playing politics to get the Negro vote." We disagree with them. It would have been much easier for him to choose the other path. Whoever takes up the cause of the Negro as President Truman did digs his own political grave, and oftimes the Negroes join in to furnish the shovels. At the end of his campaign in New York, where Mr. Truman spoke before 65,000 people, he was as firm in his demand for civil rights as he was when he spoke before Congress on February last. He declared:

Sat 11-6-48

Continued Guide Dustin off the

"Today the democratic way of life is being challenged all over the world," Mr. Truman said. "Democracy's answer to the challenge of totalitarianism is its promise of equal rights and equal opportunity for all mankind.

"The fulfillment of this promise is among the highest purposes of government. Our determination to attain the goal of equal rights and equal opportunity must be resolute and unwavering.

"For my part, I intend to keep moving toward this goal with every ounce of strength and determination I have."

WE believe Mr. Dewey will make a good president. He said in his acceptance speech at Philadelphia: "I am under obligation to no man for this nomination." He has promised you nothing but UNITY whatever that means in politics. In some states he refrained from aiding men on his own ticket: as in the case of Gov. Green and Senator Brooks in Illinois. Insofar as Negroes are concerned, President Truman has set a stiff pattern for him to follow. He will have to appoint a Negro in his cabinet or on the U. S. Supreme Court to beat the record. As to our civil rights in Mr. Dewey's hands, we shall watch and wait.

Sat 11-6-48

We have, however, no regret to trouble us or any apology to make for voting for President Truman.

SOUTH'S NEGRO VOTE IS SEEN FOR TRUMAN

34e

Oliver W. Hill, the first Negro in Virginia to be elected to the Richmond City Council in fifty-two years, said yesterday that despite the Lincoln tradition and Progressive party promises, most of the 1,200,000 qualified Negro voters in the South would cast their ballots in November for President Truman and other Democratic candidates.

Mr. Hill interrupted a three-day sound truck tour of Harlem urging Negroes to register for the elections to hold a news conference in Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Biltmore Hotel.

He pointed out that one-third of the voters who put him in office were white and explained that Southern Negroes realized in turn that they could win better conditions only by supporting liberal Democrats.

"Is this whole civil rights struggle," Mr. Hill declared, "one thing seems to be lost sight of. There is rising in the South a large body of white citizens who recognize the importance of extending Constitutional guarantees to Negroes in order to strengthen their own economic and political security."

The Communist taint attached to the Wallace movement, Mr. Hill said, would stop it from making "any serious inroads on the Negro vote in the South." He criticized Governor Dewey's record on civil rights for Negroes in New York and added that a Republican Congress would not take any positive action to help Negroes because of the danger of "offending certain of their Congressional allies from the South."

Where Credit Is Due

Washington Post

34e

Washington D.C.

With somewhat more than a million votes under his belt, Mr. Henry Wallace is already blowing Gideon's trumpet for a Progressive Party triumph in 1952. He has a long way to go, and in our opinion is doing his cause more harm than good by claiming credit for putting Mr. Truman back in the White House and the Democrats into control of Congress. Like his ungenerous telegram "conceding" victory to Truman in the form of a lecture on what the President must do, this distortion of the evidence can only detract still more from Wallace's personal reputation.

Thur 11-18-48

Credit for the outcome of the election belongs elsewhere, as indicated by the returns from New York City's Eleventh Assembly District. The voters of this Harlem district numbered 27,477. Mr. Wallace had appealed to them and their fellow citizens of the Negro community elsewhere for support on racial grounds. The results show that 61 per cent of them voted for Truman, 16.8 per cent for Dewey, and 12.6 per cent for the Progressive Party candidate. Even if this cannot be taken as proof of Negro reaction elsewhere in the country, it shows that Mr. Wallace failed in his effort here to splinter the Negro voters away from the regular parties. In refusing to be led astray by appeals to race, we think the Harlem voters showed sounder judgment than their would-be leader.

Thur 11-18-48

The Right To Vote

To the Editor:

34e

The News

The right to vote is our priceless heritage. Now that we have so many evil conflicts fighting to overthrow our present government and to gain control for selfish reasons, we now have a great responsibility resting on our shoulders as American citizens.

Wed 11-17-48

Our sons, fathers and brothers and husbands fought on the battlefields to subdue aggrandizement and tyranny and to save our country. We should see them now in a vision putting up their bodies and lives as a bulwark for his flag, your flag, and my flag. Now is the time for us to show our gratitude by going to the registrar's office in the courthouse and register for the purpose of voting. We are indebted to them to live up to their expectation of us. We should all take an interest in our government. The women and men who have not become qualified voters should go and register and pay their past due poll tax now.

There has been a law enacted recently whereby we must be in a position to explain any part of the constitution intelligently before becoming a qualified voter. Remember, there are three kind of people in the world—the wills, the won'ts and the can'ts. The first accomplish everything, the second oppose everything, and the third fail in everything. We must have the will to qualify ourselves and not shirk this responsibility.

What is happening to Americans? If we are dissatisfied with the Constiution of the United States, let's agree to abolish it and start all over again; and if we hold it dear to our hearts let's stand up and fight for it. We cannot accept part of it without doing injustice to the whole. We must preserve our government; it must be given back to the people. Our ballots provide the only real answer.

Wed 11-17-48

We as Americans are a free nation and we must never give up our freedom. People of the most questionable loyalty have worked their way into high places in our government circles, and only through the ballot can they be gotten out. Voters should realize that we now have in our midst a certain class of voters who are casting their ballots for the purpose of favors, prestige, and many other ulterior motives. This class of voters we must fight also.

WANDA SIMS.
1305 North 31st Street.

A Transformation Which Aided Truman

Sat. 11-27-48

34e

MOST observers who have ventured a diagnosis of the results of the November 2 election which gave President TRUMAN a wholly unexpected victory and the Democratic Party substantial successes throughout the country have figured that Mr. TRUMAN's espousal of civil rights doctrine was the dominating factor in winning him the support of the majority of Negro voters.

This is partly, but not wholly true as a backhand perspective makes quite apparent. Another significant fact which played a major part in giving the President and his party heavy Negro backing is that within the past sixteen years American Negroes have undergone a complete metamorphosis in their political thinking. Unlike from the time of their enfranchisement until the presidency of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT they are no longer devotedly Republican, come rain or sunshine.

A large segment of them—and it looks like a substantial majority—is at present anchored in the Democratic Party. Therefore, party preference, as it was with millions of white voters, played no small part in influencing their choice of candidates.

The Republican Party, unfortunately, has not yet been able to black out the haunting memories of the administrations of HARDING and HOOVER with their breadlines and soup kitchens, as compared with the Rooseveltian reign of national prosperity.

Sat. 11-27-48

Now, all intelligent voters realize that the Democrats are not entitled solely to the credit of having dissipated the depression which blighted the country during the years just preceding the late war. The outbreak of the war itself in which all parties united to win was the greatest factor in ushering in the period of prosperity which fortunately still lingers with us. But the fat years did come along with the Democrats in power, whatever the prime reason, resulting in a transformation of the political attitudes of millions of Americans to the great advantage of the Democratic Party.

It is a transformation which has created out of the Negro a divided, instead of a single party voter, and helped very materially in giving Mr. TRUMAN another four-year lease on the White House.

TO A LARGE percentage of colored voters living in the congested areas of the North and Mid-West, civil rights is more or less an abstract subject, except as it definitely applies to their economic plight.

But there is nothing abstract in their dread of a possible visitation by another national recession spreading suffering and despair.

However, there is no justification whatever in the feeling that the country would have been less happy economically under the presidency of the defeated Republican candidate than it will be under the victorious Democratic standard-bearer. But with the majority of voters thinking as they proved they do, the Republicans had to suffer for the unforgotten omissions of their last couple of administrations.

Conversely, the Democrats profited by public acquaintance with an area of national prosperity which fortuitously made its advent under their governmental rule.

Mr. TRUMAN's civil rights pronouncements and his subsequent stand on them made an impression upon a large body of voters; but skepticism of Repulicanism born of unpleasant memories played a larger part in contributing to his success than pre-election sentiment had indicated that it would.

Incidentally, it is a known fact that not even the most loyal Negro Democrat who voted for the party's candidates had wished, or expected, to see southern bourbons returned to Congressional power.

The recapture by the party of complete control of both executive and legislative branches of the government threatens to put back into places where they can do the most harm in the Congress such southern reactionaries as Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON of South Carolina, as well as Mississippi's two rabid race baiters, Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND and Representative ANDREW RANKIN.

It requires more optimism than the average informed citizen at present possesses for him not to feel uncertain of the ability of President TRUMAN to gain Congressional approval of his civil rights program over the heads of such die-hard opponents, should they again find themselves enthroned in high seats in the House and Senate.

We will have a Democratic administration for the next four years after this one, and perhaps, along with it a distasteful mixture of Rankinism.

Labor, Farm, Colored Vote Called Prime Factors in President Truman's Election

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 12-4-48

Cabinet Post Reward Not Expected, Although Competent Lawyers Are Available for Job

By LOIUS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The prime factors in the election of President Truman, insofar as bloc votes go, were the labor, farm and colored votes.

None of these blocs alone would have been sufficient to elect Mr. Truman. But without anyone of them he would not have been elected.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey might not have been elected, but he would have, at least, received enough electoral votes to have kept. Mr. Truman from getting a majority and the election of a President would have been thrown into the House of Representatives.

There the Dixiecrats would have been in a position to use their strength for bargaining purposes.

In the make-up President Truman's Cabinet, which was under consideration at Key West, where the President vacationed, both labor and the farm interests will have representation. But insofar as is known, no Cabinet representation will be given to colored Democrats.

Lewis Served Under Taft

As a matter of fact, no colored person has ever held a Cabinet post, and not since the ad[illegible]ation of the late William Howard Taft has a colored man been in the "Little Cabinet." The last and only colored man to hold such a position was William H. Lewis, Boston lawyer, who served as an Assistant Attorney General during the administration of President Taft.

There are nine Cabinet positions—Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Defense, Attorney General, Postmaster General, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture Secretary of Commerce, and Secretary of Labor.

If Mr. Truman is unwilling to elevate a colored person to a Cabinet post, it appears that equity would dictate that one or more be elevated to a "Little Cabinet" post.

Lawyers Qualified

The argument that there are no qualified colored persons for such posts will not hold water. Since the days when Lewis was an Assistant Attorney General, the colored lawyer has grown in stature and has proved his ability in the courts.

A number of them, have had judicial experience. Gov. William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands, has had both judicial and administrative experience. Two now are members of the Federal judiciary—Judge Irvin C. Molilson of the U.S. Customs Court and Judge Herman E. Moore of the U.S. District Court for the Virgin Islands.

A number of them, like Charles H. Houston, who is engaged in the private practice of law, and Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP, have matched their intellectual powers and legal ability with some of the best white lawyers in the country and have carried off the honors.

Bunche Good Prospect

In other fields there are also colored men of unquestioned ability. For instance, Ralph J. Bunche, United Nations Mediator for Palestine, has proved his skill in international diplomacy in a difficut situation. The State Department has two Under Secretaries and six Assistant Secretaries.

Certainly Mr. Bunche can fill one of these eight positions creditably and, at the same time, help the United States to square in the eyes of the world its practices with its professions.

References here to specific persons and positions are not to be interpreted as excluding other persons and other positions. There are today a large number of colored persons, who, by, character, education and experience, are well qualified to fill any position in the gift of their country.

Voters' Pamphlet Is Now Available

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 5-8-48

34e

NEW YORK—The CIO Political Action Committe has ordered 10,000 copies of the "Declaration of Negro Voters," now available in an attractive pamphlet. An additional order for 2,000 copies has been received from the National Alliance of Postal Employees. The Declaration was formulated by representatives of 21 national organizations meeting in New York on March 27.

34e . 1948

General

Wallace Complicates Negro Vote Hunt

Columbia Record

If there be such a thing as the Negro vote—some Negro leaders say there is not—it could very well decide the election of a president in November. The last census showed that in 1940 the Negro proportion of the total population was between 6 and 3.5 per cent in New Jersey, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Indiana and New York.

34e Columbia, S.C.

Most Negroes were supposed to have voted Republican prior to the New Deal. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt undoubtedly swung much of this vote to the Democratic side in the elections of 1936, 1940 and 1944. Roosevelt's popular majority over Dewey in the 35 non-Southern states in 1944 was only 1,223,000 and the 1940 census showed some 2,300,000 Negroes of voting age in those 35 states. Wed 3-17-48

The Republican victory in the 1946 mid-term elections was widely ascribed to a shift of many Negro voters back to the G. O. P. column. The Roosevelts were gone from the White House; there was no more W.P.A.; many Northern Negroes had resented discrimination against them in the army and the navy. Representative Dawson, the Negro Democrat, elected from a Chicago district, had his majority cut in 1946 by 45 per cent—an indication that many Negroes were again voting Republican.

And it is these facts that explain Truman's sponsorship of his civil rights program. The president is simply trying to curry favor with the Negro voters. However a new factor has now developed to complicate the situation. Henry Wallace's third party plans to run at least nine Negroes for the House in large non-Southern cities, perhaps several Negroes for the Senate in large non-Southern states. To the extent that this maneuver gains Negro votes for Wallace, they may well be votes that otherwise would have gone to the Republican presidential candidate, and undoubtedly will do the Republicans more harm than the Democrats.

Wed 3-17-48

Wed. 3-17-48

If President Truman had had sense enough to keep his mouth shut he might have held the Southern electoral votes—he may, of course, get them yet—and seen Wallace cancel out his raids on the Democratic party by similiar inroads in the Republican Negro vote. It would have offered an opportunity for a Democrat to win.

EDUCATION CALLED INCENTIVE TO VOTE

The Times New York, N.Y. Sun

N. E. A. Shows the Higher the Level of Citizens the Greater the Proportion at Polls

34e 9m.

By BESS FURMAN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 22—The National Education Association today made public a study, "The Voter and Non-Voter," which showed that the higher the educational and economic level of citizens the greater the proportional number going to the polls.

"Analysis of the characteristics of voters and non-voters reveals a direct relationship between education and the act of voting, and presents an unmistakable challenge to American educators and legislators," the N. E. A. said.

A table was presented showing that ten of the thirteen states with the smallest per cent of persons eligible to vote and actually voting were among the thirteen states with the lowest educational attainment in median years of school completed. 5-23-48

Poll Taken on College Men

A sampling poll was also reported in which it was shown that 81 per cent of respondents who had gone to college cast their ballots in 1940, as compared with 67 per cent of the high-school graduates and 61 per cent of those with grade-school education.

An analysis on an economic basis showed that votes were cast by 84 per cent of persons in the upper economic fourth, by 68 per cent of those in the middle economic half, and by 53 per cent of those in the lower fourth.

A more detailed analysis of educational-economic factors brought this conclusion:

"The more economic security and education a person has, the more likely he is to participate in elections. The college-educated in every economic group showed the greatest per cent of voters, and in every instance the higher the economic group the greater the per cent of voters."

A finding that 71 per cent of the white population voted as against only 34 per cent of the non-whites was termed "not surprising since the ethnic group of non-whites is composed almost entirely of disfranchised Negroes."

The report for religious groups said that 84 per cent of the Jewish people went to the polls, along with 72 per cent of the Catholics, 67 per cent of non-members of the church and 66 per cent of Protestants. 5-23-48

Women Voters Are Fewer

The Times

Women still did not vote as heavily proportionally as men, the study stated, the proportions given being that seventy-five men in every hundred went to the polls as against sixty-one women.

It was noted that a survey of 2,000 non-voting women in New York, Chicago, Cleveland and Kansas City conducted in the fall of 1944 revealed that non-voting among women increased on the lower economic and educational levels, with nearly four times as much non-voting on the low extreme of the economic and educational scale as on the high extreme. New York, N. Y.

Older persons were found to take citizenship more seriously, with 76 per cent of persons of 40 years of age and older voting as against only 59 per cent of those between 21 and 39. Sun. 5-23-48

Moon Sees Negro Vote Quadrupled

34e

NASHVILLE.—Approximately 4,000,000 Negroes will vote in the 1948 presidential election, Henry Lee Moon, public relations of the NAACP, predicted in the closing sessions of the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University. 7-31-48

Moon's estimate means that four times the number of Negroes who voted in 1944, including absentee GI voters, will go to the polls in the contest where civil rights is the keystone of domestic policy.

The NAACP official did not predict a Negro bloc of votes, but indicated that he feels, the Progressive Party, the Democrats and the Republicans will share equally in the balloting.

Enroll! Vote! But Be Careful

(AN EDITORIAL)

For the last eight years, especially the last five, this newspaper has urged Negroes to unite and fight for their right to vote as Democrats in South Carolina.

The people took the advice; and now they have in Judge J. Waties Waring's two orders, Elmore vs. Rice and Brown vs. Cope, et al., the firm right to cast that ballot. This fight is over.

34e

In seeking their right to vote, this newspaper urged Negroes to exercise proper conduct, to avoid disorders, disturbances and walk within the strict limits of the law. We pointed out that we had everything to lose by making one false step, and nothing to gain.

The people took this advice too. In five years of intensive efforts to vote there hasn't been a single reported instance in which our people have misconducted themselves, nor given certain hostile groups the stick with which to crack down on everybody. Columbia S. C.

Now, we make another appeal; an appeal which we hope and trust will be accepted in sincerity and as wisdom.

Let us go about the matter of enrolling with the greatest of courtesy, self-respect and consideration. Let's not be mad with anybody, nor try to tell off or show up anybody. Many of the persons conducting enrollment have always rooted for us; they have wanted us to vote in primaries. They are our friends. We of course don't know them by name but if we commit the wrong act, we will be losing them.

Then, let's also be constantly aware that there are numerous persons around who are just looking for one example they can use to embarrass Judge Waring, the NAACP, the Progressive Democrats and the race itself. Some of these may even attempt to provoke an incident. Let's disappoint them. Let us once again prove them liars.

Let no Negro shatter the air with boastful talk, stirring the wrong sentiments. There are more than enough white people doing that now. That is their job; let us leave it to them. Our job is simply to enroll, and to vote. To do these, we need not molest, criticize nor try to humiliate anybody. And if we will keep these things in mind, we will have gained far more than just a few paragraphs in a law book, written by a U. S. Court.

Is Texas Studying Plan To Deny Vote To Negroes?

Informer + Texas Freeman (34e) gen. 2-7-48

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(ANP)—Four southern states are seeking copies of Alabama's Boswell amendment, added to the state constitution 14 months ago to minimize voting of Negroes, the amendment's author revealed this week. San Antonio, Texas

State Rep. E. C. Boswell said, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas want copies of the law as a possible for them to follow. Sat. 2-7-48

His amendment requires prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" any part of the U. S. constitution to the satisfaction of county registration boards. It also repealed a constitutional provision that any person with $300 worth of taxable property could vote whether they could read or write.

Talmadge Devises Ways To Block Negro Voting

Daily World (34e)

Alabama's infamous "Boswell Amendment" which requires voters in that state to "understand and interpret" the state and federal constitutions to the satisfaction of local registrars has been advocated by Herman Talmadge as a device and subterfuge to prevent Negroes from voting in Georgia elections. Such an amendment has been termed as the only avenue open to circumvent a ruling of U. S. District Judge J. Waites Waring and U. S. Court of Appeals which outlawed the South Carolina Primary Plan last week. Wed 1-7-48

Such an amendment is termed the last barricade of "White Supremacy" as it would work as to bar Negroes from elections here in the state. Atlanta Ga.

Negro Democratic leaders in Georgia are expected to offer resistance to such a plan. Headed by Atty. A. T. Walden, the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, are meeting in Macon, Ga., today and high on the agenda for discussion, is expected to be outright opposition any changes in present vote laws.

Commenting on the proposal for a change in Georgia's vote laws Atty. Walden termed "The Boswell amendment, and anything like it is nothing less than a subterfuge equivalent to the white primary. We are confident it will receive the same judical condemnation."

In an interview with the Associated Press forecast that the issue of white supremacy would be intensified by the ruling of the U. S. Court of Appeals' ruling, Mr. Talmadge expressed a view that the ruling "interfered" in state affairs.

Talamdge is quoted as saying:

"I believe that 85 or 90 per cent of the white citizens should vote. There [illegible] in our [illegible] counties who can't read or write. But they own their own farms and they do their own thinking."

"I don't think more than 10 or 15 per cent of our Negroes should vote."

The U. S. Court of Appeals ruled when South Carolina sought to bar Negroes from its elections by divorcing primaries from state control:

"No election machinery can be upheld if its purpose or effect is to deny to the Negro, on account of his race or color, an effective voice in the goverment of his country or the state or the community wherein he lives."

Wed 1-7-48

In Alabama, the State Council of NAACP Branches is planning an attack on the Boswell Amendment. Negro leaders are planning to launch a fight on the bill with a suit filed in the state courts, which eventually will be heard by the United States Supreme Court. Alabama NAACP leaders recently held a state convention in Montgomery, Ala., with attorneys present from the national office of the Association. At that time strategic for the NAACP's legal attack on the amendment was completed and action upon the measure in the courts is expected in the near future.

The Negro Voter Looks At the Candidates

Ky. (34e) Courier Journal

WIDE support of the TRUMAN-BARKLEY ticket by Negro voters is indicated by an editorial in this week's issue of *The Louisville Defender*. A few days ago a similar endorsement of the Democratic candidates was given by *The Chicago Defender*, one of the largest Negro newspapers. Fri 7/23/48

"In the face of losing the white supremacy boys," said the Louisville weekly, "the President has reaffirmed his stand on civil rights . . . We support TRUMAN not only for what he has done but for what he is fighting for. Coupled with him is Senator BARKLEY who has been our standard bearer through the years. They represent democracy, progress and hope . . . HENRY WALLACE so far as we are concerned does not even offer promise." 7/23/48

The Negro citizen is wise who sees the best hope of accomplishment to lie within the two-party system. Fringe parties are futile. They offer a means to indulge emotions without a chance of practical action. They are too often moved into doubtful associations by vengefulness, or by an impulse of rebellion for rebellion's sake rather than for principle's sake.

There Is A Solution To The Negro Voting Problem

W. D. Workman, roving correspondent for the Charleston News and Courier, was talking sound commonsense in his speech to the Columbia Rotary club, even if he was not talking for The News and Courier, which by its own confession rarely finds itself on the right side, i. e. in agreement with The Record.

(34e) gen.

The change in the composition of the supreme court of the United States, Mr. Workman pointed out, has changed the court's thinking on primary elections and the courts now have held that Negroes are entitled to participate in primaries in Texas, Georgia, Louisiana and South Carolina.

Some in the South may not like it, but this is the law. The sensible thing is to recognize it. And it would have been still more sensible to have anticipated the decisions as anybody could have and some few South Carolinians did. But the Democratic (Politicians') party in South Carolina had to learn things the hard way. It could have profited by being generous; instead it made a fight of it and it is still fighting, but it is only a rear guard action. Wed.

This logic Mr. Workman recognizes. "It seems inevitable," he said, "that racial barriers no longer will be allowed to exclude Negroes from party membership. Even if this were not obvious, it seems undersirable, from my point of view, to drive the Negroes into another party, whether it be the Republican party, the Progressive Democratic party, the Wallace party or any other. The white people of South Carolina, from considerations of fact as well as of principle, should not let their actions force Negroes into a color-conscious bloc of voters, responsive to rabble-rousers and demagogs who would seek to arouse them, no less than others have sought to arouse whites over the same race questions. 9-22-48

"I say remove the racial barriers which now prohibt Negroes from membership. And I say, most important of all, require all party members, whether black or white or otherwise, to hold certain educational qualifications or to own a certain amount of property. Columbia S.C.

"As a matter of principle, the same tests would apply to everyone and would be objective, impersonal tests. As a practical matter, the imposition of such qualifications would insure the continued management of party and political affairs in the hands of qualified white persons at least through an extended period of adjustment. At the same time it would give the Negroes a factual goal to aim at in preparing themselves for the full and complete participation in party affairs they are now clamoring for."

This is precisely The Record's position, championed ever since the Smith v. Allwright decision made it clear that the days of the white primary were numbered.

It plots a course, which, The Record believes, can lead to the end of appeals to race prejudice in political campaigns, to the restoration of interracial amity such as used to be enjoyed in South Carolina. 9-22

And if The News and Courier had been as wise as its Mr. Workman, from The Record's point of view of course, South Carolina might already be on the road to better race relations and better politics, divorced from the racial issue.

Alabama Press

News, Birmingham

Three Out Of Eight Don't Vote

(From The Anniston Star) Ala

One of the greatest weaknesses of American democracy is to be found in a deplorable situation wherein three out of every eight persons in this country, listed in the 1940 census as potential voters, do not exercise the voting franchise, and, according to reliable studies, the vast majority of those voteless Americans are self-disenfranchised.

(34e)

Even within the ranks of organized labor, where political consciousness is supposed to be cultivated, there is evidence to indicate that of 16,000,000 union members, only 6,000,000 or so are active voters. When the American Federation of Labor undertook to poll its rank and file on their attitude toward the Taft-Hartley act, its weekly newspaper carried a convenient ballot for the reader to clip, mark and mail back to AFL headquarters, and the result, it seems, was something of a shock—not that any large proportion favored the Taft-Hartley act, but rather because the reader response was so slight. Such results do not bespeak a militant, class-conscious body politic whose thinking would produce a powerful impact at the polls. Sept 6-48

But this is not to criticize organized labor, to the exclusion of other segments of our population. For the fact of the matter is that out of 91,700,000 eligible to vote in the 1946 congressional elections, only 34,400,000 showed up at the polls—or approximately 38 per cent of the voters. And the apathy is growing dangerously, year by year.

According to Dr. George Gallup, director of the Public Opinion Institute, a greater proportion of the eligible population voted in the Roosevelt-Taft election than votes today, even though in those days it meant venturing out, like as not, in inclement weather over unimproved roads. When McKinley was reelected over Bryan, 75 per cent of the voters turned out, as compared with only 55 per cent in the last presidential election. Such widespread failure to exercise the voting franchise has the inevitable effect of undermining one of the pillars of democracy.

THE 1936 EGGS HAVE HATCHED

Enterprise Journal

Why is it that the Negro vote in the North is playing such a vital part in the country today? Up until a few years ago the Negro vote was given little consideration. Why this change?

34e McComb

Frank Kent of the Baltimore Sun gives a historical view on this subject. Until 1936 the Negro vote was considered a definite Republican asset. Franklin Roosevelt was rising in power and ex-senator Guffey suggested to Jim Farley that he thought it possible to win the Negroes of Pennsylvania over to the Democratic Party. He outlined a plan. The shrewd and politically astute Jim Farley countered by saying, "If it can work in Pennsylvania it can be made to work in all 10 of the pivotal states."

The proposition was suggested to Franklin Roosevelt and the trick was tried. First a Negro was appointed assistant Attorney General, the highest political job up to that date held by a Negro. (The record of Reconstruction days excluded). Harry Hopkins, head of the relief agencies was told to be liberal with Negroes. The WPA went all out in the drive. Negro districts were given patronage never before dreamed of and Eleanor Roosevelt was photographed with Negro college groups and the photographs were reproduced and distributed by the thousands.

McComb, Miss.

In the following election the Democrats won 90% of the Negro votes . . . . And the suave Mr. Roosevelt, backed by a Democratic majority in the senate kept the campaign promises (F.E.P.C. et al) from becoming law. Mr. Roosevelt was fostering two opposite political policies at the same time. He was cooperating with the White South on the one hand and catering to the northern Negroes on the other.

Jour. 8-5-48

Since Mr. Roosevelt's death two things have happened: (1) The Negro politicians have become demanding and these demands require performance. (2) The Republicans have gained control of Congress and the Democratic senators have little hope of indefinitely postponing the so-called civil bill of rights which is the outgrowth of all of this political chicanery.

This is the situation Mr. Truman inherited. Being personally politically ambitious and being trained in machine-type politics, the President has not measured the problem with the rule of statesmanship but instead has applied the rule of expediency. Thus the Democratic Party today finds itself in a predicament which Mr. Roosevelt and Jim Farley surely must have known in the beginning would end in strife and chaos.

Today the Negroes hold the balance of power in 75 congressional districts in 18 Northern and border states. . . .The ultimate outcome of this situation is unknown. Eggs set under the political hen in 1936 have hatched out. It required considerable time for the birds to incubate but the fact remains that the eggs have hatched. This is why the South is so earnestly aroused today.

OUR VOTING RECORD IMPROVES

The Afro American

Dr. Luther P. Jackson of Virginia State College, in a article showing how a half million colored people are now voting in the South points out that sometimes colored people do not vote when they have an opportunity to do so.

He also points out that in Virginia, for example, at least 50 per cent of the colored people who pay poll taxes do not vote.

34e

Frequently, the candidates to be voted for are all white as in South Carolina at the present time, where there are six white candidates for governor, all of them hostile to colored people.

Tues 8-31-48

It takes a strong-hearted patriot to be willing to go to the polls and vote for any one of them.

He says to himself,

"What is the use anyhow?"

There is nothing new about the low percentage of colored votes in the Southern States. It will increase gradually as the years go by and the victors can see increasing benefits for themselves in the franchise.

Baltimore, Md.

The white people in all of the State put up 99% of the candidates and look for 99% of the jobs with all the cash value trimmings that go along with a political victory and yet, it costs a strong political organization millions of dollars in campaign expenditures every year in order to get 25% of the white voters out for primary elections.

While there is still the opportunity for voters to write in the names of choices which may not appear on the ballot, many hesitate to do this for the same reason mentioned above.

But it won't take long for politically-conscious people to come up with some candidates of their own. This will compel the whites to put up candidates of higher quality if they hope to woo away any votes which might otherwise go to a colored candidate.

Afro 8-31-48

This is why the South's white machine politicians have been so reluctant to grant full use of the ballot to all citizens, irrespective of race or creed. They may well tremble now as they see the handwriting of thousands of new voters on the ballot. Their days are numbered.

Negroes Hold Crucial Vote

34e gen

Defender

The rise of the American Negro to political maturity and power, with allegiance chiefly to the Democratic party, has been the outstanding political development of the past four years.

Sat 10-30-48

In the South, where the Negro has been discounted as a factor in the one-party, lily-white system, the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court have qualified an estimated 2,000,000 new voters to participate in the coming election. The present court is composed of men who are liberals by conviction, and New Dealers by alignment, all of whom have been appointed by the late President Roosevelt and President Truman.

Chicago Ill

Will Reap Harvest

They have consistently ruled against the strategems and devices of the Dixie demagogues designed to prevent Negroes from taking an effective part in the political life of the South.

34e

The old line Democratic party now stands to reap the reward for enfranchisement of Negroes, through their support in the states where the Dixiecrat insurgents and the heavily financed GOP are seeking to make inroads.

In the 17 northern and border states which normally determine victory in the national elections, Negro voters have risen to new power. Where no vote restrictions ever existed, the number of Negro votes has been swelled in the metropolitan centers of Illinois, Ohio, New York, Michigan, Indiana, Pennsylvania and Maryland by the mass migrations from the South to war plants and new industries during the early '40's.

Residential restrictions have forced them into solid areas, and new leaders have arisen, to build up independent political units which cannot be bought by a few minor jobs or the dispensing of patronage or "protection."

Sat 10-30-48

Balance Of Power

The big city Democratic machines have welcomed the solid support of Negro voters. In exchange they have more and more admited Negro politicians to the inner party councils, where they have exchanged support on election day for pledges of new opportunities, more and better political appointments, and a fairer deal for Negro citizens generally.

The opening of the way to the polls for Negroes in the South, and the growth of political power and strength of Negro voters in the northern and border states, gives the colored citizens a decisive part, a sort of "balance of power" in determining victory in the presidential and congressional elections next Tuesday.

Truman Is Conceded Negro Vote

34e gen

Defender

Sat 11-30-48

With one of the most crucial presidential elections in the nation's history only hours away, two facts emerge on which politicians, pollsters, columnists and editorial writers of every political complexion agree.

Chicago Ill

First, registered Negro voters numbering close to 5,000,000 will turn out in unprecedented numbers to vote Tuesday in all sections of the country.

Second, Negro voters, North and South, will throw their support almost solidly behind President Harry S. Truman and the whole slate of regular Democratic candidates.

"President Truman will get more Negro votes on Nov 2 than any presidential candidate in history," declared Congressman William L. Dawson, as he sparkplugged a state-wide Democratic rally last week at the Morrison Hotel.

May Outpull FDR

Newsmen and political wiseacres all over the country agree with Dawson, that the total of Negro citizens who will cast their vote for Truman will exceed those cast even for the late President Roosevelt.

34e

The "all out" support of Truman by Negroes is predicted upon the fact that his frank and straight-forward program for civil rights has captured the aspiration and imagination of the nation's colored population.

Building on the foundation of social legislation pioneered by FDR, President Truman has been more outspoken and more specific than any other president in detailing his plans for a national program by which Negro Americans shall attain full first-class citizenship status.

Sat 10-30-48

Party Adopts Program

His own commitments on fair, equal and impartial treatment for ALL Americans, regardless of race or color, were incorporated in the Democratic party platform at Philadelphia last summer, literally "over the dead bodies" of reactionary southern demagogues.

To the Negro voters, President Truman and the Democratic party, is on record both for promise and performance. He has fought for federal anti-lynch legislation; he has fought against the poll-tax; he has fought for the elimination of discrimination in interstate travel and government employment.

He has acted to bring about the end of segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. He has pledged himself to the passage of a federal fair employment practice law. His pledges carry great weight with the Negro voters because of the President's record of past performance.

Tried, True, Truman

In addition to the Truman program on human and citizenship rights which have a special appeal to Negro voters as Negroes, his general, social and welfare and economic programs appeal to them as working class Americans.

Extended social security benefits, increase in the minimum wage from the present 40-cent level to 75 cents per hour, federal aid for slum clearance and low rental housing, the development of a national health program, steps to curb high prices are all close to the hearts of Negro voters. They have to do with living and making a living.

On all these points the Negro voter knows where Truman and the regular Democratic congressional candidates stand. From the Republicans these questions have been met with vague promises or stony silence.

In the staunch belief that "tried and true Truman" offers a safer bet than a "doubtful Dewey" any day in the week, Negro voters are working tirelessly for his re-election.

Georgia County Tests Negro Voters

The Black Dispatch

34e

GRIFFIN, Ga. — (ANP) — Negro voters in Spaulding county are being tested to prove whether they are qualified to vote. They are appearing before the Spaulding county board of registrars to make their proofs.

The voters are being subponaed to the board through the sheriff's office. The questioning involves 1,500 registered colored voters. Of 77 persons called before the board on its first, 19 failed.

Sat 8-7-48

According to R. L. Addleton of the board of registrars, subpenas are issued only if "there are any doubts" about qualifications.

Oklahoma City, Okla

Negro citizens have hired two Atlanta lawyers, S. S. Wallace and Frank Bowers, to represent them before the board.

The Negro Prefers Truman

(The New Republic)

34e

Negro voters more than justified the increased voice in Democratic Party affairs their leaders are now demanding for them. Final returns from the Negro centers of Negro population show that in spite of concentrated Wallace-party appeal for their votes, Negroes backed Harry Truman as strongly as they ever backed Franklin Roosevelt.

The pattern of Negro votes nationally ran better than 75 per cent for Truman. In Negro wards in Philadelphia, Chicago and Pittsburgh, the public preference of Truman

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in Philadelphia cast their ballots for Truman. City Magistrate Joseph Rainey, the Negro who led Wallace's local campaign, running in a district which has 131,000 votes (51 per cent Negro), polled only 5,400 votes in all, only 2,400 of which, it is estimated, were Negro votes. Rainey's own home ward gave him 430 votes out of 15,000. Only 32 of the 900 voters in his own local division supported the Wallace leader.

Chicago's second ward, where Representative William Dawson (slated to become the first Negro Committee Chairman in the new Congress) is committeeman, gave Truman more votes than did any other ward in the city.

Dawson himself received 92,000 votes on the Democratic ticket to 5,000 for the Progressive Party candidate the Wallace forces had backed with all their might. Seventy-five per cent of the Negro vote in Pittsburgh went to Truman, local officials estimate, while only 2 per cent fell into the Wallace column. The practically all Negro hill district gave Wallace 300, Dewey 3,000 and Truman the remainder of its 9,000 votes.

Even in California, the picture was the same. The West Coast Daily Worker (People's World) had to report "that sampling of precincts in the bay area indicated that Negro voters piled up heavy pluralities for Harry Truman, shunned Henry Wallace and all but ignored Thomas Dewey."

In Harlem the vote was 90,000 for Truman, 25,000 for Dewey, and 21,000 for Wallace.

For steadfast devotion, in the face of every temptation to desert, the Negro people deserve the best the Democratic Party has to give.

INDIANS GAIN A VICTORY

Afro American

While the Dixiecrats have been trying to split the Democratic Party, largely because of President Truman's civil rights program, two recommendations of the President's committee regarding another minority group have already been fulfilled.

34e Sat 8-21-'48

A special Federal court has declared unconstitutional a provision in the New Mexico Constitution which deprived Indians of the right to vote and a 20-year-old ruling of the Arizona Supreme Court has been reversed permitting reservation Indians to vote.

Baltimore Md.

These rulings, which came without any fanfare or other demonstrations, removed, once and for all, the remaining abridgements of suffrage which have plagued the nation's Indians.

How simple it would be for Dixie to accept graciously the request that it accord civil rights to all of its citizens. The money, time and energy expended in resisting the program could be utilized to much better advantage for all concerned.

Negro Group Charges 2 Million Denied Vote

34e

Courier Journal

Louisville Ky

Washington, Nov. [illegible] (A) — The National Negro Council today charged that 2,000,000 Negroes were denied the right to vote in five Southern states this year and asked a Senate investigation.

Sat 11-27-48

Edgar G. Brown, director of the council, presented petitions for the investigation at the office of Senator Jenner (R., Ind.), chairman of the Senate privileges and elections subcommittee. Jenner was out of the city but office assistants said the request is under consideration.

Sat 11-27-48

THE NEGRO PREFERS TRUMAN

34e

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New Republic

Mon 11-22-48

The pattern of Negro voting nationally ran better than 75 percent for Truman. In Negro wards in Philadelphia, Chicago and Pittsburgh, the public preference of Truman to Wallace was overwhelming. Nine out of every 10 Negro voters in Philadelphia cast their ballots for Truman. City Magistrate Joseph Rainey, the Negro who led Wallace's local campaign, running in a district which has 131,000 votes (51 percent Negro), polled only 5,400 votes in all, only 2,400 of which, it is estimated, were Negro votes. Rainey's own home ward gave him only 430 votes out of 15,000. Only 32 of the 900 voters in his own local division supported the Wallace leader.

New York N.Y.

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Mon 11-22-48

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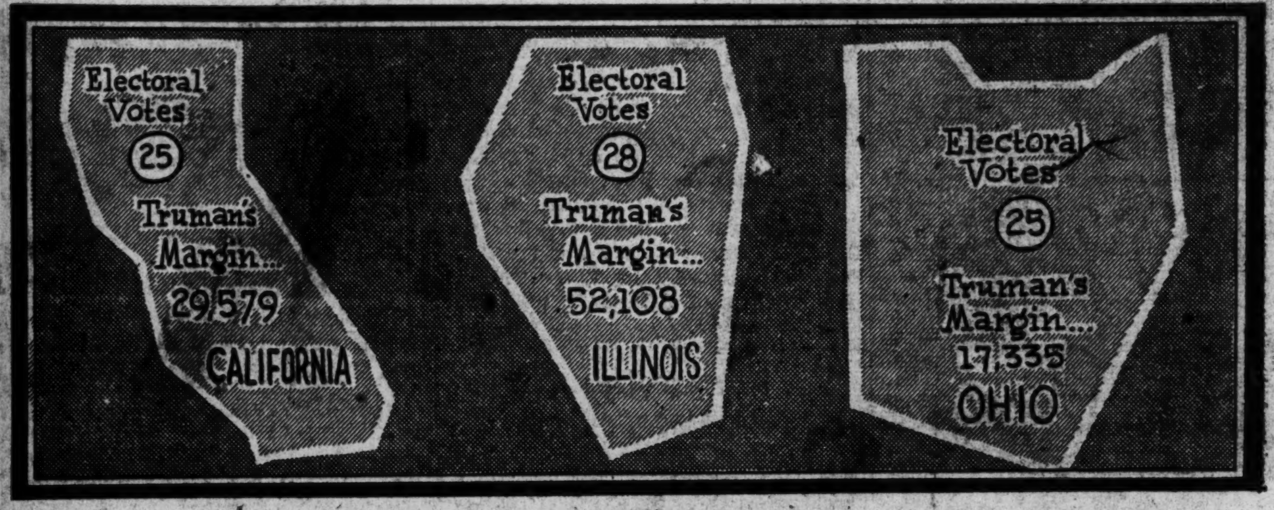
Race Ballots in Illinois, California and Ohio Put Truman in Win Column



Negro votes in these three key States proved the key to the re-election of President Truman

EDITOR'S NOTE: John Clark, The Pittsburgh Courier's political analyst and writer of this story, is one of the few men who predicted that Ohio and Illinois, two of the most important States in the Nation in the Electoral College, would go to President Harry S. Truman. In the following story he points out clearly the fact that the Negro vote was a decisive factor in swinging the election into the Democratic column. He also called the turn on six Democratic nominees for the U. S. Senate.

By JOHN L. CLARK, Political Analyst, Pittsburgh Courier.

The Negro vote in three key States swung the Democrats into the victory column on Tuesday, Nov. 2. These three States were:

1. Illinois, with twenty-eight votes; 2. Ohio, with twenty-five electoral votes, and 3. California, with twenty-five electoral votes.

A shift of only 51,000 Negro votes in these three States would have reduced President Truman's winning margin of 99,022 popular votes to less than one-half of that number. Governor Dewey naturally would have gained in the shift. If that had happened the President would have finished the race with seventy-eight less than his present 304 electoral votes for a losing total of 226. Governor Dewey's 189 total in the Electoral College implemented by the seventy-eight electoral votes thus gained, would have produced a winning total of 267 . . . one more than the needed majority.

Here are the total votes, the Truman majority, the Negro vote and the Negro percentage for Truman in the three States mentioned above:

CALIFORNIA

Truman Vote	1,875,345
Dewey Vote	1,845,766
Total Vote	3,731,111
Truman Margin	29,579
Negro Vote	100,000
Truman Vote (est.) ..	70,000
Dewey Vote (est.) ..	30,000
Truman Margin	40,000

ILLINOIS

Truman Vote	1,980,872
Dewey Vote	1,928,764
Total Vote	3,909,636
Truman Margin	52,108
Negro Vote	119,512
(3 Chicago wards on South Side)	
Truman	85,262
Dewey	34,250
Truman Margin	51,012

OHIO

Truman Vote	1,459,896
Dewey Vota	1,442,561
Total Vote	2,902,457
Truman Margin	17,335
Negro Vote	200,000
Truman	130,000
Dewey	70,000
Truman Margin	60,000

These unexpected figures were revealed in a political survey conducted by the Los Angeles, Chicago and Cleveland offices of The Pittsburgh Courier.

Figures used in State compilations are based on the latest unofficial election returns.

While it has long been recognized that the Negro holds the balancing vote in many States, it has also been charged that the race seldom exercised that advantage.

34e

DECISIVE ROLE

The results reported above prove without a doubt that in the recent election, Negroes joined with organized labor and the women of the Nation to make their ballots count decisively in these three States.

Sat 11-13-48

The Negro vote played decisive roles also in West Virginia, according to a report received from I. J. K. Wells, editor of Color magazine, but it was in California, Ohio and Illinois that the margin was so very pronounced. In these three States, where the total Negro vote was 419,000, their votes swept Mr. Truman into office.

The political preference of the Negro before the election was just as baffling as that of other races. An expressionless silence, which started early in the year and lasted until the polls closed, left the impression that Negroes, like all other voters interviewed by samplers of opinion, "were ready for a change." That was not the case. Much of the story, however, did not leak out until after the results were announced last Wednesday.

From this writer's viewpoint it seems to have been a case of not liking Governor Dewey less, but liking President Truman more. As reasons were unfolded gradually it was learned that a few Negroes who belonged to the trade union movement were opposed to the Taft-Hartley Law.

But most of them forgot about that issue. The issue was complicated, too hard to understand and as they viewed it, the law had not made working conditions any worse for them.

But they were determined to back up Mr. Truman's position on civil rights. They weren't too sure about his sincerity when he appointed his Civil Rights Commission.

They still had doubts when he urged that the report of this commission be enacted into law. They still thought he might have been a Missouri hypocrite at the Philadelphia Convention when Mayor Humphries of Minneapolis, Minn., demanded a "spelled-out" plank on civil rights in the Democratic platform.

Sat 11-13-48

HE CONVINCED 'EM

They became convinced, however, that he was no run-of-mind Democrat when he refused to back down after Mississippi and Alabama walked out of the convention. The clincher came in the unusual move Mr. Truman made in calling Congress into a Special Session to find out if the Republicans meant what they said in their June platform. Civil rights legislation, public housing, and price control were included in his message to the law-makers of the Nation at that time.

What the special Congress did NOT DO about civil rights moved the Negro voters closer to Mr. Truman. When the President refused to bow to the wishes of Negro-hating States like South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana, and set out to campaign with these States against him, no amount of persuasion could convince the Negro that President Truman was not the greatest champion of minority rights to come along since Abraham Lincoln.

Negroes waved no flags. Negroes took no part in loyalty parades. Negroes (aside from the professional politicians) did no talking in public. But they surprised election officials all over the country by going to the polls early on election day and voting for the man whom they thought would serve their best interests.

BASIC ISSUES

The conduct of the Republican Eightieth Congress and Dixiecrat party made Mr. Truman the standout candidate for Negroes on equal rights. But other issues in his campaign were also appealing. The present cost of butter, hams, steaks and other foodstuffs; Federal low-cost housing for families unable to pay higher rents than those charged in slum areas; Federal program for more school teachers and assistants to those seeking education; increased social security payments and assistant to the agent—these issues reached into the lives of Negroes of all walks of life and, particularly those with low incomes. As election day neared these issues, with Mr. Truman's position on civil rights always in the forefront, sealed the determination of Negroes to vote Democratic.

Sat 11-13-48

The interest of the Negro voter was never higher. According to reports his voting was never more concentrated.

From Chicago, Joseph D. Bibb thus reports: "Despite predictions of Chicago Republican bosses in the heavy voting colored communities, the ballot cast for President Truman and the Democratic party assumed landslide proportions.

"In the famous old Second Ward, from whence came ex-Congressmen Oscar DePriest, Arthur W. Mitchell and the present incumbent William L. Dawson, Truman received 30,718; Dewey, 12,295 and Wallace, 133.

"In the Third Ward, (95 per cent Negro) Truman, 26,841; Dewey, 11,457 and Wallace,

"In the new Twentieth Ward (98 per cent colored) Truman, 26,703; Dewey, 10,498 and Wallace, 284.

"The same pattern and percentage prevailed in the Fourth and Fifth Wards where many colored voters live. In scattered districts on the far South Side, the near North Side and the West Side, the colored electorate stumped for the Democratic ticket religiously."

TELLS THE STORY

Negro voters should do well to remember that Mr. Truman's margin in the entire State of Illinois was 52,108. Mr. Truman's margin in three colored Chicago districts was 51,012. That, we think, tells the story of Illinois.

Albert J. Dunmore, representing the Ohio office, gives this information: "The seven large urban centers of Ohio, including Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Toledo, Akron, Youngstown and Dayton voted better than three-to-one for Mr. Truman in the Negro districts. In Cleveland, where the Negro vote went heavily for Mr. Dewey in the 1944 election, the vote went three-to-one this year for Mr. Truman.

Out of some 200,000 Negro votes cast throughout the State, more than 130,000 went in the Democratic column. A complete breakdown will not be available for another week. For this reason, The Courier had to depend on estimates arrived at through careful checks with both Republican and Democratic leaders and available precinct returns used as an average.

CLEVELAND DEMOCRATIC

In Cleveland, out of an estimated 45,000 Negro votes, 32,000 were cast for the Democratic candidate. Most important of the trend in Ohio was the heavy Truman vote in Cincinnati, home baliwick of Senator Robert A. Taft. This vote came largely from the Negro wards. It has been conservatively estimated that some 15,000 out of a possible 25,000 Negro vote total in Cincinnati went for Truman. Precincts in the teaming Sixteenth Ward, heart of Cincinnati's West Side, turned in results like this:

Truman	207
Dewey	64
Truman	257
Dewey	62

In Columbus, the State capital, 12,000 out of the 18,000 votes went to Truman.

In Akron, in the Twenty-sixth Ward alone where most Negroes live, the vote was: Truman, 7,091; Dewey, 2,380, and Wallace, 358.

In the Canton-Alliance-Massilon area the count was Truman, 9,000; Dewey, 3,000.

A report form Atty. Maynard Dickerson, Mahoning County, Youngstown reads as follows: "The total registered vote is 99,782; 10 per cent of this vote is Negro. Out of sixteen precincts heavily populated by Negroes in Youngstown, 88 per cent of the popular vote went for President Truman, which made Mahoning County the strongest Democratic county north of the Mason-Dixon line and east of the Mississippi River."

Hill's California report is incomplete. But he points out that "Byron Rumford became the first Negro Assemblyman from Berkeley, polling 28,494 votes to 13, 594 for his Republican opponent, Edgar S. Hurley. Throughout the State, it was noted that the Republican party lost ground among colored voters. In and around the San Francisco-Oakland area, where the bulk of colored voters residing in Northern California live, it was noted that these voters abandoned the GOP, remained true to the Democrats and sprinkled a few votes to the Wallace-powered IIP."

WINNING MARGINS

The following figures show the winning margins, Negro and electoral votes, in the three States where a shift of the Negro vote could have changed results of the entire election:

	Truman's Margin	Negro Vote	Shift Needed to Change Results	Elect. Votes
Calif.	29,579	100,000	15,000	25
Illinois	52,108	150,000	27,000	28
Ohio	17,335	130,000	9,000	25
Totals	99,022	385,000	51,000	78

Dixie Negro Vote Aided Truman Win

(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

An endless stream of loyal Negro Democrats who cast their ballots for the man who spurred their hopes to heights on his civil rights program, threw a complete checkmate on Dixiecrat inroads against President Truman in eight Southern States in last week's elections. Their votes helped nullify the rebel votes and carried Mr. Truman to victory.

Had it not been for chicanery the Negro voters of four other Southern States would also have counteracted the Dixiecrat votes there as well. Mr. Truman was not on the ballot in Alabama, but the eight Dixie States in which the Negro vote solidly backed Truman to victory carried a total of 100 electoral votes and the President got them all.

Those eight States were: North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia, Florida, Texas and Arkansas.

"DIRTY" TACTICS

Dixiecrats put their race-baiting program over in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and in South Carolina, where "dirty" tactics were charged against Negro voters at the polls.

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Chief offense in South Carolina was the palming off to Negro voters of the Dixiecrat ballot whenever the voter asked for the Democratic ballot. Hundreds of Negroes thus voted for Thurmond—by mistake. Nevertheless, Mr. Truman received 30,498 votes, as against 89,400 for Thurmond, and most all of the Truman votes came from Negro Democrats.

The tenor in South Carolina, as expressed by 89-year-old H. B. Sharon of Horry County, who gave $5 for the Truman campaign, held good for most Southern Negroes. Mr. Sharon said: "I am a Truman man. I want to stand by the man who stands by me."

Sat 11-13-48

VIRGINIA FOR HARRY

Heavy Negro voting, plus labor support, plunged solidly behind Mr Truman, although there was plenty of vote-splitting in the State of Virginia.

In many precincts with a high Negro registration, the Presidency vote went to Mr. Truman, but in Congressional races, voters chose two Republicans in Richmond; Truman led Dewey 4 to 1, and GOP Congressional candidates led the Democrats 6 to 1 in the same boxes.

City Councilman Oliver W. Hill, Attorneys Martin A. Martin and Spottswood Robinson III, Drs. J. M. Tinsley, T. H. Henderson, Harry T. Penn and Leon A. Reid, Messrs. J. Rupert Picott and W. Leslie Banks constituted the Democratic leaders in this area.

TWO-TO-ONE IN GEORGIA

An overwhelming majority of some 80,000 Negro votes in Georgia were cast for President Truman who outrode Governor Dewey two-to-one in several Atlanta precincts. For example in precinct 3-B, located at E. R. Carter School, the totals showed 1,504 for Truman and 656 for Dewey.

Henry Wallace's slate got less than 200 votes from predominantly Negro Atlanta precincts and figured small in the State vote. Reports were that most officials refused to count votes cast for Larkin Marshall, Progressive candidate for the United States Senate.

Atty. A. T. Walden, noted NAACP lawyer, headed Georgia's Negro Democrats and marshalled their votes for the President.

Sat 11

SEVEN-TO-ONE IN TEXAS

Negro Texans, too, registered their approval of Mr. Truman with overwhelming support.

In Precinct Six (almost solidly Negro) in Dallas, the voting machine at the Moorland Branch YMCA registered 1,504 votes for the Presidency. Of this number 1,285 were for Truman, 180 for Dewey, thirteen for Thurmond and twenty-six for Wallace. Of the total in five precincts in which Negroes were represented, predominantly in two, Truman got 3,726 votes to Dewey's 573.

In Houston's Precinct 161 of the Fifth Ward, Mr. Truman got 620 votes to Mr. Dewey's forty-four. Not one vote was cast for Thurmond. This was a predominantly Negro precinct. It was the same throughout Texas.

Without that support, which The Courier had predicted the week before election, the Dixiecrat vote would have cut deeply into the figure which was finally registered for Mr. Truman.

And the South's Negro Democratic leaders say they intend to press for even greater strength within the party in years to come.

Colored Voters Put Truman In

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Afro American

Dawson Points to Big Lead in Five States

Sat 11-13-48

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CHICAGO — The overwhelming total piled up by colored voters in five crucial States was a heavy contributing factor to President Truman's victory, believes Cong. William E. Dawson (Dem., Ill.) who managed the Democratic campaign among minority voters.

Baltimore, Md.

Rep. Dawson in an exclusive statement to the AFRO late Wednesday, pointed to the fact that colored people in Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, Indiana and California gave more than 80 per cent of their votes to the Democratic standard-bearer.

"I believe," he said, "that no one can question the fact that colored voters are responsible for Mr. Truman seizing the lead in these traditional Republican strongholds.

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"Their vote was a clear indication of their deep appreciation for his civil rights program and the courage and steadfastness with which he has supported it."

Turning to the new Democratic-controlled 81st Congress scheduled to convene Jan. 20, Mr. Dawson predicted that the civil rights program will get prompt attention. He expressed the belief that here would emerge a new coalition of liberal Democratic and Republican congressmen as contrasted to the old gangup of conservative Republican and reactionary Southern Democratic members.

Sat 11-13-48

"I feel that President Truman and the Democratic party now have a clear mandate from the people to promote human rights as against property rights. It certainly marks a new attitude of the nation's voters toward our people.

"The Democratic party now stands purged of those elements which so long have stood in the path of our fight for first-class citizenship. But, too, it must be borne in mind that all the gains we have made during the last 16 years have been under Democratic leadership."

Congressman Dawson was returned to his Congressional seat from Illinois's wealthy first district for his third consecutive term by a majority of more than 40,000 over his Republican opponent, William King.

Sat 11-13-48

VOTE IN NORTH ATCHED GREEDILY

ed By Three Parties In Pivotal States

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S WEIGHT IS IMPORTANT

Commercial Appeal

By RADFORD MOBLEY

The Commercial Appeal-Chicago Daily News Service, Copywright 1948

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11.—Republicans and Democrats are watching the negro registration in the large pivotal states this year.

It is too early, strategists on both sides say, to predict how the negro vote, several million strong in the key states, will go.

Sep 9-13-48

But the Democrats say it will stick with their party. Republicans are confident it will swing to them this time. Henry Wallace's Progressives are counting on a heavy negro vote.

Memphis Tenn

Tendency Toward G. O. P.

Recent political history shows that the negro vote, once overwhelmingly for President Roosebelt, has shown a tendency to return to the Republican fold.

In 1944, there was a swing back to the Republican banner in negro registration although it is questioned whether a majority of the negroes actually voted Republican that year, which saw President Roosevelt win again.

In 1938, the Democrats won New York state with the aid of the huge negro vote in Harlem. Since that time Harlem has shifted in state elections and Governor Dewey has had no great difficulty in defeating his rivals.

Important in 16 States

In such pivotal states as New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and Pennsylvania, political experts say that in most recent elections a majority of negroes have registered Republican. Some of them are willing to stick out their necks and say the trend will continue this year.

The negro vote is highly important in at least 16 Northern states. Some experts say the balance of power lies there. They believe a negro vote cast overwhelmingly on one side or the other could influence 200 electoral votes, and it takes only 266 to win.

If there is a swing to the G.O.P. in the negro vote, why is it? Old-time politicians say:

(1) The negro, like every other citizen, is influenced by the urge to "make a change," and this may have a considerable affect on all voters during this first postwar national election.

Has Special Complaints

(2) The negro has many special complaints, ranging from Congress' failure to pass a Fair Employment Practices Act to segregation in the Army. He doesn't look too closely at the facts; simply blames nonaction on the Administration in power.

Sep 9-13-48

Both sides agree that the negro vote will be intensively cultivated this year. They also say that it cannot be won by the promise of a few high positions for negroes, or payoffs at election time. This is clearly shown by the pledges made by both parties in their party platforms.

Canvasses are being made of registrations in all states. Results won't be known for a few weeks. But one side or the other will breathe easier when they are in. Five per cent here and 10 per cent there can mean much in a great national election.

NAACP Secretary Unable To Help President Truman

The Nashville Globe
Fri 10-1-48
Nashville Tenn

Colored Leader Who Got Civil Rights Pledge Witnessing Big Drift To Dewey

34e

Washington, D. C.—Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who has hurt its nonpartism policy in politics by trying to deliver the organization's membership to President Truman, has probably saved himself the cost of an abundance of aspirin tablets and a chronic redness of face by getting a Truman appointment to go to Europe to study the "Berlin situation." With a large majority of colored voters safe in the Dewey camp, publicists even more powerful than Mr. White have begun to challenge the partisan releases that White and Co., are sending out from the national NAACP headquarters. They are boasting Dewey as the "man of the hour" for colored voters and also showing that the 80th Congress is nothing like as bad as it is being painted by President Truman and the other New Dealers.

Many white political leaders have been sold an awfully big "bill of goods" by Walter White. They actually have been thinking that one blast on White's bugle horn has been worth a thousand men. They have thought White could deliver the Negro vote for Mr. Truman and it is generally known that Mr. Truman went all out in his espousal of a multiplicity of civil rights proposals, supremely confident that by thus satisfying the demands of Mr. White he could mow down the Republicans in all of the big cities of the North. White cut a big figure at the Democratic National Convention. By a liberal use of money, presumed to be funds of the NAACP, he put big advertisements in the daily papers of Philadelphia, calling cajoling and threatening the delegates, urging them to throw the Southerners out and telling the Southerners, in effect, "I'll be glad when you're gone, you rascals, you."

Fri 10-1-48

If Mr. Truman and his aides have not as yet found out that Walter White has little or no control over Negro voters of the nation, they are due for a rude awakening in the closing days of the 1948 presidential and congressional campaigns and also on November 2, when the ballots are counted.

The first of the several stunning blows the Walter White prestige is to receive in this year's campaign came the past week when Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president of the Pittsburgh Courier, threw the support of this powerful and widely read weekly behind Gov. Dewey and the Republicans. The Courier played an important part in the 1946 victory scored by the Republicans in the congressional elections. It had supported Roosevelt in 1932 and in 1936. In changing to Republican, the Courier pointed out that however liberal a Democrat president may be he cannot put his liberal views into laws because reactionary Democrats dominate all of the committees of congress. Nearly every colored leader in the country, except Walter White, has recognized the utter impossibility of Mr. Truman ever getting any civil rights laws passed. But White is as intolerant of Republicans as any Democrat of White's native state of Georgia.

Fri 10-1-48

White virtually forced popular William Pickens out of the NAACP several years ago and just recently his dictatorial policies have forced the eminent Dr. W. E. B. DuBois to quit. Still worse for the membership, he has so wasted the organization's money publishing Democratic propaganda in the NAACP bulletin that the NAACP is now in the "red" and has been forced to raise the membership fee to $2.00 instead of $1.00. The expectation is that the membership will fall off greatly unless such changes in the NAACP are forced on Walter White as to get him to resign the secretaryship.

It is expected that both the Afro-American and the Amsterdam News and many other newspapers will join the Repuplican parade this year. It is no secret that these great weeklies carry more weight with the average voter than does the NAACP, as manipulated by Secretary Walter White.

Walter White's office announced last week that it was publishing another voting record of members of the 80th congress, despite the condition of NAACP finances that make such a venture unwise. The publication is "angled" so as to make "good congressmen" out of those who followed the Truman party line and "bad" congressmen out of those who voted for measures not approved by Messers Truman and White.

Shreveport Negroes Vote In Hottest Primary In Years

34e
The Informer
Houston

By JIMMY PERRY

SHREVEPORT, La. — The Negroes of Louisiana and especially in the Northwestern part of the state near Caddo Parish were experiencing just what it felt like to be able to march up to the ballot box with Mrs. Ann and cast their ballot without even so much as glancing back to note white reatction here this week as one of the hottest state primaries got under way since the days of the late Huey Long.

Sat 1-31-48

There was more at stake for the Negroes than just their right to vote It was also deciding their welfare for the next two years Local officers were being installed including the sheriff, which to the Negroes of this second largest Louisiana city, means much. It meant the difference of a wide-open town and a closed one. The winning sheriff was J. H. Flournoy who has been sheriff of Caddo Parrish for the third successive time. He favors the Negro making progress and was the originator of the idea that the Negroes of Shreveport get a colored chapter of the American Legion. After the Legion was formed it was Mr. Flournoy who saw that the charter was granted from the state. For a number of years he has served as chairman of the sheriff organization for the state of Louisiana.

1-31-48

Had the other men in the running for the sheriff won, it is likely that Shreveport would have been wide-open, making it dangerous for decent living people and especially Negroes, who are always the culprit of any happenings in a lily white wide-open town.

In the gubernatorial contest, Earl Long, (Huey's brother) led up to Saturday night by a margin of 110,990. He was running against Sam Jones the present governor, who has never shown any particular favor for Negroes. A hot run-off was in the making, and as soon as it was evident that one was in the offing, Miss Jim Martin, white, of the Caddo Parish registration department stated that over 650 registrations, including transfers had been recorded since last Wednesday, a large number of these Negroes. They are difinitely in the know and are watching the deal go down on this hottest of southern state contests since the Rainey-Jester affair, over in Texas.

Another important office as far as the masses of Negroes were concerned was that of state superintendent of education. In this case, John E. Coxe led all others in this field with an official count of 193,952.

Informer On The Scene Of Action

When Jimmy Perry of the Informer invaded the county offices last Wednesday morning during the height of the voting there was a great staring contest when it was known that a Texas Negro newspaperman was present to watch the carrying out of the voting. Presently Sheriff Flournoy came out, and he had known Perry from the Minden Lynch Case days, and everything was made readily accessible for the Informer to gather statistics.

Earlier in the morning some Negroes claimed that they were facing difficulties in placing their ballots in the boxes, but no evidence of this was found anywhere by reporters.

Many Register Saturday For Run-Off

Houston Texas

The offices of the registrar were packed again Saturday morning with qualified citizens who hope to take part in the coming run-off that is sure to come between Earl Long one time governor and Sam Jones, present governor. State law required all persons who vote in an election to register at least 30 days before the election is held. Sentiment on both sides of the contest was running at fever pitch among whites, who for the first time are finding that a balance of power may swing the election contrary to their wishes. North Louisiana as far as whites go, was always dominantly anti-Long, and this bitterness is spearheaded by the powerful Shreveport Times, a Ewing publication.

1-31-48

Negroes of Caddo Parish weren't doing any loud talking. They were voting and returning to work or home. Negro leaders of the city which included R. L. Williams head of the local chapter of the NAACP were quiet on the elections but stated that they had heard of no trouble among our people getting to the ballot boxes.

Superior Judge Camp Denies U. S. Intervention Right

Atlanta Ga
Sat 6-12-48
34e

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The Department of Justice is studying the findings of agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who have been probing the purging of more than 75 percent of the Negro voters in Laurens County.

Atlanta Daily World

Officials of the Department if evidence warrants, will take the matter before a grand jury, but meanwhile will concentrate their efforts on reopening the polls to the disenfranchised voters in time for the Georgia primary, September 8.

The Department of Justice is studying the alleged purging because federal civil rights laws forbid anyone, under cover of law, to deprive a citizen of rights guaranteed him under the constitution — in this case, the right to vote regardless of race or creed.

ASK U. S. AID

Eight Negro citizens of Dublin, Ga., in petitioning U. S. Judge Frank M. Scarlett at Savannah, Ga., have already asked federal intervention in their behalf because they contend their names were arbitrarily removed from the registration list in an illegal conspiracy that violated the federal constitution.

Judge Scarlett has ordered Laurens Superior Judge Earl Camp, State Rep. Hershel Lovett, and members of the Laurens Board of Registrars and Laurens Board of Commissioners "to show cause" why these names should not be returned to the election rolls, June 26 at 1 a. m. in Brunswick, Ga.

This action was filed in behalf of C. B. Smith, D. B. Cummings, George C. Carswell, George Carswell, Rev. A. L. Brewster, Thomas Coates, Mrs. Anna Clyde Duncan, and Mrs. Sallie Barnett, by Dan Duke, an Atlanta attorney.

Federal action contemplated by the Department of Justice would parallel the reasoning set forth by the Negro plaintiffs.

TURNED IN THURSDAY

The FBI report on the Laurens vote-purge was turned into the Justice Department Thursday. The contents of the report was not disclosed and officials would only comment that the matter is "under consideration."

The investigation was started after reports were called to the attention of the section that a new three-man Board of Registrars had purged 1,700 Negro voters.

Reports to the department said this was done on an allegation that Negroes did not answer summons to show why they should not be dropped from the rolls.

CAMP'S DENIAL

In Dublin, Ga., Superior Judge Earl Camp declared Thursday that federal authorities have no right to investigate the case because the alleged purge complied with the law and is not a "total denial" of an individual's rights.

He contended that Georgia registration and qualification laws had been observed with impartially and without regard to race and that counties have a right to correct and revise voting lists.

He said the voting lists had not been corrected since 1908.

E. S. Baldwin, chairman of the Laurens County Board of Registrars said many more whites than Negroes were served with notices. About 65 per cent of the county's

2,379 registered voters failed to appear.

The government charges that this was illegal since the law states that once having qualified Negroes did not have to go through this process again.

100,000 Carolina Negroes vote to defeat senator

The Los Angeles Tribune
Los Angeles, Calif.

DURHAM, N. C. — An estimated 100,000 Negro votes from all over the state were credited today to the Carolina Times with defeating Senator William B. Umstead, a candidate last week for the United States Senate in this state's Democratic Primary.

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Getting the nomination, which is tantamount to election in this part of the country, was former Governor J. Melville Broughton. Umstead was defeated by little more than 20,000 votes.

Sat. 6-12-48

The Times said opposition to Senator Umstead crystallized when he openly opposed President Truman's Civil Rights Bill, "but it did not reach such overwhelming proportions until he injected the race issue into the campaign."

Of Broughton, the Times said, "the views of the former governor . . . on the Civil Rights Bill are probably no better, but the mere fact that he kept his campaign on a high plane and refused to inject the race issue into it is evidence that he is a step ahead of the Bilbo type of politician."

Negro Council Charges Denial Of Vote Rights

N.Y. Herald Tribune
N.Y. N.Y.
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Sat-11-27-48

5 Southern States Accused; Race Test Outlawed in South Carolina Primary

WASHINGTON, Nov. 26 (AP).—The National Negro Council charged today that 2,000,000 Negroes were denied the right to vote in five Southern states this year and asked a Senate investigation.

Sat-11-27-48

Edgar G. Brown, director of the council, presented petitions for the investigation at the office of Senator William E. Jenner, Republican of Indiana, chairman of the Senate Privileges and Elections subcommittee. Senator Jenner was out of the city, but office assistants said the request is under consideration.

Mr. Brown asked that public hearings be conducted at Birmingham, Ala., Jackson, Miss.; New Orleans, La.; Atlanta, Ga., and Columbia, S. C.

His petition contained a long list of charges that Negro voters had been denied the ballot in both primary and general elections in the five states in violation of Federal laws.

Negro Voters Back Truman As 5,000,000 Go To The Polls

Louisville Defender
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Louisville Ky
Sat-11-13-48

WASHINGTON — The vote of approximately 5-million Negroes who went to the polls on November 2 was one of the decisive factors in winning the political upset scored by President Truman last Tuesday.

Seasoned Negro politicians estimate the Negro vote for Truman to be between 80 and 85 per cent, much of it concentrated in those states which decided the election—Illinois, Ohio, California and Massachusetts.

The Negro vote in such southern states as Arkansas, Georgia, Texas, and North Carolina helped the President pile up the thumping majorities which placed those states in his column. Although the President lost the state of South Carolina, a larger portion of the

2nd and 3rd wards lined up strongly behind President Truman and the entire state and National Democratic ticket sweeping the windy city again into Democratic control.

Negro voters in California, many who are immigrants from the South who have benefitted under the New Deal program, also supported President Truman strongly. The fact that the Negro vote is a concentrated vote, due to enforced patterns of segregated living in most urban communities, makes it a potent political factor in strategic states

Contrary to pre-election claims by certain Progressive Party spokesmen, Henry A. Wallace, the party's Presidential candidate polled a negligible vote among Negroes in Nothern urban communities and practically none at all in the South.

Of the total 1,065,672 votes which the Progressives polled nationally, 507,449. or almost 50 per cent were

30,498 votes diverted from Dixiecrat Presidential candidate Gov. Strom Thurmond was that of Negroes, informed sources inside the states assert. Some 700,000 southern Negroes were qualified to vote in this year's election. This represents an increase of 600 per cent over 1942. This figure is expected to increase to 2,000,000 by 1952.

In Massachusetts, Dr. Silas Taylor, veteran political leader told the Defender that 82 percent of the Negroes in that state cast their vote for President Truman. Mr. Truman carried Massachusetts by 200,864 popular votes winning her 16 electorial votes.

Sat-11-13-48

In New York City's four predominantly Negro districts, the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th gave the President total of 96,686, or approximately 70 per cent of their total vote cast. In each of these districts, Gov. Dewey, Republican Presidential candidate lost by a greater margin than in 1944.

Negroes in Philadelphia gave Mr. Truman a popular vote of 76,166, thereby substantially contributing to his vote majority in this GOP stronghold which he carried by the slim margin of 6,040 votes.

Chicago's predominantly Negro

Voter Killed as Talmadge, Klan Sweep Georgia

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It Must Be On The Record

The Lighthouse
Sun 4-4-48
Charleston, S.C.
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Again we caution that words alone are not enough with which to stem the tide of the defamers and dictators in the South. A thousand voters, of any race, are more important than a billion words. And to Negroes especially, we say that now is the time to prepare to vote, to get themselves on the record as being able to vote; to qualify at county courthouses the first Monday in the month. (April 5).

And we also say again, that once Negroes attain their potential in qualifying, they will shut the mouths of the screaming antagonists who do a disservice to all citizens.

egro Vote And The Presidency

Journal Guide

An Editorial

For years our leaders who had acquired some political acumen have been decrying the impotency of our race at the polling places and pleading for wise and effective use of the ballot. It is just as important this year, in 1948, that the admittedly inadequate voting power of the Negro be employed most expediently, and that our votes be invested so as to produce the greatest return.

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On many occasions the Journal and Guide has praised the forward-spoken pronouncements of Mr. Truman in, first, appointing his Committee on Civil Rights; second, giving the committee's report the force of presidential sanction; third, asking Congress first to consider legislation to put into effect the FEPC and the recommendations of that committee, and fourth, taking steps that may ultimately lead to elimination of discrimination and segregation in the armed forces and in federal civil employment.

Sat 10-16-48

It is unfortunate that some of these reforms were not given presidential sanction and put in motion earlier in Mr. Truman's term. He has been President since April, 1945, but not until 1947 did he name the Civil Rights Commission and only in the year of the election did these infringements of the Negro's fundamental rights come under presidential scrutiny.

Norfolk Va.

An official of the Journal and Guide was among a group of Negro newspapersmen who called on Mr. Truman shortly after he succeeded to the office, to lay before him a statement of the civil disabilities of the race. During this White House conference one of the editors suggested to Mr. Truman the wisdom of adding to his official family an accepted Negro leader who could keep him advised on matters affecting this important minority group. Perhaps Mr. Truman misunderstood the suggestion, but his face flushed and very sharply, even curtly, he replied that he would name his own cabinet and advisors and nobody was going to be permitted to tell him who should and who should not be chosen. At that time, Mr. Truman showed no desire or inclination whatsoever to concern his office or his thinking with the problems of the Negro group.

* * * *

Regular Democrats among the white group must view with regret the all-too-frequent recent tendency of their presidential nominee to stoop to demagoguery in his effort to win votes.

If white Democrats have occasion to view this disintegration of high political purposes with regret, Negro Democrats should view it with sobering apprehension. For demagoguery on the loose invariably strikes as its first victim one of the minorities against which the base emotions of the majority most profitably can be set.

This was the case in Germany where the master demagogues of them all. Hitler, for pure political capital, whipped up the emotions of the Aryan majority so scientifically and so cunningly that in the end he set loose his ill-advised followers on one of the bloodiest and most despicable pogroms in the history of man.

Use here of the example of the mad man of Nazism is not intended to imply any parallel in our own political pageant. It was cited as simply an extreme and remindful example of how the devices of a demagogue can be turned tragically against an innocent minority to achieve even unrelated objectives.

Sat 10-16-48

In some of his recent campaign appearances, Mr. Truman has been arraying class against class, shouting and creating fears and enmities, and indirectly giving substantial aid to the real enemies of the country by fanning the fires of prejudice.

To be sure, he has not made appeals to race prejudice against the Negro. But teaching the working man to hate the owners of industry, teaching the poor man to hate the rich man, teaching the masses to believe that dire and fearful consequences will result if another political party comes to power, on the one hand, and teaching whites to hate and fear Negroes on the other, are all techniques in demagoguery which are dangerous to the Negro's welfare.

* * * * *

Mr. Truman has not eschewed any expedient, no matter how coarse, which was calculated to seduce a substantial number of votes. This country is made up of many groups, and its economic and social life represent many interests. Yet in the realization that his only possible chance to win the election is in getting the almost solid vote of labor, Mr. Truman, in what we believe may be noted in history as one of the more shameful spectacles involving a President, has thrown himself prostrate at the feet of the bosses of organized labor. He has made a complete capitulation, without reservation. He has acceded to every demand of the labor bosses in this shameful bargain, thereby sacrificing on the altar of political expediency any inconsistent interest of industry, of business and of capital and even of the laborers themselves, as contrasted to the greedy aims of labor bosses, seeking political power rather than the real interests of the working people.

When and if it becomes expedient, Mr. Truman could conceivably just as ruthlessly trade away the interests of the Negro for the support of some other group which he felt was more important.

34e

It will be well for Negroes to remember that it has been in an atmosphere of blind prejudice and fear that the white-shirted knights of the Ku Klux Klan have done their most violent riding. There is a real danger ahead for the Negro when a man who commands a great deal of attention stoops to whipping up ugly prejudices, arraying class against class, and unleashing again the brutal intolerance which the war years had so largely shackled. For the time being the Negro is not an object of the prejudices and fears which the President is turning loose. But that may be only for the time being.

Sat 10-16-48

Each four years the American citizen has a vote to invest in the security of his country. Many considerations enter into the decision which determines how that vote is going to be placed. Mr. Truman will long be remembered by all Negroes for his bold championing of the cause of civil rights. But it cannot be said with convincing logic that Mr. Truman's pronouncements, made at a time when they are vulnerable to the charge of political expediency, have thereby taken away from the Negro voter any right to support another candidate.

We admire Mr. Truman for what he said but, on that score, Henry Wallace has been considerably bolder than even Mr. Truman. The Progressive Party's candidate has gone Mr. Truman several times better in saying the nice things that disadvantaged Americans like to hear.

So, if we were obligated to vote on the basis of what the candidates have said, Mr. Wallace would get the nod by a landslide. But Mr. Wallace, when he was in the government, had many opportunities to put his theories of racial justice and equality into practice. When he had the chance he never took advantage of it. In addition, Mr. Wallace's tie in with Russia and the Communists makes support of him unthinkable.

Prudent Negro voters know that they cannot afford to dissipate their political resources by casting (courtesy) votes for either Mr. Wallace or Mr. Truman. The candidate of their choice must pass other rigid tests. If the Negro is to continue his efforts to achieve fuller emancipation during the next four years, he has got to have a sympathetic and a competent government in Washington.

Both Mr. Dewey and the Republican Party are sympathetic. Mr. Truman is obviously sympathetic, but the Democratic Party, with several of its major pillars sunk deep in the South, is not sympathetic. Whether the liberal wing of the Democratic Party would be the dominant one in the event the Democrats were put in power is a highly speculative question. As to competency, it is elementary that a Republican President and a Democratic Congress are not going to get much done for human rights, or for anything else for that matter. A Democratic President and a Republican Congress would be just as impotent.

A Republican President and a Republican Congress would be almost certain to pass constructive legislation affecting the civil rights of all Americans now denied them.

Sat 10-16-48

A Democratic President and a Democratic Congress would bring back to Washington, holding the real reins of government and chairmanships of all congressional committees, the demagogues from the South who, by disfranchising Negro and white voters over a long number of years, have acquired sufficient seniority to preempt all of the strategic positions when the Democrats are in power. The South has made perfectly plain its deplorable position on the question of civil rights. Every intelligent Negro knows that if the Democrats regain control of Congress the whole civil rights program will be scuttled. Even the "regular" Democrats, who for party reasons say they will vote for Mr. Truman, vociferously disavow any favor of the civil rights proposals endorsed by Mr. Truman.

Up to this writing neither the President nor the Democratic Party has disowned any of its southern relatives. The Dixiecrat presidential candidate who bolted the party at its Philadelphia convention is still in good graces with the Democrats. He is still a member of the Democratic Party's national committee. Mr. Truman, in a significant concession to the southern Democrats, did not once mention civil rights on his recent tour to the West Coast and into several southern states.

There are many ways we can show our appreciation for what Mr. Truman has said about our civil rights without being misled by professional partisans into keeping in power the one political force that has for eighty years prevented the Negro race from enjoying most of the fruits of his American citizenship.

St Louis Argus

HOW THE LOCALS VOTED

Fri 11-5-48

St Louis Mo.

Gen

34e

(Results In The Heavy Negro Wards)

FOR PRESIDENT

WARD	Truman	Dewey	Wallace
Fourth Ward	8,719	3,009	97
Sixth Ward	6,199	2,854	64
18th Ward	7,400	3,418	179
19th Ward	7,349	3,070	75
TOTAL	29,667	12,351	415

[illegible]SS—11TH DISTRICT

WARD	Sullivan	Bakewell	Wilson
Fourth Ward	3,169	1,637	361
Sixth Ward	5,720	2,807	112
18th Ward	5,396	2,908	687
19th Ward	6,007	2,521	114
TOTAL	20,292	9,873	1,274

Missouri

SLUM CLEARANCE BOND ISSUE

WARD	For	Against
Sixth Ward	2,503	4,251
Fourth Ward	3,932	5,487
18th Ward	3,169	5,517
19th Ward	2,306	3,834
TOTAL	11,910	19,089

Office holding

STATE REPRESENTATIVES

10th District	William A. Cole,	9,592	Josiah C. Thomas,	4,330
11th District	Walter V. Lay,	11,374	Peter Ferrara,	4,211
17th District	John W. Green,	11,232	Thomas Clarke	5,534

(*The total vote for Margaret Bush, Progressive Candidate for Congress, was 1817).

Arrangements Made To Prevent Lengthy Standing

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

342

The campaign to add 15,000 new voters to the Fulton County lists by the deadline May 1, will enter its final stretch this week when registrars from the Fulton County court house will be stationed at the Pollard Funeral Home in Summerhill Thursday evening.

Sun. 4-18-48

Fulton County's registration deadline will remain at May 1, due to a special law enacted by the legislature some time ago. The July 1 deadline which figured in the ruling by Attorney General Cook Friday affects other counties in the state not affected by special laws.

The co-sponsors of the registration drive, the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity and the NAACP's All Citizens Registration Committee, have been unsuccessful in attempts to secure an additional day in which the registrars will appear in the Negro community. Spokesmen for the two groups said they expect several thousand persons to appear for registration during the four hour period from 5:30 o'clock p. m., to 9:30 o'clock p. m., on Thursday, April 22 at the funeral home located at 439 Fraser Street, S. E.

TO AID CROWDS Daily World

In order to prevent anyone from having to stand in a long line, E. A. Pollard stated that arrangements have been made with Rev. W. M. Jackson, pastor of the Bethlehem Baptist Church, located directly across the street, to use the church auditorium for those waiting to be registered. Atlanta, Ga.

Milton White, chairman of the Alpha Phi Alpha civic committee, pointed out that Fulton County residents may register daily at the Fulton County Courthouse until May 1, and DeKalb County residents may register at the Decatur Courthouse until July 1. C. A. Bacote, chairman of the NAACP's All Citizens Registration Committee, suggested that housewives and others able to do so, should register at the courthouse in order to relieve the crowded condition expected at the Pollard Funeral Funeral Home Thursday evening, where those who must come from work will find it convenient to register. Sun. 4-18-48

VOLUNTEERS PRAISED

Clarence Coleman, community secretary of the Atlanta Urban League, and Charles W. Greenlea, secretary of the Fulton County Citizens Democratic Club, who have been coordinating the efforts during the new voters drive, were high in their praise of many volunteers who aided the registrars in adding close to 1,000 new voters last Thursday and Friday at Mt. Olive Baptist Church, Rev. J. W. Weatherspool, pastor; and Antioch Baptist Church, Rev. D. T. George, pastor.

These volunteers included the pastors themselves, Principal C. L. Gideons and students of the David T. Howard High School: Hilda Holt, Norma King, Leroy Powell, Dewey Saunders, Fred Hammonds, Juanita Coffer, Helen Gray, Walter Johnson, Juanita Dixon, Sara Harden and Bessie Merriweather.

Special praise was extended for the fine work of Ralph Mitchell, twelfth grade student at Howard and to Mrs. Frances Burdette, popular young Atlantan matron who has helped throughout the campaign.

342 Ga.

Mrs. A. A. Reid's Business College students, were complimented by C. A. Scott, editor of the Atlanta Daily World, as seeming to him, "the most valuable workers." These students worked in shifts, typing thousands of new voter applications. Those who worked at Mt. Olive and Antioch Churches were: Carolyn Randall, Thelma Goolsby, Louise Thomas, Alma Holt, Eallie Flowers, Gertrude Norman, Gloria Belt and Mrs. Dorothy Smith.

Daily World

AT ANTIOCH

Many residents of the Herndon Housing Project volunteered their services at Antioch Baptist Church. These included James A. Long, president of the tenants association, Willis Flemming, Mrs. Jimmy Lou Engram, Rev. I. H. Sherman, Mrs Mary Ray, and Misses Aldora Miner and Maudelee Kimble.

Sun. 4-18-48

Additional thanks was given to Principal C. N. Cornell, Director Earl Starling and the Booker T. Washington High School Band, which paraded and rendered a concert in front of Antioch Baptist Church. The Dixie Hills Bus Co. supplied transportation for the band.

Atlanta, Ga.

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity brothers who have assisted continuously during the registration campaign are: Brady Cooper Jr., J. Stanley Tatum, Thomas Fagan, Pleman Whatley, William Sullivan, R. L. Williams, Elmo Watkins, Buddy Wright, I. H. Burney and Nelson C. Jackson.

Bacote, White, Coleman, and Greenlea, leaders in the campaign, are also members of the Eta Lambda chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.

Potential Tifton Judgeship Candidate Fears Race Vote

Daily World Wed. 7-21-48

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SYLVESTER, Ga.—(SNS)—In a recent letter to the local white press a candidate for the Judgeship of the Tifton circuit threw-up his hands in disgust and apparently in fear of defeat by the Negro vote.

Although his letter did not state his political views, it was clearly written between the lines on what side of the fence he stood. Atlanta, Ga.

Addressing his letter to the "voters of the Tifton Judiciary Circuit," the discouraged political aspirant, C. A. Christian, said he withdrew from the race when a third candidate entered.

He wrote:

"I am fully informed as to the situation in this circuit; there are more than 2500 Negroes registered in the four counties, and while I was considering making this race I did not mention my candidacy to a single colored voter, and if I had made the race I would not have mentioned it to a single one, and if any one of them had voted for me it would have been unsolicited on my part."

Mr. Christian went on to say that the third candidate would split the white vote and in it he saw the possibility of a bloc vote by Negroes and as a balance of power might name the judge of the circuit.

As a "true Southener," Christian continued:

"I hold my honor. Southern chivalry, and the traditions of the South too sacred, for me to do any act which might result in this bloc having the power, dictated to by outside influences . . . I feel called by solemn duty as an American citizen and Southern gentleman to make this decision and decline to make the race in this coming primary."

Henry Voters Increase

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

McDONOUGH, Aug. 5—A total of 5,280 voters are qualified in the list released by the Henry County Registrars this week. Registrars include Walker McGarity, Chairman; Walter Owen and E. M. Fortson. This number is the largest on record in the county and shows 4,383 white voters and 897 Negroes. Figures for 1946 were 4,750 qualified voters in the county.

8-6-48

Negro, 99, Can Vote For Life in Georgia

The Post
Washington, D.C.

Griffin, Ga., July 27 (AP).—One of Griffin's Negro citizens today was given the right to vote without further examination of his qualifications, "as long as you live."

342 Wed

Spalding County officials, purging the voting lists, made the exception for Charles C. Cain, who has been voting for many years. Cain is 99 years old. 7-28-48

Georgia Scheme Exposed

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

342

WRIGHTSVILLE, Ga. — Another insidious scheme to keep Negro citizens from voting in the forthcoming primary has been cooked up by Johnson County's Democratic Executive Committee. Sat.

The plan is to demand that voters and candidates sign a seven-point pledge which states that they favor white supremacy, racial segregation and are opposed to communism and the FEPC.

The following pledge will be presented to prospective voters and candidates, according to Committee Chairman W. C. Brinson:

"I favor the white primary.

"I favor preservation of segregation for the races as now exists in Georgia. Sat. 1-31-48

"I oppose communism.

"I oppose any organization that seeks to destroy the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Georgia.

"I oppose enactment into law the rules and regulations as promulgated by the Federal Employment Practice Committee.

"I will support the nominees of this primary in the general election."

Chairman Brinson emphatically declared that voters must sign the pledge before they will be allowed to cast a ballot. The same pledge must be endorsed by candidates before they can qualify to run, the chairman said. Sat

In former years Georgia's Democratic executive committees have required only a pledge to support nominees as a requirement for primary voting. 1-3-48

Political observers expressed the belief that this new attempt to disfranchise Negro voters is patterned after a system which is being used in Mississippi.

In the Mississippi State, however many Negroes signed up as favoring a white primary last summer in order to avail themselves of the privilege of voting.

FEPC Made Issue in Ga. Election

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Afro American

WRIGHTSVILLE, Ga. — voters and candidates in a scheduled primary election in Johnson county must sign pledges stating that they favor tne white primary and racial segregation and oppose FEPC and Communism.

W. C. Brinson, chairman of the county's democratic committee, said last week that voters must sign the pldege before they will be allowed to cast a ballot, and candidates must sign it before they can qualifty to run. Baltimore,

Heretofore, Democratic executive committees in Georgia have required only a pledge to support nominees as a requirement for primary voting. Sat. 1-31-48

The Pledge

This is the pledge voters and candidates will be required to sign:

"I favor the county-unit system now existing in the State of Georgia.

"I favor the white primary.

"I favor preservation of segregation for the races as now exists in Georgia.

Specific Oppositions

"I oppose Communism.

"I oppose any organization that seeks to destroy the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Georgia.

"I oppose enactment into law of the rules and regulations as promulgated by the Federal Employment Practice Committee.

"I will support the nominees of this primary in the general election."

4,000 ATTEND POLITICAL RALLY IN BRUNSWICK—More than 4,000 voters from over the entire eighth Congressional District stood in a rain here Labor Day to hear Rev. A. L. Brewster in a masterful plea for a large turnout of voters over this entire district in the Democratic Primary. interested gathering of the large crowd was such that very few left to seek shelter from a hard downpour of rain that fell during the address. There were large delegations from several counties over the district, and the various County leaders spoke in interest of the country and election expected to do on election day.

The Rally was held under the leadership of the eight district Democratic Association, an affiliate of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, under M. J. Hadley of Waycross, Ga. J. M. Atkinson, treasurer of the State Association was director of the program and acted as master of ceremonies.

Sun 9-26-48

Curtis Davis of Ocilla, Ga., Francis Brown, Blackshear, Joe Maxwell Jessup, Thomas Scott, Woodbine, Pres. Essaw Johnson and Sec'y Moore of Waycross, T. P. Williams, of Brunswick, spoke for their counties. The Meeting was opened by C. A. Moore, State Vice-President and the welcome address was made by V-President H. E. Dent, of Brunswick, in the place of J. R. Robinson who was ill.

Sun 9-26-48

Following the addresses the large group was served a seafood dinner by more than 75 women under leadership of J. L. Carmouche, chairman of the Thompson for Governor Club in this country and general chairman of the rally.

Assisting in the plans for the rally were J. D. Diggs, W. P. Holmes, John Early, Harold Tatnall, W. H. Dennis, H. E. Dent, [illegible] Martin, C. A. Moore, Duke [illegible] Mrs. Elmira [illegible], Mrs. Virginia DeBignon, Mrs. I. M Harrington, Ben Howard, I. L. Carmouche, T. P. Williams, J. M Atkinson as director and others.

Changing Color Of Vote Trends Still Indecisive

Talmadge Issues Overwhelming Victory Statement

On the basis of incomplete returns at 11:30 Wednesday evening, the Associated Press reported Herman Talmadge to be in a commanding lead over his nearest opponent, Governor M. E. Thompson, trailing in the rural counties. Mr. Talmadge, on the basis of 20 completed returns, was reported carrying 15 of these with a unit vote of 36, while Mr. Thompson had 5 counties and 10 unit votes.

But neither side at midnight would concede victory to the other. From Mr. Talmadge's headquarters came the announcement that "Victory is ours. There is no way under the sun for Thompson to win," declared Mr. Talmadge. While from the Thompson headquarters came the announcement that "We still insist that victory will be ours when all the returns are in tomorrow morning, I know that I have been elected Governor and I am going to sit right here until the votes are all in."

In the Lieutenant Governor's race, S. Marvin Griffin had 186 unit votes, thus leading all others by a big margin.

Georgians voted in one of the most hotly contested Democratic primary elections in its history Wednesday, September 8, while several sections of the state reported attempts to intimidate or delay Negro voters. Despite the intimidation efforts, voting by Negroes was heavy along with the white balloting in almost every one of the state's 159 counties.

The Ku Klux Klan, outlawed by the state but operating as an association, reportedly burned fiery crosses election eve night in Valdosta, the home of Governor M. E. Thompson, in the northern part of Bulloch county of which Statesboro is the county seat, and in Houston county near a church and store owned by Negroes. In Bulloch, it was reported that hooded Klansmen placed a small casket on the front porch of the home of a Negro citizen located near a church.

VA[illegible]

Reportedly few Negroes voted at Valdosta, home of the Acting Governor, while there was a heavy white vote. It was assumed that the KKK cross-burning had its effect. Negro voting was heavy throughout the Second and Eighth Districts with the exception of Valdosta and Lowndes County.

In the hometown of Roy Harris, Augusta stalwart of candidate Herman Talmadge, a delaying move was reported. The Augusta Herald charged that election officials of Augusta were allowing Negroes to vote only at the rate of about three an hour by asking foolish questions. A reporter for the Herald said that the long line of Negroes at one voting place did not move an inch in 15 minutes while he watched. He said that a Cracker party election official commented:

"I believe we can kill at least 20 minutes per Negro. That will allow only three to vote each hour. There are going to be plenty of Negroes standing in line when the polls close at 6 P. M."

Some 558 Negro registrants were reported stricken from the Spalding county registration list Tuesday afternoon, one day prior to the election. The Griffin Daily News made the charge, saying that the registrars did not turn the registration list over to election officials until late Tuesday afternoon, so the strikes did not become known until then. A suit has been filed in federal court at Brunswick to prevent the purge of Negro registrants in Spalding county. The Spalding registrants conferred with Judge Frank Scarlett and promised "to abide by the law," so the case was not pushed. The judge said he would keep the action on file in the event another complaint was made.

IRREGULARTIES CHARGED

Irregularities were charged in Fulton and DeKalb Counties, early tabulations being cited.

Talmadge took the lead in early returns of most counties. However, Governor Thompson said he expected this since most early returns came from country precincts. He said he expected to pick up votes in late returns.

S. Marvin Griffin, lieutenant governor running mate of Herman Talmadge, led other candidates in early returns.

Some 142,491 Negroes were registered among the 1,194,453 Georgians eligible to vote in Wednesday's primary.

Reports from Perry, Ga., claimed that two crosses were burned simultaneously in Negro residential sections there Tuesday night. Although one cross was burned within 30 yards of a Negro store, Negroes were said to have not been unduly alarmed. The store remained opened and the Negroes gathered around to watch the fire, reports claim.

The other cross was said to have been burned in the New Home section on U. S. Highway 41. It was burned within 50 yards of a Negro church where services were being held. The services continued without interruption, it was reported. The origin or reason for the burnings could not be accounted for by local residents who explained that only 83 Negroes were registered to vote.

80,000 Atlanta Negro Voters Completely Ignore Wallace

Journal Guide

Sat 11-13-48

By WILLIAM A. FOWLKES

ATLANTA, Ga. — (NNPA) — Nearly complete tabulation from Georgia precincts Thursday reveals that President Harry S. Truman garnered an overwhelming majority of the some 80,000 Negro votes cast in the November 2 general election.

Final returns from Atlanta's Fulton county precincts 3B, 3A, and 5H, predominately Negro areas, showed that Truman accomplished better than a 2 to 1 victory over Republican nominee Thomas E. Dewey. In precinct 3B, located at E. R. Carter School, the total showed 1,504 for Truman and 656 for Dewey.

Norfolk Va

Precinct 3A, located at Walker Street School, showed a Truman total of 330 votes, compared to Dewey's 1281. While at Precinct 5H, located at David T. Howard High School, 682 votes were cast for Truman and 342 for Dewey.

Unofficial tabulation of Negro votes from other Atlanta precincts where whites and Negroes cast votes together showed majorities for Truman.

Negroes braved inclement weather conditions to report to the polling places in Atlanta and over the State. In many areas, officials reported that Negroes were outvoting whites, in relation to total registration.

The Henry A. Wallace slate got less than 200 votes from the predominately Negro precincts and figured small in the total state vote. The States-Righters polled few, if any, Negro votes.

The Republicans had made a real bid for Negro votes in Georgia, but have been fought down to the last campaign day by Democratic stalwarts.

John Wesley Dobbs, Prince Hall Masonic Grand Master and vice chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, conceded defeat with the following statement:

"The majority of citizens of the greatest democracy the world has ever known has spoken. That verdict can not be wrong because the voice of the people is the voice of God."

Sat 11-13-48

Commented Attorney A. T. Walden, president of Georgia Negro Democrats who met Dobbs in a pre-election debate:

"President Harry S. Truman's election conclusively proves two thinks: first, that even in the area of politics the American people admire a man of genuine sincerity who possesses honest convictions which he dares to advocate courageously and unflinchingly in the face of apparently insuperable odds; second, that the people of America believe that the liberal Democratic Party is the guardian of the welfare and liberty of a common man."

Daily World

The vote purge in Georgia is a camparatively new creation, made famous since the United States Supreme Court decision, opening the primary to Negroes. It was operated to reduce the size and number of Negro voters. So that, to all intents and purposes the purge undertakes to accomplish by indirection what the state could not achieve by direction. Thus, the purge in 1948, like in 1946, is discriminatory in that it centers its attention and interest almost solely upon reducing the Negro vote in the several counties of the state.

Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 7-30-48

The purge was revived on a large scale in January by the Registrars in Lauren County, when over 1,600 Negroes were purged from the voters' list. In Spalding county at Griffin, Georgia and in Dougherty county at Albany, Georgia the purge mania has taken on new life.

The original boards of registrars in these counties, we understand, have elected to quit, rather than yield to the pressure of being forced to conspire in depriving Negroes of their constitutional privileges to vote. Other boards, said to be willing to do the bidding of those who would limit the Negro vote, have been substituted. Negro leaders have declared their determination to stop the purge mania here and now. It appears that there is ample ground on which they can proceed. Discrimination in the purge is clearly and painfully obvious. Negroes, for the most part, refused to answer the Laurens County challenges. In Dougherty county, local Negroes plan to keep their people at home and pay no attention to purge summons. That is precisely what they should do because the method and manner being employed is wholly illegal and Negroes are under no compulsion to answer a subpoena which fails to state the grounds on which he is being challenged. That rule is being flagrantly violated in the Spalding county purge and we hope the remaining Negroes not yet appearing before the board will not do so at all until and unless they state a cause why they are being challenged.

We have had an opportunity to study the questions being asked the Negroes in Spalding county. They are perfectly stupid and have no place in an examination of that sort. Really, what these Registrars are doing is compelling the Negroes to undergo an examination, which is clearly discriminatory.

Fri. 7-30-48

Now is the time to get rid of this highhanded method of dropping Negroes from the registration rolls without reason or rhyme. One sure way that Negroes can stop it is not to answer the subpoenas. They are illegal, conceived in had faith and should be promptly and politely ignored by all Negroes who have met the legal requirements for voting.

Citizens Inconvenienced; Questioning Staggered

34e

Daily World Atlanta Ga.

By C. LAMAR WEAVER

GRIFFIN, Ga.—(SNS)—The wholesale purging of Spalding county Negro voters continued here Thursday as the Board of Registrars resorted to delaying tactics in challenging the 1,500 persons subpoenaed.

Fri. 7-30-48

While the brunt of the mass challenge is suffered by Negroes, the procedure is having far-reaching effects on Spalding county white citizenry. The housewives are finding themselves without maids; farm owners find themselves without farm hands and garbage overflows the trash cans as City Sanitary workers stay off their jobs. The operation of the county is disrupted in general because of the prolonged purge.

208 DISQUALIFIED

Of the 592 persons called for challenge from Monday through Thursday, 208 have been disqualified.

Because of delaying tactics, 206 of the disqualified were stricken from the list for failing to answer their subpoenaes. The other two were disqualified for cause.

All of the suboenaes ordered their receivers to appear before the board at 10 a. m. on Monday. When they jam-packed the courtroom and spilled from the corridors into the streets, the Registrars elected to examine only those persons with last names in the "A", "B" and "C" categories, excusing the others until that afternoon. Faced with the same problem that afternoon, the Registrars announced that all persons with last names in the "K" to "Z" categories could return on the following Monday.

7-30-48

SCHEDULE ESTABLISHED

They later established a daily schedule whereby persons in the "C" and "D" categories would be examined Tuesday; those in categories "E" and "F" on Wednesday, "G" and "H" on Thursday and "I" and "J" on Friday.

Of the 77 persons examined Monday all but 19 were passed as being qualified to vote. Eighteen of the disqualified were absentees. On Wednesday 169 of 418 persons called had been disqualified.

The challenged voters have retained the services of Attorney S. B. Wallace, local lawyer, and Frank Bowers, of Atlanta, to represent them at the hearings.

REGISTRARS' PLAN THWARTED

Atty. Wallace, who attended all of the hearings, said the Registrars had planned to have the voters read and interpret sections of the Constitutions of the United States and Georgia.

Daily World

This plan was not followed through, he said, when it was called to their attention that such did not apply to persons of good character and understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government. Under the Georgia code this requirement has precedence over and against the plan entertained by the Registrars, he asserted.

Atlanta, Ga.

Registration Increases In Fulton County

34e Ga.

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Registrar Howard Mashburn reports nearly 124,000 citizens have registered to vote during the recent registration program in progress until July 1. Figures show that 2,000 more voters have qualified to vote in the coming primary than last year.

Sat. 4-17-48

Registrars from the county court house were on hand Friday at Antioch Baptist Church to register Negro voters. Pollard's Funeral Home, 439 Fraser Street, S. E., will be the next scene of registration for Negro voters April 22.

Persons who voted within the last two years and have not changed their addresses will still be carried on the qualified voters' list. Those who have registered and have not voted within the past two years should check with the Tax Collector's office.

Daily World

Ga. Negroes 'Dig In' For Fight On Talmadge-ism

The Defender 34e

Sat 9-25-48

ATLANTA, Ga.—Negro citizens throughout the state of Georgia have refused to be disheartened by the temporary set-back to their political aspirations by the election of Herman Talmadge as governor, and are preparing to fight with every legal weapon to maintain their right to vote.

Chicago Def.

This is the consensus of opinion of civic and business leaders polled directly after the "wool hat" supporters of Talmadge ended their celebration of victory with "corn-likker" and rebel yells.

Talmadge himself is not so greatly feared, although he campaigned on a platform of white supremacy, racial segregation, and a demand for the "lily white" Democratic primary. It is believed that he has political ambitions beyond the governor's mansion, and will do nothing to actually injure the interests of Negroes in education, business or community life which will bring down condemnation upon the state from the north.

Fear His Followers

The real fear is that the illiterate back-woods Cracker element in the state will take his victory as license for a reign of terror to block the further political advance of Negroes, and to abrogate the U. S. Supreme Court ruling of their right to vote in party primaries.

Sat 9-25-48

In the cities like Atlanta, Savannah, Augusta, Macon and Albany, Negro voters plan an appeal to the federal courts to prevent their being removed arbitrarily from the polling lists, and to oppose any racial tests designed to prevent them from qualifying for the ballot. In the rural sections, voters schools are to be conducted to prepare eligible Negro voters to qualify as electors and to use the ballot for their own protection and advancement. Signs of support from the more liberal white element in the state have already appeared, with newspapers and civic leaders warning that an outburst of anti-Negro terrorism will bring down the wrath of the nation upon the state.

Progressives Seek To Register Negroes

The News 10-3-48

NEW ORLEANS, Oct. 2—(AP)—The Progressive Party is going to court to get its Negro supporters in St. Bernard Parish registered to vote.

Birmingham

Miss Mary Borders, party executive secretary, said Friday that legal action was decided upon after party leaders were unable to find for the second straight day the St. Bernard registrar. They had gone to the courthouse with 11 Negroes in an effort to register them for the November election.

Sun.

Miss Borders said a clerk in the sheriff's office reported the registrar, Camella Leclerc, was sick, but Miss Borders charged she was giving the Progressives the run-around.

10-3-48

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Memphis World - Memphis Tenn

Won't Swear Party Allegiance, Macon Negro Denied Vote Right

Fri. 5-14-48

L. Marshall, Out To Oppose Russell, Gets Set Back For Senate

MACON—(SNS)—The door of the Democratic primary was slammed shut here Wednesday in the face of Larkin Marshall, Macon Negro publisher, who announced he would oppose Sen. Russell as a candidate for the U. S. Senate after having been nominated by delegates of the new People's Progressive Party of Georgia." 5-14-48

Marshall, when he attempted to cast a ballot in the Bibb county Democratic primary, was handed an affidavit to sign, pledging allegiance to the Democratic Party. When he refused, he was denied the privilege of voting.

The Macon publisher had been nominated as a Senate candidate last Saturday during a convention of the new party which had Sen. Glen Taylor, vice-presidential candidate of the Third Party, as feature speaker. 5-14-48

He appeared at the Negro Burdell school with his white attorney. Refusing to sign the affidavit tendered him by poll manager H. L. Dunn, the Negro senatorial candidate said he was a registered Democrat and had a right to vote.

His attorney, Tom Johnson, declared Marshall's civil rights had been violated and the matter would be carried to court.

A near fist fight was said to have broken out at the school polling station.

Two other members of the newly organized party, linked with Henry Wallace, said they voted in the primary. A Negro physician, Dr. C. W. Dyer, who is vice chairman of the party, said he signed an affadavit and voted. Another Negro member of the party, A. L. Thomas, said he voted without signing the pledge.

Charlie Block, Chairman of the Bibb County Democratic Party, remarked he had instructed all poll managers to insist of voters affirming the pledge.

Saying he would follow his attorney's advice, Marshall explained he didn't sign the pledge "because I don't know what will happen between now and the general elec-

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Another Fine Example

342) 9 W.

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

The students of the David T. Howard high school, led by their principal and teachers, are to be complimented for the manner in which they rallied to the polls last week and chalked up 300 or more young voters in record time. What a splendid spirit of civic consciousness! What a noble gesture such a thing can be to all Atlantans, particularly the parents of these young people, many of whom no doubt, are negligent of their duty and responsibility in getting registered themselves!

Witness also a few days earlier, nearly 500 young people who responded to a similar call at the Booker T. Washington high school. Our two high schools at last taking their place in the Atlanta community. What a great example for our colleges to emulate, even now!

We take off our hats to Principal Gideons for the good work together with his teachers and the students. Keep up the good work. With leadership like that we cannot fail in the long run, even if we must admit temporary defeat.

Over 25,000 Fulton Negroes Ready For Vote

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Citizens of Fulton County demonstrated their interest in the forthcoming gubernatorial campaign by chalking up a new record of 131, 630 registered voters as the voting lists closed Saturday at the Courthouse. Tue. 5-4-48

On the election rolls are 25,267 Negroes of which 2,677 registered since January 1.

At the same time Chief Deputy Registrar Howard Mashburn reported 12,595 white qualified bringing their total to 106,363.

This year's total topped the previous record registration set for the 1946 elections, in which the total registration was 122,000 of which 100,000 were white.

Fulton registration, according to law, closed at 5 p. m., Saturday six months ahead of the Nov. 2 general elections. Georgia law permits State registrations to continue until July 2.

Georgians Sue For $500,000

Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 6-5-48

SAVANNAH, Ga.—A vicous conspiracy to deny 1,800 Negro citizens the right to vote was charged against powerful Georgia political figures in a suit filed here Friday in which the disfranchised persons asked punitive damages amounting to nearly half a million dollars.

The suit named Superior Court Judge Earl Camp, State Representative Herschel Lovett and members of the Laurens Board of Registrars and Laurens Board of County Commissioners, and claimed that 1,800 Negroes had been denied the ballot. Sat. 6-5-48

Meanwhile two of the registrars—Marvin W. Watson and Ancil Chavous—suddenly resigned from the board. Watson stated that he had suffered a nervous breakdown and Chavous announced that he intends to run for the General Assembly. 342 Sat. 6-5-48

In the petition filed by Atty. Dan Duke of Atlanta, former State Attorney General, it was charged that Negroes' names were barred because of their race from the registration list, which violated their civil rights.

Eight Negro citizens of Laurens County were named specifically in the suit which asked for a total of $55,000 damages.

Attorney Duke said that the eight persons included four college graduates, three ministers and a school teacher. The plaintiffs declared that they and other Negroes had voted in past Democratic primaries.

The Federal suit seeks to force the registrar to restore the purged names to the voters' list. A hearing on the petition is to be held in Savannah, June 26.

Constitution Reports 100 To 1 For Thompson

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

According to a report in the Atlanta Constitution, Negroes voted 100 to 1 for Governor Thompson in Atlanta's balloting in the September 8 primary.

The article as carried by the Constitution was as follows:

"Atlanta's two preponderantly Negro precincts—Third Ward "B" and Fifth Ward "H"—bloc voted largely in yesterday's primary.

"The score in the important races in Third Ward, Precinct "B" stood: 'Governor — Thompson 1,138, Talmadge 11; Lt. Gov. — Persons 762, Griffin 84; Congress — Davis 36, Mankin 1,139; Solicitor General — Duke 1,475, Webb 594. Fri. 9-10-48

"While they pooled their votes in the State and congressional races, for the most part they split their votes in local races.

"Fifth Ward "H" followed the same pattern for the most part.

"The score: Fri 9-10-48

"Governor—Thompson 2,810, Talmadge 20; Lt. Gov.—Persons 1,418, Griffin 151; Rep.—Davis 48, Mankin 2,474; Solicitor Gen.—Duke 691, Webb 273."

Let Negroes Vote! Brunswick Judge

The Defender

Sat. 8-28-48

342

Chicago, Ill.

Judge Frank Scarlett fell in line with other democracy minded judges last week as he ordered Brunswick county registrars to admit Negroes to their voting lists.

The order, made in a prehearing conference, is to remain in the records in case of further complaint the judge said.

Laurens Negroes Given Chance To Reregister

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed 342 6-16-48

DUBLIN, Ga. — (SNS) — In the wake of indignant repercussions in the wholesale purging of Negroes in Laurens county, county registration lists were reopened Tuesday and those purged were being permitted to re-register to vote.

The first expose of the wholesale purge was convered in a local newspaper story. Shortly thereafter, aroused Negroes hired attorney Dan Duke to institute a civil suit against the board of registrars for damages, claiming that their names were illegally dropped from the voters' list.

At the time of reregistration, T. C. Keen, county tax collector said he was reregistering any of those who were purged for failure to appear before the board of registrars at a seies of hearings which began last November. Wed 6-16-48

His stipulation was that personal applications have to be made if prospective voters desire their name to be among the eligible voters.

DEADLINE JULY 1

Registration deadline is set for July 1.

Another stipulation cited by the tax collector was that he would register only those who are qualified to vote in accordance to state laws.

The chairman of the county board of registrars, E. S. Baldwin, has been asked to file a copy of the list of voters with him, Mr. Keen asserted.

Filed last Saturday, the list was said to have omitted about 70 per cent of the Negroes who qualified in the 1946 general election.

It was said that the majority of Negroes had been purged because they faild to answer summonses for a hearing before the registrars.

Mr. Keen said he expected to hold a conference with Mr. Baldwin concerning the reregistering and unless the conference should result in a change of plans, reregistrations would continue until the deadline date.

No Secret Vote

342

To the Editor of The News:

"SPARTA, Ga.—(AP)—Few Hancock County Negroes voted in the state primary Wednesday, although over 1,300 were registered. There was a parade of Ku Klux Klansmen on the Saturday night preceding the primary.

"There were 197 Negroes who voted in the Sparta precinct; 195 voted for M. E. Thompson and two for Hoke Willis."

I would like to know how the writer of this article, that appeared in The Dothan Eagle, secured his information as to how the Negroes cast their vote. I have always believed that my vote was secret, but it appears that I have been led to believe wrong. If this does violate the ethical code of newspaper men, I wish you would put it in your column, "Voice of the People." I think all should know that not only these Negroes' vote could be published but by the same token their votes are subject to the same treatment.

Hartford, Ala. ROBERT W. TRIBBLE.

80,000 GA. NEGROES VOTE MAINLY FOR TRUMAN

(34e)

ATLANTA (ANP)--Nearly complete tabulations from Georgia precincts Thursday revealed that President Harry S. Truman garnered an overwhelming majority of the some 80,000 Negro votes cast in last Tuesday's general election.

Associated Negro Press

Final returns from Atlanta's Fulton county precincts 3-B, 3-A and 5-H, predominantly Negro areas, showed that Truman accomplished better than a two-to-one victory over Republican nominee Thomas E. Dewey. In precinct 3-B, located at E. R. Carter school, the totals showed 1,504 for Truman and 656 for Dewey. Precinct 3-A, located at Walker Street school, showed a Truman total of 330 votes, compared to Dewey's 128, while at Precinct 5-H, located at David T. Howard High school, 682 votes were cast for Truman and 342 for Dewey.

Chicago Illinois

Unofficial tabulations of Negro votes from other Atlanta precincts where whites and Negroes cast their votes together showed majorities for Truman.

Negroes braved inclement weather conditions to report to the polling places in Atlanta and over the state. In many areas, officials reported that Negroes were outvoting whites, in relation to total registrations.

Henry A. Wallace's slate got less than 200 votes from the predominant Negro precincts and figured small in the total state vote. Reports were that most officials refused to count the votes cast for Larkin Marshall, candidate for the U. S. senate on the Progressive slate, and others of his party.

The States Righters polled few, if any Negro votes.

The Republicans had made a real bid for Negro votes in Georgia, but had been fought down to the last campaign day by Democratic stalwarts.

John Wesley Dobbs, Prince Hall Masonic grandmaster and vice chairman of the Republican state central committee, conceded his defeat with the following statement:

"The majority of citizens of the greatest democracy the world has ever seen have spoken. Their verdict cannot be wrong, because 'the voice of the people is the voice of God.'"

Commented Atty. A. T. Walden, president of Georgia Negro Democrats, who met Dobbs in a pre-election debate:

"President Harry S. Truman's election conclusively proves two things. First, that even in the area of politics the American people admire a man of genuine sincerity who possesses honest convictions which he dares to advocate courageously and unflinchingly in the face of apparently insuperable odds; second, that the people of America believe that the liberal Democratic party is the guardian of the welfare and liberty of the common man."

Registration of Voters Nears Record of '46

The Constitution

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Registration of voters for Georgia's Sept. 8 Democratic primary today was headed toward the record set in 1946.

Tues 7-13-48

With 61 counties yet to report registration lists in Secretary of State Ben Fortson's office are only 296,411 voters short of 1946's 1,077,949.

The total for 98 counties, including Fulton, Chatham and Bibb, was 781,538 registered voters, including more than 103,000 Negroes. Still missing is populous Richmond County.

Atlanta Ga

Broken down as far as possible the 1948 figures showed 642,425 white voters and 103,002 Negroes.

The discrepancy between these two figures and the total is explained by the fact that several county clerks, who are charged by law with making the returns, failed to break down the lists by color.

The Negro vote is expected to go slightly above the 1946 figure of 118,000. This number is unofficial, since the Secretary of State's office in its official accounting of the 1946 voters gave only the combined total.

A study of the 1948 figures available so far brought this information to light:

The ratio between white and Negro voters in Bacon County is 4,888 whites to one Negro.

One unit vote in Chattahoochee County is equal to 132 ballots, while in Fulton County, with a total registration of 130,588, one unit vote is the quivalent of 21,764 ballots.

A simpler breakdown would be to say that one vote cast in Chattahoochee has the same voting power as 494.5 in Fulton. Of course, these figures are based on the assumption that all those qualified to vote do so. The actual ratio would depend on how many really cast ballots Sept. 8.

Tues 7-13-48

Three counties—Fayette, Union and Webster—reported no Negroes qualified to vote.

Hancock, which has a white registration of 1,792, with the Negro registration totaling 1,341, has the highest percentage of Negro votes.

In the vast majority of the counties, however, the Negro vote registration is negligible and can be discounted as an election influence in all but the most unusual circumstances.

Such a circumstance would be a 50-50 split in the white vote, with the Negroes voting in a bloc.

There are exceptions, of course, besides Hancock. Chatham County has a powerful Negro vote—20,700 out of a total registration of 65,200.

Fulton has 24,294 registered Negro voters. Muscogee has 3,916 Negroes out of a 25,412 total. Bibb County, with a total registration of 33,000, has 9,000 Negro voters.

Under Georgia's vote laws, the county unit system, which is similar in setup to the Federal Electoral College system, prevails.

Each of the State's 159 counties is allotted two or more unit votes, depending on population, up to a total of six. The popular vote within the county determines for whom the entire unit vote shall be cast.

Tues 7-13-48

Eight counties have six unit votes, 30 have four and the remainder two.

Thus, it is possible for a candidate to receive more popular votes than his opponent and still lose the election.

White Supremacy, Terror Rule Win for 'Hummon'

34e

The Courier

(Special to The Courier)

ATLANTA, Ga.—Paced by a slaying, beatings, last-minute voter purges, fiery crosses burned by the KKK and new "delaying tactics," Georgia's white supremists last week made a mockery out of the Constitution and returned Herman Talmadge, son of the late 'Gene, to office as their Governor.

Sat 7-17-48

Agents of the FBI were conducting a thorough investigation into the shooting of 28-year-old siah Nixon, Alston, Ga., turpentine worker, by Johnnie Johnson, young white logger of that own, after Nixon had insisted on carrying out his desire to vote in spite of being told not to do so. Johnson is jailed in Alston and his brother is being sought. Nixon was the father of six children.

Pittsburgh Pa

BLACKJACK, BRASS "KNUCKS"

A Negro poll worker hired by supporters of M. E. Thompson, Talmadge's opponent, was beaten with a blackjack and brass knuckles by a white man in Montgomery County while another white man stood by with a cocked shotgun leveled at his head. This Negro managed to make his way to Atlanta after the beating, and reported to the FBI there.

Newest strategy in the overall effort of the white supremists to

34e

nullify or reduce the heavy Negro vote expected against "Hummon" was the "delaying tactics" used by white Augusta registrars who wasted twenty minutes per Negro voter asking foolish questions while a long line of Negroes waited to cast their ballots.

Sat 9-18-48

DELIBERATE DELAY

An election official said: "I believe we can kill at least twenty minutes per Negro. That will slow only three to vote each hour. There are going to be plenty of Negroes standing in line when the polls colse at 6 P. M." The long line didn't move an inch in fifteen minutes, a reporter said.

Meanwhile, throughout the length and breadth of the State Negro Georgians were asking themselves what was to happen to those who had dared oppose race-baiting "Hummon." There were some Negroes who supported Talmadge in his bid for the gubernatorial seat.

NEGRO TALMADGEITES

In some downstate counties it was reported that Negroes were politically bargained into supporting the Talmadge ticket. The Albany Tribune carried an advertisement signed by Dr. J. W. Holley, former president of Albany State College, urging Negroes to support Talmadge because of pledges allegedly made to Negro education by his late father.

Fiery crosses of the Ku Klux Klan blazed in at least three Georgia areas on election eve night. Intended as warnings to Negroes, they flared in Valdosta, home of Acting Governor Thompson, in the northern part of Bulloch County and in Houston County near a church and a store owned by Negroes. Services in progress in the church continued uninterrupted.

Sat 9-18-48

CASKET ON PORCH

In Bulloch County hooded men reportedly put a small casket on the front porch of the home of a Negro near a church. Few Negroes voted in Valdosta and it was believed the KKK cross-burnings had their effect. Elsewhere in other sections of the Second and Eighth Districts, Negroes voted in large numbers, A total of 142,491 were registered.

On the day before the election some 558 Negro registrants were stricken from the Spaulding County registration list, with registrars holding the lists until the late afternoon of the election eve day before turning it over to election officials. It was then to late for any action to restore the stricken names.

Sat 9-18-48

NO CHALLENGES

A suit had been filed in Federal Court at Brunswick to prevent such a purge, but Judge Frank Scarlett merely warned the registrars after holding a conference with them at which they promised "to abide by the law." Several other instances of voting bars were reported but so thoroughly was Talmadge victory job done

that no challenges are expected.

Bloc Voting Disproved

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta Ga

Sunday 8/1/48

The Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation has conducted a critical analysis into the bloc voting charges which have been bandied about on political platforms, in newspapers and in the columns of political writers against Negroes in Georgia since 1946, when the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals granted them their constitutional right to participate in the Democratic primaries. The pamphlet, which requires about 25 minutes or less of reading time, finds that the Negro's voting history of the past two years shows:

First, that Negroes will vote in a bloc only when White Supremacy is the issue in a state election; second, that Negroes will vote in a bloc in municipal and county elections against candidates who show a disregard for the rights of Negroes; and third, that in those counties where his right to vote has come to be accepted, and it is the practice of all candidates to bid for the Negro vote as they do for the whites, they will not and have not voted in a bloc. Then the book goes into specific cases in specific counties over the state showing among other things, that the Negro vote has exerted a wholesome influence on the whites, because it has awakened them to a new interest and responsibility in government, and that politicians, columnists and a host of dubiously authoritative observers, have got to change their theme song and learn the facts about the Negro vote.

The pamphlet is useful, we think in a great number of ways, in that it points to the fallacy of the politicians and the newspaper critics who write overtime in an effort to condemn the Negro vote, baseless as that has been proved, while never having a word of condemnation against the farm bloc, the labor bloc or if you please the southern bloc.

The utter fallacy of The Albany Herald's reasoning of last November in decrying the Negro bloc vote against the incoming Mayor James (Taxi) Smith, was pointed out by the study. A great part of that fallacy, we think, lies in the fact that the Herald's new editor and publisher, a northerner, lacked the essential facts about the character and worth of the Negro leaders of Albany, whom it characterized as "thoughtless," together with the fact that it went off without the information on the background of Mr. Smith and his Talmadge support. Mr. Smith is being charged with aiding the purge against Negroes, now going on in Dougherty county.

Georgia Leads with Jump From 20,000 to 125,000 Since 1940, Study Shows

The Iowa Bystander

Thur 7-22-48

De Moines Iowa

(34e) Ga.

Atlanta, (NNPA)—The number of qualified colored voters in the South has tripled since 1940, according to a report prepared by Luther P. Jackson, professor of history at Virginia State College, for the Southern Regional Council.

"Regardless of reaction and demagoguery," Dr. Jackson declares, "it seems highly improbable that the progress made by the Negroes as voters during the 1940 decade will wane."

For the South as a whole, the report shows, the number of qualified colored voters increased from 211,000 in 1940 to 645,000 in 1947, the latter figure representing 12 per cent of the colored population of voting age.

Leading the Southern States in this increase is Georgia where the enrollment is estimated to have jumped from 20,000 to 125,000 between 1940 and 1947.

The latter figure represents 18.8 per cent of the estimated 663,716 colored persons of voting age in the State.

Thur 7-22-48

The study, shows that the border state of Oklahoma has the highest percentage of its eligible population qualified as voters. The estimated number of colored persons of voting age in Oklahoma is 168,849. Of that number an estimated 50,000 or 29.6 per cent, are qualified to vote.

Tennessee ranks next highest in percentage. The State has an estimated 309, 456 colored persons of voting age, of whom an estimated 80,000, or 25.8 per cent, are qualified to vote.

Over One Per Cent Vote

The estimated number of colored persons of voting age in Alabama is 521,000, of whom an estimated 6,000 or 1.2 per cent, are qualified to vote. Reasons given for this low percentage of estimated colored voters in Alabama are "heavy poll tax, severe restrictions in registration, inadequate statewide Negro leadership, and general apathy."

The estimated number of qualified colored voters in Arkansas is 47,000 out of an estimated 270,995 of voting age, representing 17.3 per cent.

Florida has an estimated 316,640 colored persons of voting age, of whom an estimated 49,000, or 15.4 per cent, are qualified voters.

In Louisiana

Thur 7-22-48

Louisiana has an estimated 563,754 colored persons of voting age, of whom an estimated 10,000, or 2.6 per cent, are qualified voters. The report discloses that slightly more than one-half of the qualified colored voters in Louisiana are in New Orleans. In a majority of the sixty-four parishes in Louisiana, the report asserts, there are no qualified colored voters because registration in rural Louisiana is very difficult and the illiteracy rate is very high.

Mississippi has an estimated 563,754 colored persons of voting age, of whom an estimated 5,000, or 0.9

North Carolina has an estimated 493,175 colored persons of voting age, of whom an estimated 75,000, or 15.2 per cent, are qualified as voters.

(34e)

South Carolina has an estimated 383,000 colored persons of voting age, of whom 50,000, or 3 per cent, are qualified voters.

The Pee Dee Bystander

Texas has an estimated [illegible] colored persons of voting age, of whom an estimated 100,000, or 18.5 per cent, are qualified voters.

Virginia has an estimated 364,114 colored persons of voting age, of whom an estimated 48,000, or 13.2

Thur 7-22-48

per cent, are qualified voters.

The South as a whole has an estimated 5,069,805 colored persons of voting age, of whom the estimated 610,000 qualified voters make 12 per cent.

Although seven Southern States retain the poll tax, the report declares only in Mississippi, Virginia and Alabama does it, "constitute a significant barrier either by the amount of money to be paid, by the time and method of payment, or by its cumulative features."

De Moines Iowa

Severe Qualifications

On the basis of a state-by-state inquiry into voting practices, Dr. Jackson concludes that it is registration which is most commonly used as a means of discrimination against potential colored voters. This is accomplished, he states, by registrars who make severe application of qualification requirements against colored persons only, by policies of evasion, and by deliberate insults or threats at registration places.

It was found, however, that there is relatively little opposition to colored persons becoming registered voters in Southern cities of a population of 25,000 or more. "In Memphis, Atlanta, Jacksonville, or New Orleans," says the report "that may qualify with as much ease as they may in any Northern city."

The study points out that "it is not always the barriers to voting which disqualify the colored people, but sometimes the absence of a voting consciousness among them." The reason for this lack of interest is attributed in part to the fact that many colored churches and schools have not taken an active part in educating colored citizens in civic responsibility.

Practical benefits that have come to colored people as a result of their voting include the construction of additional colored parks, playgrounds, schools, and other public facilities and services, and the employment of colored policemen.

Dr. Jackson points to the colored vote as a healthy influence on Southern politics in general. "Holding the balance of power in many instances," he writes, "their vote has been a factor in diriving out of office city machines of long duration, in favor of more liberal office-holders."

Now We May Know For Whom We Are Voting

Daily World

(34e)

The action of the state legislature Saturday in amending the election law now makes it possible for the voters to know for whom they will be voting in the national contest for president and vice president next Nov. 2. And of course this action by the General Assembly is to be commended by those who believe in the right of the people to have a chance to make a free expression of their choice of those to hold public office.

Tues 10-5-48

Atlanta Ga.

It is true, however, the new law did not go as far as Gov. Thompson, who called the special session, had hoped it would go, yet it was a great step forward in that it will give all the candidates for the two highest national offices a chance to have electors placed in the ballot without the necessity of presenting a petition bearing the names of 5 percent of the states voters.

The Turman-Dewey-Wallace groups have already named their electors and it is probable that the Thurmond or Dixiecrat ticket will also enter a set of electors, making a possible four-way fight for Georgia's twelve electorial votes. This means that the state's Negro vote will be more important this year than ever before in the nation's history This vote, about 175,000 strong, could well be the deciding factor.

The Civil Rights issue is the most important question in the campaign as far as our group is concerned. Then we should ask ourselves two questions: (1) which one of the candidates is most sincere over the Civil Rights issue? (2) which one who has a chance of election who would show the necessary determination to push through to enactment into law at least a part of the program?

Tues 10-5-48

President Truman in our opinion is the answer to both the above questions. He has been most forthright in his advocacy and tangible action about the program even to the extent of alienations of a large segment of his own party. We are convinced of Truman's sincerity. On the otherhand, Gov. Dewey has been strangely silent on the question of Civil Rights. Also apparently with his knowledge his running mate has been making recent 'State' speeches.

Moreover, President Truman is head of the party which we feel could persuade the south to accept at least a portion of the Civil Rights program with a minimum degree of resistance. This is an important election and we hope every voter will do his duty on Nov.2 as a good citizen and cast his vote.

34e 1948

Georgia

Johnson Negroes Shun Vote; 241 'Not Interested'---Judge

The Constitution 34e

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 3-4-48

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But City Judge W. C. Brinson said he didn't believe the Klan affair had anything to do with the absence of the city's 241 qualified Negro voters from the polls.

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34e Ga. Tues. 3-23-48

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The students waited in long lines for their turn to give information to registration officials who were registrars from the Fulton County count house.

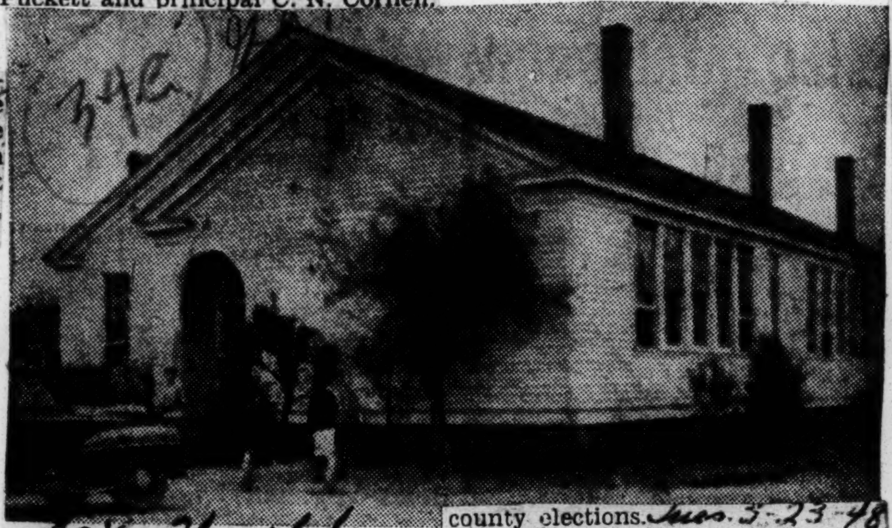
Sat. 4-3-48

While swearing under the voter's oath that I possess the qualifications of an elector required by the constitution: and that I am not disfranchised from voting by reason of any offense committed against the laws of this state. The students appeared exceedingly confident.

Although some of them were merely 17 years old, they were still eligible to register because they will reach their 18th birthday before November.

Good discipline was maintained throughout the occasion.

Assisting the student government officers were R. E. Cureton, member all citizens committee and head of the social science department at Washington high school, Mrs. A. L. Jackson, L. H. King, Jr., W. L. Puckett and principal C. N. Cornell.



34e

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Brunswick Negro Voters Back Liberal Candidates

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Support for the incumbents came after a plea by a candidate for support because his father was good to Negroes years ago when he was a local physician. However, this was not enough to have the majority turn their backs on Tax Commissioner J. M. Exley, Harry F. duBignon, clerk of Superior Court, M. E. Owens, sheriff, and Atwood Freeman for County Surveyor. Tues

Preference was shown for Tax Commissioner Exley who has been in office ten years and has a consistent record for fair play in dealing with Negroes. Voters cited the fact that his office had been fair in registering them when other parts of Georgia was attempting various subterfuges to halt Negro registration.

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Atlanta, Ga.

The Negro vote was much lighter than expected because of threatening weather. The total vote on the bond issue was 2,400 for and 1,990 against. A total of about 4,800 were cast in the entire county. 3-16-48

The closest race was that for the post of tax commissioner, where incumbent Exley managed to retain his office by a narrow margin of 98 votes. This race was close all the way, with Vassa Cate who opposed Exley, taking a 32-vote lead for the city precincts. Exley's strength in the county made the difference.

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The Constitution 34e Atlanta, Ga. 3-8-48

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We hope the latter premise is correct and that those of us who have advocated suffrage for the Negro will not again be embarrassed by evidences that his newly-gained political power is being misused. Atlanta, Ga.

It is our conviction that, given half a chance, the Negro will prove a good citizen, subject to the same divisions of opinion and differences of political allegiance as any other human being. Mon. 3-8-48

Daily World

VOTED DESPITE KKK THREATS — Several hundred voters dared the Ku Klux Klan terror campaign which resulted in mass cross burnings in Twiggs County on the eve of the county elections. Pictured here are voters leaving the Jeffersonville Vocational High School where election officials were prepared to handle more than 400 voters of the Negroes 800 registered in the county. Pictured from left to right (front row) are Dr. E. M. Calhoun, President of the Citizens Democratic Club of Bibbs County, Hershel Rouse, Leola Wiggins, Eunice Wiggins, James Curtis and Charles W. Greenlea, State Organizer of Citizens Democratic Clubs. (Second Row) Edward Glover, Thomas Chatman and Edward James. (Third Row) E. A. Glover, Ed Glover and Robert James. Wed.

The two young women on the front row, Leola and Eunice Wiggins, students at Jeffersonville Vocational High not only voted in the county elections, but assisted election officials in their duties. 3-24-48

Atlanta, Ga.

Citizens In All Walks Join Voters Campaign

(34e) Ga Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

The Negroes in Atlanta are taking on the "new look" in civic affairs. They are beginning to feel they have a civic duty to participate in the civic matters. They are registering in large numbers daily in order that they may become qualified voting citizens in Fulton and DeKalb Counties. Tues.

Last week Principal C. N. Cornell and Prof. R. E. Cureton of Booker T. Washington High School, in cooperation with the All-Citizens Reistration Committee, had the registrars from the Fulton County Court house to come to the school to register more than 500 students and others living in the vicinity of the school. 4-13-48

Prof. Charles Gideons of David T. Howard School registered nearly 300 people at the D. T. Howard School a few days later.

The Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity in cooperation with the All-Citizens Registration Committee, co sponsored the first in a series of registration booths at the Booker T. Washington Hi Evening School of which Milton White is principal. Approximately 500 persons were registered. J. C. Long, Chairman of the 3rd Ward, helped to make this effort a success.

LOCAL COLLEGES GIVE ASSISTANCE

Many organizations and individuals volunteered their services in this project. Miss Margurite Akins, Assistant Dean of Women at Clark College, led a group of eligible Clark students to the registration booth. Miss Sara Perry of the Veterans Guidance Center of Atlanta University volunteered her services at this booth. Dean B. R. Brazeal, of Morehouse College was responsible for a large number of students from the college, who not only registered but helped in the registration of others. The student chapter of the NAACP of Morehouse College and the local chapter of the Southern Negro Youth Congress at the college canvassed from door to door in the third ward to help stimulate interest in this campaign.

Mrs. E. R. Carter, local school teacher, Rev. I. A. Sherman precinct leader of the third ward, Miss Y. Latten of David T. Howard High School and Clarence D. Coleman, Community Organization of the Atlanta Urban League, served as aids during the registration.

Members of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity were on hand to organize and supervise the booth. Members of the fraternity included: C. A. Bacote, chairman of the All-Citizens Registration Committee, Nelson C. Jackson of the National Urban League, I. H. Burney, president of Eta Lambda Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha, Charles Greenlea, J. Stanley Tatum, Milton White, William Sullivan, Noah Willis, J. Q. Dougherty and members and pledgees of the Alpha Phi Alpha Chapters of Clark, Morris Brown and Morehouse colleges. The next booth is scheduled to be held at Big Bethel AME Church of which Rev. D. T. Babcock is pastor. This booth will be held Tuesday April 13 from 10:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

BAND TO PLAY

Through the cooperation of the principal of David T. Howard High School Prof. Charles Gideons and Prof. Kenneth Days the director of the band, the band will play a concert in front of Big Bethel Church from 12:00 to 1:00 p.m. during the registration period. Pictures are to be taken of all ministers who lead their congregations to the booth. A loud speaker will be on hand to give passers-by desired information concerning the registration campaign. Tue. 4-13-48

Laurens Primary Qualifies Only 785 Negroes

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. Ga.

New Lists Fail To Restore Names Of Nearly 1700

6-3-48

Laurens County Democratic Primary was held here Wednesday with new registrations lists. Out of a previously reported total registration of 2250 Negro registrants, only 785 were qualified to cast ballots in the Wednesday's primary which includes restoration of about 70 names upon application following the wholesale purge of some 1,600 or 1,700 Negroes. Daily World

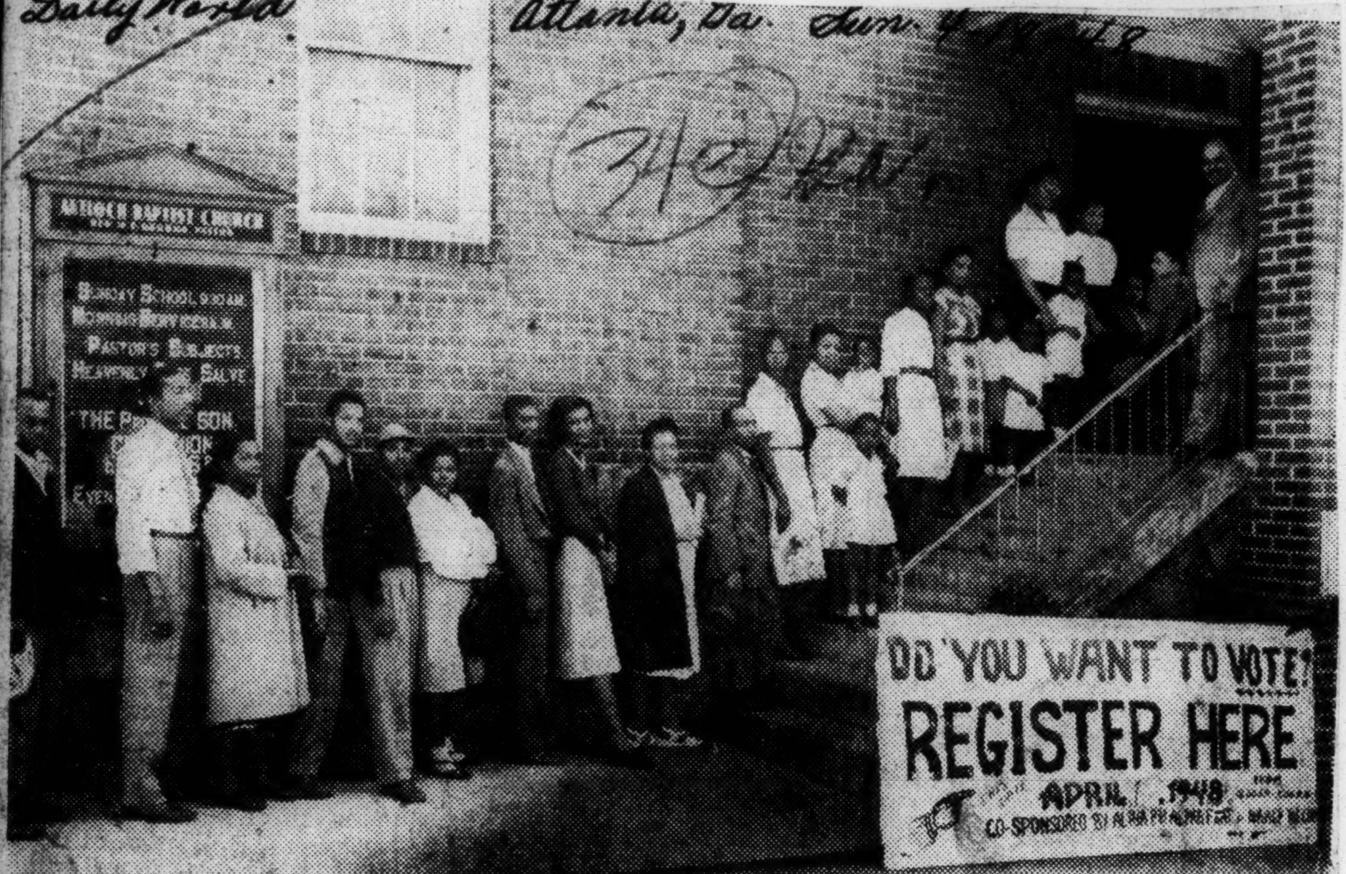
The militia district officials used the lists furnished them by the board of registrars—and only those lists—board chairman Baldwin stated. 34e Ga.

Negro leaders of Dublin, through their attorney, Dan Duke, of Atlanta, had filed suit for damages of $250,000 plus court costs in Federal District Court at Savannah Saturday, against officials who purged them and other Negroes from the lists. Among those named in the suit included Judge Earl R Camp, Rep. Herschel Lovett, the board of registrars and the Chair-cratic Executive committee of Laucratic Executive committe of Laurens County. Thurs. 6-3-48 Atlanta, Ga.

Attorney Duke told a group of Negro leaders of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic clubs recently that he is advising the purged voters not to re-apply for registration, since it was crystal clear that their rights were violated by those directing the purge.

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 4 [illegible]

34e



Daily World

REGISTERING AT ANTIOCH— Several hundred persons added their names to the Fulton County Voters' lists last week at Antioch Baptist Church. The Rev. D. T. George, pastor, is seen at the top of the steps welcoming the long line of registrants. (Kelly Photo)

REGISTERED GRIFFIN VOTERS CHALLENGED

34e Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

GRIFFIN, Ga. (SNS)—Attempts to purge Negroes from voting in Georgia primaries broke out again Monday—this time in Griffin where 1,500 registered Negroes voters were summoned to appear before the Board of Registrars to determine their qualifications. 7-30-48

The challenged voters were ordered to appear Monday and "from day to day" until all "questionable registrants" are examined. Fri.

The subpoenas were issued through the Sheriff's office and brought remarks from Board members R. L. Addleton that they were issued only in cases where "there are any doubts" about qualifications.

Although the registrar said subpoenas would be issued to any whites whose qualifications were doubted he was non-committal as to whether any whites had been challenged. 7-30-48

The challenged Negro citizens have employed the services of two Atlanta attorneys to represent them before the board. They are S. B. Wallace and Frank Bowers. Fri.

Of the 77 voters who appeared Monday, 19 were disqualified. They were questioned by Registrar Addleton. Other members of the board are T. E. Mann and Hug Anglyn.

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Ga. Voters League Celebration Attracts Near 5,000 People

The Herald Savannah, Ga

Note: The full text of Judge Atkinson's speech appears on the edtorial page.

34(G)

Giving everything it promised the Georgia Voters League attracted one of the largest crowds to Grayson Stadium ever to witness an affair of this kind. The spirit of independence and freedom was followed through from the gates to the final speech and benediction. The sports program got underway at 2:30 P.M. with the West Side Stars and East Side Scorpions in a fast and interesting game of soft ball. Two other local teams, The Savannah Red Sox and the Tatemville Tigers, followed with a baseball game which held the interest of spectators fro mthe beginning to end.

The Herald

The speaking program arranged to follow after refreshments were served, included officers of the Georgia Voters League and the County Commissioners the principal address being given by the Honorable David S. Atkinson, Judge of Chatham County Superior Court. Judge J. P. Houlihan laid stress on the bond election being ~~held July~~ 22, and building of new schols. Rev. S. A. Baker, president of the League cited the advantages offered by the south and particularly by Savannah and Chatham County. Contrary to expectation no mention was made of what candidates the league would endeavor this matter being no doubt deferred until a full slate of officers has been offered by all factions and questionaries be sent out.

Savannah, Ga.

Thurs. 7-8-48

Thurs. 7-8-48

The refreshment counter maned by ladies of the league served lunches and soft drinks to all persons who desired them. Adolph Aiken, executive secretary of the league and president S. A. Baker expressed regrets that some few left before the speaking program got under way and made the announcement that any nformaton concerning the local political set up and voting locations can be had by calling at the Georgia Voters League Office at 606 West Broad Street.

State Democrats Map Drive Against Purge

34(E) Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Alarmed Negro political leaders, who are deeply concerned over "purge tactics" in some sections of the state, gathered in Atlanta Thursday morning to discuss methods of combatting the outbrea

madge-forces in several Georgia counties.

Ga. Fri.

The special meeting was called by the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, through its President A. T. Walden who pointed out that hostile political forces have started purges in Mitchell, Chatham, Laurens and Spaulding counties on a wholesale scale, now that the gubernatorial campaign in the state is heading towards the home stretch.

7-30-48

Even while the meeting was in progress, news of another purge on a huge scale was developing in Dougherty County, of which Albany is the county seat.

One of the most flagrant examples of a mass purge was cited as Mitchell County, where Camilla is the leading town, and which is the home of House Speaker Fred Hand. In Mitchell County the remaining 113 voters of 1300 purged in 1946 were stratched from the voting lists.

Fri. 7-31-48

After a thorough discussion the political conferees voted a resolution which directed Atty. Walden to contact Atty. Gen. Tom Clark, requesting that the Federal Bureau of Investigation investigate purges, and which urged Negroes over the state tc disregard signing a petition to place a Wallace slate on the ballot.

Among the leaders present were O. C. George, and J. F. Carter, Albany; J. M. Atkinson, Brunswick; Dan Young, Monroe; O. W. Weaver, Athens; Wm. P. Randall, Macon; Ray Ware, Athens; M. J. Hadley, Waycross, and George W. Lumpkin, Waycross.

Atantans present were A. T. Walden, C. A. Ccott, and W. R. Cochrane.

Books Open At Courthouse Until May 1

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 4-25-48

Over 300 Take Voter's Oath At Pollard's Home

34(E) Ga.

Over 3000 new voters have qualified with the Fulton County registrars as a result of the drive conducted pointly by the All-Citizens Registration Committee of the N. A. A. C. P. and the Eta Lambda Chapter of the Alpha Phi Fraternity, it was announced Saturday by chairmen of the two groups.

Milton White, chairman of the Alpha group, and C. A. Bacote, chairman of the NAACP group, stated that the program of bringing the registrars to the Negro communities was regarded as successful.

4-25-48

They pointed out that those still desiring to register may do so until May 1 when Fulton County books close. Dekalb County books will close on July 1.

WORKERS PRAISED

Sun.

Bacote and White praised Clarence Coleman, community secretary of the Atlanta Urban League, who has been coordinating the registration efforts. Mr. Coleman has been assisted by Charles W. Greenlea, secretary of the Fulton County Citizens Democratic Club, and a huge staff of volunteers all over the city.

Last Thursday night the Fulton registrars made their last community appearance at the Pollard Funeral Home in "Summerhill." It was announced that over 300 residents took advantage of this opportunity to become registered voters.

Daily World

Students from Reid's Business College, who have been consistently helpful as volunteer typists during the entire campaign, were on hand at Pollard's. Those who assisted here were: Earlene Webb, Alma Holt, Louise Thomas and Ernestine Douse.

Atlanta, Ga.

New Policemen Patrol Westside

33(Ga.)

Daily World

Atlanta's eight-man division of Negro policemen went on duty for the fourth consecutive weekend Saturday. They had previously been assigned to Auburn avenue - Butler Street vicinity and worked in close proximity to their precinct station, located at the Butler Street YMCA.

Yesterday, however, a change was observed when four of the officers were seen patrolling two congested areas on the West side of the city.

This gave "Westsiders" their first opportunity of observing Negro officers performing duties in that section of the city.

Atlanta, Ga

Two of the officers were assigned to the Hunter - Ashby Street vicinity while two others were stationed at Mitchell and Davis St. The remaining four saw duty in and around the precinct station.

Sun. 4-25-48

After the men complete their final week of training next week, they are expected to be given regular assignments. Just where these assignments will be has not been divulged by Chief H. T. Jenkins.

34e 1948

Georgia (All-Citizens-Registration Drive)

Mass Meeting In DeKalb County

34e

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

By CLARENCE D. COLEMAN

Principal William Hatton, of the Avondale High in Decatur, Georgia, Mrs. Narvie J. Harris, Mrs. Carnell Maddox, all members of the executive committee of the All-Citizens-Registration-Drive of which C. A. Bacote, professor of history at Atlanta University, is chairman, have completed arrangements for a mass meeting in Decatur, Ga., to emphasize the need for civic participation among Negroes in DeKalb County.

This meeting will be held this afternoon at Avondale High School in Decatur at 3 p. m. in cooperation with the All-Citizens-Registration-Committee and the NAACP membership Drive. Principal Hatton has announced that the theme for this program will be: "Civic Preparation for Civic Participation." This theme is destined to become a by-word of the people over the state of Georgia. Principal Hatton, aggressive, well-prepared is chairman of the program committee.

Sun 3-7-48

The speaker for this program will be C. L. Harper, former principal of Booker T. Washington High school in Atlanta, executive secretary of the Georgia Teachers Association, whose membership has tripled under his leadership, president of the local chapter of the NAACP and a leader in educational circles for a score of years.

This program, which will also include music, singing, and the reading of several political essays, is one of a series of educational programs that will be presented from time to time in Dekalb county to meet a very urgent community need.

Mrs. Narvie J. Harris and Mrs. Carnell Maddox are co-chairmen of the Dekalb County Division of the Registration drive and are planning other programs other sections of Dekalb county.

34e

MASS MEETING IN EAST POINT

Daily World

The East Point Civic and Political League is also sponsoring a mass meeting today at 3 p. m. W. A. Quillian and Charles H. Green, co-chairman of the All-Citizens-Registration and the NAACP membership drive have plans to double the number of Negro registered voters in East Point by the end of the drive The leaders in this program have indicated that many people in East Point do not understand the need of registration or the need for voting. This meeting is scheduled to help interpret the need for "Civic Preparation for Civic Participation."

Att'y Edward S. D'Antignac, young Atlanta lawyer, and an associate of Att'y A. T. Walden will be guest speaker. The meeting will be held at the Grant Chapel AME church of which Rev. G. N. Jones is pastor.

Atlanta, Ga.

George Dorsey and S. A. Sheets co-chairmen of the Northeast section of the drive are plainning a mass meeting at Mt. Zion Second Baptist Church, 281 Piedmont Ave., N. E. Rev. J. T. Dorsey, one of the outstanding leaders of the drive, is pastor. The speaker for the occasion will be Daniel E. Byrd, Assistant Field Secretary of the national office of the NAACP, who is in Atlanta in connection with the registration drive and the NAACP Membership Drive. This meeting is scheduled to be held immediately after the morning services at 1:30 p. m. The chairmen of this division are asking all workers to this meeting.

Sun. 3-7-48

Wholesale Purge Of Race Voters Seen In Ga. County

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Va. Sat. 8-7-48

By C. LAMAR WEAVER

ATLANTA, ~~Ga~~—(NNPA)—The wholesale purging of colored persons from the voting registration lists in Spalding county continued here last Thursday as the Board of Registrars resorted to delaying tactics in challenging some 1,500 registered colored voters who had been summoned before it to determine whether they are qualified to vote.

The procedure is having its effects on Spalding county white folks. Housewives are finding themselves without maids, farm owners without hands, and gar-

subpenas.

The subpenas, issued through the sheriff's office, ordered the colored voters to appear Monday and "from day to day" until the cases are disposed of.

ARE DISQUALIFIED

Of 592 persons, who had been examined up to last Thursday, 209 have been disqualified. Because of delaying tactics, 206 of the disqualified were stricken from the list because they failed to answer their subpenas.

Two Atlanta attorneys, S. B. Wallace and Frank Bowers, have been retained by colored citizens of the county to represent them before the board.

Mr. Wallace charged that the registrars had planned to have the voters read and interpret sections of the Constitution of the United State and of Georgia.

PLAN PANNEL

This plan was not followed, he said, when it was pointed out that interpretation of the Constitution was not required of persons of good character and who understood the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government.

No white voter has been challenged and it appears unlikely that any will be. No challenge can be made after August 20. If the registrars drag out the purging of colored voters long enough, time will not permit any white voters to be challenged.

GLARING DIFFERENCE

Official records show that 10,000 white voters are registered in Spalding county as compared to 1,800 colored voters.

White and colored citizens of Spalding county are linking the purge to the forces of Herman Talmadge, gubernatorial candidate. Although the Talmadge faction of the Democratic party has never carried this county, well informed sources believe that efforts are being made to reduce the number of colored voters gubernatorial candidates.

Anti-Negro Vote Charge Denied In Dougherty

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 8-4-48

Constitution State News Service.

ALBANY, Aug. 3—T. A. Kemp, a member of the Dougherty County Board of Registrars, today denied charges filed with Federal Judge Frank Scarlett by Albany Negroes that there is a conspiracy afoot here to prevent wholesale numbers of Negroes from voting in the September primary.

Kemp said he had not been informed of the action, filed by Atlanta attorneys. He said voters had been subpoenaed but that more whites than Negroes had called, and that the reason was for the purpose of clearing up routine questions, the duties of registrars.

The registrar specified that some voters on the list have identical names, that some addresses are confusing, and that some places of residence are not clear.

An Albany Negro, the Rev. M. F. Adams, officer at large of the Democrats Club, which instituted the court action, said he and several other members of the club went to the Dougherty courthouse recently for two or three days and "saw only Negroes being questioned by the registrars." He said the Atlanta attorneys were engaged and that they are not NAACP lawyers.

8-4-48

Another Negro, C. W. King, President of the club, said when he went to the courthouse those called before the board were predominantly Negro. "We didn't know what was going on," he said, "and we wanted to find out."

Judge Orders Spalding To List Negroes

The Constitution

BRUNSWICK, Aug. 20—(AP)—The Spalding County Board of Registrars was ordered today to register Negro voters without discrimination and to halt any hardships imposed on them because of race.

Sat. 8-21-48

Federal Judge Frank Scarlett ruled in a prehearing conference between attorneys for Negro plaintiffs and the Registrars. His order was similar to one last Friday directed against the Twiggs County Board.

Atlanta, Ga.

The Spalding Registrars agreed to adhere to the law, as interpreted by Judge Scarlett. Their plea had been that any violation of the law had been due to ignorance and not intent.

Negro registrants in Spalding County complained that they were required to await around the courthouse three and four days before being allowed to register. This endangered their jobs, they said.

Scarlett specifically directed the registrars to refrain from working any hardship on the Negroes seeking to register.

The case was left open on the records, Judge Scarlett said, in event of further complaint.

Negro Leaders Say Registrars Discriminate

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Judge Scarlett Orders Hearing August 20th

Wed. 8-11-48

ALBANY, Ga.—(SNS)—A legal halt to wholesale purging of Dougherty county Negro voters was asked Monday when two Atlanta attorneys filed a petition with Federal Judge Frank M. Scarlett, in Brunswick, charging the Board of Registrars with scheming and conspiring to deprive Negro voters of their just rights of suffrage and of civil rights solely on account of race.

The petition was accepted and it was ordered by Judge Scarlett that the Registrars show cause on August 20, why they should not be enjoined from striking the names of Negro voters from the registration lists and restore those already stricken.

Wed. 8-11-48

The petition was filed by Attorneys Hal Lindsay and Frank A. Bowers in behalf of three plaintiffs and approximately 3,000 other Dougherty county Negroes similarly situated. The listed plaintiffs are Charles B. Driskell, Erasmus Dent and J. B. Brown.

Among other claims, the petitioners allege:

(1) They have fullfilled all requirements of registration and are thereby qualified to vote.

(2) That the Board of Registrars, comprising T. A. Kemp, C. R. Hodges and O. E. Waddell, was recently appointed by Judge Carl Crow, of the Superior Court of the Albany Judicial Circuit, and shortly after taking office conspired to deprive the Negro voters of their vote rights.

(3) That the Registrars summoned every person on the Negro registration list to show cause why he should not be disqualified.

(4) In their summoning of Negroes the Registrars deliberately conducted it in such a manner to make it impracticable for some to answer.

(5) That the summons failed to show on what grounds the Negroes were being challenged.

Ordinarily the petition would have been presented to Judge T. Hoyt Davis, of Macon, who presides over the Middle District of Georgia, since Albany lies within its juridiction on federal matters. However, in view of his absence from the bench because of illness, it was presented to Judge Scarlett of the Southern District.

Daily World.

The petitioners cited an example where one summons submitted through the mails was postmarked just one day before the challenged person was ordered to appear. When the summons was delivered at the person's home he had departed on his daily work and did not receive it in his hands until late that afternoon. The summons ordered this person to appear at 10 o'clock that morning.

Regular procedure for serving summons is to have assurance that persons for whom they are intended receive it in their hands.

According to the petition, the mails have been literally flooded with summons and holds little assurance that they will reach the intended receivers in time to act accordingly.

Moreover, the petition alleges that the Board of Registrars has asserted that those striken from the voters' lists may appeal to the next term of the Superior Court of that County. The next holding of the Dougherty County Superior court is set for September 20. As such, a favorable ruling to the appealers would come too late for them to vote in the September 8 Democratic Primary.

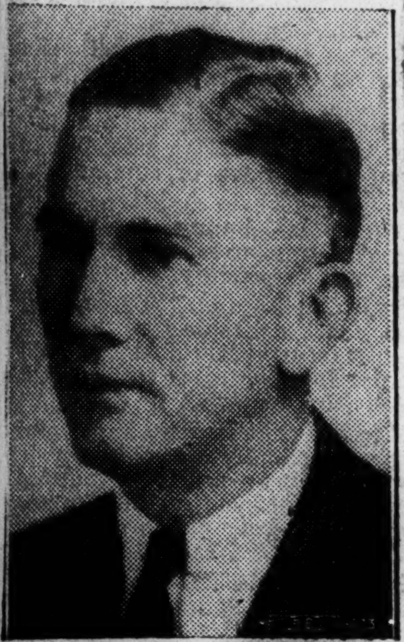
The petitioners claim they are systematically being discriminated against solely on account of race. They ask for such ruling that would entitle all persons on the registration lists to vote in the coming elections and for a like ruling in behalf of those stricken during the purge. In addition the petitioners requested that the Board produce at the hearing all necessary books and records to insure clarification of the issues involved.

Wed. 8-11-48

Meanwhile, Registrar Kemp denied the charges Tuesday. He claimed that more whites had been summoned than Negroes. Members of both races have been summoned to clear up routine questions, he added.

In his observation of the Board hearings, in Albany Negro leader, Rev. M. F. Adams, said for the last two or three days he saw only Negroes being questioned. Rev. Adams is an officer in a local Democratic Club.

Gets Pink Slip



JOHN P. SHAFFER

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eavy Voting arks Election n Louisiana

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

cord Vote Expected

s Four Candidates xpress Confidence

Wed. 1-21-48

EW ORLEANS, Jan. 20.—(AP) eavy balloting marked Loui- a's Democratic primary elec- Tuesday and four candi- s who want to be governor ed uneasily to learn what big turnout meant.

A the weather grew better ing the day, voting swelled oportions which might have tened the record 553,723 es- shed in the first primary of when Sam H. Jones and K. Long—brother of the late tor Huey P. Long—had their contest at the polls.

g was top man in that pri- , but lacked the required rity and Jones defeated him runoff primary four weeks and thus drove the old Long faction out of power. two men ere rivals Tuesday along with Rob- Kennon, of Minden, judge appeals court, and United Representative James H. son, of Hammond.

Took Spurt At Last

months-long campaign me by Louisiana standards the final stages when Rep- ntative James Domengeaux, a Jones supporter, charged on the floor of Congress that Long had an income, "largely illegal," of $250,000 when he was first lieutenant governor, then governor in 1938 and 1939. Long served for about a year as governor when Richard Leche resigned during the "Louisiana scandals." The Advertiser

Long filed a million dollar damage suit against Domengeaux, Jones and others, charging a conspiracy to libel him. He dared Domengeaux to repeat the charges when he was not protected by congressional immunity. Domengeaux did—and Long countered by offering to make public sworn records of his income if Jones would do likewise. Jones said he would accept the challenge, and there the matter rests. Montgomery, Ala.

All Hope For Victory

The candidates, viewing the large vote with mingled feelings, all expressed confidence of victory. A runoff primary will be held Feb. 24 between the two high men if no one received a majority Tuesday. Wed.

As the aftermath of a United States Supreme Court ruling which gave them the right to participate in primaries, Negroes voted in greater numbers than ever before—but the Negro vote was only a handful of the total.

Polls closed at 7 p.m., Central Stand Time, in all precincts except those in New Orleans and Baton Rouge, where there are voting machines and the closing hours was 9 p.m. 1-21-48

The ballot was long, containing the names of scores of candidates for parish (county) office, as well as the names of those in nine statewide contests. The count was likely to be slow, with few returns likely before 9 o'clock.

KKK Notes Threaten La. Voters

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

LAKE ARTHUR, La. (ANP)—Letters signed with a crudely drawn skull and cross bones and the letters "KKK" were sent through the mails here last week to colored registered voters in an attempt to frighten them away from the polls on Jan 20 during the Louisiana gubernatorial Democratic primary. Sat. 1-31-48

The letters warned that if any one of those to whom the notes were sent attempted to vote, "all of you will be out of business in this community." More than 200 registered to vote here refused to be frightened and cast their ballots in the hotly contested race.

The town is located in Jefferson Davis Parish. Atty. A. P. Turead of New Orleans, president of the Louisiana State NAACP, immediately requested the U.S. Department of Justice to investigate and to prosecute any violation of Federal civil rights. Copies of the letter were also sent to U.S. Attorney Tom Clark and to postal inspectors.

REPUBLICANS SURPRISED

CHICAGO (NNPA)—William E. King was one of several Republican ward committeeman who were surprised last week when their opponents in the April 13 election got preferred positions on the ballot.

KKK Acts To Halt Race Vote In Louisiana

Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.

By Associated Negro Press

LAKE ARTHUR, La.—A definite attempt to discourage Negroes from voting in the Louisiana gubernatorial Democratic primary on Jan. 20, in fact a direct threat obviously designed to frighten Negroes and keep them from participating in the election, was brought to light here last Friday by the Louisiana State Association of NAACP branches. Sat. 1-31-48

According to the organization's officials, Howard Higginbotham, a resident of this city, received a "warning" through the mails on Friday telling him that he and eight other Negro voters would "be out of business" if they voted in the primary. The letter, postmarked, "Lake Arthur, La., Jan. 15, 5 p. m., 1948," was signed with a crudely drawn skull and cross bones and the letters "KKK."

The letter states:

"Warning: Leader, if you or any of 8 voters try a act on 20th it will mean that you will be out of business. If one vote of the 8, you shall be the one to pay:—Emma Collin, Roosevelt Collin, Rodney Collin, Albert Cheney, Booker T. Brown, you and your wife. (signed) KKK."

This town is located in Jefferson Davis parish of Louisiana, where there are more than 200 Negroes registered as voters. The group mentioned in the threatening letter includes all of the Negro registered voters in Lake Arthur, the other registered Negro voters residing in Jennings and other towns of the parish. Journal & Guide

Notified of the threat, Atty P. Turead of New Orleans, president of the State NAACP conference, immediately requested the United States Department of Justice to investigate and to prosecute any violation of civil rights. He sent copies of the letter to postal inspectors and the United States Attorney general and urged an immediate probe of the condition and the protection of Negroes desiring to exercise their franchise in the primary. 1-31-48 Norfolk, Va.

Late Saturday, Mr. Turead said he was awaitng a reply from government authorities.

Louisiana Negroes Prep For Elections

Black Dispatch

DONALDSONVILLE, La.—Negroes in Ascension Parish are registering to vote by the wholesale, and one of the surprising things that has recently happened in weeks was the selection of Mrs. Bessie Woods, Black Dispatch reporter, as an assistant at the court house by the county registrar. Prior to this year no Negro woman has worked in the court house other than as a scrub woman. Sat. 2-14-48 Oklahoma City, Okla.

Many Negroes in this section belong to the CIO and the N. A. A. C. P. They are doing every thing possible to get ready for the next election, and for a more ideal community in which to live. At least 150 Negroes have registered to vote in Ascension Parish.

2,300 Negroes Registered In Monroe, La.

The Informer
Sat. 2-14-48

MONROE, La. — Political leaders here estimated that there are 2,300 Negroes qualified to vote here in the February 24 run-off gubernatorial election between Sam H. Jones and Earl K. Long. Approximately 1,700 are reported to have voted in the January 20 primary without incident. Houston, Texas

Monroe, it is believed, has one of the best registration and voting records among Negroes in the state during the recent years. Insofar as the state is concerned, there are 812,000 Negroes of which number between 20,000 and 23 000 are registered voters, political leaders declare.

11,132 Negroes Registered In New Orleans

The Informer
Houston, Texas

NEW ORLEANS — More than eleven thousand registered Negro voters of this city were anxiously waiting to participate in the democratic gubernatorial primary at presstime. This number indicates a persent day record for registration was set by Negroes in this city. According to figues released Saturday, there are 11,132 Negroes registered in Orleans parish. Sat. 1-24-48

The total number of persons registered in the parish was 197,298, of which number about 3,000 are registered other than democrats.

There was no indication late Monday as to the general trend of the Negro vote, however, the political selections of several Negro leaders were made known in various meetings held from Friday through Monday in all sections of the city. Of the city's 547,000 inhabitants, 180,000 are Negroes.

Lecompte Negroes Also Chased From Polls; FBI Silent

The Informer
Sat. 3-6-48
Houston, Texas

34e(2)

NEW ORLEANS — Despite the promise of the United States Attorney General last November to investigate plans by some Louisiana parish officials to conduct lily-white democratic gubernatorial primaries, qualified Negro voters were left at the mercy of parish politicians again last Tuesday with the result that many Negroes are known to have been denied the privilege of voting, it was disclosed Saturday by the Louisiana State Conference of NAACP Branches.

Negro voters in Jonesboro, located in Jackson parish; and in Lecompte, located in Rapides parish, were denied the right to vote in the second Democratic primary on Tuesday, February 24.

This happened also on January 20 in Jonesboro and Lafayette, Louisiana, according to Attorney A. P. Tureaud, president of the conference.

When the first instance occurred, it was reported to the United States Attorney General and the Deparment of Justice, however, no action to date has been taken, Mr. Tureaud pointed out.

On Tuesday in Jonesboro, a dozen or more Negro voters appeared at the poll about 7 a.m. and conferred with Deputy E. L. Thompson and C. C. Mobley, watcher at the polls, the NAACP Conference stated. The Negro citizens were told, "This is a white man's primary", it was learned, and they were further told that it was belived Negro participation in the election would cause trouble between the races. Harper Cox, a business man, was quoted as saying he was not in favor of Negroes voting in the primary at all.

At the January 20 primary, Negroes were shown a letter purportedly from the Louisiana Attorney General's office stating that only members of the white race could vote in the election. This letter was not produced Tuesday but no Negroes were permitted to vote.

Following the first primary, the matter was reported to the Earl K. Long headquarters since persons heading the movement to bar Negroes were known to be working in favor of the other candidate Mr. Long, it was learned, advised conference leaders to take the matter up with persons at his headquarters in the parish.

Mr Tureaud reported the chasing of Negroes from the polls at Lafayette and Jonesboro to the Justice Department but received no assurance that Negro voters would be protected at the second primary. Thus he complained this week for a second time stating:

"Negroes in Jackson parish were denied the right to vote which is constitutionally a denial of fundamental right secured to these citizens." He requested that the matter be given attention by the justice department with a view to prosecution of the guilty parties.

Previously, Mr. Tureaud had asked an investigation of the sending of threatening notes endorsed "KKK" to prospective Negro voters in Louisiana.

In November, 1947, Assistant Attorney General T. Vincent Quinn promised Daniel E. Byrd, then president of the state NAACP conference, the Justice Department would investigate the schemes to deny Negro voters participation in the Louisiana elections if the NAACP would furnish additional evidence.

Further evidence was furnished the department, the state conference officials pointed out, but twice since Negroes have been chased from the polls when they sought to vote.

34e 1948 Michigan

It Couldn't Happen In Alabama

(34e) Mich

It was in Detroit before the War, in the days when the shadow of Hitler had fallen over much of Europe. A Negro woman walked into an election booth, shoulder to shoulder with the white woman who employed her.

CIO

"You know," the white woman said optimistically, "this is wonderful, our going to vote this way, you and I. It couldn't happen in Germany."

Mon. 4-26-48

"No," her colored companion agreed, "and it couldn't happen in Alabama."

Washington D.C.

34e 1948

Mississippi

Atlanta Daily World

His Kind Hurts The South

No matter how we may view it, whether North or South, the radio broadcast of Mississippi's race-baiting Governor Fielding Wright, last Sunday morning is a most unusual appeal to the baser elements of the South, when he said that all Mississippi Negroes who oppose the fight against Truman's civil rights program should move out of the state.

Atlanta 34 C, Ga.

The Negro population of Mississippi is about the same proportion as the whites. For the most part, they dot the fields and factories as "hands" in a vicious plantation system. Their education, according to the last Federal census, is lower than any Southern state, counting South Carolina in for good measure. The State's proudest recent favorite son is the late Senator Theodore Bilbo. But Rankin is no fiddler behind him. And from any standard of measurement, the rest of the South like the rest of the Nation, look upon Mississippi as one big disgrace to the family of States. People, (you may want to call them leaders) like Governor Wright are the ones that gave their State such a bad name.

Thu 5-13-48

Surely Negroes support the Truman's civil rights program. Surely the day is coming, even in Mississippi when Negroes are going to enjoy protection of life and limb under the guarantee of those civil rights. And we hope and believe that Governor Wright will live to see the day come when those things will happen, even against his best wishes and earnest prayers. It is a strange sight to see and hear men pledged to uphold law, appealing to others to deny justice to Negroes, who like in Mississippi, form half of the population.

Mississippi Takes New Step To Stop Negro Voting

Black Dispatch

Sat 4-3-48

34e

Oklahoma City, Okla

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) — Mississippi was on its way to a [illegible] away from the polls last week when the state senate moved to change one [illegible] "or" to "and" in the state constitution.

Instead of requiring voters to [illegible] constitution the new proposal would have a voter read "and" interpret the constitution. The state body plans to make this new requirement an amendment to the state constitution.

Negroes vote without incident in Mississippi

Tribune
Los Angeles Calif
Sat 7-24-48

JACKSON, Miss. — Two-thirds of this city's 1800 registered Negro voters cast their ballots without incident last week, as this city elected a mayor and two commissioners. The Jackson Advocate, a Negro paper, reported that the Negroes did not vote "in a block," but as individuals for the candidate of their choice, and reported that election officials behaved irreproachably toward them.

MISSISSIPPI TO MAKE NEGRO VOTING FIVE TIMES HARDER;

The Argus
Fri 4-16-48
St Louis Mo

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) — The state of Mississippi like its southern sisters, is taking elaborate precautions to foil attempts of Negroes to qualify or participate in the coming elections, by rigging up two more to its already three pronged voting laws. The two additions are to close up all loopholes which might be used, whether or not the poll tax law goes.

Mississippians Spurn New Vote Restriction

[illegible]
Sun 11-14-48
New York N.Y.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The white voting masses of Mississippi overwhelmingly rejected an amendment which would require even tighter voting restrictions in the state.

This action, a victory for southern Negro and white masses who are fighting for the right to vote, comes as a blow to Dixiecrat fascists who attempted to tighten voting qualifications in Mississippi.

The amendment, introduced by white supremacist Sen. Eastland requiring voters to have "good moral character," was recognized by the white voters as a trick to disqualify them. Much opposition was based on the almost unlimited authority that would be invested in the appointive election commissioners to disqualify a voter.

34e 1948 National Progressive Voter League

SOUTHERN NEGRO political leaders will get together in Miami February 15 to 18 when the National Progressive Voter League meets. The News-Age Herald

Party leaders are expected to appear during the convention, and will explain to the group what they have to offer Negroes in the coming elections. 34e Sun.

Among the leaders expected to attend the sessions are Dunjee, of Oklahoma; Roy, Hester, Partee, Roy Washington and J. J. Jones, of Texas; Shores, Hollins, E. O. Jackson, of Alabama; Robinson, McConico, Jones and Dyer, of Arkansas; Dobbs and Jackson, of Georgia; Green and Wilson, of Mississippi; Beatty, of North Carolina; Hinton and Mrs. Simpkins, of South Carolina; Toureau and Harleaux, of Louisiana. 2-15-48

The league was organized 13 years ago. Birmingham, Ala

All Through the Night Harlem Registered

34e

Daily Worker N.Y.

Voters

New York, N.Y.

Mon. 10-4-48

Harlem was still wide awake at 5 a.m. Sunday morning. As the cabs and private cars shot past a dingy, poorly-lit store on 5th Ave. near 112th St., people riding in them gaped at the crowd both inside and outside of the store. They wondered especially at the long heavily-policed line leading from it, and extending half-way down the block.

The people on that line had been waiting since 9 and 10 p.m., waiting to be registered.

The law says that everyone who is on line at 10:30 p.m., when the polls close, must be registered. At this particular polling place for the 9th election district in the 14th Assembly District, Manhattan, the line had extended around the corner and half-way down 113th St. when closing time came.

At 4 a.m., there were still 50 people on that line. The person who registered at that time had been standing there since 9 in the evening, a wait of seven hours. It was not until 5:55 a.m. in the morning that the last person was signed up and the books closed.

What manner of people were those who stood all through the night out in the early morning cold so they could be sure to cast their ballots? Why were they there?

They were obviously working people, some Negro, others Puerto Rican. More than half were women, and many were young. A very large proportion were first voters.

Why do you stand on line for eight hours to cast a vote? we asked a Mrs. Jones, whose handsome West Indian face was lined with the cares of a workingclass housewife.

"It is one of the few privileges a poor American has," she answered.

Later, after she had registered, we asked her how the people in the line would vote in the congressional contest.

34e

95 PERCENT MARCANTONIO

"More than 95 percent for Marcantonio," she said.

Earlier in the evening, a group of youngsters had entertained the waiting line with songs accompanied by banjoes, but the cops had forced them to quit.

Daily Worker

This was not the only overcrowded polling place in Puerto Rican Harlem. Three others had closed their lists at 1:30 or 2 a.m. Why?

At a hurriedly-summoned press conference at 10 p.m. that evening, Rep. Vito Marcantonio had given the answer.

New York, N.Y.

In 1946, he charged, there were 20 election districts covering the area. This year they had been cut to 10 despite the fact it was a presidential election.

CHARGES SLOWDOWN

Not satisfied with this, Marcantonio maintained, the two major parties ordered a slow-down of registration, aimed at discouraging the people.

Mon. 10-4-48

He accused John Ellis, his GOP opponent, of giving the order for the slowdown. Tammany leaders aided and abetted it.

Despite complaints to the Attorney General's office, the slowdown continued through the week, compelling lots of people to quit and to come back Saturday. The Attorney General, Marcantonio claimed, was more interested in "investigating" phony literacy test charges which proved to be busts.

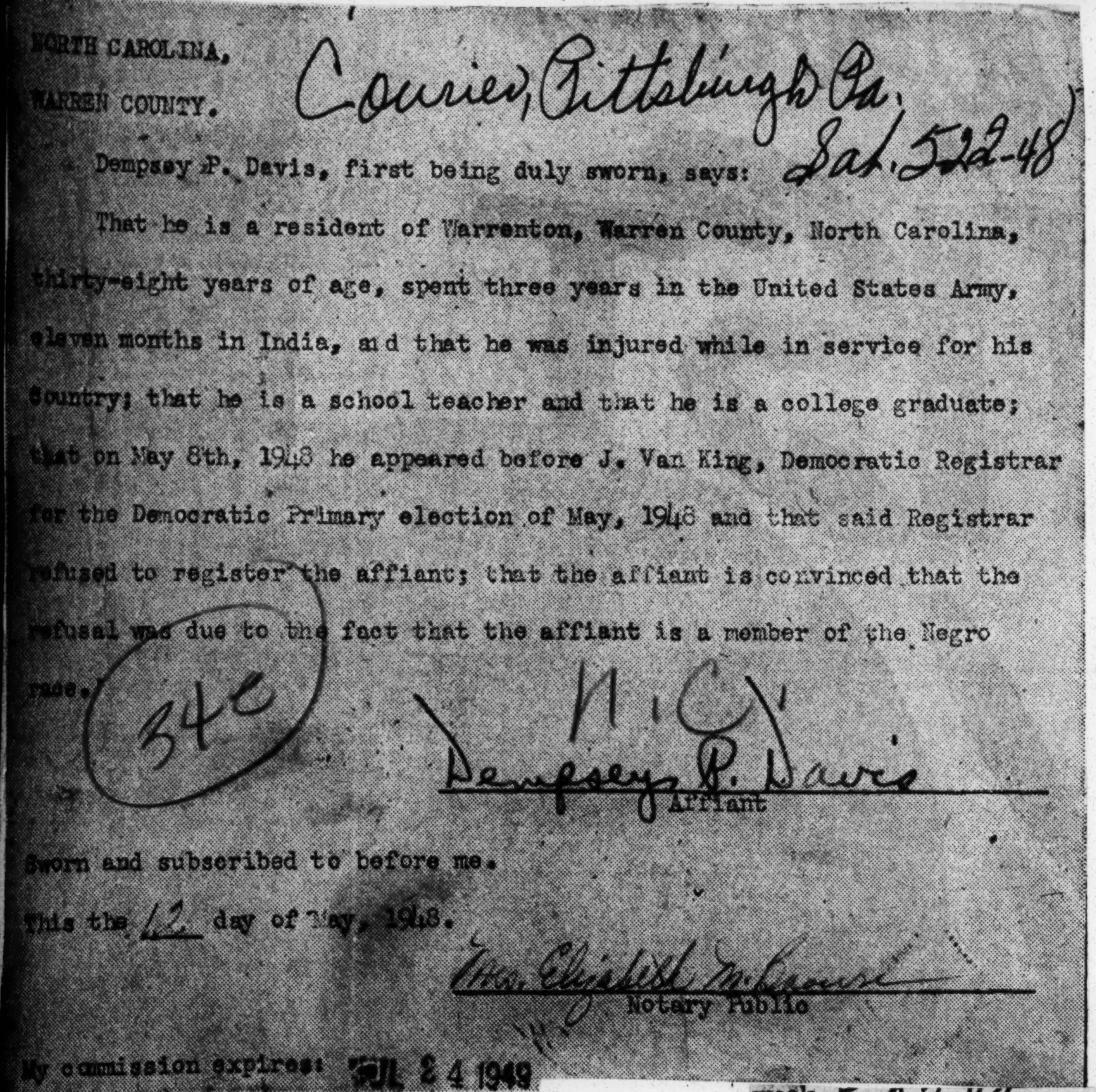
He demanded that newspapers which had been showing such interest in East Harlem investigate this treatment of the people there, and he also called for a state investigation.

10-4-48

At about 3 a.m., Tammany district leader Mort Shavers came around with his Assemblyman Hulan Jack. They growled at the cops that there was no "control" over the line and demanded their interests be "protected," by which they meant they were highly displeased at the big registration in the district.

Manuel Medina, Jack's ALP opponent, just grinned.

The 10 election districts in the 14th that are predominantly Puerto Rican registered some 10,300, or more than a 1,000 each. Generally, a district with 900 registrants is considered very large. These 10 districts are part of Rep. Marcantonio's 18th congressional area.



NORTH CAROLINA,

WARREN COUNTY.

Courier, Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat. 5-22-48

Dempsey P. Davis, first being duly sworn, says:

That he is a resident of Warrenton, Warren County, North Carolina, thirty-eight years of age, spent three years in the United States Army, eleven months in India, and that he was injured while in service for his Country; that he is a school teacher and that he is a college graduate; that on May 8th, 1948 he appeared before J. Van King, Democratic Registrar for the Democratic Primary election of May, 1948 and that said Registrar refused to register the affiant; that the affiant is convinced that the refusal was due to the fact that the affiant is a member of the Negro race.

34e

N.C.

Dempsey P. Davis
Affiant

Sworn and subscribed to before me.

This the 12 day of May, 1948.

Mrs. Elizabeth M. [illegible]
Notary Public

My commission expires: JUL 24 1949

BLOT ON DEMOCRACY?—This affidavit charges violation of the rights of a citizen of the United States to register to vote for the election of those who must govern him. It is one of those presented to North Carolina's Governor Cherry last week in an investigation which covered nine counties of the State.

Governor Promises To Probe Vote Bar In Nine Counties

The Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 5-22-48

Sat. 5-22-48

34e

By **A. M. RIVERA JR.**
(Staff Correspondent)

RALEIGH, N. C.—Signed affidavits by Negroes charging that they were denied the right to register by election officials were received by high Government officials last week. 5-21-48

The petitions charged county registrars with wilful and criminal abuse of discretionary powers.

Miss. Mary Price, Greensboro, N. C., chairman of the Progressive party, and Tinsley L. Spraggins, Raleigh, N. C., State representative of the NAACP, presented the petitions to Governor R. Gregg Cherry and Raymond Maxwell, Secretary of the State Board of Elections. The complaints came from nine counties covering the entire State.

GOVERNOR PROMISES ACTION 5

Governor Cherry offered to handle this matter in a routine fashion. He said, "I favor the registration of all qualified persons," and promised to turn the matter over to the Election Board as he had done previously with a letter from Miss Price which charged denial of registration to Negroes.

Miss Price charged that qualified Negroes in Brevard, N. C., are being denied the right to register.

REGISTRANTS

THREATENED

According to Miss Price, Police Chief B. F. Banther told prospective Negro registrants, "There is no registration place for you in Brevard," and "if you make a noise about this you will be asking for trouble."

Chief Banther denied this version. He said Fred Shufard, county election chairman, told the Negroes there was no one to register them until after lunch, because the registrar had refused the job.

In Spring Hope, N. C., a similar situation was found by this reporter who investigated these charges of Negroes in the Eastern part of the State.

In Warren County, of which Warrenton is the county seat, Registrar David Limer opened the doors at the precinct about 9 o'clock and proceeded to give it a good housecleaning while Negroes waited to be registered.

One ex-GI, after being challenged for forty-seven minutes and after receiving a lengthy lecture was permitted to register.

In Fairmont, N. C., Registrar Van Beach resigned rather than register Negroes. Wilburn Lewin, lumberman, who succeeded Beach, had only registered one Negro, Calvin C. Haggins, an ex-GI, by press time. 5-27-48

Charles Stafford, registrar in the Chamber of Commerce office, told this reporter that he would register anyone who could qualify.

oJhn McMillian and Harvey Leonard, a farmer and father of eight children, two of whom served in the Army, were told by Stafford to start writing the Constitution. Leonard and McMillian began at 10:45 and at 12:07 Stafford told them to get their lunch and return and finish writing. At that time Leonard and McMillian had completed almost two legal size pages neatly and legibly.

Other incidents were reported elsewhere.

Negroes Win Fight to Register in N. Carolina

Daily Worker

DURHAM, N. C., Oct. 17.—Hard won victory came to the Negro citizens of Oriental, N. C., last Saturday when with the help of the Progressive Party, they won their two-year struggle for the right to register to vote.

Mon. 10-18-48

34e

Every trick in the book had been used to keep them disfranchised, on their four previous attempts to register. But 11 Negroes on Oct. 9, made history in Pamlico County, it was announced by C. O. Pearson, Progressive candidate for Attorney-General.

New York, N.Y.

"We thank you people who helped remove 'the stones from our heads'," the citizens of Oriental wrote to the Progressive Party, which gave them legal assistance.

In Supply, N. C., as well, Negroes were registered for the first time in 50 years, as a result of the legal fight initiated by Tinsley Spraggins, treasurer of the Progressive Party of North Carolina

WARN REGISTRARS

Every registrar in the state was put on the spot when the Progressive Party mailed to each of them copies of previous court decisions in which registrars have been heavily fined for refusing to register qualified applicants. "The Progressive Party is pledged to carry to the courts any cases where there is evidence of the infringement of the rights of citizens, white or Negro." The registrars were warned.

Mon. 10-18-48

Representatives of the party paid a visit to Gov. Gregg Cherry, and left with his an exhaustive study by Spraggins on registration denials in North Carolina for the last eight years. It demanded that immediate safeguards be taken to prevent repetitions this year.

USE LEGAL DODGE

The Oriental case is typical of many in rural eastern counties in North Carolina. One ruse after another had been used by successive registrars, in the past. In the spring of 1946, when four Negroes tried to register, they were told to read and write five pages of a large, fat book printed in fine type. They started the laborious task but were stopped and told to come back some other time. The next Saturday, they went back and were told to read a section of the Constitution dealing with presidential electors and explain what it meant. The registrar refused to register them because their explanations did not satisfy him.

Mon. 10-18-48

Two years later, over 20 people tried to register. The registrar's place had been taken by a woman with a serious speech impediment. This woman dictated passages from the Constitution for the applicants to write. They offered to copy passages out of the book, but she insisted on dictating, which made the task impossible because they could not understand what she said.

Mon. 10-18-48

On another occasion, the registrar required the passages dictated to be letter perfect. Any word misspelled or any punctuation differing from that in the text was treated as ground for rejection. All the applicants were again rejected, one young veteran because he had left out one period.

On yet another attempt, 14 persons applied and were told that a law had been passed about 1901 that prohibited their being registered and they could not be registered until this law was repealed.

Mon. 10-18-48

This year, however, when the Progressive Party was prepared to bring suit against the registrars, friendliness replaced hostility, and for the first time since Reconstruction, the Progressive Party has broken down the wall of disfranchisement in rural, eastern North Carolina.

Pastor, Wife Denied Vote; Progressive Party Sues

The Worker Sun 12-5-48

New York, N.Y.

DURHAM, N. C.—The Progressive Party of North Carolina has filed charges with Mr. David E. Henderson, U. S. District Attorney in Charlotte, North Carolina, accusing the Chairman of the Henderson County Board of Elections and a precinct registrar in Hendersonville of violating federal criminal laws by refusing to register Negroes to vote in the recent general election.

34e

The Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas J. Davis

The accused are L. T. Dermid, election board chairman, and M. Hoke, registrar in the City Hall precinct. They are charged with refusing registration because of race or color to Rev. and Mrs. Thomas J. Davis, 320 Fifth Avenue East, Hendersonville, N. C.

The complaint was filed on November 18 by Tinsley Spraggins, Progressive Party treasurer, on behalf of the Progressive Party and the NAACP. It was accompanied by sworn affidavits of Rev. and Mrs. Davis.

★

REV. DAVIS, a minister of the Missionary Baptist denomination, charged that he made three separate attempts to register, on October 9, 16 and 23. The first time he was refused because he was unable to answer the question: "Who arrests the sheriff in case he becomes a criminal?"

On the second occasion, he charges that he was compelled to write parts of the state Constitution from dictation in a poorly lighted place, although white applicants were being registered without taking any such test. On October 23, he says the defendants told him he could not even try to register, because of having been refused the week before.

Mrs. Davis' affidavit asserts that she was required to write parts of the state Constitution from dictation for ten minutes in a noisy room and was rejected because of one misspelled word and faulty punctuation.

★

IN A STATEMENT issued on the filing of the charges, O. O. Pearson, Progressive Party legal adviser, said: "Our North Carolina law requires that a person must be able to read and write in order to register to vote. It does not require that he must be a lawyer or a first-class stenographer. Even where the test given is confined to the question of literacy, the registrar is still violating federal law if he systematically applies the test to Negro applicants, but not to white applicants.

"The facts set forth in the Davis affidavits make a clear case of deprivation of federal rights under cover of state law. The Progressive Party and the NAACP will insist that Mr. Dermid and Mr. Holt be prosecuted to the limit for this federal violation and will continue to investigate and follow up all similar cases until the last vestige of undemocratic and illegal discrimination in regard to suffrage is eradicated from our state.'

Sun 12-5-48

The Passing of Judge Williams

The Black Dispatch

Sat 9-18-48

Oklahoma City

34e

Death last week of former governor of Oklahoma, Robert L. Williams, gives room for pause to examine the progress that has been made in race relations in this state during the past thirty-three years. Governor Williams found himself in the governor's chair at the time the Supreme Court invalidated the infamous Grandfather law, and the state was seething in 1915 with false propaganda regarding Negro domination. In Territorial days, Negroes had quite a bit to do with things political. One black man was assistant Territorial auditor at Guthrie, and in the Indian territory side the white settlers had long been agitated because of the social, economic and political liberty of the Freedman.

Governor Williams immediately called the legislature of Oklahoma into extraordinary session in 1915 for the purpose of enacting legislation to substitute for the invalidated Grandfather law. It was in that year Oklahoma's vicious registration law saw the light of day. It was an infamous arrangement by which registrars conspired during the ten-day period of registration to prevent Negroes from qualifying for the ballot.

The new law provided for registrars who were not required to live in the precinct where they registered; were not required to register at specific hours, or to maintain a fixed place of registration. The law strangely provided no penalties for failure to register voters. Many registrars when caught by eagle-eyed black citizens, would abscond with the statement that they did not have their registration books with them.

The Black Dispatch was born in November 1914, and the struggle for the ballot was one of our first and most significant battles for the rights of Negroes of Oklahoma. Although everyone knew what Governor Williams had in mind when he called the legislature in session, the newly inaugurated chief executive headlined other important matters in calling the legislature into being, although in the body of the document he called attention to the need for changes in the election laws. As a matter of fact, great stress was laid on the need for stiffening of Oklahoma laws relating to gambling and usury, and the governor in calling the legislature, caused the unwitting to assume that this was the major reason for convening the legislature.

Sat 9-18-48

The Black Dispatch immediately countered with front page editorials which we caused to be placed on the desk of each one of the legislators, in which we discussed "Usury" and "Gambling," but we slanted our discussion to show the legislators the gambling chance they were forcing black men to take in the realm of citizenship, and the usurous price sons of former slaves had to pay to live in the state of Oklahoma. We were able to pay the pages at the door of the legislature to place copies of the Black Dispatch on the desks of the solons, and beginning with the first distribution there was an uproar, for we openly charged this legislative session would attempt to circumvent and go around the decision of the Supreme Court. We sent our paper also direct to the governor's office, as we have always done.

It does not seem so exciting now, but we recall one morning during this turbulent period, we received a letter from Governor Williams in which he advised, "You remind me of a fellow walking around with a chip on his shoulder trying to get someone to knock it off." This was in response to a heated letter we had written to the governor respecting the action of the legislature, and his reasons for calling it into session.

Few of those who live in Oklahoma know of that dismal period when Negroes in Oklahoma City used to hire hay racks and remain loaded and ready to dash to a given spot, while others crept about stealthily locating the registrar. We recall one night when two loads were rushed to Walnut Grove to no avail. It is a pleasure to look back on this period now, when we realize the persistency and courage generated then has blossomed into a period when all black men and women may vote in this state without let or hindrance.

Sat 9-18-48

Following his governorship tenure, "Our Bob," as his friends called him, was elevated to the federal bench in the western district of Oklahoma. Quite naturally he did everything as a judge that would give full implementation to his state registration act, and it was not until the NAACP took charge of the cases in Wagoner county several years later that any progress was made in the suffrage struggle. For instance, Judge Williams ruled that the 1700 Negroes attempting to register in Wagoner county would have to file 1700 individual cases, whereas, the contention of the NAACP was that the filing of one case should adjudicate the right of all Negro citizens of that county. We finally got such a ruling in the appellate court and launched the I. W. Lane case, which was finally won.

Negroes really got their heads together when news was circulated that Judge Williams was a candidate for the circuit court of appeals. Violent opposition was taken to this attempt to elevate him to a higher judicial position, and the opposition was based upon his attitude towards the Negro vote in Muskogee and Wagoner counties. But cooler and more sensible reasoning prevailed. It was finally agreed that it would be better to boost Judge Williams upstairs and and get him out of Oklahoma environment than to keep him on the bench at Muskogee, where he was constantly required to hear suffrage matters. The deceased probably died without knowing that the unanimous endorsement he received from Negro lawyers of Oklahoma and other prominent black men and women, had a hidden motive that served best the civil rights of Negroes.

The reasoning of Oklahoma Negro leadership proved sound. Surrounded by more liberal jurists coming from northern sections, nothing of Judge Williams' sectional notions regarding suffrage obtruded during the long tenure he served on the circuit court. The deceased lived long enough to discover that a free ballot in the hands of Oklahoma Negroes would not destroy the state; that Negroes sitting on juries could capably find justice in courts of law by the side of white men, and that the invalidation of residential segregation would not destroy amicable relationships between the two races. All of this has happened since the day Governor Williams signed the infamous registration law. Despite his narrow views on race, we have always had a type of admiration for the courage and audacity Judge Williams gave to his convictions. He was undoubtedly the victim of false propaganda, regarding race, imbibed during his boyhood years in Alabama, and was unquestionably sincere in beliefs on that subject.

Negroes Lose Ballot Fight in Oklahoma

Free Press

TULSA, Okla. —(U.P.)— An injunction to keep the word "Negro" from appearing after their names on a ballot was denied two Tulsa Negroes by a three-judge panel headed by Federal Judge A. P. Murrah.

Fri 10-8-48

An appeal to the United States Supreme Court was planned.

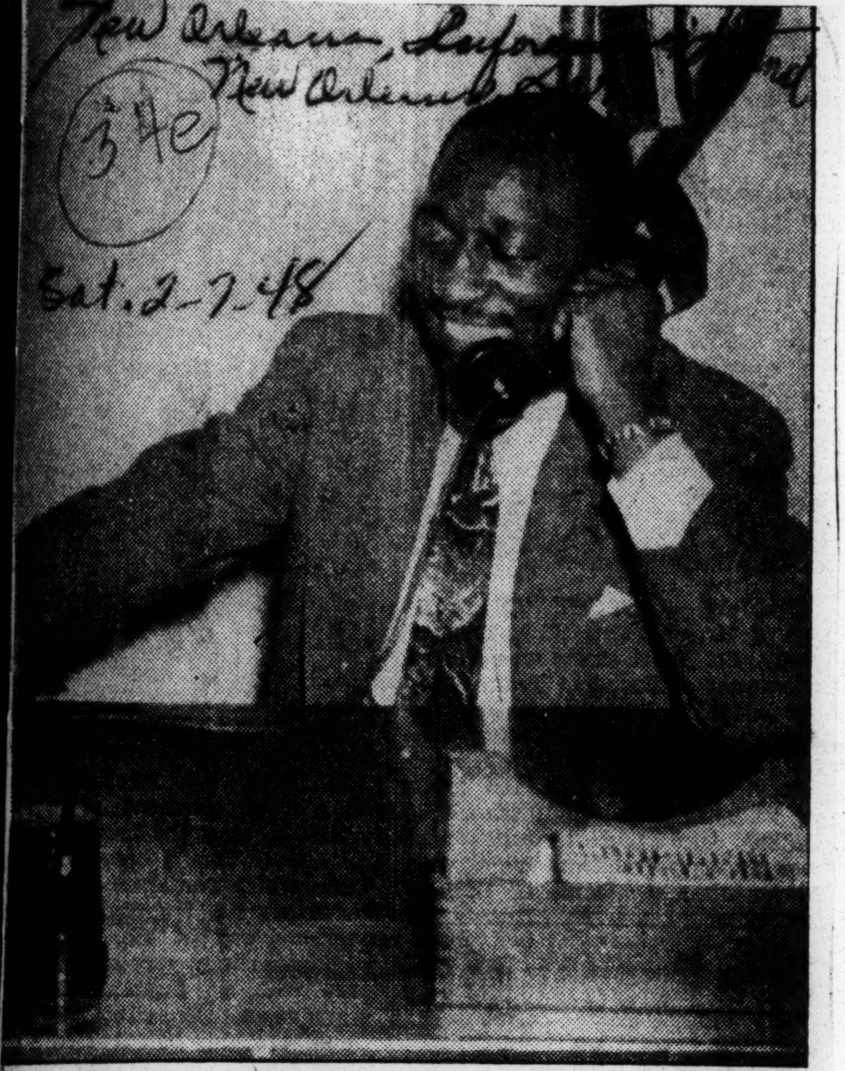
Judge Murrah said that since the plaintiffs both are members of the same race, no discrimination has been shown. Both plaintiffs are candidates for justice of the peace.

Detroit, Mich.

MURRAH told the Negroes' attorney:

"You are claiming that the word 'Negro' constitutes discrimination. By asking us to agree with you, you are asking us to recognize that the word is discriminating. In point of law the word 'Negro' means nothing."

34e 1948 Peoples Defense League



New Orleans, [illegible]
New Orleans [illegible]

34e

Sat. 2-7-48

DEFENSE LEAGUE SEEKS 10,000 MEMBERS.—ERNEST J. WRIGHT, director of Peoples Defense League, announced this week that the organization is setting for its goal 10,000 members for 1948, having in mind increased strength for Negroes at the ballot box. Dr. E. T. M. Devore, prominent physician of the city of New Orleans, is campaign chairman. (Bucksell Photo) La.

Sat. 2-7-48

New Orleans

Check Again, Mr. Marlow

34e

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 2-11-48

Mr. James Marlow, an able writer who turns out a daily editorial column for the Associated Press, has fallen into the usual error of those who write about the South without intimate knowledge thereof, and we trust Mr. Kent Cooper will inform him about primaries under the one-party system, which we don't like, either. Wed.

In his editorial for yesterday Mr. Marlow attempts to prove that very few persons vote in the States where the poll tax and the one-party system is in vogue, so to speak. Constitution, Wed.

He selects as proof the 1944 Presidential election returns and demonstrates from the figures that in Mississippi and South Carolina only about five percent of the people voted. 2-11-48

What Mr. Marlow failed to say in his editorial was that very few persons vote in any of the elections because there are no opposition candidates. Therefore, his figures are meaningless. The election, as the Federal courts have been pointing out to South Carolina, is in the primary. If Mr. Marlow will look up the primary figures he will find that a great many persons vote, much more than five percent. He also will find that last year, in both Mississippi and South Carolina, a great many Negroes voted. But, he is quite right when he says that this was not too popular. Atlanta, Ga.

But, not enough people do vote—even in primaries, and so we trust that Mr. Marlow will continue to agitate us.

Voters Tripple In Southern States

34e

Atlanta Daily World

Wed 7-14-48

The number of Negro voters in the South has tripled since 1940, according to a report prepared by Luther P. Jackson, Professor of History at Virginia State College, for the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia.

For the South as a whole, the number of Negro voters increased from 211,00 in 1940 to 645,00 in 1947 the latter figure representing 12 per cent of the Negro population of voting age.

Atlanta, Ga.

Leading the Southern States in this increase is Georgia, where Negro enrollment is estimated to have jumped from 20,000 to 125,000 between 1940 and 1947. But the study shows that it is the border State of Oklahoma which has he highest percentage of its eligible Negro population qualified as voters—29.6 per cent.

Although seven southern states retain the poll tax, the report declares, only in Mississippi, Virginia and Alabama does it "constitute a significant barrier either by the amount of money to be paid, by the time and method of payment, or by its cumulative features."

Daily World

Atlanta Ga.

REGISTRATION BARS

On the basis of a state-by-state inquiry into voting practices, Dr. Jackson concludes that it is registration which is most commonly used as a means of discrimination against potential Negro voters. This is accomplished, he states, by registrars who make severe application of qualification requirements against Negroes only, by policies of evasion, and by deliberate insults or threats at registration places.

Daily World

It was found however, that there is relatively little opposition to Negroes becoming registered voters in Southern cities of a population of 25,000 or more. "In Memphis, Atlanta, Jacksonville, or New Orleans" says the report, "(Negroes) may qualify with as much ease as they may in any Northern city."

7-14-48

The study points out that "it is not always the barriers to voting consciousness among them." The reason for this lack of interest is attributed in part to the fact that many Negro churches and schools have not taken an active part in educating colored citizens in civic responsibility.

Atlanta, Ga.

BENEFIT NOTED

Practical benefits that have come to Negroes as a result of their voting include the construcion of additional Negro parks, playgrounds, schools, and other public facilities and services and the employment of Negro policemen.

Dr. Jackson points to the Negro vote as a healthy influence on Southern politics in general. "Holding the balance of power in many instances," he writes, "their vote has been a factor in driving out of office city machines of long duration, in favor of more liberal officeholders."

It would be erroneous, the report concludes, to claim that the increase in Negro voters in the past eight years seriously threatens "white supremacy." For "in spite of the gains made by Negroes as voters during the decade of the 1940's, it is correct to say that the whites have liekwise been advancing, and in most States at a faster rate.... In Florida, the ratio is about 14 to 1; in Virginia, 20 to 1 and in Louisiana, 100 to 1."

But Threats Fail To Halt Record Poll

The Defender

34e

Sat 11-6-48

MEMPHIS — Violence unmatched since the end of Reconstruction in 1876, flared in the South Tuesday, as Negroes marched to the polls in larger numbers than ever before in history.

But Tuesday was a day of beatings, arson, and threats, that many grandfathers will talk about for generations. It was also a day on which many a Negro citizen asked himself: "Am I still in the United States?"

Chicago Ill

Despite this the Negroes voted. Their efforts were made easier in some cases by watchers employed by the NAACP, who flashed reports of irregularities to election officials. The Republicans, and in Alabama, Louisiana, and So. Carolina and Mississippi, even Democrats, helped them. The Democrats helped in order to offset the threat of the State Rights Dixiecrats, and the Republicans to help make capital of the split of the Democratic party.

High feelings that characterized the election were caused in great measure by the candidates themselves through their stands on civil rights. The inflammatory statements of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond appealed to traditionally violent southern elements.

Henry Wallace's southern tour and his open flaunting of Jim Crow customs helped get up the backs of southern die hards. President Truman's program for anti-lynch laws, FEPC and other rights measures further widened the breach that came in Philadelphia.

On the eye of the election, torchlight parades that were part political rally and part threat of force, were the order.

Nonetheless in the urban sections of Texas, Georgia, Virginia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, and even Alabama, the Negro vote was desperately wooed. In many instances, the clashes that occurred in these states were between Democrat and Dixiecrat whites, over Negro voting.

However, in Florida, a gang of hoodlums were reported as beating two ex-GI's whom they suspected of election activities. Marauders near the Georgia line of South Carolina were accused of firing a Negro farmer's barn.

Negroes in Mississippi reported to NAACP watchers that they were victims of a slowdown in identification. While lines of whites moved rapidly, Negroes said they stood in line for hours trying to convince polling place officials of their identity. In smaller communities the old poll tax gag was pulled—even though poll tax on federal elections is illegal.

In several small southern communities, members of the Ku Klux Klan, in full bed-sheet regalia, staged election eve demonstrations in an effort to keep Negroes from the polls.

Sat 11-6-48

In others, whites, armed with shot guns loitered near the polls hoping to frighten timid Negroes seeking to vote. However, they made no move to prevent Negroes fro mcasting their ballots.

The unprecedented bitterness of the South, although it did not break out in violence in every area was caused by two realizations. For Negroes, this election involved their personal stake in civil rights and economic and social democracy. For die hard whites, it meant that the tide of civil rights must be turned back now before it swamps the entire Jim Crow system.

Vote Desperately Sought

In the North by contrast, the Negro vote was desperately hought by both major parties and the Progressives. In few elections has the "balance of power" factor been so important. President Truman demonstrated this when he wound up his campaign in Harlem. Dewey yielded to it with some last minute concessions to Negro aspirations. Wallace had long sought to make the Negro vote the core for his third party.

For every cracked skull, and for every broken home as a result of election and pre-election violence, thousands of Negroes asserted themselves at the polls. They will do it again and again. And no other presidential candidate can go to the white house without taking full account of this.

Let Negroes Vote

34e

Editor Constitution: I have lived in the South, and I know its problems. Negroes want desperately to vote. Let them. Amend the Constitution of your State to permit it. But let it be clearly understood and written into the amendment that they must vote for a white man. There can be no widespread objection to this. The wise among the colored population will realize that, in the fitness of things, the whites must be leaders in the South. After all, it is their land, conquered by them, and developed by their brains and money. But because they are the rulers, they have a responsibility to the Negro. They are bound to take care of his welfare, and insure him from acts of tyranny and violence.

The Constitution

Atlanta Ga.

I believe that there are very few whites who do not want to do right by the Negro, though naturally they do not want to do anything to impair their own position in the land. We need to reconstruct the Negro viewpoint. Shown in the right perspective, he can be brought to see that it is just and proper to vote for a white man, circumstances being what they are, and that it will be a tremendous step forward; that he will be helping to insure that the very best men in his State are returned to office.

The world is changing. Here in the United States situations are developing that must create a very great and prosperous South. The South must get ready for it. Already it is being looked upon as the best part of the United States to which to transfer factories and industries, or to start new ones. Our industries and our money will be safer there than along the Atlantic seaboard of our New England States, should an atomic war come. The big industrial cities of our coasts will be certain targets.

An exodus of industries to the South will mean a bigger white population, and more jobs for Negroes. Out of this must grow a greater prosperity and contentment for them as well as for the whites. With liberty to vote, without fear, racial feeling and bitterness will die of itself.

GIRALDA FORBES,
A Schoolteacher for Many Years in India and
Palestine.
Boston, Mass.

Political Revolution

Struggle Between Solid South and Negro Voters Eyed

The Courier Sat 2-21-48
Pittsburgh Pa.
(34)

By TRUXTON KING
(Courier Staff Correspondent)

2-21-48

PHILADELPHIA—The greatest political revolution since slavery was abolished hangs on the outcome of the struggle between the solid South and the Negro voters of the Nation. The legislative recommendations made to Congress by President Truman two weeks ago have brought nearer that inevitable clash—and it must be won, if the Negro's status as an American citizen is to be substantially improved.

President Truman, in an effort to implement into law much of the report of his Commission on Civil Rights, made specific recommendations to Congress, which, if enacted into laws, would go far toward raising Negroes to the level of citizenship.

These recommendations not only included anti-lynch bills, FEPC legislation, and anti-poll tax laws, but they also covered discrimination in our transportation systems and educational institutions.

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It was worthy of note, too, that the President made certain specific statements concerning discrimination in the Armed Forces. He told Congress and the Nation that he had given instructions to Secretary of Defense James Forrestal about that matter, one which has been a sore spot for a long time.

Mr. Truman said: "I have instructed the Secretary of Defense to take steps to have the remaining instances of discrimination in the armed services eliminated as rapidly as possible. The personnel policies and practices of all the services in this regard will be made consistent."

2-21-48

He had taken note of the condition, which undoubtedly he must have observed at close range while he was Senator from Missouri and chairman of the Senate's Investigating Committee probing discriminations in the wartime Army and Navy.

He said that progress had been made since the close of the war in that direction, but his instructions were intended to implement that progress with direct action.

Although we attribute to President Truman the utmost of good faith, his attitude may have been influenced to some degree by the candidacy of Henry Wallace. All political experts know that Wallace is especially strong with the Negro people, and that if the intelligent Negro vote of the Nation was to be retained by the Democratic party, President Truman would have to appear as attractive to the Negro voters as Henry Wallace.

The reaction of the South to the Truman recommendations has been volcanic. In Jackson, Miss., 4,000 wildly cheering and stomping citizens demanded that the Truman program be opposed at all costs, even to the point of the South's seceding from the Democratic party.

On the floor of Congress, race-baiting Eugene Cox of Georgia said "President Truman's program sounds like the platform of the Communist party. The Harlem district of New York is still wielding more influence with the Administration than the entire white South."

A group of Southern senatorial leaders have discussed plans of abstaining from voting for Truman in the electoral college, thereby throwing the election to the Republican candidate.

Southern political leaders are disturbed by the turn of events because they know that Mr. Truman's action is bringing closer the decisive contest between the Negro voters of the North and the solid Democratic South.

These Southern leaders know that in this contest, time is on the side of the Negroes, as the Negro forces are bound to be strengthened by continued migration of Negroes to the North, while Southern forces cannot hope to grow stronger.

Southerners know that this fight within the Nation for the abolition of racial prejudice has an ally in the United Nations Organization. Although this organization may not have the power to legislate peace between the nations of the world, it is a powerful form of public opinion and the darker and mixed races of the world view with critical alarm America's attitude toward her Negro citizens.

2-21-48

These Southerners know that because of these factors, their clash with the Negro citizens must become more acute with time.

It was not until the Democratic Convention of 1944 that Negroes became a factor in a national convention of a major party in American politics. That convention was made tense by the antagonism between representatives of the Solid South and delegates coming from the populous metropolitan centers of the North, where the Negro is a political factor.

At that convention, James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State and former Justice of the Supreme Court, was bowled out as a candidate for Vice President because a South Carolinian would be objectionable to Negro voters of the North. And Henry Wallace was sidetracked for the Vice Presidency because he was objectionable to the Solid South.

During the last years of President Roosevelt's regime he was experiencing greater difficulty in keeping in the same party these two diametrically opposed forces. Many Negroes believed that Roosevelt was conceding too much to the South in his efforts to placate them on matters vitally affecting the interests of Negroes. For it must be conceded that on purely racial matters the late President Roosevelt was far from a stalwart champion.

It now appears that President Truman has discarded the struggle between these two forces which marked the late years of Roosevelt's regime, and is determined to insist upon a policy of fairness and squareness to the Negro voters of the Nation. It must be assumed that President Truman was fully aware of the political consequences of his action and considered that not only justice, but good politics was on his side.

What are the political positions of these two opposing forces?

The Solid South, consisting of Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Texas, Alabama, Arkansas and Oklahoma, has 125 electoral votes. These States are in the unfortunate position of having no place to go. They have always been Democratic except when three of them went Republican when Al Smith was the Democratic candidate for President in 1928.

These States could not go Republican without hurting the Republican party nationally. For the Republican party is as anxious as the Democratic party to obtain the Negro vote. These States would hardly go Republican, because the Republican party is supposed to be as liberal on the Negro question as the Northern wing of the Democratic party, and they would therefore have nothing to gain by a change of party on the race issue.

President Truman and other Democratic leaders must be aware that despite the threats and vows of the Solid South there is little or no likelihood that these States can be so offended that they would leave enmasse the Democratic party.

2-21-48

The great advantage that the Negroes have over the South is that they do have some place to go. And, in addition, they have grown sufficiently intelligent politically to be free from the domination of any one party. This is one of the great contributions that the late President Roosevelt made to the Negro people: he freed them from their serfdom to the Republican party.

Prior to the Roosevelt administration, 95 per cent of the Negro voters of the North voted Republican. Since 1933 Negroes have been independent in their political support, and have largely divided their votes in accordance with their best racial interests.

So both the Republican and Democratic parties of the Nation must and are vying for the Negro vote, with each knowing that whether it receives Negro support or not will largely depend upon its record with regard to the Negro people.

Each party also knows that victory in the 1948 Presidential race will go to that candidate who receives the overwhelming support of the Negro people. This is conclusively proven by an analysis of the electoral votes of the Northern and border States in which Negroes hold a balance of power.

The five million Negroes now in the North are strategically distributed so that they are the balance of power between the Republican and Democratic parties in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, California, Kentucky, New Jersey, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, West Virginia, Tennessee and Delaware. These States have an electoral vote of 274, or eight more than the 266 electoral votes necessary to elect a President.

There can be no doubt that the Negroes hold the balance of power in these States, as their numbers in these localities have been greatly increased by the last exodus from the South which began during the last war and is still continuing. The number of Negroes in Northern metropolitan centers is now so great that it would be foolhardy for any party seeking a national victory to ignore the interests and welfare of these citizens.

From solely a political point of view, Negroes have become a more important force in national politics than their historical enemy, the South. For the Negro vote largely controls 274 electoral votes, while the Solid South can muster only 125.

Negro leaders have been conscious that this showdown fight with the South had to be won before their interests could be protected by adequate national legislation. They knew that as long as the South was a more important factor in the Presidential race than the Northern vote of Negroes, not only the Democratic party, but the Republican party as well, would not exert sincere efforts on behalf of protective legislation for Negroes which would offend the South.

They know that these Congressional fights over FEPC, poll tax and anti-lynching bills were mere sham battles, and that they could easily have been won for the Negro people if Congressional leaders had considered the Negro vote more important than the vote of the South.

They know that the filibusters of the South can easily be overcome, and that the Senate will vote for cloture (which would limit debate) and crush Southern opposition if there is sufficient political strength supporting beneficial Negro legislation.

Negro leaders have awaited the day when fate would put in the hands of their people sufficient ballots to overcome the cruel barbarism of the South. It now appears that that day is at hand. And that the Democratic party, traditional party of the South, has chosen to take up the fight of the Negro and let the chips fall where they may so far as the Southern States are concerned.

Judge J. Waties Waring Calls On Truman

S. C. Jurist Approves Equal Citizenship Rights

Journal + Guide

Norfolk Virginia

By NNPA News Service

Sat. 12-11-48

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A federal jurist, who attracted nationwide attention in July, 1947, by declaring illegal South Carolina's white Democratic primary system, last Thursday said he believed colored people should be treated as American citizens.

Sat. 12-11-48

Judge J. Waties Waring of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina made the statement to reporters after a White House visit with President Truman.

Judge Waring told reporters that he had come to see the president only to ask how he was and congratulate him on his election.

He told the president, he said, that some other people in South Carolina besides himself had voted the Truman-Barkley ticket, but not very many.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Asked whether he had discussed civil rights with the President, Judge Waring declined to comment.

Replying to a question as to how much support he had found among the white people in South Carolina for the position he had taken ordering the State Democratic Party to enroll colored voters and allow them full participation in party affairs, he said: "I find a large, incoherent support."

He explained that he had received many letters and had had many personal interviews in which individuals expressed support, but they were all confidential, and nobody in public life in the state had expressed any sympathy.

Asked whether he supported the President's civil rights program, he replied:

'What do you mean? Do you mean the Negro should be treated as an American citizen? Yes."

Asked about anti-lynching legislation, Judge Waring said he believed lynchers should be tried in federal courts. He said federal courts in the South probably would not convict them but there would be a much better chance of conviction.

Judge Waring called the poll tax "stupid", but said its abolition was a matter for the Congress.

"I believe that the Federal Government should protect all of its citizens in their civic rights and should see that they are treated as Americans," he declared.

Asked whether he had asked for the appointment with President Truman or had been invited to come to the White House, Judge Waring declined to say. Reporters afterwards speculated as to whether he was being considered for a higher judicial post.

At present there is no vacancy on the Fourth United States Circuit Court of Appeals, the circuit in which South Carolina

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Richland County Democrats Will Obey The Law

The Richland county Democratic executive committee, taking matters into its own hands in the absence of any remedial action by the state party authorities, has decided to open the Democratic enrolment books in Richland to Negroes as well as whites.

The decision was not announced in these precise words. What John I. Rice, county chairman, said was this:

34e

"The books of enrolment are ordered open immediately; enrolment will proceed according to law."

S.C.

But to allow enrolment to proceed "according to law" means also to proceed contrary to the Democratic party rules, for the rules forbid the enrolment of any save "white Democrats."

Thurs. 6-10-4

By this act the committee has probably saved the Democratic party leaders in Richland county from the ignominy of trial and punishment for contempt of the federal courts, which have decreed that there can be no racial discrimination in the party and the primary.

Columbia S.C

The Richland committee had to construe that any rule of the Democratic party which conflicts with the opinions of the federal courts is null and void, as, of course, it is.

But this decision and this construction of the rules result in two systems of enrolment within the party and the state. In Richland and elsewhere where those in charge of the books have exercised the same right Negroes are allowed to enroll. In other sections they are denied the right to enroll, but allowed to vote without enrolment if they are qualified electors, a right denied the white electors, who do not also enroll.

6-10-48

And obviously there should be only one enrolment system for the state. The state Democratic convention, reconvened for this purpose, must change the rules to bring them into conformity with the decisions.

And to do this requires more than the change in the rules that the Richland committee has put into effect. The qualified Negro Democrats now are denied any voice in the party's affairs and are denied the right therefore to have their views represented in the party's choice of a nominee for the highest offices in the federal government, the presidency and the vice presidency.

Columbia, S.C.

The whole scheme adopted by the state convention was a scheme for evading Judge Waring's decision while pretending to accept the letter of it. Any primary conducted under it, as the party will discover when a new case is brought before the federal courts, will be an unlawful primary.

And this fact ought to have some interest for South Carolinians and particularly those South Carolinians who are candidates for the Congress. The Republicans now control both House and Senate. Barring a miracle, they will control both House and Senate next year, by even larger majorities.

By the constitution each house is the judge of the qualifications of its own members and the Republicans majority might decide that the South Carolina Senator and Representatives, chosen in an unlawful primary, were not qualified for seats in the Congress. South Carolina's representatives in the Congress, chosen in the primary, might therefore be denied their seats which could be given to the Republican candidates in the general election, if any, or the seats held vacant until properly qualified Representatives and Senators, according to Republican standards, should present themselves to be sworn.

6-10-48

This creates a situation too serious to allow the timidity of the politicians, who want to retain control of the party, to stand in the way of a second state convention to get the party and the primary into conformity with the law, the second convention which was anticipated when the convention recessed instead of adjourning.

Already there has been too much time wasted.

Negroes Vote In South Carolina's Primary As Party Seeks Legal Out

34e

Chicago Defender

Chicago Illinois

COLUMBIA, S. C.—A day after the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the right of Negroes to vote in the South Carolina Democratic primary, 600 Negroes cast ballots here for their choice for public office, April 22.

It was the first time Negroes voted in such large numbers since white terrorists robbed them of the ballot in 1876.

Quick to salvage whatever they could of their autocratic rule from the court decision in favor of Negro voters, officials of the party issued an order calling for strict adherence to the letter of the ruling that "qualified" Negroes could vote.

Sat. 5-1-48

Dig Up Loopholes

Ability to read and write any section of the state constitution and ownership of property assessed at $300 or more are optional registration requirements.

The party order was seen as having two immediate effects which mean that the battle for the vote is still not won. They are:

Confining actual party membership to whites

2. Restricting Negro participation to the primary vote only as stated in the court order.

In this manner, Negroes will not be able to participate in party conventions, or to have a voice in the selection of candidates. Since the ruling did not cover general elections, a new court fight may be necessary to secure this right.

Sat. 5-1-48

Undaunted by the last ditch fight of the state Democratic organization were George A. Elmore, who brought the successful suit against the party, and his wife. They cast their ballots here and reported no irregularities.

In another section, however, the ballots of four Negroes were given to them in envelopes marked with their names.

Another Negro voter was John H. McCray, chairman of the South Carolina Progressive Democratic Party, the organization formed to combat the "closed club" white party.

Sat. 5-1-48

James M. Hinton, president of the state NAACP conference also cast his ballot without being molested. He said. "I'm happy as a lark. The election officials were very courteous."

S. C. DEMOCRATS OPEN BOOKS TO NEGRO DEMOS

The Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Ga

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP)—After a two hour session behind closed doors, Democratic party chiefs of the Richland County Democratic executive committee announced last week that the party books would be opened immediately. This has been considered as meaning that Negroes would be allowed to become members of the Democratic party.

Chairman John I. Rice made the following statements:

Thur, 6-17-48

"The books of enrollment (in the several wards and precincts) are ordered open immediately. Einrollment will proceed according to law."

Although Rice did not come out with a direct statement that Negroes would then be allowed to register, most observers believe that this is what his statement means. Rice said that this enrollment would proceed according "to the law of the land."

This 'law of the land" is believed to mean compliance with recent federal court rulings against the Richland Democrats which have given Negroes the right to vote in the state primaries despite a state law which gave political parties the right to choose their own membership. Under this law the Democrats excluded Negroes. This, in, effect, denied the colored people the right to vote because in this state the primaries are the real elections.

Thur

With the reopening of party books to voters Negroes have until June 22 to register. The books had been closed June 2 on advice from Christie Benet, a party attorney in the federal suit against the group by a Negro.

6-17-48

Although the meeting started out as an open meeting, sentiment changed when Walter H. Smith said: "I move we take all of the boks out and open them. The people in my ward (ward 7) want the book opened. I move we put the books in all the wards and go ahead and enroll."

Before any action could be taker on this motion, another motion aclled for an executive session and another asked that it be held behind closed doors. The group voted 17 tc 11 in favor of the closed meeting and all observors, including newspapermen were barred.

RULES CHANGE HINTED

Altthough Chairman Rice said the meeting was held to consider routine business, it is believe that the discussion was centered on the ruling of Federal Judge J. Waites Waring that "qualified Negro electors" be allowed to vote in the primaries, and also on the party oath which would have to be changed if Negroes vote.

Although Rice did not clarify the statement that the books would be opened it is assumed that Negroes would be allowed to become members of the party. J. M. Hinton, state president of the NAACP, said that he had written the Richland chairmen for such a clarification.

What the Richland county action means to the rest of the state is open to speculation only. In this county, the party officials and committeemen were the defendants in the federal case, but this was not so in othr counties.

Action by the state committee was not determined either. State head Baskin said he had no official statement on the actions of the county group. He told of a citizens' committee which called for a chance in the primary oath and a chance in orders to delegates to the national convention requiring them not to vote for President Truman or any other candidate who advocates civil rights legislation.

He said, "I have been receiving letters by the dozens so fast that I can't comment on every one of them However, most of the letters indicate that the people are satisfied with the action of the Democratic party in South Carolina.

In many instances the criticism of the party is the result of misinformation on the facts."

He added that he had made no decision on whether to call another state executive committee meeting.

Columbia's Ninth Ward List Shows 1,400 Negro Voters, Only 300 Whites

The Defender

(348)

Sat 8-21-48

By JOHN H. McCRAY

Chicago Ill

COLUMBIA, S. C.— Completely unmindful of threats posed by the Ku Klux Klan, rabble-rousing of Dixiecrats, and proud of their hard won right to vote, nearly 35,000 of the 40,000 enrolled Negro Democrats went to polls and dropped in their first ballots in a primary Tuesday, August 10.

Excepting about 300 who voted in a municipal election here April 20, it was the first time Negroes voted in a primary in South Carolina.

The South Carolina primary became operative in 1898. Negroes who were Democrats prior to that time had voted under the convention system.

Line Up Early

Even before polls opened at 8 a m. long lines had formed. In several heavily populated districts over the state, these appeared almost untouched when polls closed at 6 p. m.

At ward nine, Columbia's largest and at which 1,400 of the 1,700 enrolled persons are Negroes, exhausted workers looked up to see more than 100 left out when closing time came.

There wasn't a single incident reported anywhere in the State. A week before, Rep. L. Mendel Rivers in the first district at Charleston and others had predicted there would be blood shed.

For several weeks, leading to the primary, the Ku Klux Klan had reared its head, with cross burnings and parades reported here, in Aiken and other counties.

Burn Crosses

Sat 8-21-48

In fact, Monday night, on the eve of the primary, klansmen erected and fired two huge crosses, one on either side of the Storm Branch Baptist church in Aiken county, where James M. Hinton, state NAACP president, addressed a packed building on voting procedures.

Two nights earlier, klansmen had staged a 75 mile parade from the border of Georgia to the state capitol and back, the motorcade holding several cars with Georgia licenses.

In Saluda county, one enrollee showed up with a KKK letter of warning. He was among the first to vote Tuesday morning.

At the Storm Branch church, Negroes applauded and almost lifted the rafters with laughter when Hinton suggested: "Tell these white folk they better save this wood they are burning. They tell me there is a lumber shortage on, and that wood is going to be hard to get this winter."

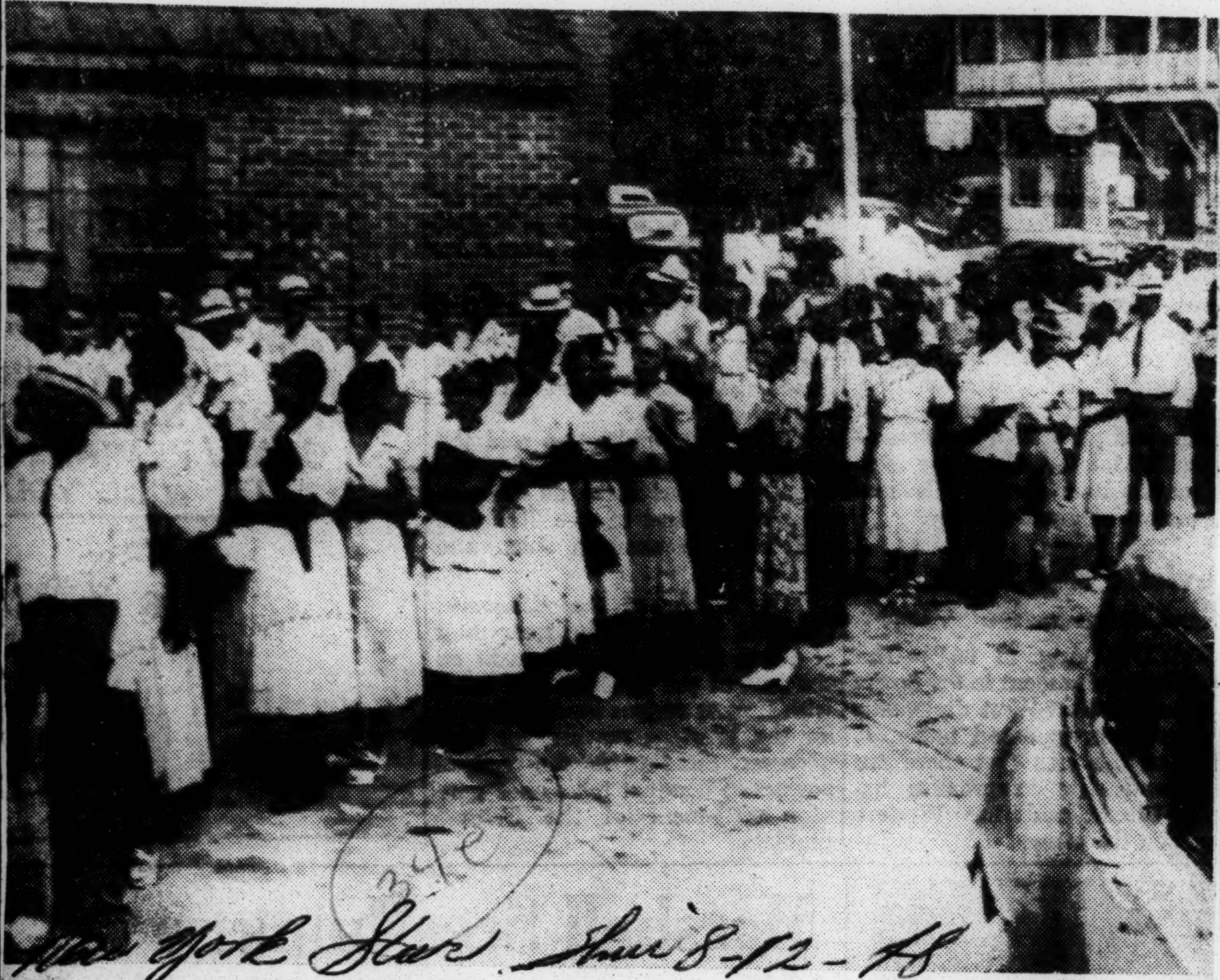
Voting Quiet

The nearest to "incidents" reported during the balloting came from Charleston and Columbia.

Negroes voted generally against certain candidates and in numerous instances, candidates they had selected were victorious, got into the runoff on August 24 or ran close races.

Sat 8-21-48

Although U S. Senate Burnet R. Maybank was victorious, he had little backing from Negroes, who came out in large numbers at Charleston, his home city, and other places because of their great dislike for his stands on lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, as well as his denunciation of President Truman.



New York Star Thur 8-12-48

34e

Negroes line up to receive ballots at Columbia, S. C., as members of their race vote for first time since 1876 in a South Carolina Democratic primary. Negroes secured franchise in primary through recent federal court decision.

New York, N.Y.

Nashville-Tennesseean Hails Race Vote in S. C.

The Courier

34e

Sat 8-28-48

Pittsburgh Pa.

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—In its issue for Aug. 12, The Nashville Tennessean carried the following editorial: "Tennesseans, long accustomed to Negroes voting, will note without the slightest surprise that South Carolina is still on the map following its first general primary in more than a generation in which colored citizens voted—a primary without an untoward event or an unexpected development.

ORDERLY ELECTION

"The election was orderly, as it should have been. The results would probably have been the same if the 30,000 Negro voters had not cast their ballots. Pitchfork Ben Tillman, who ruled the wild white primaries that followed the exclusion of the Negroes from the polls, could not have believed his eyes had he seen the 1948 drawing-room-mannered primary.

"An interesting angle of the election was that Senator Maybank and his four unsuccessful opponents for the Senate all denounced the decision of Judge J. W. Waring which opened the election to Negroes, leaving the latter to take their choice.

"As in the Upper South for decades, so in the Lower South Negro voting will soon be an accepted part of the political picture and South Carolina's long fight to avoid the inevitable will be quickly forgotten. Significantly enough, it was South Carolina itself which made the decision.

WORING A "BLUE-BLOOD"

"The judge who smote down the subterfuge that the Democratic party was a private white political club and then cast aside the last-ditch scheme of excluding Negroes by test oaths was a Charlestonial of long family standing.

"True, he was a Federal district judge, but he was one of their own instead of a 'damyankee' in impatiently calling on his native State to 'rejoin the union.'

"The problem of the South hereafter is not whether Negroes shall vote, but whether they shall vote intelligently. The same may be said of the overwhelming majority of the whites who by the poll tax have also been excluded from the polls. The first and best step is the conferring of the suffrage itself. For South Carolina Negroes, school may be said to have opened.

"Meanwhile, as to the outcome of the Senatorical race, it may be observed that Senator Maybank's easy victory demonstrates among other things the advantage which incumbency and patronage control give in a State where only a small minority of citizens vote."

Sat 8-28-48

Race Vote Controls Southern Elections

The Courier - Sat 8-21-48

34e

Pittsburgh Pa.

Negro voters in two Southern States went to the polls last week and cast their ballots in decisive fashion. They completely dominated the nomination of a Democratic candidate for Governor of Arkansas who backed civil rights and defeated a Dixiecrat. In South Carolina 35,000 turned out—voting for the first time since 1876 in the Democratic primary of that State. There were no "incidents" reported.

35,000 Vote in S. C. Without Any 'Incidents'

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

Sat 8-21-48

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Bucking Ku Klux Klan warnings and determined to walk "Freedom Road" again, 35,000 of the estimated 0,000 who enrolled for Democratic primaries Tuesday, went to the 1,565 polling places in South Carolina without incident.

There wasn't a single "incident" reported, which belied the "blood-shedding" cry made in Congress the week before by First District Representative L. Mendel Rivers of Charleston.

The nearest thing to an "incident" occurred at Ward Nine in Columbia. The threatened trouble there was because Negroes, numbering 1,400 of the 2,700 enrollees at the largest precinct in Richland County, were not casting their votes for candidates who very much wanted and needed them.

Sat 8-21-48

CHARLESTON, S. C.—Robert Figg, an attorney for white South Carolina Democrats, said here Saturday that his group will appeal the decision of Federal Judge J. Waties Waring if the judge issued a permanent ruling forcing admission of Negroes into the Democratic party.

Long before polls opened at 8 A. M., Negroes had formed lines which, in the heaviest precincts, appeared almost untouched when voting ceased at 6 P. M.

One woman at Columbia's Ward Nine seeing the zero hour come and her chance to vote gone, wept softly. "All my life I have waited for this day," she cried. "Now it passes along without me."

GA. KLAN INVADES

True to rumors, Klansmen strove desperately to dampen the voting spirit of citizens who had assiduously for six years. Several crosses had been reported burned here and elsewhere in the State following a court order of July 16, under which Negroes gained the right to enroll, as well as vote, in the primaries.

Saturday night, a Klan motorcade, believed to have begun at the Georgia border line, within a mile of Augusta, Ga., drove withing the shadow of the South Carolina capitol dome, returning over the same route. A huge white cross adorned the hood of the lead car. Participants wore robes. Several of the cars bore Georgia license plates. There were several reported appearances on election day eve.

James M. Hinton, State NAACP president, reported that when he arrived at the Storm Branch Baptist Church in Aiken County to address a capacity audience on voting Monday night, two eight-foot crosses flamed, one on either side of the church. However, residents paid it little attention and almost lifted the rafters with laughter and applause when he suggested: "Tell these white folk they better save that wood they are burning; they tell me there is shortage of lumber on and that wood is going to be very hard to get this winter."

Sat 8-21-48

Whatever fear whites may have had over Negro voting disappeared during the day. Several whites were observed jostling Negroes in lines at Charleston. Prepared for such incidents, the Negroes merely smiled, stepped back to allow superfluous room, and said not a word. At receiving this treatment, and under jeering from non-offending whites, the jostlers would redden. But this disappeared by noon.

Another theory was also evaporated Tuesday. Workers for various candidates were busy appealing and passing out cards to these first-time voters, suggesting that even in hard-hearted South Carolina, men aspiring to public office want only votes

MARSHALL PLEASED

Thurgood Marshall, special NAACP counsel who had spent a week in the State before and through the election, reported from Charleston early in the day that white persons had expressed surprise to him and others that Negroes came out to vote in the Sunday best.

Despite having only about 10 per cent of votes cast in the primary, Negroes saw many of their personally selected candidates go into office, get into the runoff primary on Aug. 24, or make it a very hot race for their single opposition.

As a sort of symbolic climax to the day, the first primary votes they had cast in a South Carolina primary, these new citizens held a testimonial for Thurgood Marshall at Allen University and gave him a Hamilton wrist watch, two boxes of white shirts and a portable radio.

MOB VICTIM AND ATTORNEY—Right, Atty. Harold Boulware, Columbia, S. C., who is preparing a complaint to the Department of Justice on charges that the Rev. Archie Ware, left, 66, was brutally beaten and cut by white mobsters after he had cast the lone Negro vote in Calhoun Falls, S. C.

Minister Flees S. Carolina Mob

The Courier

Sat 8-28-48

Prominent Baptist Pastor Clubbed, Slashed By Dixiecrats in Presence of Policemen

Pittsburgh Pa.

34e

By JOHN H. McCRAY

(Special to The Courier)

CALHOUN FALLS, S. C.—Told that white mobsters planned to "finish him" for having voted in Democratic primaries Aug. 10, and just released from a hospital where a severe beating and slashing had sent him, the Rev. Archie Ware, 66, pastor of four Baptist churches and moderator of the Savannah Valley Baptist Association, fled his home here last Saturday night and one week later had also fled the State.

The successful elderly pastor who owns an attractive home here on Lee Street, nine acres of land elsewhere in the town and operates a modest grocery, had been brutally beaten by a group of four or five men led by a man he recognized as John Black, a candidate for the office of county auditor in the primary, slashed in three places and advised against continuing to preach in churches, some of which he has pastored for thirty-one years.

Fleeing first to Oconee County and the sanctuary of friends, the Rev. Mr. Ware went to Columbia where his pitiful story was told to State Progressive Democratic and NAACP leaders Tuesday.

His stitches, eleven in the left thigh, and thirteen in the right side, were removed by a Columbia physician, and the minister left in the custody of a daughter and two sons for Evanston, Ill.

34e

Behind are his terror-stricken wife, Mrs. Georgia Ware; a son, Calvin, and 40-year-old invalid daughter, Miss Lottie Belle Ware.

The Rev. Mr. Ware said he attempted to enroll at the establishment of one Samuel J. Dixon, enrollment clerk for the Calhoun Falls precinct, July 19—three days after U. S. District Court Judge J. Waites Waring of Charleston, had issued a temporary injunction, under which Negroes won the right to enroll in the Democratic party with whites.

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At first, Dixon told him the books weren't there; disputed with the fact that county Democratic chairman J. Nichols had announced they were in Dixon's custody, the later is quoted as exploding: "I don't give a d——n. I'm not a gonna write down the name of one d——n n——r in these books."

The Rev. Mr. Ware left but returned July 20 and finding the book in custody of two young white men at the time, did sign his name in them. Immediately, he rushed out and caused around two hundred other Negroes to enroll within two or three days.

However, enrollment ended abruptly when a man the minister identifies as John Black, candidate for county auditor, threatened Harold Bryant, a Negro who had affixed his name to the books.

No Negroes attempted enrollment after this incident.

The Rev. Mr. Ware went to cast his first Democratic vote Aug. 10, between 10 and 11 A. M. Parking his car one block from the Calhoun Falls white high school gymnasium, where balloting took place. About a score of white men were standing before the building with two city officers. Black was among the spectators, he said. He identified the officers as Bill Powell, local police chief, himself and candidate for the office of county sheriff in the primary, and "Liver" Moore, an officer.

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"I spoke to all of them politely," the Rev. Mr. Ware continued, "and went into the building to vote. They looked up my name and gave me my ballots. After marking these, I dropped them in the boxes, got my hat and started out.

"As I stepped out of the door, Mr. Black confronted me with a club. Seeing he intended to hit me I threw up my hands and caught some blows and backed towards where the officers stood.

"When I reached the officers and noticed they weren't going to protect me, I turned quickly to my right and must have dropped my hands a little, because Black hit me on the side of my head two or three times.

"The blows stunned and slowed me. One of the men stabbed my thigh, but I was able to twist and turn enough to break out of the ring and ran towards my house, which wasn't more than two blocks away.

"I made it for about 150 yards, but collapsed. There, on my back, I warded off Mr. Black's club and did my best to keep them from cutting me to death. One of them, however, slashed me with a hooked-nose pocket-knife in right side of my stomach. He had threatened first: 'I ought to cut your d——n throat'."

The pastor said an arrival pleaded with Black and the others, "Don't cut him anymore. That's enough," which apparently saved his life.

He made his way some 300 feet to the office of Dr. Ward, white, who gave him first aid and then took him to the Memorial Hospital in Abbeville, fifteen miles east of here.

Of the approximately two hundred Negroes enrolled to vote here, the Rev. Mr. Ware, so far as could be ascertained, was the sole Negro voter.

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Expecting violence by Klan-inspired whites, employers of Negroes had advised them against attempting to vote. However, the Rev. Mr. Ware said he hadn't had such advice and added: "I heard about it after I got out of the hospital. I don't know if it would have made any difference anyway.

"The time has come for our people to take the necessary chances for their rights. If I cannot help to show the way, then I don't deserve the respect and support my people have bestowed upon me. My head is bloody, but unbowed."

Affidavits and other materials incidental with his case have been filed with the U. S. Department of Justice. State leaders at Columbia were also probing for possible State-sponsored legal action.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S 35,000

Afro American

Sat 8-21-48

Some 35,000 colored citizens voted in South Carolina's Democratic primary election last week.

They were able to do so because Federal Judge J. Waties Waring, a native Charlestonian, had threatened jail terms for any persons who denied colored people the right to vote.

Last week's voters had little to choose from among five candidates for the U. S. Senate, all of whom were bitter in their denunciation of Judge Waring. They had to vote for what they considered to be the best of five bad candidates.

Baltimore, Md

Next year, however, and the year after, they are likely to get men who will be more considerate of their interests. No State-wide candidate, even in South Carolina, can long sneer at 35,000 persons who go to the polls.

BASKIN MAKES RULING

White Persons Must Enroll, Only Negroes May Vote On Registration Certificates

White persons must be enrolled members of the state Democratic party if they wish to vote in party primaries, state party executive chairman W. P. Baskin has ruled. Unlike Negroes, they cannot vote on their general election registration certificate.

The Charleston county Democratic executive committee chairman, Francis F. Coleman, said he had this ruling from Baskin in a telephone conversation yesterday.

Coleman explained the ruling was requested when many persons had the impression here that presentation of a general election registration certificate at the primary polling places would permit them to vote.

This applies only to Negroes, Coleman said Baskin ruled, in conformity with a recently-upheld federal court decision that the party must give "qualified Negro electors" a vote in its primaries.

The general election registration certificate is evidence, the party has held, that the holder is a qualified elector.

The court decision made no mention of qualified white electors.

Baskin's ruling is merely a restatement of the action taken by the state Democratic convention last week, but was made in answer to inquiries by persons who apparently misunderstood the action of that body.

What the convention did was to use the term "qualified elector" as used in the Waring court opinion holding that Negroes must be allowed to vote. The convention voted to let only those Negroes vote in the primary who are "qualified electors," or who hold general election registration certificates.

As to white persons, they may vote by signing the party's enrolment books. They are not required to be qualified electors, under the convention's action, and Baskin explains today that they cannot use their registration certificates, even if they have them; they must enroll to qualify.

S.C. Told Political Party Not Same as Private Club

The Afro-American

Baltimore, Md. Sat. 1-24-48

Decision Outlawing White Primary Upheld; Similar Orders to Other Southern States Cited

RICHMOND—"The fundamental error in defendant's (South Carolina's) position consists in the premise that a political party is a mere private aggregation of individuals, like a country club, and that the primary is a mere piece of party machinery."

Around this statement, the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals based its decision upholding the July, 1947 ruling of U.S. District Judge J. Waites Waring which outlawed the white primary in South Carolina and ordered the State "to rejoin the Union."

"No election machinery," the appelate court stated further, "can be upheld if its purpose or effect is to deny to the Negro, on account of his race or color, any effective voice in the government of his country or the State or community in which he lives."

Furthermore, the decision pointed out, "The disfranchised can never speak with the same force as those who are able to vote."

Acting for Group of People

The entire decision follows:

This is an appeal from a decree adjudging that colored people are entitled to vote in Democratic primary elections in South Carolina and enjoining defendants, who conduct such elections from denying to colored electors the right to vote therin.

Plaintiff, who has brought this as a class suit in behalf of all colored electors similarly situated, is a colored man duly qualified to vote under the Constitution and laws of the State of South Carolina.

He has been denied the right to vote in the Democratic primary of that State by rules promulgated by the Democratic Party limiting the right to vote in the primary to white persons.

The defendants are officials of the Democratic Party of South Carolina, who have charge of the primary in the county and precinct where plaintiff resides.

Legal Question the Only One

The only question presented by the appeal is the correctness of the declaration as to the right to vote contained in the decree appealed from and the validity of the injunction therin granted.

Plaintiff contends that the decree should be upheld under the 14th and 15th Amendments of the Constitution and the provisions of the Civil Rights Acts.

Defendant contends that, because there has been no statutory regulation of primaries in South Carolina since the repeal in 1944 of the statutes relating thereto, the constitutional limitation on State action relied on by the plaintiff is consequently no jurisdiction in the court to grant declaratory or injunctive relief.

Considered Selves Private Group

They argue that defendants in the action complained of were acting, not as State officials, but as members of the Democratic party which, they say, is a voluntary political association which can exercise unrestricted choice of membership.

The Afro-American

There is no dispute as to the facts, which are fully and fairly set fourth in the opinion of the District Judge. See Elmore et al, v. Rive et al, 72 F. Supp. 516. They may be briefly summarized as follows:

Baltimore, Md.

For half a century or more the Democratic Party has absolutely controlled the choice of elective officers in the State of South Carolina.

Sat 1-24-48

The real elections within that State have been contests within the Democratic party the general elections serving only to ratify and give legal validity to the party choice.

Few Vote in General Elections

So well has this been recognized that only a comparative few persons participate in the general elections. In the election of 1946, for instance, 290,223 votes were cast for governor in the Democratic primary, only 26,326 in the general election.

In South Carolina, as in most other states of the Union, the primary had become an integral part of the election machinery recognized and regulated by law.

Article II, sec. 10, of the State Constitution of 1895, directed that the Legislature provide by law for the regulation of party primary elections, and pursuant thereto a complete set of primary laws had been adopted and were in effect when the Supreme Court of the U.S. decided, the case of Smith v. Allwright, 321, US 649, holding that the right in a primary election held under State law might not be denied on the ground of race or color.

Governor Defies Court

Immediately following this decision, the then governor of South Carolina convened the State Legislature and recommended that it repeal all laws with relation to primaries with the avowed purpose of preventing voting by colored persons in the Democratic primaries of the State.

Pursuant to this, recommendation, the primary laws of the State were repealed and the Democratic primary was conducted thereafter under rules prescribed by the Democratic Party.

That the primary when conducted by the party fulfilled the same function in the election machinery of the State and was managed in practically the same way as when conducted under State law does not admit of doubt.

Procedure Explained

With respect to this, the District judge, after describing the procedure when the statutes regulating the primary were in effect, went on to say:

> "In 1944 substantially the same process was gone through, although at that time and before the State Convention assembled, the statutes had been repealed by action of the general assembly, heretofore set out.
>
> "The State convention that year adopted a complete new set of rules and regulations, these, however, embodying practically all of the provisions of the repealed statutes. Some minor changes were made but these amounted to very little more than the usual change of procedure in detail from year to year.
>
> "In 1946 substantially the same procedure was used in the organization of the Democratic party and another set of rules adopted which were substantially the same as the 1944 rules, excepting that the voting age was lowered to 18, and party officials were allowed the option of using voting machines and the rules relative to absentee voting were simplified."

The Afro-American

The question presented for our decision is whether, by permitting a party to take over a part of its election machinery, a State can avoid the provisions of the Constitution forbidding racial discrimination in elections and can deny to a part of the electorate, because of race and color, any effective voice in the government of the State.

It seems perfectly clear that this question must be answered in the negative.

Baltimore

Can't Be Considered Private

In the summing up of their argument, counsel for defendants say in their brief,

Md.

"Plaintiff has no more, right to vote in the Democratic primary in the State of South Carolina than to vote in the election of officers of the Forest Lake Country Club or for the officers of the Colonial Dames of America, which principle is precisely the same."

The party may, indeed, have been a mere private aggregation of individuals in the early days of the Republic, but with the passage of the years, political parties have become in effect State institutions, governmental agencies through which sovereign power is exercised by the people.

Voice of People Involved

Party primaries are of more recent growth.

Sat,

Originating in the closing years of the last century as a means of making parties more responsive to the popular will in the nomination of candidates for office, they had been adopted by 1917 in all except four of the States of the Union as a vital and integral part of the State election machinery.

Encyclopedia of Social Sciences Vol. 6 p. 396.

1-24-48

The relation of the primary to the election was well stated by Mr. Justice Pitney in his concurring opinion in Newberry v. U.S. 256, 232, 285, where he said:

> "It seems to me too clear for discussion that primary elections and nominating conventions are so closely related to the final election, and their proper regulation so essential to effective regulation of the latter, so vital to representative government, that power to regulate them is within the general authority of Congress.
>
> "It is a matter of common knowledge that the great mass of the American electorate is grouped into political parties, to one or the other of which voters adhere with tenacity; due to their divergent views on questions of public policy, their intersts, sentimental and historical.
>
> "So strong with the great majority of voters are party associations, so potent the party slogan, so effective the party organization, that the likelihood of a candidate succeeding in an election without party nomination is practically negligible.
>
> "As a result, every voter comes to the polls on the day of the general election confined in his choice to those few candidates who have received party nominations, and constrained to consider their eligibility, in point of personal fitness, as affected by their party associations and their obligations to pursue more or less definite lines of policy, with which the voter may or may not agree.
>
> "As a practical matter, the mass of voters is predetermined when the nominations have been made."

As primaries have become imbedded in the election machinery of the country, there has come gradually a recognition by the courts of the functions they perform and the application of them to the laws relating to elections.

Ruling on Classic Case

In the Newberry case, supra, decided in 1921, the Supreme Court, by a bare majority, had held the Federal Corrupt Practice Act not applicable to a primary election held for U.S. Senator under a law adopted prior to the 17th Amendment.

The Afro-American

In Classic v. U.S. 313 U. S.299, decided in 1941, however, it was expressly held that a primary was an election within the meaning of Article 1, Section 4, of the Constitution; and the court pointed out that the Newberry case could not be considered authority to the contrary.

Baltimore, Md.

Defiance in Texas

In Nixon v. Herndon, 273 US, 536, a Texas statute forbidding colored persons to participate in Democratic primaries was held violative of the 14th Amendment.

Following that decision, the statute was repealed and a law enacted authorizing the executive committee of a political party to prescribe who might vote in its primaries, and under it the Democratic executive committee adopted a resolution limiting participation in the Democratic primary to white persons.

Sat. 1-24-48

The exclusion of colored persons from voting pursuant to this resolution was held violative of the 14th Amendment in Nixon v. Condon 286 U.S. 73, the court saying:

"The test is not whether the members of the executive committee are representatives of the State in the strict sense in which an agent is the representative of his principal.

"The test is whether they are to be classified as representatives of the State to such an extent and in such a sense that the great restraints of the Constitution set limits to their action."

Overruled in Smith Case

The Texas law was again amended to eliminate delegation of authority to the executive committee, and thereupon the Democratic State Convention, without statutory authority for so doing, limited the right to participate in the Democratic primary to white persons.

The Afro-American

The exclusion of a colored man from voting in the Democratic primary pursuant to this action was held not violative of the Constitutional right in Grovey v. Townsend 205 U S. 45; but Grovey v. Townsend was expressly overruled a few year later in Smith v. Allwright, supra, 321 U.S. 649, where the court said:

When primaries become a part of the machinery for choosing officials, State and national, as they have here, the same tests to determine the character of discrimination or abridgement should be applied to the primary as are applied to the general election.

State Can't Deny Right

"The U.S. is a constitutional democracy. Its organic law grants to all citizens a right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restrictions by any State because of race.

"This grant to the people of the opportunity for choice is not to be nullified by a State through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election.

"Constitutional rights would be of little value if they could be thus indirectly denied. Lane v. Wilson 307 U.S. 285, 275.

"The privilege of membership in a party may be, as this court said in Grovey v. Townsend 295 U.S. 45, 55, no concern of a State. But when, as here, that privilege is also the essential qualification for voting in a primary to select nominees for a general election, the State makes the action of the party the action of the State."

Baltimore, Md.

It is true, as defendants point out, that the primary involved in Smith v. Allwright was conducted under the provisions of State law and not merely under party rules, as is the case here, but we do not think this a controlling distinction.

State Guilty With Party

In King v. Chapman, 62 F. Supp. 639, it was held that because the Democratic primary was an integral part of the electoral process of the State of Georgia, a colored man might be excluded from voting therin.

The judgement in fovor of the plaintiff was affirced on appeal (Chapman v. King, 5 Cir. 154 F. 2d 4600 in an opinion based on the ground that the State collaborated in the primary and put its power behind the rules of the party.

Sat. 1-24-48

The appellate court intimated that it did not consider "of great legal significance" some matters to which we attribute importance; but, while we have great respect for that court, we are, of course, not bound by these expressions of poinion.

It is worth noting, however, that the court emphasized in its opinion that "it (the State of Georgia) adopts the primary as a part of the public election machinery."

Specific Rule Not Needed

Where this is done as a matter of fact and custom, the presence or absence of statutory regulation of the primary does not seem a matter of controlling importance.

State law relating to the general election gives effect to what is done in the primary and makes it just as much a part of the election machinery of the State by which the people choose their officers as if it were regulated by law, as formerly.

Elections in South Carolina remain a two-step process, whether the party primary be accounted a primary of the general election, or the general election be regarded as giving effect to what is done in the primary; and those who control the Democratic party as well as the State government cannot, by placing the first of the steps under officials of the party rather than of the State, absolve such offcials from the limitations which the Federal Constitution imposes.

Limited by Constitution

When these officials participate in what is a part of the State's election machinery, they are election officers of the State de facto if not in de jure, and as such must obsrve the limitations of th e Constitution. 1-24-48

Having undertaken to perform an important function relating to the exercise of soverisnity by the people, they may not violate the fundamental principles laid down by the Constitution for its exercise.

The Afro-American

Cf. Steele v. L. and N.R. Co. 323 U.S. 192; Kerr v. Enoch Pratt Free Library 4 Cir. 149 F. 2d 212. As said in the case cited, "We know of no reason why the State cannot create separate agencies to carry on its work in this manner, and when it does so, they become subject to the constitutional restraints imposed upon the State itself."

Subtle Discriminantion Scored

Even though the election laws of South Carolina be fair upon their face, yet, if they be administered in such a way as to result in persons being denied any real voice in the government because of race and color, it is idle to say that the power of the State is not being used in violation of the Constitution.

As said in Yick v. Hopkins 118 U.S. 356, 373-374, "Though the law itself be fair on its face and impartial in appearance, yet, if it is appliedd and administered by public authority with an evil eye and an unequal hand, so as practically to make unjust and illegal discrimination between persons in similar circumstances, material to their rights, the denial of equal justice is still within the prohibition of the Constitution."

Protction of Right Ordered

It is pointed out in the case of U.S. v. Classic, supra, 313 U.S. 299, that the right to vote in the primary and to have one's vote counted is to be protected, not only where State law has made the primary an integral part of the procedure of choice, but also where in fact it effectively controls the choice, as is unquestionably true in South Carolina. The court said in that case:

Baltimore, Md.

"From time immemorial an election to public office has been in point of substance no more and no less than the expression by qualified electors of their choice candidates. Long before the adoption of the Constitution the form and mode of that expression had changed from time to time.

"There is no historical warrant for supposing that the framers were under the illusion that the method of effecting the choice of the electors would never change or that, if it did, the change was for that reason to be permitted to defeat the right of the people to choose representatives for Congress which the Constitution had guaranteed.

"The right to participate in the choice of representatives for Congress includes, as we have said, the right to cast a ballot and have it counted at the general election, whether for successful candidate or not.

"Where the State law has made the primary an integral part of the procedure of choice, or where in fact the primary effectively controls the choice, the right of the elector to have his ballot counted at the primary is liekwise included in the right protected by Article 1, Section 2.

Sat.

"And this right of participation is protected just as is the right to vote at the election, where the primary is by law made an integral part of the election machinery, whether the voter exercises his right in a party primary which invaribly, sometimes or never, determines the ultimate choice of the representative.

1-24-48

"Here, even apart from the circumstance that the Louisiana primary is made by law an integral par t ofth ep smiirf nhtr- ET TAa part of the procedure of choice, the right to choose a representative is in fact controlled by the primary because, as is alleged in the indictment, the choice of candidates at the Democratic primary determines the choice of the elected representatives."

An essential feature of our form

"Starting with the study of the report of the President's Civil Rights Committee, we proclaim as our immediate objective the furthering of the study of this document and announce our intention to work toward the abolition of segregation now in public assemblies and on common carriers."

One clause affecting educational institutions in the report of the committee on by-laws was voted down by the group after fears were expressed that its adoption would have a tendency to 'drive away some persons' not willing yet to go quite so far.

The Afro-American

That clause would have committed the organization to the task of working "for the opening of all institutions of higher learning to students on the basis of academic qualifications, not on the basis of race or religion."

Three Vice-Presidents

Under the by-laws adopted, the group will have a president, 3 vice-presidents, 2 secretaries and a treasurer as principal officers. These, and heads of five committees—legal, program, membership, liaison and publicity—will constitute the executive board.

Principal officers are to be elected annually for 1-year terms, while committee chairmen are to be named by the president and approved by the executive board. Elections are to be held in June of each year, officers elected taking office in September.

Baltimore, Md.

Monthly meetings are to be held from September through June and on call during July and August. Call may be issued by the president or any five members of the body. Annual fees are $1 for general members, 50 cents for students and $5 for "contributing" members.

The Rev. Thomas Allen of the Virginia Council of Churches served as temporary chairman until the group was organized formelly Wednesday night. 1-24-48

SOUTH CAROLINA

The Man They Love to Hate

Time

For the first time in history, South Carolina Negroes voted freely last week in the Democratic primary; by evening of election day nearly 35,000 had cast their ballots. To old families in the mansions along Charleston's historic Battery, as to most South Carolinians across the state, this was sacrilege. But proud Charleston spent its bitterness on the cause, rather than the effect of this enormous social change. It charged it all up to cold-eyed, 68-year-old Federal Judge J. Waties Waring.

Mon 8-23-48

Chicago Ill

Antique Grandeur. Judge Waring was one of Charleston's own. He was born of an old and honored family; he married a Charleston girl. He was appointed to the bench January 1942 on the recommendation of the late Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith. Until he was 65, he abided by the insular mores of Charleston's first families and devoted himself to the dusty grandeur of Charleston's traditions.

Associated Press

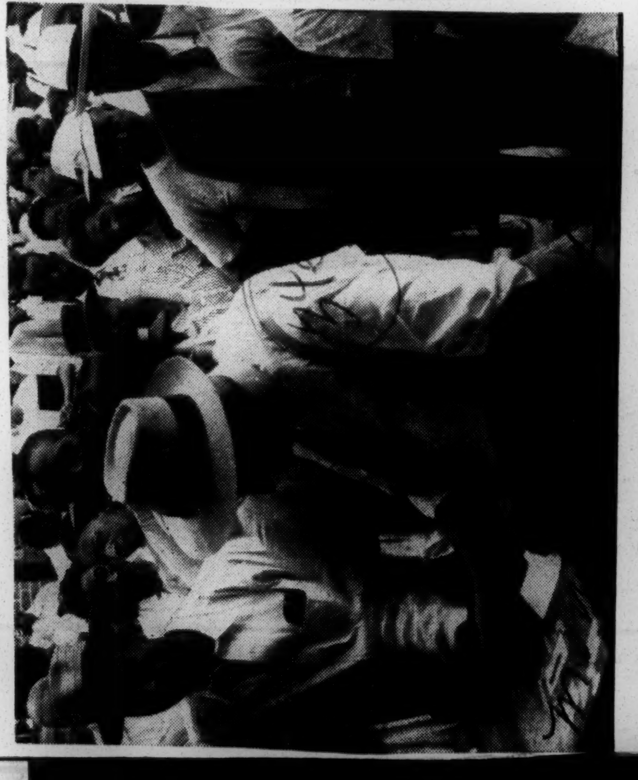
Judge Waring

Cause.

Three years ago, after 32 years of marriage, he and his wife got a Florida divorce (South Carolina has no divorce laws). The judge married a Connecticut woman. He was instantly ostracized. He did not take it well. Charleston lawyers complained that he grew more vituperative and irascible month by month. But as time wore on, he also grew more liberal in his opinions. His onetime friends did not consider the possibility that an elderly man might gain a new and deeper understanding of justice and the law. They whispered that he was "out to get his revenge."

Last July they were sure of it. Judge Waring ordered the Democratic Party to open its enrollment books to Negroes and permit them "full participation in party affairs." He went even further. When a white man, Senatorial Candidate Alan Johnstone, rose to protest, the judge had him forcibly ejected. He told the crowd of Negroes who jammed his courtroom: "It is a disgrace when you have to come . . . and ask a judge to tell you how to be an American." Mon 8-23-48

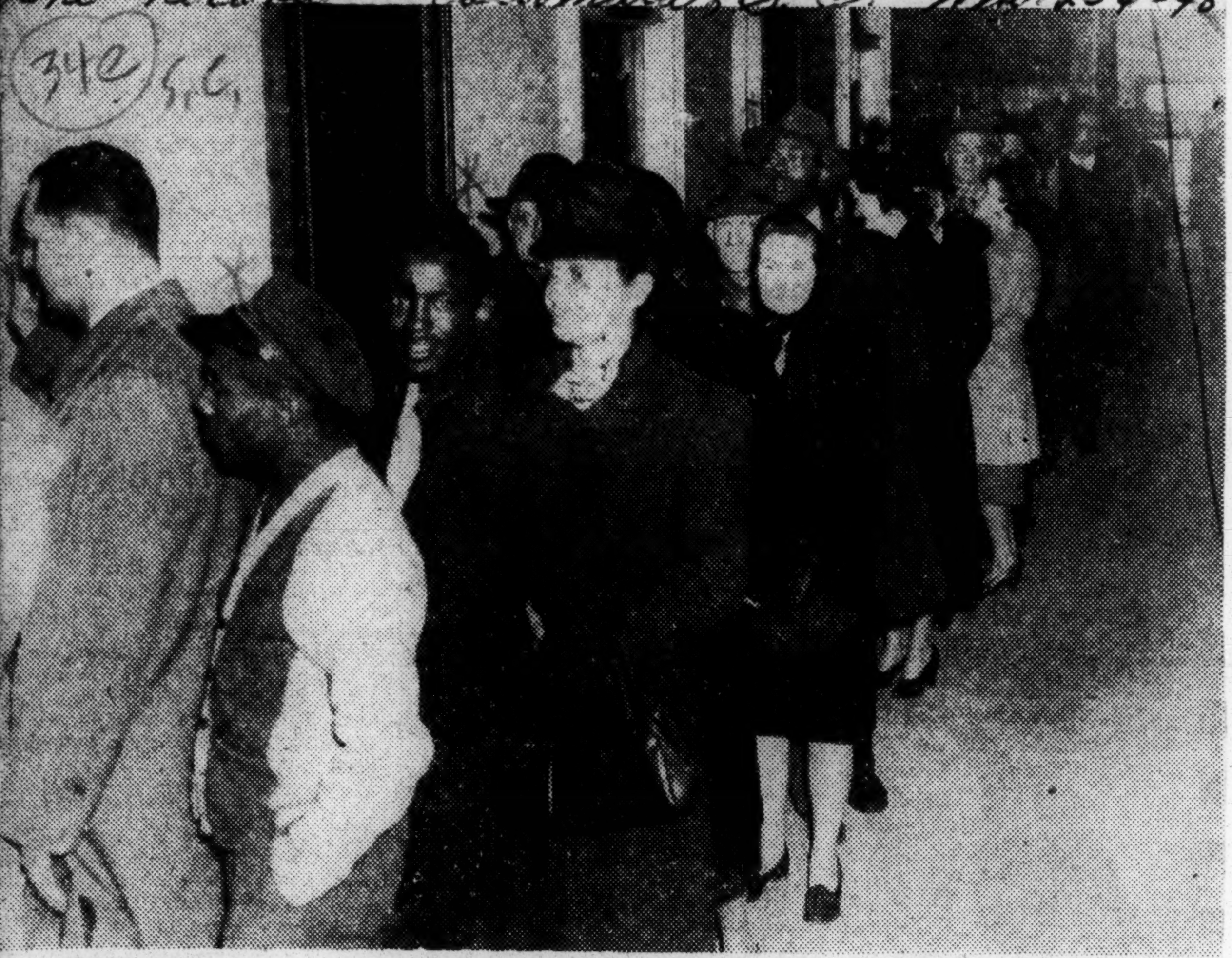
He was jeered and denounced. When lightning struck a house next to his summer cottage on Sullivan's Island beach, its owner nailed up a neatly lettered sign: "Dear God, He Lives Next Door." Every man entered in South Carolina's senatorial race vilified him during the campaign. Congressman L. Mendel Rivers sought to institute impeachment proceedings against him, cried: "Unless he is removed . . . there will be bloodshed. He is now in the process of extracting a pound of flesh from the white people of South Carolina because, through his own actions, he has been ostracized from their society."


South Carolina Negroes at the Polls

34e S.C.

WAITING IN LINE TO REGISTER

The Record Columbia, S.C. Wed. 2-4-48



RICHLAND county voters in large numbers are obtaining registration certificates for the new 10-year registration period, beginning this year. This picture was taken today at the county courthouse, and shows a typical long line of persons waiting to register. (Staff Photo by Jimmy Price). The Record Columbia, S.C. Wed. 2-4-48

Exaggerating

The Record Columbia, S.C. Tues. 1-13-48

The Charleston News and Courier quotes one of the "representatives" of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples as proclaiming that "the courts have given the Negroes in South Carolina a new freedom by opening the Democratic primaries to them" and that "they will vote in large numbers."

This greatly exaggerates the effect of the district and the circuit court of appeals decisions.

Negroes in limited numbers have voted in South Carolina primaries before now and Negroes have always had the right to vote in the general elections. If they had wanted to take over the state government of South Carolina less than 25,000 votes would have given them the elections in 1930, 1934 and 1942. 1-13-48

But not even 25.000 wanted to vote.

Lynch-Trial County Lets Negroes In Primary

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Mon. 6-14-48

By JOHN N. POPHAM.

Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal.

Greenville, S. C., June 13.—In action unprecedented in the history of this region, the Greenville County Democratic Executive Committee has decided to open its roll books and ballot boxes to permit Negroes to vote in the party primaries.

The move came just 13 months after an all-white jury of 12 men here had voted to acquit 23 fellow townsmen who admitted participation in the lynching of a Negro accused of slaying a taxi driver.

The decision struck at the party-primary control of the state executive committee and convention. It also emphasized the paradoxical picture in which a community with a record of efforts to improve race relations became the focal point of national attention because of the lynching trial.

3 Issues Disputed.

The Courier-Journal

The committee broke with the state control on three main issues. They were the opening of the roll books to Negroes, permitting Negroes to vote on the same basis with whites, and the setting aside of a new registration oath that would have been obnoxious to Negroes. Louisville, Ky.

Greenville County, with 175,000 people, has the largest population of any county in the state. The committee's action was regarded as one of the most important developments in the state's political annals. Political observers here said the decision stemmed from "enlightened leadership." Mon.

There have been reports that Richland County, where Columbia, the capital, is located, made virtually similar decisions recently, but no public announcement has been made, and Greenville officially is the first county to take such action. 5-14-48

Anderson Negroes Vote In Primary For Initial Time

The Record Columbia, S.C.

ANDERSON, May 25—(AP)—Negroes voted in a municipal primary here today for the first time in history. About 100 of the 4,608 registered voters were Negroes. They voted to nominate a mayor and seven aldermen.

The candidates for mayor are William C. Johnston and David Martin. Tues. 5-25-48

The ballot also included two referendum questions: whether there should be a city manager, and whether later elections will select aldermen on a city-wide rather than upon a ward basis.

'NO QUESTIONS ASKED'

Negro Enrols Here On Democratic Ward Book

The Record Columbia, S.C. Wed. 6-2-48

A Negro, James M. Hinton, state head of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said today he enrolled here to vote in the Democratic primaries and "no questions were asked."

All county enrolment books were later closed by action of the county Democratic executive committee, which was in session this morning.

Questioned about the report of Hinton's enrolment, party officials declined to comment, and also refused permission to a Columbia Record reporter to look at the books of Ward nine where Hinton said he enrolled.

Pasted in the front of the county's enrolment books is a list of qualifications which applies to "white Democrats."

He said, "No questions were asked and I met the same requirements of white people. The clerks were extremely courteous." Wed.

The Negro leaders said another Negro, the Rev. Willie C. Sanders, enrolled in the same ward with him. 6-2-48

Richland committee chairman John I. Rice said earlier he had instructed certain members of the

34e S.C.

Go To The Polls And Vote Today

The Record

Columbia Democratic voters, whites and Negroes, go to the polls today to select two nominees to city council, with nomination being equivalent to election.

Every qualified person—and the qualifications are for this one election, coming immediately behind the supreme court's decision, different for the two races since there was no opportunity for the Negroes to enroll after the court's decision was announced only yesterday—should vote. Columbia S.C.

For there are vital issues at stake in the primary, issues relating to city finance and improvement, affecting every taxpayer and every citizen. Tues. 4-20-48

The primary offers these taxpayers and citizens a chance to make a choice. If they choose wisely the city of Columbia may benefit, if the three members of city council, already in office, will cooperate with the new members to carry out their programs outlined in the campaign. Or, if this doesn't happen, then the citizens may remedy this in the next election. 4-20-48

But to exercise this choice every qualified voter must vote. The choice made should be the choice of the majority of the qualified voters of Columbia, not simply the choice of the politicians who too often control elections in Columbia and everywhere through default of the voters. Tues.

Baskin Backs Negro Voting Right In SC

The Record Columbia, S.C.

BISHOPVILLE, May 25—(AP)—Chairman W. P. Baskin of the state Democratic executive committee has assured "qualified Negro electors" that they may vote in party primaries this summer. Tues.

Baskin said in a press statement yesterday: 5-25-48

"Every qualified Negro elector will have the opportunity of voting in the coming Democratic party primary as a matter of right under Democratic party rules by taking the party oath and presenting his registration certificate.

"As state chairman, I shall see that the rule is carried out."

He referred to a rule recently adopted by the executive committee and the state party convention.

It complies literally with a federal court decision that "qualified Negro electors" cannot be barred from primary voting.

Two state Negro leaders have said they planned to ask further federal court action to give Negroes "full and complete participation in all party matters." Tues.

The new party rule makes no mention of Negro participation in party affairs, other than primary voting. 5-25-48 executive committee to allow the Negroes to enroll. He said he had not instructed all, but only those who asked.

This county is where the first test case for the Negro primary voting right originated.

A Negro, George Elmore, filed suit to force the Democratic party to permit him to vote in its primaries. A federal court ordered the Democrats to let "qualified Negro electors" cast ballots after the United States supreme court refused to hear an appeal by the Democrats.

342 S.C.

At the state convention here, the party's rules were changed to allow the Negro to vote. Two standards were set up. The Negro was required to swear to an oath which pledged support of segregation on social and educational levels.

A Negro newspaper editor, John McCray, chairman of the State Progressive party (Negro) said he had attempted to enroll this morning but was unable to locate the party's books for his ward.

Hinton, in announcing his enrolment, asked that Negroes throughout the state enroll.

Voting Fever Hits Charleston As Some 5,000 Enroll To Vote

The Lighthouse and Informer
Columbia, S.C.
Sun.
8-1-48

BY (MRS.) E. M. PARKER

CHARLESTON, S. C. — Charleston stacked up ~~its largest~~ number of "meaningful" Negro voters by Tuesday, with around 5,000 already enrolled to vote in summer primaries and Progressive Democratic leaders driving to double the number by the July 31 noon deadline.

Tempo of the voting consciousness which has descended upon the city is evident in attendances at several meetings held within the past two weeks, the individual efforts of leaders to build up enrollment and the designation of true and tried leaders as official spokesmen for the voters.

1,400 HEAR HINTON

More than 1,400 jammed into historic Emanuel AME Church last Tuesday night to hear addresses by James M. Hinton, state N. A. A. C. P. president, and the Rev. Frank Veal. Then on Friday night more than 600 others gathered in Morris Brown AME Church to hear reports on the Democratic National Convention by County Progressive Democratic chairman Dr. W. W. Jones and state Progressive Democratic executive secretary, A. J. Clement, Jr.

At the Friday night meeting, official spokesmen for the Negro Democrats were chosen and citizens were warned against following the leadership or counsel of any others numerous such persons now appearing to want to assume the leadership.

Sun.

SPOKESMEN DESIGNATED

The spokesmen designated were: P. S. Johnson and Mrs. Lucile Ford of the Mount Pleasant Section; Esau Jenkins of Johns Island, W. E. Prioleau of Union Heights, Mrs. Ethyl R. Brown and Robert F. Morrison, county chairman Dr. W. W. Jones and first state vice chairman of Progressive Democrats, John H. Green, all of Charleston, as well as Mr. Clement, Jr.

8-1-48

All of these have been long associated with the Progressive Democrats and their election by citizens as a whole was an expression of confidence in their ability and honesty.

Numerous individuals have been praised for their efforts to build enrollment. Among them is Mrs. Ellen Davis of the Five Mile section, who single-handedly got 51 persons in her community to enroll by Monday and was hiking this number the first of the week.

Less Than Hundred 'Qualified' Negro Voters Cast Ballots For Councilmen

342 S.C.
The Record
Columbia, S.C. Tues 4-20-48

Columbia white Democrats—and a few Negroes holding municipal general election registration certificates—went to the polls today to nominate two of four candidates seeking city council seats in a Democratic party primary election.

Following a United States supreme court decision which opened party primary elections to "qualified" Negro electors, W. P. Baskin, state Democratic party chairman, yesterday invited Negroes holding municipal general election registration certificates to vote in the Democratic primary, despite protests from some party members who argued that Negroes, not enrolled on the Democratic party books, had no more right to vote than whites who had not enrolled on the party lists.

A total of 53 Negroes and 3,991 whites had cast their ballots as of 2 p. m. today. Negroes were recorded as voting in ward one (four); ward two (six); ward three (six); ward four (four); ward nine (31); ward ten, two).

Whites voted as follows: Ward one (391); ward two (163); ward three (257); ward four (293); ward five (151); ward six (295); ward seven (150); ward eight (242); ward nine (149); ward ten (175); ward eleven (310); ward twelve (390) ward thirteen (221); ward fourteen (249); ward fifteen (323); ward sixteen (192).

The Record

All Goes Smoothly

Columbia's Negroes who were properly prepared to vote in today's municipal primary election reported "Everything went smoothly" as they cast their ballots for the first time in a Democratic primary election.

John H. McCray, editor of the Lighthouse and Informer, voted at 8:03 a. m. in Ward three—possibly the first Negro to present himself under the Supreme Court action of yesterday—and cast his ballot.

An hour later, James M. Hinton president here of the NAACP, voted in Ward nine.

"The election officials were very courteous," he said. Following him were J. C. Artemus, and C. P. Ingram.

Columbia, S.C.

Hinton, who has long been active in the court proceedings to obtain voting right in the Democratic primaries, said he was "happy as a lark" at the manner in which today's voting was being conducted.

He anticipated no difficulty.

Up to early this afternoon the election machinery had worked with smoothness and no incidents. Voters commented on the competency of the managers and their helpers, the clerks.

Tues

Marion A. Parks, of the city Democratic executive committee, who made several tours of the voting places, had the highest praise for the managers, who are unpaid.

"They are doing an excellent job," Mr. Park said this afternoon.

Historical Background

Today's election was the first time since 1876 that Negroes voted freely in a meaningful South Carolina election.

4-20-48

In 1876 Wade Hampton was elected governor of the state. The Red Shirts, foes of carpetbaggers and scalawags who were in power, steered his election to success.

Since then, Negroes have been effectively excluded from participation in election matters, either through stiff general election qual-

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Few Negroes Ballot in S. C.

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
342

COLUMBIA, S. C., April 20—(AP)—South Carolina Negroes exercised their new-won Democratic primary voting rights here Tuesday.

Wed.

They balloted in a meaningful election for the first time since carpetbag rule was overthrown in 1876.

4-21-48

Only a comparative handful of qualified Negro electors turned out to vote in a city primary to select two Council nominees.

The Negroes' new voting right victory was effectively dimmed, however, by a State Democratic Party order for strict adherence to the letter of a Federal Court ruling that "qualified Negro electors" could vote.

Qualified electors, and only qualifield electors—those defined by state law as registered to vote in general elections—were allowed to cast primary ballots

Otherwise, voting was limited to enrolled white Democrats.

Eligible for the City's party primary were 12,000 white Democrats enrolled on party membership books and appoximately 500 Negroes registered by the City for a May 11 municipal general election.

The Constitution

The Party's strict adherence to the Federal Court decision, which was made final Monday by Supreme Court refusal to review the case, was seen as having these effects:

Atlanta, Ga.

1. Confining party membership to white Democrats.
2. Restricting Negro participation to the primary vote.

4-21-48

LETS NEGROES VOTE, IS ACCUSED OF BIAS

(The Associated Press)

[illegible]

Charleston, S. C., Oct. 21.—An official of the Democratic party has accused Federal District Judge J. Waties Waring of permitting "personal bias and prejudice" to affect his decision admitting Negroes to the party.

Fri. 10-22-48

An affidavit of bias filed here by John E. Stansfield, state executive committeeman from Aiken county, charged that Judge Waring has a "personal bias" in favor of the Negroes by which he may "be prevented from or impeded in rendering judgment impartially between the parties of this cause.

[illegible]

Stansfield is one of more than 80 defendants affected by a temporary injunction handed down July 16 by Judge Waring in which the jurist ordered the Democratic party to admit Negroes to full participation in party affairs.

A hearing on a permanent injunction still is pending.

"Good Negroes" Say Time Not Ripe To Vote, Yield Ballot

[illegible]

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MYRTLE BEACH, S. C.—Charles Fitzgerald and his wife are described this week in the local white press as "good Negroes" since they petitioned Mayor H. E. Tallevast to strike their names from the voting rolls of the local Democratic party.

[illegible]

Running counter to some 20,000 South Carolina Negroes who went to the polls last week to vote in the Democratic primaries for the first time in 75 years, the Fitzgeralds agreed that "the time ain't right" for colored citizens to take an active part in politics.

Cabell Denies Effort To Get Negro Votes

Columbia Record
Columbia, S.C.

CHARLESTON, July 30—(UP)—State Rep. Nathaniel W. Cabell said he answered an unequivocal and emphatic "no" when asked yesterday by Negroes if he were seeking their vote support.

342 S.C.

Cabell said he got a mimeographed letter from Dr. W. W. Jones, an official of the Progressive Democratic (Negro party) party, asking the direct question, "are you interested in Negro support in the August primary?"

Cabell said he replied "I consider your letter an attempt to make a deal with me."

He said the letter from Jones informed him "we have been approached by those seeking the same office you aspire to, asking your support."

Fri. 7-30-48

Cabell quoted the letter from the Negroes further:

"You can see our viewpoint in the matter. If you are not interested in Negro support, or if you are interested in Negro support, we are asking you to communicate with the undersigned by letter, or by personal contact."

Cabell said he replied to the letter: "My answer is unequivocally and emphatically no."

NEGRO VOTE IN SOUTH CAROLINA BELIEVED BEHIND TRUMAN WHO DIDN'T CARRY STATE; DIXIECRAT OFFICIAL PUSH STATES' RIGHTERS BALLOTS OFF ON UNSUSPECTING NEGROES

(34e)

BY MODJESKA SIMPKINS

Columbia, S. C.__ (ANP)--Election day saw Negroes throughout the state going to the polls for the first time to exercise their right to the ballot. Just how many qualified electors there are in the state, how many voted, and for what party is not known, for several reasons.

However, this much is known. Negroes for the most part were determined to vote for Mr. Truman because of his stand on civil rights; they were determined to vote Democratis--and were of that mind--because for four years the fight waged by the Citizens committee, NAACP and Progressive Democratic party focused attention on voting Democratic without intending to do so, by emphasizing the importance of the right to vote in the Democratic primary--the election that counts. Associated Negro Press

It is impossible even to estimate how many registered but could not vote because of the poll tax. South Carolina has 46 counties, and as many versions of her election law according to the interpretations og the law given by registration officials. In some counties, one may vote by paying the tax of the previous year; in another, it is a cumulative tax of 10 or more years, according to when the male Negro became of age.

Chicago, Illinois

It was reported that about 35,000 voted in the Democratic primary in August, but then the poll tax was not involved. It can be assumed that not more than 40,000 voted election day. There were no Negroes in the races election day.

Several underhanded tactics were discovered in operation at polling places. Chief among these was the palming off to Negroes of the States' Righters ballot. This resulted in hundreds of Negroes casting their vote for Thurmond--by mistake. Wed. 11-10-48

The election processes are in full control of Thurmondites. It leaked out some days ago before the election that election managers had been instructed to offer the Thurmond ballot to voters, particularly if they asked for the Democratic ballot. In addition, it was reliably reported that managers were to display only Thurmond ballots. In one place, election officials were seen to be stuffing Dixiecrat ballots into the hands of unsuspecting Negroes.

This happened in several cases throughout the state, and in at least one in Columbia, before it was detected. In two local polls, the ballots were so mixed up--they lay right out in the open so anyone could see what another picks--that only the States Righters ballots were on top at all times. One had to hunt for the Dewey and Truman slates--the latter disappearing entirely for a time from one poll.

Each party in this state prints its own ballots, and sends them some days before the election to the clerks of courts. Election commissions are charged with seeing that the ballots get into the various boxes.

What actually happened this year, in one county, was that the election commissioners refused to pick up the ballots and ordered each party to get its ballots to the boxes, although the boxes always remain at the courthouses between election.

Only two counties, Spartanburg and Anderson, went for Truman. The GOPs distributed a quarter of a million ballots. They were sent to counties registered "return card requested."

Another note appeared in a news release originating in the Charleston News and Courier, white daily and carried by AP, which stated that the Republican Chairman J. Bates Gerald had "expressed the opinion that the objectives of the States Righters and the Republicans were not irreconciliable."

This was an effort to get Negroes to steer clear of the Republican ballot. I contacted Gerald by long distance and he said he had not talked to a reporter at any time. A check with the AP office uncovered the reporter who had rewritten the story, and disclosed that the Chronicle's article had begun "Gerald indicated...."

The reporter apologized and said he was willing to "do anything I can to overcome the error," but the article had already gone all over the state under the caption, "States Righters Asked to Join GOP." Whether this shied away many voters from the Dewey ticket is questionable, but there was an overwhelming surge to Truman.

The figures show that Thurmond received 89,400; Truman 30,498 and Dewey 5,101.

Spartansburg

Negro Voters At New High

[illegible]

(34e)

SPARTANBURG, S. C. — What registration officials regarded as probably the peak Negro voting strength in Spartanburg's recent history was disclosed this week when it was said that 1,809 Negroes were eligible to vote in Tuesday's Presidential election.

The registration board said Negro voters comprised approximately 6 per cent of the total number of qualified electors in Spartanburg. The board revealed that 30,197 registration certificates were issued between Jan. 1 and Oct. 2.

It said that registration this year was about 3,000 more than ever recorded previously.

This white officer, meeting with a group of Negroes, said he just couldn't understand it at all. Shavis, he said, was actually the trusted and reliable liaison between the whites and his people, and as such he had the respect of the entire community. This officer, however, stated that Shavis had been contacted and was enroute to Perrine at the very moment. City officials regretted the fact that the runaway would not be present to take part in the "radio explanation" or "if he ran away, or if so, why?"

The radio explanation of the incident, made by several men who are allegedly sincere in their beliefs concerning the enjoyment of civil rights by Negroes, struck a responsive chord. Today, nobody in Perrine or Florida believes that Shavis was made to leave his family and his business. He has admitted since his return that he left the city to transact some important business in Hastings, Fla., and that before leaving Perrine, at the suggestion of Providence," he withdrew because of his incompetence.

White Students Rebel

The news behind the news, however, was intentionally and deliberately omitted by the white press, though their reporters were present during the meeting at the Republican club which was addressed by Speaker Martin. Several white students attending the University of Miami, on learning of the alleged threats made against Shavis' life, went beserk and two of them served notice that they were ready to quit the Republican party.

One of these students, majoring in "human relations," told his white audience that he was "ashamed of America." Said he: "If I had another home that I could claim, I'd go to it." The students vowed that they would work harder than ever before. to drive hate and prejudice from the south.

In the poll for seats in the Illinois General assembly, three more Negro Democrats came through. Corneal A. Davis will represent the first district; Charles M. Skyles, the fifth, and Fred J. Smith, the third.

Under the Illinois cumulative voting system one colored Republican salvaged a place in the state legislature. He was incumbent Charles J. Jenkins of the third district.

Associated Negro Press
Chicago Illinois

This election marked the first time that both major parties nominated Negroes for judge in Chicago. Republicans who were lost in the landslide were Alva Bates and Graham T. Perry, both attorneys. Each polled more than 650,000 votes.

Wed - 11-10-48

Praising the nation for the election of President Truman, Rep. Dawson, one of the nation's leading Democrat powers, made the following statement:

"The American people have spoken. Their powerful mandate ushers in a new era of democracy. President Harry S. Truman stands today as the supreme champion of all American citizens, regardless of color.

"The people have given their answer to those who doomed him to defeat because of his courageous stand on civil rights. This is the first dawn of a better tomorrow - a brighter future for ourselves, our children and for all mankind.

"These facts make me eager to thank all my friends, associates and others who helped take the story of Truman's deeds to Negroes throughout America.

"The huge Truman vote which Negroes cast should stand as a glistening two edged sword to warn all who hold posts of responsibility that the Negro will fight to the last ditch in his cause."

Plan Will End Segregation In Colored School

Journal Guide
Sat 8-21-48
Norfolk, Va.

LONG BRANCH, N. J.—(NNPA)—The board of education took steps to end segregation at the Liberty Street School Monday, Aug. 2, at an adjourned meeting.

The board established a district for the Liberty Street School, but will permit all pupils now attending integrated schools outside the district to continue in these schools. Under the plan, however, all new pupils enrolling in September and thereafter must attend the school designated for the district in which they reside.

Parents who are members of the School Betterment Association and the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had objected to this compromise proposal when announced by the board at its meeting last month.

Sat 8-28-48

ENROLLMENT DROPPED

Enrollment at the all-colored Liberty Street School dropped from 190 to 43 last September, when there were mass transfers to nearby integrated schools after the NAACP urged colored parents to withdraw their children from the segregated school.

1420

The board then set up a Liberty Street School district, but abandoned the plan for the remainder of the school year after vigorous opposition from many parents living in the district.

In reaching its new decision the board pointed out that the matter had been carefully discussed with representatives of the State Department of Education and local officials.

Negro Claims He Was Stabbed After Voting

Post
Washington D.C.
Tue. 8-24-48

Columbia, S. C., Aug. 23 (U.P.).—A Negro minister filed an affidavit with the Justice Department today that he was clubbed, stabbed and left for dead while two policemen looked on after he voted in the August 10 Democratic primary.

3440

The Rev. Archie Ware filed the affidavit with United States Attorney General Tom C. Clark through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. James M. Hinton, State NAACP head, said the object "of course, is to bring criminal prosecution."

Post. 8-24-48

Ware named the man he said was the leader of his attackers and the two policemen who, he charged, watched the incident without lifting a hand.

The incident occurred at Calhoun Falls, in Abbeville County, Ware said. Abbeville Sheriff Chester Fleming said he had made a formal investigation of the charges but had not taken any action "because there weren't any eyewitnesses that I could find." He said Calhoun Falls police professed to know nothing of the affair.

Ware, 66, related in his affidavit that he voted at the Calhoun Falls gymnasium, exercising the right assured Negroes by a recent United States Supreme Court decision invalidating the South Carolina all-white primary.

Postcards Urge Negroes To Vote

Columbia Record
Sat 8-21-48
Columbia S.C.

Post cards were circulated across the state today urging Negroes to turn out and vote in the second Democratic primary Tuesday.

The unsigned card said: "Remember a voteless person is a figurehead—not a citizen."

NASHVILLE NEGROES GET

BALLOT THREATS

34e

N.Y. Herald Tribune
N.Y.C

Mayor Says City Flooded With Unsigned Letters

Wed. 11-3-48

Nashville, Tenn., Nov.1(AP). Mayor Thomas L, Cummings said Monday that Nawhville's Negro sections are "flooded" on this election eve with unsigned threatening letters attempting to keep Negroes from the polls.

Postmaster William Gupton said the mayor had called to inform him about the letters and that he had issued orders that postmen turn in samples of the letters given them by recipients.

The mayor said two of the letters contained crude scrawls in red pencil saying:

"Keep away from the polls Nov. 2.
"KKK
"Keep away form the polls Nov. 2
"KKK !
"The Klan Knows you."

The 'you was underscored but the letters were unsigned.

(In Atlanta Imperial Wizard Samuel Green said there is no Ku-Klux Klan organization "within 100 miles of Nashville' and that use of the name and symbol was a hoax. He offered the mayor and postal authorities "full co-Operation" in tracking down and apprehending the perpetrators of this hoax!)

34e

The letters are being checked for fingerprints. "Hundreds of these letters have been sent to Negroes and I have had many calls about them," the mayor added.

The letters bore a Nashville postmark.

Tennessee

ntimidations, Cop Brutalities Forced

The Courier
Sat 8-14-48

Negroes to Revolt

Pittsburgh, Pa.
34e

(Special to The Courier)

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—"Boss" Crump received his "dishonorable discharge" from Tennessee politics last week . . . "Mr. Crump" rules no more . . . after thirty long years . . . because Negroes remembered.

An aroused coalition of white and Negro voters—weary of the intimidations and fears inflicted on them by "Boss" Ed H. Crump's Memphis political machine and its machinations, rose in the might of their fury last week and swept the "Boss" and his minions right out of the political picture.

STUNNING DEFEAT

A stunning defeat administered at the polls in the Democratic elections here flung the handwriting up on the wall for white policemen who have—with total immunity—beaten Negro men and women into insensibility. For Negro school teachers it meant freedom from forced political activity to hold their jobs. Brow-beaten, bribed Negro citizens and harrowed raped Negro girls breathed easier.

All the pent-up hatred created by the activities forced upon Negroes by dominating white political bosses—and the same picture was and is true elsewhere in the South—burst on the Crump machine as voters swept Crumps' hand-picked choices from the political scene and there is joy and rejoicing here in Memphis. The spell of fear is broken.

Sat 8-14-48

Some thirty-five years had passed since Boss Crump rode into power on the Negro vote and Handy's immortal "Beale Street Blues." But last week he was swept into oblivion by the rising tide of awakened Negroes and liberal whites, backed by the Committee of Seven—seven white citizens who dared to challenge the hitherto impregnable Crump machine.

WHAT THEY REMEMBERED

Playing their role in the cataclysmic change which tore out the old pages from the book of Tennessee's political history and inserted brand new ones, Negro citizens here remembered many things. Among the things remembered were:

The Columbia "Race Riots," when the Crump-made Governor's Highway Patrol massacred innocent Negro citizens.

That 16-year-old Fred Jackson went to the electric chair crying his innocence into the Crump-made Governor's ears.

The infamous Memphis "boss" system, wherein for years the police have systematically beaten, brow-beaten and hounded respectable Negro citizens into submission or flight. (Bob Church, nationally known Negro Republican leader, and Dr. J. B. Martin Sr., prominent in the sports and political world, both are no longer residents of this great Southern metropolis.)

That two cops—white of course, for Memphis has no Negro policemen—raped two Negro girls two years ago and were freed; that two more cops were recently caught red-handed taking a bribe from an humble ice and coal man. That a few weeks later, two policemen knocked one of Eli Blaine's eyes from its socket—Eli is a Negro—and that all are at liberty now.

That before Blaine's blood stopped running, Viola Moore, a Negro woman, was beaten into insensibility and lay in John Gaston Hospital for three weeks completely sightless, and that the policemen who did it were exonerated by Police Commissioner Joe Boyle.

That Boss Crump's hand-picked Mayor, James J. Pleasants, forbade the Freedom Train to stop in "Crump City," and later went on the air with abusive and offensive language.

That just a few weeks ago, when a group of respected Negro leaders went into the Mayor's office to seek Negro police officers so the brutality could be stopped, the Mayor offered them nothing, but tried to get them to blindly sign a political endorsement; that stooges, allegedly paid Baptist preachers and stoolpigeons were sent out among them to keep the white bosses "informed what the n——rs are thinking and doing."

That Negro school teachers had been called and told by two high school principals: "You better vote as Mr. Crump says, your job is at stake."

That residents of LeMoyne Gardens, Foote Homes, Dixie, had reportedly been told that if they didn't vote for Mr. Crump they would have to move out of the Federal projects.

Sat 8-14-48

FBI ON HAND

Now the reign of fear is over. U. S. Attorney General Tom C. Clark covered Memphis with FBI agents and maybe for the first time votes were counted properly and Crump lost 30,000 people in Memphis. Boss Crump, 78 years old, had made and unmade Governors, Mayors, judges, Congressmen and ruled the Legislature as he would a child.

Brilliant, young Estes Kefauver, Chattanooga Congressman, was nominated by a 50,000 majority for the U. S. Senate over Crump-backed Judge John A. Mitchell. Chancellor Gordon, veteran of both wars, swept the State on a ticket of "Democracy versus Dictatorship."

It was the death knell for the Crump machine and its domination. All Crump candidates were defeated with the sole exception of two seeking offices of extreme insignificance.

EDITOR REBUFFS CRUMPITES

With the campaign reaching its peak, the Negro group which saw Mayor Pleasants, seeking Negro policemen, made a sweeping repudiation of Crump candidates and with Editor L. O. Swingler refusing to allow newspaper publication of an endorsement favoring Mitchell and Governor McCord. It hinted what was to come.

34e

Perennial Lieut. George W. Lee was elected committeemen from Shelby County by the Republicans and battle lines were being tightened for the stiff campaign between the GOP and Democrats for the national election, with the GOP hopeful of carrying Tennessee for the first time in thirty years of Crump.

Sat 8-14-48

B. Carroll Reece, ex-chairman of the GOP National Committee, is the GOP Senatorial candidate, and Roy Acuff is the Republican choice for Governor in the vote war which is to come.

But "Boss" Crump is no more.

Minority Vote Helped Ruin 'Crump Machine'

34e Tenn.
Afro American
Sat 8-14-48

By JOHN JASPER

Boss E. H. Crump, 78, the "Red Snapper" of Memphis who got his power through control of the colored vote originally and who used it violently to eject anybody who crossed his path, is no more.

Like most of the "bosses" who ave gone down in the recent ears, he met his defeat last week t the hands of those same persons hom he trampled underfoot successfully for more than 30 years.

This election marked the first efeat of the Dixiecrats who are bitterly opposed to President ruman's civil rights program.

The tactics which Crump used put his men in office, from the overnor on down, boomeranged, d as a result neither of his candidates for Senator or Governor offered any serious competition.

Crump's power was broken as colored voters joined liberal whites to lift the "iron curtain of fear."

Sat 8-14-48

Strongly Against Truman

Some 400,000 voters flocked to the polls to defeat Governor Jim McCord seeking his third term with the backing of Crump, a leading Dixiecrat, who refused even to attend the Democratic National Convention because of his violent opposition to President Truman's civil rights program.

Judge John A. Mitchell ran a sorry third and Senator Tom Stewart, who left the campaign to return to Washington so he might stand guard against the advance of democracy and liberty, was left to heal his defeat wounds in retirement.

Sat 8-14-48

Liberal Kefauver Blasted

Brilliant young Estes Kefauver, Chattanooga Congressman, was nominated by a 50,000 majority for the Senate, while Chancellor Gordon Browning, 59, World War I and II veteran, swept the gubernatorial election on a ticket, "Democracy vs. Dictatorship."

Kefauver polled 152,489 votes to Mitchell's 78,596 and Stewart's 117,787.

Ads Fail to Get Results

In full page ads in Tennessee newspapers, Crump stressed the fact that Representative Kefauver had voted consistently with New York's ALP Representative, Vito Marcantonio.

Because the people wanted to regain their individuality and because they considered Kefauver a man interested in the welfare of the people, they gave him the Democratic nomination for the Senate.

Supported by both the AFL and CIO, Representative Kefauver has a good liberal record. Among other things, he has voted for the antilynching bill.

Almost as personal a defeat was that given Crump in the race for the Governorship. Browning had served one term as Governor under Crump, and then broke with him.

Campaigning on a "down with one-man rule" slogan, he polled 214,465 votes to 160,142 for the incumbent, Governor McCord, Crump's choice.

Voters Remember

Colored voters remembered the Columbia, Tenn., "race massacre" when the Governor's highway patrol shot innocent citizens. They remembered this time that 16-year-old Fred Jackson went to the electric chair crying in the Governor's ears his innocence.

They remembered the boss system where for years the police have systematically beaten, browbeaten, bribed, harrowed, criminally attacked colored girls and hounded respectable citizens into submission and flight.

They remembered that two policemen attacked two colored girls two years ago, and were freed; that two more were recently caught redhanded taking a bribe from a humble ice and coal man; later, two others knocked Eli Blaine's eye out and all are at liberty now and;

More Terror

They recalled that before Blaine's blood stopped running, Mrs. Viola Moore was beaten into insensibility. For three weeks she lay in John Gaston Hospital sightless. The police were exonerated by Police Commissioner Joe Boyle.

The voters had not forgotten that Crump's hand-picked Mayor James J. Pleasants forbade the Freedom Train to stop in "Crump City."

They remembered that when a group went to the mayor's office to seek colored police he offered them nothing.

Nor did they forget the paid Baptist preacher stooges and stool pigeons sent out among them to keep us informed "what the colored people are thinking and doing."

Teachers, Tenants Intimidated

Colored teachers resented being told by two high school principals, "You better vote as Mr. Crump says; your job is at stake." Residents of Le Moyne Gardens, Foote Homes, Dixie resented being told, that "if they didn't vote for Crump they would have to move out of the Federal projects."

There is more rejoicing in Memphis. Everywhere are seen smiling faces of people who have broken the spell of fear—it's like Joe Louis winning a prize fight.

U. S. Attorney General Tom Clark covered Memphis with FBI agents and maybe for the first time votes were counted and Crump lost. Some 30,000 people in Memphis told him he was through being their boss.

Iron Hand Rule

Crump made and unmade governors, mayors, judges, congressmen; ruled the Legislature as he would a child, now the people have unmade him. He announced he was going away for a rest.

In two years, the city government, the last loitering semblance of his power, must face an electoral which no longer fears him.

Aged and Feeble Now

Old Crump is so aged and feeble now that he does not get down to work so early as he used to do.

Some days he does not get down at all and the sight of the feeble old man trying to run the City of Memphis has emboldened newspapers and politicians to a startling revolt.

Not only are white people fighting Crump in the November elections, but colored people too are holding meetings and organizing and registering voters.

"A Benevolent Despot"

Crump is known as a benevolent despot.

Nobody believes him personally crooked, but everybody believes that during the election time the ballot boxes are stuffed and the ballots are counted or not counted as Crump wishes.

They say that his followers import colored and white people from adjoining States to vote regularly on election day, and that they actually vote the names on cemeteries.

There is nothing in the book of fraudulent elections that they haven't attributed to the "Crump machine."

Will Send Carload of Melons

Crump is the kind of city boss who gives colored people good schools, jim-crow parks, playgrounds, "likes to see them happy;" will send them a carload of watermelons for a picnic, pay for them out of his own pocket.

But the next day, he'll call in the colored leaders and tell them, "You are not going to have any Republican meetings in this city nor in this State, and if you do, you will be chased out of town."

His enemies say he gives checks of $100 or $200 to churches when they have anniversaries and rallies, that he looks on quietly while some colored bosses run the numbers game and deal in dope.

Colored Druggist Forced to Leave

However, Dr. J. B. Martin (he owns Chicago American Giants) and B. B. Martin (he owns the Memphis team) wanted to hold a meeting for Wendell Willkie in violation to Crump's orders; they found scores of police around the place of assembly.

Other police around his drug store searched and inconvenienced everybody who came in and went out. Dr. Martin had to leave Memphis and is now in Chicago where he holds a city position.

In the old days of Bob Church (his grandfather was a steamboat captain and owned a couple of million dollars worth of real estate in Memphis) was Republican boss.

When a Republican was in the White House, Mr. Church named the postmasters and Federal judges. When the Democrats won, Crump took over. Mr. Church is now in New York.

7/24/48

Hill Starts Political Career With $1,938

Black Dispatch

RICHMOND, Va. — (ANP) — It took just $1,938.51 to start Oliver W. Hill, Negro member of this city's new nine-member council, on a political career that may make history again for his race in Virginia.

34e Okla.

Only $75 of this money was from the attorney's personal funds. The remaining $1,865.51 was spent by the Oliver W. Hill campaign committee, it was reported by the councilman. Sat.

Mr. Hill's expense account was itemized as follows: printing, $460.33; newspaper advertising, $277.23; radio advertising, $316.22; postage, $296.50; clerical help, distribution of bumper cards and handbills, $155.51; operation of sound truck, $249.45; office supplies, $69.92; telephone, $15.46; rent and janitorial service, $50 and miscellaneous, $47.89.

AY G. HAYDEN

No Bar—But Negroes Don't Vote

Atlanta Constitution

RICHMOND, Va.—Oliver W. Hill, Richmond City Councilman and one of the very few popularly elected Negro officials south of the Mason and Dixon Line, today declared that there is very little bar to Negro voting in Virginia, either in law or practice, that does not apply equally to white persons.

34e

"In Richmond and other Virginia cities," Hill said, "there not only is no discrimination against Negroes in registration or voting but the registrars are very co-operative. For the most part, the same is true of Virginia's rural counties. So far as I have observed, the idea that Negroes in this State are afraid to register or vote is entirely unfounded."

Atlanta, Georgia

"Then why," I asked Hill, "do not Virginia Negroes vote more numerously?"

"For exactly the same reason white people in the South do not vote in proportion comparable with Northern States," he replied. "In Virginia, the poll tax—particularly the requirement that it be paid six months in advance of election with a three-year penalty for delinquency—is a serious obstacle to voting. But the really big reason for low Southern voting among both whites and Negroes is the attitude of 'what's the use? It will be the same anyhow.'

"In general elections this attitude of mind can be attributed to long prevalence of the one-party system. In the Virginia Democratic Primary it is due to the long-time dominance of a party machine, leading to a conviction that the machine nominees always win."

Sat-10-9-48

As candidate for councilman, running at large in Richmond, Hill received approximately 9,000 votes of which about 6,500 were cast by Negroes and 2,500 by white citizens. He was the ninth and last winner in a field of 29 aspirants.

Poll Tax

The poll tax in Virginia is $1.50 a year, cumulative for delinquency up to three years, plus interest and penalties which makes the maximum charge a little over $5.

The poll tax must be paid at least six months before election, a provision which absolutely precludes any material rush of new voters since the civil rights fracas at the Democratic National Convention.

Citizens who pay real estate taxes receive their poll tax bill and presumably pay it as part of their general tax assessment. Poorer persons, either white or colored, not receiving a mailed tax bill, have to remember to pay their poll tax and this six months ahead of election when politics may be far from their thoughts.

Bullet Vote

Republican and Democratic leaders agree that Negroes in Virginia, so far as they participate in the November election, will go overwhelmingly in favor of President Truman. They are equally agreed, however, that the Negro vote is not likely to be large enough to prove decisive in the State.

The Richmond Negroes have developed a marked tendency to "bullet voting"—that is, the selection of a particular candidate, especially a member of their own race, and voting for him alone.

Illustrating their disinclination to concentrate on a white candidate, James E. Gardner entered as a civil rights nominee for Congress in the Democratic primary in the Richmond district, with the reported backing of Councilman Hill and other prominent Negro leaders. He was overwhelmingly beaten by the incumbent Democratic Congressman, J. Vaughn Gary, a bitter opponent of the Truman civil rights program. There was little visible evidence of converted Negro voting against Gary.

In marked contrast, bloc voting by Negroes elected one of their race as Supervisor in Nansemond, one of the most heavily Democratic rural counties of Virginia.

With only 14 percent of its population and 22 percent of its eligibles voting, Virginia in 1944 was sixth from the bottom, among the 48 States, in election participation. It ranked higher in this respect than Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina, but it was well behind Louisiana, Tennessee, Texas and Florida.

Sat-10-9-48

West Virginia and Utah led the nation in voting participation with 83 percent of their eligibles at the polls in the 1944 presidential election. Following at the head of the list were Illinois and South Dakota, 82 percent, and Indiana, 81 percent.

34e(1) 1948

Alabama

Off The Bench

Advertiser

By JUDGE WALTER B. JONES

Poll Tax Payment

Montgomery, Ala.

THERE are only 24 days left now in which a citizen may pay his poll tax so that he can be qualified as a voter.

Our Alabama constitution says that to entitle a person to vote in the state he must have paid, on or before the first day of February next preceding the date of the election at which he offers to vote all poll taxes due from him. Alabama Constitution, Sec. 178.

JONES

A later section of the Constitution (194) says that the poll tax required to be paid is one dollar and fifty cents ($1.50) a year by each inhabitant of the state over the age of 21 years and under the age of 45 years, unless such person is exempted by law.

This poll tax of $1.50 becomes due and payable on the first day of October in each year. It becomes delinquent on the first day of the next succeeding February.

The poll tax must be paid by each inhabitant of the state over the age of 21 years and under the age of 45 years, unless he is exempted by law from the payment of the tax.

Our Supreme Court has declared the rules to go by as to when a person becomes of age, or passes the age of 45 years, and the rules are these:

One who has become 21 years of age before the first day of October of any year is subject to the poll tax due on that day.

One who becomes 21 years of age after the first day of October of any year is not subject to the poll tax on that day, his poll tax being due on the first day of the next October.

One who becomes 45 years of age before the first day of October of any year is not subject to the poll tax due on that day.

One who becomes 45 years of age after the first day of October of any year is subject to the poll tax on that day.

The poll tax of $1.50 for each year must be paid in the county in which the person votes and legally resides at the time the tax is due. Payment of the tax in another county is unauthorized and without effect.

IT SHOULD be remembered that the poll tax must be paid for each and every year between the ages of 21 and 45 years. In other words, the poll tax is cumulative, and if you fail to pay it one year, then you must take it up the following year. For example, if a person of poll tax age failed to pay his poll tax for five years, then, if he desired to vote, he would have to pay these five years at $1.50 per year, which would be $7.50, and, in addition, pay $1.50 on or before the first day of February preceding the date of the election at which he offers to vote.

Stating the matter very generally, and not attempting to go into all the details, persons who have honorably served in the military, naval or air service of the United States between Jan. 1, 1917, and Nov. 11, 1918, or between Sept. 16, 1940, and Dec. 8, 1941, or who may serve in future wars are exempted by the state constitution from the payment of the poll tax upon obtaining a certificate from the probate judge. The law also exempts from the payment of the poll tax all persons permanently and totally disabled from following a gainful occupation and whose taxable property does not exceed $500. Proof of the claimed disability must be made to the probate judge of the citizen's home county.

The law does not permit any fee to be collected or charged when the poll tax is paid. No legal process can be issued to require a person to pay the tax. Payment of the poll tax is entirely voluntary. You don't have to pay it unless you want to, but if the poll tax is not paid as required by law by persons of poll tax age and who are not exempt, then the person can not vote. Mon 1-5-48

NOW is a good time to go by the office of your county tax collector and pay whatever poll taxes may be due from you. A good many people wait until the last day to make payment, and as a result the courthouse corridors are thronged with long lines of people. The tax collector and his assistants are but human after all and they can only wait on so many people during the day, and it's not much fun standing in line an hour or two to pay a poll tax which could have been paid from Oct. 1 on. Advertiser

Your public servants and friends in the tax collectors' offices in Alabama's 67 counties will appreciate it if you will now make your way to their offices and pay whatever poll taxes you owe. It will enable them to serve you better and more promptly, and you won't have to stand in line as you will have to do if you wait until the last day. Montgomery, Ala

Every dollar that is paid for poll taxes goes to educate Alabama's boys and girls, to help them become better and more useful citizens. I don't have the exact figures at hand but I expect close to 200,000 civic minded citizens to pay their annual poll taxes. I recall that in 1939 nearly half a million dollars went to education from the poll tax collections, and the various counties of the state to get many thousands of dollars for their educational expenses from the poll tax fund.

The payment of $1.50 a year is not an unreasonable requirement to vote. It's less than half a cent a day, less than the price of thirty soft drinks, less than the cost of a few packages of cigarets, and less than the price of a good necktie.

If you want to vote, and are between the ages of 21 and 45 years, and have no exemption, then go to the county tax collector's office today and pay whatever poll taxes are due from you. You will help the cause of public education, qualify yourself to vote, and be a better citizen.

Poll Tax Should Remain, Says Woman-

The News

Editor's Note: The man on the street is always being asked what he thinks about thus and so. We want too know what the "woman in the home" is thinking, too. Once a week; our roving reporter will knock on doors in different neighborhoods and give them a chance to speak their minds.

Birmingham Ala.

BY MARY WOLFORD
News Staff Writer 3-9-48

Tues.

Alabama's poll tax law should not be abolished.

East side, west side, Birmingham homemakers agree on this point. Only one of the 14 interviewed Monday morning thought the poll tax requirement should be repealed.

This one was Mrs. D. H. Greer, of West End. She feels the poll tax law is unfair, according to a strict interpretation of the constitution. Therefore, it should be repealed. Poor Mrs. Greer had been wrestling with the furnace. She admitted what she was thinking about it couldn't be printed.

Her neighbor, Mrs. B. R. Rogers thinks the poll tax system is best for all. So does Miss Mary W. Barnes who believes the poll tax law should be continued to benefit the schools of the state.

* * *

MRS. W. D. STEAD was just back from the W. S. C. S. meeting in Orlando, Fla. Her enthusiasm for Bok Tower, Cypress Gardens, the gorgeous azaleas and beautiful live oaks would do credit to Orlando's Chamber of Commerce. 3-9-48

Mrs. Stead is not opposed to poll tax for two reasons. First, she feels there should be some standards for voters to meet. Second, she thinks the tax goes to a good cause. For the privilege of voting, she feels $1.50 is little enough to pay. The News

But if the poll tax should be abolished, Mrs. Stead feels the state, not the federal government, should do it. She believes in states' rights. Negligence, not poll tax, keeps many people from voting, according to Mrs. Stead.

* * *

IT'S HARD TO BELIEVE Mrs. George A. Archer is old enough to have a 10-year-old great-granddaughter, but she has her picture to prove it. Mrs. Archer thinks the money from poll tax is put to good use, so she sees no reason for the tax to be abolished. The fee is a small price to pay for a voice in the government. The News

When you call on Mrs. W. H. Collins, you're greeted by a dog and a cat, almost identical in color. "Rusty," the part-Persian cat, is almost as big as "Honey," the cocker spaniel. "Rusty' will soon be 7 years old. He enjoys the distinction of being the oldest cat in the neighborhood. Birmingham, Ala

Mrs. Collins does not think poll tax should be abolished. But, she feels the cumulative feature should be removed. Payment of two or three years back taxes should be sufficient to regain ones vote.

* * * 3-9-48

THE LAST PERSON I called on in West End was Miss Mary Harlan. Monday was the first day she'd been allowed downstairs since a recent illness. Tues

Mary, who just turned 21 last month, hasn't voted yet. If the poll tax issue should come to a vote, she'd veto its repeal. She thinks the poll tax system should be retained. 3-9-48

Across town, in East Lake, Mrs. Roy Hitchcock favors poll tax payments. In her opinion, anyone who is interested in the government will pay the tax and should be allowed to vote. Mrs. J. T. Cage agrees.

Mrs. Walter Lovell was out in her yard. She's publicity chairman for the flower show the East End Council of Clubs is having in April. She is trying to decide that she'll have blooming then. She doesn't think poll tax should be abolished.

Neither does her next-door neighbor, Mrs. Emma Bolin, who was out in the back yard hanging up clothes. She feels the tax is a small amount to pay in return for voting.

* * *

A SUBSCRIBER to The News since 1904, Mrs. Bolin has always kept up with what's going on in the world. The bed of fragrant narcissus in her yard proves what the neighbors had said. Mrs. Bolin's garden is one of the prettiest in the block. And she does all the work in it herself.

"Anybody with any get-up and go-about them can find $1.50 to pay to vote," says Mrs. E. M. Hayes. Tues. 3-9-48

Mrs. Hayes, a dictaphone operator, moved her office from town to her home and has been delighted with the change. She has a special feeling for her house. She's lived in it since she was a girl.

* * *

MRS. M. C. COURTNEY had just come in the house from the back yard, where she was putting out some new plants. Her husband was there to give her some gardening advice. But her opinion was her own. She thinks poll tax should be continued. The News

Mrs. Bud Newman, next door, was looking over the remains of her "thrift" border. She'd decided she couldn't have three boys, two dogs and flowers, too. She's not worrying over flowers any more. Mrs. Newman, a native of Indiana, thinks the poll tax law should be continued as it is now. 3-9-48

We talked as she swept the walk and looked after one of her boys, Paul. As much as I'd like to see her again, I'm afraid I won't. Tues.

As soon as they can find a house, Mr. and Mrs. Newman are taking their children and their dogs to a small town. They want a place where dogs and boys can romp and play without bothering anyone's garden. 3-9-48

For The Poll Tax

The News

Ala. 34e(1)

To the Editor of The News:

The poll tax is only $1.50 a year and every cent of it goes to the schools. I doubt if this fact is known to many of those who make such a fuss about the poll tax. It is inconceivable that $1.50 a year could disfranchise anyone who genuinely desires to vote. A pint of cheap whisky costs more than $1.50, but this has not stopped drinking. A pair of cheap shoes costs five times the amount, yet no one goes barefoot. If you smoke one pack a day, your cigarets cost $76.65 a year. That is more than 50 times the amount of the poll tax. The $1.50 goes for education. the $76.65 goes up in smoke. The one-pack-a-day smoker who allows $1.50 to disfranchise him is more than 50 times more interested in smoke than in education. Such a man or woman is not fit for citizenship. Birmingham, Ala.

Abolition of the poll tax would deprive our schools of a source of revenue which they cannot afford to lose, and it would deprive some of our citizens of their only opportunity to contribute directly to education. I feel sure that no citizen, worthy of the name, would be willing to give up the privilege of investing $1.50 a year in the future citizenship of his state. 3-15-48 Mon

Our poll tax is a good tax and goes to a good cause. It is a progressive and enlightened measure calculated to promote better citizenship. It should be copied by every state in the Union. Certainly there must always be some restriction on voting. There could be no greater evil in a democracy than universal suffrage. Mon. 3-15-48

The poll tax is abundantly justified by its fruits. As a shining example, look at our splendid city government—how clean, how efficient, how able. There are no dark corners in our City Hall. The sunlight of publicity is welcome in every department, for there is nothing hidden. How inspiring it is to see democracy at its best here in our beloved city. Contrast this happy condition with that of cities in the North where there is no poll tax and where voting is almost unrestricted. Many of those cities are cesspools of vice and corruption, controlled by political racketeers and gangsters. Graft takes its cut from every public dollar. Criminals are shielded because they serve the political machine, and honest men are framed for opposing it. But you could vote up there without paying a poll tax.

HILARY HERBERT VAUGHAN.

8244 Fourth Avenue, South.

Equality At The Polls

Times

To the Editor of The News: 34e(1)

The Alabama poll tax law should be repealed. Our federal constitution declares we shall have freedom of speech. Our state law denies that. A man must buy the privilege to speak his sentiments at the polls on election day. The poll tax law disallows "equal rights to all and special favors to none" because of the fact that a poor man who is unable to feed his family and also buy a tax receipt has neither the right nor the privilege to vote. Birmingham, Ala

The law should be repealed because its purpose was and is to disfranchise the Negro. Our government has decreed that the Negro shall be a free man. We owe him at least the privilege of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." We owe him any and all things we can reasonably do to help him to a higher standard of living and a higher plain of morals, and no man trying to reach these destinies should be disallowed to vote. 2-16-48

However, whether Alabama ever allows the Negro to vote, there is at least a probability that the Alabama Negro will vote at some time in the future, regardless of Alabama's efforts to keep him from voting.

If Alabama people could feel assured that the Negro would vote the Democratic ticket, they would be only too glad for him to vote. So now let us, for sake of argument, just consider that the Negro is voting and "what Alabama Democrats can do to win his vote."

Buffalo, Mo. E. J. BERRY.

34e(1) 1948

Alabama (Harrington Suit)

Labor Leader Sues Against Ala. Vote Law

34e(1) Ala.

The Express

Dallas, Texas

MOBILE, Ala. — (ANP) — Mobile labor leader last week filed suit in which he charged that Alabama's voter registration laws violate the provisions of the 14th amendment of the constitution.

The plaintiff is W. N. Harrington business agent of the AFL Painters local. He instituted his action Jan 26 before the Mobile County Circuit court. He charged that existing laws restricting registration period violated the amendment in that he did "not gaurantee to citizens the right to register as electors at al times".

Sat. 2-7-48

Mr. Harrington challenged the acts fixing the registration period as the 10-day period beginning the third Monday of January of even numbered years; a law fixing the registration period in Mobile county as a four-month period October February of each year, and an ac fixing registration periods for veterans.

34e(1) 1948

Anti-Poll Tax Bill

Jennings Perry

34e(1)

On the Barrel Head

PM New York, N.Y.

The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax is giving a dinner at the Statler in Washington on the 24th in honor of George H. Bender, Congressman-at-large from Ohio. The price is $10 a plate, the guests can wear anything the law allows, and the honor is deserved.

Perry

Rep. Bender is the sponsor of H.R. 29, the free suffrage bill, also known as the anti-poll tax bill, which passed the House in the first part of this session. Lately, he has been writing to a lot of people asking them to urge their Senators to press for action on the bill and to break any filibuster that may develop against it. Thurs. 2-12-48

In his letter he says:

"We have struggled for freedom in the United States since the days of the founding fathers. That freedom is based on the right of every American to be governed by those he chooses through a free ballot. Any impairment of that right in any part of the union is a danger to the liberties of all. Yet ten million of our citizens in seven Southern states are denied the right of the franchise by the poll tax. . . ."

All that is as right as rain, and appropriate. The incongruous thing is that Rep. Bender should feel it necessary to write to the people to urge their Senators to pass the bill.

Rep. Bender is a Republican. The Republican Party is pledged by its platform to enact this legislation. The majority of the members of the Senate are Republican. The rest of the Senators are Democrats. The Democrats also are pledged by their platform to enact this legislation.

Who, one asks, is kidding whom? PM New York, N.Y.

Certainly not Rep. Bender, he is in earnest. But that there should be any question at all about the passage of the bill, to which both parties are pledged, points up a deceit in our political system capable of turning the stomach of honest men. For it is apparent that if the pledges of the parties are worth nothing, the whole people is being kidded, and the two-party system is as rotten as third-party advocates charge.

I think that what happens to this bill at this session will be, under the circumstances, an acid test of the moral fiber of the Republican and Democratic parties. The issue in the bill is freedom, it is the right of all citizens to choose their representatives through a free ballot. But the issue in what happens to the bill is whether the old parties are worth what it costs to feed them. Thurs. 2-12-48

Both issues are on the barrel head, now. The people do not have to wait to see what stand will be taken on the suffrage at the coming conventions. The stand was taken at the conventions four years ago, was written into the platforms four years ago. This is the pay-off time. The Senators in actual session have only to carry out the promises already given by their parties to strike the dark shadow of the poll tax from the next Federal elections. If there is any occasion for another free suffrage plank in this year's platforms, it will be because the free suffrage plank in the 1944 platforms of both parties will have been proved a fraud.

The only reason for a third party in the United States is to get something done that greatly needs doing that cannot be done any other way. That is the only reason for a second party—or a fourth or a fifth. It is argued that to start a new party is futile because it will have small chance at the polls. However, it also is futile to stay with old parties whose word is no good. New York, N.Y.

Rep. Bender ought not to have to beg for his bill. Its passage should be assured. But if his bill should fail, both old parties will stand convicted of contemptible breach of trust.

CIO's Carey Attacks Poll Tax As 'Dollar Sign' On Voting Right

The News, Birmingham, Ala.

Thurs. 3-25-48

WASHINGTON, March 25—(AP)—The CIO's James B. Carey today attacked the poll tax as a "dollar sign" pinned to the right to vote.

Carey, in a statement, told the Senate rules committee that the citizen of a state where the poll tax is a requirement for voting in federal elections can be deprived of his voting rights "because of his poverty."

34e(1)

The committee is considering a House-approved bill which would abolish the poll tax in states which have it: Mississippi, Tennessee, South Carolina, Alabama, Virginia, Texas, Arkansas and New Hampshire.

This was the last of four days of hearings on the bill.

* * *

CAREY, CIO SECRETARY-TREASURER, challenged arguments of opponents that the bill would be unconstitutional.

He said the Senate judiciary committee in 1942 decided not only that it was constitutional, but that the poll tax itself was "a clog on the ballot and an unconstitutional discrimination between rightful voters." The News

The seven states' poll tax laws, Carey said, were enacted "with the avowed intention and specific purpose of restricting large numbers of 'poor whites' and Negro citizens in the exercise of their right to vote."

He said the government is responsible for the protection of its citizens' dignity and integrity, and added: Birmingham, Ala.

"Government will be fulfilling this high responsibility by removing the dollar sign off the right to vote." 3-25-48

U. S. Amendment Held Necessary To End Poll Tax

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Tues. 3-23-48

Washington, March 22 (AP)—Alabama's attorney general insisted today that the only legal way to abolish the poll tax by federal action is to amend the Constitution.

Albert A. Carmichael led off the Southern opposition to anti-poll-tax legislation before the Senate Rules Committee. He said attempts to wipe out the poll tax by mere Congressional action are unconstitutional.

Alabama charges a $1.50 poll tax. Carmichael said that "irrespective of the merits or demerits . . . when and if this poll tax is removed, it should be done in the manner provided by law . . . by the Legislature of the State . . . or an mmendment to the Constitution." 3-23-48

The bill under consideration was approved by the House and reported favorably by a Senate rules subcommittee.

Bender said, "has been put to some strange uses from time to time, but never one more ridiculous than this. Thurs. 3-25-48

"The right of all the people to a free ballot is certainly a bedrock principle of American democracy." 34e(1)

Author Of Bill To Kill Poll Tax Blasts Measure

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

34e(1)

Thurs. 3-25-48

WASHINGTON, March 24.—(AP)—The poll tax serves only to protect "political machines" against the vote of the people, Rep. Bender (R), Ohio said Wednesday.

The author of the House anti-poll tax bill told the Senate rules committee that officials who have never faced a free election hate this measure.

"They hate it the way the devil hates holy water," he said.

Bender and others testified in support of the bill to abolish poll tax payment as a voting requirement in elections of federal officers.

The hearing will end Thursday with more testimony by the bill's backers. Thurs. 3-25-48

Views of opponents, including Governor Tuck of Virginia and Rep. Almond (D), Virginia who appeared Tuesday came in for attack Wednesday.

Bender said Tuck testified "the poll tax is a defense against Communism."

"The cry of Communism."

Dixie Wants To Hear About Poll Taxes

PM New York, N.Y.

34e(1)

Thurs. 3-11-48

By Associated Press

WASHINGTON

Dixie won a skirmish in the civil rights fight yesterday when the Senate Rules Committee agreed to hold public hearings on anti-poll tax legislation.

Previously, a three-man subcommittee had approved the bill without hearings. It said the facts were so well known there was no reason to argue.

Sen. John C. Stennis (D., Miss.) protested at a closed-door session of the committee, and Chairman C. Wayland Brooks (R., Ill.) scheduled a four-day hearing.

Brooks said the full Committee will hold the hearing here, probably starting a week from next Monday.

Southern governors backed Stennis in his protest. He said the hearings should be held in the seven Southern states which have poll taxes—Texas, Virginia, Mississippi, Arkansas, South Carolina, Alabama, and Tennessee. 3-11-48

The poll tax measure is one of the key points in President Truman's civil rights program.

Of all the Truman civil-rights proposals, the poll-tax-abolition bill seems least emotional and hardest to oppose. Only seven states retain such taxes. It is not really a racial issue, for the tax is directed as much against poor whites as Negroes. The tax has no economic value. It is indefensible in a nation that criticizes one-party Russia. If Republicans are sincere, they should be able to put through the repealer, even though the cumbersome Senate cloture procedure has been invoked only four times in thirty-one years.

New Republic New York, N.Y. Mon. 3-15-48

34e(1)

New Republic New York, N.Y. Mon. 3-15-48

Georgia repealed its own poll tax and the number of voters almost tripled between congressional elections, four years apart. The seven poll-tax states have 69 Representatives, whose election brought forth only 1.2 million votes in 1946. This is less than the total votes cast in one Ohio seat for congressman-at-large. GOP good faith will be tested by whether it really pushes this issue to a conclusion in the Senate.

ACTION DEFERRED ON POLL TAX BAN

The Times

34e(1)

Senate Rules Committee Votes 5 to 2 for Holding Public Hearings on Bill

New York, N.Y.

Thurs 3-11-48

By SAMUEL A. TOWER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 10—Southern Senators gained a respite in their battle against civil rights legislation today when the Senate Rules Committee agreed to their demands and deferred action on an anti-poll tax bill until public hearings were held.

The measure, already passed by the House in this Congress, had received unanimous approval almost two weeks ago from a subcommittee of two Republicans and one northern Democrat. The subcommittee had held no hearings on the issue, on the ground that arguments pro and con had been thoroughly covered in the many previous bills proposed in Congress.

The poll tax ban was passed by the House in the three previous Congresses, only to be stymied in the Senate.

Vote for Delay Is 5 to 2

Times

The motion to conduct the public hearings was offered by Senator William F. Knowland, Republican, of California, and carried by a bi-partisan vote of 5 to 2 after Senator John C. Stennis, Democrat, of Mississippi and the committee's only Southerner, had entered a vigorous brief in behalf of the "time-honored" senatorial custom that allowed both sides to be heard on major legislation. 3-11-48

Senator Stennis was armed with the support of twenty other Senators from the South and the Governors and Attorneys General of the seven poll-tax states in his arguments for delay in virtually certain committee approval of the measure, a key point in the President's civil rights program.

The Mississippian acknowledged, however, that his group had formulated definite plans to deliver full-dress speeches, starting tomorrow, questioning the constitutionality of the poll tax elimination, if the committee had dispensed with hearings and approved the bill at todays session.

"The Only Forum Left Open"

The Times

Disclaiming any organized filibuster, Senator Stennis maintained that the group would have been forced to bring the constitutional issue to the floor of the Senate "because it would have been the only forum left open to us." He conceded that the speeches would have impaired efforts in the Senate to bring speedy action on the European Recovery Program.

In other quarters it was pointed out that the leadership of the Republican Congressional majority had manifested responsiveness to a policy of keeping alive as long as possible the "family fight" within the Democratic party over civil rights questions.

The following Senators, in addition to the sponsor, supported the motion to defer action: Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., Republican, of Massachusetts, and Theodore F. Green of Rhode Island, Carl Hayden of Arizona and John Stennis, Democrats. New York, N.Y.

The opposition was represented by Senators William E. Jenner of Indiana, the subcommittee chairman, and Irving M. Ives of New York, both Republicans, with the support of some members present but not voting. Thurs.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People protested today to Senator Alexander Wiley, Repulican, of Wisconsin, chairman of a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, against the brevity of hearings set by the subcommittee for consideration of legislation to permit fifteen Southern States to set up a joint system of regional schools. 3-11-48

ANTI-POLL-TAX BILL IS STAMPED 'RED'

34e(1)

Virginians, Led by Governor, Also Call It Unconstitutional, Violating States' Rights

New York, N.Y.
Wed 3-24-48

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 23—A parade of legislators and officials from Southern States filed before the Senate Rules Committee today to denounce a pending anti-poll tax measure as unconstitutional and an invasion of state's rights.

Gov. William M. Tuck of Virginia, flanked by Senators Harry F. Byrd and A. Willis Robertson, said that the "absolutely unconstitutional" proposal was first advanced in his state by the Communist party, then the Republicans, and "now a number of Democrats have taken it up."

In addition to maintaining that the measure, already passed by the House, dealt solely with a state rather than a Federal matter, the Governor held that it would break down state's rights, "one of the bulwarks against Communism now running rampant in Europe."

"Communism can best be opposed by preservation of the rights of the forty-eight states," he insisted.

Centralization of Federal authority was in line with the Communistic pattern, he added.

The Governor, from one of the seven states still maintaining poll tax payment as a voting requirement, stressed that without Federal interference the Virginia Assembly itself had approved repeal of the requirement. The question would be submitted to the voters for ratification next year.

Virginia's Attorney General-elect, State Representative J. Lindsay Almond, followed the Governor and asserted: The Times

"The amalgamated wolf-pack confederacy of Communists, Left-wingers and ultra-radicals who seek, with disguised bitterness and effrontery, to ravish the honor and sovereign integrity of the Southern states are certainly strange and unsanitary bed-fellows for some of my colleagues." 3-24-48

Senate Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina struck a theme carried on by many of the other witnesses that "agitation" from Washington had continuously marred state efforts to repeal poll tax laws. New York, N.Y.

All the witnesses, ending two days of argument allotted to opponents of the measure, held out only two ways for eleminiation of the requirements: State action or a Constitutional amendment.

Federal Meddling With Poll Taxes Scored By Tuck

Columbia Record
Columbia, S.C.

WASHINGTON, March 23.—(UP)—Gov. William M. Tuck of Virginia said today that federal meddling with the poll tax might destroy bulwarks against Communism in the United States.

And he charged that some legislators were attempting to "destroy the constitution" by enacting President Truman's civil rights program.

Tuck told a Senate rules subcommittee that the states should retain the right to enact the poll tax as a voting qualification in federal elections. Tue. 3-23-48

"Federal legislation only serves to break down states' rights—one of the great bulwarks against Communism now running rampant in Europe," Tuck said.

He asked a hands-off policy by the federal government on the poll tax issue. He urged that Congress refrain from any action "destroying the constitution as some of you men up here appear to want to do."

The committee is hearing testimony from Southern political leaders who oppose abolishing the poll tax by federal action.

POLL TAX ATTACKED AS VOTE REQUISITE

New York Times
342(1)
New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 24—Proponents of the abolition of the poll tax as a voting requirement in certain states urged today before the Senate Rules Committee prompt action on a bill already passed by the House. Thurs.

The author of the bill, Representative George H. Bender, Republican, of Ohio, affirmed the right of Congress to abolish the requirement "as a restriction on the franchise in Federal elections" and "a denial of basic American rights." 3-25-48

"Hundreds of thousands of American citizens, Negro and white alike, will have an opportunity to cast a free ballot for the first time in their lives," he asserted.

In the most recent Congressional elections, he recalled, the total vote cast for all sixty-nine members of the House from the seven Southern poll tax states and their opponents was 1,244,000. He drew a contrast between this total and his vote of 1,281,000 as Congressman-at-Large in Ohio.

Others urging favorable action on the bill were Leslie S. Perry, representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mrs. Joy E. Morgan, in behalf of the Woman's Society of the Christian Service of the Methodist Church, and Irving Brant, author of books on the Constitution.

Stennis, Pepper Differ On Right Of Congress To Kill Poll Taxes

342(1)
The News
Birmingham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, March 26.—(AP)—Two Southern senators differed sharply yesterday on whether Congress can abolish poll taxes as they apply to federal elections. Fri.

Sen. Pepper (D., Fla.) said it can; Sen. Stennis (D., Miss.) said it can't—not under the constitution.

They argued this at a Senate rules committee hearing on a pending anti-poll tax bill. The bill, already passed by the House, says a person shall not be required to pay a poll tax in order to vote in an election for federal officials.

Such legislation has been recommended by President Truman as part of his controversial civil rights program. 3-26-48

TODAY WAS THE FINAL day of the Senate hearing on the bill. The argument came after Pepper urged the committee to approve the bill.

Pepper said Congress can abolish the poll tax, as applied to federal elections, as an "unreasonable" limitation on the right to vote.

"Congress has the right to tell the states what is a proper limitation on the right to vote," he said.

Stennis said "the right to vote is conferred by the constitution to qualified voters," with states having the right to fix qualifications for their voters.

"No," returned Pepper, "it is a right conferred by the constitution and while it may be limited by the state, a state may impose no limitation or qualification deemed unreasonable by Congress."

STENNIS ASKED Pepper if, under the bill, states could keep poll taxes as a requirement for voting in state elections. Fri

Pepper said most likely they could. The News

"Then," asked Stennis, "wouldn't we have two sets of qualifications for voters, where the constitution says there shall be only one?" Birmingham

Pepper said (1) he didn't agree with that interpretation of the constitution and (2) tha if two sets did exist, and a state imposed such a burden on its voters, it would be up to the state, not the federal government, to remove the conflicting set of qualifications. 3-26-48

Dixie Poll Tax States Labeled 'Whipping Boy' By Holland

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Wed. 3-24-48

WASHINGTON, March 23.—(AP)—Southern poll tax states are being made the "whipping boy" in the civil rights program, Senator Holland (D), Florida, protested Tuesday.

342(1)

Holland testified before the Senate rules committee against the pending anti-poll tax legislation.

He said President Truman's civil rights commission had noted in its report that New Mexico and Arizona, by state constitutions, prevent Indians from voting.

But, said Holland, while the report suggested that those two states take action to eliminate the discrimination against Indians, it recommended federal anti-poll tax legislation.

"I don't know why this distinction," Holland said. "It is as if the South is not entitled to the same handling. No attention has been given to New Mexico and Arizona but the seven Southern states have been made the whipping boy."

The pending bill, which has passed the House, states that payment of a poll tax shall not be required of a voter casting a ballot in a federal election.

Southerners concluded two days of opposition testimony Tuesday, arguing chiefly that the bill is unconstitutional; that the states are given the right under the constitution to fix the qualifications for its voters.

Those favoring the bill will be heard the next two days.

Senator O'Daniel (D), Texas, told the committee not one word in the constitution says Congress shall have power to establish voter qualifications but that the constitution does delegate that right to the states. 3-24-48

"If some politically minded federal office holders believe they can get a few more votes to get themselves re-elected to office by changing the poll tax requirements in some states," O'Daniel said, "They will be wanting to change other state laws to suit their whims and it will be an endless struggle for voting advantage."

He said Texas poll tax is $1.75 a year, goes to the state school fund and was voted "to stop mass voting of 'repeaters' at elections." The Advertiser

"There was trouble on election days," he said, "and I can assure you that our people, white or black, do not want to return to the conditions of those days." Montgomery, Ala.

Governor Tuck of Virginia said repeal of his state's poll tax law is pending but "most if not all of those who favor repeal feel that it is a state, not a federal matter." Wed. 3-24-48

Asked by Senator Green (D), Rhode Island, committee member, to define a voter qualification, Tuck said he stood on his statement that fixing of voter qualifications is a matter for states to determine.

5400 Negroes pay poll tax in Ark.

The Tribune

PINE BLUFF, Ark. — As a result of a campaign by local Negro groups, 5400 Negroes have paid their poll tax, the Jefferson County Tax Collectors office said today. More than one third of the poll tax receipts issued came from Negroes, the collector said.

Anti-Poll Tax Bill Wins Committee Approval

The Senate rules committee has approved, by a vote of seven to two, the bill to outlaw the poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections.

The bill has already passed the House and if it should now pass the Senate would become law. For President Truman included such a bill in his so-called civil rights program and could therefore be expected to sign it. The Columbia Record

Supporting the bill, which would make it unlawful for any state or municipality to require payment of any poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in any national election, were the five Republican members of the committee—Chairman C. Wayland Brooks of Illinois, Senators Irving M. Ives of New York, John W. Bricker of Ohio, Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska and Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa—and two of the four Democratic members—Senators Theodore F. Green of Rhode Island and Brien McMahon of Connecticut.

Two Democrats voted against it—Senators Carl Hayden of Arizona and John C. Stennis of Mississippi. Hayden told reporters that he objected to the method used to accomplish the purpose; he thought the change should be accomplished by constitutional amendment. Stennis opposed the bill on the grounds that it was unconstitutional.

The Columbia Record

Columbia S.C.

And it is unconstitutional. The constitution intended that the states should prescribe the qualifications for suffrage and at the time of the adoption of the constitution and since different qualifications were set up in different states, so that a person who might have voted for president in one state could not vote for president as a resident of another. And there is nothing strange about this when it is remembered that the United States is set up as a federal government of states. It isn't one big state, except in national matters.

Satur. 5-1-48

The Columbia Record

Only eight states still have the poll tax as a qualification for voting—most of them because it is written into their constitutions—and seven of these are Southern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. New Hampshire is the eighth. In many of the Southern states the poll tax was established first in the reconstruction constitutions borrowed from the North.

Columbia S.C.

Satur. 5-1-48

And something can be said for the poll tax as a qualification for voting. No person who contributes nothing to the upkeep of government—and the poll tax in South Carolina is little enough, a dollar a year—should expect to participate in government. In South Carolina, however, the poll tax applies only to males and there should be no differentiation between the sexes in voting qualifications. It fails of its purpose therefore and might as well be repealed.

It should be repealed by the state. And it would have been repealed, if the anti-poll tax bill had not been devised as a Republican vote catcher every election year, brought up to be debated and then shelved until the next election when, as was inevitable, it ran into a Southern filibuster.

This year the Republicans may have to do more than this; they may have to pass the bill. Satur. 5-1-48

No Poll Tax For GIs

The poll tax as a prerequisite for voting has received another blow in the decision of the Senate to outlaw the tax in federal elections as far as members of the armed forces are concerned. The provision, attached to the draft bill for making youths 19 to 25 eligible for service, must still be accepted by the House and by the president.

Birmingham News

Southern senators let this provision get through after they defeated six other attempts to attach civil rights amendments to the draft measure. Perhaps they were weary of the battle. Perhaps they did not see much importance to this provision.

Lifting poll tax requirements from members of the armed forces would reduce still further the number of voters who have to pay the tax in Alabama. Already, by state action, voters past 45 do not have to pay, and all veterans of World Wars I and II are exempt. Considerably fewer than half of the qualified voters in Alabama now have to pay poll tax. For example, although Jefferson County has an estimated 80,000 qualified voters, only 20,039 poll tax receipts were written by the tax collector's office during the paying period this year. Wed. 6-9-48

The poll tax at present is a minority tax in Alabama. The Senate action will make it even more so. As a barrier to irresponsible voting, which is now about its only pretext for existence, it operates on only a small percentage of the population of voting age.

If the draft measure goes through Congress with this provision affixed, it will mean setting up a confusing system of registration and voting. One standard of qualification will exist in federal elections and another in state elections. Whether this is constitutional is a question, but certainly there is a strong sentiment in Congress for testing that point. The pressure grows upon the states to institute poll tax reforms of their own.

REPUBLICANS FAIL TO KILL FILIBUSTER

The Times

Vandenberg Overrules Closure Petition—Southerners Beaten in Adjournment Attempt

New York, N.Y.

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2—Senate Republican leaders went down to defeat today in their first effort to break a Southern filibuster that is killing the anti-poll tax bill.

The more irreconcilable Southerners, excited by this victory over President Truman, the Northern Democrats and the Republicans generally on the so-called civil-rights issue, then made another sharp demonstration against the President. 8-3-48

Thirteen of the Southern old guard voted for a resolution, offered by Senator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, to adjourn the extra session of Congress on Wednesday, notwithstanding the absence of action on any of the eleven programs asked by Mr. Truman.

This maneuver was far from welcome to a minority of the Southerners, because they believed that later the Republicans would stress it in arguing that it was the Democrats, though Southern members of the party, who were the first to seek to deny to the President the action that he had sought.

The resolution was defeated, 58 to 13, with six Southerners, headed by Senator Tom Connally of Texas, refusing to go along on a move they believed would make the Republicans less vulnerable to the blame for Congressional inaction, which the President would seek to attribute to them. Every voting Republican, including Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, party leader on domestic affairs, was recorded against it. 8-3-48

Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, the Democratic Senate leader and President Truman's running mate, voted with the majority in rejecting the Johnston plan.

Altogether, twenty-one Democrats joined thirty-seven Republicans, among them Senator Irving M. Ives of New York, a close associate of Thomas E. Dewey, Republican Presidential candidate, in defeatin gthe resolution. Supporting it were the following Southern Democrats:

Senators Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, James O. Eastland of Mississippi, William C. Feazel of Louisiana, J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, Walter F. George of Georgia, Lister Hill of Alabama, Spessardo L. Holland of Florida, Mr. Johnston, Burnett R. Maybank of South Carolina, John L. McClellan of Arkansas, Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee, Richard B. Russell of Georgia and John C. Stennis of Mississippi.

GOP Policy Group Called

Earlier, the Republicans had tacitly left the field to the entrenched Southerners on the poll tax repealer and called a meeting of the policy committee for tomorrow to determine, as Senator Taft put it, "what to do next."

Senator Taft, in summoning this meeting, had intimated that the bill could not be passed at the present session, because the Southerners had the whole Senate procedure paralyzed. The Times

The one Southerner who favors poll tax repeal by direct action of Congress, Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, disputed this to reporters and asserted that he had a plan to circumvent the opposition if the Republicans "would listen."

The first Republican effort to silence the Southerners came according to a plan made last week but one day ahead of schedule.

When the Southern leader, Senator Russell, refused, as expected, to make any commitment as to when his colleagues would stop talking, the acting Republican floor leader, Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, filed a petition, signed by twenty-two Senators, to apply the so-called "gag," or cloture, rule. New York, N.Y.

Mr. Wherry tried to impose closure not on a "measure," which can be done under the Senate rules by two-thirds vote, but on a mere "motion" in this case it was a motion to take up a "measure," meaning the poll tax repealer. Tues

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, president of the Senate, reluctantly upheld the southerners, as has been forecast under the precedents, and overruled the closure petition. 8-3-48

He stressed that "as a Senator" he opposed the poll tax, and that "as a Senator" he believed that the Senate should amend its rule to avoid such situations as the present filibuster.

The Senate had the remedy, he recalled, in a proposed amendment that had lain inert for eighteen months, and for his part he hoped that the Senate would soon take that remedy.

Nevertheless. Mr. Vandenberg added, under the present position there was nothing that h could do, as "an officer of the Senate sworn to enforce its rules," except to hold with the Southerners.

"Even though agreeing with the protesting Republicans that the present state of Senate procedure was such that "a small, determined minority can always prevent the passage of anything," Senator Vandenberg said:

"The importance of preserving the integrity of Congressional procedure transcends in this critical hour of the world's history any possible transitory advantages which might come from rulings of a different character."

Senator Taft, going through what he knew would be another hopeless maneuver, then appealed the Vandenberg ruling to the floor. The majority was at once back in the same difficulty. It could overrule Senator Vandenberg and thus apply closure if only it could reach a vote. However, this matter, like the "motion" to take up the poll tax repealer, also was subject to limitless debate.

The Republicans and their Northern Democratic associates thus were in a worse case than before. Previously the Southerners had only the "motion," on which to filibuster. Now they had as well the pending appeal from the Vandenberg ruling. Tues.

Southern Victory Seen

Mr. Taft told his colleagues that there was "no way" that the rules could be changed to silence the Southerners, save by bringing about their "physical exhaustion."

Speaking later with reporters, the Senator said they could not be beaten down physically in a session so short as the present one. In the new Congress next January, he added, the Republicans would make such an amendment of the rules "the first order of business" and would "stay with it" until the Southerners were subdued.

Meanwhile, Mr. Taft described tomorrow's meeting of the policy committee as one to survey the whole Congressional situation. He indicated that the Republicans, faced with the strong likelihood of having to give up officially on the poll tax bill about Wednesday, would see what else could be done in the brief time remaining in this session. 8-3-48

Something in the way of credit control as a brake on inflation might be put on the agenda, he said, and perhaps a rather minor housing bill that would not raise fundamental issues.

He said, too, that the Republicans would be prepared to "consider" a tentative Southern offer of a "compromise" on the poll tax fight that really would be a Southern victory.

HOLD UP POLL TAX BILL

Northwest Enterprise 34P(1)

5-19-48

WASHINGTON. (ANP.---The a ti-pol tax bill (H.R. 29) slated fc vote on the senate calendar Mo day was passed over without bei [illegible] vote.

Seattle Wash

This bill making it unlawful t require the payment of a poll ta as a perequisite to voting in primay or other election for na tional officers was announced i the order in which it was sched uled.

When several senators shoutec "over", the bill was passed ove and the senate went on with the next order of business.

This is the only one of the three pending civil rights bills which ha made any headway in congress It was passed by the house o representatives several month ago and is now ready for fina vote in the senate.

G.O.P. Congress Leaders Dishonest On Poll Tax

Courier Journal
Louisville, Ky.

THE Republican leadership in Congress does not want an anti-poll tax bill to pass at the special session. The Dixiecrats do not want such a measure to pass. The two groups are allied in as tight and effective a wall of opposition as ever thwarted the will of the public. A recent GALLUP Poll showed that 65 per cent of the American people want the poll tax eliminated in Federal elections, but they stand no chance of getting their way against a league of Old Guard Republicans and Democrats.

There is one chief difference between the position of the Senate Republican strategists and the Southern Democrats. The Southerners admit that they want to kill the poll tax bill. The Republicans profess to want to see it pass, yet they have taken every precaution to prevent passage at this session, when it might redound to the credit of President TRUMAN. The Dixiecrats are against Federal poll tax reform at all times. Their Republican allies are against it until their party can claim sole credit for its passage. In the meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of people, both white and black, will be prevented from voting in the Presidential election this year because they cannot afford to pay a fee.

There are sincere advocates of poll tax reform on the Republican side, such as Senator MORSE, who twice tried to force the measure through in the 1946 session. These sincere advocates, however, are not in charge of Republican strategy on the issue at the present session. It was Senator WHERRY who brought up the subject as the first order of business. His method was to make a motion to take up the anti-poll tax bill. He knew very well that this action would release a filibuster, and he also knew that the endless debate would come on his motion, not on the actual bill itself. By this parliamentary device, he made certain that the filibuster could not be successfully strangled off. 8-4-48

Senators TAFT and VANDENBERG now lay all the blame for their inability to stop the filibuster on the Senate cloture rules. VANDENBERG asserts that under these rules "a small but determined minority can always prevent cloture." This is not strictly true, as the record shows. Cloture has been successfully invoked four times in the Senate under the present rules: in 1919 on the Versailles Treaty, in 1926 on the World Court Protocol, in 1927 on the PEPPER-McFADDEN Banking Bill, and again in 1927 on the Prohibition Reorganization Bill.

Wed. 8-4-48

It can be done, if there is a will to do it. Of course cloture cannot be obtained, however, under the easy terms which Senator TAFT has sponsored for this session. He has made no effort to wear down the Dixiecrat minority. He has allowed the Senate to adjourn by six o'clock every evening, instead of holding their feet to the fire with night sessions. He shows he knows how these things can be done by announcing that he will advocate the full treatment, night sessions and all, when Congress meets again next January. Of course he assumes he will have a Republican in the White House at that time. He is not interested in giving the poor whites and the Negroes of seven Southern States a chance to say what man they want in the White House.

Just Look At Yourselves

Washington Post

With no cloture to bar the Senate "debate" on the antipoll tax bill, the upper chamber has now been turned into a talkathon. A filibuster at any time is unseemly. At present it is a shocking reflection on the legislators who were responsible for it and the legislators who are conducting it. Outside the Senate an inflation bearing the seeds of a collapse is week by week picking the pockets of the American people. Beyond the national borders decisions bearing the seeds of peace or war are being made which require a showing of strength and unity and responsibility in the halls of Congress. Yet the greatest deliberative assembly in the world, now become that in fact as in rhetoric, is letting itself be bogged down in a worse than idle gabfest, purposely tying itself in knots. The spectacle, added to that of a troop of informers jamming committee rooms with scarifying talk, no longer amuses. It is not helpful in combating the inflation thief at home and the Muscovite aggressor abroad, but, on the contrary, is an ally of both, since economic instability and political and social confusion in America are so clearly Communist aims.

Wash. Post
Wash. D.C.
34P(1)
Tues. 8-10-48

Senator Taft says that at the next Congress there will be a change in the Senate rules making cloture apply to any pending business. That is some comfort, but none for the present situation. As to the antipoll tax bill, we are heartily sick of it. The levy is disappearing, anyway; and the legislators who insist upon using Federal authority to get rid of it have become the victims of a fixed idea. It almost seems as if it is the fight, not the accomplishment, that matters. They appear to care little for the fact that even if the poll tax were abolished by Federal law, and the law were found constitutional, intransigent States in the South would think up other disqualifications. This newspaper, as ardent as anybody for freedom of political expression, is against the poll tax, and any similar disqualification in the exercise of the franchise. But of far more importance to us is a belief in the integrity of our constitutional system, and if there is a question as to the constitutionality of the antipoll tax bill, that question should be resolved by "letting it lay."

It isn't as if there were no other way of getting suffrage reform. There is, in fact, not one way, but several ways; and all good Americans, feeling in their bones the peril of taking a chance with the organic law which guarantees their liberty, should explore those ways before asking the Federal Government to be high-handed. There is, for instance, the route of the constitutional amendment. As Senator Hayden said the other day, if the agitators had made this the focus of their agitation at the start, then there might today be some progress to report. But many of the antipoll taxers, more interested in a fight than a remedy, have consistently ignored this alternative. There is also the relief that could be afforded by a clarification of the civil rights statutes so that the disqualified could get aid from an injunction. President Truman called for such a bill well over six months ago; it is all ready at the Department of Justice, yet he has made no move to submit it to Congress. Tues. 8-10-48

These methods are serious means of tackling the problem of disfranchisement. But these days seriousness appears to be at a discount on a wider front than the poll tax. It is an elaborate game of shadow boxing that the people are being treated to, and Old Man Inflation and the sinister person that the President calls Old Joe are the only ones who must be getting a kick out of it. For the rest of us, living dangerously with inflation and the international conspiracy of world communism, the exhibition on Capitol Hill seems downright irresponsible. The special session, admittedly, posed a problem in view of its origin. But it's more of an occasion to the people, now we have got it, than to provide open season for former Reds telling things that the FBI ought to (and most probably does) know all about, and for leather-lunged solons seeking only to stop the public business. The Senate in this filibuster is made to look like a hydra-headed Nero. At stake is the dignity of the people's, not the legislators', Congress, of their representative institutions, of the Nation's stability.

Tues. 8-10-48

Alabama Press

1949 Objective

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

From The Dothan Eagle

The next session of Congress may, and may not, vote to submit a constitutional amendment abolishing the poll tax. That is about the only way it is going to be abolished, at the federal level, and this method suits us. We are opposed to its abolition by congressional edict.

34P(1) Fri.

But, as we have said so many times before, we think it ought to go—at the state level and by state action. 9-3-48

In the wake of the wrangle at this special session of Congress, where only a filibuster thwarted a federal anti-poll tax law, is a good time for Alabama to give some thought to its poll tax. Our Legislature meets next year, and one piece of legislation it ought to take up is the abolition of the tax.

Aside from furnishing the rabble-rousers with something to holler about, repeal of the tax law—by the Alabama Legislature—would work tremendously in favor of the state. It would bring into the fold many voters we need, and we are referring to those who are swamped by an accumulation of unpaid taxes. It would not produce any "undesirable" voters, for the only way to head off the "undesirables" is in registration.

The tax isn't working now for the purposes for which it was intended. It is outmoded and antiquated, not to mention a nuisance.

The Legislature should put poll tax repeal high on the list of objectives in 1949.

Fri. 9-3-48

POLL TAX FIGURES GIVEN

34e(1)

Jefferson County Total May Not Reach 1947 Peak

The Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.
7/18/48

PINE BLUFF, Ark., July 17. — Poll tax payments in Jefferson County may not reach the all-time high of more than 15,000 last year, it was indicated by the last poll tax figures issued Saturday. Only 9085 had been issued at the tax collector's office today noon.

However, it is believed the record number sold last year was due to the work of the negro organizations in the county, who are even more strongly organized than last year, and who are now working throughout the city and county for memberships, and advocating payment of the poll tax. Slightly more than one third of the entire number sold last year were issued to negroes, who had 5400 receipts.

5400 Negroes pay poll tax in Ark.

[illegible]
7-31-48

PINE BLUFF, Ark. [illegible] a result of a campaign by local Negro groups, 5400 Negroes have paid their poll tax, the Jefferson County Tax Collectors office said today. More than one third of all the poll tax receipts issued came from Negroes, the collector said.

7-28-48

34e(1) 1948

Bill

Ten Million Disfranchised By Poll Tax, NAACP Claims

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"Poll tax representatives and senators have been able to return to Congress year after year to oppose civil rights legislation, only because the overwhelming majority of their constituents are completely disfranchised," Leslie Perry, of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, today told the Senate Rules and Administration Committee, which is holding hearings on the anti-poll tax bill which passed the House last July.

Tues. 3-30-48

The NAACP representative told the committee that 10,000,000 American citizens, black and white alike, are disfranchised by the poll tax. He cited, as a typical county in poll tax states, Sumter, South Carolina, where, although workers were theoretically receiving high wages in 1944, 25 per cent of the Negro families had an income of less than $500 a year. "With Wage levels such as these," Perry contended, "It is clear to everyone that a tax on the right to vote constitutes an effective bar to a vast number of citizens."

Tues. 3-30-48

"We find it very difficult to see how the United States can, in good conscience, insist on democracy in Europe and China, while at home it continues to permit unscrupulous politicians in seven Southern states to nullify democracy through the exaction of a poll tax," the NAACP statement concluded.

ANTI-POLL TAX BILL SENATORS APPROVE

Times, New York, N.Y.

2-28-48

Sat.

Rules Subcommittee Rejects Southern Call for Hearings —Passage of Plan Looms

34e(1)

By **WILLIAM S. WHITE**

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27—The anti-poll tax bill was quickly and unanimously approved today by a Senate Rules subcommittee over rising Southern protests against this and other aspects of President Truman's civil-rights program.

The measure already has passed the House in this Congress and, indeed, in the three Congresses which went before it.

It was cleared today by the Senate subcommittee, made up of two Republicans and a Northern Democrat, under circumstances suggesting that a bitter struggle of many years would end at last in this session by action to strike down the tax as a qualification to vote. Sat. 2-28-48

The demands of objecting Southerners, represented by Senator John C. Stennis, Democrat, of Mississippi, for public hearings on the issue here and in the seven Southern states affected, were instantly refused.

The subcommittee chairman, Senator William E. Jenner, Republican of Indiana, declared it was felt that "no purpose would be served" in further discussion of a controversy which had been before Congress for so long. He spoke in behalf also of his two colleagues, Senators John W. Bricker, Republican, of Ohio, and Francis J. Meyers, Democrat, of Pennsylvania.

The bill will go at once to the full Rules Committee, where early and final approval is foreordained.

It will not reach the Senate floor, under the present plans of the Republican leadership group headed by Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, until after the disposition there of half a dozen pending and unrelated matters.

Successful Filibuster Doubted

Inquiries among Senators generally indicated that this time the Southerners were not likely to be able to block the bill by filibuster. The bill, incidentally, is relatively the least objectionable to Southerners among the four main civil-rights proposals of President Truman.

Coincidentally, it was possible for the first time to learn during the day just how far the Republicans are likely to go on the issue of civil rights at this session.

It was established on competent authority that the Republican leaders of the House, who hold the ultimate key to the situation, have no present intention of proceeding beyond the poll tax and anti-lynching bills.

Their plan is not to force battle on the two points of the Truman program against which the Southerners would take the most bitterly entrenched of all positions—the proposals for a Fair Employment Practices Commission and for outlawing racial segregation in interstate transportation.

Apart from great uncertainty as to how far the Senate Republicans and their Northern Democratic associates could progress on such bills, the House Republicans would have a great deal of hesitancy in having their chamber pass all four measures at one sitting.

Would Avoid Democratic Unity

Some of them, it may be stated, believe that this would deny to the Republican party much of the great benefit it is receiving indirectly through the present intra-party fight among the Democrats. Such action would tend, they consider, to force the Democrats back together again if only because the Southerners would be more inclined then to attack the Republicans, as the final controllers of the House, than the Truman Democrats.

For the moment, however, all thought of rapprochement plainly was far away among the embattled Democrats.

Seventy-four rebellious House Democrats, who have signed a manifesto warning their party not to put Mr. Truman's civil-rights proposals into the platform of the national convention, arranged to caucus again next Tuesday. The meeting was called, among other things, to consider the whole position now that Governor William M. Tuck of Virginia, with the expressed approval of Senator Harry F. Byrd, is heading a movement to keep Mr. Truman's name off the ballot in that state.

Representative E. E. Cox, Democrat, of Georgia, arose in the House to demand that the Legislature of his state go into extraordinary session to "take defense action against the aggressions urged by the President."

He suggested that the legislators call themselves together, over the head of Georgia's Governor, and "do something without delay" so that the President would be "made to know that the spirit of resistance is not dead." Times

Virginia Plan Denounced

In another Democratic quarter, the Virginia plan was denounced, though not by name.

Senator Claude Pepper of Florida declared his "sense of shock at the brazen schemes proposed by some Southern leaders, the effect of which is to deprive those states of a fair chance to vote for the nominees of the next Democratic National Convention for President and Vice President.

Endorsement Brings Brisk Repartee From Opponents

34e(1) Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(SNS)—The anti-poll tax bill which was one of the main features of President Harry S. Truman's ten-point civil rights program got a firm boost from Sen. Claude Pepper, (Dem, Fla.) Thursday as the Senate Rules Committee ended hearings this week on the measure. Sat. 3-27-48

The veteran Florida Senator insisted that "my appearance here is not an endorsement of the other parts of the so-called Civil Rights program."

Under the bill, a voter would not have to pay a poll tax before voting in an election for a federal office.

No date has been set for the Committee to consider the measure, already approved unanimously by a three-member subcommittee.

BRISK REPARTEE

Pepper's endorsement of the anti-poll tax bill brought on brisk repartee on the question of Congress' constitutional right to enact such a bill. Sen. Stennis, of Mississippi, tangled with Pepper by contending the Constitution gives the States the right to set voting qualification for its citizens and that this is an invasion of State's right and is unconstitutional. Sat.

Pepper said the Congress has the right to tell the state what is a proper limitation on the right to vote. He insisted that a poll tax is an unreasonable limitation on the right to vote. 3-27-48

Stennis introduced a statement by Gov. Beauford Jester, of Texas, and Atty. General Price Daniel, of Texas, opposing the bill. They contended that if Congress takes the power to eliminate the tax it can prescribe voting qualifications.

Anti-Poll Tax

The News

34e(1)

To the Editor of The News:

After vacillating upon the matter as to whether poll tax should be abolished. I arrived at a definite conclusion that it should be. Here are some of the reasons why it should be abolished:

1. It actually seems very preposterous for the people who have reached the voting age to pay to elect their leaders. Tues.
2. It is one of the many taxes that in my opinion is attached for no purpose whatever as the circumstantial evidence has proved.
3. It shows a lag in political science, as compared with the other states which have had this tax abolished. As soon as the voting citizenry of Alabama takes this problem under consideration and careful thinking they will learn that this is not a barrier to the Negro, but a menace to all the people of this state.

This is one of the things I'm sure is keeping Alabama from ranking high with the intelligent states of the Union. Anyone who wants to vote would pay the tax, but the thoughts come in mind: Why do I pay poll tax? For what purpose does it go to help develop Alabama? Birmingham, Ala.

This problem has been argued throughout the state, but now is the time to do something about it.

ANDREW L. THOMAS,
1218 North Sipsey Street. 6-8-48

Senate Group Approves Ban On Poll Taxes

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

Measure Was Passed By House Last July

Thurs. 4-29-48

Washington, April 28 (AP)—The poll-tax bill was approved today by the Senate Rules Committee.

34e(1)

The bill would knock out the poll tax as a requirement to vote for President and congressmen. The House passed it last July.

Three times the stage has been set just like this, and three times Southern senators have filibustered the measure to death. They are ready to try again.

Lynching Bill Has Priority.

This is one of the measures on President Truman's civil-rights program that aroused Southern ire and split Democratic ranks. But it may not be the first of them taken up on the Senate floor. 4-29-48

G.O.P. policymakers recently gave priority to antilynching legislation, although it has not yet come out of committee.

Action on this subject is scheduled for tomorrow when the Senate Judiciary Committee hears in closed session from a subcommittee which has held extensive hearings. Thurs

The first civil-rights measure—perhaps the antilynch bill—is expected to be called up for Senate debate toward the end of the session this spring. This would prevent a filibuster from stalling other "must" legislation.

SENATE BODY VOTES POLL TAX REPEALER

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Rules Committee Acts on Eve of Slated Clearance for Anti-Lynching Bill on Floor

Thurs.
342(1)
4-29-48

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 28—A bill to abolish the Southern poll tax was approved today by the Senate Rules Committee by a vote of 7 to 2 on the eve of a scheduled clearance for an anti-lynching measure.

The anti-lynching bill previously had been put by the Republicans at the top of their calendar on the "civil rights program," a program demanded also by President Truman and Northern Democrats.

Action to bring out the poll tax repealer therefore was regarded mainly as giving the Republicans an alternative vehicle should the Southern Democrats stage a successful filibuster against the anti-lynching bill.

Even as this maneuver was going forward thirteen Southern Democratic Senators, headed by Harry F. Byrd of Virginia and Richard Russell of Georgia, were meeting in a quiet war council.

The Republicans were similarly marshalling and were claiming ability to smash the expected filibuster by applying a little-used Senate rule by which debate may be shut off. A two-thirds' majority is necessary to order this closure.

The bill forbidding the state poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, which already has been passed by the House, was recommended by the Senate Rules Committee on straight party lines. The seven endorsers were Republicans and the two dissidents were Democrats — Senators Carl Hayden of Arizona and John Stennis of Mississippi.

Senator Hayden told reporters that his objection to the bill was one fo method; the poll tax, he contended, should be ended by way of Constitutional Amendment. Thurs.

As to the anti-lynching bill, the Senate Judiciary Committee planned to meet tomorrow to report it out to the floor. 4-29-48

The Useless Poll Tax

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
342(1)

To the Editor of The News:

There appeared in Sunday's News a letter by Ben J. Couchman on the "Qualifications to Vote." It appears to be factual and timely.

There was a time when the poll tax served a purpose, but now that we have the Boswell amendment the poll tax seems to be unnecessary. After every primary election we hear the charge that people were voted who were in arrears with their poll tax. We all know this has been done, and while some say there are fewer people voting now than in past years, we are yet making a political football out of the poll tax issue. Fri. 5-14-48

To oppose the poll tax doesn't mean that a person is not a good Democrat or that he is opposed to the democratic way of life. There are thousands of good, honest, sober men and women throughout Alabama who for one cause or another are in arrears with their poll tax, who, by repealing even the cumulative feature of the poll tax law, could be reclaimed and become full-fledged citizens, useful in the political sphere.

342(1)

We are somewhat inclined to quibble at times, and that's what we have been doing with the poll tax. We need a lot more men and women who will think for themselves, citizens who will quietly and prayerfully reason so that just and equitable conclusions may be arrived at. The poll tax has been the medium by which thousands of good men and women have disfranchised themselves, and now that we have reached a time and a period in the history of our great state where the poll tax becomes unnecessary, why not repeal the law and add to our voting lists thousands of good people who will help to make of our state a great state governed by a majority and not by a minority? It should be the purpose of all good citizens to get as many good people on the voting list as is possible so that a democracy may live and bring to the state and nation a brighter, a more refined and a nobler way of life. 5-14-48

W. E. BRADEN.
Springville, Ala.

The News

Behind Poll Tax Battle

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Fri. 7-30-48

BY JAMES MARLOW

WASHINGTON, July 30—(AP)—This is the background of the poll tax fight in the Senate.

In seven Southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia—and in New Hampshire, people have to pay a poll tax before they can vote.

JAMES MARLOW

The question is: Should these poll taxes be repealed by federal law?

Southern Democratic senators warned they'd filibuster if the Republicans, who control Congress, tried to pass in the Senate such a repeal bill.

3420

Poll taxes may range from $1 a year to much more than that, depending on the state, if a person fails to pay his tax for several years.

Because wages are lower in the South than in the rest of the country, foes of the tax argue that in those seven states, the poll tax keeps about 10,000,000 poor whites and Negroes from voting.

Negro organizations particularly want the tax abolished for the benefit of Southern Negroes.

SOUTHERN CONGRESS MEMBERS argue that the tax helps pay for schools and roads, that Congress has no right to interfere with voting requirements set up by states.

President Truman—besides asking the Republican-controlled Congress to do something about holding down living costs—also asked for a number of civil rights laws. The Republicans say they, too, want these laws.

Such civil rights laws—like an anti-lynching law or an anti-poll tax law—are aimed at giving Negroes in the South a greater sense of security and equality and helping them take a more active part in the life of their states.

Southern Congress members say their states also have the Negroes' interests at heart and are solving those problems, themselves.

LAST SUMMER the House passed a bill to wipe out the poll tax. There wasn't much trouble passing it there. The House has rules limiting debate on any bill. So enemies of the anti-poll tax bill couldn't talk endlessly.

The Southern Democrats are in a minority in the House. So it was simple for the other members to push through the bill when the Southerners had used up their talking time.

The News

In the Senate, the Southern Democrats are a minority, too. But there they can filibuster.

The Senate, unlike the House, has no limit on debate.

A senator, once he gets the floor, can talk without interruption—until he finishes or collapses.

When one senator goes on a filibuster, he can slow up the work of the Senate for a day or two.

When a whole group of senators—like the Southern Democrats—start a filibuster, they can talk in relays and keep the Senate from doing any other work for weeks.

THE ONLY WAY in which a filibuster can be stopped, is by two-thirds of the senators voting to limit debate. This is called cloture.

But in the Senate—where every senator knows that some day he, himself, may want to filibuster against some bill to kill it — it's pretty hard to get a two-thirds vote for cloture.

When the filibusterers really want to go to town, they can even prevent a vote to limit debate, by turning to other parliamentary rules.

Birmingham, Ala.

THE ANTI-POLL TAX BILL, passed by the House last year, lay around in the Senate for the rest of 1947, and it lay around this year, waiting.

Fri.

In June, when the Senate quit, the Republican leaders still had not brought up the bill for debate and vote.

7-30-48

But now the Republican leaders have said they were ready to bring it up at this special session as the first order of business.

(They explain that they need time to examine Mr. Truman's ideas on halting inflation and meanwhile they can go ahead with the anti-poll tax bill,)

If they bring up this bill—and the Southern Democrats start a filibuster, the filibuster could go on for weeks.

If this happens and inflation gets worse, the strategy of the Republicans may cost them dearly in the November elections.

But those same voters may lose faith in the Democratic Party altogether, if they see the Southern Democrats splitting the party and exploding Mr. Truman's whole special session program.

The Republicans then would be able to tell the voters truthfully that Mr. Truman's own Democratic Party couldn't agree on doing what he wanted.

Plumps for the Poll Tax

342(1)
The Courier Journal
Thurs. 7-28-49
Louisville, Ky.

There has been much propaganda in print regarding the poll tax requirements for voting. Now, to hold an election in our State requires paid officers at the polls, and paid vote counters. There is also the expense of ballots, stationery, printing and distribution. It costs a lot of money to hold an election, and no person who is unwilling to share some part of the expense of holding an election should expect the privilege of voting, be that person white or black.

People who pay no tax should not be allowed to vote either directly or indirectly in a way that would put taxes on others. Too often the fellow who pays little or no taxes does not care how expensive a poor government is to someone else.

Ask yourself this question: Is the person who is always looking for something for nothing basically honest? Is he worth catering to? Will not catering to him wreck the country? There are too many moochers who wish the other fellow to foot the bills of schooling, citizenship and even living.

34e(1) 1948

General

Jennings Perry

PM New York, N.Y.

Wings of the Morning

Tues 1-20-48

When New York City's Communist Councilman, Benjamin J. Davis, the other day told Texas Democratic Rep. Omar Burleson he doubted whether Burleson legally is in Congress, "because you come from a poll-tax state which disenfranchises Negroes and poor whites," he was making a legitimate taunt which should be outmoded after this year.

Perry

For this is the year in which the poll tax ought to be killed, and this is the Congress that ought to kill it without fail. There is no other way in which we shall be able to say of the next Congress, to be elected in November, that it reflects the "free choice of the people. . . ." And it is important that we should be able to say it, truthfully. Tues 1-20-48

What Really Counts

This is because a clear conscience is important, and because democracy is important. It is desirable, I take it, that Mr. Davis—and other critics of our system—be deprived of a point; but what really counts is that we ourselves should be able to know that our political system is what we say it is, and that our Government should have, in fact, the benefits of popular checks and guidance.

The truth is that Rep. Burleson—and all other members of Congress from the poll-tax states—do hold office at the hands of an electorate made up of a small minority of the adult citizens of their districts and states, and that this has been the case with representatives from those states for the past 50 years. 1-20-48

In the Way Of Many Citizens

PM

The truth is that the poll tax does stand in the way of the great majority of the citizens of those states, that to these democracy is only a word—and an aspiration. The circumstance is always shameful, often sordid, and a reproach upon us all. 1-20-48

This year's bill to remove the blight of the poll tax from Federal elections is H. R. 29, sponsored by Rep. George H. Bender. It has passed the House and is waiting attention in the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, of which Sen. William E. Jenner is chairman. Sen. Taft's Steering Committee has the say at the moment—and no consequential excuse for not saying it promptly. New York, N.Y.

Sees Outlook As 'Excellent'

The National Committee to Abolish Poll Tax, which for the past eight years has pressed the free-suffrage issue upon the conscience of the Congress and the consciousness of the nation, belives the outlook for Senate passage of H. R. 29 to be "excellent." It urges, however, the necessity for quick Senate action—and this advice proceeds from the lessons of a bitter experience which has seen similar bills maneuvered into close-of-the-season filibusters in the Senate time after time.

The poll tax should be killed by a legislative determination taking off early this year. The task should proceed with wings, in order that we may be sure of free primary and general elections in *America* in 1948. It should be a joyous task, moreover, seeing that the purpose is to enable democracy, and that both the major parties are pledged to it. Tues. 1-20-48

Warping Element In Political Life

PM New York, N.Y.

We have a way of knowing exactly how many Americans despise the poll tax, for the number must equate exactly with those who sincerely feel that democracy is "the finest form of government on earth." The poll tax is the bar sinister upon our political countenance, a warping element in our political life, and a burden on the soul of all who regard the right to vote as "precious" and God-given," and an unfettered exercise of it as the first requisite for any government based on the concept of the decency and dignity of man. 1-20-48

Against Poll Tax

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

To the Editor of The News:

I am against the poll tax. In your paper Mr. H. H. Vaughn points out that the poll tax money goes to the schools. That is the most damning thing about it. An evil with a good phase is almost impossible to eradicate. In this case the advocates of the poll tax, who want it only to limit the right of some classes to vote, can shout: "This is a good thing. The money goes to the schools, don't you see?"

This is a retired teacher writing, who worked 24 years without saving anything, because there was nothing above necessary living expenses. Of course I am in favor of the schools having money enough. But there is no need to daub the tax onto people's right to vote—freely, without let or hindrance. They know that for some to say that some others shouldn't vote is a natural outrage. That is why they don't pay the $1.50 poll tax, while spending 50 times as much for cigarets. Wed.

The poll tax is wanted only as a control on the votes of some classes, no matter what else you may say in defense of it. The poll tax is a barbarism retained by only a few of the most reactionary of our United States, and by Portugal and Peru only, of all the other nations on earth.

There is nothing more disgusting than the fine arguments such as have been referred to in defense of a device which all the world knows is nothing but a clog on democracy. A government not willing to let everybody vote is not democratic, no matter how loudly you say it is. 3-24-48

W. C. SKAGGS.

Route 6. Bessemer, Ala.

Anti-Poll Tax Law Foes To Present Case

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, March 20—(AP)—Opponents of the anti-poll tax bill Saturday were allotted four hours next Monday and Tuesday to present their case against the measure before the Senate rules committee.

The committee said that because of the short time allowed for the hearings, opponents may file briefs of any length to support their cause. Sun.

Sen. McKellar (D., Tenn.) is scheduled as the first witness against the bill Monday. He will be followed by Gov. Strom Thurmond and Atty. Gen. John M. Daniels, of South Carolina; Atty. Gen. Albert Carmichael of Alabama; Jesse F. Orton, New York attorney representing Georgia, and an unnamed representative of Texas. 3-21-48

On Tuesday, Sen. Holland (D., Fla.); Gov. William M. Tuck, of Virginia; Rep. Almond (D., Va.); Asst. Atty. Gen. George H. Ethridge, of Mississippi, and representatives from Arkansas and Louisiana will testify. The News

34e(1)

TEN MILLION DISFRANCHISED
BY POLL TAX, NAACP CLAIMS

WASHINGTON, D.C., March 25---"Poll tax representatives and senators have been able to return to Congress year after year to oppose civil rights legislation, only because the overwhelming majority of their constituents are completely disfranchised," Leslie Perry, of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, today told the Senate Rules and Administration Committee, which is holding hearings on the anti-poll tax bill which passed the House last July.

N.A.A.C.P. N.Y.

The NAACP representative told the committee that 10,000,000 American citizens, black and white alike, are disfranchised by the poll tax. He cited, as a typical county in poll tax states, Sumter, South Carolina, where, although workers were theoretically receiving high wages in 1944, 25 per cent of the Negro families and 2 per cent of the white families had an income of less than $500 a year. "With wage levels such as these," Perry contended, "it is clear to everyone that a tax on the right to vote constitutes an effective bar to a vast number of citizens."

"We find it very difficult to see how the United States can, in good conscience, insist on democracy in Europe and China, while at home it continues to permit unscrupulous politicians in seven southern states to nullify democracy through the exaction of a poll tax," the NAACP statement concluded.

Charge Irks Author of Poll-Tax Bill

The Courier-Journal

Bender Denies He Is a Red

Louisville, Ky.

3-25-48

Washington, March 24 (U.P.)—Representative Bender (R., Ohio), author of the anti-poll-tax bill, today challenged Governor William M. Tuck of Virginia to define "American democracy." Thurs.

Bender said he objects to being a target of a general accusation by Tuck and Representative Almond (D., Va.) that it is Communists who are trying to abolish the poll tax. Almond is attorney general-elect of Virginia.

Bender's bill has been passed by the House. He appeared today as a witness before the Senate Rules Committee to support it. Tuck and Almond testified before the Senate group yesterday.

He's Presbyterian Elder.

The Courier-Journal

"I object to being referred to as a Red. I happen to be a Republican from Ohio . . . and an elder in the Presbyterian Church. And, frankly, there isn't anything about Protestantism or Catholicism that has anything in common with communism," Bender said. Louisville, Ky.

"Practically all my relatives live in Virginia and I know something about the way Virginia politics operate," said Bender. "In my state, the elections and politics are clean. The officials who never faced a clean election are afraid of them. I'd like to have him (Tuck) define American democracy." Thurs.

Bender said poll taxes originally were imposed in the various States to limit the vote and to disenfranchise white and Negro alike. As to opposition claims that the framers of the Constitution would have abolished poll taxes if they thought them unfair, Bender said those now existing are "no hang-over from colonial times." 3-25-48

Anti-Poll Tax Rider Voted Into Draft Bill

The Post

Washington, D.C.

Senate Refusal of 6 Changes Hints End Of Civil Rights Action

Tues. 6-8-48

By John G. Norris
Post Reporter

The Senate last night wrote an antipoll-tax amendment into the draft bill after turning down six prior attempts to tack other civil rights riders to the measure.

Approval of the last of the racial rights amendments—by a 35 margin—cleared the major obstacle to passage of the military manpower bill.

While other controversial changes still are unsettled, Chairman Chan Gurney (R., S. Dak.) said he hoped for a final vote late today or Wednesday. If approved, the bill then goes to the House.

Believed All for This Year

Adoption of the soldiers and sailors' antipoll-tax proviso was followed by forecasts from both sides of the Senate that it would be the only civil rights legislation passed this year.

Senate Republican leaders lined up almost solidly against application of the major planks of President Truman's civil rights program to armed forces. They were offered by Senator William Langer (R., N. Dak.) and "tabled" or voted down decisively by the Senate yesterday.

But on the seventh vote, Senator Robert Taft (R., Ohio), GOP policy chief in the upper house, threw his weight behind the proposal and it was carried. The proviso bans payment of a poll tax as a requirement for any serviceman voting for President, Vice President, United States Senator or Representative.

Says Understanding Violated

Acting Minority Leader Scott W. Lucas (D., Ill.) charged the GOP leadership support of the antipoll tax amendment violated an "understanding" the Democrats had with the Republican chiefs. That was, he said, that all of the Langer civil rights proposals would be shelved or defeated. Taft denied there was any such agreement.

Senator Lucas said he viewed the GOP leaders hip-backing of the anti-poll tax amendment with "amazement and amusement." He declared that it was clear to him from yesterday's action that the Republicans did not plan any further effort to put through civil rights legislation this year.

Southern Senators—who had promised a filibuster that might block passage of the draft if the civil rights program were tacked onto the bill—indicated last night they would accept the decision on the poll tax amendment.

Not Important Enough

Senator Richard Russell (D., Ga.), said the poll tax change was "not important enough" to warrant endangering the selective service bill. He said he believed most Southern Senators would support the measure despite the change.

The amendment provides:

"No person inducted into, or enlisted in, the armed forces for training and service under this Act, shall, during the period of such service, as a condition of voting in any election for President, Vice President, electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Member of the House of Representatives, be requird to pay any poll tax or other tax or make any other payment to any State or political subdivision thereof." Tues.

Taft, in supporting the proposal, declared it is similar to a provision adopted during the war. Senator Gurney, on the other hand, opposed the move on the ground it had not been approved by his committee and that the wartime antipoll-tax bar had been part of a general plan for absentee soldier balloting. 6-8-48

Favors Separate Bill

He declared that Congress should pass another such bill rather than add merely a part of that act to the draft bill as a rider. Earlier, Gurney had opposed Langer's other civil rights amendments on the ground they involved a "basic national question" which should be considered separately and not as a rider to the draft.

Gurney declared the armed forces now are meeting "the so-called racial question intelligently" and in accordance with a "long-range evolutionary plan." Adoption of the Langer amendments now, he said, would create a morale problem in the services "over night" where little or no problem now exists.

Reads 1944 Platform

The Post

Langer's first amendment—to abolish segregation in the armed forces—was shelved 67 to 7, on a "motion to table" offered by Gurney. After GOP chiefs backed Gurney's move, the former read the 1944 GOP platform, promising an end to racial discrimination in the military services.

"Not one thing has been done by any party to carry out that pledge," shouted Langer.

"This is the last chance we have to carry out that 1944 platform. The Republicans will have an awful time with people whose votes they want because they don't keep their campaign promises."

Senator Wayne Morse (R., Oreg.) supported Langer, but declared "it is clear that Congress and the people of the United States are not ready for the civil rights proposals." He urged, however, that GOP chiefs support part of the program—anti-lynching or anti-poll tax legislation.

By voice vote, the Senate turned down several other Langer amendments. They included prohibition of "jimcrowism" on interstate carriers and in restaurants, requiring military contractors to abide by FEPC rules, and a ban on training troops in States having Jim Crow laws. Washington, D.C.

Another—making the lynching of a man in uniform a Federal crime—was tabled by a record vote of 61 to 7. Tues. 6-8-48

~~see 4-15-48~~

POLL TAX—HEINOUS

34e(1)

Editor, The Advertiser:

As a former resident of Crenshaw County, and as a political analyst, I have had the opportunity and privilege to study certain phases of our government and state laws that have attracted criticism against several of the states. What really appears to have more significance in my estimation than all the other such laws, is the infamous poll tax provision that exacts a fee for the secred privilege and right to vote.

Advertiser

As an Alabamian proud of the heritage, I feel that it is a duty and privilege to attack and expose the evident underlying intent of the poll tax law I do so with a sacred conviction that to eliminate the poll tax is another step toward better government. We can ill afford to tell the world that we have a free society while we still charge our deserving a paltry price for the right to vote. We still prefer to bear witness to the world society that our pride in Southern traditions shall remain inviolate, but as we view the iniquitous affliction thrust upon us by the tax on the privilege to vote, we must evade the matter or either emerge the vanquished in our desire to protect and uphold governmental ethics that are dear to us in the reputation of our state.

Montgomery, Ala.

In a factual analysis of the heinous poll tax law, we must recognize that the major motive is to keep Negroes from the polls—at the same time this law is barring prominent citizens of the white race from voting. It is touching to anyone to see the debt-ridden family heads barred from voting because due to misfortune they were not able to pay the poll tax and at the same time provide the necessities of life for their loved ones. Who are we to be afraid of a few Negroes voting? Eliminating the poll tax would provide the means by which thousands of our white citizens could go to the polls and exercise their rights as God-abiding and as law abiding citizens. This is not a matter of racial equality—only the fevered rabble rouser would try to make it so. His idea is to feed the flame of the racial spectre and thereby try to perpetuate his callous designs on the public. Such politicians are

6-13-48

34e(1) 1948

New Hampshire

New England Citizens Pay High Poll Tax

The Advertiser
Montgomery
6-13-48

But States Escape Talk About Them Because Of Interlocking Statutes

System Explained

New Hampshire Voter May Even Be Jailed If He Fails To Pay Sum

By FLETCHER F. ISBELL
(Copyright, 1948)

WASHINGTON—Four years ago an irritated resident of Lyme, N. H., wrote a New York newspaper: "In all the talk about poll tax states, I don't believe New Hampshire was ever mentioned. In New Hampshire the tax in the past has been $2 per voter, but now (this year) they have added a $3 soldier's bonus tax. Many can't vote for $5. Many who can are not going to vote because they can't consider a vote being worth a full $5. Of course it's worth more, but why should one have to purchase it?"

The vexed New Hampshireman voiced an impression common to many in his and some other New England states. They know that, in actual practice, they have to pay poll taxes to vote. They never hear their states mentioned in demands for Federal anti-poll tax legislation. New Hampshire officials stoutly deny any specific statute requires payment of their poll tax as a voting qualification—and they are correct to the letter. But:

1. No rural resident without property may vote in New Hampshire without having paid his poll tax.

2. No rural resident, with proerty or not, may vote without being assessed for his poll tax. He might possibly make payment after the election; but, once assessed, pay he must or suffer penalties so dire payment is infinitely preferable.

These situations are accomplished not by any one law, but by several which interlock. They produce the effect while enabling the statement that poll tax payment is not a voting requisite This situation apparently is what the State Athorney General's office means when it says, "It is generally understood that the current tax should be paid before a person may vote but it is not a specific requirement."

Certainly it is what the man from Lyme means.

The basic law is Article 31 of the state constitution. It provides that rural citizens must be either assessed or taxed in order to vote. In the case of a farmer with property, this means of course that the cost of his vote is the amount of his assessment. When the assessor comes to a man with no property above the statutory exemption, however, the citizen may remark that it seems he cannot qualify as an elector, as he owes no taxes.

"Not at all," the assessor may reply. "You are between the ages of 21 and 70, and are not a pauper or insane. Under the Revised Laws of New Hampshire, 1942, Vol. I, Chapter 73, Section 1, I must assess you for a head or poll tax of $2. That qualifies you." (Although New Hampshire was the highest poll tax state in the Union in 1944 and 1945, when the levy was the $5 complained of by the Lyme resident, the tax has since been lowered to its pre-war $2.)

The tax is payable on demand, without notice, if the collector chooses. He may seize and sell a delinquent's property to get the money. If there is no property, he can arrest the citizen and throw him into the county jail or house of correction, where he has to work out the tax at the rate of 50 cents a day, paying, however, $2.50 a week board. On a six-day week a citizen thus can

These are revised 1942 statutes. "Tax Collecting in New Hampshire," an instruction book for the State's tax collectors written in 1941 by William F. Howes, makes no bones about the course of action expected toward subversive characters: "An arrest should be the last resort but sometimes,—as in a case where a person who has refused to pay is inciting others to do likewise, —it is not any justifiable but commendable as a salutory lesson to others in law enforcement."

With this sort of backing, collectors in some of the smaller towns accompany selectmen when they make annual inventories of polls and property, and collect on the spot. Mr. Howes says this practice has been especially popular in lumber towns, where the woodsmen, living in company quarters, have no chance to avoid listing or payment.

Another Law

Such drumhead collection is optional with the official, however, and may not be undertaken. In such a case a propertyless rural resident who is assessed in the early part of the year may fancy he is going to vote in November before he pays the $2. He reckons without another law, freshly revised by the 1945 legislature. The amendment, to Section 10, Chapter 17 of the Revised Laws, orders each assessor to compile by June 1 a list of all poll taxes he has levied against persons having no property. He must send this list to the collector with a warrant requiring the latter to collect the taxes at once. The collector does

Taxpayers with property wait until fall, when they may pay their poll taxes with their property levies. Even the stern Mr Howes has a qualm about this disparate treatment. He remarks of the spring immediate payment list. "It would seem advisable to include all poll tax payers in such a list, instead of discriminating between the 'haves' and the 'have nots.'"

6-13-48

Only One Way

There is only one way a nonexempt inhabitant of New Hampshire may avoid paying a poll tax. If he really is almost penniless, he may ask abatement. The instant he does he really does lose his right to vote. Still another law specifically bars him.

New Hampshire is not the only Northern poll tax state, and of course there are others elsewhere, such as Nevada with its $2 levy. But the Federal bill to abolish the tax as a voting requirement is a current issue, and since it is so worded that New Hampshire's interlocking statutes are untouched, they become of special interest. Popular impressions even indicate fields of inquiry elsewhere. There is a belief for instance in West Rindge, in Southern New Hampshire, that a citizen may not vote in Massachusetts without poll tax payment, although there is clearly no such specific law.

The complete poll tax lineup in New England, as of a fairly recent period, was:

State	Date Assessed	Amount
Conn.	Oct. 1	$3
Maine	Apri. 1	$3
Mass.	Jan. 1	$2
N. H.	Apri. 1	$2
R. I.	June 15	$1
Vermont	Apri. 1	$1 plus

In Vermont each town adds to the grand list levy of $1 by imposing a poll tax of its own. Indignant denials sometimes issue from Hartford that the Connecticut levy is a poll tax because it is known there as an "old age assistance tax," from the use made of the revenue. It is, however, a true poll tax, being levied on every poll or head in the State between 21 and 60. The denials are recognition of the undesirable connotations that have built up around the phrase "poll tax," plus possibly some confusion of the word "poll," meaning head, with "polls," a voting place.

These undesirable connotations illustrate, incidentally, Southern indifference to psychological warfare before an explosion point is reached. Southern States could have given check to their poll tax opponents years ago merely by following Connecticut example and changing the name of the tax to its revenue use. In all Southern States the money goes entirely or partially for public school support, and the levy could as correctly be called a school tax. The explanatory difficulties of a committee to abolish the school tax would be considerable.

Montgomery

There is no doubt that New Hampshire likes its poll tax. Except for such occasional grumblings as those from Lyme or the lumber camps, it is supported by the bulk of the citizenry. Mr. Howes puts the reasons: "Without doubt, it is the fairest and most equitable levy that can be made. It is the only contribution that many residents are called upon to make toward the running expenses of their own home town.—and there is no $2 investment that brings so much in return."

Advertiser

They Agree

Both New England and Southern States thus seem in agreement on the fair nature of the tax, its use as a prerequisite to other privileges being the only argument. New Hampshire requires poll tax payment before a citizen can get an automobile driving license, register a car, or get a hunting or fishing license; and indirectly before a farmer or lumberman may vote. It collects strictly, regardless whether these privileges are desired. Six Southern States do not touch sports or livelihoods with it, but make it a prerequisite to Democratic primary and general election voting. Another, South Carolina, requires it only in the formality of the general election. The tax is not charged for voting, but for school and sometimes other revenue, and all affected citizens owe it whether they vote or not, or even if they have lost the privilege of voting by a felony conviction. No state, however, forces payment. The voting attraction is the only incentive to collection. This more liberal concept was expressed in an Alabama case: "Obligation to pay a poll tax is not an obligation that may be enforced by legal process or otherwise, but is to be performed voluntarily as a test of good citizenship, leaving question of qualification under this section to the individual." (Davis vs. Teague, 220 Ala. 309, 125 So. 51.)

6-13-48

In the past few realists have had much doubt that the anti-poll tax bill, already passed by the House, would fail to pass the Senate on a showdown vote. Its opponents place heavy reliance on constitutional arguments. It is true the bill's constitutionality is so doubtful, at charitable best, that the Supreme Court could sustain it only by the unlikely procedure of reversing itself in the 1884 case of Ex parte Yarbrough, a landmark decision for state control of the franchise which has been cited and relied on by the court in cases since. But many supporters of the bill want a law regardless of its constitutionality or lack of it, and they have the votes.

Without Contest

If the bill is enacted, some of the seven affected states probably would accept the statute without contest. Repeal movements have made headway in some anyway, notably Tennessee, Virginia, and Arkansas. A considerable segment of opinion holds, too, that since the comparatively minor matter of the poll tax has served as a take-off point by sectional interests for incessant excursions into the fields of morals and ethics, not to mention psychiatry, it might be better to wipe out that particular issue.

But some states may object to being told what their voting requirements must be. This is reaction or American independence, depending on the point of view. If they do go to the Supreme Court, past decisions of that body indicate their chances of invalidating the act are better than even.

But they do not have to. Regardless of the way these events may transpire, it is apparent some language more airtight than that of the present bill must be found to achieve the effect desired by its proponents. For the New Hampshire example is a shining light to any state that wants to take advantage of it.

The present bill would prohibit payment, not assessment, of a poll tax as a voting requirement. It thus does not touch New Hampshire, even if enacted and sustained by the Supreme Court.

Neither would it touch any state which:

6-13-48

1. Repealed its poll tax voting requirement.
2. Made tax assessment in general, a qualification instead.
3. By another statute levied a per capita tax without reference to voting, as do all the New England states.
4. By still another statute made the tax payable on demand at time of assessment, at option of the collector, as does New Hampshire.

If this procedure ever was carried to the Supreme Court and invalidated for the Southern States, there would be some snarled New England state constitutions as well.

34e(1) 1948 New Hampshire

Coattails Flapping, Tobey Takes Up For Home State

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Wed. 8-4-48

WASHINGTON — (AP) — His coattails flapping, Senator Tobey (R), New Hampshire, rushed into the Senate Tuesday to deny that New Hampshire citizens have to pay a poll tax before they can vote.

Tobey, who spilled out words so fast the official reporters couldn't keep up with him, shouted that Southerners were "wrong, all wrong" in this contention. 34e(1)

It all started when Senator Sparkman (D), Alabama, interrupted a long speech by Senator Hill (D), Alabama, to say that under New Hampshire law a man could be sent to jail for failure to pay a $2 poll tax. Sparkman said the citizen would have to work it out at 50 cents a day but pay $2.50 a day to the jailor for his keep.

Hill said they don't put a man in jail down South if he doesn't pay his poll tax.

Tobey came bursting out of the Senate cloakroom at this moment to announce he had been told by Senator Taft (R), Ohio, that New Hampshire's tax was being debated.

"I ran in here quickly to put out the fire," the New Hampshire senator declared.

He read a letter from George H. Duncan, New Hampshire tax commissioner, saying "it is not true" that the payment of a poll tax is a qualification for voting in that state. 8-4-48

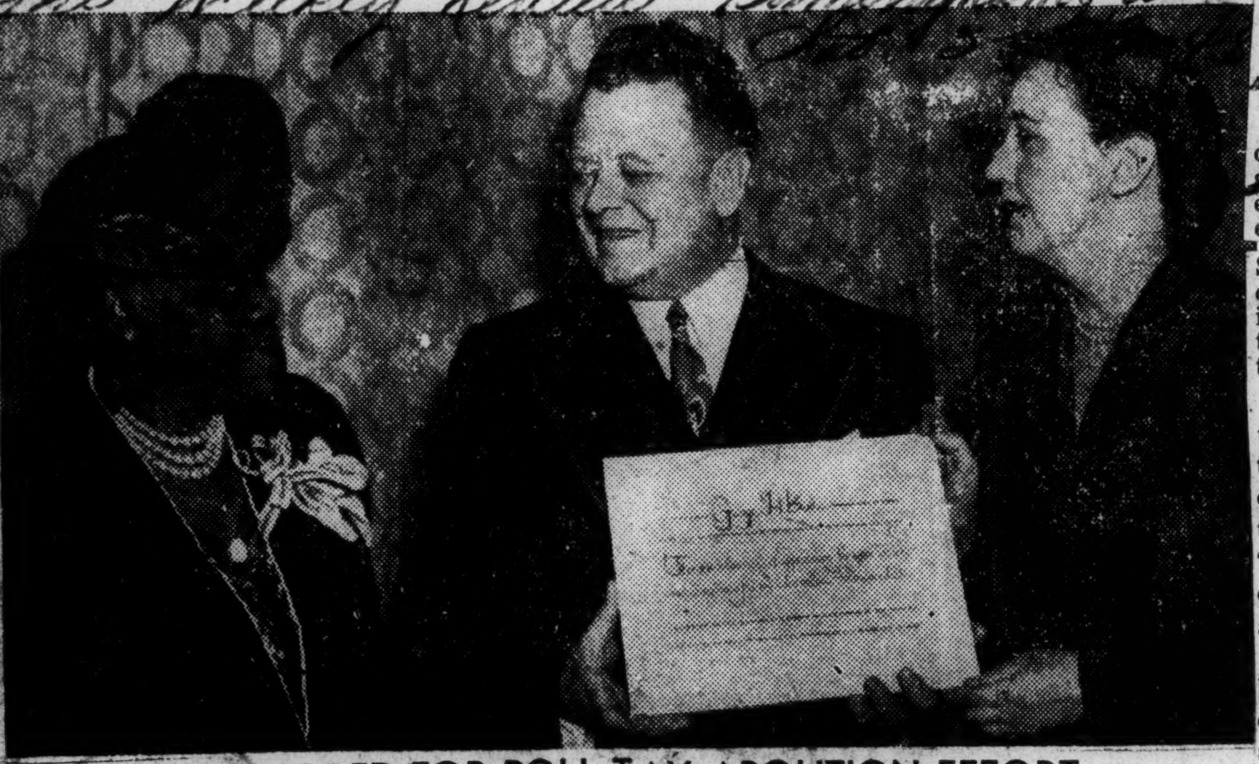
Tobey said Senator Eastland (D), Mississippi, his friend and "fellow traveler to the United Nations conference at San Francisco" was to blame for bringing the matter up.

Eastland then read a newspaper article which said New Hampshire law called for the assessment of a poll tax, but indicated that people were not required to pay it in order to vote. Wd. 8-4-48

Tobey retired to the cloakroom, tossing over his shoulder the observation that "Shakespeare once wrote a play entitled 'Much Ado About Nothing'."

Rep. Bender Given Plaque

The Weekly Review Birmingham, Ala.



HONORED FOR POLL TAX ABOLITION EFFORT

34e(1)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Honored for his efforts to eliminate the poll tax, Rep. George H. Bender, Ohio at large, is presented a testimonial plaque by Mrs. Virginia Foster Durr (right), vice chairman of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax. Participating in the ceremony is Mrs. Mary McLeob Bethune, president of the National Council for Negro Women. The presentation was made at a recent dinner given by the national committee. Bender is the author of an anti-poll tax measure which will soon be debated on the House floor.

Southern Democrats Near Victory In Poll Tax Fight

Columbia Record

The Southern Democrats have been conducting their leisurely "educational campaign" on a motion to take up the anti-poll tax bill.

34e(1)

Yesterday Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, Republican leader, backed by four Northern Democrats, tried to break the three-day filibuster by filing a petition to invoke the cloture rule so as to limit debate.

This could have been done only by two-thirds vote.

Columbia, S.C.

But in this case, Senator Dick Russell of Georgia raised the point of order that cloture could not be applied to a motion to take up a bill.

Tue. 8-3-48

And Senator Vandenberg, president of the Senate, ruled that cloture could be invoked only to limit debate on a pending "measure" not a "pending motion."

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, G. O. P. policy leader, appealed the whole Senate from the chair's ruling.

The appeal, itself, however, is debatable and the Southerners are proceeding to debate it.

If they wanted to do so they could carry on the debate on this appeal for another week or so and when it was over they could take up again on the original motion to bring the anti-poll tax bill to the Senate floor.

8-3-48

It can almost be put down now as certain that the Southerners have won their fight, not, of course, without a bit of aid from the Republicans who like them see no sense in Truman's special political session.

When the Republicans are ready to take up the first of the measures they want to pass they will work out an agreement with the Southern Democrats to side-track the civil rights bills and the educational campaign will be ended. Until then it will go on and on.

Dropping Of Poll Tax Brings Better Government, Author Says

34e(1)

Daily World

NEW YORK.—(ANP)—The dropping of the poll tax in Georgia has brought about better government and more interest in government among the people, Lillian Smith, a native of Georgia, declared in a recent article printed in the ADA World, published by the Americans for Democratic Action.

In describing Georgia in its poll tax days she told of a state where the poor people knew that government was not for them. She told how from time to time "somebody" paid people's poll taxes and herded them to the polls and told them who to vote for.

"Anyone who had watched this happen and who loves man's freedom knows the poll tax is no small evil as some say carelessly, but termites crumbling the foundations of democracy," she said.

Changed Picture

Since two and a half years ago when the poll tax was abolished in Georgia, she wrote, the picture has changed. People who have never voted, and never thought to do so are now watching their votes and scrutinizing the candidates.

"Workers on my farm," she said, "planting corn in the field, will stop in the middle of a furrow to talk politics. . . . Five years ago, they didn't care who was elected or why. But they care now and it is hard to fool them. Their free vote has become too precious to waste.

TEN MILLION DISFRANCHISED BY POLL TAX

34e(1)

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 25—"Poll tax representatives and senators have been able to return to Congress year after year to oppose civil rights legislation, only because the overwhelming majority of their constituents are completely disfranchised," Leslie Perry, of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, today told the Senate Rules and Administration Committee, which is holding hearings on the anti-poll tax bill which passed the House last July.

Fri 4-9-48

San Francisco Calif.

The NAACP representative told the committee that 10,000,000 American citizens, black and white alike, are disfranchised by the poll tax. He cited as a typical county in the poll tax states, Sumter, South Carolina, where, although workers were theoretically receiving high wages in 1944, 25 per cent of the Negro families and 2 per cent of the white families had an income of less than $500 a year. "With wage levels such as these," Perry contended, "it is clear to everyone that a tax on the right to vote constitutes an effective bar to a vast number of citizens."

Fri 4-9-48

"We find it very difficult to see how the United States can, in good conscience, insist on democracy in Europe and China, while at home it continues to permit unscrupulous politicians in seven southern states to nullify democracy through the exaction of a poll tax," the NAACP statement concluded.

South Loses on Draft Bill Amendment

Detroit Free Press

Tues. 6-8-48

34e(1)

6 Other Proposals on Civil Rights Defeated

Detroit Mich.

WASHINGTON—(AP)—The Senate voted Monday night to outlaw state poll taxes as a condition to voting in Federal elections by members of the armed forces.

Southern Democrats, after several hours of talking against the proposal, abandoned the fight and permitted the amendment to the draft bill to come to a vote.

* * *

IT WAS ADOPTED, 37 to 35. Senator Langer (R., N. D.) sponsored the amendment, along with six others based on President Truman's civil-rights program.

All the others were shelved or voted down without the senators' passing on the civil-rights issue itself.

6-8-48

But the antipoll tax amendment produced a bitter fight threatening at times to become a filibuster that could have blocked passage of draft and other legislation before Congress adjourns June 19.

Voting for the antipoll tax proposal were 34 Republicans, including Michigan's Senator Vandenberg, and three Democrats. Five Republicans and 30 Democrats opposed it.

Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.) was absent from Washington and not recorded.

* * *

MANY BACKERS of the President's rights program voted against most of the Langer amendments to avoid delaying action on the draft.

Langer's amendment to bar all race segregation in the military services was defeated on a roll call vote of 67 to 7.

Thirty-four Republicans, including Vandenberg, and 33 Democrats voted to table the proposal with five Republicans and two Democrats opposed.

One of the rejected amendments would have forbidden segregation of service men traveling on trains, buses or other interstate means of transportation. Another would have made lynching of a service man a Federal crime.

6-8-48

REPUBLICAN leaders, who had stood firm against the first six amendments on tactical grounds, divided on the antipoll tax proposal.

Senator Taft (R., O.), indorsed it and called for a roll call.

Southern senators were on their feet at once.

Detroit Free Press

Senator Russell (D., Ga.) shouted that the amendment "goes to the very heart of the Constitution of the United States and for that reason should not be adopted."

Senator Stennis (D., Miss.) said he challenged the right of Congress to legislate on state voting. He declared that state suffrage taxation and police powers are not subject to Congressional "interference."

Poll Tax Bill Starts Polite Filibustering

Washington Post

Washington D.C.

Southerners Lacking In Old Fiery Attack; Republicans Go Along

A "gentleman's filibuster" with courteous assists from the Senate Republican leadership, got under way yesterday as Southern Democrats launched their campaign against Federal action to repeal the poll tax.

Missing entirely were the old Southern fire-and-brimstone appeals to emotion and racial prejudices.

Fri. 7-30-48

Missing, too, were any signs of a squirming GOP drive to dam at the outset a flood of oratory against one of the 18 points covered by President Truman in his message to Congress Tuesday.

Not yet ready to act on either inflation or housing, the two major demands the Chief Executive made on Congress, the Republicans placidly agreed to let members of the President's own party air their differences with the Administration position.

Height of Courtesy

The very height of senatorial courtesy and consideration was reached.

Senator Tom Stewart (D., Tenn.) ran out of material late in the afternoon. He politely mentioned to the Acting Republican floor leader that he had some more material available in his office and he wished to continue for another 30 minutes.

7-30-48

Therefore, he said, he would ask unanimous consent to hold over the tag-end of his speech until this morning.

Suavely the Republicans agreed and the Senate was recessed at 4:14 p. m., until 11 a. m. today with the understanding that Stewart has the floor at that time. He can yield to another Southern Democrat if he gets weary.

Hill Startles Chamber

Only once was a loud note sounded in the gentle harmony. That was apparently because of a short-lived confusion in signals.

GOP Senator William E. Jenner (R., Ind.) had gained the floor and given a long speech accusing the Administration of discouraging meat production.

7-30-48

When he ground to a halt, Alabama's Senator Lister Hill jumped to his feet and startled the quiet and sleepy chamber with a loud demand for recognition.

Apparently Hill had feared some surprise move to catch the Southerners unaware and quash the filibuster.

7-30-48

When Senate President Arthur H. Vandenberg (R., Mich.) nodded recognition, Hill dropped his voice several octaves and said he merely wanted to put a speech in the Congressional Record.

"I thought the place was on fire," quipped Vandenberg.

Stennis Leads Talkathon

Smiling, Hill apologized profusely for "alarming the chair" and obtained permission to place in the Record the speech he made at the Democratic National Convention nominating Senator Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.) as the South's protest candidate for the Presidency.

The filibuster-by-gentleman's-agreement was on again.

The Southern talkathon was led by Senator John S. Stennis (D., Miss.). Successor to the late Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Stennis is as much of a contrast to the vituperative, fire-eating Bilbo as it is possible to imagine.

A Phi Beta Kappa and former judge, Stennis based his entire argument upon constitutional issues.

Senate passage of the House-approved bill, Stennis declared, would "set a precedent whereby a mere majority of the Congress can prescribe qualifications of the voters that are to elect the members of Congress."

Wants People to Decide

He urged that this power should rest with the people.

"Let the people pass a constitutional amendment (barring the poll tax) if they wish," he said, "but above all else, let us preserve the Constitution as it is now written and also preserve it later as it may be amended."

Fri. 7-30-48

At the President's press conference yesterday a reporter asked: "Do you think that the Senate has acted in good faith in starting its work on the civil rights controversy?"

Fri.

At first Mr. Truman said he had no omment. Then he added that the Senate stands before the country—in the November election—just as he does. The Senators, he stated, will have to take the consequences of their own actions.

Poll Tax Robs 10 Million, Poor Whites Hit Hardest

Afro American

Sat 3-27-48

WASHINGTON

The poll tax—which disfranchises 10 million white and colored citizens in seven Southern States—keeps seven white to every three colored persons away from the polls, a statistical report released last week by The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax revealed.

Baltimore, Md.

The figures released by Mrs. Sarah H. D'Avila, the committee's executive secretary, showed that only 3,118,000 out of 14,548,000 potential voters cast a ballot in the last Presidential election in the poll-taxed States, or 19% of the potential voters.

(There were eight poll-tax States during the 1944 Presidential election. Georgia repealed its poll tax as of Feb., 1945).

Whites Suffer Most

Mrs. D'Avila emphasized that the 7 to 3 ratio between white and colored people kept from the polls by the tax is important, because it indicates that the tax is no respector of color—falling more heavily on the poor white than the colored person.

In the three Southern States where the poll tax had been repealed up to 1944—North Carolina, Louisiana and Florida—the committee's figures showed that 32.6% of the potential voters voted.

Revealing Comparisons

In States that never had a poll tax and never set up other barriers to voting, 63% of the potential voters went to the polls. Southern poll-tax States, storm centers of the civil rights' "revolt," have the smallest percentage of voting to total population.

The percentages of potential votes cast in poll-tax States in 1944 were: Alabama, 15; Arkansas, 20;

Sat 3-27-48

Georgia, 16; Mississippi, 15; South Carolina, 10; Tennessee, 28; Texas, 22; and Virginia, 19. The percentages in the three States which repealed the tax before 1944 were: North Carolina, 40; Louisiana, 24; and Florida, 34.

GROUND-BREAKING RITES HELD AT PAYNE SEMINARY

WILBERFORCE, Ohio — Construction of a $150,000 administration building started March 15 on the campus of Payne Theological Seminary with a ground-breaking ceremony. When completed it will house a chapel, library, lecture rooms and offices.

GOP Doublecrossed Race on Poll Tax Bill

The Courier Sat 8-14-48

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By LEM GRAVES Jr.

(Courier's Washington Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—Another Republican "promise"—to do something "next year" about the Senate rules for breaking filibusters—featured the complete GOP capitulation to the Southern Democrats on the poll tax issue in the Senate here last week.

Notwithstanding the fact that the GOP had "promised" this cloture revision before and had done nothing about several rule-changing resolutions before it for the two years of the Eightieth Congress, the GOP leadership, with a naive contempt for the intelligence and the memories of Negro voters in this country, blandly passed over the poll tax bill—after using it for the transparently phony purpose of sabotaging the President's program for the special session — with a "wait-until-next-year" promise.

GOP'S SOLID RETREAT

The tricky parliamentary maneuvers which resulted in effectively killing the poll tax bill found the Republicans voting—to a man—to displace the bill after it had served their purpose. Every GOP Senator in the upper chamber—without a single exception—voted with the Dixiecrat filibusters from the South to "adjourn" last Wednesday instead of recessing so that the pending business, the anti-poll tax bill, would not be removed from the calendar.

Sat 8-14-48

This coalition of Southern Democrats and all of the Republicans rolled up a 69-to-16 vote for "adjournment" with only the Truman Democrats voting to keep the poll tax bill on the floor.

The last six hours of the "filibuster" were consumed by Republican Senator Wayne Morse, liberal Oregon solon, who placed in the record an answer to the constitutional argument against the poll tax bill by the Dixiecrats. However, in addition to presenting the liberal argument on the poll tax bill, prepared by NAACP attorneys, Senator Morse gave his lengthy address a political flavor by insisting that his views represented the stand of the Republican party.

MORSE FOOLED NOBODY

Not even the most naive political observer was misled, however, into the belief that Senator Morse's rather advanced and enlightened views on this subject could be disguised as the views of the GOP party and its leadership in the Senate.

A notoriously "irregular" maverick in the Republican fold, Senator Morse has seldom undertaken to speak for the Republican party before and, in the face of the obvious sham with which the GOP leadership had booted around the civil rights issue placed before it by Mr. Truman, most observers expressed considerable surprise at this aspect of the six-hour Morse pronouncement.

Man Files Suit To Compel Collection of The Poll-Tax

Journal Guide Sat 8-14-48

Norfolk Va.

By Associated New Press

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Jennings Perry, former local newspaper man and currently president of the Tennessee Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, filed suit in chancery court here last week seeking to force collection of the poll tax, in an effort to demonstrate whether it is good or bad. The suit asks a writ of mandamus to require the county trustees to collect the tax.

Sat 8-14-48

Perry said his suit is based on the fact that "it may be that proper enforcement of the tax will demonstrated whether it is a good tax or a bad one." His theory is that under state laws every inhabitant between 21 and 50 years of age, not specifically exempted by statute to pay an annual poll tax of $1 to the county trustee, is obliged to observe that law. Counties are authorized to charge a similar amount, which makes the tax amount to $2 usually.

The suit will be heard before Chancellor William J. Wade on Aug.

69-16 Senate Vote Puts Poll-Tax Fight On Shelf

The Courier-Journal

Louisville Ky

34e(1)

Burial of Bill Held Victory for 'Dixiecrats'; Barkley Says G.O.P. Ends 'Week of Futility'

Thur. 8-5-48

By **ROBERT L. RIGGS**

The Courier-Journal Washington Bureau.

Washington, Aug. 4.—Twenty-four Democrats joined with 45 Republicans in the Senate today to give the anti-poll-tax bill its usual burial. Sixteen Democrats held out to the end to keep up the fight for the measure which would forbid states to make the payment of poll taxes a requisite to voting in federal election.

The vote of 69 to 16 by which the bill was laid aside brought to a close the Southern filibuster which has kept the Senate motionless from the moment it assembled in response to President Truman's call.

States' Rights Democrats' plans to campaign in Kentucky are reported on Page 2.

Not a Republican Senator voted against the motion which shelved the poll-tax fight. Even Wayne Morse of Oregon and William Langer of North Dakota stuck by the decision reached at the Republican conference this morning. The Republicans were joined in a body by 23 Dixie Democrats, plus Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, who long has argued that the anti-poll-tax bill is unconstitutional.

Barkley Leads Democrats.

Thur. 8-5-48

Under the leadership of Alben W. Barkley, the following Democrats voted to keep up the fight against the Southern filibuster:

Downey, California; Green, Rhode Island; Hatch, New Mexico; Johnson, Colorado; Kilgore, West Virginia; Lucas, Illinois; Magnuson, Washington; McGrath, Rhode Island, who is Democratic national chairman; McMahon, Connecticut; Murray, Montana; Myers, Pennsylvania; Pepper, Florida; Thomas, Oklahoma; Thomas, Utah, and Taylor of Idaho, who is Henry A. Wallace's running mate.

Barkley told the Republicans that in ending the fight they were "bringing to an end more than a week of futility." The Senate is no more ready to take action on Truman's requests than it was when it assembled a week ago Monday, Barkley said.

Wherry Tells 'Travesty.'

"There is no business now on the calendar that wasn't there a week ago," Barkley said. "We've heard rumors of a joint committee, composed of the Republican members of the Banking and Currency Committees of the two houses, being appointed to survey the situation and see what may be brought in.

"It may not lie in my mouth to question the appointment of a partisan committee, instead of having the whole membership of those committes handle the matter. But today the situation is precisely what it was when we started. The American people will regard this as a travesty upon free enterprise in legislation.

"The American people do not understand all the intricacies of parliamentary maneuvering. But I think they will understand it if we don't accomplish anything here."

Thur 8-5-48

Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, acting majority leader, defended his party's decision not to have night sessions in an effort to break the filibuster.

"Holding night sessions in an attempt to do the impossible would be hypocrisy," Wherry said. "There could be no breaking of the filibuster until the Senate's rules are changed."

Both Barkley and Wherry gave their pledges to work for a change in the Senate rules at the next session so that filibusters can be broken.

"At least," Wherry said, "we have done one thing this week. We have demonstrated to the American people that our rules must be changed."

Here's Senate Vote Putting Poll-Tax Dispute Aside

Washington, Aug. 4 (AP)—Following is the Senate vote which put aside the poll tax dispute:

(Technically, the vote was on whether to "adjourn" until tomorrow—which had the effect of dropping the poll-tax issue—or "recess").

Thur. 8-5-48

10

For Adjournment (69):

Republicans—Aiken, Baldwin, Ball, Brewster, Bricker, Bridges, Brooks, Buck, Butler, Cain, Capper, Cooper, Cordon, Donnell, Dworshak, Ecton, Ferguson, Flanders, Gurney, Hawkes, Hickenlooper, Ives, Jenner, Kem, Knowland, Langer, Lodge, Martin, McCarthy, Millikin, Moore, Morse, Revercomb, Robertson (Wyo.), Saltonstall, Smith, Taft, Thye, Tobey, Vandenberg, Watkins, Wherry, Wiley, Williams, Young (45).

Democrats—Byrd, Conally, Eastland, Ellender, Feazel, Fulbright, Hayden, Hill, Hoey, Holland, Johnston (S. C.), Maybank, McClellan, McFarland, McKellar, O'Conor, O'Mahoney, Robertson (Va.), Russell, Sparkman, Stennis, Stewert, Tydings, Umstead (24).

8-5-48

Against Adjournment (16):

Republicans—None.

Democrats—Barkley, Downey, Green, Hatch, Johnson (Col.), Kilgore, Lucas, Magnuson, McGrath, McMahon, Murray, Myers, Pepper, Taylor, Thomas (Okla.), Thomas (Utah) (16).

POLL TAX EFFECT IN SOUTH IS VIEWED

The Times

Extent of Its Cut In to Vote Held Moot—Figures Explain Low General Election Balloting

New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 30—The pending anti-poll tax bill would strike down that qualification on voting not only in the general elections but in primaries as well, wherever these involved races for the Presidency and for the House and Senate.

Sat

It would, however, by no means end various restrictions on voting in the South, some of them official and some simply based on custom.

Apart from ordinary literacy tests, where many prospective voters would fail, there are other requirements. In Mississippi, for example, the election officials may require a prospective voter to interpret, to their satisfaction, the State Constitution.

7-31-48

The question, therefore, as to precisely how deeply the poll tax cuts into the vote in the South generally is one long lost in controversy, although beyond dispute it has a restrictive effect.

Some anti-poll tax advocates have pointed to the low totals in general elections in the South to support their contention that the poll tax had a widely disfranchising effect.

This, however, runs at least to some extent against the observable facts, known to all long residents of the South, that nine times in ten a general election in the South is largely meaningless and that thousands of perfectly qualified voters habitually abstain.

This, of course, is due to the fact that the real "election" in the South is the Democratic primary.

The latest figures available of voting in a national race, that for Congress in 1946, as given by the office of the House author of the poll tax repealer, Representative George Bander of Ohio, show the following:

Alabama, for all nine House seats 271,069 in the primary and 179,488 in the general election.

Arkansas, for three contested House seats in the primary 51,470; for all seven seats in the general election, 151,333.

Mississippi, for four contested House seats 137,422 in the primary; for all seven seats 50,037 in the general election.

South Carolina, for three contested House seats 146,250 in the primary; 26,388 for all six seats in the general election.

Tennessee, for eight contested House seats in the primary 292,184; for all ten seats in the general election 193,448.

Texas, for all twenty-one House seats in the primary 1,185,833; for all twenty-one seats in the general election, 347,395.

Sat

Virginia, for five contested House seats in the primary 151,354; for all nine seats in the general election 253,864.

7-31-48

The latest information available here indicates that the poll tax is collected at the following varying rates: in Alabama, $1.50; in Arkansas, $1; in Mississippi, $2; in South Carolina, $1; in Tennessee, $1; in Texas, $1; in Virginia, $1.50.

POLL-TAX SUFFRAGE

The Times

The fight to enact a federal law to bar the payment of a poll tax as a qualification for voting in national elections has been lost in the special session because of the Southern filibuster. The war must go on. The poll tax is a vermiform appendix on the body politic, the last holdover of the old days of property qualification, a form of political snobbery that has no place in a democracy. Although used primarily against the Negro in the South, it acts no less against many poor white people. The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights estimated that in the 1944 Presidential elections only 18.31 per cent of the eligible voters in eight Southern poll-tax states cast their ballots. This contrasted with a percentage of 68.74 of eligible voters voting in the forty other states. Even in the primaries, which are sometimes called the real Southern elections, the poll-tax states are far below the national average in percentage of votes cast.

Fri 8-6-48

Many progressive Southerners are opposed to the poll tax. Four Southern states—North Carolina, Louisiana, Florida and Georgia—have abolished the tax since 1921. Georgia, in 1945, was the last. If the Southern states believe an attempt to abolish the tax by federal statute is an invasion of their rights, they have an easy remedy at hand. They can abolish the tax themselves.

It is difficult to see how anyone except a politician bent on using public office for private profit could favor a poll tax, or other restrictions, which hold a vote to 18.31 per cent, or less, of the eligibles. That is a situation made to order for demagogues. You can fool some of the people some of the time, or maybe all the time, as Lincoln implied in his negative statement on the matter. The smaller the fraction the easier it should be to keep them befuddled.

New York N.Y.

If the filibuster in Congress against a federal statute serves to illuminate some of the disabilities of the poll tax for the average citizen who has to pay through his other, and larger, taxes for incompetent officials, then it will have done that much good. When the Rebel yells in Congress have died away the citizens of the seven Southern states that still have the poll tax might start a calm evaluation of just what the poll tax does or does not do. We believe they will find that the disabilities accruing from it far outweigh dubious virtues attributed to it.

THE POLL-TAX FILIBUSTER

The Times

Sat 7-31-48

New York N.Y.

The abolition of the poll tax in seven Southern states cannot be regarded as an emergency. Even the President's Committee on Civil Rights, reporting last year, did not so treat it. The Committee recommended "prompt state action," failing which it believed that "the nation, either by act of Congress or by constitutional amendment, should remove this final barrier to universal suffrage." Certainly this meant a year or two of grace. But circumstances have brought the matter to a head at this special session. President Truman at Philadelphia openly challenged the Republicans to enact their civil rights plank, even if they had to beat down a filibuster to do it. Now they have the filibuster. The House has four times passed this measure. The Senate would pass it if it could be brought to a vote. A minority of Senators, not all of them from poll-tax states, is willing to hold up the nation's business and prevent legislation of a really emergency character in order to prevent a vote.

34e(1)

This situation presents two issues. One of them is majority rule. Is the Senate maintaining its own dignity and meeting its own responsibility when, under the guise of freedom of debate, it permits a legislative question to be decided by one-fourth or less of its membership? The other issue is the poll tax itself. It has been plausibly argued that Congress has no power to legislate in this field without a constitutional amendment. We cannot be sure on this point until an anti-poll-tax bill has been passed and appealed to the Supreme Court. Obviously the filibustering Senators do not believe the Court would annul the law, or they would not be so desperately trying to prevent its passage.

Whatever the constitutional argument, the practical argument for abolishing the poll tax and other limitations on universal suffrage is that federal officials elected in communities where universal suffrage is denied make or administer laws for all of us. It is of concern to a citizen of New York or Vermont that these officials be democratically chosen. The poll-tax Senators who are now trying to throw a monkey wrench into the machinery of the special session are an excellent illustration of how grave that concern can be. The Republican majority in the Senate has the power to kill this filibuster. It will be untrue to its own principles if it does not do it.

THOMAS L. STOKES

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

'Nauseous Southern Filibuster'

34e(1)

Mon. 8-2-48

WASHINGTON—Once again we have the somewhat nauseous spectacle of a filibuster by a handful of Southern Senators to prevent action on a measure to lift one of the restrictions in the South on the right to vote, a basic right in our Democracy. In bringing forward the bill to repeal the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting for Federal officials, the Republican Senate leadership has selected the least controversial of the measures embraced in the Civil Rights Program they long have indorsed and which now also carries the specific indorsement of President Truman and the general but unmistakable indorsement by the 1948 Democratic platform.

Developments will show to what extent the Republican leadership is sincere in pushing this bill forward at the outset of the special session and to what extent it is a political maneuver to embarrass President Truman by revealing the split in his own Party and thus retaliation for his call for a special session. It is obvious that this issue could provide a convenient blockade against some of the other legislation that the President has asked of the Republican Congress and that the Southern wing of the Democratic Party could be charged with the blame.

The test of Republican sincerity will come in whether it makes a real effort. after a reasonable time of discussion for this much-discussed issue, to limit debate through cloture and get action. That requires a two-thirds vote.

Whatever Republican motives may be—and doubtless they are mixed, politics being what it is—the Southerners must bear the onus of tangling up Senate procedure by a corruption of the rights and privileges of a legislative minority and of whatever ill effects accrue to other pending legislation from their obstructive tactics. 8-2-48

With our Democracy on parade before the world today it is time to make at least this start affecting the fundamental right of a free ballot. This is not the only impediment on the ballot in the South, but it is one easily reached and removed. The need for abolition of the poll tax has been recognized among many Southerners for a long time. This is attested not only by the fact that in recent years four Southern States have abolished the poll tax, but also by the active campaigns against this and other discriminations. The success of this campaign by earnest Southerners is manifest in a general increase in voting by Negroes in the South since 1940, as is shown by an analysis by Luther P. Jackson, Professor of History at Virginia State College, made for the Southern Regional Council.

The Constitution

This activity has included the bringing of court cases which resulted in the Supreme Court's outlawry of the "white primary." another voting restriction, the subsequent campaigns against various subterfuges to maintain the "white primary," and campaigns against registration practices by which Negroes are kept from voting, which is now perhaps the most serious and effective form of disfranchisement.

Atlanta, Ga.

The filibuster is stark evidence of one fact often commented upon here, which is the backwardness of many members of Congress from the South as contrasted with the forward look of many people in the South who are working for changes and who are misrepresented by leaders who stalk up and down the Senate chamber in their cheap and shoddy filibuster performance. Mon. 8-2-48

Georgia was the latest State to abolish the poll tax. Others which have done away with it in recent years are North Carolina, Florida and Louisiana. But there are still seven States where a citizen has to pay a tax for the principlege of voting, itself un-American and un-democratic—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina. Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. In three of these States it is cumulative, two years in Mississippi, three in Virginia, and in Alabama for as many years as the ctizen has failed to pay since he came of voting age. In those States, particularly, and to a degree in others, it is an effective deterrent to voting among many persons, both colored and white, of low incomes.

While this reform preferably should be achieved by the States, themselves, the difficulties in the States where the tax is still imposed are so great that it has become necessary for Congress to act in the field where it has authority, in election of Federal officials. This is important for democratic formulation of National policy.

Ugly Collusion For the Poll Tax

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky

COLLUSION between Southern Democrats and the Republican Senate majority has doomed already any federal anti-poll tax legislation at the extra session. Also it has wasted precious time. It is particularly cynical in that the Republicans already are promising an anti-poll tax bill of their own at the January session of Congress, but for obvious political reasons are making no sincere effort to break the filibuster which Southern States' Righters have begun.

34e(1)

Sat. 7-31-48

There is not even the prospect of a vote on the merits of the anti-poll tax bill which already has passed the House of Representatives. The filibuster is not on passage of the bill, but merely on a motion to bring the bill before the Senate for a vote.

In one respect the filibuster is revealing. It has afforded opportunity for an additional estimate of Senator JOHN C. STENNIS of Mississippi. The contrast in manner between him and the late Senator THEO BILBO, whom he replaces, is great. Where there was shouting and bitter demagoguery on BILBO's part, there is quiet dignity on the part of STENNIS. During his share of the filibuster, Senator STENNIS set something of a precedent by limiting himself to talk that pertained to the motion under consideration. Yet his determination to repress what the Dixiecrats consider "anti-Southern" legislation is as great as BILBO's. It stems from a curious conviction that the Federal Constitution does not apply to Negroes.

Sat. 7-31-48

Since the Republican majority does not make any such absurd contention, it is shameful that the majority is willing to use a regional neurosis to set up the fake claim that it is the Democrats, after all, who have blocked the anti-poll tax bill. The truth is that the Republicans are willing to see good legislation go by default rather than have it pass in such a way as to bring credit to President TRUMAN.

Time for Action On the Poll Tax

Courier Journal

34e(1)

VOTERS in the poll-tax states reading election returns may well conclude that it is time for the poll-tax to go. The Administration, backed by "TRUMAN majorities," is against it, the Republicans professedly are against it, Southern liberals are against it, several Southern States have already abandoned it. The seven still clinging to the vote-killing device would do well to follow their lead promptly, if they really wish to avoid action on a Federal basis.

Mon. 11-8-48

Louisville, Ky

The election returns to date re-tell the old story of the poll-tax requirement helping to disfranchise millions in the poll-tax States, of far heavier voting in the others. Notable, as usual, is the record in South Carolina. With a population (1940) of 1,988,804, the Palmetto State sent only 125,217 voters to the polls Tuesday.

The great States of Virginia and Tennessee had a turnout only a little more creditable, when contrasted with their non-poll tax neighbors in Kentucky, North Carolina, and West Virginia. The following table tells the story:

	Kentucky	N. C.	W. Va.	Tenn.	Va.
Pop.	2,845,627	3,571,623	1,901,974	2,915,841	2,677,773
Vote	780,925	695,932	735,769	520,096	415,975

The poll-tax as a voting requirement is both a State and a national issue. The individual States have a legal right to keep it for their State elections, if they wish to continue the inexcusably undemocratic practice. But the Federal Union of States as a whole has the right and the duty to end this abuse in elections for Federal officials, and the time for such action now seems happily near.

Hedgeman Says Dewey Ruled Poll Tax Defeat

Afro American

34e(1)

Sat 8-21-48

Calls GOP's Affinity With Dixie Bloc On Bill 'Insult' to Our Intelligence

Baltimore, Md.

By JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK (NNPA) — The National Citizens Committee for the Re-election of President Truman opened its campaign to raise a million dollars here last Thursday with a charge that the Senate dropped action on the anti-poll tax bill on the orders of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, GOP Presidential nominee.

Mrs. Anne Arnold Hedgeman, executive director, said in a statement: "It is now clear to everyone that Dewey ordered the Republican Congress to stall as much as possible and then pack and go home without accomplishing anything."

Reply Due From Capital

She declared that Republican Senators had made no secret that they were in constant touch with Dewey. Republican headquarters here would not comment on the charge, but a spokesman said it would be answered from Washington.

"The Dewey-Republican promise to strengthen the cloture rule next January while dropping the poll tax bill at this time is a violation of the Republican platform and an insult to the intelligence of the American people," Mrs. Hedgeman said.

It was also "a smug disregard for the integrity of the voters who have yet to go to the polls," she added.

Sat 8-21-48

Factions May Unite

As Mrs. Hedgeman issued her statement from the downtown Democratic offices five top Harlem party leaders met at the Theresa Hotel in an attempt to co-ordinate two rival factions set up in the past two weeks to raise a million dollars for President Truman's election.

After an all-evening session, Herbert Bruce, director, Truman for President National Crusade, said there was no conflict between his group's efforts to raise a million dollars and that of the Democratic National Committee's campaign headed by Congressman William L. Dawson and Mrs. Hedgeman.

34e(1) 1948

Poll Tax

Mrs. Robinson Says Poll-Tax States Rate Lowest in Education, Health

(34e(1))
The Afro American
Sat 4-3-48

WASHINGTON

After Mrs. Dorothy Robinson, representing the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, had testified before the Senate Rules and Administration Committee that poll-tax States were at the bottom of the list in education, health and public welfare activities, Sen. John Stennis questioned her to show that Mississippi is not so bad.

Baltimore, Md.

"Do you know that Mississippi spends the largest percentage of its tax dollar on education of any of the States?" the Mississippi congressman asked. x

The witness did not know that although that was true, Mississippi's revenues are so low that its educational system is still the poorest in the nation, and there are more illiterates in that State than any other.

Scores Point

But she scored a point by telling him that his State discriminates in spending its educational funds.

"Isn't it true that in a number of those counties down there they have county health units and all the people are treated exactly alike?" Senator Stennis persisted. Mrs. Robinson said she did not know that all people were treated alike.

Trying to show that paternalistic relationship exists among some Southern colored and white persons. Senator Stennis queried. "Do you go out among your colored neighbors in time of sickness and sorrow?" he asked. "I have."

The Old Best 'Friend' Tripe

"Some of my dearest friends are colored people," Mrs. Robinson replied. "I do whatever I can." "I go to their funerals," Senator Stennis remarked. "Do you?" "I have been many times," Mrs. Robinson answered.

Sat 4-3-48

"I am not a man of means at all, but I have loaned colored people money to go to school. Do you know about that side of things?" Senator Stennis asked.

Rep. George H. Bender (Rep., Ohio), author of the anti-poll tax bill which passed the House and which the Republican - controlled Senate committee will report, testified last Wednesday that imposition of the poll tax had resulted in the disfranchisement of the great majority of people, white and colored alike, in the poll-tax States.

S. C. Democrats

Enroll Negroes

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

COLUMBIA, S. C. (SNS)—Attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People told Federal District Judge J. Waites Waring that the court-ordered enrollment for Negroes apparently had been accorded in good faith.

(34e(1))

The statement by the NAACP removed the possibility of court action for the South Carolina Democratic Primary. Wed. 8-4-48

Judge Waring had ordered enrollment books opened July 19. They closed July 31. Investigation of reported violation failed to reveal any according to NAACP officials, who conferred with Judge Waring in Charleston.

The only major race slated in South Carolina is for a seat in the U. S. Senate, which heads the list of campaigns that will culminate with the primary. A second primary will be held August 25, for contests in which no candidate gets a majority of votes.

The vote is expected to exceed the total of 453,000, which was set two years ago. 8-4-48

The '48 primary in which Negroes will vote freely, marks the first in which they've have participated in freely since 1876. Negro leaders in the Palmetto State waged a vigorous legal battle to win this right.

REPUBLICANS QUIT ON POLL TAX MEASURE

Enterprise

Five-Day Filibuster On Part Of Southerners Ends Attempt In Special Session

WILL MAKE TRY LATER

Wed. 8-4-48

Senators Avow Price Control Is Certain Not To Pass At This Time

(34e(1))
McComb, Miss.

Washington —Southern Democrats have won their fight against anti-poll tax legislation. The Republicans in the senate gave up today their efforts to pass the bill at the present special session.

Enterprise Journal

The Southern Democrats have been filibustering against the measure for five days.

However, the Republicans are not willing to let the question of outlawing the poll tax be passed up indefinitely. Chairman Eugene Millikin of the GOP conference said the senators decided to try to change the senate rules during the next session. He said they'll seek regulations to make it possible to invoke cloture, or a limit on debate, effectively. 8-4-48

And Millikin said the concensus is that a constitutional amendment to outlaw the poll tax should not be submitted at the present time.

The senate Republicans hope that with the senate decks cleared for further action this session, congress can quit by Saturday night.

(34e(1))

Some House Republicans also mapped their plans today. They drew their own anti-inflation bill, a measure calling for controls on installment buying and some tightening of bank credits.

One measure congress apparently is certain not to pass is price controls. On the senate side of the Capitol, Millikin said that price controls will not be put into effect. 8-4-48

Millikin also said that senate and house Republican leaders are trying to agree on some sort of housing legislation.

Council Conducts Poll Tax Campaign

The Courier
Sat 3-7-48
(34e(1))

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—The Metropolitan Council of Negro Women have announced that the recent poll tax campaign conducted by the organization proved to be a huge success with more than seventy-five men and women paying their poll taxes at places designated by the council.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The group when paying their tax expressed themselves as being happy to be ready to be able to vote for pertinent issues coming up in future elections.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Charles Andrews, wife of one of a prominent San Antonio physician, chairman of the poll tax committee and a member of the Council, secured the services of four notary publics, Dr. L. M. Lister, Mrs. A. G. Franklin, H. R. Blair and M. Hudspeth, who willingly gave their time and services to this activity.

Sat 3-7-48

Mrs. Jessie M. Hicks, owner of the Hicks Beauty School and also a member of the Council, was in charge of the campaign on the city's East Side.

The Council has done a fine job during the month of January and deserves much credit for the increase in the paying of the city's poll tax. Mrs. L. M. Lister is president of the Council.

34e(1) 1948 Texas

Texas Negroes Defy Terror, Ready Votes

The Worker

34e(1)

N.Y. N.Y. Sun. 2-29-48

HOUSTON, Tex.—Despite increasing acts of terror and intimidation, the Negro people of Texas daily manifest their courage and militancy in the struggle for equal rights and for progressive political action. Part of the record-breaking increase in poll tax payments came through the greater numbers of Negro people who registered to vote.

As an example of how the Southern Bourbons are reacting to this, the Chief of Police in Port Arthur recently declared in an address to the Junior Chamber of Commerce that there was a "Communist plot" in the city to get Negroes to pay poll taxes and to run a candidate for public office.

The Police Chief also warned of this "menace" and declared that his force was keeping very close watch on all the Communists of Port Arthur. This address was a very plain attempt to intimidate the progressive forces and the Negro people of the city.

Sun. 2-29-48

WITHIN THE PAST FEW WEEKS there has also taken place a spurt of outright murders of Negroes by lynch-minded white supremacists.

In Houston, a white woman owner of a drive-in located in a Negro area pumped three bullets into a young Negro who came in through the front door to buy a pack of cigarettes.

In Dallas recently, a rookie policeman shot to death on a bus a Negro who was an innocent bystander in an argument over the Jimcrow bus seating.

★

REPORTS from all quarters of the state indicate powerful support among the Negro people for Wallace and the New Party. Negro trade unionists are showing themselves in the forefront on every issue involving the living standards, peace and democratic rights of the American people.

The white workers and farmers of Texas, wishing to challenge and break the domination of this state by the oil and chemical trusts, must inevitably link themselves up with this powerful and progressive ally, the Negro people. The strength and militancy of the movement of the Negro people stimulates the growth of such unity.

34e(1)

Tex.

Informer & Texas Freeman

San Antonio, Texas

2-7-48-Sat.

Metropolitan Council Sponsors Successful Poll Tax Campaign

2-7-48-Sat.

SAN ANTONIO — The Metropolitan Council sponsored two successful poll-tax campaigns on the east side and the west side, in the past week. Informer &

Through the efforts of Mrs. Smythe D. Andrews, 1114 Culebra avenue, wife of one of our prominent physicians, persons registered for poll tax. Mrs Andrews was successful in securing the services of Mrs A G Franklin, Medames H. R. Blair, C A. Hudspeith and Dr. I. M Lister as volunteers.

Many persons who were unable to go to the courthouse, paid their taxes January 26 at 1430 Zarzamora street. Texas Freeman

Through Miss Jessie Mae Hicks 328 South Pine street, also a member of the Council, Mr. and Mrs. T. Herron were secured as writers. More than 176 persons paid their poll-taxes among whom were 111 students and graduates of the Hicks Beauty School. 2-7-48-Sat.

This was a wonderful showing for both council members and council and the public is deeply appreciative for the fine work done, in spite of the inclement weather both days San Antonio, Tex,

Mor then ever before, people realize the need for organizd efforts on their part, the importance of each citizen securing a poll-tax and using it intelligently.

The Council hopes to do more work towards securing "rights"

34e(1) 1948

Virginia

Seek To Bar Poll Tax In Virginia

World, Atlanta, Ga.

RICHMOND, ~~Va.~~—(NNPA)—A constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in Virginia elections, along with other changes in the State Constitution recommended by the Campbell Suffrage Commission two years ago, began its second journey through the Virginia General Assembly last Wednesday.

34e(1)

A joint resolution, identical with that approved by the 1946 Assembly, was placed before the House of Delegates by Delegates Roy B. Davis, of Halifax, chairman of the Privileges and Elections Committee, along with numerous co-sponsors.

The resolution, listing in detail the delegations and additions to the State Constitution, must be approved by two separate sessions of the Assembly before the proposed amendments may be submitted to popular referendum. If the resolution wins favorable action in the current session, the amendments would be voted on by the people next November.

Besides abolishing the poll tax, the amendments provide for annual registration renewals and also write into the Constitution a firm basis for the State Board of Elections and a bipartisan system of local electoral boards.

Wed 1-28-1

The resolution was passed by both Houses by comfortable majorities in 1946, but there was a sharp debate on both sides of the Capitol.

34e(2) 1948 Alabama

ATTN: SENATOR BONNER

Editor, The Advertiser: Advertiser

The Gentleman from Wilcox must be in a mental fog, or living in days long past. I am sure the people of Alabama are going to elect a man who does not know where he is going or why. 34e(2) Fri. 2-20-48

Why pick on the chairman of the Executive Committee? If Alabama wants to out-Bilbo "The Man" Bilbo, nominate the sponsor of Alabama's racial amendment and let's go at it in a consistent manner.

No one has a right to defend their own political or religious liberty who has moved to curtail or abridge others in such liberty. Montgomery, Ala

"For with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

Troy, Ala. HENRY CHAPMAN.

VOTING SUITS OF 21 NEGROES DISMISSED

(The Associated Press)

Birmingham, May 25.—Suits by 21 Negro plaintiffs seeking to force the Jefferson county board of registrars to register them as voters were dismissed today on motion by their attorney. Withdrawal of the suits came shortly before they were to be heard in circuit court. Arthur D. Shores, Negro attorney, said he asked dismissal of the cases since a companion case was decided by the supreme court last year against the plaintiff.

AFL Leaders Score Registrars, Intercede in Behalf of Negroes

34e(2) Ala. New York, N.Y.

The Worker Sun 2-1-48

BIRMINGHAM. — Abusive practices of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars have stirred a fighting protest from the AFL in Birmingham. After Sam Douglas, local AFL leader, had publicly denounced the board for discriminating against men in overalls who came to register, the AFL called an open meeting of AFL members and representatives of the UMW and District 50 in the county court house.

Some 80 white and 40 Negro workers and local leaders attended the meeting as well as a number of lawyers interested in the fight for the ballot.

★

SEVERAL NEGRO WORKERS rose to recite the long involved list of questions to which they or their friends had been subjected by the board. Douglas had previously noted in his sharp protest published in the Birmingham papers that white workers were being subjected to similar questioning especially after the voters supported Governor Folsom in the Jan. 6 referendum on the self-starter amendment. The Worker

A lawyer present commented: "Why, you couldn't find two people in Washington, including President Truman, who could answer some of those questions!" 2-1-48

★

THE AFL LEADERSHIP pledged to have watchers at the board during the rest of the registration period. They particularly urged the Negro members to go down for registration in large numbers, not in twos and threes, and thereby put pressure on the board to cease its flagrantly unconstitutional question periods. They pledged full support to getting Negro applicants registrants. New York, N.Y.

This was a new departure for the AFL leadership in this community, indicating a new realization that labor must register its strength at the polls in order to carry any political weight, and that the fight for the ballot for Negroes is an essential part of labor's program.

Voters & Vets Present Test Suit Case

The Weekly Review

34e(2) Ala.

Birmingham, Ala

Sat. 4-17-48

Mobile, Alabama

The Voters and Veterans Association of this city and of the State of Alabama, have been joined by interested individuals as members of various organizations, representing the state of Florida, in raising funds for financing a "test suit" seeking repeal of the Boswell Amendment. The case has been placed on file and is scheduled to come up for trial in the very immediate future. He Association is making a SPECIAL APPEAL to all churches Lodges and Welfare Organizations throughtout the city and county as well, in solicitation of moral and financial support, greatly needed in fighting the Boswell Amendment to a successful finish. 5-17-48

SPECIAL NOTICE! ! !

Mobile, Alabama The Weekly Review

In view of the November Election Primary, the Voters and Veterans Association issues a request that ALL COLORED QUALIFIED VOTERS, throughout the city and county of Mobile, come to the Voters and VETERANS HALL, located at 559 Adams Street—corner of Warren St. on nights during which their regular meeting are held, which are Mondays and Thurs days of each week at 7 P. M., in order to study most thoroughly, the MERITS and QVALIFICATIONS of those Candidates who wil seek election to offices during the November and subsequent election periods. A "Split Vote" represents weakness and means very little effective help to any one. On the other hand, much can be accomplished to better advantage of all involved, where the vote is "Solid". Persons to receive the bulk of Colored Votes, must show more than a "Casual Interest" in matters pertaining to the Progressive Welfare of Negroes, throughout this section. The Colored Vate will be won by those who will "stick by their guns" and wage a continuous fight, governed by principals of Righteousness, Justice and Fair-Play; without regard for COLOR, RACE CREED OR NATIONALITY until "platform objectives shall have been accomplished. All Qualified Voters are welcomed and invited to meet with us at all times. Your co-operation is solicited. Sat. 4-17-48

Birmingham, Ala. 4-17-48

The Weekly Review

Birmingham, Ala

Sat. 4-17-48

J. J. Thomas President

(Miss) A. B. McGrew—Sect'y.

Patterson Won't Enter Vote Fight

Courier

34e(2)

Pittsburgh, Pa.

TUSKEGEE, Ala.—President F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute is staying out of the fight to unsnarl the tangled registration machinery in Macon County, where local Negroes clamor for voting privileges. Sat. 1-3-48

Dr. Patterson said he was "staying out of it because of the Institute." Local citizens protested against his attitude, however, when he observed:

"It would take twenty-five years for Negroes to learn to use the ballot after they get it. The white people do not use it fully, so I see no reason to assume the Negroes would."

The statement, released by the Associated Press, was quoted in the Dec. 18 issue of The Montgomery Advertiser.

With Negroes constituting 81 per cent of the 27,000 population of the county, an effort is being made to get the State to open the books for registration of voters. There has been no registration board here since June, 1946, and no member of either race has qualified as a voter since that time, as voting machinery has been completely paralyzed.

$100,000 Suit on Ala. Vote Delayed 30 Days

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (ANP)—The $100,000 damages suit on disfranchisement charges brought by 10 Mobile County citizens received a setback here last Wednesday when a Federal district judge granted the defendants a 30-day extension to file answer to charges.

The suit names as defendants Gov. James E. Folsom, E. C. Boswell, Geneva, author of the Boswell Amendment; the Mobile County Board of Registrars, and the State board of appointment.

The amendment requires that would-be voters be compelled to pass an examination on the U.S. Constitution before being permitted to vote. The plaintiffs contend in their suit that they were barred from voting because of this amendment.

Montgomery Advertis

McCORVEY'S DEFEAT

Editor, The Advertiser: Wed. 6-23-48

I have always had the highest regard for Mr. Gessner T. McCorvey professionally and personally. But many loyal Democrats think he has made a mistake politicaly. He was defeated in the recent primary election as a candidate for delegate to the National Democratic Convention because he abdicated a part of his official duties and functions as chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee by promoting and spearheading a split in the Democratic Party of Alabama. Many Democrats have the old-fashioned idea that it is part of the duties of the State chairman to work for and to promote harmony in the party, rather than sponsor and work for the disruption of the party.

6-23-48

No one can gainsay the fact that it is not the function or duty of the chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee to advocate and finance a split and bolt in the Democratic Party, or to aid or participate in such a disruption. On the contrary, it is his duty, and loyalty should persuade him, as head of the State Democratic Party organization, to work for and promote party harmony and to use to the fullest his energies and abilities in this regard in preventing party strife and disunity.

In the recent primary election, Mr. McCorvey not only led the bolt and split in the party, but advised and participated in the spending of thousands of dollars in forming and advertising a slate of bolting candidates and in pitting that slate against other candidates whose party loyalty has never been questioned. He used not only party funds, which was wrong in itself, but large sums of money from undisclosed sources were used in sowing dissension and discord in the party that will take years to heal. These funds were used against many loyal Democratic candidates. Most Democrats in Alabama do not approve of such methods, used by high party officials, in an effort to destroy party law, party discipline and party loyalty.

Birmingham. RALPH W. QUINN.

10 Mobile Negroes Challenge Boswell Amendment Legality

34e(2) Ala. The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala. Sun 2-29-48

MOBILE, ALA., Feb. 28.—(AP)—A suit filed in federal court here Saturday charged the Boswell Amendment to Alabama's constitution is a "conspiracy" to deprive not only Negroes of the right to vote, but also to prevent non-members of the Democratic Party from voting in Alabama.

The complaint named as defendants Gov. James E. Folsom, former State Rep. E. C. Boswell of Geneva, Ala., author of the amendment, members of the state board appointing election registrars, and of the Mobile county Board of Registrars.

The plantiffs, ten Mobile county Negroes, asked that the amendement and related statutes be declared unconstitutional, and that they be awarded damages totalling $100,000.

The complaint was submitted by David R. Landau of Chicago, who identified himself as a member of and counsel for two civil liberties organizations in the Illinois city.

Democratic party leaders here predicted a long-drawn court battle. They said that even if upheld the suit could not interfere with party primaries this year. The Advertiser

The Boswell amendment, adopted in a 1946 referendum, provides that any citizen seeking registration as a voter shall be able to understand and explain the constitution of the United States. Montgomery, Ala

The complaint alleged that the amendment denies privileges guaranteed to citizens by the 14th and 15th amendments to the federal constitution. Sun 2-29-48

Landau said he shortly would file a similar suit for "white citizens of Alabama who are disfranchised because they are potential Republican voters."

Working Of Boswell Amendment

Birmingham, Ala

The News is presenting on this page today the first of a series of articles about registration procedures and practices in Jefferson County. It feels that the people of the community would like to know exactly how the laws pertaining to registration of voters are working. There have been some changes since the passage of the Boswell amendment in November of 1946.

34e(2) Ala

It was freely predicted that the new section of the Constitution of Alabama would make it more difficult to enlarge the electorate. Yet every student of good government knows that the greatest margin of public safety always comes with sound growth of the electorate. What this paper wanted to find out was whether or not the new law was helping to make for better government. Therefore it was decided to study what was going on in Jefferson County. 2-11-48

Meanwhile there had been a good deal of public interest displayed in charges brought against the local Board of Registrars by the Birmingham Federation of Labor. *The News* has watched developments very closely. It has tried to get at the facts.

Thus the series of articles—four in number—which begins today is intended to present expositionally the material that was surveyed.

Mobile Suit Attacks Constitutionality Of Boswell Amendment

The Times
Birmingham, Ala
Sun. 2-29-48

MOBILE, Ala., Feb. 28—(AP)—A suit filed in Federal Court here Saturday charged that the Boswell amendment to Alabama's constitution is a "conspiracy" to deprive not only Negroes of the right to vote but also to prevent non-members of the Democratic Party from voting in Alabama.

34e(2)

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The Boswell amendment, adopted in a 1946 referendum, provides any citizen seeking registration as a voter shall be able to understand and explain the Constitution of the U. S. Birmingham, Ala.

The complaint alleged the amendment denies privileges guaranteed to citizens by the 14th and 15th amendments to the Federal Constitution. Sun 2-29-48

Laudau said he shortly would file a similar suit for "white citizens of Alabama who are disfranchised because they are potential Republican voters."

The complaint said that when the Negroes appeared before the Mobile County Board of Registrars, they were asked questions about the Federal Constitution, and then told they would not be allowed to register because their answers were unsatisfactory.

How Right to Vote Is Nullified Under Alabama's Boswell Law

34e(2) The Worker New York, N.Y.
Sun 2-22-48

BIRMINGHAM.—The flagrantly undemocratic procedure of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars during its recent three-month session is becoming increasingly a public scandal.

During January the AFL called two public meetings in the county court house to protest the Board's biased denial of the ballot to white working people as well as Negroes. Sam Douglas, AFL Citizenship and Educational Director, made several statements to the press, charging that since the defeat of the self-starter amendment on January (to which the labor and Negro contributed almost unanimously) the board had begun to refuse registration to working people.

The AFL, unable to get response to its protests, finally called on the governor for the dismissal of two members of the three-man board. Mr. J. G. Hosey, the Folsom-appointee to the board, was given credit for cooperation with the labor movement's efforts to increase registration among working people in the county. Sun 2-22-48

No response to this request has yet been received. It followed a similar demand from a united labor committee in Mobile, which brought a promise of a thorough investigation from Gov. Folsom.

The labor protest is being supplemented now by a series of articles on the editorial page of the Birmingham News. These articles, without editorial comment, are in effect a thorough expose of the undemocratic methods of the Board, particularly in relation to Negro applicants.

The writer, one of the paper's editorialist, Douglas Hunt, recounts the results of several visits to the Board during registration periods in Birmingham and the nearby steel community of Fairfield.

He reported that some applicants were not questioned at all, while others were held for as lon gas 20 minutes, most of these being Negro citizens. He found no Negro applicants who were told that they had passed and were given their registration certificates, and added that there were dozens of men and women who are still waiting for their certificates to come in the mails.

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IN FAIRFIELD, he reported Negro applicants, many of whom had left their jobs to come to register, were the victims of all manner of delaying procedures, and that several had to leave without even being offered an application blank, and that white applicants were pushed in ahead of Negro applicants. 2-22-48

The sample of questioning reported by Mr. Hunt can be duplicated hundreds of times by applicants who have been grilled on all manner of legal and constitutional questions. 2-22-48

The most flagrant example to come to the attention of this reporter came from a Negro ore miner. In addition to questions about the Supreme Court and the functions of the executive and legislative branches of the national government, he was asked where he worked, was he a union member, where did his union meet, would he vote as the union told him. He was told to keep on coming back and that eventually he might get registered! Sun 2-22-48

★

The recent shameful record of the county board is the most effective argument for a people's campaign to wipe the amendment off the books and open up a fair and reasonable registration procedure to the thousands in this county who are being arbitrarily kept from the ballot box.

Ten Negro Vets Test Boswell Amendment

The Worker
New York, N.Y.
Sun 4-18-48

MOBILE, Ala.—Alabama's infamous Boswell amendment will be under fire in Federal District Court on April 15, when Judge John McDuffie hears a $100,000 damage suit filed by ten Negro veterans of World War II.

34e(2)

Defendants are Governor Folsom, Gessner McGorvey, Democratic Party Executive Committee chairman, E. C. Boswell, author of the amendment, and the Mobile County Board of registrars. The complaint charges that they conspired to deny the ballot to Negro applicants because of race and political faith. The ten veterans, all Mobile residents, are asking $100,000 damages.

This suit is the first challenge to the Boswell Amendment in the courts since it became law in 1946, after a vicious campaign led by McCorvey, Horace Wilkinson and other white supremacy politicians. These arrogant advocates of the amendment avowed openly that it was designed to keep Negro citizens of Alabama from becoming registered voters. They hid the deeper aim of the amendment—the narrowing of the whole electorate by keeping working people both white and Negro off the registration books—in a fanfare of anti-Negro propaganda.

New York, N.Y.
The Worker

THE MOBILE Board of Registrars, operating under the unlimited powers to deny registration afforded by the Boswell amendment, has been under fire for some time.

A united AFL-CIO labor committee demanded the resignation of two members of the board for failing to perform their public duties and for discrimination against workers. They sent a committee to Governor Folsom asking him to rescind his appointments. So far, the Board still sits. Sun.

There are indications that other suits are being prepared against the amendment. 4-18-48

Answer In Boswell Case Due April 15

Montgomery Advertiser
34e(2)
Montgomery, Ala.

MOBILE, ALA., March 13.—(AP)—Gov. Folsom and other defendants in a federal court suit challenging the Boswell amendment to the State constitution Saturday were given until April 15 to answer the allegations of 10 Mobile County Negroes.

The suit charges that the amendment not only denies Negroes the right to vote, but also prevents non-members of the Democratic Party from voting in Alabama. Sun. 3-14-48

The amendment provides that any citizen seeking registration as a voter shall be able to understand and explain the Constitution of the United States.

The plaintiffs said that when

they attempted to register as voters in Mobile County earlier this year, they were questioned about the U. S. Constitution by registration officials and then told their answers were unsatisfactory.

They asked the federal court to declare the amendment and related statutes unconstitutional, and to award them damages totalling $100,000.

Defendants with Folsom are former State Rep. E. C. Boswell, author of the amendment, members of the Mobile County board of registrars, and of the State board which appointed the registrars. Sun. 3-14-48

The suit was filed Feb. 28 and according to court records the complaint and summons were returned executed March 10. An order by Federal Judge John McDuffie setting the final date for answering was on record Saturday.

Negro Groups Support Attack On Amendment

The Advertiser
34e(2)
Montgomery

MOBILE, ALA., March 18.—(AP)—Negro groups in several Southern states are supporting a federal court suit here challenging constitutionality of Alabama's Boswell Amendment, a Mobile Negro leader said Wednesday. Fri. 3-19-48

J. J. Thomas, a Negro contractor and president of the Voters and Veterans' Association, said the 10 Mobile Negroes who brought the action early this month were members of his group.

"We regard the Boswell Amendment as one of the last laws in the South standing in the way of Negroes voting," he said.

Boswell Amendment Up For Test In Alabama

34e(2)
Daily World
Atlanta, Ga

MOBILE, Ala.—(SNS)—Alabama's infamous Boswell amendment was under fire Thursday from new quarters as 14 Negroes rejected for registration as voters under the act disclosed that they would join ten other litigants in a suit to declare the amendment unconstitutional.

This was revealed by J. S. Thomas, contractor and president of the Voters and Veterans' Association, who said the group had been studying the constitution more than a year to qualify for citizenship.

The Boswell amendment was adopted in November, 1946, after a bitter campaign. Most rural communities rejected the amendment in the balloting, but the large cities gave it a narrow margin of victory.

The amendment requires prospective registrants to be able to understand and explain the federal constitution to the satisfaction of the registrars. Since the interpretation is left to these officials Negroes have generally been barred from voting.

The fourteen whose application to be accepted as voters were denied said they felt they gave satisfactory answers to questions asked by the Board of Registrars here. 3-19-48 34e(2)

Thomas, spokesman for the group, said "We regard the Boswell amendment as one of the last laws in the South standing in the way of Negroes voting. All of our group in the Southern States are looking hopefully for this unconstitutional law to be knocked out. Daily Worker

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Negroes Test Alabama Law

34e(2) 3-14-48
The Worker
New York, N.Y.
3-14-48

MOBILE—Ten Negro citizens of this city have filed suit attacking the constitutionality of the Boswell Amendment and asking for damages growing out of their being deprived of the right to vote. Sun. 3-14-48

Boswell Amendment Facing Federal Court Validity Test

The News-Age-Herald

BY EDWIN STRICKLAND
News Staff Writer

Birmingham, Ala

The so-called "Boswell Amendment" which sets up certain intelligence and educational standards for the registration of voters, will soon face a major test in Federal Court here. Sun 34e(2) Ala.

On April 27, 1948, Eugene Otis Braxter, pastor of the Negro A. M. E. Church at Alden, filed a "class suit" against the Jefferson County Board of Registrars. 5-30-48

In this suit, Braxter alleged that Section 181 of the Alabama Constitution as amended is unconstitutional and in violation of the Federal Constitution. He asked that the Federal Court give a declaratory judgment holding Section 181 (the Boswell Amendment) void. New York

Braxter's suit alleged that he possessed all the qualifications for a registered voter in Jefferson County and had none of the disqualifications. Yet, he charged, he was denied registration by the Board of Registrars on Feb. 5, 1948.

Named as defendants in the suit were J. G. Hosey, H. A. Thompson and H. J. Creel, members of the Board of Registrars. 5-30-48

Solicitor Emmett Perry and Deputy Solicitor Willard McCall will be joined in the defense of the board by E. C. Boswell, Geneva, author of the controversial amendment. The News-Age-Herald

Boswell was appointed to help in defense of the suit by Gov. Folsom. Boswell is a recognized authority on constitutional law.

Birmingham, Ala

OPPOSING THIS GROUP will be a battery of attorneys composed of Edward R. Dudley, New York; Thurgood Marshall, Washington; Arthur Shores and Oscar W. Adams, Jr., both of Birmingham.

The suit charges that the board registered white persons without subjecting them to tests required of Negro registrants. It referred to the Boswell Amendment as "a mere subterfuge directed against Negroes." 5-30-48

Defense Attys. Boswell, Perry and McCall this week filed a motion setting forth 63 reasons why the suit should be dismissed.

Date for hearing the motion has not been set. Sun.

The defense alleged in the motion that Braxter cannot bring a "class suit" because his interests are not identical with other members of the Negro race.

Braxter had asked that all Negroes in Jefferson County similarly situated to him be made parties to the action. He also sought $5,000 damages against the board for its "wrongful act" in not registering him as a voter. 5-30-48

The defense motion sets out that "qualifications and disqualifications of voters are individual and must be determined individually and not as a class.

The News-Age-Herald

"THE ALLEGATION of unlawful wrong committed by the defendants is mere conclusion of the pleader without facts being set forth to sustain them," the motion declared. Birmingham, Ala

The motion stated further that "the complaint nor any count thereof alleges sufficient facts to show that there was an actual discrimination against the plaintiff because of his race or color." Sun.

"The plaintiff cannot attack the constitutionality of Section 181 of the Constitution . . . because he affirmatively alleges that he possessed all the qualifications required under said section," the motion continued. 5-30-48

The motion maintained that this "clearly shows that said section is reasonable and not arbitrary."

STATE OF THE AMENDMENT

The Advertiser

Editor, The Advertiser:

In a course in Alabama history at Florence State Teachers College, I have been assigned the Boswell Amendment as the subject of a term paper. Thurs.

I am especially anxious to prepare a complete survey of the problems surrounding the passage and after-effects of this amendment. For this reason I am anxious to obtain as many editorial comments as possible. Montgomery, Ala.

If I might have copies of your editorials both for and against this measure, I would be most grateful. 4-29-48

WILLIAM R. COFFEY.

Florence, Ala.

34e(2) Ala.

It may sound monotonous, but all The Advertiser's editorials took one stand—opposition to the Boswell Amendment.

Our view of the amendment then and now is largely the same. We never did believe the amendment was destined to make a profound difference this way or that. We were not in the company of those who took a passionate view of it as a measure necessary to prevent a swamping of the polls by Negroes; nor, on the other hand, could we join the other group in seeing it as a Draconian stifling of civil liberties for all time to come. The Advertiser

Our conviction was, judging mainly by Montgomery County, that things were going along very well as they were. Ratification of the Boswell Amendment appeared gratuitous and gave promise of stirring up a hornet's nest. It is now being attacked in the courts. It excites northern do-gooders.

The Boswell Amendment was fashioned to restrict Negro voting—this by providing that voters be required to UNDERSTAND the U. S. Constitution as well as read and write it. This, of course, simply provided a block for county boards of registrars when they wished to refuse to qualify a voter.

Every voter, of course, should be required to understand the constitution, but there are few voters indeed who could not be disqualified under sharp examination. This would even take in members of the United States Supreme Court who disagree constantly among themselves on the meaning of the Constitution.

The Boswell Amendment, so far as we could see then and now, was primarily one thing—a declaration of policy by Alabama that Negro voting was to be aggressively repressed. Montgomery, Ala

At the time of its ratification there was no wide agitation among colored people to qualify. As far as we are aware, there is nothing of the kind today. Thurs.

County boards of registrars, reflecting local sentiment, have and probably will long be the chief determinant in such matters.

Such negative approaches to a gathering and inescapable problem as voting by qualified Negroes have contributed to some extent to such outrages as Truman's Civil Disturbance program and the not less troublesome and formidable attitude of the U. S. Supreme Court. 4-27-48

As Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, said quite recently even in his mood of Truman anger, qualified Negroes are entitled to vote. In that he is joined by all the responsible leaders of Alabama.

34e(2) 1948 Alabama (Registration)

Whites Also Disfranchised By Anti-Negro Measure

34e (2) (Registration)

The Worker New York N.Y.

BIRMINGHAM.—Last year Alabama progressives who fought against the Boswell Amendment argued that it would serve as an instrument for disfranchising white as well as Negro citizens—that it was a means of keeping the electorate small and controllable.

Both Negro leaders and the more progressive labor leaders have fought to expose the brazen unconstitutional practices of the Board of Registrars in keeping qualified Negro citizens off the voters lists. Jun. 1-25-48

Now, for the first time, a public charge is made that the County Board is discriminating against white applicants as well.

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A COMMITTEE from the city AFL, headed by Sam Douglas, accused the County Board of discriminating against "men in overals." He said that in the few days since the self-starter amendment was defeated by the voters, white applicants are being subjected to long questioning—such questioning as "how many representatives do we have? Who is the head of the Red Cross?"

Such procedure, Mr. Douglas charged, is designed to "confuse, delay and discourage certain people from registering." Some were registered without questioning, but the majority were subjected to five to 10 minutes of grilling by Board members. Also, he charged, the Board would close on the minute, even if a long line of working people were waiting to register.

Jun. 1-25-48

HE ASKED that the Board cease its discrimination against working people, and that it hold some night sessions for those who could not come during daytime hours without losing time from work.

He commended J. G. Hosey, the Folsom appointee to the three-man Board, for his willingness to cooperate. New York, N.Y.

The other two members are H. A. Thompson, admitted white supremacist and member of the county Democratic Executive Committee, and R. J. Creel, president of the County Truck Growers Association.

The AFL action in Birmingham closely followed a united AFL-CIO protest against the Registrars in Mobile, including a demand for the resignation of two board members for refusing to hold night sessions so that the working people would have a chance to register.

The Worker

GOV. FOLSOM, after interviews with the Mobile labor delegation, suggested that a new board be appointed in Mobile. The other two state officials who control board appointments, however, insisted on further investigation.

The Big Lie that Boswell Amendment supporters told the people about just being interested in keeping the Negro citizens from voting, is pretty well exposed when a white man in overalls in the Jefferson County Court House can't get registered either. And the Big Truth comes clear, too, that white working people have got to join hands with the Negro people to fight against all restriction on the ballot, if they hope to exercise that right themselves.

Negro To Fight Registration Law

The News Birmingham, Ala. 2-2-48

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 2 —(AP)—A committee of Negro leaders raising funds to launch a court attack on Alabama's restrictive voter registration laws met here yesterday and one member predicted suits would be filed by March 15.

Editor Emory O. Jackson, of The Birmingham World, past president of the state branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said exact dates and places to initiate legal proceedings had not been determined. Suits, however, should be filed not later than March 15, he added. Mon

The Alabama vote defense committee of the N. A. A. C. P. met here but declined to announce how much money had been raised thus far. The committee's goal said Chairman W. C. Patton, of Birmingham, is $15,000. 2-2-48

The organization plans its attack against the famous Boswell amendment, admittedly designed to curb mass Negro voter registration. The amendment requires that prospective voters be able to "understand and explain" any section of the U. S. Constitution. The News

Jackson also said the N. A. A. C. P. would start court action to have Negroes admitted to the University of Alabama and Alabama Polytechnic Institute. These cases, however, probably would not be filed for several months, he added. Ala

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NAACP Slates Fight On Vote Restrictions

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala Mon. 2-2-48

Attack Due March 15; Negroes Plan To Ask U. A., A. P. I. Entry

34e(2)

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People plans to launch its legal attack against Alabama's restrictive voter registration law—the famous Boswell Amendment—not later than March 15, a Negro spokesman said Sunday.

The Boswell Amendment, which requires prospective voters to "understand and explain" any section of the U. S. Constitution, admittedly was aimed at curbing mass Negro registration.

Emory O. Jackson, editor of The Birmingham World and former state NAACP president, said exact dates and places for filing suits against the measure had not been determined, but added they should be underway by March 15.

Jackson made his statement at a meeting here Sunday of the NAACP's Alabama vote defense committee. The committee held a routine business session to discuss its fund-raising campaign to finance the court battle. Committee Chairman W. C. Patton of Birmingham declined to disclose the amount collected to date, but said the group expected to raise a total of $15,000. Mon 2-2-48

Plans for a legal attack of the Boswell Amendment were adopted at a statewide meeting of the Alabama branch of the NAACP last October. At that time it was said NAACP attorneys had found a "formula" which would nullify the law. Jackson reiterated Sunday that such a "formula" existed, but said he did not know its details. The Advertiser

Jackson also said the organization would follow through with its plans to file suits to have Negroes admitted to the University of Alabama and Alabama Polytechnic Institute (Auburn). These cases, however, probably will not be filed for several months, he said. Montgomery, Ala

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Registrar Here Denies Discrimination Charge

(34e(2)) Ala

The News

A charge of "discrimination" in the registration of voters, was unfounded, Gus Thompson, a member of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars, said today. 1-14-48

The charges was hurled Tuesday by Sam Douglass, chairman of a committee on good citizenship and voter registration from the Birmingham Federation of Labor (AFL). Birmingham, Ala

Douglass, B. B. Jones and J. T. Odom protested the board's actions in what they said was "useless questioning of prospective voters."

Douglass said that since the recent amendment election, the board has questioned certain white registrants and has registered others without questioning. Wed.

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IN ANSWER, Thompson said the board was merely exercising its discretion by questioning certain persons whom they have reason to believe might not be qualified.

He said that in some cases persons under the age of 21 have attempted to register. He said it is sometimes necessary to question a person to determine if the person measures up to voter requirements.

Thompson denied that the board was merely questioning certain persons for the purpose of "discouraging" them from attempting to qualify to vote.

* * *

DOUGLASS had charged that such questioning was to "discourage, confuse and delay" the registration of certain persons. Wed.

The AFL committee also asked the board to consider holding night sessions as well as sessions at Warrior and Leeds in order to make it easier for workers to register.

Douglass said he had got no promise from the board with the exception of Chairman John G. Hosey, who said he was "willing to cooperate." The News Birmingham, Ala

THOMPSON SAID that the board was registering as many persons now as can be handled with any degree of efficiency. 1-14-48

"We could herd them through and register them like throwing paper into a waste basket," Thompson said. "I do not believe that is our job, or that the people want registration to be so conducted," he asserted. Wed. 1-14-48

The News Birmingham, Ala Wed. 1-28-48

Two members of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars have been charged with "discrimination" in dealing with people who want to vote. A committee from the Birmingham Federation of Labor (AFL), under the chairmanship of Sam Douglass, is asking Gov. Folsom to remove the two members—H. A. Thompson and R. J. Creel. Mr. Thompson and Mr. Creel, says Mr. Douglass' committee, have been questioning some applicants in detail while allowing other applicants to register without questioning. The implication is that the two registrars are attempting to hinder the registration of the labor vote.

Mr. Thompson and Mr. Creel have denied the charges. In a joint statement yesterday they said: "The associate members of the Board of Registrars shall continue in the future as in the past to conduct the affairs of the board justly and fairly to all persons concerned. These things we shall do despite the false reports and accusations emanating from the chairman of the board and his cohorts."

Mr. Douglass' BFL committee also is accusing Sheriff Holt A. McDowell, Tax Collector J. W. Hamilton and Rep. James G. Adams of "influencing" the two board members in what it charges are "discrimination practices." The News

The BFL committee charges further political implications in that the alleged "discrimination" practices began the day after the defeat of the recent so-called "self-starter amendment." Wed. 1-28 48

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In commenting upon this state of affairs, it is obvious right away that a lot more light should be thrown on what may or may not be beneath these charges and counter-charges. The two members of the board and their accusers are presenting particular points of view on the issue. What is the real truth in the matter? At the moment that is not all together clear. The Federation of Labor committee has appealed to the governor. The three-man state appointing board will have to consider the situation. Here in the appointing board's consideration is one point at which the whole matter might well get a full airing.

Another point about the matter is this: The registration process and the instrument by which it is carried out—the Board of Registrars—are vitally significant aspects of our machinery of government and its functioning. The definition of a qualified voter is a delicate thing. Except for certain precisely defined points—about age, residence, etc.—a lot is left to the discretion of the registrars. The amended Section 181 of the Alabama Constitution requires that a person be able to read and write and understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language. What does understanding and explaining any article of the constitution mean? It is obvious that that is open to wide interpretation. And it is obvious that it could lend itself as an instrument for political manipulation in allowing or refusing citizens their vote.

The Board of Registrars has one of the highest responsibilities of any body in a democracy—the careful consideration of citizens' applications for the vote. It is a responsibility which requires a high sense of justice and a deep insight into human nature. It is a responsibility that must put those who bear it above politics—as our courts of law must be above politics. The board must not be a political tool to be used by anyone or any group who can seize it. Board members must know this, and they must not let themselves be used or influenced. Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

We have made here only what may seem to be general comments on this lamentable registration squabble. But they are comments of principles which are of first and guiding importance. Wed. 1-28-48

It looks as though the matter is going to continue to be one of issue. The public examination will continue. The News

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Mobile Registrars To Give Written Test As Voting Exam

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

MOBILE, Ala., March 18—(AP)—The Mobile County Board of Registrars will require prospective voter registrants to give written answers to questions on the Constitution in the future.

The new policy was announced yesterday by Chairman Milton Schnell. Only oral answers were required in the past.

He said the change was made "so we will have written records in case ~~our~~ procedure is challenged." Fri. 3-19-48

A federal court test of constitutionality of the Boswell vote restrictive amendment is now pending. Fourteen Negroes rejected for registration last Monday said they planned to join in the suit.

The amendment requires registrants to be able to understand and explain the federal Constitution.

Negroes Seek Vote Privilege By Score Here

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Mobile's Board Reports Peak Day There Too For Black Applicants

Tues. 3-16-48

President Truman's continued insistence upon racial equality and his kind of civil rights for Negroes is bearing fruit in Montgomery County, according to the records of the Montgomery County Board of Registrars where 20 negroes appeared Monday seeking registration. It was the largest number of Negroes yet to appear before the board in one day.

Prior to President Truman's insistence upon Negro voting, Negro job holding on the white plane and Negro occupancy of restaurants, streetcars, trains and everywhere that whites assemble, the proportion of Negroes seeking registration was not so large.

Negroes who appeared for registration Monday did not do so with the idea of voting in the primary but only in the November general election it was learned. To many political observers that indicated that they were being advised to register to vote for Truman because it was feared that white voters of Alabama might forsake him.

There was no sign of disorder at the Board of Registrars meeting. Somewhere near 90 persons appeared to register. Many of them were soldiers and men just coming of age. No member of the Board would comment upon the large number of Negroes appearing Monday.

MOBILE, ALA., March 15.—(AP)—An increased number of Negro applicants went before the Mobile County Board of Registerars Monday to register for voting in the May 4 Democratic Primary.

Board records shower that out of 54 voters registered at a special session, seven were Negroes. Two Negro applicants were denied registration.

The board member said this was the largest number of Negroes to come before the board in a single day since the Boswell amendment, designed to restrict Negro voting, went into effect.

The amendment, which was adopted in November, 1946, requires prospective registrants to be able to understand and explain the federal constitution.

A suit challenging constitutionality of the Boswell amendment is pending in federal district court here.

Voters Must Now Write Constitution Answers

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

MOBILE, ALA., March 18.—(AP)—Chairman Milton Schnell, of the Mobile County Board of Registrars, announced a new policy Thursday on questioning registrants under Alabama's Boswell amendment.

He said all applicants who are questioned on the federal constitution will be required to give written answers.

He said the change was made "so that we will have written records in case our procedure is challenged." 3-19-48

Previously only oral explanations have been required, he said.

Fourteen Negroes rejected for registration here last Monday announced they would join in a federal court test of constitutionality of the amendment.

The amendment requires registrants to be able to understand and explain the federal constitution.

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14 Negroes, One White Are Rejected For Vote

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

MOBILE, Ala., March 17—(AP)—Fourteen Negroes and one white man were rejected for vote registration under provisions of Alabama's Boswell amendment here yesterday, the Mobile County Board of Registrars reported today.

Board Chairman Milton Schnell said 13 Negroes and 100 white persons qualified for voting in the May 4 Democratic primary.

Schnell said this was by far the largest number of Negroes to apply for registration here since the Boswell amendment became effective.

The amendment adopted by the voters in November, 1946, requires prospective registrants to be able to understand and explain the federal constitution. The amendment has become one of the last barricades of "white supremacy" advocates. Wed. 3-17-48

Schnell said some, but not all, prospective registrants, were given a section of the federal constitution to read and explain. He said the test was given to whites as well as Negroes.

A suit challenging constitutionality of the Boswell amendment is pending in Federal District Court here.

Lack Of Registration By Negroes Reported By Macon Voting Board

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Wed. 4-14-48

TUSKEGEE, ALA.—(AP)—Macon county with its 81 percent Negro population, has had a voter registration board since January 9—but no Negroes have been registered, a board member said Tuesday.

Macon county had been without a voter registration board since all members resigned in June, 1946, following a suit brought by a Negro against two former board members. William P. Mitchell of Tuskegee sued in 1945, charging he was denied the right to vote solely because of his race.

The suit was dismissed when it was shown Mitchell had been registered but never notified of it. Negro leaders, however, have served warning that other suits might be filed. 4-14-48

The appointing board managed to keep registration going until all members resigned in 1946. Spokesmen for both races blamed the court action.

The existence of the present board was learned when Chairman S. Charles Parker of Tuskegee resigned. His resignation gave no reason, but his wife said he quit to go away to school.

"He only accepted (the appointment) to let some servicemen register," Mrs. Parker explained. The Advertiser

W. D. Tommie of Notasulga said some 200 white voters have been registered since the present board was appointed. No Negroes have been registered and "as far as I know," none have applied, he added. Montgomery, Ala.

NEGRO MINISTER CHARGES VOTING DISCRIMINATION

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., April 28—(UP)—A Negro minister charged in Federal court today that the local board of registrars discriminted against him because of his color under an Alabama law requiring voters to explain the Constitution.

Eugene Otis Braxton, Methodist preacher, sued for $5,000 damages and asked the court to declare the law, known as the Boswell amendment, unconstitutional. 4-28-48

He said that he explained sections of the Constitution in order to qualify but charged that white electors registered the same day were not given the test.

New Intimidations Charged as Court Studies Two Suits

The Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

MOBILE, Ala.—While ten Negro plaintiffs await a Federal ruling on the unconstitutionality of Alabama's infamous Boswell Amendment, three affadavits signed by white voters have been submitted citing new instances in which Mobile County registrars have required Negro registration applicants to undergo tests not given to whites.

One Negro registrant was disqualified by Registrar J. Milton Schnell because he failed to interpret the U. S. Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar, according to affidavits from six outstanding white citizens of Mobile, including three young women.

COURIER HAS AFFIDAVITS

In the affidavits, copies of which are in possession of The Courier, the newest act took place on the afternoon of Oct. 15 in Mr. Schnell's office.

In a joint affidavit executed by the three young women and one man, the affiants state that "Mrs. D. C. Randall, one of the registrars, received us immediately and treated us very courteously. We filled out the necessary forms, but were asked no questions about the Constitution nor were we asked to interpret any part of the Constitution. We were then duly registered."

VETERAN TURNED DOWN

But then, these affiants say, several Negro veterans entered the office and sought to register. "These men were asked to interpret a section of the Constitution, and were questioned as to any criminal record," all six affiants said. One Negro veteran was turned down after that.

Two of the six white affidavit signers said they were veterans of World War II.

Meanwhile, Federal Judge John McDuffie is still studying the testimony submitted in his District Court in the suit brought by ten Mobile citizens. The State of Alabama and attorneys for the Mobile County Board of Registrars filed a brief asking dismissal of the suit. George N. Leighton of Chicago is attorney for the ten plaintiffs. Sat. 10-30-48

In Birmingham, Judge Clarence Mullins has also taken under advisement another suit filed there, and a motion by the State for its dismissal in arguments heard on Oct. 13.

ASKS THREE-JUDGE PANEL

On Friday, Judge McDuffie wrote Judge Joseph C. Hutcheson Jr., New Orleans, of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, requesting a three-judge court to sit in hearings on the Mobile case with Nov. 5 suggested as the new trial date. Judge McDuffie asked for a circuit judge and another Federal district judge to sit with him on the case.

Sat. 10-30-48

34e(2) 1948 Alabama (Registration--Series of Articles by Douglas L. Hunt)

34e(2) Ala

REGISTRATION IN JEFFERSON COUNTY

How Boswell Amendment Is Working

News

BY DOUGLAS L. HUNT

(First of a Series)

The Boswell amendment to the Alabama State Constitution was passed by the people in a special election in 1946. Its purpose was to provide a means by which certain types of voters, including Negroes, could be legally excluded from the ballot. Many persons, however, predicted during the campaign that the provision of the act would be applied to many workers, or to members of any group held undesirable, by those who wielded political power.

Birmingham, Ala

This newspaper has inquired into the registration practices now in force in Jefferson County. It has found the certain groups are complaining of discriminatory practices. Thus the prophecies of the measure's opponents are being recalled.

This series of articles is intended to examine, so far as possible, the registration procedure followed in Jefferson County.

2-11-48 Wed.

The Old Law

For many years the registration law was practically unchanged. It provided that registrars are to be reputable and suitable persons who are qualified voters in the county where they reside and that they should not hold elective office during their terms of office. They are three in number and they are appointed by a committee of three: the governor of the state, the commissioner of agriculture and industries and the auditor. Should there be a division of the committee, majority shall always rule. In Jefferson County the governor has the right to name one of the three to be chairman. Their term of office shall be four years, or until a successor has been appointed. But any member of the board may be removed from office at any time, with or without cause and without the giving of any reason, by a majority of two on the appointing committee.

Until the most recent meeting of the Legislature, each Board of Registrars was required to visit each precinct in the county at least once and to stay for at least half a day, between the first day of October and the last day of the year of each odd-numbered year. But a recent change in the law relieved the registrars of Jefferson County from visiting every precinct in the county, an obviously difficult job in so populous a region as the metropolitan district of Birmingham and the remainder of the county.

The attorney general, in interpreting the act, gave the Board of Registrars wide latitude in meeting places and meeting times. It must meet on certain days, but it may meet in places of its own choice and at hours which suit its own convenience. That point is important in connection with charges brought against the present board by the Birmingham Federation of Labor. The matter will be discussed in another article.

News Birmingham Ala

The Boswell Change

2-11-48

The Board of Registrars was charged to register any citizen who can read and write any article of the Constitution in the English language, and (1) who is physically unable to work, or (2) who has worked a majority of the preceding 12 months, or (3) who is unable to read and write because of physical disability, or (4) who owns or is the husband or wife of the owner of 40 acres of land on which is located the residence, or (5) who owns at least $300 worth of taxable property.

The amendment offered by Legislator Boswell and passed by the people's vote changed provisions which had been in force since 1901. Now the registrars are charged to register only those persons "of good character . . . who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government" and "who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language," and (1) who are physically unable to work, or (2) who have worked for the most part of the preceding 12 months, or (3) who are unable to read and write because of physical disability.

In Jefferson County the three members of the present Board of Registrars were all appointed by the Folsom administration. The chairman, appointed personally by Gov. Folsom, as the law directs, is J. C. Hosey. He took office first in March, 1947, to fill an unexpired term. He was reappointed for a full four-year term in November, 1947. The two associate members are H. A. (Gus) Thompson and R. J. Creel. Mr. Creel was first appointed in the Sparks administration in 1943. He was reappointed for a second four-year term in November, 1947. Mr. Thompson was appointed for the first time in November, 1947, for a four-year term.

These, men, then, are empowered by the state constitution to pass upon all the applicants for registration in Jefferson County. The responsibility is great.

* * *

Members' Backgrounds

Mr. Hosey came to Jefferson County from Coosa County in 1901. He was educated in the public schools of Coosa County, which, at the time he was growing up, did not have a high school within its limits. He has done various kinds of work in and near Birmingham. Most recently (1939-1946) he was an employe of the T. C. I. From Sept. 6, 1946, till March, 1947, he was the house detective at the Tutwiler Hotel. He left that position to become chairman of the board of Gov. Folsom's appointment. 2-11-48

Mr. Creel has lived in Jefferson County all his life. He did not graduate from high school, but, by attending the Jacksonville Normal School many years ago, he received a certificate to teach in rural schools in the county, which he did for 20 years. For the last 18 years he has been president of the Jefferson County Truck Growers Association. He was a member of the Legislative Advisory Commission for the Jefferson County Survey and of the Citizens Supervisory Commission which elects the Civil Service Board. He is a member of the executive committee of the Jefferson County Democratic Committee.

Mr. Thompson came from Butler County. He attended high school, but left school in 1899 without graduating. He attended a business college. He served one term in the Legislature in 1914 from Butler County. Later he came to Birmingham to reside. He is now serving as enrolling and engrossing clerk of the State Senate, a position to which he was elected in the Sparks administration and to which he has been reelected without opposition. Since 1940 he has been clerk of the County Election Commission, and he is a member of the executive committee of the Jefferson County Democratic Committee.

Each member of the board receives an honorarium of $7.50 for each day the board is in session. In addition, Mr. Hosey, as chairman, gets an annual salary of $2,600.

These are the three men charged by the constitution with examining all applicants for registration in the county. It is their duty to ask questions on the Constitution of the United States and to determine whether the answers given indicate enough knowledge and intelligence to qualify a man or a woman as a voter.

(To Be Continued)

REGISTRATION IN JEFFERSON COUNTY

News Birmingham, Ala.

34e(2)

The Board Of Registrars At Work

Fri. 2-13-48

BY DOUGLAS L. HUNT

(Second of a Series)

As related in the preceding article in this series, the charge has been made against the Jefferson County Board of Registrars that discriminatory practices have been applied to members of certain groups who sought to register according to the law of Alabama.

No supporter of the Boswell amendment has yet denied that it could be used as a means of keeping the electorate small. Indeed, many of the bill's proponents have admitted that it was designed to provide a means of controlling Negro registration. With those facts in mind, I went to the Jefferson County Courthouse to check into registration practices as far as I could.

* * *

I FOUND JOHN G. HOSEY, chairman of the board, to be a thoroughly agreeable person. He greeted me and told me he would answer as many questions as he could.

He explained the manner of procedure. Each person entering the board's suite of offices was given an application blank. He filled it out. Then he was taken back to the private office of the board's chairman and sworn. There he might be asked questions, presumably those which pertained to the Constitution of the United States as the law provides. After either (1) no questioning at all, or (2) very cursory questioning, or (3) very extensive questioning, he was dismissed. If he passed, he was told that his certificate of registration would be mailed to him in a few days. If, on the other hand, he was told that he failed the examination, he was informed that he could not register. He had the right of returning to try again.

I asked Mr. Hosey for the privilege of sitting inside the room while applicants were being questioned. Mr. Hosey shook his head. All examinations were conducted in private, he said. He admitted that there was no law which required such privacy, but he said that the local board had adopted such a regulation. Thus, he said, no candidate would be embarrassed by having any person inside the room other than the two or three members of the board who were questioning him.

So I was kept out of the room. But I could question those who had been examined and time the period which applicants spent inside the room. I found that some went in and came out almost immediately. Others stayed approximately five minutes. A few stayed 15 or even 20 minutes. Questioned outside, those individuals told me they were quizzed at some length. Most such persons were Negroes. In no case did I find a Negro applicant whose was told that he had passed and was given a certificate at the same time.

* * *

Passes And Failures

ALSO I FOUND it difficult to get any statistics about those passed and those denied certificates. Mr. Hosey said he did not have such information available. He assured me, however, that no reasonably qualified person was denied a certificate of registration. There are, however, dozens of men and women in Jefferson County who are still waiting for their certificates to be delivered through the mail. Some have waited 30 or even 60 days. Some have gone back to make inquiries and in some cases have stood examinations again. One Negro man is said to have visited the office seven times before he finally received the certificate, and on the last occasion was questioned for more than 30 minutes. He had been questioned on three previous occasions. On the other three occasions he was not questioned at all. Every time he was told that the certificate would be mailed to him in a few days. He is a veteran who took his discharge papers with him each time he went to the office.

Fri. 2-13-48

ON TUESDAY, JAN. 27, the board went to the Fairfield City Hall and remained in session there throughout the day. When I entered the room in which the applicants waited, there were 14 Negroes and seven white persons waiting to be examined. Not all the Negroes got into the examining room. All who did were questioned, as far as I was able to find out. I talked to two white persons who were not questioned at all.

The procedure was this: When a Negro entered the room to register, he was told by a clerk to sit down and wait until an application blank could be given him.

Several Negroes waited for as long as 20 minutes before being handed a blank. Others who had been excused from their jobs for periods of an hour or so to register could not wait and left the office without even filling out the blank. When finally the blank arrived from the clerk, and after the applicant filled it out, he was told to wait until he was called in for examination. Some waited for longer than an hour. Some could not wait and went back to their jobs without being examined, but after they had each received a blank. I talked with one Negro woman who waited two hours and 40 minutes before she was called into the office for

examining.

News Birmingham Ala.

Case History

THE FOLLOWING CASE HISTORY is in written form in my possession. It is signed by the Negro who wrote it:

"Upon reaching the City Hall, I went to the clerk's office and paid my poll tax . . . even though I had not registered. 2-13-48

"After entering the room, I was given a registration blank to fill out, and directed to a table with two other prospective colored registrants. At another table about eight white prospective registrants were busy preparing their applications.

"The registrar in charge offered assistance to the white registrants, but at no time did he volunteer his services to the colored. One had to arise and go to him for information. One colored registrant waited 10 minutes before the registrar asked her if she wished to register. News Birmingham Ala

"Normally I would have been fifth in line to take the oath, but 15 white persons were shunted in ahead of me. While waiting, I had a chance to watch the retarding tactics being used by the registrar. Colored registrants were seated at a table and in chairs along the wall. However, only a few had blanks. In the interim a white registrant called this fact to the attention of the registrar, who then gave them the necessary blanks. This white person was summoned into the examining room and stayed in longer than had any other applicant while I was there. 2-13

"I waited more than an hour. Then my turn came. I was asked the following questions: (1) Where did you go to school? (2) Name the two U. S. senators from Alabama. (3) How many congressional districts are there in Alabama? (4) What district do you live in? (5) Who is your congressman? (6) What are the duties of the president of the United States? (7) Where do you work? (7) Do you own your own home? (8) Do you know Mayor Gilley?" (Note: This examination took place in Fairfield.)

* * *

Examining In Fairfield

DURING THE DAY in Fairfield the board examined 103 prospective voters. I have not been able to find out how many passed, how many failed, how many were colored, how many were white.

Prior to the Fairfield session, the board averaged examining about 60 applicants a day. On Wednesday, Jan. 28, it examined 140. On Thursday, Jan. 29, it examined 194. On Friday, Jan. 30, it examined 225. These figures came directly from Chairman Hosey.

Saturday was the last day for registration before the poll tax collections ended on Sunday. I do not know how many applicants were examined on Saturday morning. According to one person, a Negro, present on that occasion, the line was formed against the wall and outside into the corridor. A clerk then went up and down the line picking out persons who were summoned into the office. In no case did he see a Negro so summoned. He himself did not even get the opportunity to fill out a blank, as none was offered him. Exactly at closing time, the doors were closed. Some 25 persons who were inside the office and who had filled out blanks had their blanks collected and were told to come back some other time.

The same procedure had been followed on other occasions when closing time arrived at 4:30 p.m. The board never stayed overtime to take care of those inside the office at 4:30. Such persons were turned away, just as were any still lined up outside in the corridor. This information is on the direct testimony of Chairman Hosey made in a public meeting.

(To Be Continued)

REGISTRATION IN JEFFERSON COUNTY

Questioning Of Would-Be Voters

BY DOUGLAS L. HUNT

(Third of a Series)

It will be remembered that the amended section of the Constitution of Alabama pertaining to registration of voters reads that, in order to qualify, a person must be able to "read and write, understand and explain any article on the Constitution of the United States in the English language." News

Let us see how the registrars of Jefferson County have applied that test to many applicants in the past weeks.'

Birmingham Ala

The information which follows came to me through personal interviews. Some of the interviews were held in the courthouse outside the room in which the applicants were questioned. Some were held in other places. While the information here given might be classfied in a court of law as "hearsay evidence," it came to me in each case directly from the person involved. I believe it to be accurate. I have the name and address of each person who offered information.

* * *

A WIFE OF ONE of Birmingham's prominent business men was asked:

(a) How many state senators are there?

(b) How many representatives are there in Washington from Alabama?

(c) How many representatives are there in Montgomery from Jefferson County?

(d) In what congressional district do you live?

(e) Who is the sheriff in Jefferson County?

(f) Who is the probate judge in Jefferson County?

* * *

CIO Official's Wife

THE WIFE OF A CIO labor official was asked:

(a) How many votes does it take to pass a bill through the House of Representatives in Washington? She answered that it took a majority.

(b) How many votes does it take to override a presidential veto? She replied that it takes a two-thirds majority.

(c) Under what law are you registering? She replied that she was registering under the law of the state of Alabama. She was told she was wrong, that she was registering under the Boswell amendment.

* * *

A MEMBER of a CIO textile union was quizzed at length along the same line. He was a resident of Geneva County before he came to Birmingham, had lived there all his preceding life and was a registered voter of that county.

Five girls belonging to a CIO bakery union came together to register. The first four were sworn in without being asked any questions at all. The fifth, who had a speech impediment, was required to read aloud from the constitution for 15 minutes, but was asked no questions.

A woman employed in a downtown office was asked, "Who is your congressman?" Then she was asked, "Why have you never registered before?"

2-18-48

A COLORED GRADUATE registered nurse, who is now employed by Jefferson County and who had passed a civil service examination to get her job, was asked, "Who is in charge of street improvements in Birmingham?" Although she is employed under civil service which requires that all under its provisions be registered voters, she was not yet been able to get the Board of Registrars to qualify her. She has never received a certificate.

An employe in the composing room of The Birmingham News was asked how many buttons he had on his vest.

A Negro coal miner was asked, "How old are your wife's father and mother?"

A Negro woman who has passed the State Cosmotology Board's examination and who owns her own beauty shop has been twice to register. Each time she was asked no questions at all. Neither time has she received a certificate. She made the first attempt to register last Summer, the second in December.

2-18-48 Wed.

Baptist Minister

A NEGRO Baptist minister was given a book from which to read. He does not know what it was, except that it was some sort of a legal book. It was not the Constitution of the United States. He read one paragraph of complicated legal language, was told to close the book and explain what he had read. He was not allowed to reread the paragraph. He has received no certificate as yet.

A coal miner living in Pratt City (a Negro veteran) went seven times to the office to register. Each time he took with him his discharge papers. On his seventh trip he was kept more than 30 minutes in the office. Among the questions asked him were the following:

(a) How are senators elected?

(b) How many senators in Washington and why are there no more?

(e) Where were you born?

(d) Where do you stay now and why didn't you go back where you were born after you came out of the Army?

(e) How much schooling have you had?

Then he was given three articles from the constitution to read and explain in full. He was mailed a certificate after his seventh trip to the office.

* * *

THE PRESIDENT of an AFL local (a Negro) was asked, "Who sent you up here? How old are you? If you are 34 years old, why have you never registered before?"

A group of nine Negro veterans came to see me. All had been up at one time or another to the registration office. Some had been there as many as three times. Some were asked no questions. Others were questioned at length. Two were told that the office was not open for registration at the time they came, but white applicants were going into the office for examination while they were there. One was asked one question which he could not answer. He was told there was no use in his sticking around, that he might as well forget all about it. Each applicant had his discharge papers. Most of them were told that they had passed and would get their certificates through the mail. In no case has any one of them yet received his certificate. Their experiences extend over the past 60 days.

* * *

News

Fisk Graduate

A NEGRO GIRL, a graduate of Fisk University in June, 1947, became 21 in October, 1947. She went to register after she became of age. She was asked who the senators from Tennessee are. She was asked what courses she studied at Fisk. When she stated that she was a major in sociology under Charles Johnson, now Fisk's president, one of the members of the board asked her to explain what the fields of sociological study were. That was more than 30 days ago. She went back the second time and was asked more questions similar to those listed above. At this writing she had not received a certificate of registration. Birmingham Ala

Other questions asked other applicants not listed above are these:

Who are the city commissioners of Birmingham? Who are the county commissioners of Jefferson County? Who is the judge of the Juvenile Court? What do we mean by U. N.? Where does the U. N. meet? Who is the chairman of the Jefferson County Chapter of the Red Cross? Who is the solicitor of Jefferson County?

Some candidates were asked questions the answers to which could be found in the Constitution of the United States as provided by law. But they were sometimes detailed questions requiring knowledge that few if any persons carry in their heads:

How many representatives are there in the House of Representatives?

How old must a senator be to serve?

How old must a representative be to serve?

Explain exactly how a bill is presented to Congress. 2-15-48

How many amendments are there to the Constitution of the United States?

When does the president take office?

When does Congress meet?

HOW AMENDMENT WORKS

The Birmingham News has begun a series of four articles on how the Boswell amendment is working in Jefferson County. The first piece laid the framework for what is to come. One fact brought out in the introductory article gives what must be a pretty clear indication as to how the amendment has worked: not one of the three Jefferson County registrars finished high school. They are the gentlemen who ask candidates for registration questions bearing on interpretation of the constitution.—Lee County Bulletin (Auburn).

34e(2) 1948 Alabama (Registration--Series of Articles by Douglas L. Hunt)

REGISTRATION IN JEFFERSON COUNTY

News, Birmingham, Ala

Labor Protests Registration Procedures

34e(2) Ala.

BY DOUGLAS L. HUNT

(Fourth and Last of a Series)

IF THE PURPOSE of the Boswell amendment was to curb the registration of Negroes, as has been freely admitted by some of its proponents, it looks as though it has been working in that fashion in this county. Those who opposed the bill before the election of November, 1946, also insisted that the working of the bill might be directed against other minority groups and against organized labor. At the time of the election the leaders of labor were usually opposed to the bill, but the election returns seemed to indicate that the rank and file of laboring men were more responsive to the appeals in behalf of the amendment than they were to the advice of their own leaders. Returns from precincts in which laboring men live usually showed majorities in favor of the change. 2-20-48

Now the Birmingham Federation of Labor, through a committee headed by Sam Douglass, has made charges that the Jefferson County Board of Registrars is also discriminating against labor. There seems little doubt from a fairly large mass of evidence presented that men in overalls and working clothes have been more extensively questioned by the board than were those whose appearance indicated that they were professional and business men. Fri. 2-20-48

Mr. Douglass openly charges that the registration laws are intended to make it as difficult as possible for citizens to register. He further charges that the board has not been cooperative with labor groups. His committee has formally asked the governor, the commissioner of agriculture and industries and the auditor (the committee empowered to appoint and dismiss registrars arbitrarily) to discharge Mr. Thompson and Mr. Creel. The committee makes no charge against the board's chairman, Mr. Hosey, and implies that he has been cooperative and fair-minded throughout. The committee also charges that certain elected county officials have cooperated with the registrars in an attempt to keep the electorate small in order that they may be perpetuated in office.

* * *

Courthouse Meeting

AT A PUBLIC MEETING held in the courthouse on Jan. 30, Mr. Douglass brought forth witnesses who testified to the difficulty of getting registered. Mr. Hosey was present at the meeting and verified in person a number of the charges which Douglass had brought. It seems likely that charges against the board's willingness to cooperate were solidly substantiated. There was also presented evidence that certain elected officials had more influence with the board than they have ever publicly admitted. But there was no direct evidence; such charges are extremely difficult to prove. News

But of these facts there can be no question: Birmingham, Ala

The Jefferson County Board of Registrars has consistently refused to hold night meetings so that men and women employed during the day can come to qualify when they are off duty.

The board has also refused to go to outlying sections of the county to register voters who may not be able to make the trip to Birmingham from such points as Leeds and Warrior. 2-20-48

The board went one day to Fairfield and examined 103 applicants. It could have spent several days there for the convenience of the residents of the community.

The board went two days to Bessemer. It could have gone oftener and stayed longer.

* * *

MR. HOSEY HAS consistently indicated a willingness to do those things. Messrs. Creel and Thompson have outvoted him on every occasion. Hosey has introduced motions at public meetings of the board, only to be voted down by Mr. Thompson and Mr. Creel.

There is no legal bar to such meetings as have been asked. The attorney general has ruled that the board can meet at any time and place it chooses, but it must meet during the days set aside by law for such meetings. Thus there is no reason why the board could not have stayed in session at least one night a week until 9 or 10 o'clock. It refused to do so.

Furthermore the charge is made and completely substantiated that on many occasions the board has shut its doors precisely at closing time, even though there have been as many as 25 to 30 persons waiting inside the office with application blanks already filled out. Such blanks have been collected by clerks and the holders thereof told to come back at some future time. Exactly that situation arose in Fairfield on Tuesday, Jan. 27. Mr. Hosey estimates that almost 40 persons were waiting with completed application blanks when the doors were arbitrarily closed at 4:30 p.m. If they did return to finish registration, they had to come into Birmingham to the office in the County Courthouse, a great inconvenience to many of them.

* * *

News, Birmingham, Ala

Limiting Voters

Fri. 2-20-48

IT IS REPORTED on good authority that one of the registrars, asked why he was unwilling to wait longer than 4:30 p.m. to help those already in line, replied that he felt no compulsion to do that inasmuch as so many of the applicants were men and women who looked to be 45 or 50 years old. If they had waited till they were that old to register, why should he inconvenience himself at this time to help them now? The implication back of it all, says Mr. Douglass, is that they are laboring persons whom the unions have urged to become voters and that the board is not interested in qualifying them. It is somehow or other assumed that they would vote to upset established traditions, and therefore it is better for those holding elective office that the voting groups not be enlarged.

Furthermore the board passed a resolution that no person shall be allowed to help an applicant make out his application blank. The blank itself is reasonably long and in some respects complicated. Many an individual would appreciate assistance. Some has been given in the past by members of labor organizations anxious to enlarge the electorate by getting more working people eligible to vote. A few men of genuine public-spirited nature have frequently offered their services for no other reason than that they sincerely believe that every qualified citizen ought to vote. Now all such persons are forbidden to help any applicant in making out the blank.

The Birmingham Federation of Labor has acted as an independent citizens' board in probing into some of the registration practices. The business of the board is the public's business, as is the business of government in all departments. The labor group has performed a public service in calling attention to the procedures adopted by the board. In general it has substantiated its charges.

As an immediate remedy it asks the dismissal of two members of the present board in Jefferson County.

* * *

News, Birmingham, Ala

Study Voting Laws

2-20-48

AS A LONG-RANGE proposition, it asks that much future study be given to the voting laws of Alabama. It would, in general, like to abolish the poll tax. But specifically it suggests that the Legislature provide the way to change the law as it stands. It holds that the three men given the power to appoint and remove registrars are often not familiar with the qualifications of those appointed locally. Neither the governor, the auditor nor the commissioner of agriculture and industry is a resident of Jefferson County. They must appoint on the recommendation of local persons and they usually ask officeholders to make their choice for them. They are swayed by recommendations made by local officials. It is therefore argued by some critics of the system that the men on the board are appointed by those anxious to see that certain methods of government are perpetuated, that the best way to do that is to keep the electorate down, that the registrars, accountable to no one in their own county, may follow any practices they please without fear of losing their jobs. Mr. Douglas and the Birmingham Federation of Labor ask that the registration laws be changed so that the elected officers of each county appoint the Boards of Registrars and thus make them responsive to the will of the people among whom they live and work.

REGISTRATION IN JEFFERSON COUNTY

34e Ala

News, Birmingham, Ala

Appeal From The Board's Decisions

Wed. 2-25-48

BY DOUGLAS L. HUNT

THERE IS A WAY in which dissatisfied citizens may protest against a decision of the Board of Registrars. Should the board rule that a person is not qualified to be registered, he has the legal right to make an appeal. But to all practical purposes, such procedure involves so much effort and expense that almost no one would feel the urgency to invoke the law's process. Thus the board is in effect the court of last appeal for most would-be voters. Since the passage of the Boswell amendment in November, 1946, the board has had such wide powers of discretion that it stands practically unassailable in its decisions. Wed.

Not one person has appealed from a decision made by the board as now constituted.

* * *

Birmingham, Ala.

This Is The Law

THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH is part of Section 35, Title 17 of the Alabama Code of 1940. The right of appeal remains unchanged since that year: 2-25-48

"Any person to whom registration is denied shall have the right of appeal, without giving security for costs, within 30 days after such denial, by filing a petition in the Circuit Court or court of like jurisdiction held for the county in which he or she seeks to register, to have his or her qualifications as an elector determined. Upon filing of the petition, the clerk of the court shall give notice thereof to the solicitor authorized to represent the state in said county, who shall appear and defend against the petition on behalf of the state."

The remainder of the section explains how the appeal may be carried to the Supreme Court of the state and determines that "final judgment in favor of the petitioner shall entitle him or her to registration as of the date of his or her application to the registrars."

In January, 1946, 21 cases were appealed in behalf of Negroes who claimed they had been denied registration. One case—that of Forrest A. Hawkins—was carried to the Supreme Court of Alabama by Defense Attorney Arthur Shores. It was ruled out on a technicality and the remaining 20 cases were then dismissed by the Circuit Court. This action occurred, it will be noted, before the present board was appointed.

* * *

The News

This Is The Practice

UNDER THE PROVISIONS of the Boswell amendment to the constitution, an individual still has the right of jury trial to determine whether the board acted arbitrarily in denying him registration. No person has appealed in Jefferson County. Birmingham

There are two reasons which immediately come to mind to explain why such action has not been taken: Ala.

1. The section of the code reads: "Any person to whom registration is denied shall have the right of appeal . . . within 30 days after such denial. . . ." Inasmuch as the present board has made it a standing practice not to hand to each applicant as he leaves the office his certificate, if he passed the examination, or to deny him on the spot, he frequently doesn't know whether he passed or not until the 30-day period has passed. After that it is too late to bring suit against the board.

2. The expense of such a suit is considerable. Even though the section of the code reads that the individual does not have to give security for costs, he does have to consult a lawyer. And lawyers' fees mount up quickly. For example, the Birmingham Bar Association has set the minimum fee for filing a suit in Circuit Court at $100, and the minimum fee for court attendance at such a suit is $150.

Thus, although legal recourse does exist, it is easy to see why it is so often passed up. The decisions of the present Board of Registrars have been legally unchallenged. It is unlikely that many of them ever will be so challenged.

34e(2) 1948 Alabama (Tuskegee)

Registrars Fail To Function At Tuskegee, Negroes Claim

The Advertiser

34e(2)

Montgomery Ala.

Thurs 10-14-48

Negro leaders from Tuskegee complained yesterday that they have been unable to get the voter registration board there to function since last April.

They came here to see Gov. Folsom about it, but talked to his legal adviser, Ira B. Thompson, instead. The governor was in conference.

Thompson discussed the matter with Folsom later and said the governor instructed him to investigate the complaint.

Charles G. Gomillion, one of the Negro spokesman, said he wanted the governor first to fill a vacancy on the board which has existed since April, and second to "find some way to get the board to function."

"We have been unable since April 19 to find more than one member of the board at a time on any registration day," said Gomillion, who is dean of education at Tuskegee Institute for Negroes and also a member of the political action committee of the Tuskegee Civic Association.

Under the law, prospective voters are allowed to register on the first and third Mondays in each month.

"What we've done is this," Gomillion related. "Two or three Negroes would go to the registration office every first and third Monday. Sometimes they could find one member of the board but no more."

Action by at least two members is required for registration.

"We want to see if there is any way to require board members to be present on registration days or lose their pay for the days they are not present," Gomillion continued.

The Macon County board has had only two members since April, when Chairman S. Charles Parker resigned.

One of the two remaining registrars, W. D. Tommie of Notasulga, said he has been kept away from board meetings by illness.

"It's just been unable for me to meet, that's all," he explained.

The other, J. J. Rogers of Tuskegee, was not reached for comment.

Tommie said on April 13 that no Negroes had been signed up as voters by the present board, which was appointed on Jan. 9, and prior to that time, no board existed for 18 months.

Spokesmen for both races blamed a Negro's $5,000 damage suit against two former registrars. The suit charged that William P. Mitchell, of Tuskegee, was denied the right to vote because of his race. It was dismissed after the disclosure that Mitchell had been registered but never notified of it.

Mitchell was one of the Negroes who called at the governor's office with Gomillion. The other was Daniel Beasley, of Tuskegee.

Thurs 10-14-48

34e(2) 1948

Arkansas

Man Had Too Many Poll Tax Receipts

The Commercial Appeal

HOT SPRINGS, ARK., July 26.—Isaac Lowe, 38, negro grocer, was arrested Monday, on the eve of Tuesday's Democratic primary, charged with illegal possession of poll tax receipts.

34E(2)

His arrest on that charge brought about an accumulation of troubles for Lowe. Tenn.

Earlier in the day he appeared in Municipal Court to answer a charge of carrying concealed weapons and assault. He obtained a continuance on the concealed wapons and assault charge to allow him time to obtain a lawyer.

He was required to furnish $500 bond in Municipal Court, and a similar bond to await action in the poll tatx charge. 7-27-48

According to David Whittington, deputy prosecutor, the poll tax receipts were found in his possession when he was searched after his arrest on the other charges.

His second arrest on a bench warrant issued by Judge Clyde H. Brown in Circuit Court on an "information" filed by Mr. Whittington. The Commercial Appeal

Lowe denied he intended to use the fixe poll tax receipts unlawfully, that he was only holding them for persons for whom they were issued. Memphis Tenn

Boswell Amendment Getting Court Test In Suit By Negroes

MOBILE, Ala., Aug. 9—(AP)—Alabama's Boswell amendment, which might set the pattern for the fight against mass Negro voting, faced its first court test here today.

Ten Mobile County Negroes are asking Federal Judge John McDuffie to declare the law unconstitutional. The judge will hear arguments today on a defense motion that the suit be dismissed.

Counsel for Gov. Folsom and other defendants contends the Negroes have not exhausted their remedy in state courts.

Mon 8-9-48

The Negroes' suit charges that the amendment, written into the state constitution in 1946, deprives Negroes and non-members of the Democratic Party of the right to vote in Alabama.

The amendment provides that prospective voters must be able to "understand and explain" any section of the U. S. constitution. Proponents of the amendment said during the fight for ratification it was designed to restrict Negro registration.

THE COMPLAINT SAYS the 10 Negroes were questioned about the constitution when they appeared before the Mobile County voter registration board, and were told their answers were unsatisfactory.

Besides asking the court to rule the law unconstitutional, the suit also asks damages totaling $100,000 for the plaintiffs.

Other defendants besides the governor are former State Rep. E. C. (Bud) Boswell, of Geneva, author of the amendment; members of the state board of appointing registrars and members of the Mobile County board of registrars.

Boswell has said party leaders in other Southern states have asked him for information about the amendment since South Carolina's so-called "white primary" was declared invalid by a federal court. He said they indicated some voter-qualification plan such as the amendment might be the last means of barring Negroes from voting in the South.

Negroes Challenge Controversial Ala. Vote Rule

34e(2)

MOBILE, Ala., Aug. 9—

Ten Negroes today will ask a federal district court to declare unconstitutional the controversial Boswell amendment, which requires prospective Alabama voters to be able to understand and explain the constitution.

Mon 8-9-48

The case, which is slated to come up today, is the first test of the vote measure.

The state has moved for dismissal of the suits and will argue the matter before United States District Judge John McDuffie. Attorney Gen. Silas Garrett will represent Gov. James E. Folsom and other defendants.

The Negroes allege that the measure deprives the Negro of his right to vote in Alabama. The State maintains that the Negro has not exhausted his pleas in the state court.

The plaintiffs are suing for $100,000 in damages.

Mon 8-9-48

South Carolina Gets "Boswell" Amendment

Columbia S.C.

34e(2)

Legislative passage of South Carolina's version of Alabama's infamous "Boswell Amendment" seemed a certainty after the bill had passed a second reading in the House without opposition.

Known as the "Anderson Amendment" and introduced by Rep. James Perrin Anderson of Greenwood, the bill would submit to referendum changes in present registration laws, by which registration officials would be authorized to require citizens to "interpret" the state constitution or, produce a diploma from the seventh grade. No effort was made to dispute its being aimed at Negroes.

ALABAMA VOTE SUIT DECISION IS DELAYED

(The Associated Press)

Birmingham, Ala., Oct. 13.—A federal district judge today delayed a decision on a motion to dismiss a suit challenging the Boswell amendment to the state constitution, which fixes voter qualifications.

34e(2)

The Boswell amendment requires voters to be able to read and explain the federal constitution.

New Orleans La.

Judge Clarence Mullins heard arguments today by attorneys for Otis Braxter, Negro pastor at Alden, Ala.

The suit contends that the Boswell amendment violates the federal constitution, and asserts that Braxter possesses all the qualifications of a voter, but was denied registration here February 5, 1948.

Thur 10-14-48

Vote Defense Fund Soars To $1,092.56

34e(2) Daily World

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS)— The Vote Defense Fund sponsored by the Birmingham Branch of the NAACP as a war chest to challenge the constitutionality of the vote-stifling Boswell amendment soared to $1,092.56 as the NAACP's legal committee announced that the proposed vote test case would likely be filed within the next few days.

Sat 3-13-48

This announcement came yesterday from Emory O. Jackson, chairman of the local vote fund drive. He also announced that C. L. Price chairman of the Tittusville Unit of the NAACP has turned in $106.30. He added that the NAACP had secured suitable litigants for the Boswell amendment test case. He added that the NAACP legal staff is now putting the finishing touches upon the complaint.

Atlanta Ga.

It is understood that Jackson held lengthy conferences yesterday with Attorney Arthur D. Shores, member of the NAACPs' legal staff and Attorney Oscar W. Adams, Jr., chairman of the legal redress committee of the Alabama Conference of NAACP with respect to the prospective litigation.

In Homewood last Sunday, W. C Patton, chairman of the statewide Alabama Vote Defense Fund Committee, at Friendship Baptist Church speaking on the subject, "The Challenging Fight" warned that "the Boswell amendment must be destroyed." The meeting was sponsored by the Homewood unit of the NAACP headed by Morris Benson.

Here are other vote defense contributions announced by the N. A. A. C. P.

Sat 3-13-48

St. John AME Church AME church Rev. H. R. Hughes, pastor, $40.10

Trinity CME Church, Rev. G. H Yarbrough, pastor, 6.60.

Zion Hope Baptist Church, Rev W. M. Hunter, pastor, 6.50.

Bethel Baptist church, Rev. C. Laster, pastor, 28.50.

Metropolitan Community church Rev. R. W. Hayden, pastor, 6.00.

St. Marks CME Church, Rev. G W. Ford, pastor, 7.00.

Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, Rev. Luke Beard, 40.00.

Tittusville Unit of the NAACP, 106.20.

Total, $1,092.56.

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10 Vets File $100,000 Vote Damage Suit

The Courier Sat 4-3-48

34e(2)

Pittsburgh Pa.

MOBILE — "Kissing Jim" Folsom, Alabama's towering Governor, and his State Democratic party face a momentous showdown April 15 when United States Judge John McDuffie hears the $100,000 vote-damage suit of ten World War II veterans against the infamous Boswell Amendment in Federal District Court. Folsom and the Democrats are the defendants.

The suit was filed Feb. 28 by a Chicago attorney in behalf of the ten veterans, who are exempt from paying the poll tax in this State. All natives of Mobile, the veterans claim they were wrongfully denied voter registration. They ask $100,000 damages.

34e(2)

HOLDS CONFERENCE

Just before he left on his recent trip North, Alabama's "kissing governor" came here for a last minute conference with State Democratic Chairman Gessener T. McCorvey on the possible outcome of the suit and what steps could be taken to maintain the status of the amendment, which was enacted by the State Legislature in 1946 to keep Negro voters from registration.

The broadside against the Boswell Amendment found Governor Folsom, Chairman McCorvey and three members of the Mobile County Board of Registrars named as defendants, along with the author of the amendment, E. C. (Bud) Boswell, former representative from Geneva County. The complaint alleges that they conspired to deny the ballot to Negroes because of race, political faith and prejudice.

SUPPRESS NEGROES

Sat 4-3-48

Advocates of the Boswell Amendment admitted openly during the campaign for its adoption in November 1941 that it was designed to suppress Negro suffrage.

It was disclosed that on March 16 fourteen Negro veterans and one white applicant were all refused registration under the Boswell plan. The disclosure was made by Milton Schnell, chairman of the local County Board of Registrars, who said that thirteen Negro and 100 white applicants were qualified to vote in the coming May 4 primary.

WRITTEN TESTS

Tests on the U. S. Constitution were given to both racial groups, Schnell said, and he followed up his disclousre with the announcement that written instead of oral tests will be given hereafter.

Meanwhile, J. J. Thomas, local contractor and head of the Voters and Veterans Association, announced last week that fourteen other local citizens intended to follow the ten veterans with another suit against the Bosewll Amendment.

Back-to-Wall on Boswell Amendment

New Court Attacks Loom On Vote Ban in Alabama

The Courier Sat 10-2-48

Pittsburgh Pa.

34e(2)

(Special to The Courier)

MOBILE, Ala.—While Alabama NAACP officials were preparing to toss three more court suits at the infamous Boswell Amendment which stifles the voting rights of Alabama Negroes, the State itself filed a brief here in Federal District Court contending that the amendment is constitutional. U. S. Judge John McDuffie took the brief under advisement.

Sat 10-2-48

As Assistant Attorney General Silas C. Garrett of Montgomery, submitted his brief, George N. Leighton of Chicago, counsel for the ten Negro plaintiffs who entered suit several months ago, began study of the State's document preparatory to drawing up his own brief for submission to Judge McDuffie.

STEP-UP IN TEMPO

At the same time, a step-up loomed in the tempo of the slashing attacks on the Boswell Amendment, educational inequality, segregation in interstate travel and the overall barriers to civil rights as the NAACP prepared for its third annual State conference here Oct. 8-10. Definite action will develop from that conference.

The Alabama NAACP has already instituted a case in Jefferson County (Birmingham) attacking the constitutionality of the Boswell Amendment and plans to file similar suits in Montgomery and Mobile counties. Cases are also in process of preparation against discrimination in higher education. Legal attacks against travel segregation and other civil rights violation will be taken up at the meeting.

Jet 10-2-48

A LAST DIXIE BULWARK

The Boswell Amendment—one of Dixie's last bulwarks for white supremacy — provides that would-be-voters must be able to "understand and explain" the Constitution to the satisfaction of the county board of registrars, and Negroes are the only persons usually questioned by board members relative to the Constitution.

Ten war veterans had sued the local county board of registrars. Replying for these registrars, Garrett said that "alleged" maladministration of a law by county officials did not make the law unconstitutional, as the State motioned for dismissal of the case. The vets complained that the amendment infringed on their constitutional rights. Judge McDuffie told both sides to prepare briefs summarizing their contentions.

Jet 10-2-48

More than one hundred delegates are expected to attend the Alabama NAACP conference which will hear Aubrey Williams of Montgomery, Ala., former head of the National Youth Administration and Henry J. Moon of New York City, NAACP research director. Merit awards will be given to outstanding Alabamans at the meeting.

Mobile Negroes' Voting Plaint In U. S. Court

Birmingham Post

MOBILE, Ala., Dec. 21—(AP)—A three-judge Federal Court today was studying testimony from a member of the Mobile County Board of Registrars, who said Negroes applying for registration were treated differently than whites.

The witness, E. J. Gonzales, testified yesterday at opening of a court trial on constitutionality of Alabama's voter-qualification law, the Boswell amendment.

Gonzales said most Negroes were given tests on the U. S. Constitution, but that he had not been present when any white applicants were tested.

Ten Mobile County Negroes contend the amendment infringes on their constitutional rights by granting wide discretion to the registrars.

The two-year-old amendment provides that applicants for registration as voters must be able to "understand and explain" the federal constitution to the Board of Registrars' satisfaction.

June 13-21-48

At the outset of the trial, attorneys for the registrars asked the court to eliminate Gonzales, one of the three board members, as a defendant.

34e(2)

Asst. State Atty. Gen. Silas C. Garrett, III, said he had discovered that Gonzales would not go along with the other board members in their defense of the suit.

June 12-21-48

* * *

GONZALES SAID "I cannot agree with the list of denials which they asked me to testify to in this case."

Preceding Gonzales to the stand were the two other board members, J. Milton Schnell and Mrs. D. C. Randle.

Both said the board had no set policy on handling applicants under the Boswell Amendment, and that generally whites and Negroes who appeared to be qualified were not given educational tests.

"If there was some doubt about their qualification from an educational standpoint, we would question them," Schnell said.

The trial will be continued tomorrow morning.

Mrs. Randle testified that she and Gonzales had agreed to allow Schnell to handle most Negro applicants because of his longer experience on the board.

June 12-21-48

Gonzales said he had been a member of the board since October, 1947, and had never been present when a white applicant was challenged on the Constitution.

On cross-examination, he said some Negroes such as professional people and teachers, were allowed to register without being tested on the Constitution.

GONZALES SAID HE disagreed with Schnell's handling of Negro applicants, but made no formal objection.

June 12-21-48

He added that before the suit was filed questioning of Negroes was oral, but that after the suit, they were given written tests.

Attys. George N. Leighton and David Landau, both of Chicago, began calling to the stand Negroes who testified they were not allowed to register.

First of the applicants was Hunter. Davis, business agent of a labor union. He said Schnell told him his answers were unsatisfactory, but that several white persons registered at the time he was there, and that they were not questioned on the Constitution.

34e(2)

When Leighton attempted to question Hunter regarding seating arrangements at the board for whites and Negroes, District Judge John McDuffie interrupted to remark that "segregation is not an issue in this case."

REPRESENTING THE BOARD in addition to Garrett were Rep. E. C. (Bud) Boswell and State Solicitor Carl Booth.

Hearing the case are Circuit Judge Leon McCord, of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals; District Judge Clarence Mullins, Birmingham, and Judge McDuffie.

The Mobile case was filed last February. A similar case is pending in Federal Court at Birmingham.

Shortly before the trial was recessed last night, Mrs. Dorothy Blatchford, board secretary, was placed on the stand to testify to records regarding registration and rejection of Negro and white applicants.

June 12-21-48

She said 39 Negroes had been registered prior to last March 1, and 65 Negroes registered since March 1.

Mrs. Blatchford said three white applicants were registered before March 1 after being questioned on the Constitution. Eleven white applicants were rejected after March 1 for failure to answer questoins on the Constitution properly, she added.

June 12-21-48

Boswell Law Traps Whites

The Defender

34e(2)

BIRMINGHAM—The Boswell amendment, designed to deny voting rights to Negroes, is being used against white workers as well, AFL and CIO groups here have charged.

Judge Studies Motion On Boswell Amendment

The Advertiser

Thur 10-14-48

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Oct. 13—(AP)— A federal district judge took under advisement today a motion to dismiss a Negro's suit contesting the Boswell Amendment to the state constitution.

The amendment requires voters to be able to read and explain the federal constitution.

34e(2)

The motion was entered before Judge Clarence Mullins by Assistant Attorney General Si Garrett.

Montgomery Ala.

The suit was filed by Eugene Otis Braxter, pastor of a church at Alden, Ala. The case, filed as a "class suit," contends Braxter has all qualifications of a registered voter but has been denied registration. He asks damages of $5,000.

Braxter's attorneys amended the suit today's hearing to permit one judge to hear it. As originally filed, the suit asked a three-judge panel.

Four States Plan To Deny Vote To Negro Citizens

Daily World

34e(2)

June 7-3-48

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (ANP)— Four southern states are seeking copies of Alabama's Boswell amendment added to the state" constitution 14 months ago to minimize voting of Negroes. the amendment's author revealed this week.

State Rep. E. C. Boswell said Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas want copies of the law as a possibility for them to follow.

His amendment requires prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" any part of the U. S. constitution to the satisfaction of county registration boards. It also repealed a constitutional provision that any person with $300 worth of taxable property could vote whether they could read or write.

NEGRO VOTE TEST DELAYED

Alabama Group to Amend Suit in Constitutional Fight

MOBILE, Ala., Aug. 9 (AP) — A Federal Court ruling on constitutionality of Alabama's Boswell Amendment was delayed today when attorneys for ten Mobile County Negroes agreed to amend their suit.

34e(2)

Atfer a three-hour hearing Federal Judge John McDuffie recessed the case for several weeks. This will allow both sides time to file briefs.

This was the first court test of the state's two-year-old voter qualification law, which might set the pattern for the South's fight against mass Negro voting.

George N. Leighton of Chicago, attorney for the Negroes, said at the conclusion of the hearing that the issues had been narrowed to a question whether discretionary powers granted a county board of registrars infringed on the Constitutional rights of the Negroes. The amendment will cover this issue.

Mobile Board Members Split In Boswell Suit

Montgomery Advertiser

June 12-21-48

34e(2)

Gonzalez Says Negroes Treated Differently In Application Test

MOBILE, ALA., Dec. 20.—(AP)—A member of the Mobile County Board of Registrars testified today that Negroes and whites were treated differently when they applied to the board for registration to vote.

The witness, E. J. Gonzales, testified at a three-judge Federal court trial on constitutionality of Alabama's voter-qualification law, the Boswell amendment.

Gonzales said most Negroes were given tests on the U. S. Constitution but that he had not been present when any white applicants were tested.

Ten Mobile County Negroes contend the wide discretion which the amendment grants to the registrars infringes on their constitutional rights.

The two-year-old amendment provides that applicants for registration as voters must be able to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution to the satisfaction of the Board of Registrars.

Surprise Turn

The trial took a surprise turn at the outset when attorneys for the registrars asked the court to eliminate Gonzales, one of the three board members, as a defendant.

June 12-21-48

Assistant State Attorney General Silas C. Garrett, III, said he found out yesterday for the first time that Gonzales would not go along with the other board members in their defense of the suit.

Gonzales, who has differed frequently with the other board members on matters of policy, said, "I cannot agree with the list of denials which they asked me to testify to in this case."

Preceding Gonzales to the stand were the two other board members, J. Milton Schnell and Mrs. D. C. Randle.

Both said the board had no set policy on handling applicants under the Boswell amendment, and that generally whites and Negroes who appeared to be qualified were not given educational tests.

34e(2)

"If there was some doubt about their qualiifcation from an educational standpoint, we would question them," Schnell said.

The trial will be continued Tuesday morning.

Mrs. Randle testified that she and Gonzales had agreed to allow Schnell to handle most Negro applicants because of his longer experience on the board.

Attorneys George N. Leighton and David Landau, both of Chicago, began calling to the stand Negroes who testified they were not allowed to register.

First of the applicants was Hunter Davis, business agent of a labor union. He said Schnell told him his answers were unsatisfactory, but that several white persons registered at the time he was there, and that they were not questioned on the constitution.

June 12-21-48

When Leighton attempted to question Hunter regarding seating arrangements at the board for whites and Negroes, District Judge John McDuffie interrupted to remark that "segregation is not an issue in this case."

Shortly before the trial was recessed tonight, Mrs. Dorothy Blatchford, board secretary, was placed on the stand to testify to records regarding registration and rejection of Negro and white applicants.

She said 39 Negroes had been registered prior to last March 1, and 65 Negroes registered since March 1.

Mrs. Blatchford said three white applicants were registered before March 1, after being questioned on the constitution. Eleven white applicants were rejected after March 1 for failure to answer questions in the constitution properly.

The Tarheel Week

The Boswell Amendment

Journal Guide. Sat 2-21-48 – Norfolk Va.

34e(2)

By C. D. HALLIBURTON

NEWSPAPERS have included North Carolina among the several southern states expressing interest in the Boswell Amendment by which Alabama expects to disfranchise the majority of its potential Negro voters. The Boswell Amendment requires the prospective registrant to interpret the Constitution, apparently to the satisfaction of the registrar.

It is not generally believed that there is any wide interest in such a procedure in North Carolina. The prevailing viewpoint on the subject of Negro suffrage, at least among those with influence, was probably well summed up by the Raleigh Times, a relatively conservative daily, in a recent editorial, from which we quote:

Sat 2-21-48

HERMAN TALMADGE, who seized the Georgia governorship and held it until the Georgia Supreme Court ruled against his claim, is advocating a 'white supremacy' law based on voter qualification regulations. The intent of the proposed law, Talmadge frankly admits, is to disfranchise Negro voters.

"It is hinted that Talmadge and his supporters will seek passage of a law similar to one now in force in Alabama which requires would-be voters to read and explain the U. S. Constitution to the satisfaction of the various registrars.

'It is well that those unable to read be barred from voting. Those unfortunates are usually incapable of forming an intelligent political opinion and are at the mercy of the ward heeler. But when it comes to making a prospective voter explain the U. S. Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar, this is indeed a mockery. Learned lawyers are constantly differing with each other on constitutional interpretation. To make the voter explain the thing to the satisfaction of a registrar who may be abysmally ignorant of the law is a rank injustice to the individual voter and to the public.

* * * *

"**AS FOR** literacy tests for voters, it would be a fine thing if all states required them, if it could be assured that the tests were administered fairly. But when the literacy test is handled so as to exclude illiterate Negroes from the ballot while giving the ballot t6 illiterate whites, it constitutes a travesty on our democratic system."

* * * *

JUDGE HENRY A. GRADY, in Wake County Superior Court, has declared a non-suit in the case of the Rev. James L. Pridgen, who had sued the Carolina Coach Company for $25,000 damages on an allegation of malicious prosecution and false arrest back in 1946.

Rev. Mr. Pridgen, then a student at Shaw University, brought the suit after he was arrested on a warrant charging disorderly conduct. W. A. Green, a dispatcher at the Raleigh Union Bus Station. was responsible for the warrant. Rev. Mr. Pridgen was on his way to Norfolk, and resisted as an interstate passenger an order to remove to the rear of the bus. In municipal court he was freed on a nol pros with leave.

Judge Grady ruled the non-suit on the ground that the bus company could not be held responsible for the act of the dispatcher since his action as to the warrant was beyond his authority as agent of the company. He cited state precedents in cases (not involving transportation) in support of his ruling.

An appeal to the State Supreme Court was noted at the end of the proceedings.

* * * *

Sat 2-21-48

UNPRECEDENTLY ROUGH weather has upset the daily routine of millions of North Carolinians lately. Within less than ten days two snowfalls of approximately nine inches minimum each have been experienced over a wide area of the interior of the state, each accompanied by high winds and temperatures in the neighborhood of 15.

Both the recent snowstorms broke 15-year records for parts of North Carolina, but the situation was even worse than the nine inch figures would indicate, as a driving and icy wind piled up drifts of two feet and more in many places. Meanwhile, Wilmington and other coastal localities suffered great inconveniences, including disruption of communications and public utilities services, as the result of heavy freezing rains and other "ice storm" features.

Federal Court Won't Dismiss Suits Filed Against Boswell Act

The Pittsburgh Courier

Sat. 11-27-48

34e(2)

Pittsburgh, Pa.

(Special to The Courier)

MOBILE, Ala.—A three-judge Federal court last week overruled the State's motion to dismiss two suits challenging constitutionality of Alabama's infamous Boswell Disfranchisement Amendment.

Federal Judge John McDuffie of Mobile said Thursday that the three-judge court of which he was a member will set a date for an early court hearing on the merits of the two suits against the measure.

The amendment is regarded as one of the last bulwarks of the "white supremacy" crowd to deprive Negroes of the ballot. It requires a prospective vote registrant to be able to "understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution to the satisfaction of his board of registrars. Tests in this particular are almost invariably imposed upon Negroes.

Hearing on merits of the suits, filed in Federal District Courts at Birmingham and Mobile, now are required by law at the earliest possible date, Judge McDuffie said. They will be held in both courts.

The Rev. E. C. Braxter, a college graduate, is the plaintiff in the Birmingham case. Ten persons, including a woman, Mrs. E. K. Carter, are complainants in the Mobile case.

Mobile Board Of Registrars Ask Boswell Suit Dismissal

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery Ala

34e(2)

Tues 11-30-48

MOBILE, ALA., Nov. 29 —(AP) — The Mobile County board of registrars today asked dismissal of a revised federal court suit here challenging constitutionality of Alabama's Boswell amendment.

Attorney General A. A. Carmichael denied the allegation of the 10 Mobile County Negroes who filed the action that Negroes were denied the right to vote because of race or color.

The Boswell amendment provided that citizens seeking registration as voters must be able to "understand and explain" the federal constitution to the satisfaction of registrars.

Dismissal Refused

A three-judge federal court here refused recently to dismiss a Birmingham suit on the same subject and ordered a trial of the case on its merits.

Attorneys for the Mobile County Negroes later amended their suit, making their complaint conform more nearly to the Birmingham action.

34e(2)

In the amended complaint here, Gov. James E. Folsom and other state officials were eliminated from the case, leaving only the Mobile County board of registrars as defendants.

Circuit Solicitor Carl M. Booth was brought in today as a defense attorney along with Carmichael, assistant attorney general Silas C. Garrett III and E. C. Boswell.

Booth said the three-judge court would hear the Mobile case soon. Tues 11-30-48

Long Awaited Fight On Boswell Amendment Reaches Federal Court

Chicago Defender

34e(2)

Chicago Illinois

Sat 5-1-48

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The NAACP's long expected attack on Alabama's Boswell Amendment was launched in the federal courts here Tuesday, when the suit was filed by the Rev. E. J. Baxter of Jefferson County, challenging the constitutionality of the notorious political disfranchisement device.

The young minister, pastor of the Allen Temple Methodist church, Alden, Ala., is a graduate of Payne College in Birmingham. The Jefferson County board of registrars denied him the right to register as a voter on the grounds that he did not satisfactorily "understand and explain" a section of the United States Constitution.

The suit asks $5,000 damages, and a declaratory judgment. It was filed on behalf of "this petitioner and all other Negroes in Jefferson County possessing the qualifications to register."

Cites U. S. Constitution

It contends that the state constitution as amended with regard to Section 181 (voting), is unconstitutional and is in violation of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the federal Constitution.

The petition charges that the Jefferson County board of registrars exercised arbitrary discretion in refusing the Rex. Baxter the right to register as an elector, and asserts that the board has no visible standards by which it can measure a man's qualifications to vote.

Boswell amendment proponents openly admit that the 1946 disfranchisement measure was designed for the purpose of maintaining a quota system for Negro vote registrants.

One In 500 OK'd

The state has a Negro population of more than 900,000, but only about 6,000 Negroes vote because of the existence of the amendment and the cumulative poll tax. It requires registrant applicants to be able to understand and explain the United States Constitution to the satisfaction of a board of registrars, if demanded. Its provisions are almost invariably imposed upon Negroes who apply to register.

NAACP attorneys in the Baxter case are Thurgood Marshall, Special Counsel, Edward R. Dudley, assistant Special Counsel, both of New York, and Arthur D. Shores, of Birmingham.

Additional Boswell amendment cases in the NAACP's all-out battle against political disfranchisement in the South will be filed in Montgomery and Mobile, Shores said Tuesday. Meanwhile, the case of 10 Negro plaintiffs in Mobile, who entered suit in another Boswell amendment case on February 28, through a local movement known as Veterans and Voters League may be heard in federal court there on May 14.

3-Man Federal Court Ends Trial On Boswell Amendment

Montgomery Advertiser

34e(3)

Montgomery, Ala.

MOBILE, ALA., Dec. [illegible]—(AP)—A three-judge Federal Court today concluded a trial on constitutionality of Alabama's Boswell Amendment, referred to as a weapon of "white supremacy" advocates. Wed 12-22-48

Counsel for 10 Mobile County Negro plaintiffs introduced letters by State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey to other party officials in which he had called the voter-qualification law "all-important."

McCorvey had warned in a letter to members of the State Democratic Executive Committee: Wed 12-22-48

"We are going to see our poll lists flooded with thousands of voters who have not yet fitted themselves to participate in our government" unless registration laws were tightened.

34e(2)

"There are any number of counties in Alabama's Black Belt where, unless we do something to tighten up our registration laws, we will very likely, in a few years, have only colored county officials, as in many of these Black Belt counties the Negroes outnumber the white people from five to one to ten to one," he wrote. Wed 12-22-48

The amendment to the state constitution was adopted in a 1946 state referendum.

The court announced that a decision in the case would be returned at a later date.

Assistant Attorney General Silas C. Garrett, III, asked the judges "not to strike down the Boswell amendment" because of the alleged maladministration of officials acting under it.

He asserted in a closing argument that the amendment was enacted to ensure that "only qualified citizens become electors." 34e(2)

George N. Leighton, attorney for the Negroes, called on the court to declare the amendment unconstitutional.

He asked for an order restraining the Mobile County Board of Registrars from acts allegedly infringing on the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs.

The amendment requires applicants for registration as voters to be able to "understand and explain" the federal constitution to the satisfaction of the board of registrars. Wed 12-22-48

Leighton contended that the broad powers of diseretion given the registrars were used to discriminate against his clients and other Alabama Negroes.

Milton Schnell, chairman of the Mobile County board, denied as the hearing closed that his board had discriminated against Negro applicants for registration.

Earlier another member of the same board, E. C. Gonzales, had testified that Negroes applying for registration were treated differently than whites.

He was offered an opportunity to testify again today, but said his statements previously would stand. Wed 12-22-48

Alabamans Ask Dismissal Of Boswell Edict Suit

14e(2)

Chicago Defender

Chicago Ill

MOBILE, Ala. — Defendants, including state officers in the suit filed by 10 Mobile Negroes attacking the Boswell disfranchisement amendment, Friday asked the federal court here to dismiss the action. Sat 5-29-48

The suit named as defendants, Gov. James E. Fulsom, members of the state appointing board for registrars, the Mobile County Board of Registrars and former State Representative, E. C. Boswell, sponsor of the amendment in the Alabama Legislature. Sat 5-29-48

It was conceived by one of the South's leading white supremists, Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile, chairman of the Alabama state Dem. executive committee. McCorvey is one of the most rabid of the Dixie revolters against President Truman and his civil rights program.

Leads Revolt

He influenced the state committee to okay and support only Democratic National Convention delegate and presidential elector candidates who agreed to pledge not to support the President's nomination and to withhold the state's electoral votes from him, respectively.

Federal District Judge John McDuffie, former Alabama congressman, has set no date for a hearing on the motion to dismiss the suit.

He was asked to dismiss the suit on the grounds that his court had no jurisdiction because the plaintiffs did not exhaust their remedy in state courts, "as provided by law."

Dismissal Motion In Boswell Suit Before U.S. Court

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

34e(2)

MOBILE, ALA., Nov. 5.—(AP)—A three-judge federal court took for decision today state motions to dismiss two suits challenging Alabama's Boswell Amendment. Sat 11-6-48

The day-long hearing on constitutionality of the voter qualification law was cut short when counsel for 10 Mobile County Negroes agreed to eliminate Gov. James E. Folsom and other state officials as defendants in their case.

This left as defendants members of the Mobile County Board of Registrars and the board itself.

A previous allegation that the two-year-old statute is part of a "gigantic conspiracy against Negroes and other non-members of the Democratic party in Alabama also was dropped.

These allegations were part of the original suit filed at Mobile last February. Now it conforms more nearly in its complaints to a suit filed in Federal Court at Birmingham, the other case argued here.

The judges gave attorneys for the Mobile Negroes until next Friday to file their amended complaint, and allowed Assistant Attorney General Si Garrett, until the following Tuesday to file his amended motion to dismiss.

The amendments will be considered as made today, the judges directed. Sat 11-6-48

The Boswell Amendment provides that citizens seeking registration as voters must be able to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrars.

Arthur D. Shores, of Birmingham, one of the four Negro lawyers for the plaintiffs, charged that the statute infringes on the constitutional rights of Alabama Negroes by giving the registrars "unbridled power."

He called the amendment a "poor yardstick" for determining the qualifications of a citizen to vote. "Even the highest court of the land rarely renders a unanimous opinion on a constitutional question," Shores declared.

34e(2) 1948

Florida

Florida Election Day Riots Probed

34 e (2) World, Atlanta Ga.

Fri. 6-25-48

By JAMES B. LaFOURCHE

MIAMI—(ANP)— Failure of the Okeechobee authorities to investigate an alleged May 25 election night attack on a Negro canning crew plant there, has resulted in the state attorney's office superceding the small town officials and to date, more than 50 white witnesses have been grilled concerning the riotous attack.

Heading the state investigators is Thad H. Carlton of Fort Pierce. The latter stated that the quiz would last more than a week. He did not disclose what he had learned. The investigation was launched after Gov. Millard Caldwell, chief foe of Pres. Truman's 10-Point civil rights program, had been petitioned by Allem Markham, co-owner of the plant to act.

It was disclosed that a full report of the incident has been turned over to the state's attorney's office by Sgt. T. E. Jones, of the Florida Highway Patrol. The state attorney's office, headed by Murray Overstreet, is empowered to act without convening a session of the grand jury, it was stated.

BEAT WHITE FOREMAN

But for the beating of a white foreman, the incident might have remained a closed affair. But Jim Rigdon swore out an assault and battery warrant against one of the atttackers whom he recognized.

Fri. 6-25-48

It was likewise cleared up that the wholesale attack on the Negroes was not to frighten them away from the polls, but came as the aftermath because the Negroes had been brought in to aid in gathering the crop.

The savage-like attack took place on the night of May 25, just about 9 p. m. dinner time for the Negro workers. One of the Markham's stated that about from 10 to 12 white men entered the plant and commanded the Negroes to "get into those trucks and get out of town." During the scuffle which ensued, one Negro man was said to have been cut and several others badly bruised.

NAACP Continues Fight For Right To Franchise

The Lighthouse - Jun 5-2-48

Alabama And Miss. Plans Face Attack

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Having engineered the wrecking of the South Carolina scheme to perpetuate the white primary, attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People this week prepared a similar fate for the Alabama and Mississippi plans which seek to continue the disfranchisement of Negro citizens through discriminatory registration practices.

The Alabama plan, embodied in the Boswell Amendment, faces an early test in the United States District Court in Birmingham. Arthur D. Shores, Birmingham attorney and member of the NAACP legal committee, in association with Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, will challenge the Alabama law in the Federal Court.

Columbia S.C.

Referendum Adopted

The Boswell Amendment requires voters to be "of good character" and able to "read, write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States." It was narrowly adopted by a referendum in 1946. A similar law was passed this year by the Mississippi Legislature. This law will likewise be challenged in the courts by the NAACP.

Jun 5-2-48

Action of the United States Supreme Court on April 19 upholding the decision of lower courts in banning the South Carolina deal spells "the end of the white primary and destroys all hopes of the white supremacists to exclude Negroes from voting regardless of the ingenious methods used," Mr. Marshall asserted.

"The NAACP pledges itself entire resources to continue this fight until all qualified Negroes throughout the country are freely granted the right to vote."

Voters Triple In Southern States

The Bu[illegible] Lighthouse
Columbia S.C.
6/18/48

The number of Negro voters in the South has tripled since 1940, according to a report prepared by Luther P. Jackson, Professor of History at Virginia State College, for the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia.

For the South as a whole, the number of Negro voters increased from 211,00 in 1940 to 645,00 in 1947 the latter figure representing 12 per cent of the Negro population of voting age.

Leadnig the Southern States in this increase is Georgia, where Negro enroilment is estimated to have jumped from 20,000 to 125,000 between 1940 and 1947. But the study shows that it is the border State of Oklahoma which has he highest percentage of its eligible Negro population qualified as voters—29.6 per cent.

Although seven southern states retain the poll tax, the report declares, only in Mississippi, Virginia and Alabama does it "constitute a significant barrier either by the amount of money to be paid by the time and method of payment, or by its cumulative features."

REGISTRATION BARS

On the basis of a state-by-state inquiry into voting practices, Dr. Jackson concludes that it is registration which is most commonly used as a means of discrimination against potential Negro voters. This is accomplished, he states, by registrars who make severe application of qualification requirements against Negroes only, by policies of evasion, and by deliberate insults or threats at registration places.

It was found however, that there is relatively little opposition to Negroes becoming registered voters in Southern cities of a population of 25,000 or more. "In Memphis, Atlanta, Jacksonville, or New Orleans" says the report, "(Negroes) may qualify with as much ease as they may in any Northern city."

The study points out that "it is not always the barriers to voting consciousness among them." The reason for this lack of interest is attributed in part to the fact that many Negro churches and schools have not taken an active part in educating colored citizens in civic responsibility.

BENEFIT NOTED

Practical benefits that have come to Negroes as a result of their voting include the construcion of additional Negro parks, playgrounds, schools, and other public facilitics and services and the employment of Negro policemen.

Dr. Jackson points to the Negro vote as a healthy influence on Southern politics in general. "Holding the balance of power in many instances," he writes, "their vote has been a factor in driving out of office city machines of long duration, in favor of more liberal officeholders."

It would be erroneous, the report concludes, to claim that the increase in Negro voters in the past eight years seriously threatens "white supremacy." For "in spite of the gains made by Negroes as voters during the decade of the 1940's, it is correct to say that the whites have liekwise been advancing, and in most States at a faster rate.... In Florida, the ratio is about 14 to 1; in Virginia, 20 to 1 and in Louisiana, 100 to 1."

Maybank Pledges Fight On 'Rights' In The Senate

Columbia Record
Columbia S.C.

CHESTER, July 22—(AP)—Alan Johnstone, Newberry attorney who is one of five candidates for Democratic nomination to the United States Senate, continued his attacks today on U. S. District Judge J. Waties Warning's order opening Democratic party membership to Negroes.

Jun 7-22-48

"Government by injunction and force is tyranny," Johnstone declared.

Columbia S.C.

He repeated his charge that Waring was nominated judge by Senator Burnet R. Maybank, who is seeking renomination.

Maybank, who issued a statement in connection with that charge yesterday, did not specifically reply to Johnstone. He continued to cite his record as governor and senator and promised to use all his efforts to oppose enactment of federal civil rights legislation.

Other speeches continued much the same.

Jun 7-22-48

At Lancaster and Winnsboro yesterday, four of the five candidates condemned Waring's decision in the suit against state party rules by a Beaufort Negro. Neville Bennett of Clio had nothing to say about the order.

Johnstone and United States Rep. W. J. B. Dorn of Greenwood charges that Maybank nominated Waring to pay a political debt.

Waring's Order Quickens Boil Of SC Politics

Columbia Record
Columbia S.C.

(United Press

Federal Judge J. Waties Waring's order that Negroes be allowed full participation in the South Carolina Democratic party quickened the boil of state politics, as four or five senatorial candidates opened bitter attacks on the judge.

Jun 7-22-48

One of them was Sen. Burnet R. Maybank, who joined in recommending Waring for the federal district bench in Charleston in 1941.

Five candidates for the state legislature have pulled their names out of the primary because of the ruling. Some said they would run in the general election.

7-22-48

State Democratic Chairman William P. Baskin was urged to recall the state convention to consider the latest status of the party.

Individuals blasted Waring. Mayor William McG. Morrison of Charleston vowed he would not vote in the primary next month if the oath meant he would have to support President Truman.

The objection to Waring's order shaped up twofold.

Morrison voiced one. "If the oath is what it appears to be—that by voting you are pledged to support the nominee of the national Democratic party—I for one will not vote in the primary," he said.

Waring ordered the party's oath with its racial segregation clause abolished.

Jun 7-22-48

The judge restrained the party from requiring of a voter "any oath other than that the prospective voter meets the qualifications as an elector set out in the constitution of South Carolina, and is a Democrat and will support the election of nominees of the Democratic party at the ensuing general election."

The other objection was to Waring's action in ruling that Negroes must be allowed full participation in party affairs.

Senatorial candidate Alan Johnstone led off the blistering attack on Waring and on Maybank, whom Johnstone said recommended Waring's appointment.

Maybank pointed out that he was not responsible for the judge's actions "on or off the bench," and said he had been the first South Carolinian in public office to criticize Waring for his political rulings regarding the Democratic party.

U. S. Rep. W. P. Bryan Dorn of Greenwood and Marcus A. Stone of Florence and Dillon joined the assualt on Waring.

Some 4,727 Negroes have enroled in Charleston county since Waring opened the books to them.

And in Charleston county, T. Allen Legare, Jr., and Henry T. Gaud withdrew their candidacies for the state legislature from the primary. So did candidates James B. Morrison, Don V. Richardson and James B. Moore in Georgetown county.

Count Shows Negro Voting Strength Here

The Columbia Record
June 8 10 48

Reports from 23 of Richland county's 54 precincts at 2 p. m. today showed that approximately 5,427 persons had voted in today's primary. Of these, 612 persons were Negroes.

These precincts reported a total enrolment of about 17,707 persons.

Columbia

Precinct	Enrolment (Approx.)	Total Voting	Negro Voting
Ward 1	1,200	383	45
Ward 2	500	196	25
Ward 3	997	330	40
Ward 4	927	247	0
Ward 5	632	125	20
Ward 6........	738	192	0
Ward 7	550	137	0
Ward 8	630	190	0
Ward 9	1,734	509	450
Ward 10	835	288	20
Ward 11	850	211	0
Ward 12	1,200	465	0
Ward 13	676	285	0
Ward 14	880	237	0
Ward 15	960	279	1
Ward 16	614	236	0
Denny Terrace	504	141	0
Dentsville	417	121	2
Hampton	1,266	356	0
Hopkins	123	60	4
Koon's store ..	154	49	4
Eau Claire	1,200	350	1
Arcadia	120	40	0

Ga. Registrars Ordered to Explain Voter 'Purge'

Afro American

Sat 8-21-48

3402(2)

U.S. Judge Rules on Cases in Spalding, Laurens Counties; Holds Hearings Legal

Baltimore Md

BRUNSWICK, Ga. (NNPA)—Federal Judge Frank Scarlett, on Aug. 11 made two rulings affecting voting lists involving colored voters in two Georgia counties—Spaulding and Laurens.

He ordered the Spaulding County registrars to show cause why they should not stop "purging colored citizens from the voting list," in an appearance before the court scheduled for Aug. 20.

In the Laurens County cases, the judge ruled that the registrars were in their legal rights in holding hearings between October and April 20, leaving the question only of damages to be determined.

More Than 500 "Purged"

The Spaulding County suit, entered by Frank Bowers, Atlanta attorney, charged the vote purge began there on July 26, when some 1500 colored voters were summoned to appear before the Board of Registrars.

All, said the suit, were notified they would be dropped from the voting list for failure to appear and answer questions concerning their qualifications to vote.

As a result, the suit continued, the names of between 500 and 700 colored persons were stricken from the list.

Summonses Issued Too Late

The suit also maintains that the summons to appear before the board were not issued in a legal fashion and did not permit colored voters to receive them in time to appear at a specified time.

Named as defendants were R. L. Addleton, T. C. Mann and Gus Anglyn, the Spaulding County registrars. Plaintiffs were listed in the suit as Clifford Caldwell, Leroy Booker and Bernice Boynton.

Board's Action Held Legal

Regarding the suit filed against the Laurens County registrars, County Commissioners, Superior Court Judge R. Earl Camp, W. H. Lovett, J. D. Bush and T. A. Lane of the Democratic County Executive Committee, Judge Scarlett ruled:

Sat 8-21-48

"The registrars were within their legal rights to hold the meetings between October and April 20.

"The only question left to be determined is the question of damages, if any, which can be tried at the next regular turn of court at Dublineon. the third Monday in January, 1949."

Thousands in Damages Asked

It was alleged that the board summonded about 1900 colored citizens before it and one question was whether the board could be regularly assembled before April 20.

Damages amounting to several hundred thousand dollars were asked in the suit.

Dan Duke, white, Atlanta attorney, represents the plaintiffs; and the defendants are represented by Russell M. Daley, Carl K. Nelson, Dublin; Charles Bloch and C. Clayton Jones of Macon.

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800 Negroes Laugh When Crosses Burn

The Defender

Scarecrow Tactics Of "Bed-sheeters" Fail On Voters

By JOHN LE FLORE

Sat 4-3-48

JEFFERSONVILLE, Ga.—Terror tactics of the notorious Ku Klux Klan failed to frighten Negroes from the polls in Twiggs county Monday, where they voted in fairly heavy numbers despite the burning of large crosses by the hooded order on the eve of the primary.

Evidently encouraged to commit its latest brazen offense against law and order by its successful intimidation of Negroes in Johnson county several weeks ago, the Klan was foiled in its attempt to do the same thing in Twiggs county.

Burn Cross

Slinkink members of the hate organization burned a fifteen-foot cross on the courthouse square here Saturday night, and another fiery symbol of mob law Sunday night, for the purpose of terrorizing Negroes to keep them from the polls.

Chicago Ill

But to the Klan's surprise, Negro voters were defiant of the cross burning and other threatening gestures made in Twiggs county by the bedsheet order. A young Negro war veteran, determined to vote, said "he wasn't afraid to die on the battlefield to protect the hides of the very Kluxers who would deny him the ballot, and he would not be afraid to die to protect his rights as a citizen from the evil designs of those he had to fight to save from the heels of foreign foes." He regarded the Klan as a far worse enemy to America than any potential enemy country today.

Brave Threat

In Jeffersonville proper, the county seat, 157 of 438 registered Negro voters cast their ballots, and reports from the various precinct over the county indicated that a large turnout of the approximately 800 Negro electors at the polls.

County officials said that an estimated 1,500 whites are qualified to vote in Twiggs county.

The Klan, several weeks ago, gave a display of hate in Johnson county that struck terror in the hearts of docile Negroes there. With the aid of county officials, the hooded order burned a fifteen-foot cross on the courthouse lawn at Wrightsville while its leader Dr. Samuel Green, white, of Atlanta, warned that the "streets of the South would run red with blood if President Truman's civil rights program should be enforced in the area."

The Klan show, held on the eve of a county election, had the influence to keep all of the county's more than 400 Negro voters from the polls the next day.

The same kind of strategy employed in Twiggs county, did not work.

REGISTER NOW

The Calif Voice

Sat 4-2-48

San Francisco Calif

In 1944 there were approximately 85 million eligible voters in the United States. Yet, only 48 million of them went to the polls in the Presidential election. Because of this negligence we do not have majority rule in our country. Franklin Roosevelt received approximately twenty-five and one-half million votes in 1944. In other words, he was chosen by the support of less than one-third of the qualified citizens. This is not to say that he would have been defeated if 85 million votes has been cast. But, at least, a true expression of the majority preference would have been manifested. Next November, as we know, the Presidential election will be held again. The results of that election can have a tremendous effect on the lives of the people. It is vital, therefore, that every citizen vote. And in order to vote he must register. Registrations for the June Presidential Primary in California, close on April 22. So, if you are not now registered or have moved recently or did not vote in 1946, register at once. Then don't fail to vote in everv election.

This Year's Primaries Should Be Last Lawless Ones

The Columbia Record

Fri 9-3-48

34e(2)

Columbia S.C.

The lawless primary in South Carolina has now definitely outlived its putative usefulness. And, what is more to the point, it has clearly demonstrated the need for its abandonment.

It was a futile enterprise when South Carolina made the trial of eliminating all of the primary laws in 1944 and The Record was almost alone then in having the perspicuity to recognize the futility of it and to warn the state that it was winning nothing more than a little more time to work out the problem of Negro voting, time, which the state did not, of course, use for this purpose. The Record had read the supreme court opinions.

But having made the decision, the state and the Democratic party of South Carolina had no real choice except to abide by it after the Elmore case had been carried to the courts. Nothing else offered any hope, from their point of view.

But when the Elmore case was decided the General Assembly of South Carolina should have been reassembled to enact laws both to fix the requirements for voting in the primary and to govern the conduct of the primary elections. There was no longer either reason or excuse for not acting to restore the primary in South Carolina to legal control.

And if the members of the General Assembly had had the foresight to perceive the need and had made clear to the Governor their desire for a special session it may be assumed that the Governor would have issued the call, which could have paved the way also for the enactment at the same session of a real Australian ballot law. But with a few exceptions the legislators were silent or stunned.

Fri 9-3-48

The special session was not held and the subsequent primary was a lawless primary, under which almost anything could happen and nothing could be done about it.

There have been protests and recounts galore, charges of irregularities here and irregularities there. Altogether it adds up to a sorry picture for South Carolinians concerned that elections in South Carolina shall everywhere be fair and honest.

Obviously therefore the next General Assembly will have to enact laws to govern the primary. And since there will be no occasion for haste next year the legislators should take the time and devote the necessary study to make the primary laws, finally passed, as foolproof as possible, covering every contingency and providing penalties severe enough to discourage any attempt at any willful violation of them.

The honesty of elections is fundamental in a democracy.

34e(2)

NAACP CONTINUES FIGHT FOR RIGHT TO FRANCHISE

April 22, 1948

Press Service of The NAACP
New York, N.Y.
Thurs. 4-22-48

NEW YORK, N.Y., April 22.--Having engineered the wrecking of the South Carolina scheme to perpetuate the white primary, attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People this week prepared a similar fate for the Alabama and Mississippi plans which seek to continue the disfranchisement of Negro citizens through discriminatory registration practices.

The Alabama plan, embodied in the Boswell Amendment, faces an early test in the United States District Court in Birmingham. Arthur D. Shores, Birmingham attorney and member of the NAACP legal committee, in association with Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, will challenge the Alabama law in the Federal Court.

The Boswell Amendment requires voters to be "of good character" and able to "read, write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States." It was narrowly adopted by a referendum in 1946. A similar law was passed this year by the Mississippi Legislature. This law will likewise be challenged in the courts by the NAACP.

Press Service of The NAACP
New York, N.Y.
Thurs. 4-22-48

Action of the United States Supreme Court on April 19 upholding the decision of lower courts in banning the South Carolina deal spells "the end of the white primary and destroys all hopes of the white supremacists to exclude Negroes from voting regardless of the ingenious methods used," Mr. Marshall asserted.

"The NAACP pledges its entire resources to continue this fight until all qualified Negroes throughout the country are freely granted the right to vote."

Such Tricks As Make Angels Weep

The Record
Columbia, S.C.
7-15-48
34e(2)

Last week was a bad week for the South Carolina politicians, almost a disastrous week.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, picked by the hopeless Democrats to rescue the party from perdition, twice said no, the last time in such terms that even a South Carolina Democrat could not misunderstand. So Truman will be the Democratic nominee and the South Carolina party is willing to commit suicide, if necessary, to defeat Truman, who will, of course, be defeated even without South Carolina's participation in the slaughter. It's a sad day ahead for the South Carolinians at Philadelphia.

But it's also a sad day for the politicians in South Carolina. Here the Democratic leaders have been pursuing a policy of sticking their heads in the sand in the hope thereby they could escape the inevitable. The result has been what this position indicated. Last week a new suit was filed in the federal courts, seeking an injunction to restrain the Democratic (Politicians') party from preventing the enrolment of Negroes, their participation in party affairs and activities and requiring them to take a thought-control oath, in the devising of which they had no part. With the national Democratic convention going on the South Carolina party leaders must get together and decide what can be done. Maybe some of them even will have to fork out a little money if they decide to make a fight of it and money always comes hard to the Democratic (Politicians') party. It's a hopeless fight anyhow and should be abandoned but apparently the South Carolina politicians cannot bring themselves to admit that they have been wrong and the newspapers right in this whole controversy. Crow doesn't make a very appetizing political pie.

And then the unkindest cut of all—the special supreme court appointed to hear the extra pay case came to the conclusion that the constitution meant what the words said and what, of course, everybody had known it was supposed to mean. Extra pay is out. It just isn't worthwhile being a politician in South Carolina any more—all trouble and no extra pay. The Record has been weeping in its sleeve ever since.

Dismiss Vote Fraud Charges

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sun 7-4-48

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—(NNPA)—Charges against Mrs. Lena May Rice, accused of vote fraud conspiracy in connection with the 1946 primary, were dismissed Monday afternoon, June 28, following selection of a jury in the forenoon.

Mrs. Rice was one of three defendants against whom charges were dropped. The other two were white. They were Mrs. Mabel A. Johnson and Joseph Marchese.

Judge Richard M. Duncan, in whose federal court the trial started, announced when court reconvened after noon recess that the charges against these defendants has been dropped "at request of the government."

This move apparently came as a surprise of Harold L. Scott, attorney for Mrs. Rice.

Immediately after Judge Duncan announced the dismissal involving the three defendants, Richard K. Phelps, special assistant to Attorney General Tom C. Clark, began making the prosecution's opening statement against the two remaining defendants, William H. Costello, a lawyer, and A. A. (Jack) Williams, former deputy coroner.

MOTIONED SUSTAINED

Both Williams and Costello were freed last Thursday when Judge Duncan sustained a defense motion for acquittal on the grounds of insufficient evidence.

All five orginally were charged with vote fraud conspiracy arising from alleged activity in the fifth pre cinct of the second ward in the August 6, 1946, Democratic primary election, in which Emos A. Axtell, supported by President Truman, defeated Roger C. Slaughtr, who was seeking to succeed himself as the Representative from the fifth Missouri congressional district, Axtell was defeated in the election by Representative Albert L. Reeves, Jr., Republican.

In the Democratic primary of August 6, 1946, fair employment practice legislation was a direct issue. Mr. Slaughter boasted that his vote bottled up the FEPC bill in the house Rules Committee, which was one of the raesons why President Truman opposed his nomination for another term in Congress.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sun 7-4-48

The Voters' Oath Backfires With Both Barrels

Columbia Record

The voters' thought-control oath was written into the Democratic party rules on the theory that thereby most Negro qualified electors, whom the federal courts had said were entitled to vote in the Democratic primary, might be excluded from voting.

Apparently, it will not have this effect. If Judge Waring's decision be interpreted as holding that all qualified Negro electors may vote in the primary than every qualified Negro elector must be allowed to vote. They cannot be screened out by a voters' oath or by any other device.

The real effect of the voters' oath, therefore, is to divide the white voters, some of whom will not take it because they resent any thought-control, some of whom cannot take it for it violates their Christian faith, or runs counter to their knowledge or common sense, some of whom refuse to take it because they cannot tell from its language what it means. 6-22-48

Now this is the precise opposite of the effect that the authors of the oath and party principles desired. It was their hope that it would keep the whites together and the Negroes out of the primary. To continue the oath in the party rules is therefore to defeat the purpose of the oath.

And no oath is needed to unite the whites of South Carolina. They are all, for all practical purposes, agreed on everything that counts.

Columbia, S.C.

The politicians who devised the politicians' plan, including the oath, presented to the state convention were frightened men. They foresaw and some of them still foresee great changes resulting from the Negroes' exercise of the ballot. Yet there is no evidence to support any such idea. North Carolina and Virginia, Florida and Tennessee have permitted Negroes to vote for years and Georgia, Texas, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi are now permitting them to vote. And there has been no revolution in any of these states. All of them still have segregated schools, colleges, meetings, buses, trains, waiting rooms, restaurants. Not one of them has adopted an F. E. P. C. law. Whites generally still control the government as before. The sky has fallen nowhere. It would not fall here if the qualified Negroes, who wish to vote the Democratic ticket, were allowed to vote in the primary. If anything the states that have allowed the Negroes to vote for the longest period and without any great hullabaloo seem to have the best government. It does not follow from this that the Negro voters are better at selecting the better candidates than the whites, but it does suggest that the highest type of Negro is doing the voting in these states and that the elimination of appeals to racial prejudice from campaign speeches hasn't hurt.

Tue. 6-22-48

The pity is that South Carolina did not have the wisdom to follow the North Carolina lead and take the qualified Negroes into the party voluntarily, as Wade Hampton suggested long ago. There was no real need for a court decision and the Democratic party of South Carolina could have and should have anticipated it and done on its own accord what it is now or later will be compelled to do. Why invite the ignominy of new defeats? 6-22-48

Negroes have voted before in the Democratic primary of South Carolina and nothing happened. Why be so afraid?

What People Are

News

The Past Teaches

To the Editor of The News:

When the Southern Confederacy fell and President Jefferson Davis and his cabinet were imprisoned, Davis sent for his Negro body servant and gave him a deed to everything he had, made out in due form and recorded. Davis said to the Negro: "I do not know what will happen to me, but whatever happens, you keep this property and see that Mrs. Davis and Winnie, my daughter, never suffer; when you gather your cotton take it to a commission merchant in New Orleans (naming him). When you want to send me money, don't do it, give it to a lawyer in New Orleans (naming him). He will convey it to me. If the worst happens to me, you keep that property forever." Birmingham, Ala.

When Mr. Davis was released he returned to Mississippi and this Negro conveyed all of this property back to him. Davis then deeded him about 2,000 acres and the Negro's descendants still own it.

When a constitutional convention was called in Mississippi, this Negro was elected as a member from a Negro section. On the first day he introduced a resolution that no Negro should vote in Mississippi and made a speech, saying: "That farm Mars Jeff give me, I am going to keep and teach my children to keep it and tell them to teach their children to keep; but I know if the lazy, worthless, crapshooting niggers is allowed to vote, they won't be able to keep it."

That plain, simple Negro knew more about his civil rights and how to preserve them than many of our white hifalutin' college graduates do, and Jefferson Davis, with all of his comprehensive knowledge of other things, also knew Negroes.

JOHN ALTMAN.
Carrollton, Ala.

Woman Held On Vote Fraud Wins Dismissal

Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.
Sat. 7-10-48

By NNPA NEWS SERVICE

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Charges against Mrs. Lena May Rice, accused of vote fraud conspiracy in connection with the 1946 primary, were dismissed Monday afternoon, June 28, following selection of a jury in the fore noon.

Mrs. Rice was one of three defendants against whom charges were dropped. The others were white. They were Mrs. Mabel A. Johnson and Joseph Marchese.

Judge Richard M. Duncan, in whose federal court the trial started, announced when court reconvened after noon recess the charges against these defendants had been dropped "at request of the government."

This move apparently came as a surprise to Harold L. Scott, attorney for Mrs. Rice.

Immediately after Judge Duncan announced the dismissal involving the three defendants, Richard K. Phelps, special assistant to Attorney General Tom C. Clark, began making the prosecution's opening statement against the two remaining defendants, William H. Costello, a lawyer, and A. A. (Jack) Williams, former deputy corner.

Both Williams and Costello were freed last Thursday when Judge Duncan sustained a defense motion for acquittal on the grounds of insufficient evidence. 7-10-48

All five originally were charged with vote fraud conspiracy arising from alleged activity in the fifth precinct of the second ward in the August 6, 1946, Democratic primary election, in which Enos A. Axtell, supported by President Truman, defeated Roger C. Slaughter, who was seeking to succeed himself as the Representative from the fifth Missouri congressional district. Axtell was defeated in the election by Representative Albert L Reeves, Jr., Republican.

In the Democratic primary of August 6, 1946, fair employment practice legislation was a direct issue. Mr. Slaughter boasted that his vote bottled up the FEPC bill in the House Rules Committee, which was one of the reasons why the President opposed his nomination for another term in Congress.

NEGRO VOTE MAY BE DECISIVE THIS YEAR, WALTER WHITE SAYS

The Tribune

NEW YORK — Predicting that Negro voters will play a significant and potentially decisive part in the 1948 election in 17 key states, Walter White told the 39th annual meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that "all who love democracy must use their ballots wisely and unselfishly to the end that the best candidates are elected, irrespective of political party."

Reporting to the Association of which he is executive secretary, White said:

Los Angeles, Calif.

"1947 was the most successful year of the NAACP's 38 years of struggle for the abolition of race prejudice. The victories won were not always as spectacular as some of those in preceding years. But several of them struck at the roots of the evil and brought to the attention of the people of America and of the world as has never been done before the cost of bigotry to humankind generally.

Sat. 1-17-48

"Of enormous significance," he went on, "are the reports and recommendations made during 1947 by the President's Committee on Civil Rights, the Commission on Higher Education and the Commission on Military Training. All three of these reports mark the acceptance at long last of the fundamental principle on which the Association was founded in 1909 — that discrimination can never be abolished for any American as long as there is segregation based on race, creed, color or national origin. Of particular importance is the participation in these recommendations of representatives of every stratum of economic, racial and religious opinion of the United States.

"World-wide attention to the plight of the Negro and parenthetically of the democratic process in the United States was created by the presentation of a petition to the United Nations of 155 carefully-documented pages prepared under the direction of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Coming as it did after the debate in the UN over the treatment of minorities in the Union of South Africa Southwest Africa, Palestine and Asia, the NAACP petition created two full days of debate at the meeting in Geneva of the Drafting Committee of the UN Human Rights Commission."

The Tribune

White said the financial report of the Association showed receipts from all sources of $328,762.19, and expenditures of $410,945.57.

"This deficit," he said, "has cut deeply into the meager reserves which had been built up during the war chiefly through the voluntary contributions of American soldiers overseas. I urge increased support by Americans who believe in democracy. We have spent nearly four decades cutting away the underbrush of prejudice and clearing the fields for the final assault on the citadels of bigotry. We must not allow these final victories to be lost after the skirmishes have been won."

Los Angeles, Calif.

Sat. 1-17-48

34e(2) 1948

Georgia

Negroes, Whites Disfranchised by Georgia 'Pledge'

34e(2) Ran

The Worker New York, N.Y.

Sun. 2-1-48

ATLANTA.—A move to disfranchise voters, both Negro and white, who don't conform to white supremacy codes was announced recently at Wrightsville in Johnson County. The chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee, W. C. Brinson, announced that all sign the following pledge in order to qualify to vote in the Democratic primary in that county:

"I favor the county unit system.

"I favor the white primary.

"I favor the segregation of the races.

"I oppose Communism.

"I oppose any organization which seeks to destroy the Constitution of the United States and the constitutioin of Georgia.

"I oppose the enactment into law of . . . the FEPC.

"I will support the nominees of this primary in the general election, unless he or she be disqualified by the Democratic Executive Committee of Johnson County."

★

UNDER THE TITLE: "Think as we say or lose your vote"—the **Atlanta Journal** commented:

". . . It neds little elaboration to make it plain to Georgians that the Johnson County Democratic Executive Committee would become a grave menace to freedom of election if it were to become a pattern for statewide acceptance."

This outburst from Johnson County is only the most open and flagrant effort in a long series of moves over the state to wipe names off the books, to keep citizens from registering or to actually keep them from the polls. The Worker

Reports from the recent convention at Macon of Negro Citizens Democratic Clubs showed an underhand purge of Negro voters from the books in several places. One delegate told of only two Negroes being allowed to vote out of 130 registered in a recent election involving a sheriff and two city officials. New York N.Y.

IN ANOTHER CASE, Negroes who went to register were told simply that the registrars had run out of registration blanks. This silent campaign to wipe out registered Negro voters from the lists has as its aim not only keeping Negro voters out of the primaries but also suppressing the Negro vote as strong support to the independent third party movement. Sun. 2-1-48

In 1946 some 200,000 Negroes voted in the primary out of a total of 600,000—a factor which the white supremacists are sparing no means to eradicate from the crucial 1948 presidential and gubernatorial campaigns.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

34e(2)

We Can't Defend The Indefensible

Atlanta, Ga. Ga.

Sun. 1-4-48.

I think my friend, Roy Harris, of Augusta, owes me something. It is a gallon of syrup, or a ham or a fifth, or something. I forget what it was we bet. But he owes me something.

I recall quite well that one day during the legislative and court contests over the governorship last Winter, I encountered Mr. Harris in the lobby of the Henry Grady Hotel and accepted an invitation to chat with him. Mr. Harris was at the time the engineer of the Talmadge machine, and may still be for all I know.

I had been writing against the white primary bill, and was getting cussed for that. I had said that in my opinion the Legislature, being the elected representatives of the people, had a right to choose a governor, and was getting cuffed around right heartily for that. I had had a talk with the late Eugene Talmadge's physician, who had told me the governor-elect could live six or seven years if he would really obey orders and take care of himself. In order to try and answer the many questions being asked about his condition, I had got into the hospital to see the late Eugene Talmadge and found him looking good. As a matter of fact he was up, walking around his room. He thereafter failed to obey the doctors' orders, being a restless, stubborn man, and had died, and I was getting a brisk going over by the second-guessers. So, I was at the time doing a daily routine of

ast, verbal footwork, and there was really no good reason o climb out on a limb with Mr. Harris. Sun.

"Roy," I said, "one of these days, in a year or so, the Supreme Court of the United States is going to knock the white primary bill in the head and then you will be left with all this anger and partisanship and with wounds that won't heal for a long time. Why don't you fellows get together on a qualifications bill, similar to North Carolina's and let's build a really strong Democratic Party? We can do it if we don't drive a lot of people out of it permanently."

Well, that led to more and more talk and so, I forget what it was we bet. But, anyhow, we bet. 1-4-48

Dixie Decision A day ago, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, composed entirely of Southerners, did knock the South Carolina white primary in the head and there really isn't any use taking it on up to the Supreme Court. The Court of Appeals, hearing an appeal from another Southern-born judge's opinion in the South Carolina District Court, was repeating an earlier U. S. Supreme Court decision when it said:

"No election machinery can be upheld if its purpose is to deny to the Negro, on account of his race or color, an effective voice in the government of his country, or the state or community wherein he lives." The Constitution

So, as I said, there isn't any use carrying this decision, which came, with ironic appropriateness from Richmond, Va., on up to the Supreme Court. Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 1-4-48

Anyhow, I hope Roy will send me the syrup or whatever it was.

Harris Come to think of it, I was in trouble also, at the time I speak, for saying that in my opinion Mr. Roy Harris was a smart fellow, and the best single political worker in the State. Some of those in the bleachers were throwing bottles at the umpire's head for that. Well, I thought so then, and I still think so. He either is, or isn't. And I never saw anything wrong with having an opinion about it. It didn't mean I supported all he did. There was, however, one curious fact. At the time Ellis Arnall was elected, I had, along with others, accepted all Mr. Harris did in winning that election. It was, therefore, that I viewed with cynical eyes and some contempt, those who now were hysterically demanding the Harris tactics be denounced because they were now in another camp. My code is not inflexible, but I couldn't do that.

Anyhow, I can but assume this will mean that Roy Harris will cease and desist on the white primary business. He was too good a lawyer to let his emotions fool him before. As a frequent dealer in subterfuges, he knows the law is the law, and no amount of evading tactics will succeed. He is too good a politician to go ahead with it. Or, at least, I think he is. Sun. 1-4-48

The State has had enough of viewing the Negro vote with alarm, anyhow. It could have been pulled right into the Democratic Party and a great deal of it yet can be salvaged with a little fair treatment.

Just last week a recognized Negro leader, A. T. Walden, who appeared on the program when Henry Wallace spoke here recently, greeted Wallace's announcement for the Presidency with the significant statement: "The hope of our people is in the Democratic Party."

The Negro voter was given a bad start in the Georgia primary when hordes of unqualified and illiterate Negroes were herded to the registration booths and the polls with marked ballots in the pockets of thousands of them. I never blamed the Negroes, whose eagerness to vote was understandable, but I did, and do, blame those few who, on their own, pulled off the marked ballot deal.

I have always felt, and still feel, that the qualified Negro certainly had a right to vote in the choice of those who will govern him.

It is high time the South came of age in its thinking about politics. We were touched very little by the great political and social convulsions which shook India, China, all of Asia, and the great Dutch and French possessions of the Pacific and the Indies. But, we felt them slightly. The Constitution

If we fail to go ahead with social (and I am not talking about social equality) justice and political justice for the Negro citizen, there will be more and more chickens coming home to roost. It simply is not possible always to defend, and uphold, a moral wrong. And that is what we have been doing. Atlanta, Ga.

We have got to face this problem in that light, and not in a welter of shouted phrases about "nigger lover," and social equality, and Zebra parties, and all that sort of thing. Gentlemen, the warning bell has struck. Shall we think and act to do the best we can for the South and its problems, or go on fighting against the inevitable, and be overwhelmed by it?

There is time yet.

But. there is not as much time as there was. Sun. 1-4-48

Purged Laurens Negroes Fail To Reregister

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. 34e(2)

Wed. 6-16-48 Ga.

Constitution State News Service.

DUBLIN, June 15—Although Laurens County reopened its registration lists to qualified Negro voters purged from the lists, not a single Negro applied for registration or reregistration today. Wed.

Refuting earlier reports that many Negroes had registered during the day, Tax Collector T. C. Keen said only a few white college students had come in to register.

Both Teen and E. S. Baldwin, Chairman of the Registration Board, declared that anyone meeting the legal requirements for voting may apply and appear before the Board for reregistration. Both said all who qualified would be returned to the lists. Atlanta, Ga.

Hearing on a petition of several Laurens County Negroes charging a registration list purge has been set before Judge Frank Scarlett in Brunswick on June 26. The Negroes' suit charges the Board and several county officials with conspiracy to deny them the right of suffrage and asks damages. 6-16-48

Registration Still Too Low

The Constitution

There are indications that the number of Georgians qualified to vote this year may exceed the record number registered in 1946 when interest ran high in the Talmadge-Carmichael contest and Negroes were registered in large numbers for the first time since Reconstruction days. Atlanta, Ga.

With 61 counties yet to be heard from, Secretary of State Ben Fortson reports the total to date is less than 300,000 short of the 1,077,949 voters registered two years ago. Included in those yet to report is Richmond County of which Augusta is the county seat. 34e(6)

The proportion of Negro registrants remains about the same. Unofficial estimates placed the number of Negro voters in 1946 at about 118,000. In less than a handful of counties are there sufficient Negro voters to swing the balance of power in an election unless the white vote is divided evenly and the Negroes vote as a bloc. This latter tendency appears to have been dissipated somewhat after the first few elections in which large numbers of Negroes participated. Wed. 7-14-48

While it is gratifying to see more and more Georgians interested in the political welfare of their State, the number of qualified voters this year still falls short of the number who would be eligible if only they would register. On the basis of the 1940 population, the bureau of the Census estimated that nearly 1,800,000 Georgians were of legal voting age. Remembering that legal voting age in the State then was 21, and also that the population has increased considerably in the past eight years, at least 2,000,000 citizens of the State should be eligible for the ballot this year, even after making allowances for those disqualified by reason of illiteracy. The Constitution

California, with a 1940 population of about 6,500,000, tallied approximately half that many actual votes in the general elections for that year. The number registered obviously was considerably in excess of that. On the other hand, Georgia, with nearly 1,100,000 registered voters in 1946, had a total of only about 600,000 votes cast in the Democratic primary, which is our real election. In short, less than 20 percent of Georgia's population exercised the franchise in the record-breaking year of 1946, while 50 percent of California's population normally goes to the polls. Atlanta, Ga.

We will be pleased if final reports show as many as 1,200,000 Georgians qualified to vote this year. But even so, there will be ample room for continued improvement, both in getting citizens to register and, once registered, getting them to the polls. Wed. 7-14-48

34e(5)

A Race With Time

Attorney Daniel Duke, who is leading the fight to have restored to the voters' rolls the names of some 1600 Laurens County Negroes who were purged illegally last Spring, is calling upon all Negroes of the state whose names were challenged immediately preceding the Democratic Primary in 1946, to begin at once to get themselves re-registered between now and the first of July so as to be able to vote in the Fall elections. The World Atlanta, Ga.

It means that all Negroes who were challenged in those days, when almost every place purges were being conducted, that they now have about one week left in which to get re-registered for the Fall elections. It means that no time can be wasted in the effort, since the law requires that the books be closed no later than July 1. Hence all Negroes who have been purged and who have not taken steps to be restored to the voters' list must act now. To delay means disappointment for the individual and undermining the strength of the Negro vote. Fri. 6-25-48

It is the responsibility of all Negro leaders to join in this effort to get these purged names restored to the qualified lists. The purge is one of the devices which has been employed to nullify the U. S. Supreme Court ruling upholding the right of Negroes to vote. But only one! For there are many other devices, all of which add up to the same thing. Some time the registrars carry on the purge in an undercover manner. Some times it is the Ku Klux Klan which burns crosses, writes notes and otherwise intimidates voters a night or two before the election and thus limit the Negro vote. Taken in its broad sense, all of this means purging the Negro voters and thus limiting the effectiveness of his vote. None of these artificial devices must be permitted to hinder the vote of qualified Georgia Negro voters. We must not hesitate to become qualified. We must go to the Tax Collector this day and re-register if our names have been illegally stricken from the list.

Calls On New Administration To Stop Bill

Memphis World Memphis, Tennessee 34e(2)

A. Chester Crystal New President Of Commercial Group

Fri. 12-31-48

By CHARLES W. GREENLEA

ATLANTA, Georgia — (SNS) — Calling on members of the Talmadge administration "not to permit" the passage of legislation designed to disfranchise Negro voters, the Atlanta Business and Trade Association, after electing new officers, passed a scathing resolution denouncing the scheming tactics of the new state leadership in its announced plans to submit such legislation in the coming January session of the General Assembly.

The proposed bill, understood to be a copy of Alabama's infamous Boswell Amendment which has almost completely disfranchised Negroes in that state, was termed "inequitous legislation" by the organization, composed of local business leaders.

Declaring that Negroes are "striving to become full fledged citizens" and want to "assume all the duties and responsibilities of such citizenship," the resolution implied that such legislation would cause racial clashes and conflict.

UNITY IMPERATIVE

At this state in world affairs, with Communism seeking to make inroads into this country, "national unity and good racial relations are imperative," the Negro business leaders warned.

Pointing out that the present voter registration lists were revised as recently as 1945 ,the group's resolution contended that new lists are not necessary.

Discussions at the meeting indicated that the new law will be attacked in the courts immediately upon passage. The bill, now being drafted by House Speaker Fred Hand and legislative leaders, would set up educational qualifications for voters after first voiding all names now eligible to vote. In addition, it would place arbitrary power into the hands of local county registrars to ask "educational questions" and to decide whether a prospective voter should be placed on the new lists.

RESTRICTION POSSIBLE

Political observers point out that by this method the registrars could restrict Negro voters to a small number and even eliminate "undesirable" whites who might be opposed to them. Fri. 12-31-48

Alabama's Boswell Amendment, which effectively kept Negroes from voting in the November Presidential election, has been attacked by Negro leaders in the courts, but has only reached the Court of Appeals.

The Business and Trade Resolution, ended by asking that "no steps be taken to permit the enactment such legislation," was directed to be sent to Governor Herman Talmadge, the speaker of the house, the president of the senate and to legislative leaders.

The resolution was signed by J. R. Henderson, retiring president, A. Chester Crystal, newly elcted president; C. E. Prothro, retiring secretary; R. R. Reid, 1949 secretary, Attorney E. E. Moore, C. A. Scott and W. R. Cochrane, all members of the resolutions committee.

Duke Says Challenged Voters Must File Again

Daily World

Georgia Negroes who plan voting in the approaching Fall elections had better make certain that their names are, first of all, listed on the registration rolls. That is the advice of Daniel Duke, Atlanta attorney, who is leading the fight to have restored the names of some 1700 Negroes of Laurens County, who were illegally and unlawfully dropped from the rolls.

Wed. 6-23-48

Mr. Duke, in an interview in Atlanta late Tuesday afternoon, told an Atlanta World representative that immediately preceding the Democratic Primary in 1946, "the names of thousands of Negro voters were challenged and their names removed from the list of registered voters. "Since that time, Mr. Duke declared, "there has been no organized effort on the part of those whose names were stricken to get their names restored to the list of qualified voters."

Mr. Duke said that any person whose name has been removed and who now possesses the legal qualifications as a voter have from this date to July 1, 1948 to reregister. In order to do this, he said, those who were dropped from the voters list must:

"Go to the Tax Collector's office and apply to the Tax Collector o his clerk, take the oath of an elector and subscribe your name on the voters' book underneath the written or printed oath or upon a separate printed oath.

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The Tax Collectors, Mr. Duke continues, are required each year to make up the registration list for the year by putting on such list all persons whose names appear on the voters' list and those who have registered at any tme since the filing by the registrars of the voters' list, which by law must be filed by June 1 of an election year. The Atlanta lawyer said that a list of all persons registering after June 1, 1948 must be furnished by the Tax Collector to the registrars so that these names may be added to the list of qualified voters.

Wed. Atlanta, Ga.

He concluded with the advice that in the event that any registered Negro voters are removed from the voters list after being challenged, such voters may file such an appeal as outlined above make the matter heard in the superior court of his county. 6-23-48

Ga. Registrars Ordered to Let People Vote

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Another case involving the claim from Laurens County that the names of 1,800 would-be voters were purged is currently pending before Judge Scarlett.

Judge, State Representative Named In Suit

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 5-30-48

Prominent Citizens Are Plaintiffs

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The petition charged that Negroes were arbitrarily removed from the registration list in an illegal conspiracy that violated the U. S. Constitution.

Among those named in the action were Laurens Superior Judge Earl Camp, State Rep. Herschel Lovett and members of the Laurens Board of Registrars and Laurens Board of Commissioners.

The action was filed in behalf of C. B. Smith, D. B. Cummings, George C. Carswell, Georgia Carswell, A. L. Brewster, Thomas Coates, Mrs. Anna Clyde Duncan, and Mrs Sallie Barnett, all prominent Negro citizens of Dublin, Ga.

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The document covers all events that transpired up to the purging of 1,800 of the 2,477 registered voters. The plaintiffs linked the purge to action a part of the 1946 scheme, instituted by hostile political forces to nullify the effectiveness of the Negro vote. Atlanta, Ga.

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McGlockton, here in Atlanta, for a conference with Atty. Gen Eugene Cook, viewed this situation with alarm, because he said registration officials, were misinterpreting a Georgia law requiring voters to vote every two years, or have their names dropped from the rolls.

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Fri.

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RALPH McGILL

The Talmadge Victory Was Won

The Constitution

Herman Talmadge will be the next Governor of Georgia. His victory was one of the most impressive ever registered in State political history.

The long arm of coincidence makes him the second son of a Georgia Governor to be elected to that office and it happens that the first one, Joe M. Brown, was the son of Joe Emerson Brown, who had been four times elected the chief executive of the State. The late Eugene Talmadge also was four times elected Governor of the State.

34C(2)

How did he win so impressive a victory?

The threat of an FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission), and the civil rights controversy in general, helped him, although it was the FEPC which chiefly brought him votes from those who regarded this issue with fear.

The fact that he was his father's son and possessed to a great degree his father's ability to attract and hold loyalties, was another factor. For a quarter of a century Georgia has been largely a pro-and-anti-Talmadge State. This Talmadge faction felt that since his father had died before being able to take office there was an extra reason to put his son in office.

He had, too, the best political management in the State.

Fri 9-10-48

"For" While there was a large vote against Talmadge, there was little of it "for" his opponent. It was cast as an anti-vote, not a "for" vote.

The argument about whether the team of Ellis Arnall and E. D. Rivers, former Governors, helped or hurt Acting Gov. Thompson is settled to the point where one may say without fear of contradiction that this support assuredly did not help. It probably had a net "hurt" result.

Atlanta, Ga.

But the basic and inescapable fact is that Herman Talmadge won because he is his father's son and the people wanted him. Any other conclusion avoids the facts. This election was neither stolen nor coerced. It was won.

Why? It is important to understand Georgia's past political history to understand the Talmadge victory. Georgia is in many respects a "have-not" State in that our State income is low; we have not enough jobs; our farmers get less income; our children have less spent on them in schools; our people have less opportunity for medical care, and so on.

Georgia is the State of political protest which made Tom Watson such a power. Our politics, year in and year out, are politics of protest.

There were those simpletons who made fun of the fact that so many shabby, ancient and old, broken-down trucks had Talmadge stickers on them. This was not funny or a matter for ridicule. It was an important factor in the Talmadge success.

Obvious It ought to be obvious that in the State (and national scene) there are many, many Americans (too many, in fact) who have done the best they know how to do and still are badly housed, badly fed, badly cared for, and who live with grievances which are very real. They have done the best they knew to do. Therefore they don't feel at fault. It is here, too, that one finds most of the fear of the Negro as an economic competitor.

From their viewpoint these people were absolutely right in not heeding any of the Thompson promises. To them they were meaningless and would not have touched them. The very real reforms of the Arnall campaign did not touch these people or benefit them in any manner they could feel or see.

The late Eugene Talmadge, while knowing this, made the error of opposing the Roosevelt administration, which was reaching these people, and they refused to follow even him.

Signs It was early obvious that Talmadge was building up to a powerful victory. There is one illustration which will serve. That was the newspaper editors' poll. It showed Thompson running ahead, in the country editors' opinions, in a majority of the counties reporting. The Thompson managers so used it.

Yet, written all over it was a big sign reading, "Talmadge Victory." The only significant portion of it was a report from the large urban counties, always anti-Talmadge, showing Talmadge to be strongly competitive. Unless all political weather vanes were suddenly reversed, this new strength in the cities meant Talmadge was really walking about in the country. Later the Thompson headquarters, amazingly enough, admitted loss of strength in the cities. At least six weeks ago the Talmadge sweep was apparent.

Fri 9-10-48

Harris In years past I have said here, in comments on State elections, that Roy V. Harris, of Richmond County, was easily the most effective single political force in the State. He has proved it again. I would be less than honest if I did not say what I have said before, that while I differ with him widely on some issues, I like him very much and have never been deceived by him, even when I was on the other side.

It may be argued that Talmadge would have won without him. That may be true. But the victory would not have been nearly so complete, nor would it have been organized to come with such an ever increasing tempo.

He has scored what is perhaps, for him personally, his finest victory of revenge. He was double-crossed by Rivers and Arnall in the famous decisions of 1945-46. When political historians come to write the history of this era, they will write more than one chapter on what might have happened had not the rival ambitions of E. D. Rivers and Ellis Arnall led them to make a sacrificial goat of Roy V. Harris. The fact that the goat has butted the political stuffing out of both for at least the time being, can only serve to paraphrase for them the shopworn lines: "Of all sad words of tongue and pen, the saddest are these, it need not have been."

AUGUSTA CHRONICLE

The Constitution

Should Primaries Be Abolished?

Wed 9-8-48

In view of the court decisions preventing the banning of Negroes from voting, the Democratic primary as a medium for electing public officials is now an expensive, useless, and archaic institution and should be abolished.

34C(2)

The only purpose of the primaries was to disenfranchise the Negro and make it certain that only white people had a voice in the actual selection of officeholders. That was why the primary was established. That is why it has been continued as a Southern institution. That is why it always has been called the Democratic white primary. Victory for a candidate in these primaries always has been regarded as tantamount to election. It is tacitly understood that the victor in the primary would have no opposition in the general election.

Atlanta Ga.

But why continue the medium of the primary when Negroes, by order of the courts, can vote in these primaries as well as in general elections?

Primaries are expensive, for one thing. The fees required of the candidates, in order to meet primary expenses, have become so high that many good qualified persons are discouraged from running for office because of the financial burden placed upon them by having to pay a high and sometimes prohibitive entrance fee. The entrenched politician, of course, is often the beneficiary of the primary system because the high entrance fees freezes out the opposition wihch cannot afford to pay the fee and run the risk of losing the election.

Wed 9-8-48

Furthermore, the large number of these primaries which usually are held, from time to time, keeps the voters on the jump going to and from the polls. They get fed up with so many primaries and, consequently, many of them simply do not vote.

Now that the Negro can vote in them, primaries should be combined or eliminated, thus saving money, time, and the necessity of the electorate being subjected to so many unnecessary political campaigns.

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Afro American

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Voters Must Favor White Primaries

34C(2)

By NNPA News Service

WRIGHTSVILLE, Ga.—The Democratic Executive Committee of Johnson county disclosed here last week that voters, white and colored, and candidates in the county's March 3 Democratic primary will be required to take an oath to support a white primary and racial segregation, and oppose legislation against discrimination in employment.

City Judge W. C. Brinson, committee chairman, said the following pledge will be presented to prospective voters and candidates:

1. I favor the county-unit system now existing in the state of Georgia.

2. I favor the white primary.

3. I favor preservation of segregation for the races as now exists in Georgia.

Norfolk, Va.

4. I oppose Communism.

5. I oppose any organization that seeks to destroy the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Georgia.

6. I oppose enactment into law the rules and regulations as promulgated by the Federal Employment Practice Committee.

7. I will support the nominees of this primary in the general election.

Voters must sign the pledge before they will be allowed to cast a ballot, Judge Brinson said, and candidates must sign before they can qualify to run.

In past years, Georgia Democratic executive committees have required only a pledge to support nominees as a requirement for primary voting.

34e(2)

Georgia

MACON TELEGRAPH

(34e(2))

Voting

Non-Racial Voter Qualifications

Atlanta Constitution

The people of Georgia, generally speaking, will agree with House Speaker Fred Hand that it is folly to be attempting to draft a white primary law for Georgia in the face of U. S. Supreme Court decisions from which there is no escape.

Jan 17-26-48

Speaker Hand is heartily in favor, however, of the proposal to strengthen the requisites for registration and is inclined to feel that a stringent educational qualification should be applied.

Atlanta Georgia

Once before we have referred to a radio quiz program on which a Philadelphia woman was asked where is the Liberty Bell. She did not know. This is but one of thousands of instances of appalling ignorance to be encountered on these quiz programs, and, we may add, from casual conversation on street corners.

IT WOULD be a solemn mockery to ask this Philadelphia woman to vote on some important amendment to the Federal Constitution when she doesn't even know anything so basic as the location of the place in which the Constitution was framed.

Speaker Hand declared that the problem of strengthening the laws for qualification of voters "must not be attacked from a racial viewpoint." Such procedure would certainly involve us in difficulties. Moreover, ignorance itself is a menace to the welfare of the State of Georgia.

It is proposed that would-be voters shall be required to give an intelligent interpretation of some section of the State or Federal Constitution. This may not be the ideal test that could be applied since the general intelligence of the voter is the thing to be sought. But perhaps this constitutional test is the best we can get and will at least give some indication of the intellectual level of the prospective voter.

THIS TEST should be applied to white and colored people alike. We do not hesitate to say that, in our opinion, there are thousands of white people who now have the right of franchise who are totally incapable of exercising it intelligently, as measured by any fair standard. They are in the same category with the Philadelphia woman. And it is too much to expect that where such ignorance prevails, we can have satisfactory results in elections which pass upon men and measures.

June 12-16-48

We are bound to admit that the final test of any educational requirement is in its administration. Perhaps no law of the kind could be drawn which would not be subject to abuse. But we must build up a public opinion in favor of the strict and impartial administration of the law.

In recent years there have been occasional suggestions that every qualified citizen should be compelled to vote in every election under penalty of a fine of greater or less severity. Nothing could be more absurd. It is highly desirable that as many of our people as possible participate in every election, but the results should be that of an informed public opinion, and not a mere motion of casting a ballot.

Georgians Seek To Cut Negro Vote

Montgomery Advertiser

Sat 12-18-48

ATLANTA, Dec. 17—(AP)—Gov. Herman Talmadge and his legislative leaders came out today with a "white supremacy" program frankly aimed at barring 80 per cent of Georgia Negroes from voting.

Montgomery Ala

The core of the plan is to wipe all present voters' registration lists off the books. Then a complete new state-wide registration would be undertaken with emphasis on "educational qualification."

House Speaker Fred Hand told lawmakers today:

"A good educational qualification will cut out 80 per cent of this ignorant bloc vote in Georgia. I like to think of it that way instead of going into this color angle. . . ."

Hand said the Georgia plan would be similar to the "Boswell Amendment" in Alabama, which requires prospective voters to interpret the Constitution to the satisfaction of registrars.

TALMADGE AHEAD ON EARLY TALLIES

34e(2)

Inconclusive Reports Mostly from Rural Areas

Thurs 9-9-48

(The Associated Press)

Atlanta, Sept. 8.—Scattered returns from 25 precincts in 15 counties 30 minutes after the polls closed tonight showed Herman Talmadge maintaining his lead over M. E. Thompson in the race for governor in today's Democratic primary.

At this time, Talmadge was leading with 26 indicated unit votes and a popular vote of 2223. Gov. Thompson had an indicated unit vote of 12 and a popular vote of 1701.

The reports, mostly from rural areas, remained fragmentary and inconclusive.

Reports drifted in of cross burnings by the Ku Klux Klan, Negro vote purges and attempts to slow down Negro voting.

On the eve of the election huge crosses, the trade mark of the KKK, flamed in three counties and one Negro reported a band of hooded men left a miniature casket on his doorstep.

The Griffin Daily News reported that 558 Negro registrants had been stricken from the vote list on the eve of the primary.

In populous Richmond county, the Augusta Herald charged polling officials in some places were permitting Negroes to vote at the rate of only three every hour.

A Herald reporter said the officials held up the voting by asking foolish questions.

The Fruits Of Hate

34e(2)

Atlanta Daily World

One Negro is reported dead as a result of his determination to vote in the recent Primary election. The dead man is listed as Isaiah Nixon, 31-year-old father of six and a turpentine worker in Montgomery county. Just how many floggings and minor clashes which also may have been the result of Negroes exercising, or attempting to exercise, their constitutional privileges to vote, no one is in position to state. But it is fair to conclude that Nixon's slaying was not the only incident connected with Negroes voting in the primary elections.

Thurs 9-23-48

It is also fair to say that the Negro's death is the logical aftermath of a long and unfortunate campaign of racial incitement, cross burnings, unsupported charges of bloc-voting and the diabolical purge, which spread to incredible lengths over the state. It would be illogical reasoning to anticipate any other result.

Atlanta Ga.

Be that as it may, the important thing now is for law enforcement authorities in Georgia to see that the guilty in this widely publicized crime is brought to justice. We have this as definite proof of the denial of constitutional justice. We have it on the word of the sheriff. We have it on the word of the FBI and all Georgians can be spared the humiliation and criticism which will follow if we prosecute

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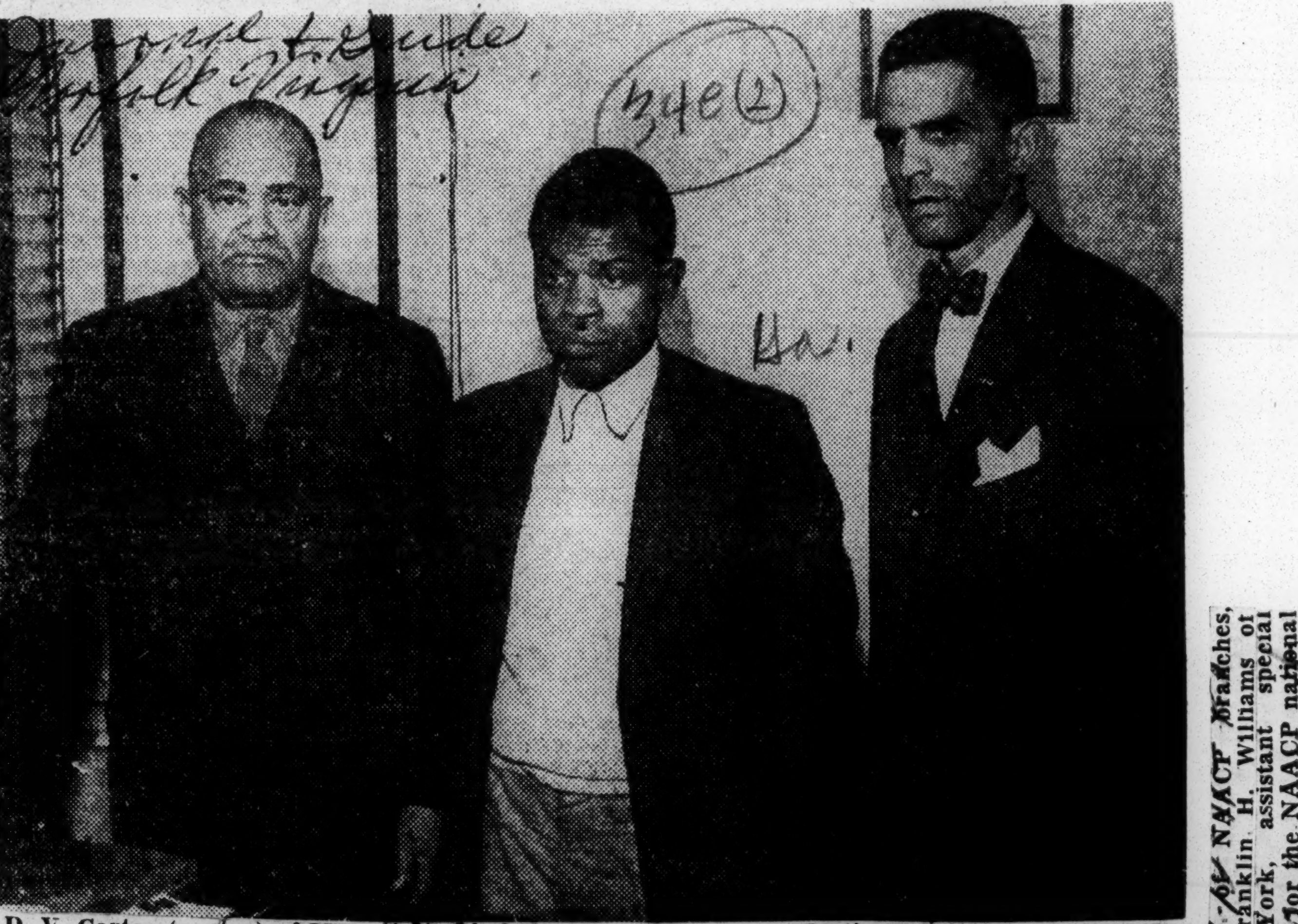
Assaulted For Helping Voters To Get To The Polls



Journal & Guide
Norfolk Virginia
34e(2)
Ga.

D. V. Carter (center) of Montgomery County, Ga., who was assaulted as a result of his activity in carrying Negroes to the polls in his automobile to vote in the Democratic primary elections, with Attorneys A. T. Walden (left) of Atlanta, counsel for the Georgia State Conference of NAACP branches, and Franklin H. Williams of New York, assistant special counsel for the NAACP national office. Carter is president of the Montgomery county branch of the NAACP.

Sat 9-11-48

Ruling in Negro 'Ballot-List' Cases Handed Down by Judge Scarlett

The Constitution

Thur 8-12-48

BRUNSWICK, Aug. 11—Federal Judge Frank Scarlett today made two rulings affecting voting lists involving Negroes in two Georgia Counties—Spalding and Laurens.

In Spalding he ordered the Registrars to show cause why they should not stop purging Negroes from the voting list," and in the Laurens case where a suit had been filed by a group of Negroes against the Registrars and other County officials, the judge ruled the Registrars were in their legal right in holding meetings between October and April 20, leaving the question only of damages to be determined.

In the Spalding case the Registrars were ordered to appear before the court here Aug. 20.

The suit, entered by Atty. Frank Bowers, of Atlanta, charged the vote purge started July 26 when some 1,500 Negroes were summoned to appear before the Board.

All, said the suit, were notified they would be dropped from the voting list for failure to appear and answer questions concerning their qualifications to vote.

As a result, the suit continued, the names of between 500 and 700 Negroes were stricken from the list.

The suit also maintains the summons to appear before the Board were not issued in a legal fashion, and did not permit the Negroes to receive them in time to appear at a specified time.

Named as defendants were R. L. Addleton, T. C. Mann and Gus Anglyn, the Spalding Registrars.

The plaintiffs were listed in the suit as Clifford Caldwell, Leroy Booker and Bernice Boynton.

Regarding the suit filed against the Laurens County Registrars, County Commissioners, Superior Court Judge R. Earl Camp, W. H. Lovett, J. D. Bush and T. A. Lane, of the County Executive Committee, Judge Scarlett ruled that "The Registrars were within their legal rights to hold the meetings between October and April 20. The only question left to be determined is the question of damages, if any, which can be tried at the next regular term of court at Dublin on the third Monday in January, 1949."

It was alleged that the Board summoned about 1,900 Negro citizens before it and one question was whether the Board could be regularly assembled before April 20.

Damage amounting to several hundred thousand dollars was asked in the suit.

Dan Duke, Atlanta, represents the plaintiffs and the defendants are represented by Russell M. Daley, Carl K. Nelson, Dublin; Charles Bloch and C. Claxton Jones, of Macon.

Georgia Negro, 99, Gets Lifetime Vote

Wed 7-28-48

GRIFFIN, Ga., July 27 (AP).—One of Griffin's Negro citizens today was given the right to vote without further examination of his qualifications "as long as you live."

Spalding County officials, purging the voting lists, made the exception for Charles C. Cain, who has been voting for many years. Mr. Cain is ninety-nine years old.

Georgia Judges Would Abolish Primary System

By NNPA NEWS SERVICE

ATLANTA, Ga.—Bowing to decisions of federal courts outlawing the white primary, Judge Mallory C. Atkinson, of Bibb County Superior Court, and Judge Douglas Feagin, of Macon's City Court, advocate the abolition of primaries in Georgia.

They point out that the purpose for which primaries were originally designed in Georgia — to disfranchise colored people—has been declared unconstitutional.

Commenting on the question posed by these two jurists — why bother with holding party primaries?—The Atlanta Constitution last Wednesday, under the caption, "Why Hold Two Elections?" said:

"Since the Supreme Court has ruled that Negroes must be allowed to vote in primaries, and since Georgie operates under the one-party system, voting in the primary and in the general election has become a duplication of both effort and expense."

Judge Atkinson suggested the elimination of primaries entirely. He proposed that the Democratic Executive Committee certify to the Secretary of State all the candidates, regardless of how many offer for the same office, in the general election and "thus have that election serve the same purpose as the primary."

The Constitution is on record as favoring a two party-system in Georgia. "If and when Republicans gain sufficient strength to make this dream a reality, primaries would be necessary, they being the most democratic means of selection of candidates," the Constitution said.

"Until then, however, 'Why primaries?' is a valid question which more and more Georgians will be asking."

Primary Sets All-Time Vote Record

The Constitution

More voters cast their ballots in the Sept. 8 primary this year than at any time in Georgia's history, according to official consolidated returns released yesterday by State Democratic Party officials.

Figures showed 703,048 votes were cast this year as opposed to 691,881 in 1946, the previous record year. Only 691,239 votes were counted this year in the Governor's race, however, many votes reportedly being thrown out because ballots were improperly marked.

Herman Talmadge swept the Governor's race by carrying 130 counties with a total unit vote of 312. The only other candidate receiving any unit votes was Acting Gov. Thompson with 98 unit votes in 29 counties.

The popular vote was Talmadge, 357,865; Thompson, 312,035; Hoke O'Kelley, 13,226; Hoke Willis, 4,963, and Joe Rabun, 3,150.

S. Marvin Griffin carried the Lieutenant Governor's race by taking 147 Counties with 370 unit votes. Henry Persons, the only other candidate to receive unit votes, took 12 counties with 40 unit votes.

The popular vote was Griffin, 331,520; Persons, 206,384; Dr. L. N. Huff, 89,611, and Belmont Dennis, 47,812.

In the closest of the state-wide elections, Judge J. H. Hawkins carried 74½ Counties to 84½ for his opponent, Joe Quillian, in the race for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Hawkins won the nomination because of the higher unit vote of Counties he carried, however, with a unit vote of 217 to 193. The popular vote was 338,484 for Hawkins to 301,532 for Quillian.

In contested races for Representative to the United States Congress, the election report showed the following results:

Second District: E. E. Cox, 13 counties, 36 unit votes, 36,530 popular votes; J. N. Peacock, Jr., one county, four unit votes, 15,896 popular votes.

Fifth District: James C. Davis, three counties, 14 unit votes, 54,261 popular votes; W. C. Lowe, no counties or unit votes, 6,959 popular votes, and Helen Douglas Mankin, no counties or unit votes, 37,610 popular votes.

Eighth District: W. M. Don Wheeler, 12 counties, 30 unit votes, 29,598 popular votes; Country Johnson, six counties, 12 unit votes, 22,342 popular votes, and John S. Gibson, two counties, six unit votes, 16,578 popular votes.

In two contested Public Service Commission races, the results were as follows:

Sun 9-19-48

Race to succeed Perry T. Knight: Knight, 86 counties, 242 unit votes, 216,737 popular votes; Clark Gaines, 59 counties, 138 unit votes, 153,489 popular votes; Glenn Allen, 11 counties, 22 unit votes, 116,840 popular votes; A. J. Hartley, 2 counties, 4 unit votes, 84,169 popular votes, and John D. Elliott, 1 county, 4 unit votes, 68,046 popular votes.

Race to succeed James A. Perry: Perry, 129½ counties, 339 unit votes, 341,568 popular votes; Royal K. Mann, 27½ counties, 65 unit votes, 189,158 popular votes, and Hugh Striplin, 2 counties, 6 unit votes, 106,831 popular votes.

In the contested race for Court of Appeals, incumbent Judge J. M. C. Townsend received 141 counties, 66 unit votes, 389,103 popular votes. His opponent, Augustus Roan, received 18 counties, 44 unit votes and 240,573 popular votes.

Other statewide candidates nominated without opposition were W. Y. Atkinson, Supreme Court Justice; Jule Felton, Court of Appeals; Richard B. Russell. United States Senator. Congressional representatives nominated without opposition were: First District, Prince H. Preston; Third District, Stephen Pace; Fourth District, A. Sidney Camp; Sixth District, Carl Vinson; Seventh District, Henderson Lanham; Ninth District, John S. Wood, and Tenth District, Paul Brown.

Superior Court judges and solicitors nominated against opposition were:

Alapaha Circuit: Judge, Edwin R. Smith; Solicitor, Edward Parish.

Atlanta Circuit: Solicitor, Paul Webb.

Sun 9-19-48

Blue Ridge Circuit: Judge, Howell Brooke.

Coweta Circuit: Solicitor, Wright Lipford.

Dublin Circuit: Judge, J. Roy Rowland; Solicitor, W. W. Larsen.

Flint Circuit: Judge, Frank B. Willingham; Solicitor, Ben B. Garland.

Griffin Circuit: Solicitor, James J. Flynt, Jr.

Northern Circuit: Judge, Clark Edwards, Jr.

Ogeechee Circuit: Judge, J. L. Renfroe; Solicitor, Walton Usher.

Rome Circuit: Solicitor, W. T. Maddox.

Sun 9-19-48

Stone Mountain Circuit: Solicitor, Roy C. Leathers.

Tifton Circuit: Judge, W. C. Forehand; Solicitor, J. Bowie Gray.

Geo 1949 34e(2)

34e(2) 1948 Georgia

CITIZENS FORCE CHANGE:

White Primary Pledge Dropped by Ga. County

34e(2)

Afro American

Sat 2-28-48

WRIGHTSVILLE, Ga.—(NNPA)—A storm of protest from citizens has caused the Johnson county Democratic executive committee to cancel plans to require voters in the March 8 primary to pledge their support to a white primary and racial segregation.

Baltimore Md

Since the proposal was not challenged, there had been speculations that a similar pledge might be required of State voters if the Herman Talmadge faction should win pending litigation over control of the State Democratic organization.

H. T. Hicks, secretary of the Johnson county committee, announced last week that protests from the citizens were so great the plan was abandoned without a formal committee meeting.

U. S. Probe Feared

W. C. Brinson, county chairman got in touch with committee members and obtained their permission for the change, Hicks said. Hicks had opposed the scheme from the beginning.

Reliable reports said that Federal authorities had become interested in the "pledge" proposal and might be making a quiet investigation.

Opponents of the "white primary" charged that if the Johnson county pattern had been successful, it would have been tried throughout the State as a means of "purging" colored voters from Democratic primaries.

Sat 2-28-48

Talmadge Method Recalled

In 1946 when the late Eugene Talmadge won the governorship a fourth time on a "white supremacy" platform, a different method was used.

Literacy tests given colored applicants for registration in several counties included such questions as: "Who was the 16th President?" "Define a republic," and "What agency controls the rivers of your State?"

TALMADGE VICTOR IN GEORGIA VOTING

The Times

Defeated Governor Asks Early Inauguration—Speculation on States' Rights Ticket Backing

Thu 9-10-48

34e(2)

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., Sept. 9—Opponents of President Truman's civil rights program acclaimed today the sweeping victory of Herman Talmadge in yesterday's gubernatorial campaign, and there was immediate speculation whether he would call for support of the States Rights Presidential ticket. The 35-year-old son of the late Eugene Talmadge and, like his father, champion of white supremacy, dodged that issue, however, asserting that "this decision must be made by the state Democratic executive committee."

New York 9-9

Mr. Talmadge campaigned on a platform opposing the President's program. Though pledged to "oppose to the fullest" any efforts to eliminate segregation within the state, he has consistently said that the manner in which this state's electoral votes are to be cast "depends upon developments between now and November."

Meanwhile the Talmadge triumph reached landslide proportions in unofficial returns from 157 of the state's 159 counties. The incompleted tally gave him 310 county unit votes to ninety-eight for Gov. M. E. Thompson. In 1,399 of 1,763 precincts he led in popular vote, 287,776 to 258,104. Nomination is equivalent to election under Georgia's one-party system.

Fri 9-10-48

In a statement conceding his defeat, Governor Thompson said he would seek to have Mr. Talmadge installed a few days after the general election, Nov. 2. Incoming Governors customarily take office when the new Legislature convenes in January but Mr. Thompson's offer was prompted by the fact that this election was to fill the unexpired four-year term of Eugene Talmadge.

Replying to a request by Governor Thompson as to whether the earlier inauguration would be legal, Attorney General Eugene Cook ruled that the Legislature, at the Governor's call, could legally convene in extra session, canvass the vote and install Mr. Talmadge.

In other primary contests, United States Senator Richard B. Russell was renominated without contest and three of the ten Representatives who faced opposition were victors. They were James C. Davis, Eugene E. Cox and W. M. Wheeler.

Attempts To Intimidate Voters Told

World, Atlanta Ga.

34e(2)

Sat 9-17-48

ATLANTA, Georgia — (SNS) — Georgians voted in one of the most hotly contested Democratic primary elections in its history Wednesday, September 8, while several sections of the state reported attempts to intimidate or delay Negro voters. Despite the intimidation efforts, voting by Negroes was heavy along with the white balloting in almost every one of the state's 159 counties.

The Ku Klux Klan, outlawed by the state but operating as an association, reportedly burned fiery crosses election eve night in Valdosta, the home of Governor M. E. Thompson, in the northern part of Bulloch county of which Statesboro is the county seat, and in Houston county near a church and store owned by Negroes. In Bulloch, it was reported that hooded Klansmen placed a small casket on the front porch of the home of a Negro citizen located near a church.

VALDOSTA VOTE 9-17-48

Reportedly few Negroes voted at Valdosta, home of the Acting Governor, while there was a heavy white vote. It was assumed that the KKK cross-burning had its effect. Negro voting was heavy throughout the Second and Eighth Districts with the exception of Valdosta and Lowndes County.

In the hometown of Roy Harris Augusta stalwart, of candidate Herman Talmadge, a delaying move was reported. The Augusta Herald charged that election officials of Augusta were allowing Negroes to vote only at the rate of about three an hour by asking foolish questions. A reporter for the Herald said that the long line of Negroes at one voting place did not move an inch in 15 minutes while he watched. He said that a Cracker party election official commented:

9-17-48 Fri

"I believe we can kill at least 20 minutes per Negro. That will allow only three to vote each hour. There are going to be plenty of Negroes standing in line when the polls close at 6 P. M."

9-17-48

Some 558 Negro registrants were reported stricken from the Spaulding county registration list Tuesday afternoon, one day prior to the election. The Griffin Daily News made the charge, saying that the registrars did not turn the registration list over to election officials until late Tuesday afternoon, so the strikes did not become known until then. A suit has been filed in federal court at Brunswick to prevent the purge of Negro registrants in Spalding county. The Spalding registrants conferred with Judge Frank Scarlett and promised "to abide by the law," so the case was not pushed. The judge said he would keep the action on file in the event another complaint was made.

No Law to Back "All-White" Primary; To Welcome Negroes

Black Dispatch

34e(2)

MANCHESTER, Ga. — (ANP) —Failure of the legislature to get a "white primary" bill past Gov. M. E. Thompson, and the subsequent ruling that such a law would be unconstitutional, has caused an about-face in primary activities within the state. Saturday, Democratic leaders announced that they would call a convention July 2 to open the states election to Negroes.

Sat 4-3-48

Oklahoma City

Okla

The call was issued by James S. Peters, chairman of the Herman Talmadge-controlled Demotion in the hands of the Democratic party.

Party officials contend that this reduces the primary to the status of the election by a county club or any other private organization. But both district and circuit courts have taken opposite views, basing their decision on the intent of the state actions.

There are other states which preceded Alabama in freezing out Negro registrations. In Mississippi, prospective voters are required to "read or interpret" the constitution, to the satisfaction of circuit court clerks. The state also has a proposed constitutional amendment to change the language to "read and interpret."

Louisiana has election laws under which a registration official may require a voter to "interpret satisfactorily" the constitution. The "South Carolina" plan was sought for Georgia by the late Eugene Talmadge. However, since the district and circuit courts have declared the Alabama plan constitutional, Herman Talmadge has been advocating the same plan for Georgia.

Ga. Assault Victim Asks for Vote Fight Support

Afro American

34e(2)

Continued Drive for Ballot Rights Essential, NAACP Branch Heads Told

Baltimore Md

Sat 12-11-48

ATLANTA, Ga.—D. V. Carter, Montgomery County NAACP branch president, who was brutally assaulted for carrying voters to the polls in his automobile for the Georgia Democratic primary election, last week appealed to all NAACP branches for assistance in guaranteeing colored citizens in the South the right to vote without fear or intimidation.

"If we are to secure strong branch presidents to carry forward our program, they must know that the whole Association backs them up as they fight in the 'front line' trenches in places like Georgia," stated Carter in a letter addressed to all NAACP branch presidents.

He told of his branch's intensive two-year drive in a rural Georgia County to get colored citizens to exercise their constitutional right to vote, and of his personal activity in driving many of these voters to the polls on the day of the election.

Fled to Atlanta

Sat 12-11-48

"But there are white men in Georgia who do not know the meaning of the Constitution of the United States," Carter wrote. "It was a group of these men who attacked me on my way home from the polls on Sept. 8, beating me with iron bars until I was bloody, breaking my wrist, and ordering me at the point of a gun to go home and not to be caught hauling any more people to the polls."

The 41-year-old Carter fled to Atlanta to seek refuge after the assault, but his wife and ten children have had to remain in Montgomery County despite fear for their safety, because there is no place for them to go.

Identifies Assailants

Carter told NAACP attorneys in Atlanta that one of his assailants, Johnnie Johnson, was one of the two brothers recently acquitted in the slaying of Isaac Nixon, 28-year-old Montgomery County man who had voted in the same primary election despite warnings from whites.

Sat 12-11-48

Another of the men who attacked Carter was Thomas Wilkes, a brother-in-law to the Johnsons.

Both of these men have notorious records in the county for assaults on colored.

Montgomery County is adjacent to Toombs County where Robert Mallard, prosperous salesman, was recently lynched, allegedly because of political activity.

Beaten for Taking Voters to Polls

Afro American
Baltimore Md.

34e(2)

Sat. 12-11-48

D. V. Carter (left) of Montgomery County, Ga., who was assaulted as a result of his activity in carrying colored voters to the polls in his automobile to vote in the Democratic primary election, is shown with Franklin H. Williams of New York, assistant special counsel for the NAACP. Mr. Carter is president of the NAACP in Montgomery County.

Sat 12-11-48

Georgia's New Scheme

34e(2)

Atlanta Daily World
Wed. 12-22-48
Atlanta Georgia

The Georgia General Assembly, when it convenes next January, plans to accomplish what the discredited White Primary failed to achieve: the disfranchisement of Negroes of the state in such an effective manner that those few who are permitted to vote will be so small that they will be easily controlled. That is the obvious and expressed intent, not only of Mr. Talmadge, who made it a part of his campaign promise, but likewise of most of those who compose the present legislature.

To say that Negroes will resist this rank discrimination with every ounce of their strength, should occasion no surprise from any intelligent person, even though prejudice and hate may becloud his sense of decency and fairplay. Because the guarantees of the free exercise of the right to full citizenship within the United States Constitution remain always the refuge of all who are willing to fight long enough to establish those rights.

Wed 12-22-48

Like all or most of her other outmoded rules on the stature books, the question of educational tests for voters never entered the thinking of those having to do with the making of laws until the Negro won the right to participate in the Primary elections. Now there is a fever-heat desire on the part of some of our editors and large segment of whites unfriendly to the advance of the Negro toward first class citizenship, to have strict laws setting up educational tests which may be used to hide behind and thus reduce the Negro vote to a neglible size, and thus perpetuate white supremacy from the courthouse down through the smallest and largest community, in job opportunities, in pay, in public appropriations, and in the schools.

The march toward human freedom is so swift and certain that it will only be a temporary expedient in Georgia to stem the tide against the Negro. The day of the Ku Klux Klan and the reign of the race-baiters are clearly numbered. History has already sealed their doom. But it will require some time yet to uproot their influence in places where, for over half a century, they have flourished without opposition or notice from either the outside world or the Negroes who were their chief victims.

So it is in Geogia. The General Assembly may meet and design all sorts of schemes to nullify the vote strength of Negroes but it can only be a temporary measure. The determination and intelligence of Negroes and their added confidence in the efficacy of court action against arbitrary rules, are weapons at their command. All of these and other weapons will be brought to bear upon the plot to stop the Negro. Wed. 12-22-48

Registrars Promise Not To Discriminate

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

34e(2)

Twiggs Negroes Seek Equal Chance To Become Voters

Sat. 8-14-48

Sat. 8-14-48

BRUNSWICK, Ga. — (SNS) — Without a fight and with hands down, the Twiggs County Board of Registrars Friday agreed to follow the orders of Federal Judge Frank Scarlett and begin at once the registration of Negroes, without further discrimination by reason of race and color.

Under the temporary and voluntary agreement, at a prehearing presided over by Judge Scarlett, the case was left open, pending the outcome of the agreement entered into by the registrars to desist from the practice.

The suit against the registrars was filed by attorneys on behalf of Edward Glover, David A. Glover, Matthew Glover, Sr., and Matthew Glover, Jr.,

Defendants were listed as C. S. Kitchens, G. F. Benjamin and D. Y. Califf, members on the Twiggs County Board of Registrars. The registrars explained to Judge Scarlett that they thought that they had been adhering to the law in the matter of registration of Negroes and in purging the current registration lists.

With consent of counsel, Judge Scarlett directed that the registrars proceed without discrimination because of race and said the case would be left open on the records in the event of further complaint. Sat. 8-14-48

The Glovers brought suit against the registrars on behalf of themselves and approximately 900 other Negroes similarly situated Attorneys for the plaintiffs were T. W. Johnson and Virgil Shepard, both of Macon.

The registrars were represented by R. A. Harrison, Charles J. Bloch, C. Baxter Jones and Denmark Groover.

34e(2)

Judge Scarlett has before him, a number of other suits involving the registrars in other Georgia communiites for refusing to register Negroes or for purging them after they have registered. Two of these, one at Griffin, involving the registrars of Spalding county, and th other at Albany, charging unfairness to the registrars of Dougherty county, will be heard next Friday, August 20.

Georgia's Christmas Present To Democracy

Journal & Guide
Norfolk Va.
Sat 12-25-48

34e(2)

FRED HAND, speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, speaking for himself and his colleagues, and for Governor TALMADGE, their leader, has announced that, immediately, the Georgia legislature will enact a new law to disfranchise 80 per cent of its Negro voters.

The law will abolish present registration lists and require all voters to re-register under an "educational clause." The prospective voter must read "and interpret" the state constitution "to the satisfaction of the registrar."

The catch in the law is that it will look, on the statute books, as if it applied to all citizens, white and Negro. It is therefore constitutional.

In enforcing the law, the registrar may register a white illiterate with impunity. At the same time the same registrar may refuse to register a Negro college graduate, who may also be a graduate of a law school. He may do this, also, with impunity.

There is no way to stop the Georgians from going through with their plan. Later on, citizens will find a way to take the law to the United States Supreme Court, and it may be knocked out. TALMADGE's own political advisers concede this point.

Sat 12-25-48

What interests the average person with a sense of decency is the callousness with which Mr. HAND and his colleagues announce their plan to the world.

They boast that because Georgia public schools for Negroes have been and still are so inferior the law will disfranchise 80 per cent of Negro adults, who, they feel, have only a third grade education. In Mr. HAND's own words: "Only 20 per cent of Georgia Negroes have completed the sixth grade in a notoriously bad school system that is equal to about the third grade in white schools."

It will be easy, therefore, to disfranchise them. The same legislators that made the school system what it is, now rejoice that they have kept 80 per cent of half the population in their state illiterate.

Sat 12-25-48

Their lack of wisdom, as well as their lack of vision, is reflected in the relatively low state of civilization found in Georgia.

In a few years their work will be undone. Selfish, ignorant, arrogant men cannot stop the march of progress —even in Georgia.

75% Of Laurens Voters Purged

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Jun. 5-9-48

34e(2)

DUBLIN, Ga.—(SNS)—Seventy-five percent or 1,833 qualified Negroes of the 2,477 registered to vote in Laurens county have been purged by action of a three-man registration board said to be linked with staunch Talmadge supporters,

Beginning in last October, the wholesale purging of Negro registrants included church officers, landowners and even college graduates has continued. Most of those purged from the lists had been registered more than three years and had voted in 1946.

The purge was said to have moved at full speed in January. Chairman of the board E. S. Baldwin, related that one district was worked at a time.

SENT NOTICES

Registrars Baldwin and Marvin W. Watson said in considering the registration lists for any district their first act was to agree that the voting rights of those they "knew" would not be questioned. All others were sent notices that they were to appear for a hearing at a specific date and hour for determining the voter's qualification.

The notice read:

"You may appear, if you so desire, and be examined as to your qualifications as provided by law."

According to Chairman Baldwin only about 30 Negroes reported for the scheduled hearings and of this number about five were purged.

DIFFERENCE SHOWN

Whites sent notices were not questioned when they appeared for hearing. On the other hand, those who did not appear, were not purged unless known to be dead.

And yet, all Negroes failing to appear were automatically stricken from the voters' list.

Jun 5-9-48

Those Negroes purged from the lists will have no way of knowing their ineligibility until the list is filed with the court clerk next week or perhaps until they go to the polls on June 2, attempting to cast a ballot.

In linking the purge with Talmadge supporters, it was pointed out that political control of the county is in the hands of Representative W. Herschel Lovett, a Talmadge supporter whose followers include the county commissioners and the registrars.

The third registrar is Ancil Chavous.

OPPOSE REPRESENTATIVE

Negroes in the county are generally known to oppose Representative Lovett.

The three registrars were appointed by Superior Court Judge R. Earl Camp in October.

Being advised in October by the county attorney that they could not meet until April 20, 1948, the purging was temporarily halted.

Judge Camp, however, advised the registrars they could meet any time after the first of the year. He justified the registrars' action after Jan. 1, terming it an "emergency" and saying the old registration list was lost.

It was revealed that the list was not lost but in possession of the court clerk while another copy was held by the tax collector.

'News' Backs Governor's View

1-16-48 34e(2)
Memphis World

ATLANTA, Georgia — (SNS) — The Macon News, one of the strongest Georgia daily newspapers has come out editorially for the re-election of Governor M. E. Thompson. At the same time, the News commends the state chief executive for his stand against proposed subterfuges to prevent Negroes from voting in Georgia elections. Candidate Herman Talmadge had proposed that illiterate whites ought to be allowed to vote, but that illiterate blacks should be denied the ballot.

Says the January 12 Macon News editorial: Memphis, Tenn

"Governor Thompson is to be commended for his forthright declaration that he will not stand for the perpetration of any fraud to deprive the Negro of his constitutional right to vote in this state. The Governor's statement is worth direct quotation. He said: "A constructive plan for adjusting our primary elections to the mandates of the courts and the spirit of the Constitution must be worked out .... I will never be a party, by use of trickery, subterfuge or otherwise, to any attempt to evade the spirit or the letter of the law." Fri. 1-16-48

"These are not the weasel words of a politician, conscious of his duty, but lacking the character and the courage to do it. They have the ring of sincerity of belief and the promise of determination in action. And they bespeak an honest desire to observe the Constitution and an intent to obey the laws.........

"..Governor Thompson is entitled to such praise for this anouncement because the intelligence that prompted it and the courage with which it was done, have been all too rare in Georgia politics. So this newspaper commends the Governor for his action and wishes him well in his campaign for re-election."

Legislators Scheme To Nullify Ga. Negro Voting

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta Ga.

34e(2)

Georgia legislators are studying three schemes to limit Negro registration and voting. These measures will be presented to the 1949 General Assembly. The total effect of the proposed legislation would be to revive the "white primary" through devices such as are utilized by Alabama's infamous Boswell Amendment.

The core of the legislation is House Bill 96 that died in the Georgia Senate in 1947. The subterfuge calls for voter qualifications which would imperil the franchise all Georgians regardless of race.

Jun 12/19-48

The three bills being considered would:

1. **Require both good character and educational qualifications and that every voter be required to register again, with qualifications tests being waived for those persons who have regularly voted prior to 1938.**

Jun-12-19-48

2. **Another plan would compel any voter to re-register every two years, and financing of the registration would be aided by a $1 registration fee.**
3. **The registrars of the various counties would have the discretion of passing upon the qualifications of would-be-voters.**

ASSAILED BY LEADERS

These patterns or voting requirements have been assailed by Negro leaders who contend that they would have the same effect as the Boswell Amendment in Alabama which requires "voters to understand and explain the U. S. Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrars." The Amendment has almost totally disfranchised Negro voters in Alabama.

Speaker of the House Fred Hand, of the Georgia Legislature, in pressing for the legislation openly admits that the proposed measures are aimed at nullifying Negro voting.

Hand alleges tht approximately 1,000,000 Negroes, or 30 per cent, have gone past the sixth grade in a "notoriously poor school system."

34e(2)

Jun-12-19-48

Institution of an educational or literacy test here in Ga. would try and circumvent the U. S. Supreme Court which has ruled that Negroes are entitled to vote in primaries.

This enfranchisement ruling has been strengthened by U. S. Judge J. Waites Waring in the South Carolina Vote Case.

CHALLENGE BOSWELL ACT

Negroes in Alabama have a dozen test cases pending in Birmingham, Montgomery, and Mobile in which the constitutionality of the Boswell Amendment is challenged.

If such a measure is passed in Georgia, it would be immediately attacked in state and federal courts as a subterfuge to "reinstitute" the white primary, leaders point out.

Herman E. Talmadge campaigned on an anti-Negro and anti-bloc voting issue. He promised, if elected, to stop "bloc voting" by passing restrictive legislation which would make the ballot "as white as possible" without defying the Supreme Court.

Jun-12-19-48

Negro leaders ha[illegible]ted the proposed legislation as designed to limit N[illegible]ting, while permitting ignorant whites the full bene[illegible] of the ballot.

Georgia Voters Terrorized

[illegible]

Eight hundred and fourteen Negroes were registered to vote in Johnson County, Georgia, when the election was held last week, but only one Negro arrived at the polling place, and he hurriedly left for home after learning what had happened the night before. When questioned about this sudden shunning of the polling places, Judge W. C. Brinson, of Wrightsville, with total disregard for the facts, said:

"The Negroes are just not interested in county affairs."

Now this hypocritical judge, whose marble-hearted conscience permitted him to utter such falsehood, knew full well that the infamous order of the Ku Klux Klan had held a demonstration on the courthouse lawn the evening before the election, and that the grand dragon of this un-American organization had openly, and with his face exposed to public view, shouted to his hearers that "blood would flow in the streets" if Negroes sought to cast their ballots along with white men on election day.

Negroes react to terrorism just as men and women of other races. Quite recently Legionaires appeared in a white home in California, where loyal citizens were discussing political questions, and ordered them to disperse. According to news stories regarding this sordid and criminal violation of freedom of assembly, several of the women in the meeting suffered from nervous shock, from which they have not entirely recovered. For the Klan to parade openly in Wrightsville, and to announce publicly that force and violence would be visited upon Negroes who had the intestinal fortitude to vote, was notice to all informed blacks that the Klan was in connivance with existing government, and that there was no recourse or help to which they could resort from such an unholy alliance.

[illegible]

A frightful condition exists, and organized society has gone to the bow-wows when integrity and virtue take flight. Justice is a kingdom's strength. The Negroes of Wrightville knew on election morning that corruption and evil were present at the polling places and that the klan and local government were one.

Thoughtless white people who guffaw and laugh at such wanton denial of civil liberties, apparently overlook the fact that in the end poor white people lose just as much or more down in Dixie as the blacks, through fascist practices such as this. Millions of whites, condemned to low wage scales because the black peon is his competitor, suffer from malnutrition, illiteracy, poor housing and disease in the same identical manner as the blacks. The basic design down South is to keep the two labor groups separated while both are exploited. In fact, the Ku Klux Klan is financed and kept alive in Georgia by carpetbagger industrialists, who obvious attempt is to divide and rule.

That lawlessness and violence once unleashed knows no color was aptly shown last week when the Ku Klux Klan, with its insatiable desire to rule or ruin, down at Columbus, Ga., seized two reputable white newspaper men, forcibly poured unconcienable amounts of whisky down their throats, and after further doping these two members of the Fourth Estate, left them stupefied to be arrested as common drunks. If the newsmen had been encased in black hides they probably would have been found shot, but the fact that white men were tortured in this atrocious manner indicates the pattern of viciousness and vileness to which invisible government will stoop as soon as government succumbs to Klan dictation and does not penalize them for brutalizing white men. By its outrageous mistreatment of these two reporters, the Klan gives notice the day will come in America when there is no freedom of the press. Freedom will in such an hour have taken flight and fascism will control America.

What do you suppose was the purpose of the Klan in buring a fiery cross the night before an election in Wrightsville, Georgia? What was the meaning behind the threat of blood-letting if the Negro voted the following morning? Everyone knows that such frightful acts express open rebellion against the law and the constitution. It means that Negroes in the land of the free and the home of the brave do not have liberty to use the ballot, and do not have freedom from fear. This is the infernal paternalism patriotic, loyal citizens of this nation are asked to recognize as for their best interests. Our "best friends" advise Negroes that their "best interests" lie apart from the ballot box on election morning.

For Voter-Qualification Laws

Atlanta Constitution

An intelligent and informed electorate being the basis of a working democracy, Georgia needs more stringent vote-qualification laws.

Revision of the qualifications for voting came in for a good deal of discussion at last week's pre-session conferences of Legislators. That was as it should have been. The Constitution repeatedly has called attention to the need for more adequate safeguards in this respect and we hope the General Assembly will not postpone action beyond the January session.

Mon 12-20-48

There is, properly, a great deal of concern over the proposals at last week's caucuses to abolish all present voting lists and require complete new registration. If such a procedure is adopted every precaution must be taken to insure that re-registration will be undertaken in a nonpartisan manner. While there may be merit to the argument that re-registration would result in fewer qualified voters, some States successfully follow a plan of requiring re-registration at periodic intervals. The theory here would seem to be that if the eligible voter is sufficiently interested he will go to the trouble to register, and if he is not that interested it is better that he not vote anyway.

Atlanta Georgia

All who can see will agree with House Speaker Fred Hand that the so-called white primary proposal is dead. In the face of numerous Supreme Court decisions upsetting similar laws in other Southern States, it would be foolish for the Legislature to waste time on such a measure.

Mon 12-20-48

We also think Speaker Hand summed up the situation admirably when he declared the problem of strengthening voter qualification laws must not be attacked from a racial viewpoint. No one can object to the State's exercising its legal right to insure that those who go to the polls are capable of understanding and interpreting the issues involved. But any attempt to apply qualifications to one group, leaving the other free of restrictions, is to give official sanction to discrimination which, as we have seen, will not be tolerated by the Federal Courts.

Georgia Plans Test to Bar 80% Of Negro Voters

New York Herald Tribune

Educational Qualification To Be Used; Talmadge Aid Says It Will 'Hold Water'

Sat 12-18-48

New York N.Y.

ATLANTA, Dec. 17 (AP).—Governor Herman Talmadge and his legislative leaders came out today with a "white supremacy" program frankly aimed at barring 80 per cent of Georgia Negroes from voting.

Hardly a ripply of opposition was apparent as the plan was outlined at an informal conference of seventy-five legislators. The program is being drafted for a regular meeting of the Georgia General Assembly Jan. 10.

The core of the plan is to wipe all present voters' registration lists off the books. Then a complete new state-wide registration would be undertaken with emphasis on "educational qualification" of voters.

"Ignorant Bloc"

House Speaker Fred Hand, who will steer the measure in the Legislature for Governor Talmadge told lawmakers today: "A good educational qualification will cut out 80 per cent of this ignorant bloc vote in Georgia. I like to think of it that way instead of going into this color angle. Under this plan it will no longer be a menace. It will fix things where we can handle it."

Mr. Hand reminded the Assemblymen that forty-six Georgia counties have more Negroes than whites, and Negroes form 25 per cent of the population in 114 of the state's 159 counties.

"You might not think 25 per cent is so bad," he said, "but look at the voting returns and see how much you won by."

Mr. Hand said the Georgia plan would be similar to the "Boswell Amendment" in Alabama, which requires prospective voters to interpret the Constitution to the satisfaction of registrars. Alabama political leaders said it was aimed at Negro voting.

Say It Will "Hold Water"

Mr. Hand assured the group the Georgia plan would "hold water"—be constitutional.

During Mr. Talmadge's campaign last summer he often shouted, "If we can't have an all-white primary in Georgia, then we want one just as white as we can get it."

Sat 12-18-48

Speaker Hand said he based his estimate that 80 per cent of Negroes would be barred from polls on educators statistics. "Only 20 per cent of Georgia Negroes have passed the sixth grade in a notoriously bad school system," he said. "That is equal to about the third grade in white schools."

Mr. Hand said bloc voting by such an uneducated group was "a serious problem. They are led to the polls like sheep and told how to vote. They don't know what they are doing."

He said he hoped to improve Negro educational standards so more Negroes would become qualified to vote in the future.

34e(2) 1948

Georgia

Prejudice Is Betrayed As a Demagogue's Device

34e(2) Ala. The Courier Journal

Louisville, Ky. Wed. 1-7-48

NEVER has Negro-baiting been shown up as sheer political depravity more clearly than in HERMAN TALMADGE's new proposal to keep Georgia's ballot lily-white. Old GENE's son is a bright young man, and doubtless sees the trend of the times as well as anybody else. But he knows when he has a vote-catcher, and he is making the most of the knowledge.

It is now as plain as day that Federal courts will throw out, as fast as the points are raised, any and all devices of the white supremacy boys to keep Negroes from voting. The rule has been made. The death blow has been laid upon the white primary and through it upon all laws which would restrict the suffrage. These have been properly described as subterfuges to evade constitutional guarantees. And in proposing for Georgia an educational test for voters, TALMADGE merely seizes upon another subterfuge. The Courier Journal Louisville, Ky

TALMADGE proposes a law to make would-be voters answer "satisfactorily" certain questions propounded by a group of registrars. This is an obvious dodge. It is the principle of Alabama's iniquitous "BOSWELL Amendment." No matter how highly educated a Negro may be (or anybody else whom the local machine would keep from voting), or how profound his statement, the registrars can simply say the answers are not satisfactory. And the younger TALMADGE not only proposes the law, but says in a quaintly dictatorial manner of announcing a sure thing, that the law will be passed. Wed 1-7-48

The point is that TALMADGE is running for Governor of Georgia, and the primary election is only about six months off. Thus his proposal is betrayed as campaign thunder. It is the old game of playing to local prejudice to gain an immediate advantage. The law cannot be passed until after the election. Indeed, it may never be passed. And if it were passed, it is almost certain to be invalidated, as the un-American thing it is, by the Supreme Court. TALMADGE's own words, confessing that the thing is aimed at keeping Negroes from voting, is the best evidence of undemocratic intent that any court could ask. The Courier Journal Wed 1-7-48

However, the purpose will then have been served. TALMADGE, being his father's son, knows the incendiary nature of the issue he has raised. He will, he fancies, have won, and the race issue will not have been the least of the factors of victory. But the secret is out. This is why demagogues and well-schooled sons of demagogues keep the issue alive.

Louisville, Ky.

Talmadge Pushes New Ban on Negro Vote

PM New York, N.Y.

Tues Jan 1-6-48

34e(2)

By Associated Press

ATLANTA

Voter-qualification laws, administered so as to bar Negroes from elections in the South, may become the last barricade of "white supremacy" advocates. PM New York N.Y.

Georgia's leading exponent of white rule, Herman Talmadge, acknowledged yesterday that this would be attempted. He said it was the only avenue left open by a recent ruling of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. invalidating the South Carolina "white primary."

Talmadge, widely regarded as a spokesman for "white rule," said in an interview that voter-qualification laws probably would be enacted with intent to exclude most Negroes from franchise. He said he thought this was proper, even though registrars would bar Negroes while allowing illiterate whites to vote. Tues. 1-6-48

Aim Is Admitted

Alabama already has a voter-qualification law. It is the so-called Boswell Amendment to the State constitution. At the time of its adoption in 1946, white leaders proclaimed openly that it was aimed at discouraging Negro voting. PM New York, N.Y.

The Boswell amendment requires Alabama voters to be able to "understand and interpret" the State and Federal Constitutions to the satisfaction of local registrars. A court challenge is being prepared by Negro leaders. Tues. 1-6-48

'Nothing More Than Subterfuge'

A. T. Walden, an attorney for the National Assn. for Advancement of Colored People, commented: "The Boswell Amendment, and anything like it, is nothing more nor less than a subterfuge equivalent to the white primary. We are confident it will receive the same judicial condemnation." PM New York, N.Y.

Talmadge forecast that the issue of white supremacy would be intensified by the Federal Court decision. He expressed the traditional Southern view that the ruling "interfered" in State affairs. Tues

Said Talmadge: 1-6-48

"I don't think more than 10 or 15 per cent of our Negroes should vote."

More Voter-Qualification Laws Seen By White Rule Exponent

Alabama

34e(2)

Montgomery Advertiser Tues

By ROMNEY WHEELER

ATLANTA, Jan. 5.—(AP)—Voter-qualification laws, administered so as to bar Negroes from elections in the South, may become the last barricade of "white supremacy" advocates.

Georgia's leading exponent of white rule, Herman Talmadge, acknowledged Monday that this would be attempted. He said it was the only avenue left open by a recent ruling of the U. S. Circuit Court of Apeals, invalidating the South Carolina "white supremacy." 8-6-48

Talmadge, widely regarded as a spokesman for white rule, said in an interview that voter-qualification laws probably would be enacted with intent to exclude most Negroes from franchise. He said he thought this was proper, even though registrars would bar Negroes while allowing illiterate whites to vote.

Alabama already has a voter-qualification law. It is the so-called Boswell Amendment to the State Constitution. At the time of its adoption in 1946, white leaders proclaimed openly that it was aimed at discouraging Negro voting. 34e(2)

The Boswell Amendment requires Alabama voters to be able to "understand and explain" any section of the Federal Constitution to the satisfaction of local registrars. A court challenge is being prepared by Negro leaders.

A. T. Walden, an attorney for the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, commented: "The Boswell Amendment, and anything like it, is nothing more nor less than a subterfuge equivalent to the white primary. We are confident it will receive the same judicial condemnation."

South Carolina sought to bar Negroes from its elections by divorcing primaries from state control. It made the Democratic Party an exclusive club, open to white persons only. The U. S. Court of Appeals ruled this unconstitutional, saying:

"No election machinery can be upheld if its purpose or effect is to deny to the Negro, on account of his race or color, an effective voice in the government of his country or the state or community wherein he lives." 34e(2)

The late Eugene Talmadge, red-gallussed advocate of white rule and father of Herman Talmadge, urged adoption of the South Carolina plan in Georgia. During an abortive bid for the governorship, following his father's death, Herman obtained legislative enactment of a "white primary" bill on that pattern. It was vetoed by Gov. M. E. Thompson after the State Supreme Court ousted Talmadge.

Talmadge forecast Monday that the issue of white supremacy would be intensified by the Federal Court decision. He expressed traditional southern view that the ruling "interfered" in state affairs.

"I believe," said Talmadge, "that 85 or 90 per cent of our white citizens should vote. There are many good white people in our country counties who can't read or write. But they own their own farms and they do their own thinking.

"I don't think more than 10 or 15 per cent of our Negroes should vote."

AP

HERMAN TALMADGE

Talmadge's Latest

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Mon 1-12-48

During the campaign to incorporate the Boswell amendment into the constitution of Alabama, the charge was frequently made that it would be used only as a means of preventing Negroes from voting. Requiring, it will be remembered, that would-be voters be able to understand and explain the constitution of the United States to the satisfaction of a local board of registrars, it seemed definitely built for use in limiting the electorate.

34e(2)

Now there comes out of Georgia a statement from Herman Talmadge that, because of the Federal Court's invalidation of the white primary in South Carolina, a plan similar to Alabama's must be instituted in other Southern states to be what he calls a "last chance." He is quite frank in saying that he intends, if possible, to bar the Negro from voting anywhere in the South.

The statement carried Tuesday by The Associated Press may have given a false impression to some readers. It sounded very much as though some concerted plan were under way in which many political leaders of the South were engaged. A closer reading of the dispatch, however, indicates that it is nothing more than a popping off by Mr. Talmadge. Yet Talmadge has been in the public eye often enough in months past for what he says to be accepted as the idea of a type of Southern individual with a certain strength at the polls. The News

What Talmadge has always stood for is a type of prejudice now happily passing out of existence. The majority of the people in Georgia have yet to prove that they prefer Herman Talmadge to a more enlightened man. They voted for Ol' Gene, it is true, but that may have been because he was something of a sentimental idol to so many of them. They have never voted for Herman, and it is doubtful whether he has the following his father had built up through the years. What happened in Mississippi last year is some indication that though personal loyalty may be given to a man who exemplified extreme prejudice, there isn't enough of that kind of feeling left to elect another man like him over a more enlightened opponent. Mon. 1-12-48.

Therefore it is unlikely that Talmadge should be taken too seriously when he talks about the establishment of a law in every state similar to our Boswell amendment. How long it will remain on the statute books in Alabama is not certain, for it surely will be tested in the courts. The higher levels of American jurisprudence have been consistently favorable to granting civil rights to minorities. That is the reason that Talmadge felt it necessary to make his statement. It sounds much like a last gasp of a dying point of view. 34e(2)

Negro Voters Still Barred In Some Georgia Counties

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 2-25-48

By PERRY MULLEN

ATLANTA, Feb. 24.—(AP)—Negroes still are denied the vote in some Georgia counties despite decision of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court several times has ruled that Negroes cannot be deprived of the right to vote in primaries. In the one-party South, primaries usually serve a selections. The Democratic nominee seldom has real opposition in the general election.

Negroes now vote in state-wide Democratic primaries and in many county primaries in Georgia. But in other counties with heavy Negro registration, few if any are permitted to vote. Strict enforcement of voter qualifications laws rule out hundreds. Wholesale striking of Negro voter lists has been alleged in some counties. The Advertiser

The Federal Government recently attempted to prove a case of wholesale disfranchisement of Negroes in Dodge County. It claimed registrars failed to supply county election officials with a list of 1,300 registered Negroes.

A federal grand jury in Savannah was asked to look into the matter. It scanned evidence submitted by the U. S. district attorney and declined to indict.

In about 40 of Georgia's 159 counties, the Negro population outnumbers whites. White residents fear they might have Negro sheriffs and other county officers if Negroes are given the ballot. Montgomery, Ala.

The county sheriff, tax commissioner and other officers enforce both state and county laws. The road or tax commissioner sets the county tax rate and decides where roads and schools will be built. County Democratic executive committees, elected every four years, have practically complete control of election machinery. The committees may call an election whenever they wish.

State law sets up voter qualifications but it is left to the county registrar or tax collector to determine if an individual meets the test. Wed. 2-25-48

The official can decide whether a citizen is of "good character" and understands duties and obligations of citizenship that give him the right to vote.

He also can require the prospective voter to "correctly read in the English language any paragraph of the Constitution of the U. S. or of this state," and write the same.

If the applicant is unable to read, the official may decide he can vote if he is "able to understand and give a reasonable interpretation of any paragraph" of the federal or state constitution.

Lots of white persons might muff voter qualification tests under this provision of the state constitution. The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Georgia advocates of White Supermacy welcome the current furor over President Truman's civil rights program. The hotter the arguments over equal rights for Negroes, they say, the more votes they can expect at the next election. Wed. 2-25-48

Talmadge, Thompson Want To Disfranchise Negroes

The Worker
New York, N.Y. Sun.

ATLANTA—The Boswell Amendment method of keeping the people from voting has two new advocates in Georgia—Herman Talmadge and Governor Thompson.

Talmadge told reporters recently that with the invalidation of the South Carolina white primary, something similar to Alabama's voter-qualification plan was necessary. 1-18-48

"I believe," he said, "that 85 to 90 percent of our white people should vote. . . . I don't think more than 10 or 15 percent of our Negro people should vote."

Governor Thompson, somewhat less brazen, says substantially the same thing:

"This can be done by a reasonable and impartially administered educational requirement for voting. . . .

"Our state constitution provides for segregation of the races in public schools and I am already on record for segregation of races at the polls. . . ." state. The Worker New York, N.Y. Sun.

IT SEEMS CLEAR that this sudden concern of the Talmadge and Thompson cliques over the control of voter registration comes not only from the recent quashing of the South Carolina white primary subterfuge in the courts. They fear that the Third Party movement might well get out an independent mass vote in Georgia, which would be completely outside the control of the state Democratic machine.

They know further that the 200,000 registered Negro voters are potentially a good core for an independent voters movement in the

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To Vote in Georgia, You Have To Hate Negroes, Communists

34e(2) Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Thurs. 1-22-48

WRIGHTSVILLE, Ga., Jan. 21.—Voters and candidates in Johnson County's Democatic primary scheduled for March 3 must sign pledges saying they favor the white primary, segregation of races and oppose communism, Democratic executive committee chairman W. C. Brinson said yesterday.

Brinson, who is also judge of the city court here, said voters would be required to sign the pledge before casting their ballot. Candidates qualifying for the primary must make similar written vows he said.

IT'S A 'FREE' COUNTRY

The pledge states:

- **I favor the county unit system now existing in the state of Georgia.**
- **I favor the white primary.**
- **I favor preservation of segregation for the races as now exists in Georgia.**
- **I oppose Communism.**
- **I oppose any organization that seeks to destroy the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Georgia.**
- **I oppose enactment into law the rules and regulations as promulgated by the Fair Employment Practices Committee.**
- **I will support the nominees of this primary in the general election.**

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Thurs. 1-22-48

In past years Georgia Democratic executive committees have required only a pledge to support nominees as a requirement for casting votes in a primary election.

A similar plan existed until recently in Mississippi. It was generally regarded illegal but was never tested in court.

Under the Mississippi pledge Negroes were required to sign statements saying they favored the white primary before they were allowed to vote.

← A Question of Civil Rights . . . And the Answer ↓

34e(2) PM New York, N.Y. Sun. 2-8-48

↓ Here is a letter to the NAACP from a Georgia citizen with a sense of responsibility, whose name is being withheld for apparent reasons. The letter deserves the immediate attention of Attorney General Tom Clark—and

Americus, Georgia
January 29, 1948

National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Yesterday in an adjacent county Negroes were turned away from the polls when they attempted to vote in a county-wide election. A representative to the state legislature stood guard with a shotgun and the statement, "If a Nigger votes in this election, he'll be a dead Nigger." Several white people, including a doctor and other substantial citizens, protested but to no avail. No Negroes voted.

I am a white man myself, but I see in this kind of thing a threat to my own rights, for as long as a man at the polls with a gun can keep one man from voting, he can keep any man from voting.

Feeling that something should be done to bring these parties to justice, I would like your advice as to how to begin. We have no funds with which to employ attorneys, but since it is an infringement of civil rights, we feel that perhaps the Federal Government will prosecute it. Could you tell us who or what department of our government to contact relative to this matter?

Thanking you in advance, I am

Yours very sincerely,

here is a section of the Federal Criminal Code under which such activity can be prosecuted. ↑

Section 51. (Criminal Code, section 19.) Conspiracy to injure persons in exercise of civil rights.—If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same, or if two or more persons go in disguise on the highway, or on the premises of another, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured, they shall be fined not more than $5,000 and imprisoned not more than ten years, and shall, moreover, be thereafter ineligible to any office, or place of honor, profit, or trust created by the Constitution or laws of the United States

34e(2) 1948 Georgia

'Way' To Hold a 'White Primary' Will Be Found, Harris Believes

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

A Supreme Court decision Monday upholding in effect the right of Negroes to vote in South Carolina Democratic primaries drew a blunt prediction from some leaders of the Talmadge faction in Georgia that a "way would be found" to hold a white primary in this State. Tues. 4-20-48

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Although Herman Talmadge had "no comment" on refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court to review a lower court decision that Negroes were entitled to vote, his stalwart advisor, Roy Harris, declared:

"I'm still in favor of a white primary, and I believe a way will be found to hold one." Tues.

Acting Gov. Thompson, on the other hand, termed the Supreme Court decision "final," and added he would respect it. His statement was as follows: 4-20-48

Throughout all my life, I have respected the decisions of courts. The action of the Supreme Court of the United States is final and pertains to the right of Negroes to vote. I shall continue to respect the decisions of the Court.

"Before I vetoed the so-called White Primary Bill, passed by the General Assembly in 1947, I had been advised that the Supreme Court of the United States would have invalidated the act of the General Assembly. Today's action by the Supreme Court justifies the position which I took." Tues.

Southerners generally agreed the Court action will have widespread effect in the South. 4-20-48

Sen. Maybank, Democrat, South Carolina, told a reporter "Although I am distressed at the ruling, I am certain that William P. Baskin (State Democratic Chairman) of Bishopville, will immediately call the State Executive Committee together to set up proper regulations."

Rep. McMillan, Democrat, South Carolina, commented, "The only thing to do now, is to allow Negroes to vote. But we must set up qualifications for all voters. I think we should at least require a fourth grade education for every voter in the State."

The Constitution

Sen. Johnston, Democrat, South Carolina, said: "I am utterly astonished to read the report that the Supreme Court will not hear this case. I felt we lived in a free country and we have freedom of speech. There are many legal issues which are debatable in this case. The Supreme Court should have heard what each side has to say. As a lawyer I feel each side should have had its chance to argue before the high court." Tues.

Atlanta, Ga.

Rep. Rivers, Democrat, South Carolina, however, said: "I am not surprised. The Supreme Court Judges have long since abandoned interpreting the law. They've gone into the legislative business. They either don't care or they don't know any better." 4-20-48

Dublin Minister Seeks Restoration Of Purged Voters

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

DUBLIN, Ga.—2 (SNS)—Rev. A. L. Brewster, AME minister and member of the Dublin Citizens Democratic Club, is spearheading the drive to restore 833 Negroes back on the election rolls following a wholesale purge of Negro voters several days ago. Tues. 5-18-48

The group has secured the services of Dan Duke, Klan-busting attorney of Atlanta, Ga., who will represent the purge voters when a civil suit is filed in the Federal District Court.

Duke plans to file damage suits against the registrars and if immediate action is not forthcoming he will attempt to prevent the holding of the Laurens County Democratic primary scheduled for June 2.

Meanwhile, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is probing the vote purge for criminal prosecution. This action came as the result of a letter from Attorney General Tom Clark to J. Edgar Hoover.

On the heels of the purge of Negro voters came the announcement that Ancil Chavous, would be a candidate for the legislature.

Purged Laurens Negroes Fail To Reregister

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 6-16-48

Constitution State News Service.

DUBLIN, June 15—Although Laurens County reopened its registration lists to qualified Negro voters purged from the lists, not a single Negro applied for registration or reregistration today.

Refuting earlier reports that many Negroes had registered during the day, Tax Collector T. C. Keen said only a few white college students had come in to register.

Both Teen and E. S. Baldwin, Chairman of the Registration Board, declared that anyone meeting the legal requirements for voting may apply and appear before the Board for reregistration. Both said all who qualified would be returned to the lists. 6-16-48

Hearing on a petition of several Laurens County Negroes charging a registration list purge has been set before Judge Frank Scarlett in Brunswick on June 26. The Negroes' suit charges the Board and several county officials with conspiracy to deny them the right of suffrage and asks damages. 6-16-48

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

1,800 Ask Punitive Damages

The Constitution

34e(2) Ga.

Atlanta, Ga.

Constitution State News Service.

SAVANNAH, May 28—A powerful State political figure and a Superior Court Judge were accused Friday of conspiring to illegally disfranchise 1,800 Negroes in a petition filed here in Federal Court. Sat. 5-29-48

The Negroes asked punitive damages aggregating nearly half a million dollars of Superior Court Judge Earl Camp, State Rep. Herschel Lovett and members of the Laurens Board of Registrars and Laurens Board of County Commissioners.

The Laurens County Board of Registrars was ordered to show cause why it should not restore 1,800 Negroes allegedly stricken from the voting list.

Dan Duke, Atlanta attorney, filed the petition with Judge Scarlett, charging that the Negroes were removed arbitrarily because of their race from the registration list in an illegal conspiracy that violated their civil rights.

Shortly after Judge Scarlett signed the "show cause" order, Duke filed it in Dublin with Miss Jessie Baldwin, Deputy Clerk of the Federal District Court.

Judge Scarlett set a hearing for 11 a. m. June 26, at Brunswick.

Each of the eight Negroes asked a total of $55,000 damages. They also asked $20,000 for attorneys' fees. Duke said that four college graduates, three ministers and a school teacher comprised the list of plaintiffs who charged they were illegally removed from the voters' list. They said they, and other Negroes, voted in past Democratic primaries.

The petition alleged that Lovett, political leader of Laurens County and power in State politics, and Judge Camp conspired with the registrars and county commissioners to deliberately disfranchise all but 500 Negroes in this year's Democratic primary. Sat.

"In September, 1947, the registrars, at the request of Judge Camp, met and discussed means and methods of removing all the names, except 500, of Negro persons who were certified by the previous Board of Registrars as qualified electors, and whose names appeared on said list as filed by said Board with the Clerk of the Superior Court," the petition alleged. 5-29-48

"Prior to this meeting, the Board Chairman, E. S. Baldwin, had consulted with Herschel V. Lovett," the petition continued. "Lovett had advised them that 'all of the niggers except about 500 had to come off the qualified voters list, and if the Board of County Commissioners don't pay you for your work, I will see that you are paid.'" The Constitution

The petition charged that Ancil Chavous, member of the Board of Registrars, consulted with Camp and Lovett to plot a procedure to require the examination of each of these Negroes on the registration list. Atlanta, Ga.

Congress Committee Rules In Favor Of Rep. James Davis

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, former congresswoman from Atlanta, said Thursday in Atlanta that she was not surprised at the recommendation in Washington by the committee on House administration that two contested election cases against Rep. James C. Davis, of Stone Mountain, be dismissed.

Mrs. Mankin and Wyman C. Lowe brought contests against Davis, claiming that there were "irregularities" in the primary and general election. Fri. 4-16-48

The Recommendation for dismissal now goes to the House of Representatives for a vote. Action is slated within a few days.

Rep. Davis, of Georgia's fifth district, felt "gratified" over the ruling, he said.

Negro Voters In Spalding Are Tested

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

GRIFFIN, July 29—(AP)—Some 1,500 registered Negro voters in Spalding County have been summoned before the Board of Registrars to determine if they are qualified to vote.

The subpoenas issued through the Sheriff's office ordered the Negroes to appear Monday and "from day to day" until the cases are disposed of.

R. L. Addleton, member of the Board of Registrars, said subpoenas had been issued only when "there are any doubts" about qualifications. Wed.

Two Atlanta attorneys, S. B. Wallace and Frank Bowers, have been employed by Negro citizens of the County to represent them before the board. 7-28-48

Of the 77 persons called before the board Monday, all but 19 were qualified.

Ga. Democrats To Open Vote To Negroes

Columbia Record

Columbia, S.C.

MACON, Ga., July 1—(AP)—Georgia Democrats who have clamored loudest for "white supremacy" convene tomorrow to open the state's primary ballot to Negroes.

Leaders expected the Georgia Democratic convention to be a fast-moving affair, capped by a howling, old-fashioned demonstration for young Herman Talmadge, political heir of the late Eugene Talmadge

More than 5,000 followers were slated to join the fun, a rousing prelude to Herman's expected announcement and formal qualification Saturday as a candidate for governor in the September 8 Democratic primary.

Followers of Herman and red-gallused "Old Gene," fiery opponent of Negro voting, must alter party rules in the face of repeated court decisions that the South cannot bar Negroes from Democratic primaries.

Party chieftains said today they accept the move as inevitable and planned no subterfuge.

The 1946 Talmadge-dominated Georgia Democratic convention tried to establish the party as a private club which could limit its membership to white persons.

Ticklish national issues were tossed aside in pre-convention planning today. Leaders said they foresaw no move toward naming Georgia's Democratic presidential electors. Thu. 7-1-48

Nor did leaders care to tackle the problem of instructing Georgia delegates to the Democratic national convention. The state delegation, avowedly opposed to President Truman, has been named by the party executive committee. The committee probably will name the electors after the presidential nominee has been selected.

34e(2)

Democracy In Reverse

Atlanta Daily world

We thought we had seen Democracy slip to its lowest depths this week when Georgia's Second Congressional committee decided to change the rules and thus remove the threat which almost defeated Congressman Eugene Cox in his race for the U. S. Congress in 1946. In 1946, an Albany lawyer, Neely Peacock, received a heavy urban vote against Congressman Cox, who, after finding that he was going to run against him again this year, had the rules changed from a popular to a county unit count. In other words, the Congressman is determined to cut the cloth to fit the garment and thus not take any chances on his race for Congress.

Sat. 7-3-48

But we think something more significant than that is about to take place in Sixth Congressional District, where last week, Herschel Lovett of Laurens County, in fear of the Negro vote, called upon the white people to discourage opposition to Congressman Carl Vinson in his approaching race for re-election.

Atlanta, Ga.

"As a duty to the white people," said Mr. Lovett, "we must see that our congressman does not have any opposition." This means that white candidates must be discouraged to file for the same office, because if that happens it will certainly divide the white vote and will mean the almost certain defeat of Rep. Vinson, granting that the over 2,000 Negroes of the County cast their votes. What a pity it is that they are unwilling to trust their fate in a democratic society. They are willing to hold the hand of one candidate and give the other a free hand in an election race. It means much more than that, it means that the people must not be permitted to make a free choice but must take whomever the leaders place before them. It happened against Mrs. Mankin when the rules were changed to favor Congressman Davis. It happened in the 8th district, thus giving Mr. Cox the advantage over Mr. Peacock. And it is being urged for the 6th congressional district.

7-3-48

It will be remembered by Negroes, at least, that Lovett, Superior Court Judge Earl Camp and members of the Laurens county board of registrars and county commissioners are now subject to a federal court suit totaling almost a half million dollars in connection with the purging of nearly 2,000 Laurens county Negroes from the voters' rolls.

Georgia Negroes Fight Mass Purge From Voting Lists

34e(2) Daily Worker

Mon. 6-7-48

ATLANTA, June 6 (FP).—A mass purge of Negroes from the voting lists of Georgia has encountered a formidable obstacle in Klanbuster Dan Duke, former state attorney general, who has filed suit for nearly half a million dollars on behalf of eight Negro clients.

Of the Negro complainants, four are college graduates, three are ministers and one is a school teacher. Each is asking a total of $55,000 damages for being deprived of the right to vote.

Among the 11 defendants named as co-conspirators in the case are Superior Court Judge Earl Camp, state Rep. Herschel Lovett, two candidates for the Georgia senate and members of the Laurens county board of registrars and county commission.

6-7-48

The suit charges that the defendants conspired to, and did remove, the names of 1,800 Negroes from the voting lists of the county since November of last year. This figure represents 75 precent of all the Negroes who were registered in the county.

HEARING JUNE 26

A hearing on the case has been set before U.S. District Court Judge Frank M. Scarlett for June 26.

During a similar mass purge of Negro voters by Talmadgite registrars in Georgia's 1946 gubernatorial campaign, Scarlett ordered the registrars of Appling county to reinstate 600 Negroes and at the same time enjoined Coffee county registrars from further purging there.

These threats of federal prosecution put the fear of Uncle Sam into other Georgia registrars, who reinstated thousands of purged Negroes without waiting to be personally prodded.

During February, 1948, however, a Dodge county grand jury sitting at Savannah refused to indict two registrars for purging 1,300 Negroes. This has caused the purge to spread to other Kluxer-Talmadge strongholds in various parts of the state.

New York

The purge pattern consists of registrars sending, via the sheriff, summonses to Negro registrants to "appear and show cause" (usually at some inconvenient hour) why they should not be dropped from the voting lists for "literacy, criminal record, bad character," etc.

Most of the Negroess are too intimidated to appear and so are dropped "automatically."

ATLANTA—(NNPA) — Bowing to Federal court decisions outlawing the white primary Judge Mallory C. Atkinson of Bibb County Superior Court, and Judge Douglas Feagin of Macon's City Court, advocate the abolition of primaries in Georgia since its purpose was to disfranchise colored people.

34e(2)

The Atlanta Constitution last Wednesday said: "Since the Supreme Court has ruled that colored people must be allowed to vote in primaries, and since Georgia operates under the one-party, voting in the primary and in the general election has become a duplication.

Take All Candidates

Baltimore, Md.

Judge Atkinson proposed that the Democratic executive committee certify to the Secretary of State all candidates, regardless of how many offers for the same office, in the general election and "thus have that election serve the same purpose as the primary.

The Constitution favors a two party-system in Georgia. "If and when Republicans gain sufficient strength to make this dream a reality, primaries would be necessary, they being the most democratic means of selecting candidates," the Constitution said.

Georgia Leads Dixie in Gain Of Negro Voters

34e(2) The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Georgia's increase in the number of Negro voters since 1940 leads the South, according to statistics compiled for the Southern Regional Council here by Prof. Luther P. Jackson, of Virginia State College.

7-14-48

The number of registered Negro voters in the State jumped from 20,000 in 1940 to 125,000 in 1947, according to the statistics. Negro voters in the South jumped from 211,000 in 1940 to 645,000 in 1947.

Although seven States retain the poll tax, the report declares, only in Mississippi, Virginia and Alabama does it "constitute a significant barrier either by the amount of money to be paid, by the time and method of payment, or by its accumulative features."

Judge, State Representative Named In Suit

The Lighthouse and Informer

34e(2)

Prominent Citizens Are Plaintiffs

Columbia, S.C.

SAVANNAH, Ga. -(SNS)—U. S. District Judge J. Frank Scarlett, acting on a petition filed by Dan Duke, Atlanta attorney, has ordered the Laurens County Board of Registrars to show cause why it should not restore 1,800 Negroes stricken from the voting lists. Judge Scarlett set a hearing for 11 a.m., June 26, at Brunswick.

The petition charged that Negroes were arbitrarily removed from the registration list in an illegal conspiracy that violated the U. S. Constitution.

Sat. 7-10.

Among those named in the action were Laurens Superior Judge Earl Camp, State Rep. Herschel Lovett and members of the Laurens Board of Registrars and Laurens Board of Commissioners.

6-6-48

The action was filed in behalf of C. B. Smith, D. B. Cummings, George C. Carswell, Georgia Carswell, A. L. Brewster, Thomas Coates, Mrs. Anna Clyde Duncan, and Mrs Sallie Barnett, all prominent Negro citizens of Dublin, Ga.

The plaintiffs also named E. S Baldwin, Ancil Chavous, M. W Watson, F. M. Beall, W. W. Brinson, H. R. Gilder, Herschel V. Lovett, R. Earl Camp, J. D. Bush, T. A. Kane and U. T. Joiner in the suit which asked punitive damages aggregating nearly a million dollars. Each of the petitioners asked $55,000 damages. They also asked $20,000 attorney fees.

LENGTHY BRIEF

The brief of the eight Negro citizens covers 22 pages of 18 inches length. Dan Duke filed the petition with Judge Scarlett. He is being assisted in the case by Atty A. T. Walden representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The document covers all events that transpired up to the purging of 1,800 of the 2,477 registered voters. The plaintiffs linked the purge to action a part of the 1946 scheme, instituted by hostile political forces to nullify the effectiveness of the Negro vote.

Listed in the action were four college graduates, three ministers and a school teacher who charged they were illegally removed from the voters' list. The plaintiffs said they, and other Negroes voted in past Democratic primaries.

The complaint urges that Lovett, political leader of Laurens County and power in state politics, and Judge Camp conspired with the registrars and county commissioners to deliberately disfranchise all but 500 Negroes in this year's Democratic primary.

CLAIM SHERIFF PAID

The reported purge of Negro voters was at a cost of $6,000 to Laurens County. Sheriff Carlus Gay, according to citizens of that county, was paid $3,800 for his services in delivering the notices to white and Negro voters. The law provides that he be paid $1 for every notice delivered. This was alleged to have been approved by the county attorney.

Immediately after Judge Scarlett signed the "show cause" order, Duke filed it in Dublin with Miss Jesse Baldwin, Deputy Clerk of the Federal District Court.

METHODS DISCUSSED

Dan Duke states in the petition: "In September, 1947, the registrars, at the request of Judge Camp, met and discussed means and methods of removing all the names except 500, of Negro persons who were certified by the previous Board of Registrars as qualified electors, and whose names appeared on said list as filed by said Board with the Clerk of the Superior Court," the petition alleged.

"Prior to this meeting, the Board Chairman, E. S. Baldwin, had consulted with Herschel V. Lovett," the petition continued. "Lovett had advised them that 'all of the n——rs except about 500 had to come off the qualified voters list, and if the Board of County Commissioners don't pay you for your work, I will see that you are paid.'

34e(2) 1948

Georgia

An Ally Joins Ranks Of 'Southern Revolt'

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

34e(2)

THE bright pennons of Southern hotspurs, as they sally forth to tilt against federal laws on civil rights, are a bit tarnished today. Those streamers bear appeals in behalf of the Constitution, of local self-government, of freedom itself. They declare that the South must be permitted to take care of its affairs in its own way. But the rest of the country may demand to know whether that way is not the way which was taken in Wrightsville, Georgia.

News from that spot tells of Ku Klux Klansmen, hooded and robed, burning a cross on the court house lawn. There was no question that this affair was linked with the Southern revolt against the President. In the words of the Klan's chief medicine man, its Grand Dragon SAMUEL GREEN, the connection was plainly stated. Thurs. 3-4-48

The President was defied. A threat was uttered that blood will flow in the streets "whenever a Negro takes his place at the side of white men." The Southern representatives who speak in legalisms, who in Virginia attempt formally to subvert established processes of election, thus acquire allies they cannot shake off. They may profess to be displeased by this turnout of kindred spirits, but there it is.

It is true that to a certain extent the Klan is outlawed, and by Georgia's own action. Its charter has been revoked. It persists only as a kind of informal cult of intolerance and terror. But this very fact makes the demonstration representative. For the dispatches say nothing of any citizen's lifting his voice in protest as the fascist terrorists marched. There was no police action as they took over the seat of county government, committed their accustomed sacrilege upon the crowning symbol of faith, spoke their words of lawlessness. You must, then, accept it as an approved manifestation of the "Southern revolt," of which the shouts in Congress and the more or less dignified plottings in Richmond and other Southern State capitals are also manifestations, different perhaps in kind but hardly in spirit.

It should, but probably won't, be easier now to point out the justification of a federal anti-lynching law, against which so loud an outcry presently is stirring. The great argument of the super-heated opponents is that the South will settle the problem if left alone. Yet, tacitly encouraged by public or official inaction, though doubly illegal because of the semi-outlawed nature of the Klan, the Wrightsville incident is a poor demonstration of proper intentions. The Courier-Journal

Both the Grand Dragon of this mumbo-jumbo by his threats, and the law officers of Wrightsville and Johnson County, by their silence, give the best testimony for needs of the law. The threat of bloodshed, law or no law, is in moral effect nothing but lynching. When it is timed on the eve of a local election, obviously to warn Negroes not to vote, it muffles the self-righteous thunder of politicians claiming to invoke high principle. Louisville, Ky.

Pre-Vote Klan Threats Substitute For Poll Purge of '46—Thompson

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Thurs. 3-25-48

Election eve intimidation by Ku Klux Klansmen is the 1848 pattern for purging Negro voters.

Lawrenceville and Conyers on the eve of local primaries. The demonstrations failed to develop.

Don West, a Georgia leader in the Wallace-for-President movement, termed such action "pointless." He suggested the Acting Governor send Patrolmen to communities holding elections in order to insure the voting rights of all citizens, white and black. Thurs.

The Chief Executive disagreed. He said local elections should be just as free from State interference or control as from intimidation by the Klan. 3-25-48

"If ever a citizen should be free it should be in a voting booth," Thompson said. "He should have neither Klansmen nor State Troopers looking over his shoulder.

"Besides," Thompson added, "I haven't heard of anyone being actually refused a ballot at the polls if qualified."

"It appears that during 1948 intimidation of voters by the Ku Klux Klan is being employed as a substitute for the purge campaign of 1946," Thompson remarked at his press conference. Thurs.

The Chief Executive referred to the Eugene Talmadge-James V. Carmichael-Ed Rivers gubernatorial campaign in which Talmadge supporters, in some counties, carried on wholesale purging of Negroes from voting lists. 3-25-48

Thompson called on still more cities and towns to pass regulations against hooded parades. And he praised city officials in Jackson and Conyers for refusing permission for demonstrations by the hooded order. Atlanta, Ga.

He also commended Lawrenceville officials for saying they would enact a similar ordinance.

Meanwhile, The Constitution State News Service reported from Albany that City Council there had passed an ordinance prohibiting the meeting, assembly or parading of persons wearing hoods or masks. Mayor Pro Tempore Richard Hobbs proposed the ordinance, while Mayor J. W. (Taxi) Smith indorsed the proposal which was carried without opposition.

Thompson Tuesday night sent Patrolmen to observe Klan demonstrations reportedly planned for Acting Gov. Thompson charged Wednesday. The Constitution

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63 Negroes Vote In Rockdale Race

Constitution State News Service.

CONYERS, March 24—Rockdale Countians, including 63 Negroes, cast a heavy vote here Wednesday in the Democratic primary to fill six County posts.

Since the Australian system of balloting was used, no results will be available until Thursday morning. The Constitution

Despite pre-election talk of probable Ku Klux Klan activities in connection with the voting, there was no disturbance of any kind and observers called the primary "the most orderly in Rockdale County for many years." A separate room was provided for Negro voters.

Posts to be filled included Sheriff, Commissioner, School Commissioner, Tax Commissioner, Clerk and Ordinary.

Atlanta, Ga.

Constitution State News Service.

LAWRENCEVILLE, March 24—Approximately 100 Negroes out of a registration of 181 in the Lawrenceville District had voted late Wednesday in the Gwinnett County primary when it was expected that the total vote, white and Negro, would be around 8,000 in the County. Thurs. 3-25-48

The voting today followed widespread reports during the week that there would be a Ku Klux Klan parade here Tuesday night, which failed to materialize, however, as several thousand people gathered to watch for appearance of the hooded band.

NO NEGROES VOTE AFTER KLAN THREAT

N.Y. Times
N.Y., N.Y.

Warning on Civil Rights Made on Eve of Georgia Primary —400 Eligible to Ballot

Thursday

34e(2)

WRIGHTSVILLE, Ga., March 3 (UP)—Negroes stayed away from the polls in today's Democratic primary after the Ku Klux Klan chose this rural mid-Georgia county for a public warning that racial equality programs would lead to blood-letting in the South.

3-4-48

Although more than 400 Negroes in the county are qualified voters, none was reported as having voted at the two Wrightsville booths and the eleven outlying precincts by this afternoon.

Johnson County, a stronghold of the late Eugene Talmadge, recently showed signs of revising its "white supremacy" traditions. Bowing to public pressure, election officials decided against forcing voters to sign a pledge that they would support segregation and the "white primary."

But the Georgia Klan, led by its Grand Dragon, Dr. Samuel Green, picked election eve to demonstrate against President Truman's civil rights program and burn a cross on the courthouse lawn.

Green asserted that "blood will flow" in the South if the Negro took a place at the white man's side.

The Klan would see to it that "the people of this country do not become a mongrel race," he asserted. Thu. 3-4-48

Green said that Prehident Truman faced certain defeat unless he retracted certain of his civil rights demands and added "if he wants to take the Negro as his equal, that's his business."

Negroes were as conspicuous by absence in Wrightsville during the Klan's demonstration as they were during the voting today.

In Atlanta, Gov. M. E. Thompson, commenting on the recent series of Klan meetings and demonstrations in Georgia, said "it does seem to me that if the Ku Klux Klan is so proud of its membership and the Klansmen are so proud of their order, they would not go around hiding their faces under hoods and masks."

Governor Thompson said he had been asked to halt the Klan parades but had no authority to do so as long as they were conducted in an orderly manner.

Talmadge Sees White Primary

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

LOVEJOY, March 28—(UP)—Herman Talmadge, head of the faction which controls Georgia's Democratic Party, Sunday indicated he had not given up hope for restoring the State's white primary. Mon. 3-29-48

Talmadge said also the Southern civil-rights secession made re-alignment of national political forces possible.

James Peters, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, Saturday announced the Party rules barring Negro votes would be dropped at the July Convention in Macon.

"Mr. Peters is speaking for himself," Talmadge said. "The future of the white primary depends on the United States Supreme Court, but frankly, the people of Georgia do not have too much confidence in the Supreme Court."

The High Court, Talmadge said at his ante-bellum plantation home near here, had refused to follow "long-established precedents" in other Negro-vote cases.

"The people of Georgia want a white primary, and if they can't have an all-white primary, they want it as white as they can get it," Talmadge added.

Peters also announced Saturday the State Executive Committee would name National Convention delegates in May or June. Talmadge commented Sunday: "President Truman is a dead duck," and would "not get a single vote out of Georgia in the National Democratic Convention." His nomination would "'destroy the Democratic Party." If Mr. Truman were nominated, however, Talmadge said he thought a Southern walk from the Party might possibly be "the beginning of a new era in national politics."

The logical thing, he said, would be a division into conservative and liberal parties. Southern traditions and habits would rule out putting a Republican label on conservative Dixie statesmen. The Constitution

Talmadge refused a definite statement on Republican chances in the South in the November Presidential election in case Mr. Truman carried the Democratic banner. Atlanta, Ga.

"It would depend," he said, "on the GOP candidate's position on the civil-rights matter." Mon.

Michigan Sen. Arthur Vandenberg, for example, Talmadge said, could probably carry Georgia if he did not wave an all-out-for-civil-rights flag. 3-29-48

Contacted by telephone at Manchester by The Constitution, Peters refused to comment on Talmadge's statement.

GEORGIA DEMOCRATS DROP WHITE PRIMARY

The Times

MANCHESTER, Ga., March 27 (AP)—Georgia's Democratic party leaders today abandoned the concept of an all-white primary and called a convention July 2 to open the state's election to Negroes. The call was issued by James S. Peters, chairman of the Democratic executive committee, controlled by Herman Talmadge, long an advocate of "white supremacy." The convention will be held in Macon. New York, N.Y.

In 1946 the convention adopted a set of rules which would have barred Negroes from participating in the primary on the assumption that the Legislature would pass a "white primary" bill. The legislature did, in fact, but the law was vetoed by Gov. M. E. Thompson. Subsequently, Federal courts held such a law unconstitutional. Sun. 3-28-48

Georgia's vetoed law was similar to the one adopted in South Carolina which made the Democratic party a private club in which Negroes were barred.

Mr. Peters said the convention would wipe out its rules pertaining to Negro voting which are now in conflict with court rulings.

Talmadge To Reopen Negro Vote

The Constitution

34e(2) Ga.

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 3-28-48

By M. L. ST. JOHN

The Herman Talmadge-controlled State Democratic Convention will reconvene in Macon July 2 for the purpose of reopening the primary ballot to Georgia Negroes.

The Convention of November, 1946, adopted rules banning the Negroes from voting in anticipation of passage of the "White Primary Bill" by the Georgia Legislature. Acting Gov. Thompson vetoed the measure, and since that time Federal Courts have held such acts unconstitutional. Negroes voted in the 1946 primary, and the 1948 primary is the first State primary to be held since the Talmadge leadership sought to ban Negro voting.

At Manchester Saturday, State Democratic Chairman James Peters announced that he would issue a convention call soon "for the purpose of modifying rules and regulations of the Democratic Party in Georgia with reference to the White Primary, and such other business as may come before the Convention."

Asked if this meant the wiping away of the "white primary" rules, Peters replied: "Yes." He cited the decision of Federal Judge T. Waits Waring which outlawed South Carolina's plan of making the primary a "private club" affair. Georgia's plan was fashioned after the South Carolina plan. The Constitution

Peters threw the convention wide open, stating that "all Jefferson-Jackson Democrats who believe in 'States' rights' and Southern traditions are invited to participate in the proceedings." They will join the delegates of the 1946 convention. Atlanta, Ga.

Herman Talmadge, regarded as a gubernatorial candidate, will speak. Sun. 3-28-48

Asked if Act. Gov. Thompson would be invited, Peters said no special invitations would be sent, but that no one would be barred.

Peters And Talmadge In Statement

Atlanta Daily World - Atlanta Ga.

No Change Of Heart, However; Blame Thompson

Wed. 3-31-48

The Talmadge faction had no change of heart on the Negro vote question although the group will not insist on the "white primary" this summer. In a joint statement James Peters, Chairman of the Georgia Democratic Party and Herman Talmadge, gubernatorial aspirant had declared Tuesday that they had not abandoned their fight eventually to bar Negroes from voting.

Blaming the failure of Gov. Melvin E. Thompson to sign a White Primary Bill for their inability to resurrect the vote issue, Talamadge and Peters said "If Thompson had signed the White Primary Bill, we would have a white primary this summer: Since he vetoed the legislation and the Legislature doesn't meet again this year, we must comply with State law, so the Democratic Convention will necessarily have to change its rules so as to permit Negroes to vote."

CITES DECISION

Talmadge called attention to the fact that the United States Supreme Court had not yet decided whether the South Carolina plan of barring Negroes from voting in the primary is legal. The decision of U. S. Judge T. Waites Waring at Charleston outlawing the white primary was upheld by the United States Court of Appeal at Richmond. The State of South Carolina has appealed the decision to the High Court.

Showing no change of opinion in his attitude on the Negro vote question, Talmadge stated that the only reason Negroes would participate in the primary is "because we cannot prevent them from voting under the present law."

Gov. Thompson had questioned the diverse viewpoints coming from the Peters - Talmadge political camps.

All-White Primary Abandoned In Georgia

Sun. Advertiser 3-28-48

MANCHESTER, GA.— (AP) — Georgia's Democratic party leaders, Saturday, abandoned the concept of an all-white primary and called a convention July 2 to open the state's election to Negroes. 34e(2) Montgomery

The convention call was issued by James S. Peters, chairman of the Herman Talmadge controlled Democratic executive committee and long an advocate of "White Supremacy." It will be held in Macon. Advertiser 34e(2)

In 1946 the convention adopted a set of rules which would have barred Negroes from participating in the primary on the assumption that the legislature would pass a "White Primary" bill. Sun. 3-28-48

The legislature did, in fact but the law was vetoed by Gov. M. E. Thompson. Subsequently, federal courts held such a law unconstitutional. Montgomery, Ala.

Georgia's vetoed law was similar to the one adopted in South Carolina which made the Democratic party a private club in which Negroes were barred.

Peters said the convention would wipe out its rules pertaining to Negro voting which are now in conflict with court rulings.

Forget the White Primary!

34e(2) Ga.

Atlanta Constitution

Georgia's Supreme Court has ended the controversy over which faction of Georgia Democrats is in charge of the party machinery in this State.

Unanimously, the Court held that last year's convention was illegal and that James S. Peters, named Party Chairman at the 1946 convention is the legal claimant to the post. Atlanta, Ga.

Like the ruling of a year ago ending the controversy regarding the succession of the Lieutenant Governor, this decision is a valuable one in that it removes confusion. Both have been helpful in clarifying situations potentially dangerous to the fabric of government. Wed. 2-25-48

As before, all parties concerned have accepted the verdict without hesitation. There will be only one primary.

As soon as the present status of the soldiers' vote law is determined, Chairman James Peters will call a convention to determine delegates to the national convention and also to adopt plans for the forthcoming primary.

Meanwhile, before any action is taken, we think it proper and necessary to urge, in the interest of the State's good name, that the white primary be forgotten.

As all have obeyed the State Supreme Court, let all obey the Supreme Court of the United States.

There can be no white primary. Any attempts to create a subterfuge will be bowled over by the Court, bringing embarrassment to the supporters of the subterfuge. Whether we like it or not, qualified Negroes have a right to the ballot.

The Constitution has always stood for a fair qualifications law, properly administered. Many States have such laws and have administered them without interference by the courts. Wed. 2-25-48

In this connection, it is well to note that the Governor of Alabama and most of the legal minds of that State regard the Boswell Law, as written, illegal.

But the States do have authority to qualify the right to the ballot by legitimate means. Wed. 2-25-48

So, let us obey the courts, forget the white primary, and give the State a campaign pitched on a plane which will honor candidates and voters.

No 'White Primary' This Year---Talmadge

The Constitution Tues. 3-30-48

Atlanta, Ga.

By M. L. ST. JOHN

In a joint interview here Monday, State Democratic Chairman James Peters and Herman Talmadge declared there would be no "white primary" this Summer because Acting Gov. Thompson vetoed the "white primary bill," but they declared they had not abandoned their fight eventually to bar Negroes from voting.

"If Thompson had signed the White Primary Bill, we would have a white primary this Summer," Talmadge and Peters said. "Since he vetoed the bill and the Legislature doesn't meet again this year, we must comply with State law, so the Democratic Convention will necessarily have to change its rules so as to permit Negroes to vote." 3-30-48

Talmadge said that the United States Supreme Court has not yet decided whether the South Carolina plan of barring Negroes from voting in the primary is legal. The decision of Federal Judge T. Waits Waring at Charleston outlawing the plan was upheld by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Richmond. An appeal from the appellate court has been taken under advisement by the Supreme Court. The Constitution

Talmadge emphasized that the only reason Negroes will be voting in the Georgia primary this Summer is "because we cannot prevent them from voting under the present law." He said there had been no change of front in the Talmadge camp on the fight for a white primary. Atlanta, Ga.

Acting Gov. Thompson, in a press conference at the Capitol earlier in the day, took a "dig" at the division in the Talmadge camp as indicated in separate quotations from Talmadge and Peters over the weekend. Thompson said that he knew his organization "is united," and that his united organization supports the decisions of the courts. Tues

Asked if he planned to attend the State Democratic Convention called by Peters for July 2, and to be addressed by Talmadge, Thompson replied: "That meeting is some months off yet. I am busy with duties of the Governor's office, and I cannot say now whether I will be at the convention." 3-30-48

34e(2) 1948

Fail To Report To Polls Wednesday; Truman Hit

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

34e(2) Thurs. 3-4-48

By THE S. N. S.

Georgia leaders Wednesday night were scrutinizing occurrences in Wrightsville and Johnson County, where, apparently not a single Negro voted in the Wednesday primary, following an election eve Ku Klux Klan demonstration and a threat from the leader of the nefarious organization that "blood will flow in the streets" through Federal interference.

The Klan apparently accomplished the purpose of its demonstration, more thoroughly than even the Johnson County Democratic Committee had set out a few months ago with "white primary pledge" ballots.

According to Wrightsville sources Negroes did not venture to the polls because they felt it unsafe and unwise to do so "at this time."

NO TELEPHONES

Efforts to contact the Negro leadership in the small southeast Georgia county seat failed because, according to the telephone exchange, Negroes do not have telephones in Wrightsville.

According to the Associated Press there are 400 Negroes registered out of 5,600 registrants in Johnson County. Some 241 are registered in the Wrightsville district. Thurs.

Approximately 300 hooded and robed Klansmen paraded through Wrightsville Tuesday night on the eve of the heralded election. They burned a 15-foot cross on the lawn of the county courthouse and formed in a circle around the cross hearing a fiery talk by Dr. Samuel Green, of Atlanta, the Grand Dragon of the Klan. 3-4-48

Dr. Green, the only unhooded man in the group, declared that blood would flow in the streets of the South, if the Negro takes a place at the side of white men through force of Federal bayonets.

CRITICIZE TRUMAN

Criticizing President Truman's civil rights program, the Klan leader declared:

"We reaffirm our loyalty to the Constitution, our vow to uphold the laws but there are some things beyond the law.

"The Klan will not permit the people of this country to become a mongrel race. Daily World

"There are people in this country who would deny you your very lives in order to get the Negro vote. Atlanta, Ga.

'I call on you to write to your Representatives to protect your rights. Thurs. 3-4-48

"President Truman is facing certain defeat unless he retracts some of his statements.

"If he wants to take the Negro as his equal that's his business.

The Atlanta Klan leader told his followers and the group of assembled whites that this country was founded by white men and that "those who don't want it to be a white man's country should move to another country," Further, he told the demonstrators "we want to see the Negro treated fairly, but whenever the Negro takes a place at the side of white men through force of Federal bayonets, blood will flow in streets of the South.

WELL INTEGRATED

According to Wrightsville sources leading white business and civic leaders of the town are members of the Klan.

The Tuesday night demonstration was the second Klan appearance within a week in that section of Georgia. A cross had been burned the previous Wednesday some 20 miles away at Gordon, in Wilkinson county, where a Democratic primary also was held March 3.

In Atlanta, Governor Thompson criticized Ku Klux Klan parades in connection with political elections, but said he had no power to stop the demonstrations. The Klan was outlawed as a corporate unit in Georgia last year. Governor Thompson deplored the practice of Klansmen going around hiding their faces under hoods. 34e(2)

Members of the Citizens Defense Committee, wtih headquarters in Atlanta, were expected to meet at an early date and consider the Wrightsville and Johnson County situation. Proper action through state and federal authorities was anticipated. Thurs. 3-4-48

Georgia

CONVENTION TO "MODIFY" PRIMARY RULES JULY 2

Atlanta Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 3-28-48

Still apparently groping to find a way to circumvent the United States Supreme Court decision granting to Georgia Negroes to unqualified constitutional right to participate in all primaries without discrimination, James S. Peters, State Democratic Party Chairman, came forth Saturday with suggestion of doubt as to whether the primary will be thrown open to them in the approaching State primary in September. Sun. 3-28-48

"All delegates to the 1946 convention and such Jefferson-Jackson Democrats as believe in state's rights and Southern traditions are invited to attend and to participate in the proceedings of a convention which will be held in Macon on July 2," Mr. Peters' statement said.

Mr. Peters would not say that the polls would be thrown open to Negroes in the coming Democratic primary. But he did mention the action of the 1946 State Convention, held in Macon, October, 1946, which adopted a strict primary rule on the theory that the 1947 legislature would repeal the Neill primary laws and leave the state primary entirely under the control of the Democratic party organization.

The "Convention," said Chairman Peters, "has been called to modify the white primary law and to transact such other business as may come before it."

It was predicted that President Truman's civil rights proposals would come up for discussion at the convention.

Walden Reports On Wrightsville Threats

34e(2) Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Attorney A. T. Walden, President of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs and a member of the Legal Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, returned to Atlanta Thursday night, following a probe of threats and intimidations against Negro voters by the Ku Klux Klan at Wrightsville. Mr. Walden told a World representative several prominent white and Negro citizens of Johnson County were interviewed during the course of this investigation and that the State Association is exploring the possibilities of legal action. Fri. 3-5-48

The Johnson County probe terminated a three-day speaking schedule in Liberty, Chatham and surrounding counties for the Atlanta lawyer, who said that another trip to Wrightsville is planned in the near future. Fri. 3-5-48

Attorney Walden, accompanied by E. J. Stebbins, his personal Secretary in charge of the State office of the Association, and Charles Greenlea, State Organizer, addressed a mass-meeting Tuesday evening in Liberty County, where Negroes of three adjoining counties packed the Dorchester Cooperative Center for the address. Following his message, the Citizens Council of Liberty County, under whose sponsorship the meeting was staged, resolved itself into the Liberty County Citizens Democratic Club, and promptly affiliated with the State Association of Citizens Democratic clubs. There are nearly 2,400 registered Negro voters on the registration rolls of Liberty County, with an active registration campaign now in progress, reported the leaders. 34e(2) Thurs.

On Wednesday evening, Attorney Walden addressed another Mass-meeting of voters at Savannah, sponsored by the Chatham County Citizens Democratic Club, led by John W. McGlocton. In the next few weeks, Mr. Walden said, he plans to make a tour of most of the counties where Democratic clubs are functioning. The state Organizer will also make independent tours, in an effort to form new county units.

How Vote Rights Get Runaround in Georgia

34e(2) PM New York, N.Y.

Wed. 2-25-48

By Associated Press

ATLANTA

Negroes still are denied the vote in some Georgia counties despite decision of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court several times has ruled that Negroes cannot be deprived of the right to vote in primaries. In the one-party South, primaries usually serve as elections. The Democratic nominee seldom has real opposition in the general election.

Negroes now vote in State-wide Democratic primaries and in many county primaries in Georgia. But in other counties with heavy Negro registration, few if any are permitted to vote. Strict enforcement of voter qualification laws rule out hundreds. Wholesale striking of Negro voter lists has been alleged in some counties.

Federal Test Case

PM

The Federal government recently attempted to prove a case of wholesale disfranchisement of Negroes in Dodge County. It claimed registrars failed to supply county election officials with a list of 1300 registered Negroes. New York, N.Y.

A Federal grand jury in Savannah was asked to look into the matter. It scanned evidence submitted by the U. S. District Attorney and declined to indict. 2-25-48

County Powers

The county sheriff, tax commissioner and other officers enforce both State and county laws. County Democratic executive committees, elected every four years, have practically complete control of election machinery.

State law sets up voter qualifications, but it is left to the county registrar or tax collector to determine it an individual meets the test. New York, N.Y.

The official can decide whether a citizen is of "good character" and understands duties and obligations of citizenship that give him the right to vote. 2-25-48

Reading Tests

He also can require the prospective order to "correctly read in the English language any paragraph of the Constitution of the U. S. or of this State," and write the same.

If the applicant is unable to read, the official may decide he can vote if he is "able to understand and give a reasonable interpretation of any paragraph" of the Federal or State constitution. Wed 2-25-48

Lots of white persons might muff voter qualification tests under this provision of the State constitution.

Georgia advocates of white supremacy welcome the current furor over President Truman's civil rights program. The hotter the arguments over equal rights for Negroes, they say, the more votes they can expect at the next election.

Senate Nominee Denied Vote in Ga.

The Worker

MACON.—Mr. Larkin Marshall, Negro editor and candidate for U.S. Senate on the Georgia People's Party ticket in November, was refused the right to vote in the Bibb County Democratic primary this week. New York, N.Y.

Marshall, as he was about to cast his vote, was handed an affidavit to sign, stating allegiance to the Democratic Party. When he refused, he was refused a ballot. 5-30-48

His attorney, Tom Johnston, said that Marshall's civil rights had been violated and that the matter would be taken to court.

The Klan And Georgia Politics

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Once again, Negroes demonstrated rare courage, Monday in braving the Ku Klux Klan forces in Twiggs county by going to the polls in appreciable numbers, notwithstanding the fact that they did so at their own risk. The Jeffersonville burnings and demonstrations by the Klan mark the third time within a four week's span where Negroes were given to know that the Klan, rather than local government, is in control of State and county election machinery. And with the single exception of Jackson, Georgia, where the Mayor has ruled out any possibility of any such demonstrations, no local enforcement officials have made any public move to banish the Klan from mixing in governmental affairs. 34e(2) Wed 3-24-48

The situation has grown to such proportions that we fear serious consequences if they are not checked promptly. This much is certain, Negroes are going to call for a show down and that will be real soon. To prove this contention one needs only to have visited and talked with Negro leaders Monday in Twiggs county, where some of us had the privilege of going. There, although many of them had voted without incidence, these Negroes were resentful of the Klan's insult to the boiling point. More and more this feeling is going to develop until race riots and blood shed will be the results.

Governor Thompson, we believe, is doing the best he knows how to put down this shameful affront to orderly government. But he is limited without laws to support him. But real power lies in public sentiment in the local areas affected. That is the argument southern politicians use in opposing anti-lynching and other federal legislation. The only difficulty in it is that the South does not follow these arguments with concrete action. Daily World

We commend the action of the Twiggs County Negroes and appeal to the law enforcement officials in upholding law in elections. The situation facing Negroes and whites of Georgia is far more serious than moct people imagine. The Klan has created most of it. we believe, but whether it can be depended upon to check these developments is another question. In the months ahead there will be serious complications if they continue the practice which has been started. Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 3-24-48

State Officials Disfranchising Georgia Voters

The Worker

New York, N.Y.

Sun. 5-30-48

ATLANTA.—The most recent attack on the voters of Georgia by county officialdom has been exposed in the **Atlanta Journal.**

Over 75 percent of the Negro voters of Laurens County—1,823 out of 2,477 by latest count—have been flagrantly purged from the voters list. The Worker

Political control of the county centers in H. Herschel Lovett, a long-time Talmadgeite, who is now a candidate for state senator. The county Democratic committee and the three-man board of registrars dance to his tune. Sun. 5-30-48

The purge began in October 1947, and was stopped temporarily when the local judge ruled that the lists could not be gone over until April 1948. The purge was illegally resumed in January of this year, after a peculiar claim was made that the list of county voters had been lost. New York, N.Y.

A number of the Negroes who have been purged have been sent summons to appear before the county board of registrars. Such a summons is both unheard of and illegal, according to Dan Duke, Atlanta attorney, who has been advising the purged citizens on their rights under the 14th Amendment. About 30 Negro citizens answered the summons. All the rest—nearly 2,000—were not even notified that their names had been dropped from the lists.

★

A GROUP of white citizens of Dublin, the county seat, called on the board to have a special session to discuss the flagrant procedure. This request was in effect pushed aside, since only one of the three board members appeared, and, without a majority, no business can be transacted. Sun.

The fight to reinstate the voters, most of them with three years standing on the list, will be continued. 5-30-48

Laurens Registrars Quit Under Fire

Tues. 5-25-48

Daily World

Two Laurens County registrars, apparently seeing the handwriting on the walls in the vicious purge of nearly 2,000 Negroes from the voters' lists Monday handed in their resignations without comment.

The two resigning registrars, were Marvin W. Watson, who in a letter to Superior Court Judge R. Earl Camp, stated that he had suffered a nervous breakdown in April, and Ancil Chavous, who announced his intentions to file for the General Assembly. Atlanta, Ga.

U. T. Joiner, a former service station operator, has been appointed registrar. No one has yet been appointed to fill the other vacancy. The resignations thus leave the board with only one member who took part in the pernicious purge of over 75 per cent of the 2,477 registered Negro voters who qualified themselves to vote in the 1946 General election. Tues.

Some specifications are that the two new registrars may refuse to sign the purge lists prepared by the resigning registrars. Attorney Daniel Duke, who is conducting a sweeping investigation into the charges, told Georgia Negro leaders Friday that he will direct that Negroes of the county who have been notified of the purge to ignore them altogether, since he can show that the purges were conducted unfairly with intent to limit the Negro voting strength. 5-25-48

No 'White Primary' For Georgia in May

The Courier

34e(2) Pittsburgh, Pa.

ATLANTA, Ga.—There will be no insistence on the "white primary" in Georgia this summer.

Agreement to this surprise move on the part of Talmadge forces was announced last week in a joint statement by James Peters, chairman of the Georgia Democratic party, and Herman Talmadge, son of the late race-baiting "Sage of Sugar Creek" and gubernatorial aspirant. Sat. 4-10-48

RACE STAND REMAINS

Nevertheless, Talmadge showed no change of heart on the Negro vote question.

Talmadge and Peters blamed the failure of Acting Governor Thompson to sign the General Assembly-passed "white primary bill" for their inability to resurrect the Negro vote issue this summer. Their joint statement said:

"If Thompson had signed the white primary bill we would have a white primary this summer. Since he vetoed the legislation and the Legislature doesn't meet again this year, we must comply with the State law. So the Democratic Convention will necessarily have to change its rules so as to permit Negroes to vote." 4-10-48

Young Talmadge called attention to the fact that the United States Supreme Court had not yet decided whether the South Carolina plan of barring Negroes from voting in the primary is legal.

Lafayette, Jonesboro Negroes Denied Vote

34e(2)

The Informer

Houston, Texas Sat. 1-31-48

LAFAYETTE, La. — Scores of Negro registered voters were intimidated and driven from the polls on attempting to vote in the democratic gubernatorial primary here last Tuesday, according to the statements of some 50 residents of this city. Complaint of the denial of the voting privilege to Negroes here was made to Attorney A. P Tureaud of New Orleans, president of the state conference of NAACP branches, who referred it to the Department of Justice.

Last Tuesday's incidents happening in Precinct 17 of Ward 3, followed by one month a race-baiting speech made near this city by United States Congressman James Domengeaux, a local resident who was campaigning in behalf of Sam H. Jones who sought the democratic nomination as governor. 1-31-48

A partial list of Negro voters driven from the polls includes, August Mouton, Mrs. Gustavia Reynolds, Mrs. Eva M. Reynolds Lumus R. Ruth W. Jones, W. Foote Russell Mouton, Doremus Dorsey, William Reynolds, Louis Perry, Mrs. Clara Barabin, Blaine Barabin, Mrs. Martha Victor, Joseph Foote, Athony Prince, Maurice Mouton, James Phillip, Jerry M. Trotter. Mrs. Lorena D. Trotter, Louis Dickson, Clarence Willis.

Mrs. Mattie Campbell, Leland Jones, Dallas Randall, Mary Neal, Granstedt, Sam Sutton William Grenstedt, Mrs. Julia Jones, Mrs Louise Carter, Louis Andrews Mrs. Lilly Mae Thibodaux, Mrs. Mary Lou Foote, Mrs. Rebecca Andrews, Mrs. Berdel Bernice Andrews, Mrs. Emma Turner, Darrel Isaac, Laurence McElvane, Mrs. Henrietta Bland, Mrs. Margaret B. St Julian, Libbson Ventroy Mrs. Augustine Ventroy, Clarence Greer, and Mrs. Irma Lee Green.

According to information received by the New Orleans Informer-Sentinel, Negroes went to the polls early Tuesday in the Seventeenth precinct of the Third Ward The voting place was located in a private residence and a number of white men were gathered outside the house and on the porch to challenge Negroes who came to vote

It was learned that after a large number of Negroes had been ordered away from the voting place they called on Sheriff Gaston Her-ert for assistance. He was quoted as saying he could not come but would send someone to investigate. The Negro would-be voters waited in vain then telephoned Deputy Sheriff Fisher who failed to come to the scene, informants declared.

The Informer

The assistance of a Catholic priest was sought, witnesses say and when he contacted the deputy sheriff he was told to get the names of the persons being refused entrance to the voting booth.

Houston Texas

After waiting all day vainly seeking to vote, scores of Negroes in the Seventeenth precinct had gathered hoping to be admitted. Later that afternoon they were all driven a distance of two blocks from the polls by city police officers who yelled, "Get off the streets; keep walking; do we have to talk French to you?", witnesses declared. 1-31-48

Observers are of the opinion that Tuesday's treatment of Negro voters is the aftermath of Congressman Domengeaux's speech made at Henderson, La., near here about December 20, when he said that the Negro vote in the South was a threat to Democracy.

The remarks, made at a public mass meeting with Sam H. Jones on the speakers platform, also included the statement:

"The registration of Negroes is the most serious problem in Louisiana and in the Southland. Negroes have not reached the intelligence level to exercise the right to vote"

Congressman Domengeaux closed the speech last December by charging that Earl K. Long, another gubernationial candidate, was "helping to get those Negroes registered."

No Voting By Negroes In Lafayette La.

34e(2)

The Informer

[illegible]

LAFAYETTE, La. — According to reports from here, Negroes were not permitted to vote in Box 17, where the largest Negro vote would have been registered. The story goes that the judge of the box would not let Negroes vote and that police drove Negroes away who had accumulated around the box to vote. One rumor was that it was a Sam Jones box, and that most of the Negroes were voting for Earl Long. 1-3-48

Sat.

Old South Holds On As It Nears 'Death

~~The Defender~~ Defender

34e(2)

Sat 8-7-48

LAKE PROVIDENCE, La.—In this little town of 3,711 people of which approximately 2,731 are Negro citizens is one of the best current examples of the die-hard southern group of whites, who are using every means to circumvent President Truman's program to uphold the individual dignity of every American regardless of his color.

Chicago Ill

Sat 8-7-48

According to a resolution published in the local newspaper T. G. Biggs, W. T. Tullos, Capt. Jack Wyly, R. S. Guenard, L. E. Pippin, J. N. Hill J., C. L. Vining, and ironically enough, two Jewish members, M. L. Levy and Zell Stockner, constitute the Democratic Executive Committee.

Still Clinging

The exact wordage of the unanimously adopted resolution discloses that the unreconstructed white citizens of the south are clinging to what appears to be the last vestige of their traditionally vicious "states rights" program.

The Resolution

Take a look at just part of the resolution: "WHEREAS, the Democratic State Central Committee of the State of Louisiana has ordered the Democratic primary to be held throughout the State of Louisiana on August 31, 1948 for the purpose of nominating United States Senators, Congressmen. Public Service Commissioners, etc. .. THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Democratic Executive Committee of the Parish of East Carroll that a white Democratic Primary to be held August 31, 1948 in Ward 2 and Ward 3 of East Carroll . ." Sat 8-7-48

Whereupon, the general plan is to disfranchise more than 2,700 people who Pres. Truman, the Supreme Court and the majority of U. S. say have a right to vote.

To Ask Court Act on Negroes' Registration

34e(2)

Daily Worker

NEW ORLEANS, Oct. 5. — The Progressive Party announced that it will take to the courts its fight for the right of Negro citizens of St. Bernard Parish to register so that they can vote in the presidential election.

Wed. 10-6-48

The method used to bar more than a dozen Negroes from registering in the parish recently, said the Progressive Party, is for the Registrar, Mrs. Camilla LeClerc, to stay away from her office during legally prescribed registration days and hours. A prominent Dixiecrat, Leander Perez, the district attorney, is a political leader in the parish.

New York, N.Y.

Progressive Party workers led delegations Sept. 30, and Oct. 1, of more than a dozen Negroes born in St. Bernard Parish, who wanted to register. Others on the delegations included members of the Louisiana Civil Rights Congress and the CIO Fur Trappers Union.

Lake Arthur Negro Voters Are Advised Not To Vote

The Informer

Houston, Texas

Sat. 1-24-48

34e(2)

(Informer Staff Correspondent)

LAKE ARTHUR, LA. — A definite attempt to discourage Negroes from voting in the Louisiana gubernatorial democratic primary on Jan. 20, in fact a direct threat obviously designed to frighten Negroes and keep them from participating in the election was brought to light here last Friday by the Louisiana State Association of NAACP Branches.

According to the organization's officials, Howard Higginbotham, a resident of this city, received a "warning" through the mails on Friday telling him that he and eight other Negro voters would "be out of business" if they voted in the primary The letter, postmarked, "Lake Arthur, La., January 15, 5 p. m., 1948", was signed with a crudely drawn skull and cross bones and the letters "KKK."

The letter stated:

"Warning· Leader, if you or any of 8 voters try a act on 20th it will mean that you will be out of business. If one vote of the 8 you shall be the one to pay:-Emma Collin, Roosevelt Collin, Rodney Collin, Albert Cheney, Booker T. Brown, you and your wife." (signed) KKK." 1-24-48

This town is located in Jefferson Davis parish of Louisiana where there are more than 200 Negroes registered as voters. The group mentioned in the threatening letter includes all of the Negro registered voters in Lake Arthur, the other registered Negro voters residing in Jennings and other towns of the parish.

Notified of the threat, Attorney A. P. Tureaud of New Orleans, president of the State NAACP Conference, immediately requested the United States Department of Justice to investigate and to prosecute any violation of civil rights. He sent copies of the letter to postal inspectors and the United States Attorney General and urged an immediate probe of the condition and the protection of Negroes desiring to exercise their franchise in the primary. 1-24-48

Late Saturday, Mr. Tureaud said he was awaiting a reply from government authorities.

34e(2) 1948

Mississippi

~~Delta State Presses~~

The Advertiser

Bar On Negro Voting

Montgomery, Ala.

JACKSON, MISS.—(AP)—The House of Representatives gave its final approval Wednesday to a proposed constitutional amendment which supporters say is designed to bar Negroes from voting.

Miss.

The proposal, which would bar all persons from voting who do not "sustain a good moral character," was approved after more than an hour of secret debate. It went to the Senate where it must pass on three readings before being submitted to the people in the form of an amendment to the State constitution. 4-1-48

Proponents of the constitutional amendment have been frank in saying it is intended to bar Negroes from voting.

Rep. Harvey T. Ross, of Coahoma County, last week told the House that 60 per cent of the population in his country is Negro and that "we can't stop them (from voting) under present law."

Mississippi Takes New Step To Stop Negro Voting

Daily World

34e(2)

Atlanta, Ga.

JACKSON, Miss—(ANP)—Mississippi was on its way to a new step in keeping Negrose away from the polls last week when the state senate moved to change one word, "or" to "and" in the state constitution. Wed. 3-24-48

Instead of requiring voters to be able to read "or" interpret the constitution the new proposal would have a vote read "and" interpret the constitution. The state body plans to make this new requirement an amendment to the state constitution.

"Morals" Bill Killed By Miss. Representatives

34e(2)

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

JACKSON, Miss.—(SNS)—A new device designed to further implement the "White Primary" in Mississippi was killed in the House of Representatives as the body rejected a bill requiring voters to "sustain a good moral character" as opponents protested "this measure is dangerous to whites as well as Negroes." Sat. 3-27-48

However, a measure patterned after Alabama's Boswell Amendment was adopted in the form of a resolution which requires voters to "understand" as well as read the State Constitution.

In killing the morals' bill, Rep. Grant Pannell protested "It could be turned against our children in the future.

The vote amendment similar to voter requirement in Alabama and South Carolina will appear on the November ballot as a constitutional amendment subject to referendum.

Eastland Wants Voters To Have Good Character

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

34e(2)

He Will Ask Mississippi Electors To Ratify Amendment

JACKSON, MISS.—(AP)—Sen. James O. Eastland (D), Mississippi, said Sunday he proposed to stump the state in the interest of a constitutional amendment that would require voters to sustain a good moral character.

When the amendment was being discussed on the floor of the Mississippi legislature several months ago it was described by some lawmakers as intended to make voting by Negroes more difficult.

Mississippi voters will ratify or reject the proposed amendment in the Nov. 2 general election.

Under its provisions local election officials would decide whether a prospective voter meets moral qualifications to cast his ballot.

Legislative proponents asserted that a large percentage of Mississippi Negroes live together without being married and consequently would be barred from the polls.

A leader in the States' Rights movement, Eastland also said Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower would be "an excellent prospect" for Democratic presidential nomination, but expressed doubts as to his "availability."

He added that Eisenhower and other high officials of the armed forces are against anti-segregation plans for the forces.

Eastland suggested that the South "on the level of the Southern Governors' Conference" create a long-term organization to counteract development of an anti-Southern point of view in other sections.

He said the South should:

1. Show an independent hand in politician maneuvering.
2. Work with individual sections in the East, North and West to oppose activities of Communistic and minority groups.
3. Sponsor an information set-up to "lay our case before the people of the North."

On the international situation, Eastland said, regarding the blocking off of supplies to Berlin by the Russians, "our country must fulfill its obligations and use force if necessary."

"This will prevent war and give the world a breathing space in which to find a peaceful solution," he asserted.

Miss. Solons Fear Constitution Teaching Bill Would Aid Negroes

World Memphis Tenn

Fri. 1-30-48

JACKSON, Miss.—(ANP)—The real reason why Negroes are denied the vote franchise came to light here Saturday when a bill requiring that the state constitution be taught in public schools reached the state legislature. It is not that Negroes are not good citizens nor that they know little or nothing of how the federal, state and local governments are operated. It's all because proponents of "white supremacy" want to keep them from preparing themselves for voting.

Memphis Tenn. 34e(2)

The measure would insert in the curriculum of Mississippi high schools the teaching of the state constitution. However, Sen. John Culkin of Vicksburg objected vigorously to its passage because "if a Negro presented a circuit clerk with a diploma showing he had been taught the state constitution, the clerk might find it difficult not to register him.

FARMER VOTE BAR

The state constitution requires, among other things, that a voter be able to read or interpret it to qualify to vote. This provision has been used in the past to prevent Negroes from registering to vote in Democratic party primaries.

The legislature is also up in arms over two other measures, one which would amend present primary laws requiring voters to support the nominee of the party in whose primary they participate and the other authorizing a department of law at Alcorn A. and M. College. Mississippi has no professional schools for Negroes, except that of teacher training at Alcorn Word

The bill to amend primary laws as introduced three days after Gov. Fielding L. Wright warned Democratic leaders that state party members would no longer tolerate "their sponorship of anti southern legislation." It provides, in the election of a President and a vice-president, that "votes may be cast entirely without regard to party lines and without any penalty for doing so."

Washington

Backward Step

34e(2) Miss.

The plea for moderation in pressing for Federal legislation affecting civil rights would come with better grace from the Southern States if they themselves were making a more vigorous effort to conform to basic American principles. While leaders of the Democratic Party were sweating over their civil-rights plank at Philadelphia, word came from Mississippi that Senator Eastland, who has virtually no opposition in his campaign for reelection, will stump the State for an oppressive change in the Mississippi constitution. This proposed modification would permit election authorities to require that applicants for registration offer evidence that they had "sustained" a "good moral character." Fri 7/16 48

Patently this is a scheme to disfranchise Negroes, or, rather, to prevent them from taking advantage of the right they won through a Supreme Court decision of participating in the Democratic primaries. Officials having the power to exclude from the polls voters supposed to lack "good moral character" could exercise dictatorial control over the choice of public officials. Government by the people would be changed to government by sufferance of those in power. The scheme is so obnoxious to the ideals of American democracy that it will strengthen the hands of those who are trying to impose upon the South a code of civil rights that it is not willing to accept. How long will it take for politicians of the deep South to understand that their own flagrant departures from the American concept of human rights is the strongest argument of the extremists who wish to make Washington responsible for enforcement of all civil rights?

Out-Boswelling Boswell

Birmingham News

Mississippi voters in November will cast ballots on a proposed constitutional amendment that goes farther even than Alabama's Boswell Amendment in giving broad powers to boards of registrars. The amendment would permit Mississippi registrars to refuse the franchise to applicants they do not regard as "morally qualified" to vote.

Birmingham, Ala.

In one respect, of course, the Mississippi proposal is not unique. In no state are convicts permitted to vote. Persons convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude or of crimes punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary are not qualified in Alabama. Similar provisions are found in most states. They are wise provisions. Persons convicted of felonies are usually too low in morals or in intelligence to warrant the ballot.

Mar. 5-48

But Mississippi goes farther. It would empower boards of registrars to make broad conclusions on a person's morality.

Elaborate Precautions To Foil Group

34e(2)

Daily World

June 4-11-48

Amendments Of Bias Heavily Approved In State

Atlanta Ga

JACKSON, Miss.— (ANP)— The state of Mississippi, like its southren sisters, is taking elaborate precautions to foil attempts of Negroes to qualify or participate in the coming elections, by rigging up two more to its already three pronged voting laws. The two additions are to close up all loopholes which might be used, whether or not the poll tax law goes.

First of its anti-Negro vote laws is the poll tax, which the state is fearful will be abolished if President Truman and northern Republicans can get a federal law on the books mixing this barrier to voting. The poll tax has been the mainstay against Negroes who attempted to exercise the franchise. It is $2 a year and must be paid for at least the last two previous years.

READING, EXPLANATION

Backing this up, is a provision of the state constitution requiring no one shall be registered, for voting unless he is able to read any section of the state constitution or give a reasonable explanation of it when it is read to him.

Feeling that these two were not enough, since the agitation is beng carried on the abolish the poll tax and thus render the constitutional provision almost ineffective, a third amendment was proposed which provides that applicants must be able to "read and explain" any section of the constitution. Similar to that adopted by Alabama last year, it will go before the people at the November election.

34e(2)

Fourth in the anti-Negro voting movement is a proposal to amend the constitution to provide that a voter must be of "proven good moral character," with burden of proof resting upon the applicant. Advocates of this admendment say that the same provision is to be found in Connecticut's constitution, "the most Yankee state in the union." The election commission would have the power to refuse balloting to any person deemed wanting in moral character.

June 4-11-48

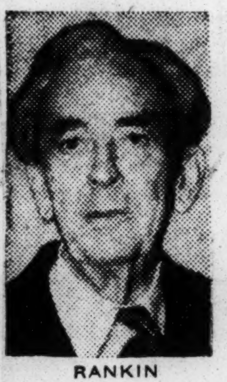
Rankin Is Victorious In Mississippi Race, Williams Also Leads

Wed 8-25-48

34e(2)

Colmer And Abernethy Also Ahead; Clayton, Jarvis Concede Defeat

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 25—(AP)— Rep. John E. Rankin, veteran of 28-years in Congress and a strident voice of white supremacy and bitter foe of communism, won renomination in Mississippi's Democratic primary.


RANKIN

Rep. John Bell Williams, one-armed Air Force veteran, also won renomination in the voting yesterday; and Reps. William M. Colmer and Thomas G. Abernethy held commanding leads over their opponents on the basis of incomplete returns.

Rankin captured a strong majority in his northeastern hill country's First Congressional District, and forced a quick admission of defeat by two younger opponents.

Wed 8-25-48

Victory in the Democratic primary is tantamount to election in single-party Mississippi.

The 66-year-old Rankin, dean of Mississippi's congressmen, won 13,923 ballots against 5,579 for Judge Raymond Jarvis and 4,335 for Claude F. Clayton, a war veteran, in unofficial returns from 202 boxes out of 224.

Jarvis and Clayton conceded Rankin's nomination a little more than three hours after polls shut down.

Rankin led in all 10-counties of the district.

34e(2)

Rankin, a fiery orator who pulls no punches, is a founder and senior Democratic member of the House un-American activities committee.

* * *

HE TOLD VOTERS IN A whirlwind campaign finale that his defeat "would be the best news that Joe Stalin ever heard."

Although Mississippi balloting was light, political interest was sharply focused on the Rankin race. He beat Clayton in a bid two years ago by the younger man.

In all four congressional district races slightly more than 100,000 votes were tabulated by midnight, with about 25 per cent more still to be reported.

Rep. Williams, one-armed Air Force veteran in the populous southwestern Seventh District, buried his opponent in an avalanche of votes.

William ticketed 16,750 ballots to 4,405 in 208 out of 320 precincts for State Sen. Decatur P. Butler. The 28-year-old Butler, a freshman candidate, conceded and extended his congratulations.

Butler, who started his public career as a Senate page during the administration of the late Theodore G. Bilbo, also announced he would run again next time.

Bilbo's Successor To Fight Anti-Lynch Bill

34e(2)

Journal & Guide

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)— Senator Stennis of Mississippi recently elected as a successor to Bilbo announced this week that Missisippi citizens can rest assured that he will present their viewpoints against such bills as the anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and fair employment practices bills coming up in Congress.

Norfolk Va

2-7-48

He also announced that he is against "anti-segregation proposals as well as any other bills or movements that seek to impair or destroy our southern way of life."

Two other Misisssippians, Eastland and Rep. Rankin, also plan to testify against anti-lynching bills this week

New Mexico Also Has Its Racial Voting Case

34e(2)

The Columbia Record

Mon. 8-16-48

Columbia, S.C.

The other day a special three-judge federal court in Santa Fe handed down an opinion holding that a New Mexican constitutional provision denying the right to vote to Indians not taxed was contrary to the United States constitution and therefore null and void.

The decision, in effect, gives the voting privilege in New Mexico to Indians.

The court ruled that New Mexico's constitutional section providing that "Indians not taxed" may not vote contravenes the Fifteenth amendment to the United States constitution which guarantees that no citizen may be denied the ballot on account of race or color.

The action grew out of the refusal of a clerk of Valencia county to register Miguel H. Trujillo, an Isleta Indian, living at the Laguna Pueblo, to vote in the New Mexico primary election on June 8.

And the action closely parallels the Elmore case in South Carolina. More attention, of course, has been paid to the denial of the ballot to the Negroes in the primaries of some of the Southern states, but Arizona in denying the ballot to Indians was doing no more nor less than South Carolina was doing, although its methods may have been different.

The Arizona decision was inevitable like the Waring-Parker decisions in the South Carolina case. No state can prohibit either Negroes or Indians voting on account of race or color. It cannot prevent them voting in the primary since the courts now consider the primary a part of the electoral process.

Arizona might, of course, have eliminated the racial angle and provided that payment of taxes be made a qualification for voting. But it limited this tax paying qualification to the members of one race, the Indians.

South Carolina may yet limit participation in the Democratic primary to Democrats, but it cannot limit participation to white Democrats.

34e(2) 1948 North Carolina

Registrar Quits Job Rather Than Qualify Negroes

Journal & Guide Norfolk Va.

Sat. 5-22-48

34e(2)

Staff Correspondence

FAIRMONT, N. C.—The appearance of more than 100 Negroes prompted the resignation of a Mr. Van Beach, registrar, here Saturday. Two Negroes had been successfully registered before the resignation. After the resignation "it was impossible to register them," Eugene D. Bond, chairman of the Robeson County Board of elections. said.

Bond said that Van Beach resigned because his job was "not satisfactory."

On the other hand, Robert H. Beatty, chairman and organizer of the Cumberland County Voters League, said Beach resigned rather than register the Negroes. He said that Mrs. Rosa McArthur and C. L. Jones qualified in the first precinct after which Beach resigned.

Beatty reported that Mrs. McArthur qualified after she had read and explained sections 2, 7 and 20 of Article 1 of the United States Constitution and explained habeas corpus. Her test extended from 10 a. m. until noon, when the registrar took two hours for lunch, Beatty said, and she was not notified that she had qualified until 2:30 in the afternoon. 5-22-48

34e(2) 1948 The South

34e(2)

John Temple Graves

The Record.

Voting Decision Questioned

Columbia, S.C.

"A people's electoral methods are the express image of its electoral talent."—Thomas Carlyle.

Tues. —— 1-13-48

Through the years, electoral methods of the South have reflected a talent for keeping enormous Negro populations from voting in such numbers and lack of qualification as would bring disaster both to whites and blacks. As southern Negroes have advanced in education and responsibility, more and more of them are being permitted to vote. The process must continue and needs championing by right-minded southern leaders. But many perfectly right-minded ones are certain that the South is still in need of electoral talent to save it from outside pressures for imposing more Negro political power than is safe or equitable.

Is it equitable, some of these are asking, to deny southern whites the right to a political party of their own if others are free to organize political parties, too? Is it equitable to deny a group of people the right to organize politically on a basis of the issue they deem paramount over all others? Does the fact that the organizing results in victory at the polls make it any the less a right of individuals under our democracy?

In the South Carolina case, the federal circuit court has accepted the argument that the white primary is actually the election, since its nominees always win. But isn't this like denying the right of voting majorities to win? Isn't it like saying Republicans in rock-ribbed Maine should let Democrats vote in their primaries because those really determine Maine elections?

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If what the court has in mind is that exclusion must be on a basis of political beliefs rather than color of skin, these southerners are wondering if some such plan as has been undertaken in Mississippi will be acceptable, namely, requiring of those who seek to vote in Democratic primaries such political conviction as no Negro would be likely to have and as would be disproved by his very application?

The Record

General elections, of course, are not yet wide open to Negro voters even though, as stated above, more and more are being accepted. Some southern leaders hold that, as this situation grows, maintenance of the white primary would bring about a Negro primary, too, and a hateful division of white against black on general election day. That is a consideration calling for deep thought among Southerners in their present efforts to preserve the white primary.

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But the federal courts, as such, have before them only the legality, not the political wisdom, of the white primary. And it is hard to find illegality—or inequity—in letting Americans organize exclusively on the political question they consider most important. If the matter could be considered in a vaccum, free of all political or social sympathies, the legal controversy would be over the general election, not the primary, I believe. Excluding Negroes from the former is a very different matter legally from primary exclusion, one would suppose.

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Has not the circuit court looked in the wrong place, therefore, for southern political sin when it says white primaries determine elections and should be open to all? Should not the court direct its attention not to the exclusiveness of the primaries but to what lets them determine elections?

In Defense of the South

The Courier-Journal

Many unjust and uninformed critics have maligned the South for asserting its inalienable right to State sovereignty. This Union was made possible through mutual and unqualified recognition of States' rights, and that is all the South is contending for today.

Let us appeal to reason. The Negro should not have been given unrestricted universal suffrage. This privilege can only come through his own personal and concerted application to attain this qualification. In many localities in Southern States the Negro is in the majority and possesses a very small per cent of the taxable wealth. To give him a free hand to levy taxes and to fill the legislatures and Congress with unqualified Negro representation would be a gigantic tragedy, disastrous to the entire nation.

This great country was won and sustained through the spirit of rebellion against domination. Since when has the glory been stripped from the voice of the immortal who cried, "If this be treason, make the most of it"? Mon. 3-15-48

UNION FOREVER.

Jeffersonville, Ind. Louisville, Ky.

NEW MOVES IN THE SOUTH TO RESTRICT NEGRO VOTING

The Times

Supporters of the 'White Primary' Won't Give Up Despite High Court Ruling

New York, N.Y.

By GEORGE HATCHER

Sun. 4-25-48

Special to THE

ATLANTA, Ga., April 24—White-supremacy advocates in scattered Southern areas this week predicted adoption of new measures to restrict the participation of Negroes in Democratic party primaries.

All hope for any form of a "legal white primary" appeared to have been abandoned as the result of the United States Supreme Court's refusal to review a lower court decision outlawing electoral procedure that discriminated against Negroes. But it is expected that there will be new qualification laws for voters in some states, and the tightening of similar statutes in others.

From many quarters, including some which had supported the white primary in principle, came appeals for Southerners to accept the high court action as final and to attempt no further efforts to circumvent the law. 4-25-48

But party leaders in Columbia, the South Carolina capital, were represented as favoring a special session of the General Assembly to enact voters' qualifications and other primary election laws.

On Tuesday, the day following the high court decision, a few Negro electors turned out in Columbia to vote in a city primary. It was the first time they had participated in a meaningful South Carolina primary since carpetbag rule was overthrown in 1876.

In Mississippi the legislative session just ended provided for a constitutional referendum on a proposal which would make it mandatory for all voters to be "of good moral character."

In Louisiana the General Assembly convening this summer is expected to approve a requirement that all future registered voters must have a grammar school education. The Times

Educational and character requirements are already in force in some of the other Southern states. And the poll tax remains in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. New York, N.Y.

Georgia's gubernatorial campaign, with the principals in the 1946-47 "two-Governors' battle"—Gov. M. E. Thompson and Herman Talmadge opposing each other—may be strongly affected by the Supreme Court decision. Mr. Talmadge has been promising to restore the "white primary." His supporters in the last Legislature pushed through a white-primary measure, but Governor Thompson vetoed it. Sun. 4-25-48

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Disfranchisement Found To Be Gradually Fading Out

Number of Colored Voters In South Has Tripled In The Past 8 Years

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va.

Sat. 1-24-48

PETERSBURG, Va.— The number of Negro voters in the South has tripled since 1940, according to a report prepared by Dr. Luther P. Jackson, professor of history at Virginia State College, for the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga.

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For the South as a whole, the from 211,000 in 1940 to 645,000 in 1947, the latter figure representing 12 per cent of the Negro population of voting age.

Leading the southern states in this increase is Georgia, where Negro enrollment is estimated to have jumped from 20,000 to 125,000 between 1940 and 1947. But the study shows that it is the border state of Oklahoma which has the highest percentage of its eligible Negro population qualified as voters—29.6 per cent.

POLL TAX STATE

Although seven southern states retain the poll tax, the report declares, only in Mississippi. Virginia and Alabama does it "constitute a significant barrier, either by the amount of money to be paid, by the time and method of payment, or by its cumulative features."

On the basis of a state-by-state inquiry into voting practices, Dr. Jackson concludes that it is registration which is most commonly used as a means of discrimination against potential Negro voters. This is accomplished, he states, by registrars who make severe application of qualification requirements against Negroes only, by policies of evasion, and by deliberate insults or threats at registration places.

Dixie's Negro Voters Tripled In Last 8 Yrs.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn.—A recent report by the Southern Regional Council states that Negroes qualified to vote in the South have increased by 434,000 in number since 1940.

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It was also pointed out that white supremacy "was not threatened" by the increase in the number of Negro voters because the number of white qualified voters has increased at a faster rate.

A noteworthy fact of the survey is the realization that Negroes vote more in cities where they have a chance to work on the city program. Virginia, N. C., S. C., Ga., Fla., Tex., Ark., Tenn., and Okla. are named as those places where enthusiasm runs high. But Ala., Miss. and Louisiana received a low rating. In the former cities Negroes

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Is it equitable, some of these are asking, to deny southern whites the right to a political party of their own if others are free to organize political parties, too? Is it equitable to deny a group of people the right to organize politically on a basis of the issue they deem paramount over all others? Does the fact that the organizing results in victory at the polls make it any the less a right of individuals under our democracy?

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A noteworthy fact of the survey is the realization that Negroes vote more in cities where they have a chance to work on the city program. Virginia. N. C., S. C., Ga., Fla., Tex., Ark., Tenn., and Okla. are named as those places where enthusiasm runs high. But Ala., Miss. and Louisiana received a low rating. In the former cities Negroes have a chance to compete in elections to city councils, city commissions and school boards

"It is not always the barriers to voting which disqualify the colored people, but sometimes the absence of a voting consciousness among them," the report continued.

The report also pointed out, contrary to the belief of many, that "it would be difficult to point to more than a handful of Southern cities with a population of 25,000 or more in which there is vigorous opposition to Negroes becoming registered voters. In Memphis, Atlanta, Jacksonville or New Orleans they may qualify with as much ease as they may in any Northern City."

Georgia headed the state list for the increase with the number of voters rising from 20,000 to 125,000 during the past eight years. Savannah, Ga., was listed as the leading city. Oklahoma was listed as having the largest percentage of Negro qualified voters 29.6 per cent. Total figures for the south were listed as 211,000 in 1940, and 645,000 in 1947. The 1947 figure represents 12 per cent of the Negro population which is of voting age.

In Nashville, Tenn., last week at a session of the Race Relations Institute conference, Henry Lee Moon, director of public relations for the NAACP predicted that 4,000,000 Negroes will vote in the November elections. He said each candidate —President Truman, Governor Dewey and Henry Wallace—will probably receive a third of the total Negro votes cast.

G MEETING

34 B (2)

White Supremacy Democrats from all over the South are preparing for the big meeting scheduled for Jackson, Mississippi, on May 10. There they will decide when and whether to break with the national party of Truman and civil rights.

New Republic

New York

Alabama Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile corporation lawyer, has organized Alabama's leading reactionaries into a "State Democratic Campaign Committee." This is publicly blackmailing candidates for delegate to the Democratic National Convention into advance pledges to walk out at Philadelphia if "any part" of President Truman's civil-rights program is adopted in the platform.

Mon. 5-3-48

McCorvey warned he would give "wide publicity" before the May 4 primary to the list of those who do not agree to bolt on his terms. Twenty-seven candidates for the 34 delegate positions quickly bowed to his will. Governor "Big Jim" Folsom, who is against any walkout, has set out to "free" McCorvey's captive delegates.

Tennessee's Boss Crump has sworn that "we will never vote for Harry Truman down this way," and he will undoubtedly be able to hold a part of Tennessee's voters.

34 B (2)

The Talmadge forces in Georgia are preparing an even deeper last ditch from which to carry on the fight against Truman. Secretary of State Ben Fortson has taken advantage of the Republican National Committee's action—in recognizing a rump "lily-white" slate of delegates for the Republican convention instead of the "Regular" organization of past years—to refuse to provide the machinery for a primary.

New Republic

New York N.Y.

In 1944, although the Regulars had national sanction, Georgia state officials placed another mixed slate on the ballot. At that time, the Regulars charge, Talmadge's motive was to set up an electoral alternative to Roosevelt and the Democrats in case he wanted it in the general election. Should the '48 convention come out four-square for civil-liberties laws, Georgia White Supremacists would still have a back door through which to revolt, by joining the lily-white Republicans on the general election ballot.

Mon. 5-3-48

Negro Says Race's Vote Still No Threat In South

34 B (2)

The Courier - Journal

Atlanta, July 17 (AP)—A Negro professor said today that there is no threat to "white supremacy" in the South yet from the ballot-armed members of his race.

The threat, said Dr. Luther P. Jackson of Virginia State College, simply does not exist though the number of qualified Negro voters increased from 211,000 in 1940 to 645,000 in 1947.

Dr. Jackson, a professor of history, observed in a report for the Southern Regional Council:

"In spite of the gains made by Negroes as voters during the decade of the 1940's, it is correct to say that the whites have likewise been advancing and in most states at a faster rate. . . . In Florida, the ratio is about 14 to 1; in Virginia, 20 to 1, and in Louisiana, 100 to 1."

Sun. 7-18

Barriers Are Reduced.

While the barriers to registration of Negroes as voters still are considerable. said Dr. Jackson. ment of a slightly higher tax, but they are being reduced slowly from their former heights.

He observed that of the 11 Southern States which once required payment of a poll tax, four have abolished it. These are Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, and North Carolina.

7-18-48

South Carolina and Arkansas retain the poll tax, but it is only one dollar and nonaccumulative. Texas and Tennessee require payagain it is nonaccumulative.

18 "Only Mississippi, Virginia, and Alabama remain, then," he wrote, "where this celebrated instrument constitutes a significant barrier. . . ."

34e(2) 1948

South Carolina

High Court Asked to Keep S.C. Primary Lily-White

The Afro American

WASHINGTON

Fighting to the last ditch to keep colored citizens from voting in primary elections, Democratic party officials of Richmond County, S.C., have asked the Supreme Courte toshrd lcmfwy vbgkq shrdl Court to overrule a lower court decision giving all groups the right to vote in Democratic primaries.

Baltimore, Md.

The U.S. Circuit Court in Richmond ruled that election machinery could not be upheld if its purpose was to deny colored citizens, on account of race or color, an effective voice in the government of their country, their State or the community in which they lived.

Notice of Authority

Contending that the Democratic party in South Carolina is a voluntary political association which can exercise unrestricted choice of membership, the party officials say the Circuit Court had no authority to act in the case.

After the Supreme Court ruled in 1944 that Texas could not bar colored people from the Democratic primaries, South Carolina took its primary laws from the statute books and turned the Democratic party into a private affair, not created by law.

"There was no State action involved and the primary was not required by law and was not an election," the appeal papers state. It adds that primary elections are conducted solely under party rules.

Fighting the Democrats private club plan, the colored citizens took the case to court last July and Judge J. W. Waring ruled in Charleston that they could not be excluded despite the club system. He opined that the S.C. Democratic party is no different now than it was before 1944.

His opinion was upheld by Judge John J. Parker of Richmond later.

Whether the Supreme Court will review the case will be announced later. A refusal is tantamount to an upholding the decision.

Court To Hear Negro's Bid To Vote In Primary

CHARLESTON, S. C., July 16— — A Negro's request for the [illegible] vote in South Carolina's Democratic primary was to be heard in Federal District Court today.

The petition was filed by David Brown, of Beaufort County. It is opposed by 88 state and county officials of the Democratic Party.

Brown has asked for a permanent injunction against state party rules that limit Negro enrollment membership, and a pledge endorsing racial segregation, are required for primary voting rights.

The petition will be heard by Judge J. Waties Waring. Judge Waring ruled a year ago that qualified Negro electors be allowed to vote in the party's primary elections.

Since then, the party has accorded membership only to those Negroes who hold general election registration certificates. Brown contends that Waring's order includes other Negroes as well.

B'ham News

Pending the hearing, a Federal Court order has reopened party enrollment books to Negroes. The books normally are closed June 22.

7-16-48

Negro leaders in the state claim several counties have not complied with this order and that others are still demanding that Negroes possess the general election certificates.

Negroes Charge Four Counties Violate Order

Columbia Record

Violations in four counties of a federal order opening Democratic enrolment books, to Negroes were charged today by John H. McCray, chairman of the Progressive Democrats.

McCray said that affidavits of violations in Marion, Sumter, Marlboro and Chesterfield counties had been obtained. Attorneys for the Negroes had taken the affidavits under advisement, he said.

It was understood, however, that plans were made to turn these affidavits over to Federal Judge J. Waties Waring of Charleston. He ruled in two separate decisions that the South Carolina Democratic party must open its primaries and enrolment books to Negroes.

McCray charged that the violations occurred since Judge Waring's second order July 19 in the David Brown suit against the party leaders.

He said that in those counties Negroes were required either to present registration certificates or submit to the regulations necessary to obtain these certificates. Some Negroes, he said, reported they had to show poll tax receipts to be able to read and interpret the constitution to enrol on the party books.

Sat 7-31-48

McCray charged that these requisites were in violation of the order of Waring specifying that there should be no political discrimination because of race, color or creed.

He said that white persons in those counties were able to enrol by merely signing their names to the books.

"This practice might be more widespread than the violations in these four counties would indicate," McCray said.

"We expect one or two instances of this kind, especially this year, but we intend to go to court on them." He requested Negroes having difficulty enroling to report to the Progressive Democrats.

While he said attorneys for the Negroes were studying the violations, McCray expressed a desire to "see the whole election tied up and thrown out where violations occur."

McCray insisted that the Progressive Democrats were operating within the framework of the Democratic party.

"We never had any intention of running an opposite party," he said.

NEGROES VOTE FREELY, MAYBANK'S FAR AHEAD

South Carolina's Senator Swings Into Majority

COLUMBIA, ~~S. C.~~ Aug. 10.—(UP)—Senator Burnett R. Maybank, never a loser in a South Carolina primary, swung into a majority lead over four opponents Tuesday night as returns rolled in from a Democratic senatorial primary in which negroes voted freely.

Memphis Tenn.

Returns from 427 of the state's 1565 precincts gave Maybank 41,236 to 18,236 for former Representative William J. Bryan Dorn, 11,743 for Neville Bennett, 4595 for Alan Johnstone and 2912 for Marcus Stone.

A tide of Maybank votes from Charleston, where he was former mayor and began his rise to the top of Palmetto State politics, enabled him to establish his majority as the count of precincts approached the one-third mark.

Negroes voted heavily in Charleston as in other larger cities, their unqualified voting rights assured for a primary for the first time since the Reconstruction.

South Carolina Disappoints Northern Critics

The Columbia Record

Mon 8-16-48

Columbia, S.C.

34e(2)

A great many South Carolinians, who had been misled by the politicians and their fellow travelers into thinking that the world would end when the Negroes voted in the Democratic primaries of South Carolina, must feel a little silly now.

For Negroes voted in substantial numbers in Tuesday's primary. More voted, maybe many more than would have been the case had the party leaders had the good sense to have accepted Negro Democrats as party members in the beginning as the federal courts had said they should be. Instead the party tried to find a way around the decisions and the Negroes had to make a second fight in the courts to get the rights the courts had declared they had. Anything denied takes on especial attractions for any person.

And everywhere the Negroes conducted themselves with decorum. There was not a single instance, so far reported, of any untoward incident. They went to the polls, got their ballots, made their choice, voted.

This test was made under what must have been the most trying of conditions. The Democratic primary in South Carolina is still a lawless primary. The general assembly which might have enacted laws to govern the primary—and they should have been enacted—was not summoned into special session or given the chance to do anything. That will be the job for the new legislature, taking up its work next year.

All along the Negro leaders in the fight to obtain the ballot have displayed commendable restraint. They did not suggest that Negroes attend the club meetings, but as a matter of fact seem to have advised them not to attend, expecting the party to do what the Elmore decisions required should be done. A few Negroes did attend a club meeting in Dillon county on their own hook and the white majority of the club members did a generous thing by electing them delegates to the county convention. They were not seated, of course, under instructions from the state executive committee, but that East Dillon club has been vindicated by every act and every decision since then.

There has been confusion worse confounded ever since the state convention. It could have been eliminated and avoided, as it should have, but it wasn't. Negro participation in the primary, under compulsion of the courts as it had to be, instead of decreasing racial prejudice appeals in the campaign intensified them.

But the white voters—and they deserve commendation also—proved themselve better men than the politicians. They accepted the verdict of the courts. Many of them, maybe the majority of them, would have been willing to have seen the party grant qualified Negroes the right to party membership without federal court compulsion. And this would have been better still. But it was not to be.

But because Tuesday's primary, in which Negroes voted in substantial numbers for the first time, passed off without incident there must be wailing and gnashing of teeth in the North where too often the dogooders succumb to the temptation to consider that the South is nothing but a region of race baiters.

As The Record said before—it will bear repeating—South Carolina did itself proud Tuesday.

Governor Thurmond Should Act On Negro's Charges

The Columbia Record

Wed 8-25-48

Columbia, S.C.

34e(2)

One incident of violence against a Negro participating in the first primary, and only one, has been reported.

A Negro Baptist minister, the Rev. Archie Ware, 66 years old, has now filed an affidavit with Tom Clark, attorney general of the United States, in which he charges that he was beaten and knifed as he left a Calhoun Falls voting place after casting his ballot in the first primary.

The affidavit gave details of the alleged attack by a group of white men carrying knives and other weapons. One, the affidavit declared, beat the Negro minister with a club and then others set upon him with knives.

The affidavit should have been filed also with Governor J. Strom Thurmond. But the Governor can take notice of the case without the affidavit. Believing in state rights, he defends the right of the states to control their own law enforcement and should be especially zealous to see to it that nothing like the Abbeville county incident shall occur or if it occurs that it shall not go unpunished. It was his prompt action in the Greenville lynching that has won him approbation even as the States Rights candidate for president.

He should act now with equal promptness to have the Calhoun Falls report investigated and if there be violation of law to bring the law violators to trial. State rights cannot exist without state responsibility.

Rev. Ware Sells Out

The Lighthouse

[illegible] 9-18-48

Columbia, S.C.

34e(2)

South Carolina is now minus the presence of the Rev. Archie Ware of Calhoun Falls who was viciously attacked after he voted in the Democratic primary of August 10.

Not only has the 66 year old minister taken himself from the state but he has subsequently sold his home and business in the town of Calhoun Falls, and doesn't plan to return to live in the state of his birth.

This is a sad indictment of certain white people in the state. It is always sad to observe that peace loving citizens cannot find enjoyment and happiness in their homes while following purely legal actions. Rev. Ware broke no law. He was simply a Negro who wanted to vote.

We trust that that there will not be another such incident anywhere in the state. We hope also that the state and federal government will apprehend the guilty parties and compel them to face the full fury of our system of law and order.

Rev. Ware Balks At Facing Co. Sheriff

The Lighthouse

Sun 9-12-48

Columbia, S.C.

34e(2)

Rev. Archie Ware, 66 year old Calhoun Falls minister whose brutal violation by a group of men on August 10 has aroused general interest, balked at attending a meeting of investigators, which included the sheriff of Abbeville county this week.

The Reverend Ware, who traveled more than 1,000 miles to be back in the state for the meeting between civic leaders and investigating officers, said he felt such a meeting with any person from Abbeville county present, might again place his life in jeopardy and before the meeting was scheduled to begin at 10 a. m. Friday departed from the state and had not heard from by Tuesday.

The minister, much improved following the brutals stabbings he suffered after voting in the first sate primray this year, became obviously jittery and unnerved when told that the Abbeville county sheriff woud be present at the conference.

Citing several instances in which Negroes from that section of the state reported to have been shot to death by whites because the former stood up for thier rights, the minister declared he didn't wish again to be placed in the position of facing death. No change was made in his thinking after lengthy reassurances and discussions to the contrary.

Meanwhile, invetigations by both the state constabulary and the U. S. Department of Justice were believed underway this week.

Large Turnout Seen Here For Second Primary

The Columbia Record

Mon 8-23-48

Columbia, S.C.

34e(2)

Thousands of Richland county voters will trek to the polls Tuesday to cast ballots to nominate four candidates to the House of Representatives, and a local contest will name the next magistrate for Waverly.

The vote is expected to fall far short of the 18,000 who voted in the first primary August 10.

Polls will open at 8 a. m. and close at 6 p. m. in 54 Richland precincts.

County Committee To Meet

John I. Rice will preside at the county Democratic executive committee meeting to be held at 11 a. m. Thursday at the Wade Hampton hotel when results of the second primary will be declared.

Duncan Urges Promptness

The assistant party secretary, Sidney D. Duncan, urged executive committeemen to call for the election boxes at the courthouse.

The boxes were lined up in the first floor corridor and many remained to be called for this afternoon.

The boxes contain the ballots and election paraphernalia.

Candidates Are Listed

The eight candidates for the four remaining places on the delegation are as follows: (Vote for four) Edmund G. Grant, Bee Harper, James H. Hayne, M. V. Horne, Alva M. Lumpkin, Jr., G. Raymond McElveen, Francis L. Rawl, John T. Sloan, Jr.

The two candidates for Waverly magistrate, which area serves Five Points, Waverly, Edgewood, Lakeview and Hampton, are Cal M. Lawson and L. P. Rivers, Sr.

Thre other House members, S. Rhea Haskell, Claud N. Sapp, Jr., and A. Ray Hinnant, were nominated on the first ballot.

Ward Nine Changed

There will be only one change in polling places from the first primary.

Ward 9, which was on Taylor street, has been moved just around the corner in front of the Barber Advertising company, 1529 Lyon street, in order to avoid the long lines of congestion which occurred at the first primary. Ward 9 has a large voting population, including many Negroes, who cast their first ballots in a Democratic primary two weeks ago.

Clergy Leads South Carolinians To Register For Voting In 1948

Journal & Guide

Norfolk, Va.

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Despite the possibility that Democratic party leaders in the state may yet determine upon an appeal of the historic federal court decision affirming the right of Negroes to vote in the party primaries in South Carolina, Negro leaders here have started a drive 150,000 qualified Negro voters in the state in 1948.

Columbia pastors and ministers lead the way to the polls in 1948 Monday and Tuesday when the entire personnel present at both ministerial unions adjourned their weekly meetings to the registration office in Richland county courthouse and there qualified to vote by obtaining registration certificates. Sat. 1-17-48

BAPTIST MINISTERS LEAD

Baptist ministers took the first step when James M. Hinton, state NAACP president, addressed them at their regular meeting Monday. The International Alliance, made up of all city pastors, took the same action at their meeting the next day.

Both the Pilgrim and North Carolina Mutual Insurance district officers here reported their agents had registered 100 percent. Office workers at the Lighthouse and Informer had also registered.

OTHER ESTABLISHMENTS

Other establishments reported that many of their employees had registered and many of Columbia's business and professionals left their posts to qualify to vote.

In South Carolina all voting certificates issued before 1948 began became null and void December 31, 1947. This means that citizens wishing to be in good standing and qualified to vote without questioning, must obtain new certificates during the year. [illegible]

Ward 3 Attempts 'Trick' On Woman

Arkansas Survey

Only reported instance of an irregularity [illegible] voting of Negroes came from Ward Three where four women saw their votes placed in separate envelopes of which their names had been written, and cast in the regular ballot box.

Tues. 4-25-44

The women were, Mrs. J. L. Reeder, Mrs. Mittie Pearson, Mrs. Alberta Marshall and Mrs. Margaret Harris all of whom appeared shortly after three o'clock in a party of friends who were accompanying each other to respective voting places.

Mrs. Reeder said the man in charge had ordered each to place their names on the envelopes and had made some remark "about going to jail."

James M. Hinton, state NAACP president, and attorney Harold R. Boulware, both said however that they had received assurance from city Democratic chairman W. Felix Wheeler that the votes would be counted, that the precinct worker had violated regulations and offered an apology for the action.

TO DECIDE SOUTH CAROLINA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY CASE

California Voice

Oakland California

COLUMBIA, S. C., Nov. 24—A request for a permanent injunction guaranteeing Negroes the right to vote in South Carolina Democratic primary elections, brought before the Federal District Court here by NAACP Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall, has been taken under advisement after hearings held this week. Fri. 12-10-48

In response to a petition presented by attorneys for the NAACP on behalf of David Brown and other qualified Negro voters, Judge J. Waties Waring granted a preliminary injunction on July 16 prohibiting racial discrimination at the polls.

NAACP lawyers had charged that officials of the South Carolina Democratic Party sought to keep Negroes from voting by barring them from membership in Democratic clubs, and by requiring that voters present Democratic Club registration certificates at the polls. Every member of the Democratic Party had been required to taken an oath to uphold racial segregation and oppose federal fair employment practices legislation.

The NAACP now seeks a permanent injunction to replace the preliminary injunction requiring the State Democratic Party to enroll Negroes with full rights to participate in party affairs. Fri. 12-10-48

Voters To Register In Separate Rooms

FLORENCE, S. C.—(ANP)—Although they registered in the same room this week Negro and white voters will register in separate rooms of the county court house here next week, Mrs. Edith B. Tobin, Florence country registrar announced. Sat. 5-30-48

She said this arrangement was made to avoid confusion and congestion. In last week's registration more than 20 per cent of the prospective 1,480 voters were Negroes. No incidents occurred during the three day registration.

Norfolk Va.

SC Party Heads Ask Jury Trial On Negro Voting

Columbia Record

Thurs. 8-12-48

Columbia S.C.

CHARLESTON, Aug. 12—(AP)—South Carolina Democratic party officials named in a federal court suit on Negro voting have asked for a jury trial of the case.

Under federal court procedure, a formal demand for a trial by jury was necessary, and lawyers for the party made the demand yesterday.

The case was brought on complaint of David Brown, who alleged that his name was purged from Beaufort county party enrollment books because he was a Negro.

That complaint resulted in a temporary order by Judge J. Waties Waring of Charleston admitting Negroes to full participation in the party. The temporary order is in effect pending final decision in the Brown case.

Negroes Commit Major Blunder In 'Bloc' Voting

The Columbia Record

That was a major blunder committed by the Negro leaders of South Carolina in Tuesday's Democratic primary, understandable perhaps but still a blunder ranking almost with the Democratic party's foolish attempt to obey the letter of the Elmore decisions and to violate their spirit.

What the Negro Democrats did, as John H. McCray, head of the Progressive Democratic party, explains, was to hold a meeting last week in Richland county, to which all enrolled Negroes were invited.

Columbia S.C.

Now there was nothing wrong with holding the meeting. There was no error made in utilizing it for the purpose of instructing new voters as to how to prepare their ballots. This was a laudable purpose and the instruction probably contributed to the orderly conduct of the election despite the influx of thousands of new Negro voters.

But the Negro leaders went beyond this. The meeting also considered the qualifications of the various candidates and "prepared recommendations and made them available to members." Thurs. 7-12-48

"What was done in Richland county was done throughout the state," McCray tries to defend the error. "It was the only course to avoid confusion and to provide these new voters the opportunity to stand together at the polls, as they have been forced by law, custom and tradition to stand together . . .

"The same practice has been done within all parties in all elections. We don't want to become victims of office seekers now, as we have been the helpless victims of officeholders in the past. Thurs. 7-12-48

"Our votes, while they may not mean much to anybody else, are too priceless to be sold, or to be handed to beggars."

By this single act or more accurately by these 46 acts if similiar meetings were held in every county the Negroes surrendered everything for which they fought in the Elmore and the Brown cases.

If the Negro Democrats can hold a caucus and select candidates, then in logic the white Democrats can hold a caucus or even conduct a primary and choose their candidates. They would be justified even in so doing. Thurs. 7-12-48

By this blunder the Negroes, who undertook so to segregate themselves instead of allowing themselves to be absorbed into the party as they had been arguing they should be—they didn't even achieve their aim of "bloc" voting, of course; in every county there were Negro voters who made up their own minds and in Charleston the Negroes apparently had not one, but two candidates for the United States Senate—have supplied the precedent and the excuse for white "bloc" voting which is all the advocates of the white primary have ever desired.

The white Democrats now, controlling the General Assembly, can abolish the primary, in which Negroes have been allowed to participate, and then provide instead for the holding of nominating conventions by say, the States Rights Democratic party, composed only of whites, and allow the Progressive Democratic party, which should have gone out of existence when Judge J. Waties Waring handed down his latest decision, to do the same thing.

And no Negro who participated in these meetings or in the "bloc" voting—a violation of the spirit of the Democratic party rules of South Carolina, which the Negroes may be forgiven for not knowing—can say them nay. For they have themselves supplied the precedent and the example.

When and if this is done South Carolina will be back just where it was. Except that the general election will be the real election in the state, in which two parties, one composed of whites and one composed of Negroes, vote. And this is exactly what every sensible person, white and Negro, in South Carolina has striven to avoid.

The Negroes' mistake, as has been said, was understandable. They wanted to make their influence as Negroes felt, but this is the reverse of the logic on which the Elmore and Brown cases was based. In arguing for the ballot they argued that there should be no racial discrimination, that Negroes and whites alike should be considered citizens and voters. And this they won. Then they throw it away. They do not want to allow each Negro to make his own choice for himself.

It is disheartening. Negro votes may be too priceless to be "sold or handed to beggars"—and that is a good thing—but they are not too priceless to be frittered away by foolishness. But it isn't necessarily an irretrievable mistake. The Negroes should themselves repudiate this idea and reject it. There should be no "bloc" tickets in the second primary.

Thurs. 7-12-48

And What Now Will Be The South Carolina Plan?

Columbia Record

It begins to appear that the last chance of an amicable settlement of the Negro voting issue is dead. Columbia, S.C.

The Southern rout at Philadelphia—these Southerners have never learned the lesson, as Napoleon taught it, that God is on the side of the heaviest artillery and insisted on taking their state rights fight to the convention floor where they got floored for their pains—has done nothing to calm the tempers of the South Carolina politicians who have been trying to find a way to escape the plain language of Judge J. Waties Waring's decision in the Elmore case.

The judge's refusal to change the date for the hearing on his rule to show cause, still set for today, also will not make those of the Democratic leaders, who were attending the national convention and had to return, any more amiable, despite the fact that it saved them the trouble of being there for the final debacle.

So the Democratic leaders of South Carolina, those of seven counties excepted, will appear in court today at Charleston to argue that they complied with Judge Waring's order when they made provision for Negro qualified electors to vote in the primary, even though they denied Negroes the right to participate in party affairs, refused them the right to enrol and the right to party membership and in addition attempted to limit the participation of qualified Negro electors by requiring them, as well as the whites, to take a thought-control oath.

Five of the six counties which elected to obey the court decisions instead of the party rules—Richland, the sixth and the defendant in the first action, was omitted from the new injunction—will probably file separate returns explaining that none of the allegations of the injunction petition apply to them since they permitted the enrolment of Negroes on the same basis as whites. As far as they are concerned no injunction is necessary. And Jasper isn't enrolling any voters.

The 39 counties which chose to abide by the rules, changed by the state chairman when the protest appeared to be spreading throughout the entire state, have no real hope of winning the argument. The Waring-Parker decisions in the Elmore case settled most of the issues, either directly or by clear implication. And except for the fact that their emotions were all mixed up in the dispute, the party leaders would never have made the mistake of thinking that the politicians' plan, in which the state convention delegates, weary from an all-day session, agreed, actually met the conditions of the decisions.

Judge Waring is practically certain to issue the requested injunction, nullifying those of the state party rules that conflict with his opinion and that of Judge Parker and requiring the Democratic party to allow Negroes to enrol on the same basis as whites and to admit them to party membership.

And what then? The Charleston News and Courier has urged the abandonment of the Democratic primary and this proposal was seriously considered for one year by the party leaders before they hit upon the plan finally adopted, the plan which has been described as a plan to invite a new law suit. This would involve nomination by a convention and the Negroes would have to be allowed to participate in the meetings to name the members of the nominating convention. Or if no nominations were made the choice would have to be made in the general election from all those who elected to make the race, creating a condition which in some cases might result in the election of a Republican since the Democratic vote would be divided instead of united. Fri. 7-16-48

It is the theory of the Waring-Parker decisions that the primary is an election. And this being so why doesn't the General Assembly meet to apply the general election requirements to the primary, to enact laws to control the primary and to punish fraud, vote purchasing and the like in it? If this be done what reason is there to fear that the Negroes, allowed to vote under the same conditions as whites, in such an event could or would exercise any more influence in the primary than they have exercised in the general election? They have always had the right to vote under the same condition as whites in the general election.

What A Tangled Web

Columbia Record.

There is talk of appealing Judge J. Waties Waring's preliminary injunction in the Beaufort voting case, talk in which Senator Olin Johnston now joins. Columbia S.C.

But any appeal at this stage would be silly. For by the time that it could be perfected the Democratic primary, to which the order applies, would have been held.

If there is to be any appeal it should be from the permanent injunction which may of course embody corrections or changes in the original order.

And the fundamentals of the Waring order will not be changed by any appeal. They will be affirmed for they were already res judicata, matters settled by the Elmore case.

There is complaint that Judge Waring, in order to make his original order effective went beyond the normal injunction function, in requiring the party officials to open the enrolment books, already closed; set limits on the voters' oath, which incidentally happen to be the very limits that the Democratic party of South Carolina heretofore has set for itself, and prescribed the qualifications for voting in the primary, which happen to be the only legal qualifications in South Carolina law for elections—in other words has decreed the rules of the Democratic party of South Carolina. And there is some validity in the complaint.

But whose fault is it? Essentially it is the fault of the General Assembly of South Carolina, which by its failure to enact laws to govern the primaries in South Carolina left the field open for law-making by judicial interpretation. Fri 7-30-48

The Record, believing that these things should be transacted in an atmosphere of calm and study, not hysteria, suggested to the 1948 legislature that new laws to govern the primaries, to fix the qualifications for voting, to prescribe the penalties for fraud and corrupt practices in the primary be passed at the regular session.

Recognizing the fact that the South Carolina Democratic party's case in the federal courts depended in part on the allegation that the Democratic party in South Carolina was a lawless party, involving no state action, it suggested that these new primary laws, drafted after careful study, be ratified on the last day of the session and delivered then to Governor J. Strom Thurmond who could hold them until they were needed.

The suggestion was born of The Record's recognition of the fact that the Democratic party was certain to lose its appeal and was in anticipation of this. When the supreme court of the United States acted, the Governor could have signed the acts and they would have become law.

This advice, adopted in part by the House, was ignored by the Senate. When the Waring-Parker decisions were affirmed South Carolina was, therefore, caught unprepared.

There are dangers in the lawless primary and they are multiplied and magnified by the admission to the party of numbers of new voters. So The Record then appealed for a special session to restore the primary laws, pointing out that there was more excuse for a special session to re-enact laws to govern the primaries than there ever was for the special session in 1944 to erase them.

And there was still time then to do everything. But this suggestion fell on deaf ears. Governor Thurmond did not issue the call which could have brought the legislators together to do what common sense and self interest suggested should be done.

Now it is almost too late, unless the primary be postponed, to correct this mistake. The election will be held, governed not by law as declared by the legislature of South Carolina, which declared nothing, but by the orders of an United States judge, who simply fills the vaccum left by the General Assembly. Columbia, S.C.

But something might have been salvaged and the confusion, to which the party and primary have been brought, avoided if the leaders of the Democratic party of South Carolina—in many instances they are also the leaders of the General Assembly—had had the wisdom to accept the Waring-Parker opinions as written and apply them to the state party organization. The Brown case grows directly out of this forlorn decision to try to evade the federal court decrees and to defy them. It was doomed from the beginning and the party's attorneys would have told the party leaders so, if they had been consulted, as they were not. The Record did tell them and before long practically every newspaper in the state joined in the demand for a new state convention to undo what the May convention had done in error. For there was still time to correct these mistakes and conduct the primary in an orderly, legal manner, still time to get rid of the confusion.

But the party leaders—not all of them, of course, for many of them could see what was happening—couldn't take newspaper advice. They were too busy playing ostrich and worrying about the national convention. The state convention was not reassembled. Nothing was done. If South Carolina was to learn anything it had to be the hard way—in a court room. 7-30-48

Even when the suit was brought the party could have cut the ground from beneath the petitioner's feet by reconvening the convention and amending the rules to bring them into conformity with the Elmore decisions. But, although this suit had been expected and should have been foreseen, it apparently had not been anticipated. And the party leaders could only appear at Charleston and, for all practical purposes, throw themselves on the mercy of the court.

The Brown petition did not specifically ask this—perhaps it should have—but Judge Waring could have avoided the error of confusing the injunction and mandamus by simply restraining the party leaders and all associated with them from conducting the primary until the party should conform its rules and practice to the federal court decisions, leaving it up to the party convention to make the necessary rule changes—not that this would have saved him from criticism; this is, after all, a political year.

The whole thing from beginning to end has been a tragi-comedy of errors. And to what result? Who has profited by it? Nobody, not even the politicians.

VOTING IN SOUTH CAROLINA

The right of colored citizens to full membership in the Democratic party in South Carolina was permanently established last week by Judge J. Waties Waring of the U.S. District Court at Charleston. Jul. 17th – 1948

Judge Waring, by granting, last July, a temporary injunction against the party and its officials, made it possible for more than 35,000 colored citizens to take part in the August primary and in the November general election.

His action last week made that injunction permanent. He had previously threatened jail terms for any persons who denied colored persons the right to vote and will be remembered for his now famous plea to South Carolina to "come back into the Union." Afro-American

The veteran judge, himself a native Charlestonian, debunked the theory that the party is a "private club" and branded illegal the rule requiring primary voters to pledge their support to the principle of racial segregation.

The lily-white primary, cornerstone of "white supremacy" in the South, was slapped down last April by the U.S. Supreme Court. Previous rulings had opened primaries in Texas and Florida, and other Dixie States have fallen in line.

Judge Waring's ruling, by opening party membership to all, goes a step further along the road to full citizenship. We have applauded his courage and fairness before. We are happy to do so again. Baltimore Md

THE NEED FOR CHANGING

By JOHN McCRAY

Lighthouse

Sat. 4-17-48

Sumter S.C.

SCHEMING WHITE FOLK

If what Negroes in Clarendon county are telling us is true some of the white people down there are behaving like mad men and are headed for trouble to themselves and the county.

In person, and by letters, Negroes report that the registration board located at Manning, this year has refused certificates even to Negro teachers, many of whom have long, competent records, hold degrees from many fine universities. The board, they say, has even flatly rejected heavy land owners and is refusing to allow men to register who cannot produce a poll tax receipt at least six months old.

These reports come not from a single person. They are general in the county; they come from teachers, ministers, large farmers and from the rank and file. And to go one step further, men who in all the years past have been accustomed to having the poll tax included on their property tax bill sent from the auditor's office, accustomed to paying it as a matter of form have suddenly discovered that the poll-tax was mysteriously missing this year. Practically all of them had overlooked it when they paid their property taxes. Anxious to pay it now, they are finding that the sheriff, the auditor nor anybody else will accept it. The excuse is "we can't locate the books."

Clarendon county has a population of 31,559 residents. Of this number, 22,576 are colored and 8,893 are white. It is largely a farming county and, typical of southern practices, its provision for colored are far inferior to those for whites. A suit to obtain bus transportation is already in court from that county.

The registration board, if as we are told is the fact, is being aided by the county officials. But it is violating the law. It has set up two registration lanes, the better with which to accomplish its end. Whites come in one behind the other while they let a single Negro in on his side, make him read here and read there; if he does this all right, they then require him to explain this sentence or define that word.

It is against the law to compel a citizen seeking registration papers to "explain" or "interpret" or "define" any part of the constitution or governmental operations. The "interpretation" provision was in the constitution which expired in 1898. Moreover, it is illegal to require a poll tax receipt of men seeking to register. The poll tax receipt is required only before voting in general election. In some municipal elections, which are in reality local general elections it is required for a city certificate.

But in no case is it necessary to have a poll tax receipt issued six months before in order to register or vote. The six months tax requirement also expired by 1898. One of the men of Clarendon board turned down because of the poll tax was a 74 year old farmer who owns 53 acres of thriving land. This man doesn't even have to pay the poll tax. Men between 21 and 59 pay it.

The plain truth about the Clarendon county situation is that the whites counted noses, found themselves hopelessly outnumbered and turned to schemes and unlawful tricks. Those involved ought not to be put in jail; they ought to be put under the jail. The Negro is seeking nothing more than the same privilege to qualify for citizenship others have. He wants no more than the chance to prove he is capable or is not. Whatever the verdict, arrived at in honesty, he will abide by it.

We think the Clarendon board and those behind it are going to learn this fact real soon. And the same goes for a few other registration boards we do not discuss just now.

Judge Upholds Board's Refusal On Registration

Journal & Guide

Norfolk, Va

UNION, S. C. — (ANP) — Judge E. H. Henderson of common pleas court has upheld the Union county registration board's refusal to register Claude Copeland and other members of his race by ruling that the petition for mandamus brought by Copeland was irregular.

Judge Henderson ruled that Copeland must present himself again in March before the peal again to common pleas court. He was represented by Atty. Harold R. Boulware of Columbia.

Sat. 3-13-48

At Columbia NAACP state leaders said they did not understand Judge Henderson's ruling, it appearing that Mr. Copeland was being instructed to do what he and many others had already done in February.

The registration board refused to register more than two Negroes in February. Among explanations it gave were, it hadn't had instructions to register Negroes and, it had been too busy with other matters.

However, in a long distance telephone conversation with John H. McCray, state chairman of the Progressive Democratic Party and James H. Hinton, state NAACP president, W. T. Vaughnm, board chairman, had told both the board was registering every Negro who applied.

Cross Burning Reported Near Negro Meeting

Columbia Record

Tues 8-10-48

Columbia, S.C.

AIKEN, Aug. 10—(AP)—A cross burning in Aiken county last night near a church where Negroes were getting a talk on voting in today's Democratic primary was reported today by a Negro leader.

State President J. M. Hinton of the state chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said the cross, about eight feet tall and made of two-by-fours, was burning about 1,000 yards from the church as he drove towards it for the meeting.

Hinton said he approached the church, the Storm Branch Baptist between Clearwater and Hamburg, about four miles from Augusta, from the Clearwater side.

Another cross, he said, was burning on the other side of the church, about the same distance away, on the Augusta side, "in case I had come in from that direction.

"In either case, I was sure to get plenty of light."

He said no white persons were in evidence at either cross site, and that the meeting proceeded without further incident.

Sheriff W. Price Fallaw of Aiken county said this morning he knew of no demonstrations having taken place in the county last night. He said he could not confirm Hinton's report.

A previous report from Columbia described a motorcade of robed and hooded persons which appeared near the capital city Saturday night, apparently coming from the direction of Aiken. Many of the cars in the procession bore Georgia license plates.

The leading car in the procession was decorated with a large cross mounted on the front.

Two other instances of cross-burnings have been reported recently near the center of the state. One was in the Booker-Washington Heights area near Columbia; another in an area near West Columbia.

NEGRO VOTER SAYS GANG CLUBBED HIM

The Times

South Carolina Minister Tells Justice Department Police Failed to Protect Him

Tues 8-24-48

COLUMBIA, S. C., Aug. 23 (UP)—A Negro minister filed an affidavit with the Justice Department today that he was clubbed, stabbed and left for dead while two policemen looked on after he voted in the Aug. 10 Democratic primary.

The Rev. Archie Ware filed the affidavit with United States Attorney General Tom C. Clark through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. James M. Hinton, state N. A. A. C. P. head, said the object, "of course, is to bring criminal prosecution."

Mr. Ware named the man he said was the leader of his attackers and the two policemen who, he charged, watched the incident without lifting a hand.

The incident occurred at Calhoun Falls in Abbeville County, Mr. Ware said. Chester Fleming, Abbeville Sheriff, said he had made a formal investigation of the charges but had not taken any action "because there weren't any eyewitnesses that I could find." He said Calhoun Falls police professed to know nothing of the affair.

Mr. Ware, 66, related in his affidavit that he voted at the Calhoun Falls gymnasium, exercising the right assured Negroes by a recent United States Supreme Court decision invalidating the South Carolina all-white primary.

When he left the polling booth, Mr. Ware said, he saw his chief attacker approach with "a squarish looking club about two feet long and two by two inches.

"He had it drawn back and was calling my name," Mr. Ware charged. "There were four or five younger men with him. They had drawn knives. I threw up my hands as ——— began to try to hit me on the head.

"I started begging. 'Mr. ——— please don't hit me.'

"He kept saying 'Damn you. I'm gonna bust your damned head open.' I knew that the two officers were there and I thought these officers would help me and I kept backing away; but they did not help so I made a quick turn and started to run."

Mr. Ware charged that the leader stunned him with several blows and that as he tried to ward off the club "the younger men standing there stabbed my left thigh to the bone before I could start running again.

"I heard one of them say 'I'm going to cut your throat.' I tried to protect myself but I could not duck all of them and I was getting weaker and weaker. One of the men cut me with a hook-nose pocket knife in my right side. They thought I was dead and walked away."

Tues 8-24-48

Mr. Ware said Dr. Aaron C. Ward, a Calhoun Falls physician, carried him to the hospital at Abbeville.

Calhoun Falls is about fifty miles south of Greenville County where Willie Earle, a Negro, was lynched in 1947. Twenty-eight white men were charged with lynching him. All were acquitted.

Negroes Cast First Large Primary Vote

Columbia Record

Tues 8-10-48

Columbia, S.C.

Negroes invaded the South Carolina Democratic primary on the same basis as whites for the first time today as the party chose its nominees to political offices.

The primary, usually tantamount to election in the Palmetto state, was expected to draw some 350,000 voters.

Voting was orderly and speedy. No incidents of any kind had been heard of by early afternoon.

Fair weather helped the vote, which appeared, according to some predictions, to be of record proportions.

In Columbia, voting was generally heavy with Negroes voting in large numbers in the wards where most of them are enroled.

The same was true at Charleston, which reported a "predominant Negro vote" in several city and suburban precincts. "Steady Negro vote" in several city and suburban precincts. "Steady but light" was the report on the early vote in rural sections of the county.

Charleston

Charleston had more than 7,000 Negroes enroled out of a total of 31,524.

Greenville's vote was heavier than in 1946 and a probable record turn-out was expected. That county had a total enrolment of 34,046 and a vote of 75 to 80 per cent of that figure was anticipated.

The heaviest Negro vote in greater Greenville was ten per cent of the total in one city precinct. At other places, the Negro vote was not believed to be more than one per cent of the total.

Spartanburg

At noon, Spartanburg reported 2,078 votes, of which 125 were cast by Negroes, in 15 city precincts.

There is an estimated 40,000 total enrolment for Spartanburg county.

Sumter reported heavy voting but few votes were cast by Negroes, of whom only 493 are enroled in that county despite a large Negro population. There had been more than 1,000 votes cast in the city by 11 a. m.

Tues 8-10-48

Many Negroes in Sumter were reported to have tried to vote on presentation of general election registration certificates but precinct managers stuck to instructions to allow voting only by those enroled. A number of unenroled white people also tried to vote with registration certificates but were turned away also, it was reported.

Top race was the five-man campaign for United States Senate with Senator Burnet R. Maybank of Charleston strongly defending his post.

Three congressional races, three circuit solicitorships, local contests and legislative campaigns all were featured in the Democratic balloting today.

Senate, House

South Carolinians were to name 124 members to the House of Representatives and 23 (or half) the members to the State Senate.

While Negroes have voted in the State Democratic primaries in years past—even in Spartanburg county two years ago—this year will mark

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the first that they expect to vote in any numbers under court protection.

Negroes won their first round in the battle for enfranchisement by a Richland county court case brought by George Elmore. Federal Judge J. Waties Waring of Charleston ruled that Elmore was entitled to vote in the primary here.

Tues 8-10-48

Convention's Action

The State Convention May 19 then adopted two sets of rules. One permitted whites to vote by enroling on the precinct books. Enrolment is necessary for participation in party affairs.

The other set of rules opened the primaries to Negroes who were "qualified electors" and could present their general election registration certificates.

Negroes, subsequently, balked at the rules, particularly to that phase which barred them from participation in party affairs. David Brown of Beaufort, backed by the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People, went to court and received an order from Judge Waring permitting Negroes to enrol on the club books.

Thus, Negroes today will file to the polls generally for the first time since 1876, when the native whites resumed control of the state government.

Tues 8-10-48

Negro Vote Estimate

John H. McCray, Negro newspaper editor and chairman of the Progressive Democrats, estimated that about 80 per cent of the 35,000 Negroes enroled would vote today.

W. P. Baskin, chairman of the Democratic party, said he expected about 350,000 Democrats to vote today. This would establish a record.

Maybank is opposed by Neville Bennett of Clio, Marcus A. Stone of Florence and Dillon, Alan Johnstone of Newberry and U. S. Rep. W. J. Bryan Dorn of Greenwood.

A majority is necessary for nomination. Thus, if no one candidate receives a majority of the votes cast, the two highest will compete in a run-off primary August 24.

Second District

John J. Riley of Sumter is running for re-election to Congress from the second district against State Rep. Hugo S. Sims, Jr., of Orangeburg. This district includes Aiken, Bamberg, Calhoun, Orangeburg, Lexington, Richland and Sumter counties.

The third district race revolves around four candidates, R. L. Gamble, former state labor commissioner; John C. Taylor, former congressman; Leon L. Rice and James B. Hare, son of former congressman Butler B. Hare of Saluda. The first three candidates are from Anderson.

The three solicitors' races include that of the first circuit where Solicitor Julian S. Wolfe, is defending his post against Andrew J. Hydrick, Sr., both of Orangeburg; of the 11th circuit with Jack D. Hall of Batesburg, challenging the incumbent, Solicitor Jeff D. Griffith of Saluda; and of the seventh circuit with John C. Mooneyham opposing Solicitor Samuel R. Watt, both of Spartanburg.

Six solicitors and three congressmen have no opposition.

And the Skies Did Not Fall!

The Courier

34E(2)

THE way the lily-white Democrats have been fighting against Negro participation in the South Carolina primaries one would have thought the skies would fall if a colored citizen ever put a ballot in a ballot box.

Last week, following the historic decision of Federal Judge J. Waties Waring, 35,000 colored voters went to the polls in the primary for the first time since Reconstruction Days and voted like other citizens.

Sat 8-21-48

From latest reports from the South Carolina sector it seems that despite this revolutionary step everything is going along just about as usual.

Pittsburgh Pa

Charleston, Columbia, Florence, Greenville and other cities are located in the same places they were before the primary.

The homicide rate has not increased and none of the leading white people have been dispossessed or exiled.

The press wire services have not reported a single instance of "a pure white lady" being assaulted by a "hulking, black brute."

In short, the South Carolina primary went off in the same way as a primary does in any other State of the Union.

So we say to the Kluxers and Dixiecrats of the Iodine State, in paraphrase of Kipling, "You never can tell 'til you've tried it, and then you are likely to be wrong."

Indeed, it is rather laughable that our white South Carolina friends should have imagined that anything more unusual and spectacular would happen than did, since there is no difference between a white South Carolina voter and a colored one, fundamentally speaking.

Sat 8-21-48

The hysteria which preceded this balloting indicates that many of the white leaders in South Carolina are losing their sense of humor or their nerve.

All Is Quiet As Many Negroes Cast Ballots

Columbia Record

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Voters Line Up To Mark Long Tickets; Weather Favorable

Tues 8-10-48

Columbia S.C.

Negroes voted in substantial numbers and for the first time today in a Richland county Democratic primary election.

Chief of Police L. J. Campbell said this afternoon, "It is very quiet. There haven't been any disturbances I know ot."

The same quietness prevailed in the county outside of Columbia, Sheriff T. Alex Heise reported.

"We have received no calls of any disturbance," Sheriff Heise said.

Because of the length of the tickets, most voters required at least five minutes to mark their ballots. As a result, in the larger wards, where only three booths were available, lines of voters formed waiting their turns to vote.

With 26,000 eligible to cast ballots, it appeared a high percentage would vote.

A check of the city wards revealed that all had "normal" to "very heavy" balloting at 2 p. m., with trend continuing "heavy" after that hour.

Tues 8-10-48

The vital U. S. Senate race appeared to overshadow the local contests for Richland, although interest has been high in the House, sheriff and coroner races.

Weather Is Favorable

Sunshine and warm weather aided attendance at the polls.

The polls are to close at 6 p. m., including those in rural areas which prior to this year usually closed at 4 p. m.

Counting of the ballots will begin immediately after the close of the polls, with results to be forwarded to the county party committee in the common pleas courtroom at the Richland courthouse.

Negroes Turn Out

Negroes were among the early voters, although it appeared most of them would vote in the afternoon.

One of the early ones among Negro citizens to present themselves at the polls was John H. McCray, Negro editor, who espoused the cause of Negro voting in the Democratic primary.

A number of the candidates had watchers on duty from the time the polls opened.

Issues At Stake

House members raised a series of issues during the hot summer months when the campaign wended its course from Eastover, to Edgewood's closing invitational meeting last week.

Richland prepared to nominate seven to the House from a list of 24 candidates.

Richland's main interest from a county standpoint were in House, coroner, and sheriff races.

In those races, contestants were:

House of Representatives

Joseph M. Agnew, E. J. Bennett, Edmund G. Grant, Andrew L. Hall, Bee Harper, S. Rhea Haskell, Dr. James A. Hayne, L. Erie High, A. Ray Hinnant, M. V. Horne, J. Patterson King, Alva M. Lumpkin, Jr., G. Raymond McElveen, Walter S. Monteith, John S. Nicholson, Francis L. Rawl, Taylor B. Rion, Jr., Claud N. Sapp, Jr., L. A. Searson, Jr., William C. Simpson, J. L. Sites, Rufus A. Sligh, John T. Sloan, Jr., Frank M. Turner.

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Coroner

Edward P. Cave, Jr., Seale Moore, William A. Plott, G. W. Tarrant.

Sheriff

Shep A. Griffith, T. Alex Heise.

Local magistrate's races also dotted the county, but principal contests were in the Columbia area between John C. DuPre and W. H. Thompson, Columbia township; and in Waverley, among L. P. Rivers, Sr., John B. Halloran, L. F. Lanford, Cal M. Lawson, A. O. Martin, George A. Schiffley and Robert C. Sharpe.

Richland's 54 precincts were larger in number than the 1946 elections, due to the re-division of Columbia from ten to 16 wards.

There was little doubt but what the 1948 total vote would run thousands of ballots ahead of 1946.

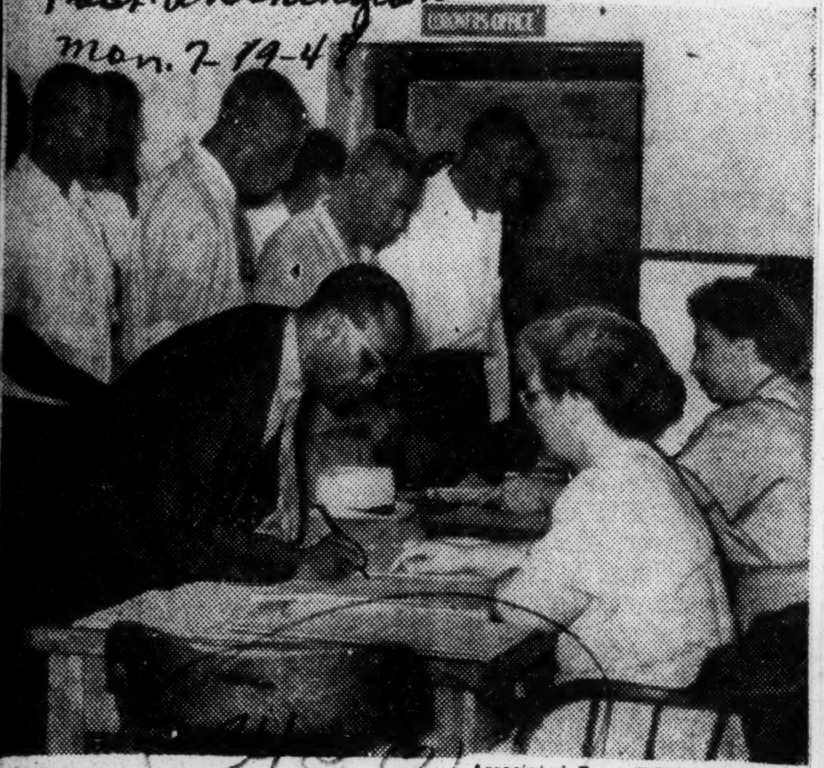
Negro voting was especially heavy in city ward 9, the Allen-Benedict region, where polls were crowded all day with hundreds of Negro citizens waiting to cast their ballots. At 1:30 p.m., there were 64 Negroes standing in line in front of the voting booths; and during the day the number varied, more or less. Some had brought their umbrellas to ward off the burning rays of the sun, others wore big hats. They stood patiently to vote for the first time in the Democratic primary.

George Elmore, Negro businessman of Columbia, whose federal suit was that aided in opening the primary to Negroes in South Carolina, was busily snapping pictures of the persons waiting in line at the polls.

Register After Court Ruling . . .

Post. Washington D.C.

Mon. 7-19-48



Associated Press WIREPHOTO

BY COURT ORDER—One Negro registers as a Democrat in Charleston, S. C., while several wait their turn after a Federal Court order forced officials to enroll them in the party. The decision was handed down by Federal Judge J. Waties Waring, of South Carolina

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S.C. Again Ordered to Re-Enter Union

Baltimore, M.D.

Sat 1-10-48 Afro American

RICHMOND—South Carolina white primaries were declared illegal by the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals here Tuesday in a decision which, if upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court may have a revolutionary effect on the political, economic and social mores of Southern States.

The appeals court decision upholds the momentous decision delievered by U.S. District Judge J. Waites Waring at Charleston, S.C., last July, when he warned that "it is time for South Carolina community wherein he lives."

Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and the State executive committee chairman, W. P. Baskin of South Carolina, declined to comment until after they have read the decision.

However, Irvine F. Belser, one of the party's attorneys, said he had "no doubt that we will appeal" the decision to the nation's highest court.

Agreeing fully with Judge Waring's finding that "racial discrimination cannot exist in the machinery that elects the officers and lawmakers of the United States,' 'the appeals court reiterated that:

"The political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence is, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed;

Sat 1-10-48

"That the right to a voice in the selection of officers of government on the part of all citizens is important;

"Not only as a means of insuring that governments shall have the strength of popular support, but also as a means of securing to the individual citizen proper consideration of his rights by those in power . . .

"The disfranchised can never speak with the same force as those who are able to vote."

The South Carolina case arose when George A. Elmore of Columbia sued officials of the State Democratic organization in Ward 9 of Columbia, and the issue was argued in Federal court there last June 3-4.

Judge Waring enjoined the State's election officials from denying qualified colored voters a voice in the primaries.

The appeal from Judge Waring's decision was based on the premise that it outlawed the white primary (private club) system maintained through special repeal laws by South Carolina to circumvent the Texas Primary decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1944.

Judge Waring's decision said in part:

"It is time for South Carolina to rejoin the Union. It is time to fall in step with the other States and to adopt the American way of conducting elections.

"It has been stated and I believe it is a fact, that South Carolina is the only State in the Union which now conducts a primary election solely for whites.

"Colored people are voting in Texas and even in Georgia . . . I cannot see where the skies will fall if South Carolina is put in the same class with these and other States."

Ruling specifically on the contention that Democratic clubs in the State are private organizations, Judge Waring said:

NAACP To Ask Elaboration Of Vote Order

Columbia Record

Federal District Judge J. Waties Waring will be asked at Charleston tomorrow to elaborate on his previous order opening this state's Democratic primaries to "qualified Negro electors." Columbia, S.C.

Attorney Thurgood Marshall of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People will seek an injunction against party officials in 40 counties where Negroes were not allowed to enrol for the coming primaries as party members. Wed. 7-7-48

A suit also will be filed against party officials in Beaufort county, where 34 Negroes' names were purged from enrolment books in accordance with state party rules.

The NAACP plans were announced here yesterday by state president James M. Hinton.

State party rules say Negroes may vote in primaries on presentation of general election certificates. Enrolment is limited to white Democrats, however.

Richland, Laurens, Spartanburg, Greenville, Darlington and Pickens counties enroled Negroes along with whites despite the state rules.

One pound of raw silk requires the cocoons of 2100 to 3000 silkworms, according to the Encyclopedia Britannica.

Dust on an electric light bulb can cut its efficiency as much as 20 per cent.

It is a wise plan to keep a constant check on the supply of oil in an automobile's crankcase.

Georgia Leads Dixie Hunt For 'Suitable' Candidate

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Mon. 7-12-48

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Constittuion Staff Writer.

PHILADELPHIA, July 11—Georgia's Democratic delegation was back with the Southern "state's rights" rebels tonight, looking for a candidate to put up against President Truman, whom they concede will win the nomination.

At the State's caucus earlier in the day, the delegates asked Judge T. Hicks Fort, of Columbus, and Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, of Athens, to invite representatives of all Southern States to join Georgia in searching for a presidential candidate other than Mr. Truman.

The "state's rights" caucus this afternoon developed into a meeting of many Southern delegates, however, with a committee looking for a suitable nominee.

Fort and Mrs. Talmadge, Georgia's representatives on the National Platform Committee, said they would seek no separate session sponsored by Georgia. Instead Georgia's Chairman James Peters—who walked out of the rebels session at Jackson, Miss., when they wanted to bolt the party—was meeting with a sub-committee of the "state's right" caucus to find a candidate. He said the committee would have a report within 24 to 36 hours. 7-12-48

The candidate may well be Sen. Russell. Alabama delegates are talking of opening the balloting with a vote for Georgia's junior Senator Russell, who disapproved of Georgia's plan to make him a favorite son. Russell reportedly was headed for Philadelphia.

Peters sat on the stage with the Southern revolters, while South Carolina's Gov. Strom Thurmond renewed a call for the South to revolt if necessary.

But Peters kept one foot back off the limb. Whether Georgia goes along with the group depends entirely upon the candidate selected, Peters said. He declared the Georgia delegation will not go along with a Party bolting move.

In the Southern caucus, a Kentucky delegate asked the South to line up behind Sen. Alben Barkley. A Tennessee delegate renewed a plea to draft Eisenhower.

Jimmy Roosevelt and Sen. Olin Johnston, of South Carolina, whose attempt to draft Ike failed, sat in the audience for a short time as observers. The Roosevelt group is seeking to get behind Florida's Sen. Claude Pepper.

The Rebels' caucus called upon the National Platform Committee to pledge state's rights and oppose the so-called civil rights program. It also asked the Party to favor state ownership of tidelands.

At the Georgia caucus, the delegates voted to carry a fight to the convention floor to restore the two-thirds rule.

This rule, abolished in 1936, required a candidate for President and a candidate for Vice President to receive a vote of two-thirds of the delegates before winning the nomination. Charles Bloch, of Macon, plans to seek the return of this rule—which gave the South major control of the party—in the National Rules Committee. That failing, the delegation expects to fight it out on the floor. All Southern States will be asked to join Georgia in this battle.

The rule, which prevailed from founding of the Party until the late President Roosevelt sponsored its abolition in 1936, was credited by Bloch with "producing such Democratic Presidents as Andrew Jackson, Grover Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt."

Its abrogation "has done more to hurt the South and the Nation than anything else, because it has produced such Vice Presidential nominees as Henry Wallace and Harry Truman," Bloch continued.

Georgia's representatives on the Grayson, of Savannah, to seek to prevent adoption of a platform which would abolish segregation or indorse civil rights. If Georgia is "run over" in the Committee, Judge Fort and Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, of Athens, were asked to file a minority report.

PHILADELPHIA, July 11—Informed that Florida's Sen. Claude Pepper had announced his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination, Charles Bloch, of Macon, Vice Chairman of the Georgia delegation, said tonight Georgia "is still searching for a candidate."

Civil Rights in Practice

The Afro American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 7-31-48

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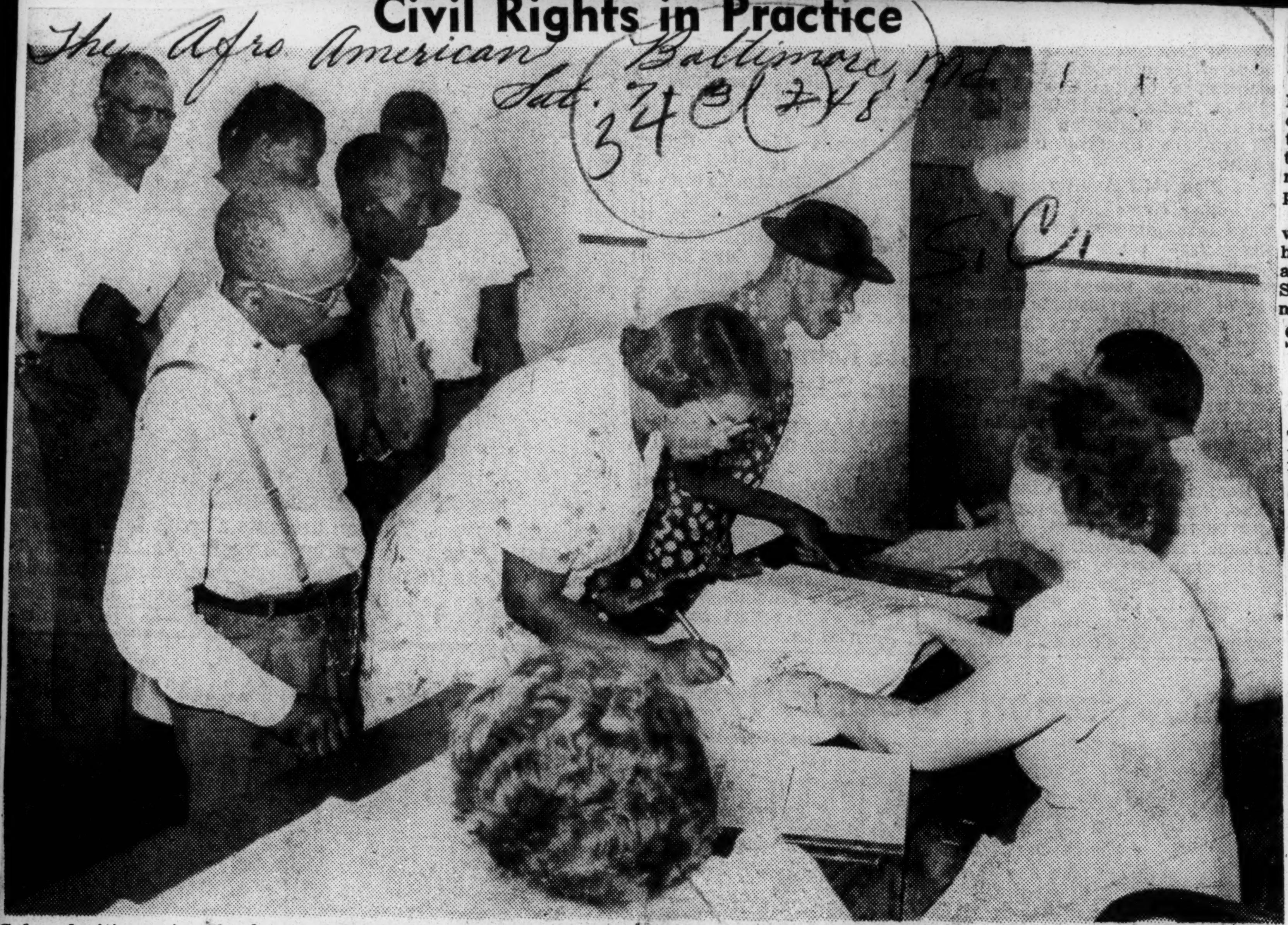

Colored citizens in Charlston, S.C., flock to register as Democrats, following Federal Judge J. Waties Waring's court order compelling the State's Democratic Party to enroll both races and grant all citizens enrolled full participation in party affairs. 7-31-48

CHARLESTON OPENS BOOKS TO NEGROES

CHARLESTON, July 10—(UP) —Charleston became the first of 45 counties to say definitely it would open Democratic party enrollment books after Judge J. Waties Waring said Negroes must not be prevented from enrolling pending a hearing next Friday.

In Columbia, James M. Hinton of the National Association for Advancement of Colored Jeople was urging South Carolina Negroes to enroll immediately.

Charleston County Chairman Francis F. Coleman said he would announce Monday the time and place that books would open in the county.

He added "the Democratic club books will not be reopened to white Democrats, as the order pertains strictly to qualified Negro electors."

But Coleman said whites could enroll under state party rule 12—which permits county chairmen to enter names of qualified electors who failed to sign up before the deadline due to conditions beyond their control.

Papers serving notice of Judge Waring's temporary restraining order and of the hearing were being distributed to 87 Democratic party leaders throughout the state. They were named defendants in a case brought in the name of a Beaufort county Negro, David Brown.

The Negroes seek to force the state party to allow them to join.

Many of the defendant party leaders were en route to Philadelphia for the National convention. Another squabble awaited them there. Two rival delegations were on hand to ask the convention's credentials committee to seat them.

34 C (2)

Negroes' Names Are Purged From Beaufort Books

Columbia Record Columbia, S.C.

Fri 7-2-48

BEAUFORT, July 2—(UP)—The names of 38 Negroes were ordered purged from Beaufort county Democratic enrolment books here today in spite of Negroes' warnings that they will bring immediate court action.

The Beaufort county Democratic executive committee, after a two-hour hearing in the courthouse here, ordered the names stricken from the books in accordance with state party rules. 7-2-48

Both whites and Negroes attended the orderly meeting. All of the Negroes who signed the enrolment books were not present. A Negro attorney, Harold Boulware of Columbia, made the argument for the 38 before the committee.

The purge order signaled the Negroes to bring court action to force their way into the Democratic party, John H. McCray, state leader, said.

"It is an unfortunate thing for Democratic officials in Beaufort county. They could have avoided the court action. We have already instructed our attorneys to proceed with it."

The 38 Negroes were summoned to appear before the committee this morning to show why their names should not be stricken from the books.

Beaufort county party officials repeated their stand that they would abide by state party rules.

The Negroes signed city enrolment books here which state party rules say are reserved for whites only. Negroes are allowed primary votes by presenting general election registration certificates and taking the party's oath at the polls.

Boulware was one of the attorneys in the George Elmore case in which federal courts ordered the Democrats not to discriminate and allow the Negroes to vote in primaries.

34 C (2)

Dems to Test Rule Banning Vote Bias

Courier Pittsburgh

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Still pushing their contention that the South Carolina Democratic party is a "private association," the party will appeal the recent U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals decision that Negroes must be permitted to vote in party primaries.

The Appeal Court's ruling upheld District Judge J. Waites Waring's decree that Negroes are "entitled" to be enrolled for and to vote in the State's Democratic primaries, now limited by party rule to white persons. Pa.

The party's first counter move will be to file a petition for a rehearing before the Jan. 31 deadline, according to William P. Baskin, State executive committee chairman.

South Carolina Party Case Comes Up Today

Advertiser Montgomery Ala.

CHARLESTON, S. C. —(AP)—The South Carolina Democratic Party's exclusion of Negroes will be on the line in Federal District Court here today.

Federal District Judge J. Waites Waring will hear 86 state and county party officials, or their attorneys, oppose a Negro's petition for full Negro participation in affairs of the traditionally white party.

The petition asks a permanent injunction against state party rules that prohibit Negroes from enrolling as party members to vote in primary elections and require endorsement of racial segregation. Fri 7-16-48

Negroes Called To Mass Meet At Charleston

The Record Columbia, S.C.

CHARLESTON, July 12—(UP)—Charleston county Negroes were called to a special mass meeting here tomorrow night to discuss enrolment in the Democratic party.

Charleston county today opened its books to Negroes in accord with an order by Federal District Court Judge J. Waties Waring. The order opened books in 41 counties until the court heard Negroes' suit against the Democratic party for an injunction to admit them to party ranks. Mon. 7-12-48

The meeting tomorrow night was called by a special committee to discuss the "situation" and map out a course of action to be taken by Negroes having their names placed on books.

Probe Asked on Judge For S. C. Negro Action

By The Associated Press

Representative Dorn (D., S. C.) asked Congress yesterday to investigate "the conduct in office" of Federal Judge J. Waties Waring of the eastern district of South Carolina.

34 C (2)

Dorn said Waring's recent ruling in Charleston, S. C., that the South Carolina Democratic Party must enroll Negroes and grant them full participation in party affairs "is gross usurpation of the rights of a party."

Dorn introduced a resolution in the House which went to the Judiciary Committee.

Greenville S.C. 7-28-48

Thurgood Marshall 'Mum' On Primary Suit; State Rulers Vote To Stand Pat On Oath

34e(2)

Atlanta Daily World

Thu

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (SNS) — Dr. Thurgood Marshall, chief of the NAACP's legal staff, and who made a surprise plane trip to Columbia last Friday, would not commit himself on how soon, if at all, new court action would be slapped against South Carolina Democrats now defying the Waring decision.

Only comment from Attorney Marshall, who is known to have held conferences with associates and NAACP leaders on his brief visit, was: "Tell everybody we wont let them down. We'll go back to the courts, if necessary, in plenty of time."

GETTING FULL ATTENTION

It was learned that on his return to the New York office following the Kansas City, Mo. NAACP convention this week, Mr. Marshall is to give full time to the South Carolina case; previously, he is said to have advised a little more time to determine the real status of the revolt against Judge Waring's ruling.

Announcement that he will be back in South Carolina the first week in July touched off speculation that he would return only for the purpose of going into court on the befuddled primary situation. However, neither his associate, attorney Harold R. Boulware, nor NAACP leaders, would say what the purpose of his return at that time would be.

However, if a contempt action were brought at that time it would affect possibly the status of the party—assuming the NAACP won and the party does nothing before then on its own—of the delegation to the National Democratic convention.

In other words, if the court should hold conventions were illegally held and Negroes wrongfully excluded, another convention would have to be held, preced by club and county conventons, in which Negroes would be present.

All of this was in the realm of speculation, however, but it could well be that the NAACP action, expected to be timed to hurt wrongdoers most, has been timed to develop at this moment.

ACTION NOW APPARENT

This much was certain, however: Unless white Democrats opposed to the oath and other changes made by the May 19, state convention, controlled by party reactionaries, initiate similar action within the next 15 days, some NAACP action in court was a strong possibility.

Associates did say that Dr. Marshall was confident courts would overrule attempts to circumvent the Waring ruling and, that Negroes would be able to enroll, attend club meetings, hold offices and aspire to offices within the Democratic party.

6-24-48

STATE STANDS PAT

Meanwhile, in the face of challenges from six counties which have made their own rules and oaths, both contrary to May 19, rules adopted, and the threat of a second section of the party being officially launched here June 29, the executive state Democratic committee, ignored pleas of chairman William P. Baskin last Thursday for middle of the course road, for honoring the Waring ruling and voted to stand at or both the oath and membership rule.

Under the latter, Negroes must not enroll, excepting in counties which have defied state rules; they can only vote on the basis of election certificates. Whites cannot so qualify to vote. They must enroll and need not be qualified voters.

Both the NAACP and Progressive Democrats have urged Negroes not to take the oath, promising full instructions in plenty of time on this before primaries are held in August.

Tuesday, the Richland county executive Democratic committee was to act on demands from candidates in the August primaries for a revision of the oath, which has held enrollment to a pitiful minimum over the state. After a heated session Tuesday morning, the body adjourned until five o'clock. It is expected however that some revision of the oath will be made. In starting the state-wide bolt from the state organization, Richland amended it rule on membership to establish identical procedures for both races. Greenville, next to walk out, amended the oath while it adopted identical membership rules for both races.

Spartanburg, Pickens, Laurens and Darlington counties have also bolted the state party, in so far as rules on membership and the oath are concerned. Jasper has dispensed with enrollment and is requring both races to present general election certificates to vote in the primary.

In Sumpter, Charleston, Marlboro and Georgetown counties, however, Negroes seeking to enroll have been rejected. Eight did enroll at Bennettsville but state committeeman N. W. Edens said their names would be purged. 6-24-48

ENROLLMENT EXTENDED

An extension of the enrollment period in counties which have defied the state rulers appeared probable Tuesday. This was one issue Richland was to settle late in the afternoon. Greenville and some of the others in revolt have already set July 6, as closing time while in conforming counties books closed on Tuesday, June 22.

This will of course add more fuel to an already blazing fire. What will be the decision of the state committee on votes so cast remains to be seen. Greenville, for example, has yet another item to be handled. It has allowed 18 year-olds to enroll; the state age this year is 21.

MAY RELENT

Speculation also existed on a possible reconvening of the state convention by chairman Baskin. Insiders said that if he took this action, he would have to relinquish his post. One high party power, it is reported, kept yelling in Thursday's closed meeting: "The only thing wrong in South Carolina now is there are too many nigger lovers."

There was the possibility also that general pressure might crack party rulers.

Democrats Must Open Books to All

The Afro American

Baltimore, Md.

Equal Qualification Rules Asked in Suit

Sat. 7-17-48

HEARING, JULY 16

Party Split on Issue

Only 4 Counties Fair

CHARLESTON, S.C.—Judge J. Waties Waring of the U.S. District Court, Eastern District of South Carolina, has issued a restraining order in the suit filed by NAACP attorneys against 89 officers and members of the State's Democratic Party, who the complaint alleges, have sought to deprive colored citizens of their right to vote.

The restraining order ask both the defendants and the plaintiffs to appear in court July 16 to present both sides of the case.

May Enroll in Party

Judge Waring also enjoined the defendants from denying the plaintiffs, David Brown and other citizens, the right to enroll in the Democratic Party on the same terms as whites and from denying them full and equal participation in the Democratic Party primary.

This suit follows by three months the NAACP victory in the case of Elmore V. Rice. In this case, Judge Waring held illegal the refusal of the Democratic Party to allow qualified voters the right to participate in the primary.

His decision was sustained by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals and last April U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the decision.

Continued to Infringe

Following these decisions, the Democratic Party determined to continue its infringement upon the right of citizens to vote in the primary.

It passed rules prohibiting any colored person from joining Democratic Party clubs and required them, upon registering, to present a general registration certificate and to take an oath to uphold racial segregation and oppose Federal fair employment practices legislation.

The plaintiffs in the present suit are those whose names were purged from the Beaufort County enrollment books last week. It asks $5,000 damages and a permanent injunction against denying colored persons the effective exercise of their right to vote.

Want Rules Outlawed

An outlawing of the rule making colored persons show their general election certificates and requiring them to take the jim crow oath was also asked in the suit. 7-17-48

To date only four counties Spartanburg, Greenville, Laurens and Pickens, have defied party rules and permitted colored persons to enroll.

NAACP attorneys handling the case are Thurgood Marshall, special counsel; Edward R. Dudley of New York, and Harold Boulware of Columbia, S.C.

Negroes Ask Probe Of Purge At Beaufort

Columbia, S.C.

Mon. 7-5-48

An investigation by the United States Justice department of the striking of 34 Negroes' names from Beaufort county Democratic club rolls has been asked by the South Carolina Negro Citizens' committee.

Action against the county chairman "and other officials" also was asked in a letter written by J. M. Hinton, committee secretary who also is state president of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People. 7-5-48

The Negroes' names were purged from the club rolls last week in accordance with state Democratic party rules, which bar Negroes from enrollment but which permit them to vote in primaries on presentation of general election registration certificates.

Hinton's letter to Assistant United States Attorney General T. Vincent Quinn said the Beaufort Negroes "enrolled regularly as required by the South Carolina democratic party, and as was decreed by the federal courts . . ."

The court order was that "qualified Negro electors" could not be denied the right to vote in Democratic primaries because of race or color.

"The South Carolina Negro Citizens' committee contends that the decision of the courts gave Negroes all of the rights and privileges enjoyed by any other citizens of South Carolina and that party participation is the only means of exercising full franchise in the meaningful election in South Carolina," Hinton's letter said.

"Any denial of this right is gross discrimination....Negroes are asking that immediate action be taken to give those whose names have been purged the rights enjoyed by whites."

South Carolina To Let 'Qualified Negroes' Vote

Montgomery Advertiser

34e(2)

BISHOPVILLE, S. C.—(AP)—Every "qualified Negro elector" may vote in the South Carolina Democratic primary this year, Party Executive Committee Chairman W. P. Baskin promised Monday. Jul. 5-25-48

Montgomery, Ala.

As state chairman, he said, he would "see that the rule (enabling qualified Negroes to vote) is carried out."

Electors must take the party oath and present a registration certificate.

The party oath requires voters to swear that they "believe in and will support the social, religious and educational separation of races."

Voters also must swear that they are not members of any other political party and that they oppose and "will work against any F. E. P. C. law and other federal law relating to employment within the states."

The rule to which Baskin referred complied literally with a U. S. district court decision that "qualified Negro electors" had the right to vote in party primaries.

Negroes To Honor Thurgood Marshall

Columbia Negroes will honor Thurgood Marshall of New York at a testimonial meeting at 8 p. m. Tuesday at Allen university.

He was chief counsel for the plaintiffs in the primary election suits which culminated in federal order opening the way for Negro voting.

34e(2)

Columbia, S.C.

The Columbia Record

'Full Participation' Fight Aired Friday

Thu. 7-15-48

Negroes' fight for "full participation" in the South Carolina Democratic party will be aired in federal court tomorrow at Charleston.

Judge J. Waties Waring will hear David Brown's plea to be enroled on party books, with the membership privileges to which enrolment entitles a voter.

Brown will protest the State Convention rules granting Negroes voting privileges but excluding them from party membership.

The party tomorrow must show cause why it should not be permanently enjoined from banning Negro enrolment. Waring inflicted a temporary injunction last week which is returnable tomorrow.

The issue at stake involves two sets of rules for voting in the primaries, one for Negroes and one for whites.

Waring, in a decision later upheld by the United States Supreme Court, ordered the party to permit all qualified electors to vote. This was a case brought by George Elmore in Columbia. Richland county is permitting Negroes to enrol and vote.

The state rules specify that white Democrats of the proper age, 21, and residence may vote by enroling on the club books of the precinct in which they live.

Negroes, not permitted to enrol (which entitles a person to party participation as a member), must present general election registration certificates indicating that they are qualified electors.

Both Negroes and whites are required to take an oath pledging favor of the party principles and disfavor of civil rights legislation.

Brown brought suit after the Beaufort county Democratic party refused him enrolment privileges. However, 87 party officials are named in the complaint.

State executive committeemen and county chairman of 45 counties and Chairman William P. Baskin were served papers. Richland was exempt because it was sued originally and is now permitting Negro enrolment.

County parties have adopted at least six varying methods of complying with the original court order issued by Waring. They are:

1. Most clearcut of all is Jasper's complete discard of enrolment books. Jasper will permit anyone, white or Negro, who presents a general election registration certificate, to vote in the state's August 10 and 24 primaries.

2. Most counties have been following the state party rules, adopted at a biennial convention here May 19 in an effort to meet Waring's original order specifically, and at the same time to restrict party membership, as in the past, to white Democrats. Under this system, whites enroll, Negroes present general election registration certficates—evidence that they are qualified electors—to vote in primaries.

3. Six counts bucked the state party by enroling Negroes. They are Richland, against whom the original suit was brought, Greenville, Darlington, Pickens, Spartanburg and Laurens. Thu. 7-15-48

4. Bringing up another method of handling the situation is Colleton county. Instead of opening its enrolment books to Negroes after Waring's recent temporary order, it is offering them the privilege of signing a petition saying they wish to be enrolled.

5. Several counties — Beaufort, Chesterfield, Marlboro and Orangeburg among them, according to claims of Negro leaders—have refused to open their enrolment books to Negroes since Waring's recent temporary order.

6. The final group includes those that followed the state party rules up until Waring's recent order, but since have opened their books to Negroes, as have Charleston and Florence, among others.

Waring's order failed to specify that enrolment books be reopened so that Negroes might enrol. It simply said that primary voting privileges should be on an equal basis for Negroes and whites.

Party leaders in counties that had excluded Negroes felt, in most cases, that reopening the books was the only way to comply.

Jasper, never having had its books open, feels it is according equal privileges to both races.

Richland and the other counties that have had their books open to Negroes all along, feel they have met Waring's order also.

Judge Waring restrained the state party from preventing Negroes to enroll until tomorrow's hearing. The 87 officials were ordered to show cause why he should not issue a permanent injunction to replace that restraining order.

The party officials, led by State Democratic Chairman William P. Baskin, remained silent as to their plans for defense.

They met this week to discuss the case and Baskin's only comment afterward was, "defendants are arranging for their counsel and their defense." Columbia, S.C.

Meanwhile James M. Hinton, state president for the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, urged Negroes to enroll this week while the restraining order sheltered them.

Hinton said Negroes had been refused permission to enroll normally in some instances, for one reason or another, in the counties of Orangeburg, Sumter, Marlboro, Chesterfield, Beaufort and Colleton.

The Negroes who were refused sign affadavits which will be presented at tomorrow's hearing, Hinton said.

Richland county was the only excluded in the Negro lawsuit. But Negroes had been permitted to enroll, along with whites, in Spartanburg, Pickens, Greenville, Laurens and Darlington.

So Pickens and Greenville have asked Judge Waring to dismiss the cases against them. They filed the contesting proceedings pointing out allowed Negroes to participate in party affairs, even though they defied state party rules to do it.

Other counties in the state named defendants in the lawsuit were allowing enrolment of Negroes under the restrained order.

SYMPHONY SID, top authority on "be bop", that new sound in jazz. Sid's all-night, all-frantic, all-request record and interview show is now broadcast six nights a week

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Packed Trial Set Tomorrow On Negro Vote

Columbia Record

Thu 7-15-48

CHARLESTON, July 15—(UP) Negroes will take their fight for the right to join the Democratic party into a federal court hearing packed with political significance here tomorrow.

Defendants to be heard by Judge J. Waties Waring are 87 leaders of the South Carolina Democratic party.

David Brown, a Beaufort Negro, charged in Judge Waring's court last week that he had been barred from joining the party. The suit was filed in an effort to open party enrolment books to all Negroes for all time.

S.C. White Democrats May Be Hauled Back To Court

Light House & Informer

Prospects of another round on federal court on the presently muddled Democratic party of South Carolina, loomed late Tuesday as NAACP and Progressive Democratic leaderships awaited action of the Democratic state convention on Wednesday.

columbia S.C.

James M. Hinton, state NAACP President, the organization which supplied attorneys for the George A. Elmore decision, told the press Tuesday that any action by the convention which sought to limit full party rights to Negroes "will take us back to court in full speed."

HINT ONLY VOTING

[illegible]

Mr. Hinton was commenting on reports that the convention would rule that only registered Negroes would be allowed to vote in primaries and would be prevented from attending club meetings, serving as delgates and officers in the party, and also from offering for offices on the Democratic tickets.

Following the refusal of the U S. Supreme Court to intervene in the Waring decision on April 19, state Democratic chairman ruled that registered Negroes in Columbia could, under the Waring decree, vote in a municipal primary on April 20. However when the East Dillon Democratic precinct elected eight Negro delegates a week later Mr. Baskin ruled the action out, and was supported by the Dillon county convention. Much discussion. Most of it in opposition to Baskin's ruling on the Dillon incident has been heard. Actually, rules of the state party do not cover the question of who shall and who shall not be admitted into reorganization meetings of local clubs.

DILLON CASE STUDIED

NAACP attorneys took the Dillon case under study immediately but after a conference, NAACP leadership announced it had instructed its lawyers to await action of the state convention, meeting May 9. Mr. Hinton said Tuesday it was probable that this case may be used as the jumping off point for new court action. Both he and John H McCray, state chairman of Progressive Democrats, have declared that nothing less than "full integration" will satisfy the Waring decision and satisfy South Carolina Negroes.

Speculation was also that the state Democratic convention would soften any proposals for educational test, only for the reason these would affect adversely a large number of present white primary voters. Under party rules, there is no present literacy requirement.

Light house and Informer

We Should Enroll For Primary

In most counties, if rules of the Democratic party of the state are adhered to, primary registration, or enrolment books will be closed on and and after June 22, that is this coming week. Columbia, S.C. Sun. 6-20-48

We want our people in all counties to go to enrolment places, at every one of these and get their names on the books--or try to get their names on these books--not on the basis of a general election certificate, but on the same basis as white Democrats in the State.

As we said from the beginning of the fight on the primary, we want our people to have the same privileges of white party members, a view which Judge Waring included in his opinion. Greenville and Richland counties are allowing this--in defiance of party rules. Where it is not being done we can inflict damage and perhaps contempt suits. But let's go down an enroll to vote in this summer's primaries. Let's do it by Tuesday June 22 if that is our last chance or, do it before the books close.

rimary Ruling Regarded As enediction By Carolinians

Journal & Guide

By MODJESKA SIMKINS

[illegible] anxiously awaited decision of the Fourth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in the "white primary" case fell like an expected benediction on thousands of life-long disfranchised South Carolinians. Negroes from one corner of the state to the other had little doubt that the Waring decision would be upheld. They have that much faith in the integrity of the gentlemen of the court and their understanding and interpretation of the U. S. Constitution.

1/10/48

Beyond that, others concluded that with the eagle eye of the entire world on the maneuverings of this nation, the country is in little mood to continue rolling obviously loaded dice in this democracy game. So it is with pardonable pride and increased belief in the triumph of right and justice thru trials and struggle that the con[illegible]tollers for constitutional freedom in South Carolina pursue their unfinished task.

Victory in the "white supremacy" primary case, even if carried to the U. S. Supreme Court, must not suffice. In the greater task now before us, South Carolinians must be made to feel inescapably responsible for qualifying to vote, and for voting in every election. They must learn to vote for principles and not men, and against opportunists, whether black or white. Without exception, wherever Negroes have voted in this new era of balloting, they have voted progressively. Any evidences of bloc voting were the result of voting as a phalanx for constructive, progressive thinking.

* * * *

NEGRO VOTERS must develop a burning desire not only to vote but also to be voted for. And black and white voters must learn in this emerging political era that demagogues, grand rascals, and opportunists do not hunt a special hole or hide to crawl into. Therefore a principled and sensitized Negro electorate would refuse to vote for a weak, scheming Negro in preference to a white man they believe to be of integrity, promise and strength.

In marked contrast to the large number of "half-pint" priced voters and voters who will now sell out for a one dollar "Frogskin" right here in South Carolina on white primary election days, there will be found hundreds of Negroes who not only know how to vote, but who will vote the dictates of their consciences.

I know they will. I have that faith despite what cheap politicians claim. The fact that politicians fear Negro voters is proof sufficient that they fear risks at the polls.

* * * *

ALL OF THIS sounds like a lot of futile "chewing of the fat," I know. But 1948 is here. In a political sense, it is to be a crucial, cruel, surprising, and satisfying year. It is the year that some white men and some black men of integrity and stamina should begin to clear the air by seeking political office in South Carolina.

For 70 long years this state has been beguiled, belittled, befounded and utterly disgraced by mediocre and mean men. Other men who would have served their counties, districts, and the state with dignity in the legislative halls of their state and nation have been embarrassed, frightened, and politically debilitated by many who stooped to win by riding into office

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South Carolina Primary Draws Many Negroes

The Courier Journal

Senator Maybank Leads 4 Opponents

Louisville, Ky

Wed. 8-11-48

By the Associated Press

Senator Burnet C. Maybank forged into a definite majority lead over four opponents last night with about half the precincts reported in South Carolina's Democratic primary.

It appeared he might win without a runoff.

Negroes cast ballots in the state in considerable numbers for the first time since 1876, with no reports of race clashes.

In Arkansas' runoff Democratic primary former State Attorney General Jack Holt and Garland County Prosecutor Sidney McMath were running nip and tuck for the gubernatorial nomination on early returns. The Governorship race attracted most attention there.

In both states Democratic nomination amounts to election.

Idaho Also Votes.

Idaho Democrats also voted in a primary but late closing vote boxes held up the count.

In South Carolina's Second Congressional District State Representative Hugo Sims had a sizable lead over Representative John J. Riley, seeking reelection.

In the Fifth District Representative James P. Richards was comfortably ahead of Roy C. Cobb.

Wed 8-11-48

The Third District race, which Representative W. J. Bryan Dorn quit to run against Maybank, saw James B. Hare forging ahead of former Representative John C. Taylor and two other aspirants.

Dorn was second man in the Senate contest.

Returns were meager in Arkansas' only Congressional race, in the Third District between Representative J. W. Trimble and Charles B. Ivy.

Inflation Hits Candidates.

Idaho had only two Democratic Congressional races after a campaign in which observers blamed inflation for the relative scarcity of candidates. The unusual claim was made that candidates failed to file in the usual numbers because salaries of public officials have not kept pace with those in private business or living costs.

A Federal Court decision by Judge J. Waties Waring granting Negroes the right to participate in the Democratic primary was the main talking point in the South Carolina Senate contest. candidates.

Opposing Maybank, who went the Senate first by appointnt in 1941 as successor to es F. Byrnes, were Dorn, Neville Bennett, Clio farmer; attorney Alan Johnstone of Newberry, and Marcus A. Stone, Florence lumberman.

Dummy or advisory ballots distributed at the voting booths here pointed to some organized Negro support for Bennett in the Senate race, and for Representative Riley of the Second District one of the State's three congressmen with opposition. The ballots were prepared on a duplicating machine.

State President James H. Hinton of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said the only way to make the Negro vote effective was by such "recommendations."

2 Plead Ignorance of Ballots.

Both Bennett and Riley said they had known nothing about the ballots.

Wed 8-11-48

So far, two Democratic senators, Umstead of North Carolina and Stewart of Tennessee, have been defeated for renomination, and two others, Hatch of New Mexico, and O'Daniel of Texas, have decided to retire voluntarily. Five Republican senators also are not running this year—Bushfield, South Dakota; Capper, Kansas; Hawkes, New Jersey; Moore, Oklahoma, and White, Maine.

G.O.P. Incumbents Unopposed.

Wed. 8-11-48

The two Congressional races in Idaho involved only Democrats. In the First District, former Representative Compton I. White was opposed by Burnis B. Brigham, a farmer. Two newcomers ran in the second, Bert M. Inwegen, 26-year-old schoolteacher, and Asael Lyman, World War glider veteran.

Republican incumbents, Representatives Abe Goff and John Sanborn, were unopposed, as were incumbents Henry C. Dworshak and Bert H. Miller for the Republican and Democratic senatorial nominations.

S. C. Negro Enrollment Said Effected

The Constitution

Tues 8-3-48

Atlanta, Ga

COLUMBIA, S. C., Aug. 2—(AP) Decks appeared to be cleared of possible court action today for the Aug. 10 South Carolina Democratic Primary.

Attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced that court-ordered enrollment for Negroes for the primary apparently had been accorded.

Enrollment books were opened July 19 to Negroes by Federal District Judge J. Waties Waring. They closed July 31. Investigation of reported violations failed to reveal any, the NAACP attorneys said today after a conference at Charleston with Waring.

Tues 8-3-48

A U. S. Senate race, the only Statewide contest, heads the list of campaigns that will culminate with the primary. A second primary will be held Aug. 25 for contests in which no candidate gets a majority of votes.

They will be the first primaries in South Carolina since 1876 in which Negroes have voted freely..

State party officials were anticipating reports this week on final enrollment figures from the counties. Estimates were that the 453,000 enrollment figure of two yea go would be exceeded.

Heavy Negro Turnout In S. Carolina Voting

New York Star

Wed 8-11-48

COLUMBIA, S. C., Aug. 10 (UP)—Negroes voted in large numbers in the South Carolina Democratic primary today—for the first time since reconstruction days. Favorable weather contributed to heavy balloting which was reported as peaceful and orderly.

In the sen al r , incumbent Burnet R. Maybank faced Rep. William Jennings Bryan Dorn, Alan Johnstone, an attorney; Marcus A. Stone, a businessman, and Neville Bennett, a farmer-lawyer.

In North Augusta, James M. Hinton, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reported that two fiery crosses—symbol of the Ku Klux Klan—appeared outside a church last night while he instructed Negroes in the use of the ballot.

Some 500,000 voters had registered for the primary, including about 35,000 Negroes who were given the right to participate in the party primary by Federal Judge T. Waties Warning.

Waring Called Dictatorial

Waring's ruling brought a storm of criticism from the five senatorial candidates. Dorn and Johnstone blamed Maybank for Waring's appointment to the bench. Maybank answered that he was the first to criticize Waring's ruling.

Stone also denounced Waring, and Bennett called the judge "arrogant, dictatorial and untrue to the traditions of judiciary."

Dorn, who left his House seat undefended to make the Senate race, came out against European aid but all the other candidates favored it.

Wed 8-11-48

The Negroes knew they were making history in participating in the primary. Long lines formed outside polling places in Columbia.

The Negroes used the same books and booths as whites but since these polling places were predominantly Negro sections most of those in line were Negroes.

on the naked bare backs of Negroes from whom they had helped to steal every vote.

Those not quite so unprincipled, but lacking in manhood and statesmanship, floated with the polluted tide. The death struggle of these inferior men of the inflated ego to preserve and maintain the white supremacy primary is, therefore, not the least surprising. The time is fast approaching when the race-hate war whoop in political campaigns will have lost its "conjur." The boys must begin to "lay the bucks on the barrel-head." Some thinking must be done.

S. C. Solon Seeks Waring Impeachment

Daily World – Atlanta, Ga.

Sat. 7-31-48

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(SNS)—A South Carolina congressman has shown his utter contempt for civi liberties as guaranteed by the United States Constitution by demanding the impeachment of Federa Judge J. Waites Waring, who recently ordered the South Carolina Democratic organization to open its enrollment books to Negroes.

The congressman is Rep. W. J Bryan Dorn, who supports the policies of Dixiecrats J. Storm Thurmond, who along with Mississippi's Fielding Wright, is running on a Fourth Party ticket against Pres. Harry S. Truman and Republican nominee Thomas E. Dewey.

In a statement in the Congressional Record, Dorn said, Judge Waring "has not and is not now qualified from ability or temperament for the high office of U. S District Judge."

Dorn already has introduced a resolution calling for a House investigation of Waring's conduct in office."

Sat. 7-31-48

"If Judge Waring is guilty" said Dorn, "as I believe he is, and as I now charge, of usurpiug the rights of South Carolina in attempting to force down their throats his own ideas of governmental mattrs, it will be the duty of this congress to prefer articles of impeachment."

Dorn's anger was over Waring's ruling against South Carolina Democratic Party officials, who were denying Negroes participation in primary elections and the requirement of an oath pledging opposition to FEPC.

S.C. Accepts
Mandate on

The Afro

City in Which Blooc
Opens Primaries of

Sat. 7-26

COLUMBIA, S.C. (Special to the AFRO)—In this South Carolina city, rent by a bloody race riot some two years ago, colored and white citizens this month stand in line together at the courthouse to register to vote in the primary elections to be held this fall.

Here, it seems, the ruling of the U.S. District Court clarifying the right of all citizens to vote in the primaries of any party, regardless of race and color, and the upholding of that ruling by the U.S. Circuit Court, has been fully understood and complied with by authorities.

Record Registration

The fact that colored citizens are taking advantage of the opportunity to qaulify themselves to vote can be gained from the statement of the venerable official who on Feb. 4, watching the hundreds of persons in line to register, said:

"Not since reconstruction days have I seen colored people in this State register in such great numbers." No segregation was practiced at the registration office either at the line outside or within the office itself, where clerks were courteous to all.

Sat. 7-31-48

To Use Votes for Rights

Two white men standing in the mixed registration line said they thought the granting of the right to vote to all was the best thing that had ever happened to colored persons in the history of the State. Three colored would-be-voters, when asked, what they were going to do with their ballot, answered:

GEORGE ANDERSON, Columbia—"I am going to try to make South Carolina a place where colored persons can live without fear."

Sat. 7-31-48

FRANK BOYD, Columbia—"I might not know who I am voting for, however, I will not cast my ballot for anyone who has been against us in the past."

ANDREW BROWN, Camden—"I am going to use my vote to fight segregation."

South Carolina Jurist Invokes Strict Order Against Discriminators

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 7-24-48

CHARLESTON, S. C.—A stormy session in which a candidate for United States senatorial nomination was expelled from the courtroom for interference, marked a momentous judicial decision here last week when United States District Judge Julius Waties Waring, declared and so ruled that Negroes had the right to vote in South Carolina's Democratic primary and to participate fully in party affairs.

Judge Waring is a Charleston Democrat. This decision was the outcome of a suit by David Brown, a Negro of Beaufort, S. C., to compel election officials to restore his name.

During the stormy court session the Judge also asserted that any disobedience in either the letter or spirit of his ruling would be punished by imprisonment.

Grants Injunction 7-24-48

"My order will grant the prayer for the preliminary injunction," the judge said. 'It will bar racial discrimination. It will provide that the books be open to all parties regardless of race or religion and will fix a reasonable time for the books to be open."

The books referred to by the judge are the enrollment books of Democratic clubs of South Carolina's 46 counties. Sat.

This decision by Judge Waring is looked upon throughout the South as the opening wedge for complete enfranchisement of Negroes in this section. It does away with the poll tax and the Grandfather clause which has long been used by southern poll officials to bar Negroes who sought the right to vote. In Judge Waring's ruling no tests are required, to participate in the coming primary which will be held August 10 and the run-off primary August 24, is to place their names on the books to become eligible to vote. 7-24-48

"Disgrace and Shame"

"The time has come when racial discrimination in political affairs must stop," Judge Waring asserted from the bench. "Let me tell you that any disobedience to the letter and spirit of this ruling will result in contempt proceedings. The parties responsible for any violation will be punished by imprisonment. It is a disgrace and a shame

when you must come into a court and ask a judge to tell you you are an American."

The judge declared that he intended to make sure that his order was broad enough to cover "religious discrimination" because "if I don't, the next time they will bar some of the Jews and some of the Roman Catholics."

When Judge Waring returned to the bench, his first action was to dismiss Democratic officials of Greenville, Pickens and Laurens counties. He said these counties had already opened their books to Negroes in compliance with a temporary restraining order he issued last week. Defender

"I feel quite ashamed that there are only three counties in the state which recognize our authority," he said. "Yet I am glad to see that these counties have men who have patriotism enough to carry on their activities despite pressure and coercion." Chicago, Ill.

Two witnesses, David Brown, the plaintiff, and William G. Baskin, chairman of the state Democratic executive committee, were called. Syd Tyson, Baskin's attorney objected to the manner in which the court was questioning Baskin and was told by Judge Waring to "sit down. I am going to ask what I want." 7-24-48 sat

The man ejected from the court was Alan Johnstone of Newberry, S. C., a former attorney for the federal works agency in Washington. "This meeting is called for a judicial determination, not a campaign speech," Judge Waring said. A deputy marshall led Johnstone from the courtroom and he was detained in the United State's marshall's office.

Judge Waring was appointed to the bench by President Roosevelt in 1942. He was United States attorney in Charleston from 1914 to 1921 and city attorney of Charleston from 1933 to 1942. He has lived in Charleston all his life. He received a degree of Doctor of Laws from the College of Charleston from which he graduated in 1900. He is an Episcopalian.

SOUTH CAROLINA COURT KILLS 'WHITE PRIMARY'

The Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.

Democrats Ordered To Open Books To Negroes

Sat 7-17-48

CHARLESTON, S. C., July 16.—(UP)—Federal Judge J. Waties Waring Friday angrily ordered South Carolina Democrats to admit negroes to the party and had a protesting United States senatorial candidate ejected from his court.

Waring, nemesis of the state's "white primary" advocates, signed a preliminary injunction opening the party registration books to negroes. Jail awaits any party leaders who defy the writ.

The suit was filed on behalf of negroes who said their names were purged from the party books after they registered in accordance with the United States Supreme Court decision giving them equal ballot rights.

As the negroes complaint was read Alan Johnstone, who is running for Senator Burnet R. Maybank's seat, rose to speak.

"This is not a political rally," Judge Waring snapped. Johnstone tried again and Waring said "you are not going to be heard in this courtroom." 7-17-48

The judge glanced at the bailiffs and a couple of them came up and hustled Johnstone out of the court.

Order Is Issued By U.S. Judge

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Va.

South Carolina Jurist Firm In Right To Vote

Sat. 7-24-48

By NNPA News Service

CHARLESTON, S. C.—Officials of the South Carolina Democratic party were ordered last week to enroll colored persons in state Democratic clubs and give them full rights in party affairs. Books for that purpose will

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BYRNES WON'T DEFEND S. C. DEMS IN ANTI-NEGRO SUIT

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP) The State Democratic Party had to do without the services of former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, in the suit seeking to open party membership to Negroes, it was learned here last week. Byrnes, a native South Carolinian, had been asked to defend the party by J. K. Mayfield, state executive committeeman from Bamberg county. 7-24-48

In a telegraphic reply to the request, Byrnes said "business engagements made weeks ago require my presence in Washington and make impossible for me to represent you in Charleston."

Making Judge Waring A Sort Of Campaign Issue

It may be granted that few, if any, of the Democratic candidates, for the United States Senate like Federal Judge J. Waties Waring or his decisions in the Elmore and Brown cases. Columbia, S.C.

But what has the United States Senate to do with judicial opinions? And what can a member of the United States Senate, elected in 1948, do about a judge's decision already upheld by the United States supreme court? Sat.

Why this hysteria, which more than anything else resembles the hysteria with which the labor unions greeted the enactment of the Taft-Hartley law although it contained few things that the majority of workers, organized and unorganized, did not approve?

Is it intended to divert attention from the real issues of the campaign, or the issues that should be real? 7-24-48

The wrath of the candidates ought to have been directed at the Democratic party leaders of South Carolina who have played their cards wrong from the beginning and have got the party and the primary in a mess today from which it can be extrated only by a special session of the General Assembly. They had plenty of time to work out some reasonable solution, such as North Carolina and most of the other Southern states have arrived at.

When the last of the primary laws was repealed in 1944 and the Democratic party was moved over to the country-club set, the party leaders were warned that all they were buying was a little time. For the supreme court of the United States in the Texas decision, the case of Smith v. Allwright, which the South Carolinians were trying to get around had warned that if any state found a way to evade the court's requirement that Negroes be allowed to participate in primary elections the court in its turn would find a way to hold this evasion unconstitutional.

"The United States is a constitutional democracy," the supreme court declared in the Allwright decision. "Its organic law grants to all citizens the right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restriction by any state because of race. This grant is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination. Constitutional rights would be of little value if they could be thus indirectly denied."

This was fair warning of what was to come, as soon as a case might be brought to test the lawless primary. The Democratic party of South Carolina should have used this time to work out a system whereby the comparatively few Negroes who wanted to vote might have been taken into the party, eliminating thereby racial discrimination as a factor in South Carolina primaries and at the same time eliminating the Negroes' cause of action. 7-24-48

But nothing was done. South Carolina proceeded blithely on its way, hugging to its bosom the vain hope that it had solved the Negro voting problem in the negative, inviting the Negroes to sue and be damned.

The case of Elmore v. Rice, et al., resulted. Judge Waring heard this case and decided that the Negroes were entitled to vote in the South Carolina primary. But it would not have made any difference if Judge Waring had decided, as he might have, that he didn't have jurisdiction under the civil rights cases and dismissed the action. For that decision, like the other decision, would have been appealed and Judge Parker and the circuit court of appeals instead of affirming Waring's decision, as they did, would have overruled it. No lawyer who has studied the recent opinions of the circuit court of appeals relating to elections and voting can come to any other conclusion. And the supreme court would have affirmed the circuit court of appeals decision, as it did. The Record

The Democratic party had almost its last chance to settle the controversy amicably at the state convention by conforming its rules to the Elmore decisions. It might even have reconvened the convention and corrected the mistakes made there and thereby avoided the final ignominy of being called into court and told specifically how to obey the law. And it had the example of six counties in which the law was being obeyed. But the party leaders did nothing. They sat waiting for the suit they had invited and expected and now they are howling as if the court said something new in the Brown case, when in simple truth it is and was nothing more than a reiteration of the Elmore decisions. Columbia, S.C.

Judge Waring had no choice. Every issue involved in the injunction petition was for all practical purposes res judicata. It had been the law of the United States ever since the supreme court refused to hear the South Carolina Democratic party's appeal.

And, as The Rec also warned, this last

ditch fight, this futile charge of the Light Brigade in another Balaklava blunder has had the effect of defeating the purpose of the Democratic leaders who adopted it. By making the Negroes fight for the right to participate in party affairs, by making them win this right in the courts the party leaders have magnified the attractions of voting to the Negroes, who feel that they must get something for the energy and money they have had to spend, something for the victory they have won. The result has been, as could have been anticipated, a higher proportion of Negroes apparently enrolling in the counties that resisted as compared with those that did not. 7-24-48

This attempt now to keep the issue alive, to make a play on racial prejudice is fraught with danger. It is playing into the hands of the Communist agitators who may be coming to South Carolina to try to convert the primary into an explosion. Sat.

The need now is not for inflamatory language nor bitter speeches, but for sane, calm leadership, for wise leadership.

Those senatorial candidates, trying to make political capital out of blaming Judge Waring, are acting like children. But they are also playing with dynamite.

Promises Jail to Violators

Court Orders S. C. Democrats To Allow Negroes to Enroll

The Post.

(University women here win segregation suit. Story, Page B-1)

Charleston, S. C., July 16 (AP).—The South Carolina Democratic Party was directed today in a Federal order to enroll Negroes and grant them full rights in party affairs. Washington. DC

William P. Baskin, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee who had led the State delegation at the national convention in Philadelphia in condemning civil rights proposals, said the order "will be carried out fully."

The directive was contained in a preliminary injunction issued by Federal Judge J. Waties Waring on petition of a Beaufort Negro, David Brown, who asked that Negroes be allowed to participate in the party.

"It's a disgrace and shame when you must come into court and ask a judge to tell you you are an American," Judge Waring snapped. Sat. 7-17-48

He warned 87 State and county party leaders, who were named defendents, that imprisonment awaited any party official who failed to comply fully with the spirit and letter of the decision.

Judge Waring asserted the order "will bar racial discrimination . . . provide that the (party) books be opened to all partes regardless of religion (and) will fix a reasonable time for the books to be opened."

Associated Press **WIREPHOTO**

JUDGE J. W. WARING

Judge Waring, member of a widely known Charleston family and himself a Democrat, added: "The time has come when racial discrimination in political affairs must stop. The Post.

"Let me tell you that any disobedience to the letter and the spirit of this ruling will result in contempt proceedings, the parties responsible for any violation will be punished by imprisonment."

He declared he would include in his order a reference to the rights of religious groups. "If I don't," he observed. "Next time they may bar some of the Jews or some of the Roman Catholics."

State Party Still Has A Choice And A Chance

When Senator W. Branfley Harvey of Beaufort, chairman of the rules committee of the hold-over executive committee, appeared before the state Democratic (Politicians') party convention to present the politicians' plan to conform to the letter but violate the spirit of the federal court decisions, he frankly confessed to the convention that he anticipated that there might be "further" court action as a result of the decision being made. Tues.

For the plan suggested and adopted, as Senator Harvey did not point out, deliberately continued the discrimination between whites and Negroes solely on the basis of race, which the two federal court opinions, already then affirmed by the supreme court, made clear could not be done. 7-13-48

The qualifications for voting and for club membership, until then identical, were divorced from each other and two classes of voters were created: one, the members of the party, white Democrats, who were to be enrolled as usual without regard for registration and the other, the qualified Negro voters, denied the right of party membership and participation in the party organization, allowed to vote only if they were registered for the general election. This segregates the Negroes on a purely racial basis. Columbia, S.C.

In addition all voters both whites and Negroes are to be required to take a thought-control oath, devised to inhibit Negro voting, but having the effect of preventing many white voters also from participation in the primary, white voters who object to setting any precedent to allow the state convention or the state executive committee to impose thought-control provisions upon participants in the primary even though they agree to most of the provisions of the oath. The Negroes, of course, were not represented in the devising of the oath and can not logically therefore be required to subscribe to it. The oath, under these circumstances, becomes simply a thought-control oath for white voters.

Incidentally the rules are devised so as to work a hardship upon qualified white electors. Unlike the Negroes, who may vote on their registration certificates, they cannot vote unless they are also enrolled as club members.

It was, as The Record has pointed out, a plan to invite a new suit in the federal courts, the suit which Senator Harvey predicted.

Now that action, which Senator Harvey foresaw, but which he did nothing to avoid, has been initiated. At Charleston before Judge J. Waites Waring, who heard the original case of Elmore v. Rice, et al., attorneys appeared Thursday to ask for an injunction restraining the party, the party leaders, their servants, agents and all persons in active concert or participation with them from denying Negroes the right to enroll in the Democratic party clubs on the same terms as white Democrats, from denying Negro Democrats the right to full and equal participation in the Democratic party primary on terms identical with those accorded whites and in party activities and affairs because of race or color, from requiring Negroes to subscribe to the thought-control oath. The Record

It takes no prophet nor son of a prophet to predict that the Negroes will win this case as they won the case of Elmore v. Rice, et al. The politicians' plan for maintaining control of the party and denying Negroes membership in it obviously violates both the spirit and the language of the Elmore decisions. It still maintains discriminations against Negroes on account of their race or color. Tues. 7-13-48

The wiser course would have been for the party, as The Record suggested, to have accepted qualified Negro Democrats as party members and so given them representation in the county and state conventions. But the party, under the politicians' leadership, elected otherwise.

It would still have been the course of wisdom to have reconvened the state convention thereafter and allowed it to undo the mistakes made. The Negro Democrats were more interested in the primary than in the club meetings and the conventions and they generally abstained from attempting to attend the club reorganization meetings. They could have been satisfied, easily, cheaply by simply conforming the rules to the federal decisions. And The Record also suggested as much. But the politicians in control were deaf to sound advice.

And now it would still be the part of wisdom for the party to recognize the error of its way and reconvene the state convention after the national convention, as originally anticipated, not only however to take whatever action may be necessary as a result of the national convention, but also to annul and undo the mistakes made and to bring the rules into conformity with the court decisions, opening the enrolment books again, canceling and repealing the thought-control oath. Columbia, S.C.

The alternative to this is to allow the injunction proceedings to take their course, with the party still pursuing its head-in-the-sand policy in a vain attempt to so escape the inevitable, to do nothing that it isn't compelled to do.

The results under either plan will, of course, be identical. And there is no virtue in simply being bull-headed. The party can still surrender with the honors of war or it can be driven from its present craven position by the order of the courts. That is the choice. And to South Carolina Democrats who are not afraid that somebody will lose government jobs the choice is clear and plain.

Waring Also Goes Back To The State Constitution

The Record

Implicit in the Waring-Parker decisions in the Elmore case, the original Negro voting case, was the idea that the primary is an election in South Carolina and that therefore the constitutional requirements for electors should be met by any person voting in it.

The same idea is embodied in the Waring decision in the Brown case, decided last week at Charleston. Sat. 7-24-48

In delimiting the areas to be covered in the voters' oath Judge J. Waties Waring included as one of the permissible adjurations: Columbia, S.C.

"That the prospective voter meets the qualifications as an elector as set out in the constitution of South Carolina."

If this were included in the voters' oath nobody could vote who could not meet the constitutional qualifications for voting, in other words no one could vote who isn't qualified to support the nominees of the primary in the general election. Sat.

Therefore, if the General Assembly of South Carolina were to meet in special session and write into the primary law the general election requirements for voting such an act would be in accord with Judge Waring's decisions. 7-24-48

And it makes sense. Why require a voter to take an oath to support the nominees of the primary in the general election if he cannot meet the qualifications for voting in the general election? What kind of support do most South Carolinians, who do not vote in the general election, mean when they take the oath?

Beaufort Democrats Supply The New Court Test

Tues.

Judge J. Waites Waring in the last paragraph of his opinion in the case of Elmore vs. Rice, et al, declares that Negroes are entitled to be "enrolled and vote" in the Democratic primary in South Carolina.

In accord with this decision 34 Negroes enrolled as Democrats in Beaufort county.

Last Friday over the protest of attorneys the names of these 34 Negro voters were purged by the Beaufort county Democratic executive committee and eliminated from the club rolls.

Columbia Record 7-6-48

The Beaufort committee's position was announced by J. B. Cope.

"It is our opinion that we are not depriving anyone of their rights as laid down by the court," Mr. Cope said. "The committee does not feel that in striking the names from the rolls we are violating Judge Waring's order. We must abide by the rules of the state executive committee."

7-6-48

It is perhaps significant that Mr. Cope used the words "the rules of the state executive committee." The party rules are not supposed to be made by the state executive committee but by the state convention, but Mr. Cope is right. These rules which Beaufort county follows are however the state executive committee's rules. They were concocted in an executive session of the old state executive committee, the hangover executive committee from the 1946 convention, and they were amended, in violation of their own terms, by the 1948 executive committee.

Columbia, S.C.

This action by Beaufort county makes it possible for the Negroes who want to participate in the Democratic party affairs in South Carolina and to enroll to vote in the Democratic primary to go now before Judge Waring and ask him to clarify his order or to issue a new order providing for the enrolment of Negroes as well as for their voting. And there is not much doubt that the order will be issued. The logic of Judge Waring's original opinion, as affirmed by the circuit court of appeals and by the supreme court, is that Negroes are entitled to participate in the Democratic primary on the same basis as whites. The Democrats of South Carolina could have avoided this new court action by conforming their rules to the letter and the spirit of the Waring-Parker decisions. They should have. The times and common sense demanded a few concessions, made to the Negroes voluntarily, as evidence of good will. Instead the Democratic (Politicians') party elected to conform to what the politicians considered to be the letter of Judge Waring's order while nullifying its spirit, setting up two Democratic voting qualifications, one for whites who are the party members and the other for Negroes who are not.

Tues.

And the Democratic (Politicians') party is simply leading with its jaw, inviting a knockout. It would have been the part of wisdom, of course, to have settled this controversy now as it will eventually be settled. And it would have been the better part of wisdom to have settled it by voluntary agreement. This course the state convention on the advice of the hangover executive committee rejected. It will agree to nothing that it isn't required by the courts in plain language to agree to. Judge Waring has no choice now, therefore, except to make his new order so plain that not even the politicians, concerned about their jobs for one more term, cannot misunderstand it. The Record hesitates to think of the language that he may use.

7-6-48

Why Not Have A Little Faith In South Carolina?

The Record

34e(2)

Nearly every other Southern state, with the possible exception of Mississippi, has been confronted with the Negro voting problem and has worked out satisfactory solutions of it—solutions satisfactory to the whites, satisfactory to the Negroes, satisfactory to the courts, satisfactory even to the politicians.

Some of these states, which solved the problem long ago—North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee—and solved it easier because, of course, they had a smaller proportion of Negro population than some of the others, seem to have profited under if not by the solution. They get a higher level of office holder than appears to be general in the South. Certainly they have come to no harm.

Columbia, S.C.

In none of the Southern states where the Negroes now vote—and the list at last includes Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Texas—has there occurred anything that even looked like a revolution. The skies didn't fall; the politicians won as before. Life went on as usual. Segregation continues to exist. Miscegenation is still a crime. Government is in hands of the whites and a fair proportion of them are first class men, able, honest.

The Record believes that the people of South Carolina are capable of doing likewise, that they are capable of finding a reasonable solution of this problem, conforming to the law and to the political facts with which they have to deal. It does not believe that the people of South Carolina are any the less resourceful, any the less able, any the less honest or courageous than the people of our sister Southern states. It doesn't even believe that the politicians of South Carolina as a class are any more venal than the politicians of Georgia or Tennessee. They have been tested under the lawless primary system which no other state dared to try.

Tues. 7-27-48

And because The Record has faith in South Carolina and faith in South Carolinians it isn't afraid for South Carolina to do what the other Southern states have done. It believes the General Assembly of South Carolina can be reconvened and can enact a proper primary law under which life and politics in South Carolina will go on as usual or better, if the racial issue be put aside. And when it is done some of those who are now worrying themselves sick about things that will never happen, unless South Carolina bungles the job as no other state has done, will laugh at themselves and wonder how they ever allowed their prejudices or the oratorical fears of politicians, intent on keeping their jobs or getting new ones, to so confuse and confound them.

Tues.

All that South Carolina needs now is for its citizens frankly to face the facts and recognize that the Waring decision is not only the law in South Carolina, but everywhere in the United States. Then let the General Assembly of South Carolina meet and do what the other states have done. We have already wasted too much time with talk, hysterical talk some of it, senseless, harmful.

7-27-48

And the time is here for action. Cannot South Carolinians trust South Carolinians? Cannot they have confidence in South Carolina which has come through greater crises than this, met graver problems and solved them?

"O, ye of little faith" try South Carolina and see if South Carolinians are the craven cattle you pretend to think they are.

Negroes Again Vote in Carolina; Forrestal Bid Seen as Share

34e(2)

Developments in the Negro people's war against Jimcrow this week netted two runs and one probably foul ball.

- April 19, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that Negroes could vote in the South Carolina primaries despite a 1944 statute, limiting primary voting to "white Democrats." Lower courts in that state had already affirmed Negroes rights to vote, but a group of South Carolina Democrats were appealing from these decisions.

The Supreme Court justices issued no written opinion. They merely noted their refusal to hear the appeals.

- On April 20, in Columbia, S. C., Negroes cast ballots in an important election for the first time since 1876. Of the 4,890 persons with registration certificates, about 500 Negroes voted in the City's Democratic primary, to nominate two Council candidates.

- But Defense Secretary James V. Forrestal, smarting from nationwide protest against Army Jimcrow, called 15 prominent Negroes to Washington for "discussion" of race relations in the services. The banker-politico's move instantly roused suspicions, one informant of The Worker expressing the opinion that Forrestal may propose a separate mixed unit as an "experiment," and that this may prove attractive to certain half-a-loaf leaders among the fifteen.

Forrestal ignored Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, who has introduced legislation banning military Jimcrow; George Murphy, Negro veteran leader; J. Finley Wilson, Negro Elks leader, Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, and other leaders who have vigorously fought Jimcrow Also omitted from Forrestal's list were A. Philip Randolph, and Grant Reynolds, who have urged a campaign of civil disobedience against Army Jimcrow.

The 15, reportedly hand picked by Lester B. Granger, Forrestal's chief Negro apologist, include Mordecai Johnson, Charles Houston, John W. Davis of West Virginia State College; Truman K. Gibson, Jr.; Walter White, Channing Tobias, and Mary McLeod Bethune.

White told **The Worker**, "There is no thought of compromise in my mind."

Wrong, In The First Place

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

34C(2)

Wed. 7-21-48

South Carolina's Federal District Judge J. Waites Waring, made his order complete Tuesday by ordering the Democratic Party of that State to abolish its Voters' Oath and stick to nothing save the qualifications set forth in the Constitution.

Under the artificial device of the Democratic Party of South Carolina, Negroes were required to swear their belief in the principles of the party, declare against social and educational seperation of the races, states' rights and opposition to a Fair Employment Practices law.

David Brown, a Negro citizen of Beauford, S. C., resented the imposition of these extra-legal requirements and hence went to court to have them declared unconstitutional. Not only did judge, rule out artificial devices, he toldBrown "It is a shame and disgrace that you have to come into a court to ask a judge whether you are an American." Whereupon, he ordered Party officials, some 87 in all, to open the books to Negroes or go to jail for failure to obey both the "letter and spirit" of his order.

Judge Waring is helping South Carolina to get in line with the march of America to freedom and justice for all citizens, although the fight is a slow and tedious one against the damagogues like Gov. Thurmond, who, it might be said, is the most reactionary voice in the South today.

We do not think it is necessary for Negroes in Georgia or in other Southern States to test the validity of their claims to full and equal Party affiliation and representation. It ought to be clear to party leaders in other states without a test case since the precedent in South Carolina should be quite sufficient. But if it becomes necessary, there is not the slightest doubt that cases can be made.

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

The ultimate effect of the order by Judge Waring is that due notice is being given to all southern states that the right of the Negro to full political equality cannot and must not be denied by any group and that artificial divices, such as educational tests, which are being created only because a few Negroes are beginning to vote, as well as other devices, must be stopped.

Wed. 7-21-48

Maybank Leading In Carolina; Negroes Pile Out To Ballot

34C(2)

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

By The Associated Press

Senator Robert R. Maybank set the pace for his four opponents in early returns from Tuesday's Democratic senatorial primary in South Carolina.

Although Negroes voted in nubmers for the first time in more than 70 years in this state, there were no reports of race friction.

Wed. 8-11-48

Maybank, a member of the Senate since 1941, received 11,300 votes in the first 157 of the state's 1,559 precincts to report. Rep. W. J. B. Dorn, of the Third District, had 6,277; Neville Bennett, Clio farmer, 2,505; Marcus A. Stone, had 1,068 and Alan Johnstone, 2,012.

8-11-48

Negro leaders estimated the vote of their race at 30,000. The total vote was expected to be something above 300,000.

Dummy or advisory ballots distributed at the voting booths here pointed to some organized Negro support for Bennett in the senatorial race, and for Rep. John J. Riley, of the Second District, one of the state's three congressmen with opposition. The ballots were prepared on a duplicating machine.

State President James H. Hinton of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said the only way to make the Negro vote effective was by such "recommendations."

Both Bennett and Riley said they had known nothing about the ballots.

Arkansas Democrats decided a two-man run-off for governor and a congressional race in the Third District. Nominations in Arkansas and South Carolina Democratic primaries are equivalent to election.

8-11-48

Idaho had only two Democratic congressional races after a campaign in which observers blamed inflation for the relative scarcity of candidates. The unusual claim was made that candidates failed to file in the usual numbers because salaries of public officials have not kept pace with those in private business or living costs.

A federal court decision by Judge J. Waites Waring granting Negroes the right to participate in the Democratic primary was the main talking point in the South Carolina Senate contest. All five candidates, including Senator Maybank who is seeking hi ssecond full six-year term, took exception to the ruling.

Three U. S. representatives had no opposition for renomination in South Carolina. They were L. Mendel Rivers, First; Joseph R. Bryson, Fourth, and John L. McMillan, Sixth District.

8-11-48

Arkansas Democrats picked a new governor in a run-off-race between Sidney McMath, 36-year-old Garland County prosecutor, and Jack Holt, 45-year-old Little Rock lawyer. The third district House contest was between Rep. J. W. Trimble and Charles B. Ivy.

Heavy Negro Balloting In South Carolina Is Held Likely Tomorrow

The News

Mon. 8-9-48

By DEL BOOTH

B'ham, Ala.

COLUMBIA S. C., Aug. 9—(AP)—Negroes in this state of the Deep South will have their first general voting since the carpetbagger days of the 1870s in tomorrow's Democratic primary to select a nominee for the United States Senate.

About 35,000 Negroes are among the estimated 480,000 persons enrolled on the party membership books for the primary, and a heavy Negro vote is expected. Their vote could materially affect the senatorial and other contests.

The Negroes won their primary voting rights, then their party membership, in decisions by Federal District Judge J. Waties Waring of Charleston.

* * *

THE U. S. SENATE RACE was highlighted in its closing weeks of the five candidates' county-to-county oratorical tour by attacks on Waring and his decisions.

Newberry Atty. Alan Johnstone, former Federal Works Agency counsel, led these attacks, accusing Incumbent Sen. Burnet R. Maybank of Charleston of having had Waring appointed.

Maybank replied that the late Sen. E. D. (Cotton Ed) Smith also was in the Senate when Waring was named. He further declared Waring's decisions were "deplorable."

U. S. Rep. William Jennings Bryan Dorn of Greenwood, a third candidate, introduced a resolution at the special session of Congress to investigate Waring's "conduct in office."

Mon. 8-9-48

The other two candidates in the race, only statewide contest for the primary, are Neville Bennett, a farmer of Clio, and Marcus A. Stone, a lumberman, of Florence who also have taken issue with Judge Waring's decisions.

Second Primary Tuesday Holds State Interest

Columbia Record

Mon. 8-23-48

South Carolina Democrats, white and Negro, will vote in a second primary tomorrow to nominate candidates for six state Senate and 34 state House of Representatives seats.

24C(2)

Voters in the third congressional district, composed of Anderson, Abbeville, Greenwood, McCormick, Edgefield, Saluda, Oconee and Pickens counties, will choose a candidate for the United States House of Representatives.

Columbia, S.C.

James B. Hare of Saluda and former Rep. John C. Taylor of Anderson are in the second race for the congressional seat vacated by Rep. W. J. B. Dorn of Greenwood, an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate.

Both Hare and Taylor are lawyers and both attended the University of South Carolina. Hare is the son of former Rep. Butler B. Hare. The two survived a four-man field in the August 10 first primary, with Hare in the lead.

No statewide offices are involved in the second primary, since United States Senator Burnet R. Maybank swept to renomination in the first primary over four opponents.

Nominees for five of the state's six congressional seats also were chosen in the first primary. Incumbents L. Mendel Rivers in the first district, Joseph R. Bryson in the fourth, James P. Richards in the fifth and John L. McMillan in the sixth and war Veteran Hugo S. Sims, Jr., in the second were chosen.

Sims defeated incumbent John J. Riley.

Candidates for 17 state Senate and 88 state House of Representatives seats also were selected in the first primary.

Negro Vote Is Heavy in S.C. Primary

Detroit Press

24C(2)

Wed. 8-11-48

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(U.P.)—Senator Burnet R. Maybank, never a loser in a South Carolina primary, swung into a majority lead over four opponents as returns rolled in from Tuesday's Democratic senatorial primary in which Negroes voted for the first time.

Detroit, Mich.

With more than half the state's precincts reported—857 out of 1,565—Maybank had 78,302 votes to 34,355 for former Rep. William J. Bryan Dorn, 22,646 for Neville Bennett, 8,140 for Alan Johnstone and 6,855 for Marcus Stone.

* * *

A TIDE OF Maybank votes from Charleston, where he was former mayor, enabled him to establish his majority.

Negroes voted heavily in the larger cities, their unqualified voting rights assured for a primary for the first time since the Reconstruction.

Negro Says He Was Knifed And Beaten After Casting Vote

The Columbia Record

A South Carolina Negro minister filed an affidavit with United States Attorney Tom Clark today, in which he declared he was beaten and knifed as he left a Calhoun Falls polling place after the Democratic primary of August 10.

Mon. 8-23-48

24C(2)

The affidavit gave details of the alleged attack by a group of men, described as carrying knives. One, the affidavit declared, beat the minister with a club. The Negro was taken to a hospital for treatment, the minister's statement continued.

Columbia, S.C.

James M. Hinton, state president of the Nataional Association for the Advancement of Colored People said the object of the affidavit was "to bring criminal prosecution."

No reports of any violence in South Carolina had been made on the day of the first primary, and Democratic party officials had expressed themselves as highly pleased at the orderliness of the election.

34e(2) 1948 South Carolina

Nothing Real Accomplished

The Record
Columbia, S.C.
Mon. 1-12-48

And what would be accomplished by adopting the nominating convention system in South Carolina as a means of preventing Negro participation in Democratic party affairs?

34e(2)

For the convention, like the primary, under Judge Parker's decision, would have to allow for Negro participation .

In the decision, as published Saturday by The Record, Judge Parker quoted with approval the concurring opinion of Justice Pitney in the case of Newberry v. United States: Mon 1-12-48

"It seems to me too clear for discussion that primary elections and nominating conventions are so closely related to the final election, and their proper regulation so essential to effective regulation, of the latter, so vital to representative government that power to regulate them is within the general authority of Congress . . ."

The federal courts, by this token, do not make any distinction between primaries and nominating conventions. The Record

Legally there isn't any distinction between them. Columbia, S.C. Mon 1-12-48

To The Supreme Court

The Record
Columbia, S.C.

The South Carolina Democratic party has decided to carry the appeal in the South Carolina primary case to the supreme court of the United States. Sat. 1-24-48

34e(2) S.C.

The party has lost in two courts—the United States district court of Judge J. Waites Waring and the United States circuit court of appeals at Baltimore—and it probably has no expectation of winning before the supreme court.

But there are issues in the case involving more than the right of the Negroes to participation in the white Democratic primary in South Carolina. The case isn't simply a test of Negro voting. It is an action for damages brought against 60 white citizens, officials of the Democratic party in South Carolina.

These individuals, now in jeopardy as a result of the Waring and circuit court of appeals decisions, are entitled to have their case heard by the supreme court. They acted, at least under their understanding of what the supreme court decisions of that day said.

Both South Carolina and the Negroes of the South are probably entitled to a supreme court decision which can settle the matter, not only for South Carolina, but for every state. And both sides are entitled to have a decision, which evades none of the issues raised, a closely reasoned decision, which neither the Waring nor the Parker decision is. Judge Waring and Judge Parker had to guess what new law would be made by the supreme court if the case should reach that court. The supreme court is under no such compulsion. It may declare the law, overruling, if necessary, decisions that conflict with its new opinion, which then becomes the law.

The Record
Columbia, S.C.

And the supreme court decision will settle the debate. South Carolina has gone as far as any state could to escape the necessity for permitting Negro voting. No other state can go beyond it and none so far has equaled it. Sat. 1-24-48

Approved By The House

34e(2)

The House of Representatives has given its approval to a bill to provide for a secret Australian ballot in the general election in South Carolina.

And it is a wise decision remedying a condition which has long needed remedying. The Record

The general election is now the only election in South Carolina if the arguments of the attorneys defending the South Carolina primary case be true. The primary is, they argue, not an election. It is conducted not to select state and federal officers, but to name the Democratic party nominees. The real election is the general election. Columbia, S.C.

And it may be this year. The time has come to consider it a real election. Tues. 3-9-48

ACCEPTANCE UNCERTAIN

Two Negroes Send Cash For Primary

Record
Columbia, S.C.
Sat. 1-24-48

34e(2) S.C.

Two local Negro leaders today contributed five dollars each toward the expenses of holding a municipal Democratic primary here this spring.

They were James N. Hinton, president of the South Carolina conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and John McCray, editor of the Negro weekly newspaper, "The Lighthouse And Informer."

W. Felix Wheeler, chairman of the executive committee of the city Democratic party, said today that he had received checks from Hinton and McCray, but "the only thing I have the power to do is present them to the committee for a decision at their next meeting Thursday night." 1-24-48

The contributions from McCray and Hinton followed action here Thursday night by the city Democratic executive committee when it was agreed that an $8,000 gift from city council should be returned to the city and that the party would raise by solicitation the necessary $8,000 for primary costs. About $30 was collected at the Thursday meeting with an additional $300 pledged. Sat. 1-24-48

A finance committee was appointed, consisting of Walter H. Smith, a University veteran student, city recorder John I. Rice and J. H. Haithcock, Jr., vice president of the Young Democrats of Columbia.

Letter From Hinton

Hinton said in his letter to Wheeler, "I notice that the city Democratic party is in need of funds to operate the city Democratic primary.

"I am a registered voter and an enrolled Democrat in Ward 9. I say enrolled, since I do not consider the purging of my name valid.

"It is my desire to share in the responsibilities of operating the primary, as well as enjoying the privileges that are incidental to same. I am therefore enclosing by check for $5.00 as a donation to the expenses of the primary.

"Negroes are going to vote this year in the city primary for the first time, and many of them will share in the expenses and responsibilities of running the city Democratic primary." 34e(2) S.C.

McCray said in his letter, "As a subscriber to the tenets of the Democratic party, and as one interested in the successful undertakings of that organization, I am inclosing my contribution of five dollars to help underwrite expenses of the forthcoming city primary.

"I am sure there are many others like me who wouldn't mind contributing a similar sum to insure a primary this year, and, who have noticed in newspaper reports that the city organization presently lacks adequate funds for the primary." 1-24-48

NEGRO VOTING BAN GOES TO HIGH COURT

34e(2) The Times

South Carolina Democrats Appeal Adverse Rulings on All-White Primary

New York, N.Y.
Fri. 3-12-48

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 11—The Supreme Court was asked today to upset lower court rulings that would permit Negroes to vote in the South Carolina Democratic primaries, which are held under the "private club" plan.

When the Supreme Court in 1944 said that Texas could not bar Negroes from the Demicratic primaries, South Carolina wiped its primary laws from the statute books. Thereafter, the Democratic party in the state was turned into what the officials appealing to the Supreme Court today called a "private voluntary association of individuals, mutually acceptable to each other," and not created by state law.

Negroes immediately fought back, and last July, Federal Judge J. Waties Waring ruled in Charleston that they could not be excluded despite the "club" system.

"To say that there is any material differenc ein the governance of the Democratic party in this state prior to, and subsequent to 1944, is pure sophistry," he stated.

His opinion was sustained Dec. 30 by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals at Richmond. Judge John J. Parker held that no election machinery could be legal if its purpose or effect was to deny the Negro, "on account of his race or color, an effective voice in the government of his country or the state or the community in which he lives." The Times

Party officials in Richland County (Columbia) brought the appeal ot the Supreme Court. They said that the Circuit Court had no authority, inasmuch as "there was no state action involved, and the primary was not required by law, and was not an election." The Democratic party, they argued, is wholly unregulated by state law, and the primaries are carried on "merely under party rules."

Further, they asserted, the Supreme Court has heretofore "left open the question of the inherent power of a political party when uncontrolled and unregulated by state law to determine its own membership." New York, N.Y.

The lawyers said that the "sixty residents and citizens" they represented had the legal "freedom to think as they willed and to express their thought as a means indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth." Fri.

Disposition of the appeal is a matter of conjecture. Should it be granted and arguments are heard, it might not be possible to decide the issue before the contemplated Supreme Court adjournment in June. On the other hand, if the petition were denied, the refusal would automatically uphold the Circuit Court ruling. 3-12-48

DIXIE MILESTONE

34e(2)
The New Republic

New test. South Carolina white supremacists have asked the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals to reconsider its decision nullifying the "country-club" method of excluding Negroes from voting in the Democratic primaries.

The court's action is a milestone toward Negro suffrage in the South. If upheld, it will put an end to judicial enforcement of the "all-white primary" in the South. Every state with election laws like South Carolina's is deeply interested in the result of the demand for a rehearing. N.Y., N.Y.

In 1944, South Carolina circumvented previous decisions handed down by courts in Texas, Louisiana and Georgia by having an "Extraordinary Session of the General Assembly" repeal all statutes relating to primary elections (about 150). In their place, the Democratic Party state convention adopted a complete new set of rules. Mon. 2-9-48

Rejection. These, the circuit court refused to recognize, rejecting the argu-

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ment that Negroes have "no more right
to vote in the Democratic primary of
Forest Lake Country Club or for the
piece of party machinery."
It pointed out, moreover, that for at
least 50 years the Democratic Party

34e(2)

strongly pro-Chiang. Now the depart-
ment's experts are being required to

has held absolute control of the choice of elective officers in South Carolina and that therefore "the real elections within the state have been contests within the Democratic Party, the general elections serving only to ratify and give legal validity to the party choice."

The appeal will be watched with special interest in Alabama and Georgia. Alabama's "Boswell law" requires prospective voters to "interpret" rather than merely read or write the Constitution. The catch is that persons must interpret the organic law to the satisfaction solely of the local registrars. Mon. 2-9-48

As fast as the courts reject as unconstitutional Southern voting laws, new restrictive practices will be tried, but Negro leaders are prepared to press for their rights.

The Convention System

The Record

If as a result of the decision of the circuit court of appeals, upholding the right of Negroes to participate in South Carolina's Democratic primaries, the party abolishes the primary there would not be very much that the Negroes could do about it.

34e(2)

For the Negroes themselves through the Republican party and more recently the Progressive Democratic party have helped establish the precedents for this very thing. Both the Republicans and the Progressive Democrats have on occasion entered candidates in various races, but none of the candidates of these Negro-dominated parties in South Carolina have been selected in primaries. Columbia S. C.

And there is talk, of course, now of returning to the convention system of nominating candidates, the system in use still in some of the two-party states and in use in this state until Tillman's day. There was even talk of it when the special session of the General Assembly was called to repeal the state's primary laws as a means of getting around the supreme court's decisions. That was the Charleston News and Courier's plan in 1944. Thu. 1-8-48

There is nothing wrong with the convention system in a two-party state. It has some advantages over the primary system in such states since the party nominees tend to be generally men picked by their fellows for some reason likely to appeal to the voters in the general election campaign. The primary choice, on the other hand, may be made on party issues appealing to the party members, but ineffective in the general election. 1-8-48. Thu.

But South Carolina isn't a two-party state and the adoption of the nominating convention system in this state would mean the practical disfranchisement of whites as well as Negroes. How much influence do you suppose organized labor could exercise in the choice of candidates in South Carolina under the convention system?

So most of the opposition to the adoption of the convention system in South Carolina will come from the whites, not from the Negroes.

Time To Act

34e(2) S.C.

The General Assembly of South Carolina, meeting next week, had better make up its mind to face the issue created by the Negro voter.

Thu. 1-8-48

The South Carolina Democratic party hasn't, of course, decided whether to appeal the decision of the circuit court of appeals to the supreme court, but everybody knows what the decision, when and if the supreme court writes one, will be. There isn't any real reason to expect that the court would grant the writ of certiori if it should be asked. So the case, even if an appeal be taken, may be finally decided long before the primary elections. Columbia Record

The sensible course is for the legislature to write into law again statutes to govern any nominating primaries to be held hereafter in the state, making the requirements for voting in the primaries identical with the requirements for voting in the general election. No man should vote in a primary who cannot support the nominees of the party in the general election.

Columbia, S.C.

Thu. 1-8-48

It might even be advisable to strengthen some of these voting qualifications. And the time to act is now. There is nothing to be gained by waiting until a special session is called to act at the last minute and in haste and hysteria.

Incidental

34e(2) S.C.

One of the incidental results of the decision in the South Carolina white primary case will be, it seems safe to guess, a considerable increase in the volume of general election registrations in South Carolina and of course in the income from the poll tax.

Columbia Record

Columbia, S.C.

Thu. 1-8-48

Beneath The Dignity Of The Party And The State

There are some lessons to be learned from Tuesday's general election to name two members of city council for Columbia.

Columbia S.C.

Only 1,517 votes were cast in the election, the real election, as compared with some 10,048 votes cast in the first Democratic primary, and 7,837 cast in the second primary. Sat. 5-15-48

And the Democratic candidates won by the overwhelming majority of 1,501 to 16. Lester L. Bates and Colin S. Monteith, the Democratic nominees, are now the elected members of council.

Forty-seven Negro voters participated in the election and 31 of them voted the Democratic ticket, only 16 for the Republicans. The largest number, 30, voted in Ward 9, only four of them for the Republicans.

More than 400 Negro citizens are qualified electors in Columbia. Having taken the trouble to register, they could have voted. Ninety per cent of them did not. Sixty-six per cent of those who did voted Democratic.

Here is concrete evidence for the fearful-and-trembling South Carolina Democratic party misleaders that the Negroes of South Carolina are not of one mind but are divided as all other voters are divided on issues and on personalities. And this, of course, is what every intelligent person expected. Here also is evidence that the Negro Democrats of South Carolina will take their primary oaths seriously. For the 31 Negro votes cast for the Democratic candidates in the general election is a higher percentage of the Negro primary vote than the 1,486 white Democratic votes were of the white primary vote.

The Columbia Record

Columbia S.C.

Sat. 5-15-48

Columbia's experience with Negro voting both in the Democratic city primary, in which Negroes were allowed to vote, if they were qualified electors, despite the fact that they could not enroll in the time after the supreme court's decision was announced, and now in the general election supplies the demonstration that Negroes in the state can be admitted to the primary, as they have always been eligible for admission to the general election, without resulting in the revolution which some of the politicians profess to fear.

And the people of South Carolina, who make up the Democratic party, have got to take over from the politicians and the ex-politicians who now control the party and who are now cooking up plans to advance the primary date and to shorten the enrolment period, as if by this act they could prevent some Negroes from enroling and voting, as of course they also will prevent many whites from enroling and voting.

The Columbia Record

Columbia S.C.

This would be to force the party to run away from the courts' decisions and such cowardice on the part of the Democrats of South Carolina is beneath the dignity of the party and of the state.

Sat. 5-15-48

The scheme, of course, has one advantage, or a sort. It gives every incumbent office holder the edge in the campaign. It virtually prohibits the development of any real issues in the primary. Not enough time would be allowed for any real campaigning. The voters would in most instances simply be reduced to the device of accepting the man already in office because they knew him best and could be certain at least that they would be getting no worse than they already have.

Maybe this is the real explanation of the brew; it is a politicians' dish, not for consumption by the voters—it will give them indigestion. Sat. 5-15-48

Let's Get Ready Now

Record Columbia, S.C. Thu. 1-8-48

On Friday of this week the U. S. District Court of South Carolina for the Eastern District will rule whether or not Negroes will have the legal right to enroll in Democratic clubs and thereby qualify to vote in the primary on the same basis as whites or, in plain words, have federally secured their right to a "meaningful" ballot.

34e(2)

During the week Negroes had the chance to affix their names to club books without registration certificates, under a temporary order from Judge Waring. The number of them doing so is not known but if they didn't get around to doing it then and the court shall keep the books open longer, they should drop everything also and enroll for the primary.

Negroes had a delegation in Philadelphia this week to claim their voting rights were taken away; but anybody is liable to find a possession removed if he lets it lie carelessly about and at the mercy of anybody wanting to pick it up and take it off.

We do not say the delegation should not have been sent for it should have; but we are saying that Negroes should begin to take more advantage of rights already established, and made available to them by people who sacrifice social and other standings. The least that should be expected is that the sacrifices be repaid in full by use made of the rights.

There's absolutely no sense nor health in standing on corners praising somebody or laughing at somebody. The only thing which is going to settle the Negro's voting problem in South Carolina is voting by the Negroes. In other words, by Negroes themselves.

So let us now get ready to vote in primaries next month. Let us build up a big vote; an impressive one. And the matter is so important that every church, organization and individual ought to give full time to it in the few days left before the primary.

The Brighter Side Of the Solid South

Courier-Journal

Mon. 7-19-48

WHILE 19th Century Southerners are making that anti-Negro noise in Birmingham it is good to hear a South Carolina Federal judge reminding everybody that the U. S. Constitution still applies in South Carolina.

34e(2)

Judge J. WATIES WARING was ruling on the petition of DAVID BROWN, a Negro from the lovely tidewater town of Beaufort, to be allowed to vote in the South Carolina primary. Since the primary is the only election that counts for anything in South Carolina, if BROWN can't vote in it, he can't vote effectively at all. Judge WARING was indignant. 7-19-48

Courier-Journal

"The time has come when racial discrimination in political affairs must stop," he declared. He lectured the party leaders named as defendants, telling them it is "a disgrace and a shame when you must come into court and ask a judge to tell you you are an American." Racial or religious discrimination in the active franchise must stop at once, he said, or the discriminators will go to jail. That's all there is to it—no beating around the bush, no foolishness about white primaries being like activities of a private club.

Louisville, Ky.

What Judge WARING says is only what anyone should, if he regards the Constitution as more than a historic curiosity. Because of that it really shouldn't make any difference what Judge WARING's background is. But in view of the violence of feeling which recently has sprung up about so-called states' rights—a euphemism meaning right to oppress an underprivileged race—his background is illuminating. Mon.

Judge WARING was born in Charleston 68 years ago this month. He was graduated by the College of Charleston. He has lived in Charleston all his life and practiced law there continuously until he was appointed to the Federal bench in 1942. He was no Damyankee judge interfering with the right of white South Carolinians to run elections as they please. He was typical of that great group of Southerners, sometimes outshouted but always growing, who believe what the Constitution says about citizenship and the dignity of man.

REPLY TO JUDGE

The Record

Party Holds Waring Overstepped Power

Columbia, S.C.

Thurs. 7-29-48

CHARLESTON, July 29—(AP)—South Carolina Democrats, replying to an action brought against the state party by a Beaufort Negro, David Brown, today denied the right of United States District J. Waties Waring to open party enrolment books to all qualified electors.

In a formal answer to Brown's suit, demanding the right for himself and other Negroes to membership in the party, the Democrats contended that the party and the party primary "do not become the property of every person in the state simply because the members of that party have been the only ones who have the character, ability, vigor and communitiy of interests to associate themselves together as citizens to exercise their constitutional right to work together for public and governmental principles and objectives."

"Any contention or holding to the contrary," the Democrats said, "is believed by these defendants to be in derogation of their constiutional rights."

Brown's petition for a preliminary injunction against the party was granted July 19, by Judge Waring in an order forbidding any discrimination at the polls.

Hearing To Be Held

The preliminary injunction will continue in force until a hearing is held on a permanent order. Such a hearing probably will come at a regular term of Federal court. The next session is set for October 11.

The Democrats this morning set forth four principal reasons why they believe such a permanent injunction will be unjustified.

Thurs.

They charged that Brown is guilty "of unwarranted delay" in instituting the action which resulted in the reopening of primary enrollment books. 7-29-48

The party charged that Brown and many of the persons for whom he sues are members of "another party, namely the Progressive Democratic party, which party is not in sympathy with the fundamental principles and governmental objectives of the Democratic party of South Carolina."

They claimed the right to restrict party membership to "those in sympathy with its principles."

Continuing their defense, the Democrats noted that in as much as Brown had brought suit in behalf of himself and "others similarly situated" following his enrolment and purging from the Beaufort rolls, that the court's decision granting relief should be confined to those who had been similarly affected.

The Record

Not Restriction

The Democrats said they did not construe the decision in the Elmore vs. Rice case, in which a Columbia Negro won the right to vote in Richland county primaries, as holding that the Democratic party could no longer restrict its membership, "but only a holding that Negroes who were qualified electors must be given the right to vote in its primaries."

Columbia, S.C.

The requirement of producing general election registration certificates "was merely a procedural requirement in reference to the persons seeking to vote evidencing their right to do so," the party said.

The party said it had "the right to make a condition of membership sympathy with its principles."

It added, "the oath prescribed by the state convention was a proper and legitimate exercise of that right, at least so far as enrolling and becoming members of the party is considered." Thurs.

7-29-48

By United Press

The answer, filed in Judge Waring's court, was signed by four party lawyers—Eugene S. Blease of Newberry, Robert McC. Figg, Jr., of Charleston, S. S. Tison of Bennettsville and George Warren of Hampton.

Judge Waring Also Has To Make Three Tries

Judge J. Waties Waring couldn't do any better than General Dwight D. Eisenhower. It took him three tries also to write a decision that the politicians of South Carolina could not misunderstand, even if they set out to misunderstand it.

34e(2)

There was his decision in the Elmore case, which was clear enough to ordinary citizens and lawyers, even some newspapermen. The politicians, however, insisted on misreading it and persuaded the Democratic party of South Carolina to emulate John L. Lewis in defying the courts.

Columbia Record

The decision in the Brown case, the result of this ill-starred attempt at defying the federal courts, was handed down last week. The Democratic party's lawyers, able men, correctly read the order and interpreted it as it was meant to be interpreted. But some of the Low Country politicians persisted in misreading it. They set up a howl that it required the Democratic party to include in the voters' oath an adjuration that the voter would support the national nominees of the party, including Harry Truman. No such thing was intended or could in logic be deduced from Judge Waring's words. Mon. 7-26-48

So the judge had another try at it. And this time he spelled it out at some length and where possible in words of one syllable, not once, but twice.

"It is reiterated," he concludes, "and distinctly understood that it is optional with the defendants to require an oath containing the whole or any part or parts of the foregoing (customary Democratic party oath) or to forego requiring any oath at all."

And that is what his first order meant. It is what the party lawyers understood it to mean.

"Judge Waring's order," they wrote to Senator W. P. Baskin, the state party chairman, "does not require the administration of any oath; it merely limits the scope of whatever oath the party may see fit to administer." The Record

They point out also that Judge Waring ruled that neither the state chairman nor the executive committee, the party's privy council, may usurp the functions of the state convention, as they tried to do, and amend the rules. They suggest therefore that the entire oath, including even those provisions of it which Judge Waring holds to be lawful, be abandoned. Mon

This, of course, is a change in the party rules, which may be changed only by the state convention so far as the party is concerned. It excises practically the whole of Rule 36.

Columbia Record

And other changes are in fact being made in the rules to bring them into conformity with the court decisions.

S.C.

. But the state convention, which was merely recessed not adjourned, and which was expected to meet again after the national convention, isn't being reconvened to do these things in an orderly manner.

Somehow the politicians are still wary of calling the convention back. Of what now are they afraid?

Negro Vote In S.C. Ordered

The CIO News

Washington, D.C.

THE South Carolina Democratic party has been ordered for the second time in a year to stop excluding Negroes from membership.

Mon. 7-26-48

The order was issued last week by U. S. District Court Judge J. Waites Waring. A similar decision last year was carried by the county Democrats to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, which sustained the Judge. That case arose in Richland County.

Obviously angered by the Party's refusal to conform to his original order, Waring emphasized in court: "Let me tell you that any disobedience to the letter and spirit of this ruling will result in contempt proceedings. The parties responsible for any violation will be punished by imprisonment. Mon.

"It's a disgrace and a shame when you must come into court and ask a judge to tell you you are an American," he exclaimed. 7-26-48

Waring ordered the registration books, which were closed on June 22, to be reopened. Immediately Negroes flocked to the registration booths.

34e(2)

In granting a preliminary injunction, Waring said his order would "bar racial discrimination . . . provide that the books be opened to all parties regardless of race or religion and will fix a reasonable time for the books to be opened. The time has come when racial discrimination in political affairs must stop."

In addition, the Judge ordered the party to abolish the state Democratic Party's voters' oath. Democratic Party members were required to swear their belief in the principles of the state Democratic party; support of social and educational separation of the races; belief in the principle of states' rights and opposition to the proposed FEPC.

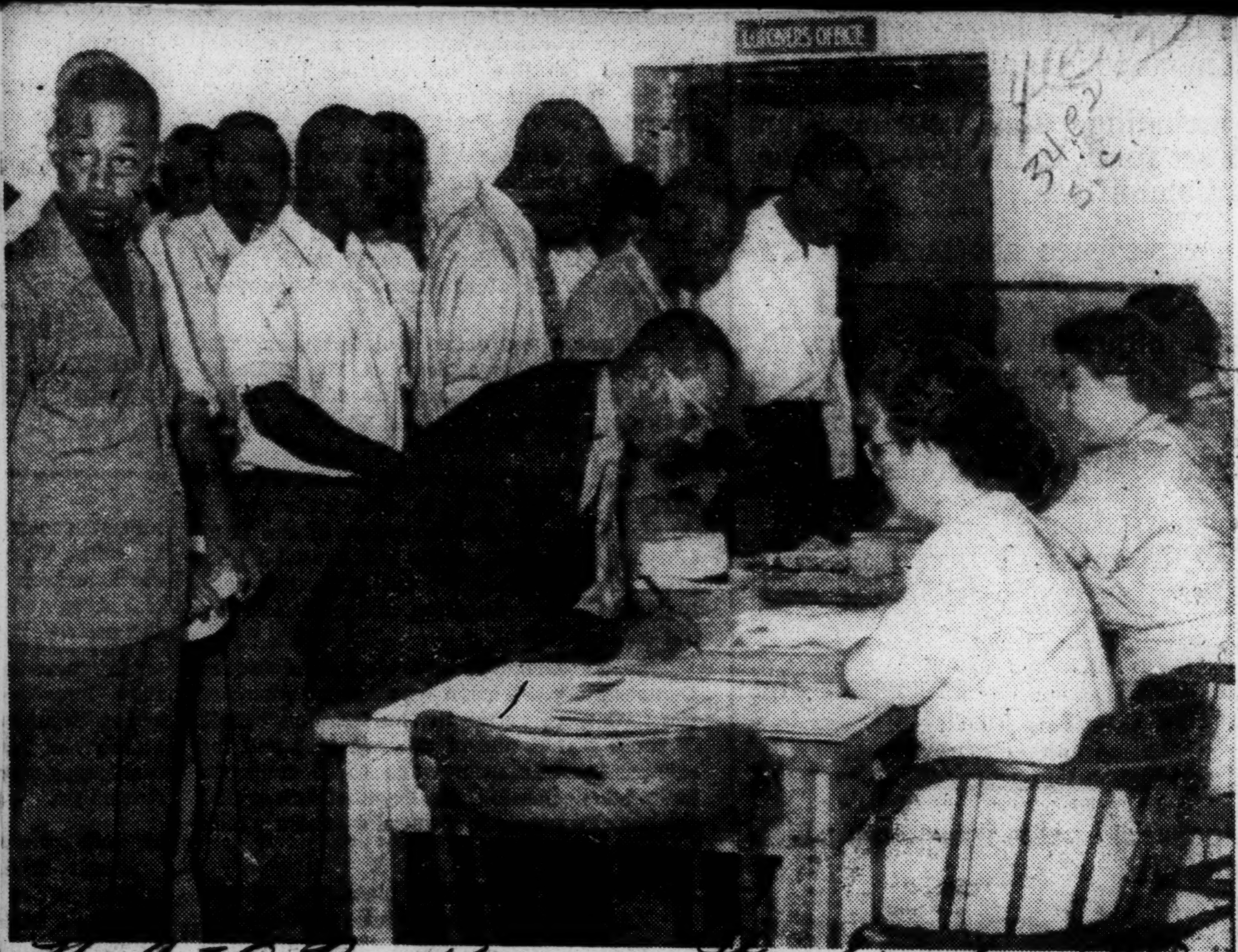
Mon.

In 1943 and 1944 the state legislature repealed primary election laws in an effort to transform the state Democratic party into a private club with the right to choose its own membership. Thereafter Negroes were excluded.

Mon. 7-26-48

But Waring ruled that "The federal and state officers."

primary conducted by said organization. . . is the only election where the plaintiff and other qualified electors can express a meaningful choice in selecting;



34e2
S.C.

The C I O News
Washington, D.C.

"LIBERTY & JUSTICE FOR ALL": South Carolina Negroes turned out in large numbers to register after registration books were ordered reopened by Federal District Judge J. Waites Waring. Judge enjoined the State Democratic Party from excluding Negroes, insisted books "be opened to all."

SOUTH CAROLINA NEGROES TO VOTE IN MAY 11 PRIMARY

34e(2)
Daily Worker
New York

COLUMBIA, S. C., April 20 (UP).—State Democratic Chairman William P. Baskin today ordered about 700 Negroes admitted to the city Democratic primary here tomorrow in view of the Supreme Court action upholding the voting privilege of Negroes. Wed. 4-21-48

Baskin ruled that all of the Columbia Negroes registered for the May 11 city general election are eligible for the primary.

Otherwise, Democratic leaders had little comment on today's high court decision refusing to review the verdict of two lower federal courts.

34e(2)

Baskin said the registration of Negroes for future elections and the acceptance of campaign contributions from them were matters for the state committee to decide.

Carolina Negroes Enrolling Slowly

The Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.

(The Associated Press)

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 17.—Negro enrollment in the South Carolina Democratic party, enforced by a federal court order, apparently was proceeding slowly today. Sun. 7-18-48

A full-scale movement of Negroes to put their names on party books was not expected until after next Monday. Copies of US District Judge J. W. Waring's order will be ready by then for service on county party officials by US marshals.

An estimated 2000 Negroes have enrolled in Charleston county since last Monday, when Waring issued a temporary order pending yesterday's hearing of a Beaufort Negro's suit against the state party's double-standard primary voting rules.

Some counties, notably Florence and Charleston, opened their books immediately after the temporary order was handed down.

Other counties, among them Spartanburg, opened their books today. Sun. 7-18-48

Threaten Suit If Names Removed By Beaufort Officials

34e(2)
The Light. Times + Informer
Columbia, S.C.

BEAUFORT, S. C. — Threats of individual damage suits against officials of the Democratic party in Beaufort county were made here Monday in the event the names of Negroes on city enrollment books were purged on Friday of this week as county officials said they would be. Sun. 7-4-48

Democratic chairman J. B. Cope said 38 Negroes had placed their names on the city enrollment book in violation of state party rules, suggesting this was done without knowledge of the enrollment secretary. However, Jos. M. Wright, one of the enrollees, said his name was placed by consent of the secretray in charge, who opened the book and showed him where to sign.

Mr. Wright said he believed this was the case with the others who enrolled.

Originally, it was estimated that 250 persons had enrolled. A check, however, showed that this number was confused with the number of persons who registered for the general election at one drive 7-4-48

Dr. Montgomery P. Kennedy, Beaufort county Progressive Democratic chairman, issued a firm warning to Mr. Cope and other county party leaders Tuesday, declaring that no time would be wasted in taking their case into court if a single name were purged. At Columbia, both John H. McCray state PDP chairman, and James M. Hinton, state NAACP president expressed the same intention. Sun.

In line with this determination it was announced that Thursday night, attorney Harold R. Boulware of Columbia, will confer with the enrolled persons and address a mass meeting in the Methodist Church, and will also remain over to appear before county party rulers in the Beaufort county court house on Friday morning. 7-4-48

White Demos Divided Over Race Vote Issue

34e(2)
The Lighthouse and Informer
Columbia, S.C.

GREENVILLE, S. C. — (SNS) — A political upheaval that threatens to break the Democratic Party wide open looms in South Carolina over the controversial question of primary voting privileges for Negroes.

The whole fight stems from an intraparty dispute involving a racial segregation oath and a double-standard primary voting rule. Sun.

These double-barrelled issues have camps and has resulted in a spirited defense of Negro voting rights that is unprecedented in the annals of the South. 7-4-48

The story dates back to May 19 when the State Democratic Convention adopted two sets of primary rules. One permits Negroes to vote in the primaries on presentation of registration certificates for the general election showing they are "qualified voters." The other set permits white Democrats to vote in the primaries by enrolling on the club's books.

The major bone of contention is a rule which requires both races to take an oath that they belive in separation of races socially and educationally and are opposed to a Federal Fair Employment Practices legislation.

The break with the party came when six upland counties, reprsenting one-sixth of the population, opposed convention rules. Lowland counties favor it.

Here is what happened: Greenville, Greenwood, Laurens, Pickins, Richland, and Spartanburg counties took action through their executive committees to defy the state convention and opened their books to Negroes and whites on the same basis. Several of the counties refused to apply the new oath for applicants. The Lighthouse + Informer

But when the party enrollment in the five upland counties fell off so badly because of the refusal of voters to take the new oath, the upland counties had to keep their deadline to accept enrollments with-books open beyond the June 22nd deadline to accept enrollments with out the oath. Columbia, S.C.

It is generally believed by the upland counties that the convention rules, if adopted and carried out, will result in court tests invalidating election results. The prevailing opinion of the upland counties is that it is now time to recognize that the Negro's voting rights are going to be supported by the courts and that "party leadership" should be provided for the Negro voter. Sun.

South Carolina's veteran political observers insist that the "defense" of Negro voting privileges by the upland counties does not stem from any "liberal beliefs," but that the uplanders' traditions of strong individualism and inherited dislike for tidewater or lowland political direction has rebounded to the political benefit of the Negro. 7-4-48

It was [illegible] out that the uplander [illegible] to the traditional [illegible] ways, mores and pattern [illegible] segregation, but they are strongly reluctant to put themselves on record by signing an oath setting forth such views. Their strong religious and individualistic natures oppose the oath. 7-4-48

Moreover, they have not forgotten that the federal courts recently ruled against South Carolina's strategem of removing the primary voting laws and directed that "qualified Negro voters" had the right to vote in Democratic primaries.

Time To Face Facts

The Record Columbia, S.C. Wed. 2-3-48

Representative W. J. B. Dorn of Greenwood was instrumental in having the state Democratic executive committee abandon the proposal for holding the Democratic primaries in June instead of August or September.

The earlier primaries would, he argued, be unfair to those candidates, of which Mr. Dorn may be one, just beginning to think about running.

In addition, he argued, an attempt to hold the primaries before the federal courts may act on the pending appeal of the South Carolina Democrats would tend to put the South Carolina party in a bad light with the courts.

The Record Columbia, S.C.

Mr. Dorn's arguments, like nearly everybody else's, are conditioned by his own interests, but in this instance he is right. Wed. 2-3-48

The idea of holding the primaries in mid-summer in order to escape the necessity for allowing Negroes to vote was simply a suggestion of desperation, an attempt to postpone for one more election the day of reckoning that is coming to South Carolina.

South Carolina ought to be bigger than this. The time is here when it must face facts, not evade them. Wed. 2-3-48

Union Negroes Sue For Right Of Registration

The Record Columbia, S.C.

Action was today on file in Union county by Claud Copeland of that county as petitioner, and other lawful electors of the Negro race, declaring that they have been denied their lawful rights and suffrage, by allegedly being refused the right to register for the general elections. Fri. 2-6-48

Named as defendants in the action which was brought in Common Pleas (civil) court were W. T. Vaughn, D. L. Gault and J. Boyd Lancaster, as and constituting the board of registration of Union county.

The notice in the action calls for a return scheduled for 10 a. m., February 23, before Judge E. H. Henderson of Bamberg, presiding judge of the seventh judicial circuit.

The petition alleges that the registration was open to electors February 2, 3 and 4 at Union and that the elector (Copeland) presented himself with proper credentials and requested to be registered, "but the respondents thereupon failed and refused to register or allow your petitioner to be registered upon said books of qualified electors in their charge solely because of his race and color, so stating to your petitioner, and further advising your petitioner that no provisions had been made for the registration of electors of the Negro race."

The petitioner asks the court that the books be required to be opened to the petitioner and others for a three-day period in February; and that at other times when the books are opened the right to register shall not be refused upon grounds of race or color.

Harold R. Boulware of Columbia is attorney for the petitioner.

The action was believed the first of its type in South Carolina in which it was specifically stated that the registration was denied by reason of color. Fri. 2-6-48

FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1948

No Need To Wait

The Record Fri. 1-16-48

Representative B. M. Gibson of Greenville correctly diagnoses the problem when he suggests that the state of South Carolina should re-enact its primary laws as a result of the federal courts' decisions in the South Carolina no-primary law case. Columbia, S.C.

"The federal district court and the court of appeals have already ruled that by placing the primary control in the hands of the party rather than the state we could not evade the Negro vote issue," Mr. Gibson said.

"If the supreme court also takes this view, we will have no course to follow but to place some legal restrictions around primary voting. To open the primaries to all comers, with no legal control, would be unthinkable."

And there is no need for the legislature to wait until the supreme court acts and no necessity for a special session to do in haste what could be done now.

For the result of an appeal to the supreme court is, for all practical purposes, foregone. It can be predicted, both from the tenor of the district court and the circuit court of appeals' decisions but also from the decisions of the supreme court itself on this subject. If any state finds a way to evade the constitution in this matter of Negro voting, the supreme court declared, it will find a way to prevent that evasion. It was a fair warning. The Record

South Carolina, however, paid no attention to this warning, but it ought at least to perceive now that there is no virtue in continuing to butt its head against a stone wall. Fri. 1-16-48

Columbia, S.C.

Question For Council

The Record Columbia, S.C. Mon. 1-19-48

It is pretty hard to understand the thinking of J. M. Hinton, secretary of the Negro citizens' committee, in questioning the act of the Columbia city council in appropriating $8,000 for the financing of the city Democratic primary.

It may be, of course, that the Negro citizens' committee didn't intend to suggest that the city council should recognize the Democratic party as a private club, although its secretary's first question seems to be capable of this interpretation. It has been the contention of the Negroes that the Democratic party is not a private club—the Elmore case was brought to persuade the federal courts to adopt the idea that the Democratic primary in South Carolina, in the language of the plaintiff's attorneys and of the court, is the only "meaningful" election in the state—and therefore that Negro voters may not be excluded from it.

S. C.

The Negro citizens' committee should, it seems, have welcomed the city appropriation as evidence to support their position.

The white defendants and their attorneys in the Elmore case, however, will object to the appropriation. The city's act cuts the ground from beneath them. It identifies government with the party. And they have not yet decided what their next step in the case will be. More than one course is open to them; the decision of the circuit court of appeals isn't necessarily final. Nor is it necessary that the party hold a primary. The Record

The appropriation was granted without very much thought on the part of city council, even if the suit were not still pending. For if the city appropriates money for one party primary, it must in logic appropriate an equal amount for every other party primary. What would city council do if the Republicans wanted to hold a nominating primary in Columbia and asked for $8,000 to finance it? Mon. 1-19-48

Columbia, S.C.

NEGRO VOTE SPLIT IN SOUTH CAROLINA

The Times New York, N.Y.

White Upland Counties Back New Privilege in Break With Customs of the South

Mon. 6-28-48

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GREENVILLE, S. C., June 27—The controversial issue of granting party primary voting privileges to Negroes in the South is being highlighted in this state with overtones which make it the focal point of socio-political interest in Dixie.

In recent weeks there has been a political upheaval because of an intra-party dispute involving a racial segregation oath and a double-standard primary voting rule. It has split white voters into opposing camps and resulted in a spirited defense of Negro voting rights unparalleled in Southern annals.

The breach involves an unprecedented break with Southern customs and traditions since reconstruction days. It also follows the historical division between tidewater aristocrat and upland farmer and worker which has marked Southern development since colonial days and was a principal issue in early Jacksonian democracy.

Its immediate significance to the South rests in the fact that South Carolina was the first state to adopt the procedure of setting aside all primary voting laws to circumvent the 1944 Supreme Court decision that Negroes were entitled to vote in party primaries.

Individual Spirit Involved

The Times

Veteran political observers insist that the "defense" of Negro voting privileges by the upland counties does not stem from any "liberal beliefs" but that the uplanders' traditions of strong individualism and inherited dislike for tidewater or lowland political direction has rebounded to the political benefit of the Negro.

The party split has already resulted in increased Negro primary enrollment, a record drop in overall primary enrollment, discussions of possible court suits to "protect" Negro voting privileges and party threats to refuse to count votes cast in the counties which have kept their party enrollment books open beyond the prescribed deadline. New York, N.Y.

The Federal courts recently ruled against South Carolina's stratagem of removing the primary voting laws and directing that "qualified Negro voters" had the right to vote in Democratic primaries. Mon. 6-28-48

On May 19 the State Democratic Convention adopted two sets of primary voting rules. One permits Negroes to vote in the primaries on presentation of registration certificates for the general election showing that they are "qualified voters." The other set permits white Democrats to vote in the primaries merely by enrolling on the club's books.

Separation Oath Ordered

The convention rules also require voters for both races to take an oath that they believe in separation of the races socially and educationally and are opposed to proposed Federal Fair Employment Practices legislation.

Discord flared throughout the state, and six upland counties, representing about one-fourth of the population, opposed the convention rules. Generally, the lowland counties, where Negroes predominate, favored the rules, and the upland counties, where whites predominate, opposed the qualifications.

The Times

Greenville, Greenwood, Laurens, Pickens, Richland and Spartanburg Counties took action through their county executive committees to defy the state convention rules and opened their party enrollment books to Negroes and whites on the same basis. Several of the counties refused to apply the new oath for applicants.

6-28-48

The upland counties generally feel that the convention rules, if carried out, will result in court tests invalidating election results. It is now time, they say, to recognize that the Negro's voting rights are going to be supported by the courts. Mon. 6-28-48

Papers Served On Democrats In 45 Counties

The Record
Columbia, S.C.
Fri. 7-9-48

Papers were being served today on South Carolina Democratic leaders of 45 counties to permit Negro enrolment and Party Chairman William P. Baskin postponed a scheduled trip to the national Democratic convention pending developments.

34(e)(2)

Baskin had no comment early this afternoon on steps to be taken by the party. He said that party officials and attorneys to represent them would confer later.

Meanwhile, Baskin who had not seen a copy of Judge J. Waties Waring's order requiring Negro enrolment until July 16, said he expected to leave for Philadelphia either tonight or tomorrow morning for the national convention.

Baskin had no comment on whether or not he would leave the convention to be in Charleston July 16 for a hearing for the Democrats to show cause why they should not be permanently enjoined from preventing Negroes to enrol in club books. 7-9-48

34(e)(2)

Enrolment Opened

The Waring order yesterday temporary enjoined the party in 45 counties to permit Negro enrolment.

The May 19 state convention adopted rules permitting white Democrats to vote by enroling on the club books and permitting Negroes to vote by presentation of registration certificates. Thus, Negroes, by not being enroled on the club books, would be denied participation in party affairs.

State Sen. Brantley Harvey of Beaufort, chairman of the party rules committee, also was expected in Columbia today. Christie Benet, Columbia attorney, heads the party's battery of lawyers in the matter. The Record

Party leaders have been ordered to appear at a hearing at Charleston July 16—during the time the national convention will be in session—before federal district Judge Waring. Columbia, S.C.

The hearing will be on a request by a Beaufort county Negro for a permanent injunction against the party's refusal to enrol Negroes. The Beaufort man's name was purged from club books there.

Meanwhile, Waring issued a preliminary order opening party enrolment books to Negroes. Fri

Only Richland county was exempted from the order. This apparently was because Richland was the county against which an original action was directed that resulted in an order from Waring opening party primaries to Negroes. 7-9-48

Richland since has enroled Negroes, and has abandoned a state party voting oath pledging support to racial segregation. Several other up-state counties have taken similar action, yet were named in the temporary injunction hearing order.

Negroes Urged To Enrol

Negroes all over South Carolina were urged by their leaders today to enrol in the state Democratic party during the next week.

James M. Hinton, state president of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, said all South Carolina Negroes were being told to present themselves immediately for enrolment.

Democrats in South Carolina Bar Negroes With New Rules

The Christian Science Monitor
Boston, Mass

34(e)(2)

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Columbia, S. C.

The Supreme Court has said, in effect, that Negroes must be permitted to vote in South Carolina's "private club" Democratic primary, but since then it has become increasingly apparent the minority race's fight for a full measure of participation in the State's politics has just begun.

The Court decision held that "qualified Negro electors" must be allowed to vote in the primaries. W. P. Baskin, Chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee, has construed this as meaning those Negroes qualified to vote in the general elections.

Qualifications for voting in the general election are different from those for voting in the primary.

Even before South Carolina's Legislature stripped all laws governing the primaries from the statute books in an attempt to get around the Texas case decision, the Democratic Party in South Carolina has made its own rules. These rules restrict membership in the Party to persons of the white race. 5-17-48

So, while a relatively small number of Negroes will vote in the Democratic primaries this summer, it is evident that, without further court action, they will be unable to participate in Party affairs—county and State conventions—or to place the names of Negro candidates on the Democratic Party primary ballots.

Conceivably the State Democratic Convention meeting here May 19 could change the rules to permit Negroes to become members. However, this is regarded as improbable, in view of the sentiment expressed in the recent county conventions. One county convention—Dillon County—refused to seat eight Negro delegates, acting in accordance with an order by Mr. Baskin.

At other county meetings, the belief was expressed that the recent court decision had no direct bearing on admittance of Negroes to Party membership. Mr. Baskin ruled that only enrolled members of the Party could serve as county convention delegates. Hence the nonadmittance of the Negro delegates. The Christian Science

The leaders of Negro organizations in the State have let it be known that they will resort again to the courts, unless Negroes are taken into the Party membership and can enter Negro candidates for office on the Democratic ballot. In South Carolina, political parties, rather than the State, furnish ballots. Boston, Mass.

The qualifications for voting in the Democratic primary are negligible. But to obtain a registration certificate to vote in the general election — which heretofore has been a mere ratification of the primary result—one not only must show a poll tax receipt, but also must be able to understand any part of the constitution.

While no statewide total is available, registration for the general election this year seems to be heavier than ever before. 5-18-48

The South Carolina Regulars Will Be Seated

34(e)(2)

The weaknesses of the position of the regular South Carolina Democratic (Policians') party delegation, seeking the South Carolina seats at the Philadelphia convention, are obvious.

Columbia, S.C.

The party was set up, the Democratic club meetings held, the county and state conventions held, the delegates picked all in violation of the orders of the federal courts. Negroes were not permitted to participate in club meetings—except of course in the one East Dillon club, and in this case their participation was later held to be in violation of the rules and cancelled—and had no part in the naming of delegates to the conventions. The party is still a white party and the delegates to Philadelphia do not represent any Negro voters. Fri. 7-9-48

The delegates are pledged on the civil rights issue and the state organization served notice upon the convention that South Carolina Democrats will participate in the convention only if they are allowed to do the pitching. In addition it also served notice upon the convention that it will bolt the Democratic ticket should President Truman or any other like-minded person on the civil rights issue be nominated. This is notice to the national party that there may be no Truman electors in South Carolina's election should the regular Democratic party delegates be recognized.

On the other hand the group of dissident Democrats who met in Columbia and sent a delegation, representing both races to the convention, cannot claim that their choice originated with the club meetings. For it did not. They did not have time, after the regular organization refused to reconvene the state convention as requested, to conduct club meetings. They could only assemble a few Democrats from as many counties as possible and hold a convention for themselves, adopt party rules conforming to the court decisions and pledge their support to the Democratic nominees, whoever they may be. The Record

The third delegation is from the Progressive Democrats, largely controlled by Negroes, and representing therefore a definite minority of the Democratic voters. This group is not asking that all of their delegates be seated, but only that they be given proportional representation in the convention. The Progressive Democrats have however never been allied with the national Democratic party, represented traditionally in South Carolina by the regular state Democratic party. Columbia, S.C.

There are precedents in Democratic conventions for seating such delegates elected by irregulars. The Huey Long delegation, elected by a special state convention distinct from the regular Louisiana convention, was seated in 1932. But that was done simply because Mr. Long had picked Roosevelt and Roosevelt, although controlling the convention at that time, needed the extra votes. Fri. 7-9-48

Truman will be the Democratic nominee and Truman is a politician. He does not need the South Carolina votes and will have no compelling reason therefore to unseat the regular delegates. And politicians have an affinity for politicians, even then they are on opposite sides. They all speak the same language.

So the odds are that the regular South Carolina delegates will get the South Carolina seats. The others are simply going along for the ride or to be there in the event of a miracle.

Changing the Richmond Picture

The Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Reporting to the annual meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last week, Dr. J. M. Tinsley, a board member from Richmond, Va., reported that 50,000 Negroes had been added to the voting lists of Virginia's capital and adjoining communities within the past year.

34e(2)

If this is true, then the political picture in Richmond will certainly be changed in the forthcoming elections, and Virginia must look forward to seeing some brown faces in its next Legislature. Sat. 1-17-48

If all these Negro voters actually vote, they should be able to have a whole lot to say about how and by whom the capital of Virginia will be governed in the future.

There has been a great deal of talk about the high cost of color caste in the United States but not so much about the economic advantages of it to the group responsible for maintaining it.

For example, in a city like Richmond there must be scores, perhaps hundreds of jobs of various kinds indirectly due to political control, and those who holds the jobs are paid.

When such jobs are available to only a section of the population while a large minority is barred, this is a great economic asset and advantage to the group monopolizing the political life.

There are many other economic advantages not so obvious at first glance but nevertheless important.

As more and more Negroes qualify to vote in Southern cities and towns, and actually exercise this right, the old white monopoly will break down, and not only will new blood enter the governing class, but this healthier political competition will make for better and more democratic government.

Progress in the South is primarily dependent upon Southerners, but for the past seventy-five years at least a third of the Southerners have been prevented from making any political contribution to that progress.

Now that the political picture is being changed, in Richmond and elsewhere below the Potomac and Ohio rivers, colored Americans have a great opportunity and responsibility to vote intelligently in the community interest to make their respective cities and States the kind of places they want them to be. Sat. 1-17-48

Urge Active Role Of Women In Politics

Atlanta Daily World
Fri. 6-18-48

WASHINGTON—(ANP)— The women's division of the Democratic National committee is workinig hard to bring women full recognition in every phase of public life, Mrs. India Edwards, executive director, said last week in telling what the Democratic party is doing for women in this country.

Her division, Mr. Edwards said, provides many services such as the publishing of speeches made by party leaders, a monthly magazine, the Democratic Digest, and booklets on how to make a speech and the achievements of party women in public life.

Scheduling of speakers for groups interested in the candidates and issues of the party are also part of the women's division's activities, she said.

In urging women not only to vote but to run for office and take active roles in politics she spoke of Mrs. Thomasina Johnson:

"The work of Mrs. Thomasina Johnson as chief of the minority groups section, United States Employment service, to which Mrs. Johnson was appointed in December, 1946, by President Truman, is a cause for satisfaction of all women interested in government careers." 6-18-48

To get a booklet on how Mrs. Johnson and other Democratic women got ahead, Mrs. Edwards said write to the Democratic Organization, samples of the Democratic Digest, monthly magazine on party activitis and mimeographed copies of speeches made by such party leaders as President Truman, J. Howard McGrath, national committee chairman; and Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas.

These speeches will be sent out free. One of the most intertaining, she said, is Mrs. Douglas famous "market basket speech," which she made to Congress April 28 with a grocery basket filled with items and their price tags. She asked congress to do something to reduce the high cost of living. 6-18-48

Mrs. Edwards advised groups to write to headquarters for information on speakers if they wanted a party leader to speak before them. Her department as present is in a drive to get women out to vote, she said.

"The Democratic party has always recognized the importance of women in politics," she said.

Worker Sun 7/18/48

S. REBECCA STYLES TAYL[illegible], a founder of the National Council of Negro Women, is a candidate for Secretary of State of Illinois on the Wallace ticket.

Women Democrats to Campaign in South

The Christian

By Josephine Ripley
Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Plans for a special campaign to bring the women of the presently un-solid South back into party ranks behind President Truman are already under way in the women's division of the Democratic Party. Fri.

A picked corps of its best southern women speakers are poised to pour down over the Mason and Dixon's Line for intimate house-to-house heart-to-heart talks with feminine members of the dissident group. Boston, Mass.

The women do not underrate the seriousness of the party split or the job ahead, but party leaders here are confident of bringing the fair sex around to the polls on the Truman ticket, come November. 7-16-48

"I feel confident," declares Mrs. India Edwards, Executive Director of the Women's Division, "that during the next few months, by straightforward contact with the bulk of the women down there, we will be able to build up a big women's vote in the South for Truman."

Mrs. Edwards figures that the women may be more easily brought back into party line than the men.

Loyalty Split

She sees the women of the South as "torn between party loyalty and devotion to their men leaders who have bolted the ranks," but she thinks that women are "inclined to be a little more realistic and broader in their point of view." 7-16-48

In fact, Mrs. Edwards reported that "in all of the anti-Truman talk that went on before the convention, there was not a single woman leader in any of the states where the men were against Truman—not a single woman leader who stood publicly with their men in that point of view."

They did not come out openly in opposition, she explained, "but they called me personally and said that 'the women are not with this—they are with Truman!'"

Mrs. Edwards averred that "that happened in every single case" and she thinks "it is a very encouraging sign," and that it may hold true in this situation, too.

'Hopes' Held

7-16-48

That is not to say she feels that Alabama and Mississippi—the states whose delegations walked out on the convention—can be converted easily. In their case, she only says she is "in hopes" they may be brought around.

It is not Mrs. Edwards' view that the women who do not come back into the Truman fold will vote Republican. It is her opinion that they will vote Democratic, by a write-in for Senator Richard B. Russell (D) of Georgia.

It will be the purpose of the women speakers who go into the South to break down the "hysteria" which Mrs. Edwards feels has been built up behind this civil-rights issue by party leaders and carried on by the press and radio.

Personal Contact

She feels that by personal contact with the women of the South, it will be possible to convince them that this civil-rights platform "is no different from others we have had in the past—and civil rights goes right back to the Constitution."

"It is not as if this were a drastic plank in the platform," she argues.

It is Mrs. Edwards' contention that although civil rights is "spelled out" a little more in detail this year, it is essentially the same program which the party has had right along. Thr.

It is her hope and confidence that southern women of the dissident element may be brought to see this. Christian Sc. Monitor

"I think the women have a big job in this campaign," she states, "and I am excited about it."

That the women of the party have the stamina for this "big job" there is no doubt. After the wind-up sessions of the convention lasting from 11:30 a.m. July 14 to 2:30 a.m. July 15, the ladies were up and "on with the show" by 9 a.m. for the final session of the campaign school.

Speeches Rehearsed

Boston, Mass.

Campaign speeches were being rehearsed before Mrs. Hugh Butler, the professional speaking instructor employed by the division, in preparation for the coming campaign months. Fri.

So important is this professional training considered that the carry-over session was announced from the convention platform to the thousands of women assembled there. 7-16-48

The actual turnout for the classes, however, has been small in comparison to the total feminine attendance. For one thing, they have been held at an early hour so as not to conflict with convention sessions, thus leaving the women little time for rest in the morning after late evening meetings. Also, it is recognized that it is difficult in the midst of so much confusion and activity to pin the women down to serious effort involving the learning and rehearsing of speeches.

Mrs. Butler feels that much better results would be obtained if she were to have opportunity to go out into the various communities in coming weeks and conduct her classes on the spot in a quieter atmosphere. 7-16-48

Making Political History in Brooklyn

By Doxey A. Wilkerson

The Worker

Real political history is being made in Brooklyn's 10th Congressional District where Ada B. Jackson is running for Congress on the American Labor Party ticket. And the people sense what they are doing to send this wonderful community leader to Washington—thus extending the frontiers of Negro freedom still another mile in the direction of full democratic rights. Sun. 10-24-48

Especially is there unprecedented enthusiasm for the campaign in the Bedford - Stuyvesand area, where Mrs. Jackson's 25 years of struggles on scores of political and civic issues have endeared her to tens of thousands of Negroes, Jews and all others who fight in the cause of the common man.

Cold registration figures reveal that 50 percent of the 17,000 voters in the 17th A. D. are Negroes, ten percent more than in previous elections. But behind these statistics lie many warm, human-interest stories of hundreds of "little people" aroused to a higher level of political activity than ever before—eager to do their part to "send Ada Jackson to Congress."

New York N.Y.

ILLUSTRATIVE is the tall, dignified, middle-aged Negro man who entered the Jackson Campaign headquarters at 1495 Fulton Street several weeks ago. He wanted help in preparing for the literacy test required of new voters. The next day he returned, proudly displaying his literacy certificate, and handed campaign manager "Tony" Tully a dollar bill — "to help elect Mrs. Jackson." When Mr. Tully pointed out that this dollar could make him a member of the American Labor Party, he turned down the proposal, explaining:

"I'm not educated enough to join a political party. I never had a chance for schooling; but I'm making sure my three children get that chance. They'll be in ALP." Then, with tears welling up in his eyes, he added: "I never voted before in my life; but this time I want to vote—for Mrs. Jackson and Henry Wallace. I appreciate what you did to help me pass the test." Sun. 10-24-48

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SO IT WAS with hundreds of new voters who came for help to the joint headquarters of the 17th A.D. American Labor Party and the Bedford - Stuyvesant Wallace-for-President Committee. Several came in wheelchairs. Many stood timidly on the sidewalk outside, a little shy at revealing their lack of schooling; but entered eagerly when a campaign worker went out to invite them in.

Mrs. Jackson is a masterful campaigner, because she is, indeed, a **part of her people.** She understands and gives expression to aspirations which they hold in common.

MRS. ADA B. JACKSON

"I am no politician," she declares; "I am a mother who is determined to fight for the things all of us in the 10th Congressional District want. Let's do our fighting together!" And the crowds respond with roars of approval.

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SHE TALKS to them about peace: "I don't want my son to go back to fight another war." She talks of prices: "I know what it means to go to the butcher shop and come out empty-handed." She talks of schools: "My children, like yours, need playgrounds and modern schools. Together, you and I can solve these problems." She speaks of discrimination: "When the lash of discrimination strikes at the Jewish or Italian peoples, I know that the same hand holds the same whip, and I feel it in my flesh."

Sun 10-24-48

She tells them about Henry Wallace: "There is no man in public life more devoted to the cause of the common man than Henry Wallace. I am proud that his Party honored me as its candidate for Congress."

This is the message which brings scores of new volunteers to the Jackson Campaign headquarters, timidly offering to help canvass, "if you'll show me how."

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THIS IS THE MESSAGE that led two dozen young people from Camp Wo-Chi-Ca to enliven the headquarters with songs of the Progressive Party while they got out a mailing of 60,000 Ada Jackson brochures in record time.

This is the message which is arousing Bedford-Stuyvesant to a high pitch of political activity unparalleled anywhere else in Brooklyn.

Sun 10-24-48

Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, who still recalls vividly the lynching of a girl playmate and her family back in Georgia, has a very real chance to become the first Negro woman ever to sit in the U. S. House of Representatives.

The Negro people love and respect her; and will vote for her. The decisive 2,000 Jewish voters in the District, disgusted with Representative Sommers for his "100 percent" backing of Truman's betrayal of Israel, are turning in ever greater numbers to her support.

What is now required for victory was simply expressed by Mrs. Jackson to her campaign committee last week: "I am giving all I can," she said. "We all have got to give just a little bit more—and we'll come through on top."